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THE **Progressive**

McCARTHY

A Documented Record



DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WHO SHARE OUR DETERMINATION TO MAKE THE PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY
PREVAIL OVER COMMUNISM AND McCARTHYISM

The Progressive

'Ye Shall Know the Truth and the Truth Shall Make You Free'

McCARTHY: A Documented Record

Freedom's Most Effective Weapon	3
The Judge on Trial	6
<i>Wisconsin Supreme Court Accuses McCarthy of Violating State's Constitution and Laws</i>	
Off To War	9
<i>Some Notes on the Conflicting Stories of McCarthy's Service and His Decorations</i>	
Six Riddles	12
<i>The Strange Story of McCarthy's Complex Financial Transactions and Tax Troubles</i>	
The Numbers Game	22
<i>The Original Charges of Communism and How the Facts Exploded Them</i>	
Guarding America's Security	30
<i>An Elaborate System Protects the Government from Spies and Subversives</i>	
McCarthy Takes Over	33
<i>As Chairman of the Investigating Committee McCarthy Produced Many A Headline That Did Not Stand Up</i>	
McCarthyism in Action	51
<i>Case Studies of the Major Ingredients of the 'Ism,' Including Smearing the Innocent, and The Big Lie</i>	
Striking at the Freedom of the Press	59
<i>"The Whole Thing Reeks with Totalitarianism," Said the Voice of the U.S. Press</i>	
Win At Any Cost	63
<i>The Man Who Ran With Communist Support and Later with the Support of the Far Right</i>	
Sowing Seeds of Disunity	76
<i>Facts on the Extent to Which McCarthy Has Helped Strengthen the Communist Cause</i>	
'The Big Truth'	91
<i>Our Great Hope Is a Fighting Faith in Freedom, Not the Fear Generated by McCarthy</i>	
Index	93

Founded in 1909 by
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Freedom's Most Effective Weapon

THIS ISSUE of *The Progressive* is devoted entirely to presenting a documented report of the public record of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy.

Our purpose is two-fold: 1) to provide the people of the United States with the factual background to help them evaluate the public statements and actions of the junior Senator from Wisconsin; and 2) to make available to our friends of the free world authentic materials which will enable them to gain a clearer perspective of the meaning of McCarthyism and the extent to which it is at war with the finest traditions of Americanism.

The urgent need for a solid study of McCarthy's record has never been greater:

- The activities of the Senate Committee over which he presides command front-page-headlines throughout the world and provide much of the material by which the world judges American policy and purpose.
- The Senator himself has become the symbol of a state of mind which has lowered our stature and dignity as a nation and reduced measurably our capacity for leadership in the struggle against Communism.
- McCarthy has struck repeatedly at the letter and the spirit of our Bill of Rights by using methods of intolerance and intimidation in an effort to create a national climate of hysteria, fear, and suppression.
- The "ism" added to his

name has become a generic symbol of guilt by accusation, character assassination, the big lie, and the repudiation of our country's traditional devotion to fair play and a fair trial.

- He has impaired the functioning of some of our most important defense laboratories, and he has battered at the morale of those who administer our country's program of military defense.

- He has exercised a decisive influence, for the worse, on our civil service and our foreign service.

- He has left his mark of intolerance on the government, the churches, the schools and colleges, the literature and the press of our country.

- He has appointed himself a one-man purge squad committed to smearing and destroying those who disagree with him, and he has proclaimed to the country that he and his methods are to be the dominant issue in the political campaign of 1954.

It is in this last field of political action that the problem is most immediate, because Sen. McCarthy has announced that he plans to campaign in a number of states this year for the purpose of defeating Senators who have refused to embrace his policies. This, of course, is his privilege, just as it is the privilege of those who find his ways repugnant to fight back by exposing his record.

II

The purpose of this issue of *The Progressive* is to do just that by providing an arsenal of facts for those who share our abhorrence of McCarthy's political morals and methods.

We don't pretend to present McCarthy's story; he has published books on it, filled countless pages of the *Congressional Record* and his *Committee Reports* with his own views, and has had access to the press, platform, radio, and television facilities of this country to a degree unmatched by any other member of the Senate. This, unashamedly, is a reply to McCarthy—a documented reply whose every fact has been checked

and double-checked, and is backed by the official records.

Readers of this special issue of *The Progressive* may be interested in the background of the project. In the summer of 1952, when McCarthy was running for reelection to the Senate, a non-partisan group, the Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on McCarthy's Record, published *The McCarthy Record* for use in that campaign.

Based on 18 months of exhaustive research, *The McCarthy Record* bore the sponsorship of a group of distinguished citizens—Republicans, Democrats, and Independents alike—farmers, workers, educators, industrialists, merchants, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, editors, bankers, and housewives, who were drawn together by their "deep concern for the consequences of McCarthy's conduct" and their determination "to make the truth available to the people."

The response to their efforts was an extraordinary demand for copies at \$1 each. *The McCarthy Record* ran through three printings in a few months. The demand for copies came from every state and a score of foreign countries. A year and a half after the 1952 election, orders continue to pour in from every area of our country and from England, Sweden, Germany, France, Italy, Egypt, Israel, India, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippine Islands, and many another country.

But this demand, growing apace with the world headlines made by McCarthy's sensational charges, could not be met. The supply was exhausted long ago. The Committee that produced *The McCarthy Record*, formed to serve only during the 1952 campaign, has dissolved. But before it disbanded, it assigned the copyright to its Editor, who is also Editor of *The Progressive*.

Much of the material in *The McCarthy Record*—whose accuracy, by the way, was never challenged by McCarthy—appears in condensed form in this issue. It was condensed to make room for the vast amount of new material which has become available since *The McCarthy Record* went to press in June, 1952. Although this issue of *The Progressive* thus represents an up-dated version of *The McCarthy Record* and contains some of the original material, the

sponsors of that study bear no responsibility for the contents of this issue of *The Progressive*.

III

We believe it is especially timely to publish this study of McCarthy's record in this year of our 45th Anniversary. Founded in 1909 by the late Robert Marion LaFollette, Sr., this magazine was dedicated from the first issue to the Biblical principle that "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free." (See cut.) It has a long record of exposing and combating political doctrines and demagogues bent on diluting or destroying the great American ideals of freedom and tolerance. This has been true for four and a half decades, whether the un-Americanism were Kluxism, Communism, or McCarthyism.

Thirty years ago, in his Presidential campaign of 1924, "Fighting Bob" LaFollette repudiated Communist support in language that left no doubt of his position. Writing in this magazine, he denounced the Communists for seeking to "divide and confuse the Progressive Movement and create a condition of chaos favorable to their ends. . . . To pretend that Communists can work with progressives who believe in democracy is deliberately to deceive the public. The Communists are antagonistic to the progressive cause and their only purpose in joining such a movement is to disrupt it."

Twenty-two years later the Communists again sought to attach themselves to a Wisconsin political figure, this time with greater success. It was the campaign year of 1946; Joseph R. McCarthy was running against the incumbent U.S. Senator, "Fighting Bob's" son, Bob, Jr. The Communists, furious at LaFollette because he was even then warning his countrymen of the expansionist ambitions of Soviet imperialism, threw their support to McCarthy. Unlike the elder LaFollette under comparable conditions, McCarthy made no effort to repudiate Communist help in his campaign.

The Communists have had little to regret since they embraced McCarthy eight years ago. The factual record shows that in his hunger for headlines, the junior Senator from Wisconsin has actually strengthened the

Communist cause by exploiting and magnifying tensions at home and sowing the seeds of doubt and disunity among our friends and allies abroad.

Similarly, contrast the political practices of a LaFollette and McCarthy in dealing with support from racists and merchants of hate. In the campaign of 1946, Gerald L. K. Smith, one of the country's most notorious racists, sought to attach himself to the candidacy of Robert M. LaFollette, Jr. But Bob LaFollette repudiated that support in unmistakable terms July 5, 1946:

"I want to make it as emphatically clear as I can that I absolutely and without reservation of any kind whatsoever repudiate the support of Gerald L. K. Smith and any others who preach a gospel of hate and intolerance."

In contrast, McCarthy has made no public statement repudiating the support of Smith and his breed.

In publishing this special issue of *The Progressive* on McCarthy's record, we are mindful of the fact that we shall be criticized by sincere and thoughtful Americans who share our repugnance for McCarthy. Their position, we suspect, will be based on their genuine conviction that we are aiding and abetting him by "giving him more publicity" and "building him up by taking him so seriously."

We can respect and sympathize with this point of view because we held it once ourselves. We abandoned it, however, when the facts proved us wrong. It is a dangerous error, we are convinced, for the forces of decency in America to fail to regard the man and his "ism" with deep seriousness. His power today comes in great measure from our failure to fight back earlier. The evidence is overwhelming that McCarthyism cannot long survive where the people are given the truth about the character of his "crusade."

The most convincing proof was the 1952 election in Wisconsin. McCarthy carried every county in the state where all or a majority of the newspapers supported him, or refused to expose his contemptible conduct, or stood silent. *But he lost every county in the state in which either a daily paper or a labor weekly fought him with the facts.*

Milwaukee County, by far the largest in the state, is a good example. Although it had tipped the election to McCarthy in 1946, Milwaukee turned against him by nearly 100,000 votes in 1952—mainly because the *Milwaukee Journal* had conducted a crusading campaign against the man and his methods. Dane County (Madison) rejected McCarthy 48,000 to 29,000, largely because of the superb exposure of McCarthyism by the *Madison Capital Times*.

The great hope of the professional demagogue is to avoid public exposure while he plies his trade of creating hysteria, capitalizing on people's fears, and diverting public attention from basic problems with side-show stunts. We are convinced—and the events of the recent past strengthen that conviction—that the most effective weapon against McCarthyism, as, indeed, against Communism, or any other counterfeit philosophy, is the *truth*.

Volume 1, Number 1, 45 Years Ago

LaFollette's

WEEKLY MAGAZINE

YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE

VOL. I, NO. 1

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

JANUARY 9, 1900



The Judge

On Trial

Wisconsin Supreme Court Accuses McCarthy of Violating State's Constitution and Laws

IN ANY great controversy the character and credibility of the principal antagonists play a decisive part. The first portion of this study is devoted to an examination of McCarthy's beginnings in public life. It is a story in which documented evidence shows that even in his first years in politics he was accused of unethical conduct, ran afoul of the highest legal and judicial agencies of his state, and was condemned by the Wisconsin Board of Bar Commissioners for a characteristic which was to become even more dominant in his career in the years to follow:

"Knowingly and willfully placing the gratification of his personal ambition above the interests of the public and the rights of litigants."

Following his graduation from the law school of Marquette University, Milwaukee, McCarthy began his legal career in Waupaca, Wis., in 1935. Less than a year later he left Waupaca to become associated in Shawano, Wis., with Mike Eberlein, a prominent Republican lawyer, although McCarthy had already identified himself as a Democrat.

This was the year the Democrats were riding high with the New Deal.

McCarthy decided to cling to his Democratic Party affiliations for a while. In August, 1936, he was elected president of the Young Democratic Clubs of Wisconsin's Seventh District, which includes eleven counties. Shortly afterward he announced his candidacy for district attorney of Shawano County on the Democratic ticket. McCarthy was defeated, and thereafter never ran as a Democrat.

In 1939 McCarthy, aged 29, announced his candidacy for judge of the Tenth Judicial Circuit, which includes Shawano, Outagamie, and Langlade Counties. The announcement of his candidacy came as a staggering blow to his senior partner and benefactor, Mike Eberlein, who had had his heart set on running for the circuit judgeship in that district. Greatly saddened by the experience, Eberlein decided against running but announced that the young McCarthy and he were no longer associated in the practice of law.

McCarthy won the election. He received 15,165 votes. The incumbent, Judge Edgar V. Werner, received 11,219 votes, and the third candidate got 9,949. Here is a description of McCarthy's first successful race, published in *Time* magazine, Oct. 22, 1951:

"He made few speeches, but he met every farmer in the district. His specialty was sick cows. He would get the cow's symptoms, drive on to the next farm and ask the farmer what he would do for a cow with those symptoms. He kept a dictaphone in his car, and as he drove away he would dictate a letter to the first farmer, giving the second farmer's advice as Joe's own. Both farmers would be flattered by this attention."

McCarthy served about four years altogether as a Wisconsin circuit judge. In 1941 he gained considerable state-wide attention when the Wisconsin Supreme Court sharply rebuked him for improper conduct on the bench. Marvin B. Rosenberry, highly respected Chief Justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, on June 18, 1941, wrote the sharp criticism of McCarthy for the Court.

Justice Rosenberry said that McCarthy had committed an "abuse of judicial power," had been "highly improper" in ordering the destruction of a portion of the record, and had, in general, created a "regrettable state of affairs."

State ex rel Department of Agriculture, Petitioner v. McCarthy, Circuit Judge, Respondent. 238 Wis. 258

This sharp denunciation of Judge

McCarthy resulted from a case in which the State Department of Agriculture had asked the court Nov. 4, 1940, to force the Quaker Dairy of Appleton to obey the state marketing law. Although the law was not to expire until Dec. 31, 1941, Judge McCarthy dismissed the case in June, 1941, after a number of postponements.

The State appealed to the Supreme Court, where it was quickly discovered that an important statement made by McCarthy in dismissing the action was missing. Judge McCarthy explained *he had ordered the statements destroyed by the court reporter.*

The Wisconsin Supreme Court unanimously found McCarthy's actions an abuse of judicial power.

"We are cited no authority and we find none which justifies a court in suspending the operation of a statute on the ground that it will work a hardship if it is enforced," the Court said.

"It must be concluded that the grounds upon which the trial court [McCarthy] acted did not constitute a sufficient or proper legal reason therefor and that this action constituted an abuse of judicial power."

Moreover, the Court found, "a judicial officer is required to administer the law without respect to persons so long as it is enforced. Any other course would constitute an infringement upon the powers and functions of the legislature, interfere with the operation of agencies . . . and result in advantage to persons who disobey the law."

The Court sharply criticized McCarthy for having ordered the destruction of notes he had dictated during the case—notes on which he had based his "improper" ruling.

"Ordering destruction of these notes was highly improper," the Court said. ". . . We can only say that if it were necessary to a decision, the destruction of evidence under these circumstances could only be open to the inference that the evidence destroyed contained statements of fact contrary to the position taken by the person [McCarthy] destroying the evidence."

238 Wis. 258

The Supreme Court's shocked response to Judge McCarthy's destruction of trial records and his flouting of the law was not to be its only pub-

lic denunciation of McCarthy during his career as a judge, as the report below of the case *State of Wisconsin v. Joseph R. McCarthy* makes clear.

Meanwhile, when McCarthy returned from his wartime service (See Pages 9-11) he early decided to build a political machine around the Young Republicans of the state. At about this time, McCarthy, the judicial records of Wisconsin show, began to grant "quickie" divorces to couples not resident in his judicial district. The records show that in several cases one of the principals, or the attorney, or both were active in supporting McCarthy's political ambitions, sometimes with cash.

McCarthy's granting of "quickie" divorces to political friends and supporters created a considerable stir in the state. Said the independent Milwaukee *Journal*, largest daily in Wisconsin:

"Is Wisconsin justice to be used to accommodate political supporters of

a presiding judge? Are Wisconsin courts the place in which to settle political debts?"

The editorial concluded that "Judge McCarthy, whose burning ambition for political advancement is accompanied by an astonishing disregard for things ethical and traditional, is doing serious injury to the judiciary of this state."

But the most severe attack on McCarthy's legal and judicial ethics came as a result of his decision to run for the U.S. Senate in 1946 while still sitting as a circuit judge.

The basic law of Wisconsin, the State Constitution, which McCarthy swore to support, is clear in its attempt to keep judges out of partisan politics. Section 10, Article VII, of the Wisconsin Constitution reads:

"Each of the judges of the Supreme and Circuit Courts . . . shall hold no office of public trust, except a judicial office, during the term for which they are respectively elected,

CANDIDATES AT SEPTEMBER PRIMARY

State of Wisconsin, ss.
County of Shawano.

I, Otto O. Wiegand, County Clerk of the county of Shawano, do hereby certify that the following are the names and addresses of all persons for whom nomination papers have been filed in the office of the Secretary of State, as certified to me by said Secretary, and of all persons for whom nomination papers have been filed in my office, and who are entitled to be voted for at the primary election to be held in each election precinct of said county, on the fifteenth day of September, 1936.

DEMOCRATIC TICKET	REPUBLICAN TICKET
GOVERNOR Arthur W. Luck, Beaver Dam William D. Carroll, Prairie du Chien	GOVERNOR Alexander Wiley, 120 West Wilson Street, P.O. 112 North Bridge Street, Chippewa Falls
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Edward R. Corvus, Astigou	LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR John H. Chapelle, 1208 Ellis Avenue, Ashland
SECRETARY OF STATE Morton H. Krygler, 1446 South Layton Boulevard, Milwaukee	CLERK OF CIRCUIT COURT (None)
STATE TREASURER Robert K. Henry, Jefferson	DISTRICT ATTORNEY Joseph R. McCarthy, Shawano
ATTORNEY GENERAL James E. Flanagan, 1316 West Highland Avenue, Milwaukee	REGISTER OF DEEDS Anna Boyle, Shawano
REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS John R. Coleman, 801 Stargess East, Wausau	CLERK OF CIRCUIT COURT (None)
STATE SENATOR George R. Schaefer, Town of Green, P. O. R. L. Appleton	DISTRICT ATTORNEY Joseph R. McCarthy, Shawano
ASSEMBLYMAN Grover Molander, Wittenberg	REGISTER OF DEEDS Anna Boyle, Shawano
COUNTY CLERK C. W. Green, Elkhart	CLERK OF CIRCUIT COURT (None)
COUNTY TREASURER Wm. H. Meyer, Cecil	DISTRICT ATTORNEY Joseph R. McCarthy, Shawano
SHERIFF Louis H. Dunn, Shawano	REGISTER OF DEEDS Anna Boyle, Shawano
CORONER (None)	CLERK OF CIRCUIT COURT (None)
CLERK OF CIRCUIT COURT (None)	DISTRICT ATTORNEY Joseph R. McCarthy, Shawano
DISTRICT ATTORNEY Joseph R. McCarthy, Shawano	REGISTER OF DEEDS Anna Boyle, Shawano
REGISTER OF DEEDS Anna Boyle, Shawano	CLERK OF CIRCUIT COURT (None)
SURVEYOR (None)	DISTRICT ATTORNEY Joseph R. McCarthy, Shawano

Here is a facsimile of the 1936 Wisconsin election notice showing that Joseph R. McCarthy, then a young attorney in Shawano, ran on the Democratic ticket the first time he sought public office.

and all votes for either of them for any office, except a judicial office, given by the legislature or the people, shall be void." (Italics ours.)

McCarthy's term as Circuit Judge did not end until December, 1951. He ran for Senator in 1946—five years before his judicial term was to expire.

McCarthy defeated Robert M. La-Follette, Jr., for the Republican nomination by a vote of 207,935 to 202,557—a margin of 5,378 votes.

While the campaign was in progress, the Wisconsin Supreme Court was asked to bar McCarthy from the ballot because of the Wisconsin constitutional ban on judges running for political office during their term on the bench.

The Wisconsin Supreme Court concluded, however, that it had no jurisdiction in this case because it was a federal office that McCarthy was seeking in running for U.S. Senator. The Supreme Court made it clear, however, that if McCarthy were run-

ning for governor or another state office, his votes would have been thrown out and his candidacy disqualified.

In 1949 the State Board of Bar Commissioners, the official state body governing the conduct of lawyers, asked the Wisconsin Supreme Court to take disciplinary action against McCarthy for "violating the public policy of the State of Wisconsin, the Code of Judicial Ethics, his Oath of Office as Judge, and his Oath of Office as a Member of the Bar."

The unprecedented petition by the official state agency in this case which became known as *State of Wisconsin v. Joseph R. McCarthy*, had this to say:

"It is difficult to conceive of any conduct upon the part of a presiding judge which would bring judges into greater disrepute and contempt than the conduct of the defendant [McCarthy] challenged in this proceeding.

"The defendant [McCarthy], by

his conduct, chose to defy the rules of ethical conduct prescribed by the Constitution, the laws of the State of Wisconsin, and the members of the profession in order to attain a selfish personal advantage. (Italics ours.)

"The gratification of his ambition was in defiance of the declared policy and laws of Wisconsin . . ."

Continuing, the State Board of Bar Commissioners said:

"The breach of official trust and obligation is as great when applied to a candidate for the office of United States Senator as it would be if applied to one for governor of the state.

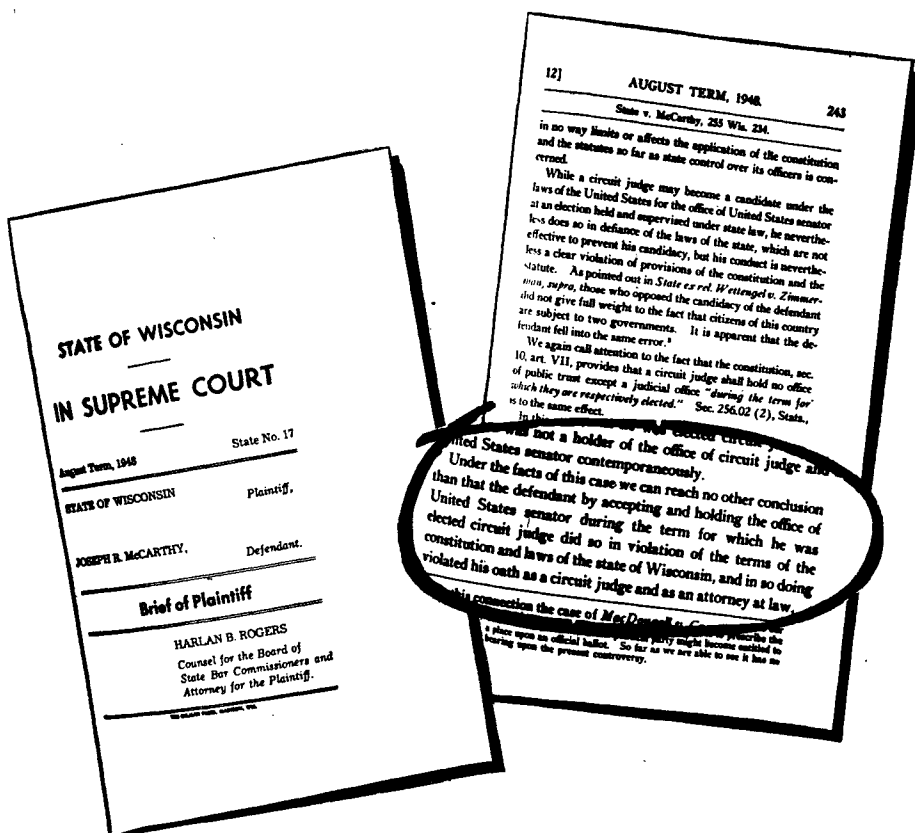
"In either situation, to have a judge passing upon the rights of litigants appearing before him and using his judicial position and power to influence votes for his candidacy and others of his political party, constituted a violation of the State Constitution and state laws and was in direct conflict with the duties and obligations of the trust which he assumed by his Oath of Office." (Italics ours.)

After studying the petition of the State Board of Bar Commissioners and McCarthy's reply, the Wisconsin Supreme Court, although deciding against disciplinary action, made this judgment of McCarthy's conduct:

"Under the facts of this case we can reach no other conclusion than that the defendant [McCarthy], by accepting and holding the office of United States Senator during the term for which he was elected Circuit Judge, did so in violation of the terms of the Constitution and laws of the State of Wisconsin, and in so doing violated his oath as a Circuit Judge and as an attorney of law."

State v. McCarthy
255 Wis. 234

McCarthy angrily demanded the resignation of the entire Board of Bar Commissioners because it dared to petition the Supreme Court for disciplinary action, but no one took this seriously. The branding of McCarthy as a lawbreaker and mocker of the Constitution he had sworn to uphold was the last official mark on McCarthy's career in Wisconsin as he moved on to the U.S. Senate. Before we turn to a study of McCarthy's career in the Senate we pause to examine briefly the story of his wartime service in the Marines.



Shown at the left is the brief filed against McCarthy by the State Board of Bar Commissioners asking the Wisconsin Supreme Court to take disciplinary action against McCarthy. Right above is an excerpt from the Supreme Court decision in *State of Wisconsin v. McCarthy* finding that McCarthy violated the constitution, the law, and his oath as a circuit judge and attorney.

Off to War



Some Notes on the Conflicting Stories of McCarthy's Service and the Decorations He Has Been Awarded

ONE OF McCarthy's favorite flourishes in winding up a speech is to recite an incident which he claims was a wartime experience in the Southwest Pacific. The point is never quite clear, but the story carries a powerful emotional impact for thousands whose lives have been touched by the tragedy of war.

As McCarthy tells it, it was his "task at night after we had lost a number of our boys in raids on enemy installations to sit in my dugout and write home to the young wives, the young mothers with the hope that the blow could be made to fall less heavily." The picture of McCarthy struggling over these letters in his shell-scarred dugout is an heroic one—but, like so much of the widely publicized McCarthy war record, there is considerable debate over whether the incident ever actually occurred.

For example, the official records of the U.S. Marines show that McCarthy's outfit, VMSB-235, lost altogether five officers and two men in its entire military tour in the South Pacific from January, 1943, to September, 1944. It hardly seems plausible that McCarthy could have written very many letters to young wives "at night after we had lost a number of our boys."

Much has been written and said about McCarthy's service record. McCarthy and his friends have one version. His opponents have another.

The facts are difficult to establish because many of the official records are not available to the public. As a matter of fact, McCarthy threatened the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air, John F. Floberg, with drastic reprisals early in 1953 when he thought Floberg had made some of the official data available. (See Page 57).

Perhaps no Wisconsin citizen entered military service in World War II with more press fanfare than McCarthy received. On June 6, 1942, McCarthy, then a circuit judge, showed up in Milwaukee and announced to the press that he wanted to join up as "a private, an officer, or anything else in the Marines." (Milwaukee Journal.) Even some of his friends say that he selected the Marine Corps as the branch of service offering the most political advantage. In a friendly appraisal of McCarthy in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Aug. 9, 1947, Jack Alexander said, "It was in the cards, too, that a young public official with a good war record would have a distinct edge with the voters . . . McCarthy asked his close political friends what branch of the service

they thought had more political appeal . . . The unanimous answer was the Marine Corps."

McCarthy's story of his military exploits has undergone several curious changes in the past eight years. Thus, after the war and his election to the Senate, McCarthy's biographical data in the *Congressional Directory* for the 80th Congress, his first term, stated that "in June of 1942 McCarthy enlisted in the Marine Corps as a *buck private* and was later commissioned." (Senators have an opportunity to write or approve the *Directory's* biographical data.)

Biographies in *Who's Who In America* are also presumed to have the approval of the individuals listed. McCarthy's biography in *Who's Who* says that he "served as Pvt., U.S. Marine Corps, 1942."

Actually, when McCarthy appeared in Milwaukee that June day of 1942 and told the newspapers he wanted to get into the Marines as a private or in any way he could be of use, he had two days earlier made formal application for an officer's commission. (Cited in *Milwaukee Journal*, June 8, 1952.) Official records show that he got his lieutenant's commission on July 29, 1942.

Of this much of his service record

there is little dispute: He was in training at Quantico from August to December, 1942. He spent three months on the Pacific coast and then shipped out for the Southwest Pacific. From here on the reports conflict.

'This Is Worth 50,000 Votes to Me'

The official records show that he was an intelligence officer. His campaign literature in 1946 hailed him as a "tail gunner." A public relations officer in McCarthy's squadron, Lt. P. T. Kimball, now of New York, told the *Milwaukee Journal* of one incident that helped in spreading the story back home that he was a "tail gunner."

"I remember a day when we were both at Munda," Kimball said, "when Joe's squadron was flying a 'milk run' to Bougainville. The job was bombing runways on old airfields to make sure the Japs didn't try to come back. It was dull duty, and the bored fliers decided to see how many flights they could make in a day. McCarthy, like other ground officers, joined in the fun to ride as tail gunner.

"As public relations officer, I wrote a form story about the 'record breaking day of bombing,' filled in the names of the men involved and sent them along slugged 'from an advance Marine base.' I forgot the whole thing till McCarthy came around with a handful of clippings from Wisconsin papers.

"'This is worth 50,000 votes to me,' McCarthy said. 'Come, have a drink on it.'"

The conservative Washington *Evening Star*, in a detailed story of his war record, said on Nov. 14, 1951, that McCarthy's "Pentagon record of Marine Corps service shows no notation of his having qualified for an

aerial gunner's wings or being credited with combat missions."

McCarthy has clung stoutly to his claim that he flew many missions as a tail-gunner. In his unsuccessful campaign for the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1944, a campaign pamphlet claimed "14 dive-bombing missions over Japanese positions." In his autobiographical sketch in the *Congressional Directory* of 1948 McCarthy claimed "17 official missions," but testifying in a legal proceeding in 1951, he said, "I was on 30 dive-bombing missions, plus liaison missions."

The "mission" question came up again in 1952 when McCarthy was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross and the Air Medal with four stars by the Navy. These are the medals furnished at the request of the applicant on a showing that he participated in a sufficient number of missions. The Air Medal is awarded for five missions and the DFC for 25.

According to Doris Fleeson, columnist for the Washington *Evening Star*, the armed services have handed out 1,310,422 Air Medals since World War II began and 157,974 DFCs.

McCarthy has denied that he had made application for the medals, but Miss Fleeson reported in 1952, after investigation in the Pentagon, that on Sept. 27, 1951, McCarthy supported "his request [for the awards] by what are said to be 'certified copies from his flight log book.'"

An interesting aftermath of the announcement of McCarthy's medals was the declaration of Leonard Burns, Milwaukee, who described himself as a "staunch Republican," that he was mailing his Distinguished Flying Cross and four air medals to McCarthy. Burns told the *Milwaukee Journal* that he was "disgusted" that McCarthy received the same awards that he had received for 30 torpedo bombing missions flown from the carrier *Hornet* in the Pacific.

In his letter to McCarthy, Burns asked if the Senator had threatened to expose someone in the Marine Corps "as being a Communist" in order to obtain the awards. "Joe," asked Burns, "was it necessary for you to apply for the medals? I never heard of anyone having to remind one of the various branches of the service that he was a hero and de-

serving of medals." Burns added that if McCarthy had really seen combat service he wouldn't "brag" about it. In replying to Burns, McCarthy seemed to concede he had applied for the medals when he said: "The rules provide how such awards shall be made, and there isn't any other way to do it." (*Associated Press dispatch in Wisconsin State Journal*)

Perhaps the most disputed part of McCarthy's service record is the "wound" he is supposed to have suffered during his tour of the Southwest Pacific. Some of his supporters adamantly insist that he was wounded and was awarded the Purple Heart. On Nov. 15, 1943, the *Appleton Post-Crescent* reported McCarthy "was wounded in one of the actions." The fact is he does not hold the Purple Heart. There is nothing in his record to show that he was wounded in action, according to information given the *Milwaukee Journal* by former Secretary of the Navy Dan Kimball who reviewed McCarthy's personnel file.

McCarthy denies a much publicized incident at Badger Village in Wisconsin when he was asked by some University veterans and their wives why he wore built-up shoes, which served to give him greater height. McCarthy is reported to have said that he wore the shoes because he was carrying "shrapnel in my leg." (*Quoted in Anderson and May: McCarthy, p. 65.*)

There is a disagreement among those who heard him about whether he said "10 pounds of shrapnel" or some other amount. There is no disagreement, however, that he attempted to create the impression that he had been wounded and that he specifically referred to the shrapnel in his leg. (*Milwaukee Journal, June 8, 1952.*)

On a TV program in May of 1952 in which he was interviewed by Jack Steele of the New York *Herald Tribune* this exchange took place:

STEELE: Were you wounded or weren't you?

MCCARTHY: Oh, yes. I had a leg badly smashed up, burned and broken. In fact, I got a citation from Nimitz based on that. Do I have shrapnel in my leg? No. I wasn't shot. It was an airplane accident.

'Liar'

"In the other corner is the Junior Senator from Wisconsin, the spy-catcher, who has yet to catch a spy, the 'warrior' given to boasting about non-existent shrapnel in his leg, the only major politician in the country who can be labeled 'liar' without fear of libel."

THE ALSOPS
New York *Herald-Tribune*
Dec. 3, 1953

STUART SHAFTEL (program moderator): Your file doesn't show a Purple Heart.

MCCARTHY: Now, just a second, my good friend. The files show—my file shows the complete record of McCarthy. It shows that I got a citation from Adm. Nimitz in connection with a badly injured leg. Now I don't claim that I'm a hero, you understand. I think there's nothing wonderful about being injured.

McCarthy offered to accompany Steele to the Marine Corps headquarters and go through the file with him. He never made good on that offer. Instead, McCarthy sent Steele photostatic copies of the Nimitz citation. The citation says that "although suffering from a severe leg injury, he [McCarthy] refused to be hospitalized and continued to carry out his duties as an intelligence officer in a highly efficient manner." It also commended him for "meritorious and efficient performance of duty as observer and rear gunner of a dive bomber attached to a Marine scout bombing squadron operating in the Solomon islands area from Sept. 1 to Dec. 31, 1943."

One of the Most Debated Wounds of World War II

The letter requesting this citation originated in McCarthy's outfit and was dated Feb. 11, 1944. It is signed by McCarthy's commanding officer, Maj. E. E. Munn, though, according to the records, Maj. Munn had finished his duty as commanding officer of the outfit on Feb. 10, 1944. Maj. Munn's letter contained this language:

"On 22 June 1943 Capt. McCarthy suffered a broken and burned foot and leg. He, however, refused to be hospitalized and continued doing an excellent job as intelligence officer, working on crutches. (Cited in the *Milwaukee Journal*, June 8, 1952.)

An examination of McCarthy's service records reveals that on June 22, 1943, the day he received the "wound," McCarthy was a great many miles away from any area in which the enemy was firing guns in anger. He was aboard the Navy's seaplane tender *Chandeleur* as an "officer passenger" along with the

rest of his outfit being transported to the war area.

On that day the *Chandeleur* crossed the equator, and the usual shipboard hi-jinks marking the event occurred. One of McCarthy's shipmates, who kept a diary of the trip, was interviewed by the *Milwaukee Journal*. He requested that his name not be used, saying, "I'm not in favor of four-flushing, but I still like McCarthy."

"Things were so quiet [on the trip]," he said, "that the skipper, Commander Albert K. Norehouse, gave the enlisted men permission to have a mild 'shellback' ceremony on June 22, the day we crossed the equator. . . .

"McCarthy was nearly through his initiation when he was hurt. He was going down a ladder with a bucket fastened to his foot when he slipped. His other foot caught on a lower rung—an iron pipe a few inches from the steel bulkhead—and he fell backward, injuring his foot."

McCarthy's friend went to the sick bay to see how "Joe was getting along."

"They had decided that three bones were broken," he said, "and I watched them put a cast on his foot. It was either then, or that night when we were drinking together, that Joe said to me, 'Don't tell Maybelle [McCarthy's girl] I broke my foot in this silly way.'"

"Joe kept going despite the cast, too. My diary shows we were quite drunk together three nights later and he did what work there was for him to do. But an intelligence officer in a squadron like his was mainly concerned with talking to pilots back from strikes, so Joe had little to do until his outfit began action against the enemy. And that was *ten weeks after he was hurt.*"

This version of McCarthy's "war wound" was checked by the then Secretary of the Navy Dan Kimball with official records in the Pentagon. McCarthy's personnel file shows no evidence of any wound—only the prank injury of June 22, 1943, which occurred ten weeks before his squadron went into action.

In August of 1944, McCarthy returned to Wisconsin, where he was

Seeing through McCarthy

"In the long run, the American people can be trusted to see through a man like McCarthy, and they will not entrust great responsibilities to those who identify themselves with him. Once upon a time a great American said, 'You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time.' We have sufficient confidence in American democracy to believe that is still so."

The Christian Century
Nov. 7, 1951

a candidate for the Republican nomination for U. S. Senator while still in military service.

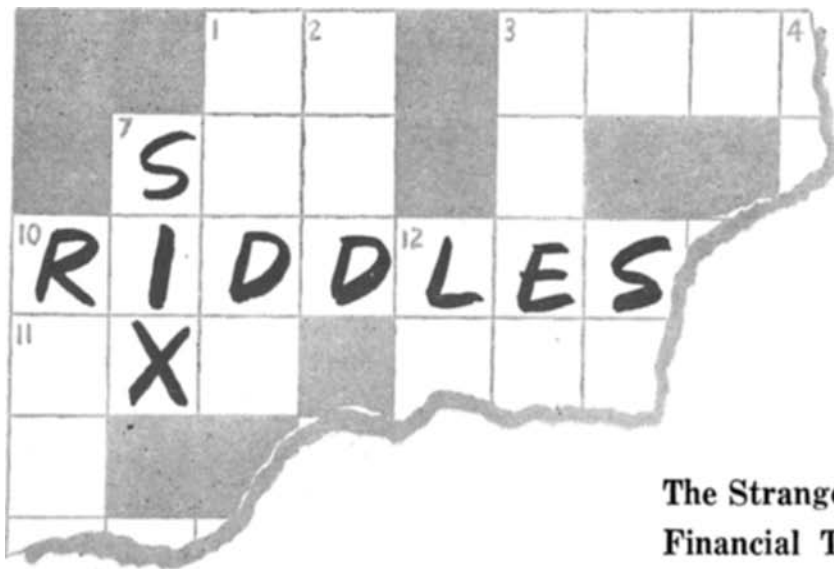
After his defeat in the primary, he went back to the Marine base at El Centro, Calif., and alternated his duty between there and the base at El Toro. On Oct. 19, 1944, he asked for a four months' leave of absence to return to Wisconsin and his judicial duties. The request was rejected, but he was told he could resign. On Dec. 11, 1944, the man who had told the *Milwaukee Journal* on June 4, 1942, "I want to join for the duration," handed in his resignation.

Still ahead of American forces in the Pacific were these bloody dates:

Feb. 19, 1945: The Marines suffered 3,650 casualties in the first 48 hours as the struggle for Iwo Jima got underway.

April 1, 1945: The battle of Okinawa began.

Back in Wisconsin, McCarthy launched a different kind of battle. More than a year before the election in which the people of Wisconsin would pick a U.S. Senator, a "Fighting Marine" and "Marine Tail Gunner" had already started the campaign against Sen. Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.—a campaign which was to exploit his career as a wounded Marine for all it was worth. Actually, McCarthy's record in military service was neither more nor less heroic than that of countless other Americans; it was the exaggerations and distortions, for political purposes, which drew widespread criticism and resulted in a variety of conflicting stories.



The Strange Story of McCarthy's Complex Financial Transactions and Tax Troubles

NEXT to his sensational charges of Communist influence in government (analyzed in subsequent chapters), the phase of McCarthy's public career which has attracted most attention is the singular story of his financial operations. It is a story of tax troubles, market speculation, over-extended bank loans, investigations by the Senate, the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, and the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and a curious capacity of the Senator's for making thousands of dollars quickly in fields in which he was active as a Senator.

The quest for the documented facts leads the investigator over many trails, but perhaps the simplest starting point is the celebrated Lustron case. This case, along with other aspects of McCarthy's conduct, was thoroughly investigated by the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Committee on Rules and Administration, which encountered but could not solve six riddles in McCarthy's hectic financial operations.

The Subcommittee conducted its inquiry pursuant to a resolution introduced Aug. 6, 1951, by the then Sen. William Benton, Connecticut Democrat. The resolution called for an investigation "to determine whether expulsion proceedings should be instituted against Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy." Its final report was signed by two Democrats, Sens. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Missouri, chairman, and Carl Hayden, Arizona,

and one Republican, Sen. Robert C. Hendrickson, New Jersey. Much of the material in this and the succeeding chapters is based on that report, which will be referred to as the *Hennings Report*.

It was Feb. 28, 1949, that McCarthy held a press conference in his Senate office and distributed a 94-page booklet entitled *How to Own Your Own Home Now*. The publisher was the Lustron Corp. of Columbus, O., and some 40 pages in the middle of the book comprised an article by McCarthy.

McCarthy said he had written that article and edited the rest of the booklet. He declined to tell what his fee had been.

"It's embarrassingly small," he said. "Besides, I have to split it with 10 people who helped me."

The Milwaukee Journal
Mar. 1, 1949

But what McCarthy said that day did not agree with what he said later. When he filed his 1948 Wisconsin income tax return, he showed that he had received \$10,000 from the Lustron Corp. in royalties for the booklet.

All this could seem a simple matter: a Senator wrote an article and received \$10,000 for it. But the official records show it was not that simple.

Consider first the Lustron Corp. It was a manufacturer of prefabricated steel houses, located in Columbus, O., and headed by Carl Strandlund. Lustron was financed largely

by the government's Reconstruction Finance Corp., which made seven loans totalling \$37,500,000 to Lustron between June 30, 1947, and August 29, 1949. In the period of the 80th Congress (1947 and 1948) "McCarthy was a member of the Banking and Currency Committee, which had jurisdiction over both the RFC and the housing agencies, as well as the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, which Committee was also interested in some of the Lustron operations."

Hennings Report
Page 15

The Wisconsin Senator had maneuvered his way into control of a joint Congressional committee on housing that conducted extensive hearings in 1947, and he had announced that he would produce a book on that work. Thus far, we have a housing firm operating on huge government loans and a Senator studying housing and anxious to produce a book about it.

Out of McCarthy's study came suggestions for the Housing Act of 1948 that gave the RFC \$50,000,000 for loans to manufacturers of prefabricated houses like Lustron. "This provision," Senate investigators found, "gave the RFC additional funds and authority to make its third Lustron loan of \$7,000,000 on Feb. 14, 1949, as well as the subsequent loans. The Act also provided for an increase in the salary of the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Administration."

A few days after the bill became law, McCarthy asked Raymond Foley, the Administrator whose salary was increased under the new law, to help Miss Jean Kerr, then a member of the Senator's staff and now his wife, with research on a housing manuscript. Foley and his staff co-operated, and the article that was to become part of the Lustron booklet began to take form.

Meanwhile Lustron's president, Carl Strandlund, had been trying to win friends and influence Congressmen to think well of Lustron. He had first met McCarthy at a race track. Strandlund told the Senate investigators May 14, 1952. McCarthy, he swore, was "a complete stranger" to him when the Senator came over to his box at the Laurel race track in September or October, 1948. Strandlund cashed a check "in the hundreds" for McCarthy that day. It was shortly afterward, in October, 1948, according to Strandlund, that McCarthy proposed to sell Lustron a manuscript on housing. The paper was "not yet in publishable form," Strandlund was told, but nevertheless McCarthy put the price at \$10,000. Without consulting his public relations advisors and other officers of his firm, Strandlund agreed to the price.

He wasn't happy about the transaction, he told Senate investigators. "It scared me some," he testified. "I made it a point never to confer, to discuss, to contact or concern myself with Sen. McCarthy from that point on."

The Senators pressed Strandlund about his purpose, and the Lustron promoter told them that "it was a 50-50 deal" involving purchase of material on housing and McCarthy's name as the author.

But Clyde M. Foraker, of Columbus, O., who later became receiver for the defunct Lustron firm, bluntly called the deal "unethical," and added:

"I'll bet he wouldn't have gotten the \$10,000 if he hadn't been a Senator."

Baltimore Sun
June 16, 1950

Sworn testimony placed before the Senate investigators showed that McCarthy desperately needed Lustron's \$10,000 because Matt Schuh, head of the Appleton (Wis.) State Bank, had written McCarthy that state bank

examiners were demanding his loan account be cleared up. Said the Senate Committee:

"To appreciate the urgency of the hasty negotiations with Lustron to obtain a \$10,000 fee on Nov. 12, 1948, it is essential that we consider Sen. McCarthy's over-extended debt position at the Appleton State Bank, which became quite desperate during September through November of 1948. Although the Bank had notified him that it was essential that his total bank debt of \$72,943.96 be reduced, or his collateral liquidated, Sen. McCarthy did not use the Lustron fee for this purpose but bought stock with it which he pledged as additional collateral for the loan. The Lustron check for \$10,000, dated Nov. 12, 1948, issued to 'Joseph R. McCarthy,' was endorsed in blank over to Wayne Hummer & Co., the

Senator's broker, to purchase additional stock of the Seaboard Airlines Railroad.

"It may or may not be significant that the Seaboard Airlines Railroad was also financed by the RFC and at the time indebted to RFC in excess of \$15,000,000. Our inquiry developed that during October of 1948, Sen. McCarthy purchased 1,500 shares of Seaboard common stock at an average price of \$22 per share; that this railroad had been in receivership since 1930, came out of reorganization in 1946 to be operated under a voting trust arrangement through April 1, 1951, and that the Lustron fee was used to increase McCarthy's holdings to 1,950 shares . . . While it is not known whether Sen. McCarthy's information with respect to this stock had anything to do with his position as a United States Sen-

Here, below, is a photostat of the \$10,000 check received by McCarthy from the Lustron Corp. for his pamphlet on housing. Above it is a photostat showing a portion of McCarthy's 1948 income tax return in which, contrary to a public statement he made, he acknowledges that he kept all the money for himself.

The image shows two photostats. The top one is a portion of McCarthy's 1948 income tax return, Form 104, showing Gross Income of \$10,000.00, with deductions of \$12,570.00 and \$1,911.00, resulting in a net amount of \$5,519.00. The bottom photostat is a check from Lustron Corporation, dated 11-12-48, payable to Joseph R. McCarthy for \$10,000.00. The check is signed by Carl Strandlund, President of Lustron Corporation, and is cashed at The Ohio National Bank.

Line	Description	Amount
1	GROSS INCOME (Wife's income must be reported on separate return—Form 104 or 104a)	\$ 10,000.00
2	DEDUCTIONS	\$ 12,570.00
3	TOTAL	\$ 1,911.00
4	NET AMOUNT	\$ 5,519.00

Date	Check No.	Amount	Pay To The Order Of
11-12-48	4075 A	\$ 10,000.00	Joseph R. McCarthy

ator, it is interesting to note that Senator McCarthy suggested speculation in Seaboard stock to others."

*Hennings Committee Report
Page 17*

The reference was to a letter of Mar. 10, 1949, in which McCarthy wrote John Price, a California broker, telling of his own investments in Seaboard and stating "I am enclosing herewith letter which I today received from the president of the Seaboard Air Line (*sic*) Railroad," which appeared to indicate some special relationship with that official.

In 1951, McCarthy sold 1,000 shares of Seaboard for a net profit of \$35,614.75. The Appleton Bank returned 700 shares which it no longer required as collateral when he paid up his loan.

In concluding its report on the Lustron deal, the Senate Committee asked these questions in its *Report*:

"Are there other instances where Sen. McCarthy received some consideration from persons or agencies that he was in a position to assist or hurt in his official position as a U. S. Senator?

"How can Sen. McCarthy justify acceptance of a \$10,000 fee from Lustron which, in effect, was a fee being paid out of public funds at a time when Lustron's continued operations and financing depended entirely upon the RFC, and which agency, in turn, was dependent upon the Congress and, more particularly, the Banking and Currency Committee, of which he was a member, for its continued authority and operation?

"Did Sen. McCarthy take advantage of Lustron's sensitive position and its need for continued government financing to induce its president, Carl Strandlund, to pay a fee, set by him at \$10,000, for a manuscript which was neither finished or in publishable form?

"Was there any connection between Sen. McCarthy's recommendations of government aid for pre-fab manufacturers and his subsequent contacts with Lustron, which culminated in his receiving \$10,000 for the sale of his manuscript?

"Was there any relationship between Sen. McCarthy's position

as a member of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee and his receipt of confidential information relating to the stock of the Seaboard Airlines Railroad, which was indebted to the RFC for sums in excess of \$15,000,000?

"Does Sen. McCarthy consider that his requests for the active assistance of Housing and Home Finance Administration in the preparation of a housing manuscript which he intended to sell, after he had recommended legislation to increase the salary of its administrator, to be ethical?"

*Hennings Report
Pages 18-19*

Sen. McCarthy declined to answer the Senate Committee's questions or to discuss these transactions in any way. He refused to testify before the Senate Committee investigating his fitness to serve in the Senate, although he has contended on scores of occasions that witnesses summoned before his own Committee must be presumed to be guilty if they refuse to testify on the ground that their evidence might incriminate them.

The 'Pepsi-Cola Line'

The \$10,000 fee from the Lustron Corp. and the extremely profitable transaction in Seaboard Airlines were not the only help that McCarthy received from men whose business affairs involved his official duties. A Pepsi-Cola official also helped Mc-

Carthy financially at the time when the Appleton State Bank, prodded by Wisconsin examiners, was worrying him about his bank debts.

McCarthy was a member of a sugar subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee early in 1947. He insisted that sugar rationing be ended. Washington newsmen took to calling the new Senator "the Pepsi-Cola kid." The Pepsi-Cola firm, seeking to expand against big competitors, wanted a lot more sugar than it was being allowed. McCarthy's claim that there was no shortage of sugar didn't square with official reports of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, which advocated retention of controls. But that didn't deter the Senator.

While McCarthy was taking that tack on sugar controls, he was also facing the problem that his Appleton bank was pressing him for money. On Nov. 28, 1947, the bank president wrote him. Instead of the usual "Dear Joe," this letter began "Dear Senator." It said:

"I am again compelled to write you with reference to your \$53,000 loan which is held by the bank, secured by collateral. You no doubt are familiar with the quotations on this collateral and that the margin is under 20%, which you will recall was the margin agreed upon when we made the loan.

"The directors have suggested that I take steps to sell the collateral and pay the loan, but before taking such steps, I thought because of past relationships I would write you first and see if there were any suggestions you might have. If you could arrange to have this loan reduced by between \$15,000 and \$20,000, I am quite sure that I could convince the directors to continue to carry the loan. I thought possibly *with your contacts* it might be possible for you to make such arrangements. . ."
(*Italics ours*)

*Hennings Report,
Exhibit 94, p. 245*

The Senator had "contacts," and it was "possible to make such arrangements." Within a week he had discussed the matter with Russell M. Arundel, Pepsi-Cola lobbyist, and Arundel had endorsed McCarthy's note for \$20,000; that note was for-



Herblock in The Washington Post

"I Have Here in My Hand—Oops"

JOSEPH P. MCCARTHY
MEMORANDUM

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C.

September 29, 1950

GEORGE GREELY
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Savings Department
National Savings and Trust Company
Washington, D. C.

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to authorize Miss Jean P. Kerr of my staff
to withdraw \$10,000 from my savings account for me.

Following is Miss Kerr's signature:

Jean F. Kerr

Sincerely yours,
Joe McCarthy
JOE MCCARTHY

MCC:K

Deposited With M. O.

The Kings National Bank
Washington, D. C.
MAIN OFFICE

ALL checks as directed

	DOLLARS	CENTS
Washington, D. C.	16	00
Chicago, Ill.	10	00
Los Angeles, Calif.	10	00
Greenwich, Conn.	1	00
Buffalo, N. Y.	25	00
Grotham, N. Y.	20	00
Blackwell, Okla.	5	00
Riverside, Calif.	5	00
Bridgewater, Conn.	25	00
New York City	5	00
Cambridge, Mass.	10	00
Boston, Mass.	5	00
North Tarrytown, N. Y.	5	00
Colo. Wyoming	25	00
San Diego, Calif.	5	00
Houston, Texas	10	00
Brooklyn, N. Y.	15	00
Phoenix, Ariz.	2	00
U. S. Postal Order	5	00
Lawston, Maine	5	00
TOTAL	207	00

FOR THE CREDIT OF:
Name SENATOR JOE MCCARTHY, SPECIAL ACCOUNT
Address 251 Senate Office Bldg.
Date Sept. 19, 1952

The exhibits on this page indicate the range of McCarthy's financial operations. The letter above authorizes Jean F. Kerr, then his secretary and now his wife, to withdraw \$10,000 from his savings account at her pleasure. The two exhibits on the right show the wide-ranging character of McCarthy's bank deposits, the one at upper right showing small deposits from a variety of individuals deposited to McCarthy's special account, while the item below shows the deposit of \$10,500 to McCarthy's savings account. Both accounts were studied by the Hennings Committee. See Page 17.

SAVINGS DEPARTMENT

Bank No. 62950

To be placed to the credit of

SEN. JOE MCCARTHY

IN

NATIONAL SAVINGS / TRUST COMPANY

19__

	Dollars	Cents
Currency	500	00
Coins		
Checks, as follows:		
D.C.	7000	00
Mich.	3000	00
	10500	00
Total		

76
N.S. & T. CO.
SEP 7 1950

80 850 4M 4-49

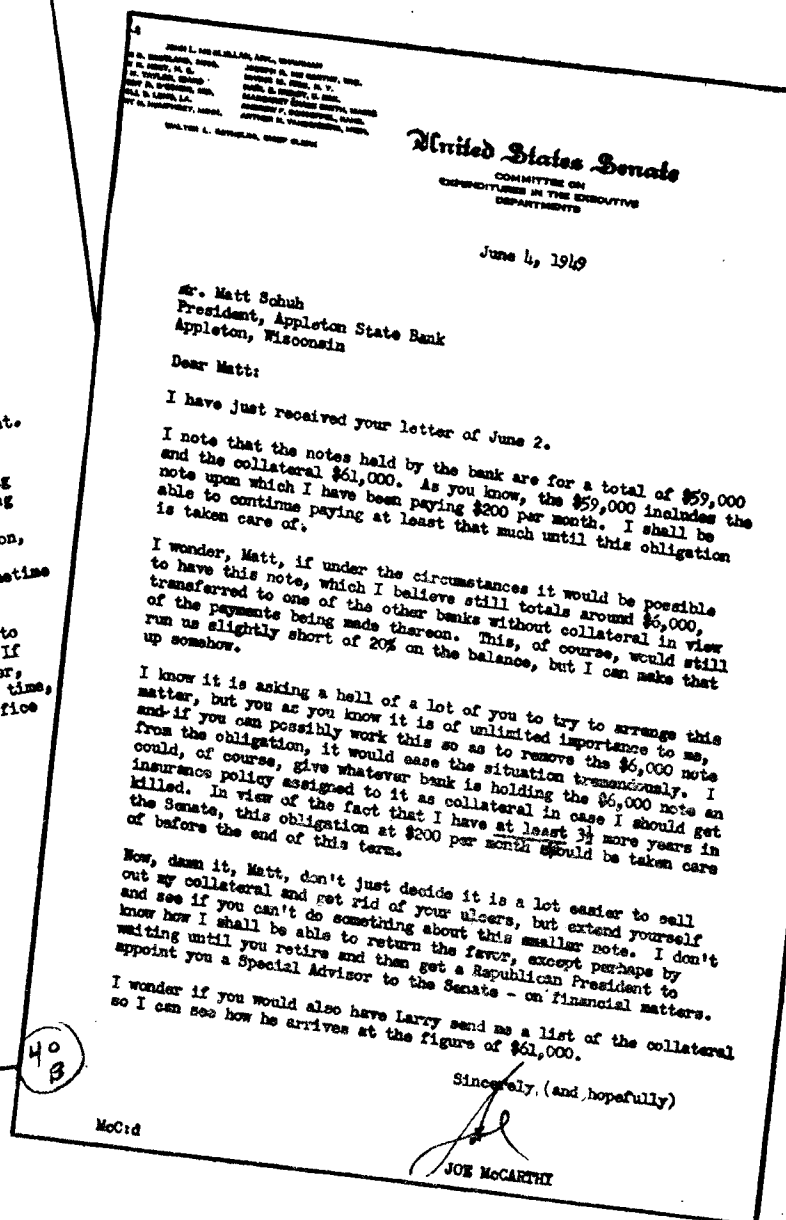
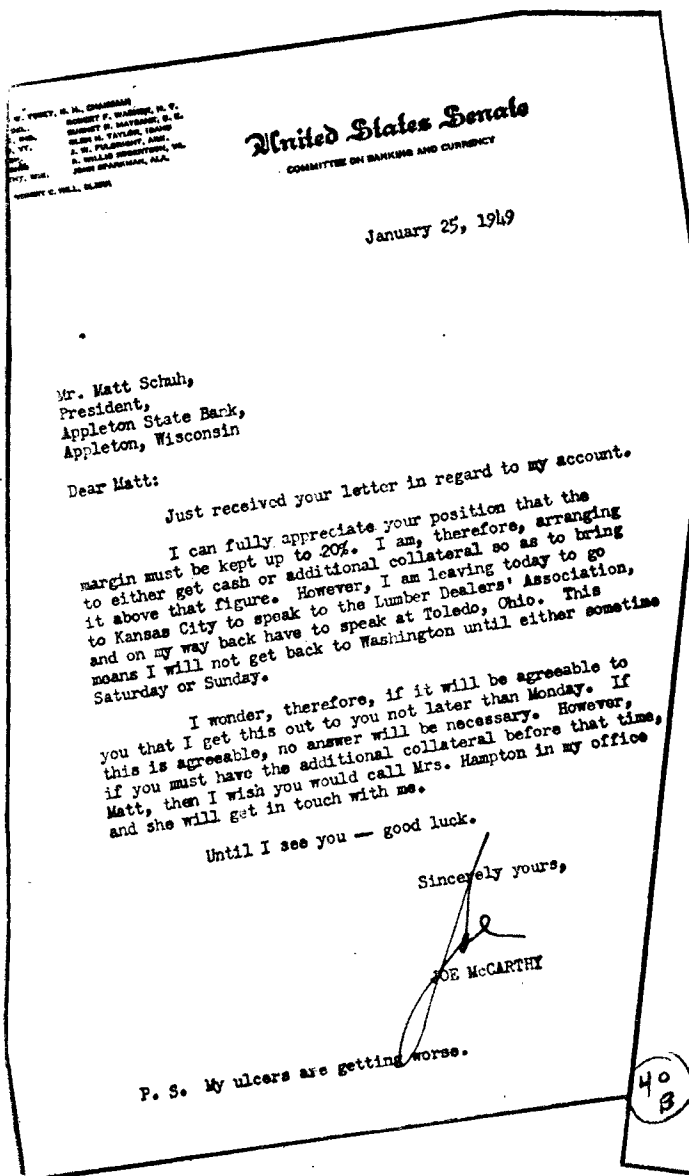
warded to the Appleton bank. The transaction led the Senate Committee to ask:

"Was it proper for Sen. McCarthy, while serving on the Banking and Currency Committee and its Subcommittee on Sugar, to seek and accept the endorsement on his Bank Note for \$20,000 by a person vitally interested in sugar legislation?

"Was there any relationship be-

tween Arundel's endorsement of Sen. McCarthy's \$20,000 note on or about Dec. 8, 1947, and Sen. McCarthy's special appearance to interrogate the Army Secretary on Dec. 9, 1947, before the Committee on Appropriations regarding the Army's purchase of Cuban sugar, which purchase had been previously criticized by Pepsi-Cola?

"Did Sen. McCarthy's over-extended debt position with the Appleton State Bank and the Bank's constant



The letters above and left show how McCarthy's wide-ranging financial operations, involving a number of stock market deals, kept him peppering the president of his home town bank for extension and transfer of his loans. The Hennings

Committee, in its Report, raised the question, among others, "Whether loan or other transactions Sen. McCarthy had with the Appleton State Bank or others involved violations of the tax and banking laws?"

McCarthy had diverted to his personal use funds given to him for his public efforts.

The Senator solicited money from industrialists and others who told him they believed in what he was doing and would like to help. Some or all of such contributions, according to the Senate inquiry, appeared to have been deposited in a special account which McCarthy opened May 5, 1950, in the Riggs National Bank

of Washington. (See photostat, p. 15.)

On Sept. 7, 1950, he opened another account in the National Savings and Trust Co. of Washington. His first deposit was \$10,500. It included \$500 in currency, a \$7,000 check on another District of Columbia bank, and a \$3,000 check on a Michigan bank. Senate investigators established that the two checks came from Mr. and Mrs. Alvin M. Bentley. Bentley was a former foreign service

officer who is now a Michigan Congressman. He told Senate investigators that he lent the \$3,000 to McCarthy on a five year note, expecting that the money would be used for McCarthy's efforts to show that there were Communists in the Truman Administration. The investigators did not learn whether Mrs. Bentley's check was a loan to McCarthy.

Three weeks after McCarthy open-

ed the account with the Bentley checks, he authorized withdrawal of \$10,000 by Miss Jean Kerr, who used the money to buy a draft to Henry J. Van Straten. Van Straten was an old friend of McCarthy and former county superintendent of schools at Appleton, with an office in the courthouse where McCarthy had sat as a judge. Van Straten deposited the check at Wayne Hummer & Co., the Appleton broker that handled McCarthy's security dealings, and proceeded to use it to buy soy beans for future delivery.

Within several months, the transaction had produced a \$17,500 profit. Wayne Hummer & Co. paid Van Straten \$10,000 from the account. That check was endorsed to McCarthy, and in turn was deposited in his personal account at the Riggs bank in Washington.

*Hennings Report
Page 21*

The Senate Committee couldn't decide whether McCarthy had been a partner of Van Straten or whether the school administrator, in a burst of good fortune, had been a successful buyer of soy beans when his previous record in stock purchases had shown frequent losses. Nor was there any explanation of why McCarthy opened a special account, let Van Straten use \$10,000 for a month, and then put the money in his personal checking account.

Van Straten repeatedly declined to give the Committee information needed to provide an accurate picture of the transactions, and McCarthy, of course, refused to discuss this or any of the other of his stock-market deals. The Committee could not refrain from pointing out that Van Straten, trading on his own, lost heavily in 1949 and 1950. "In contrast to these losses totaling \$7,043.27, a profit of \$17,354.50 was made between Oct. 3, 1950, and Jan. 2, 1951, on the transactions financed by Sen. McCarthy with money obtained from the Bentleys."

*Hennings Report
Page 22*

The Committee raised these basic questions:

"Why would Senator McCarthy borrow money for his fight against communism, as indicated by Mr. Al-

vin Bentley, the source of \$3,000 of the \$10,000 involved, for the purpose of depositing it in a savings account?

"Was the \$7,000 obtained from Mrs. Bentley on the same date also to aid Sen. McCarthy in his alleged anti-communistic fight?

"Was the \$3,657.00 obtained from Mrs. Bentley in March 1951, and deposited by Sen. McCarthy in his general account on Mar. 28, 1951, for the same purpose and, if so, why was it deposited in his general account?

"Did Sen. McCarthy give Mrs. Bentley notes for the monies obtained?

"Why did Sen. McCarthy give Mr. Alvin Bentley a five-year non-interest-bearing note for \$3,000, when Mr. Bentley was willing to donate that amount and did it have any bearing with respect to the payment of future income taxes?

"If Sen. McCarthy obtained at least \$3,000 of the \$10,000 involved, as reported by Mr. Bentley, for his anti-communistic fight, was not this money, in a sense, a trust fund?

"Was the \$10,000 Van Straten commodity speculation actually for the benefit of Sen. McCarthy, or a partnership account?

"Why would Sen. McCarthy speculate with funds advanced to him for his anti-communistic drive, or loan such funds to a friend for speculative purposes, particularly when the friend's only experience in the commodity market was limited and unsuccessful?

"Did Sen. McCarthy have confidential information with respect to the trend of the soybean future market? (Just prior to the transaction in question, the Commodity Exchange Authority of the Department of Agriculture conducted an investigation of alleged soybean market manipulation involving, among others, a number of Chinese traders.)

"Was the \$10,000 Wayne Hummer & Co. check, dated Nov. 27, 1950, which Van Straten endorsed over to Sen. McCarthy a return of the original investment and, if so, why was it deposited in Sen. McCarthy's general account?"

McCarthy resolved none of these questions. There were unanswered questions about the special account

at the Riggs bank, too. Deposits in it consisted largely of stacks of checks or money orders. There were 62 checks totalling \$1,392.20 in a deposit of May 11, 1950, for example, and 63 more checks totalling \$1,312 five days later.

*Hennings Report
Page 23*

A Threat to Sue— And Then Silence

Investigators learned that there were also major increases in the bank deposits of Ray Kiermas, McCarthy's administrative assistant, that appear to coincide with contributions to the McCarthy effort. The Senate Committee Report said:

"Even though Sen. McCarthy has refused to cooperate with the Subcommittee, the list of the payees of these checks is not being included in this report—lest it be said that an attempt was being made to expose Sen. McCarthy's method of operations and his informants. However, at least without explanation, no connection could be established between many of the disbursements from this account and any possible anti-communist campaign, including, for example, a check to the Collector of Internal Revenue for \$73.80 on Oct. 2, 1950, at a time when Sen. McCarthy's Riggs general account appears to have been overdrawn. . .

"It is of possible significance that the deposits to Sen. McCarthy's general account at the Riggs National Bank and the deposits to the account of his Administrative Assistant, Ray Kiermas, at the same Bank, increased contemporaneously with the advent of the 'public phase' of Sen. McCarthy's 'fight' to expose communists and communist treason in government."

	McCarthy		Kiermas
	Regular	Special	
1949	-----\$31,260.06		\$11,194.70
1950	-----34,171.32	\$15,428.52	26,526.90
1951	-----34,897.10	2,591.75	27,587.63
1952	-----27,851.68	2,712.70	19,000.00

*Hennings Report
Page 26*

Kiermas has been with McCarthy ever since the Senator went to Washington, and until he was married the Senator lived in Kiermas' home.

Mrs. Kiermas was on McCarthy's payroll, too. The Senate investigators reported that they would have liked to ask whether Mr. and Mrs. Kiermas had independence of action when they provided security for some of McCarthy's loans, and whether their employment was in return for political and financial support.

For a time it appeared that Kiermas might act on the implications of the Senate Committee's comments. When the Committee Report was issued, there were not sufficient copies to meet the public demand. As Republican associates of McCarthy took over control of the Senate, there was no authorization of an additional printing. Americans for Democratic Action, an independent organization, reprinted the *Report*. Kiermas promptly indicated he might sue the organization.

With McCarthy at his side, he announced that he would hold ADA responsible for "false and libelous material." ADA officials announced that they would welcome a suit by McCarthy, and that they would waive the defense that the Senate Report was a privileged document. Kiermas had seemed so confident, and McCarthy so eager to support his aide, that a court action seemed probable. But Kiermas went back into McCarthy's inner office, and McCarthy went off in another direction, and they said no more about suing ADA.

On another occasion Kiermas flatly refused to answer questions regarding the special bank accounts. On Apr. 7, 1953, McCarthy's aide was summoned to give a deposition in Drew Pearson's \$5,100,000 damage action against McCarthy and eight other persons. As the *Baltimore Sun* reported Apr. 8, 1953, Kiermas said "he had no knowledge of what was done with contributions McCarthy received from various sources after he had charged in 1950 that the government was heavily infested with Communists." Questioned "at length about his own purported financial transactions, Kiermas on advice of counsel refused to answer."

Once again McCarthy had avoided official examination just as completely as other men use the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution to avoid answering questions they prefer not to answer.

McCarthy's Brushes With The Tax Collector

Sen. McCarthy began his stock market adventures four years before he went to the Senate, while he was a young circuit judge in Appleton. He went into the market with \$2,200 in 1942, using a 40% margin account with Wayne Hummer & Co. in his home town. The Senate investigation found that "supported by sensational advances in security prices, he was enabled to build up his initial investment to such substantial proportions that in 1943 he realized a net profit of \$40,561.67."

*Hennings Committee Report
Page 27*

Almost no one knew of that profit at the time. When McCarthy filed his state income tax return for 1943, he didn't mention it. Instead, from the Marine Air Station at El Toro, Calif., where he was then on active duty, he submitted a statement stapled to a tax form. The statement read:

"During the entire year of 1943 I was serving in the armed forces of the United States, during which time I spent no time in Wisconsin. I had no property in the state and received no income from within the state (having waived collection of my sal-

ary as Circuit Judge). Therefore, I assume it is unnecessary under the present laws to file a return. If you do not so understand the law I shall be glad to file a return."

A local tax collector, knowing that the young judge had gone into the Marine Corps and that his service pay was tax exempt, could understandably believe that McCarthy had no other income. Most men in service had none. But McCarthy knew that he had netted \$40,561.67 on the sales of stocks, and had received dividends of \$1,293 for a total taxable income of \$41,854.67. Not only did he know about that money, but he used much of it for further stock deals after he returned to the West Coast from his Pacific service with the Marines.

McCarthy didn't mention the matter to tax authorities then, or after coming back to his seat as a judge and going on to win the 1946 Senate election in Wisconsin. It was not until Feb. 20, 1947, that the Wisconsin tax assessor began action to collect McCarthy's 1943 taxes.

On Oct. 3, 1944, McCarthy had written J. L. Tibbetts, Assessor of Incomes at Appleton, concluding: "Will you please send the necessary blanks so that I may file my state income tax return for 1943?" This seemed to indicate that he intended to report the 1943 income, but the record shows no further correspondence until 1947, after the federal government announced on Feb. 13 that it had assessed him an additional \$3,500 on his income for 1943.

On Feb. 20, 1947, Tibbetts wrote McCarthy, who was now in the U.S. Senate, "The Department now has knowledge that you had income for the year 1943 other than pay for military service." The tax official instructed McCarthy to file a return for that year.

McCarthy replied Mar. 13, 1947, asserting that it was his understanding of the law that he need not file, but that he would do so if the Department did not agree. "I am forwarding you a brief on what I consider the law," he said.

On Apr. 8, Tibbetts replied, saying the brief had not been received. McCarthy's retort was that the brief must have been lost in the mails. In its place he sent a memorandum

Communist Plot in The Wisconsin Government



Herblock in The Washington Post

claiming that though he was a Wisconsin circuit judge on leave in 1943, he was not a resident of the state that year.

On Apr. 24, Tibbetts wrote McCarthy: "I am advised by the legal division that it is of the opinion that you were a resident of Wisconsin in the year 1943 and therefore required to file a return of your income for that year with the Wisconsin Department of Taxation."

McCarthy was given a 30-day deadline to file and pay. On May 5 he objected to the 30-day deadline, calling it "arbitrary in the extreme." Finally, however, he paid a tax of \$2,459.54 and \$218.32 interest.

It is a curious fact that although he was out of the state and the country a large part of 1942 and 1944, McCarthy did not claim non-residence for those years, **but only for 1943—the year he made his \$40,561 killing in the stock market.** In 1944, when he was a candidate for U.S. Senator while still in military service, McCarthy was most anxious to claim Wisconsin residence.

McCarthy was back in the states late in 1944, and soon was playing the market again. He deposited \$11,250 with a California broker in October and his 1944 tax returns show that as a returned Marine, he was a busy investor. And when he left the Marine Corps in January, 1945—seven months before the war ended—he went back to Appleton for a new round of market deals.

On Feb. 13, 1945, the Appleton State Bank loaned McCarthy, again a judge, \$1,800 with which he opened a checking account. On July 13, it loaned him \$50,086 and five days later there was still another loan of \$23,876. McCarthy also withdrew \$15,960 from his account with his broker, Wayne Hummer & Co., and this went with the bank's \$73,962 into big security purchases.

*Hennings Committee Report
Page 33*

By December, McCarthy had cut his bank loan down to \$20,364, but on December 21, 1945, the Appleton State Bank loaned him \$149,176.06 to buy 5,000 shares of Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad common stock that were pledged as security. On that day, McCarthy's debt to the bank became \$169,540.70.

The bank, under Wisconsin law, could legally lend no more than \$100,000 to any one individual. On Dec. 26, the Appleton bank transferred \$69,540.70 to a loan ledger sheet in the name of H. F. McCarthy, a brother.

*Hennings Committee Report
Page 33*

Wisconsin income tax returns, open to public inspection until last year, showed that McCarthy paid \$620.22 interest to the Appleton State Bank in 1945. His salary as a judge was \$7,397 and his income from interest and dividends was \$1,834. But his net taxable income, according to his return, was \$6,951. He paid state taxes of \$151.44.

That sum was not large, but it was \$151.44 greater than his total state taxes for the next four years. His income for those years was \$66,938.59, but he wrote this all off in losses and interest payments. He reported no taxable income at all in 1946, 1947, 1948, and 1949. Yet at the same time—his last year as a judge and his first three years as a Senator—the Appleton State Bank carried him on its loan accounts for sums ranging from \$50,000 to \$70,000.

When interest was due, McCarthy's payments were often credited against principal and new notes were issued in the amount of the interest. Funds in the names of his brothers or Ray Kiermas, a Washington assistant, were often used for security.

"The overall picture," according to the Senate Committee Report, "shows that he was loaned a total of approximately \$248,000 during the period Feb. 13, 1945, to Sept. 14, 1951." Some of his transactions were termed "flagrant disregard for the state banking laws and the Federal Reserve Board regulation."

McCarthy 'Deliberately' Tried To 'Thwart' the Inquiry

Although the Hennings Report, unanimously approved by its three members, raised serious questions about McCarthy's fitness to serve in the U.S. Senate, no action of any kind has been taken on the report. The parent Senate Committee, the Committee on Rules and Administration, came under the chair-

manship of Sen. William Jenner, Indiana, when the Republicans assumed control of Congress in January of 1953. Jenner, a close friend of McCarthy's, saw to it that, despite considerable demand, no additional copies were ordered. He also fired virtually the entire staff of the Hennings Subcommittee.

McCarthy himself made no effort to have his name cleared. One of his Senate colleagues, the late Sen. Charles W. Tobey, New Hampshire Republican, after referring in an NBC radio talk March 23, 1953, to McCarthy's methods as "wrong, and un-American," declared that the Report, which attacked "*McCarthy's integrity and honor, lies in a Senate pigeonhole and you can't get a copy to save your soul.*" Tobey challenged McCarthy to speak up on the serious questions raised by the Hennings Committee.

"If McCarthy were a man," Sen. Tobey said, "*he would have demanded an open investigation. We in the Senate ought to be above reproach.*"

But McCarthy had refused on six separate occasions to appear before the Hennings Committee to discuss the charges made against him.

"For reasons known only to Sen. McCarthy," the Hennings Committee said, "he chose not to accept this course, but to charge that the allegations were a smear and that the Committee was doing the work of Communists."

"Such action on the part of Sen. McCarthy might appear to reflect a disdain and contempt for the rules and wishes of the entire Senate body, as well as the membership of the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections."

"The record . . . leaves the inescapable conclusion that Sen. McCarthy deliberately set out to thwart any investigation of him by obscuring the real issue and the responsibility of the Subcommittee by charges of lack of jurisdiction, smear, and Communist-inspired persecution."

At one point during the Committee's investigation, McCarthy had attacked the Committee's work with such violence that the group asked the entire Senate to decide whether the investigation should continue. The Senate voted 60-0 in favor of a resolution which, in effect, ex-

pressed confidence in the investigating committee and gave it the green light to continue in its inquiry.

The Hennings Committee filed its findings with the Justice Department and the Treasury Department for possible legal action on McCarthy's financial operations and his tax troubles. On Oct. 16, 1953, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, Jr., announced that the Criminal Division of the Justice Department could find no basis for legal action in the areas under its jurisdiction, but that the Treasury Department still had under investigation possible violations of the income tax law. Brownell said he did not know the status of the Treasury investigation.

In his statement announcing that no action would be taken against McCarthy, Brownell said:

"It is our conclusion that the evidence fails to establish the commission of any public offense defined by federal statute."

The Baltimore *Sun* reported on Oct. 17, 1953, that Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney told a press conference that "McCarthy himself had not been questioned by Justice Department investigators, including FBI agents who were assigned to the case." Thus, McCarthy, who refused six times to go before the investigating subcommittee to answer questions concerning these financial deals, was again spared the responsibility of explaining his activities. Actually, Justice Department investigators gave the object of their inquiries such a wide berth that he didn't, he said, know he was being investigated.

Commenting on Brownell's statement announcing dismissal of charges by the Criminal Division, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* said editorially:

"Mr. Brownell may have washed his hands of the detailed report of the factual statements, documents, and photostats submitted to him by [the Senators who investigated the charges]. He has not heard the last of it. One of the things he has not heard the last of is the fact that Sen. McCarthy, who was always questioning other people, would not appear before the subcommittee and answer questions about himself. No one, in effect, ever hid more slickly behind the Fifth Amendment."

Collier's magazine editorially urged

that McCarthy take a lie-detector test on the unanswered questions raised by the Hennings Committee. "The volume of evidence presented certainly suggests that Sen. McCarthy is a person more earthy and devious than the Shining Knight who has appointed himself to be the St. George who will slay the dragon of unrighteousness single-handedly. We think the questions which this evidence presents urgently require

answers. It seems only right that McCarthy, as an advocate of lie-detecting, should set an example by letting the man wrap the blood pressure recorder around his arm, and telling all." (*Collier's*, May 9, 1953.)

McCarthy refused to tell all, or any of the story, with or without a lie-detector. The man who has accused so many of guilt if they refuse, under the Fifth Amendment, to testify, remained silent on the charges.

THE SIX UNRESOLVED QUESTIONS

These are the six questions raised by Sens. Hennings, Hendrickson, and Hayden during their investigation of McCarthy's financial affairs—questions which except for a blanket, unsupported "no" were left unresolved by McCarthy's refusal to accept the Committee's invitation to testify.



HENNINGS

- Whether under the circumstances it was proper for Sen. McCarthy to receive \$10,000 from the Lustron Corporation?
- Whether funds supplied to Sen. McCarthy to fight Communists or for other specific purposes were diverted to his own use?

- Whether Sen. McCarthy used close associates and members of his family to secrete receipts, income, commodity, and stock speculation and other financial transactions for ulterior motives?
- Whether Sen. McCarthy's activities on behalf of certain special interest groups, such as housing, sugar, and China, were motivated by self-interest?

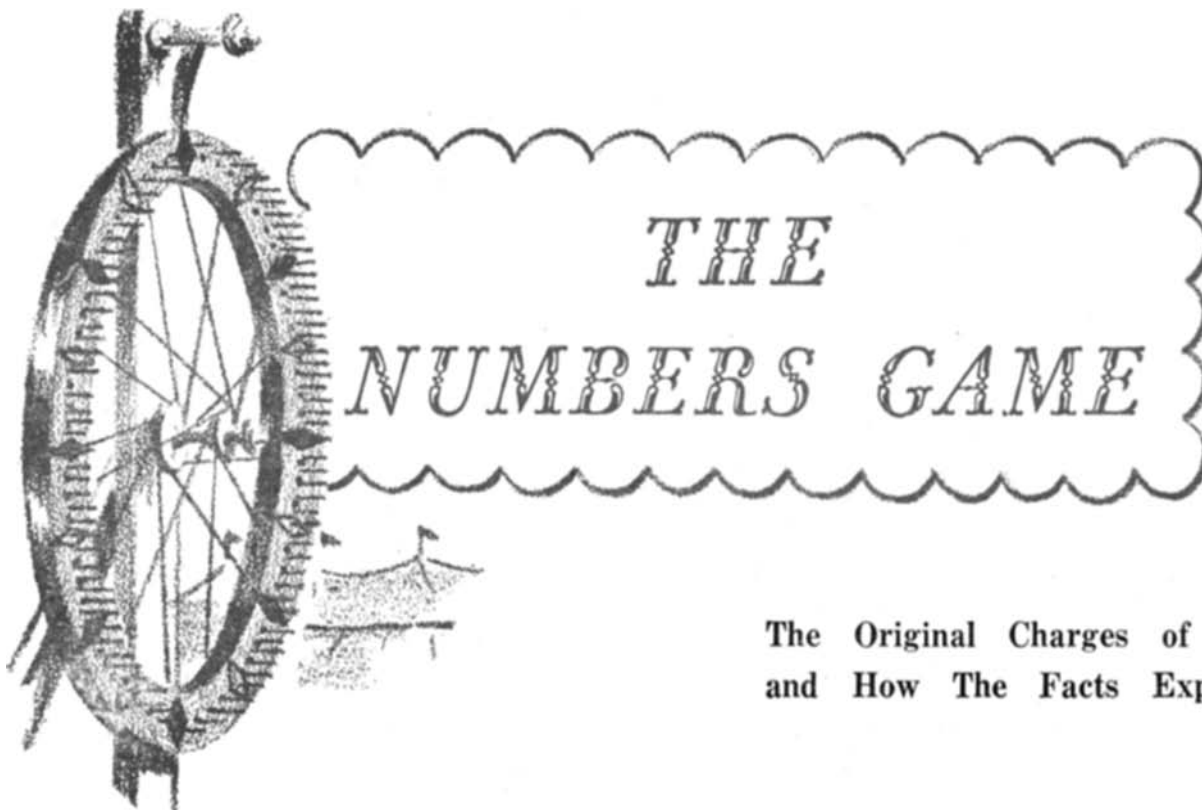


HENDRICKSON



HAYDEN

- Whether loan or other transactions Sen. McCarthy had with the Appleton State Bank or others involved violations of the tax and banking laws?
- Whether Sen. McCarthy violated federal and state corrupt practices acts in connection with his 1944-46 Senatorial campaigns or in connection with his dealings with Ray Kiermas?



The Original Charges of Communism and How The Facts Exploded Them

FOR three years after taking his oath of office as U.S. Senator in January, 1947, McCarthy tried fitfully, and in a variety of fields, to become better known. But half way through his term of office he was still one of the least publicized members of the Senate. It was not until he decided to try out "Communism in the State Department" as an issue that McCarthy shot into national prominence. He launched this campaign for headlines in February, 1950.

As the *Saturday Evening Post* (Aug. 19, 1950) told the story:

"On last Feb. 9, Sen. McCarthy traveled to Wheeling, W. Va., to repeat a well-tested anti-Communist speech. But on this occasion the Senator inserted into his talk the following addition: 'I hold here in my hand a list of 205 persons who are known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party, and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department.'"

The very next day after making this sensational charge, McCarthy was in Salt Lake City, Utah, where he repeated the charge, but reduced the number from 205 to 57 Communists.

"Last night," he told a radio audience, "I discussed the Communists in the State Department. I stated that I had the names of 57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party."

Radio interview permanently recorded over Salt Lake City radio station

But still another figure was soon to emerge. The official *Congressional Record* of Feb. 20, 1950, shows that McCarthy, in a Senate speech, said there were 81 employees of the State Department who ranged from "persons whom I consider to be Communists" (p. 2063) down to individuals who were "bad risks" (p. 2069).

But a month later, McCarthy had reduced the grand total even further. At a press conference in Washington, D.C., Sen. McCarthy announced that he would "stand or fall" on his ability to prove that there was just *one* Communist in the State Department—"the top espionage agent" in the United States.

"I am willing to stand or fall on this one," he said. "If I am wrong on this I think the Subcommittee would be justified in not taking any other cases too seriously."

New York Times
Mar. 24, 1950

Thus, his own words record the extent to which McCarthy changed his story in those days when his headline-creating charges vaulted him to a position of great prominence in the nation. Suppose we have a look at the various charges and then examine the official records to observe how they stood up.

205 Communists

Faced with a demand for evidence, Sen. McCarthy quickly backed away from his charge that there were 205 Communists in the State Department. Eleven days after he had given his Wheeling speech he read to the Senate what he now claimed was the speech he had given Feb. 9. Here is what he claimed in the Senate he had said at Wheeling:

"I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy."

Congressional Record
Feb. 20, 1950, p. 2044

But James E. Whitaker, news editor of Radio Station WWVA of Wheeling, W. Va., and Paul A. My-

ers, program director of the same station, signed and swore to statements that McCarthy had actually said the following:

"... I have here in my hand a list of 205—a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

Note the significant differences between the two versions. In McCarthy's Senate speech, he failed to include the material printed in bold-face in the paragraph above. In the Senate speech the number is reduced to "57"; individuals "would appear to be" Communists, and there is no mention of the significant charge that the Secretary of State knew all about the presence of many Communists in influential positions in his department.

Now, what was the origin of the "205" figure? It goes back to July 26, 1946, when James F. Byrnes, now governor of South Carolina, was Secretary of State.

Byrnes wrote a letter to Congressman Sabath of Illinois, in which he pointed out that at the end of World War II, 12,797 government employees who had worked for emergency war agencies were temporarily transferred to the State Department. This group was reduced to about 4,000 individuals, and the Department started screening them to see who would be permitted to hold peacetime jobs in the Department.

Byrnes explained that "preliminary examination" had been made of 3,000 cases and "a recommendation against permanent employment had been made in 284 cases." Of these, 79 had been actually removed from the service.

Note that simple subtraction of 79 cases from 284 leaves exactly 205. Sen. McCarthy later admitted, in an interview in the *U.S. News and World Report* for Sept. 7, 1951, that the "205" came from the Byrnes letter. Note, too, that Byrnes' language—a "recommendation against permanent employment"—became "members of the Communist Party" in the McCarthy treatment. Equally interesting was McCarthy's failure to point out that of 205, only 64 were still on the payroll when he spoke, and that all of these had been subjected to a full



James F. Byrnes

loyalty investigation, including FBI field study where the FBI felt such a process necessary.

Since the figure "205" was quickly shown to have come from a letter written *four years before* by Secretary Byrnes, McCarthy subsequently preferred to use other figures. Suppose we look now at some of the other ingredients in what McCarthy himself was soon to call "the numbers racket."

The "Numbers Racket"

If the "numbers racket" seems a tricky and confusing story, it is solely because McCarthy's repeated change of numbers made it hard to follow his charges from day to day, week to week, and month to month during the period when his sensational allegations were winning him headlines throughout the world. It is worth noting here how guesswork played a part in McCarthy's charges in so grave a field as treason and espionage. In his book McCarthy wrote: "I have been able to dig out the facts to show that 57 are either Communists or doing the work of the Communist Party. Therefore, it is safe to assume that there are many more about whom I have no information." (Italics ours.)

McCarthyism: The Fight for America
By Joseph R. McCarthy. The Devin-Adair Co. 1952. Page 10

Some indication of how the McCarthy story changed *even within the*

same speech is available in the *Congressional Record* for Feb. 20, 1950.

In this speech he talked of "a very sizeable group of active Communists in the State Department," later referred to "vast numbers of other Communists" [in the State Department], recalled the origin of the figure 205, then went on to say "I do not believe I mentioned the figure 205 [at Wheeling]; I believe I said over 200," then hastened to claim that "I have in my possession the names of 57 Communists who are in the State Department at present," then changed the story by saying "the cases number 81," and capped it all by saying: "I know absolutely of one group of approximately 300 certified to the



This Associated Press dispatch from Salt Lake City, Feb. 11, 1950, quotes McCarthy using the figure of "57 card-carrying Communists" in the second paragraph and refers in the fifth and sixth paragraphs to the charge of 205 Communists in the State Department he made the day before in Wheeling, W. Va.

Secretary [of State] were discharged because of Communism. He actually only discharged approximately 80"—thus apparently introducing a brand new figure of 220.

The vital figures—by McCarthy's own presentation—are the 205 (*see preceding page*) and the figures 81 and 57.

McCarthy first used the figure "81" on the Senate floor Feb. 20, 1950. But in the same speech he soon claimed that he was not accusing all 81 individuals of being Communists, although at one point he said:

"... I am only giving the Senate cases in which it appears that there is a definite Communist connection."

But he himself qualified this serious charge several times. For example:

"Case No. 62: This file is not important insofar as **Communist activities** are concerned..."

Where did McCarthy get the material on which to base his charge that "there are 81 cases [in the State Department] with a definite Communist connection?" The official records provide the answer.

The origin goes back to 1947 and 1948 when the Republican majority of the Senate and the House of Representatives ran the committees in both houses of Congress. Between Sept. 18 and Nov. 3, 1947, a team of investigators from the House Committee on Appropriations made a careful study of the State Department's Division of Security.

A list of 108 cases in the files was drawn up. The cases were identified only by number and a special key with the correct names was prepared. However, when the "108 cases" were discussed at the hearings, no names were used. This was also true when the "108 cases" were discussed on the floor of the House of Representatives Mar. 3, 4, 5, and 11, 1948.

The details of these "108 cases" were available to members of Congress two years before Sen. McCarthy made his speech on the "81 cases" on Feb. 20, 1950. That McCarthy's "81 cases" were lifted almost bodily from the two-year-old report of Congressional investigators is clear from the fact that McCarthy used *identical language* in describing many of the cases cited in his speech before the Senate.

The Tydings unit of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee which was set up to investigate McCarthy's charges reached these conclusions after a careful analysis of the "81 cases":

"1. There is not one of the cases discussed [by Sen. McCarthy] on Feb. 20, 1950, on the Senate floor which is not to be found among the '108 list' (*compiled two years earlier*).

"2. There is no factual information relative to any of the Feb. 20 [McCarthy] cases which does not have its identifiable counterpart among the '108 list.'"

"3. Apart from characterizations and immaterial interpolations, the language employed by Sen. McCarthy is case for case **similar textually to the language in their counterparts among the '108 list'**. Where variations in the case descriptions employed by Sen. McCarthy occurred, the language had been changed to create a more sinister impression."

Official Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Report 2108

When McCarthy presented his "81 cases" Feb. 20, 1950, he promised one Senator that he could "come to my office as soon as I finish and receive the names."

Under oath, however, McCarthy admitted: "At this particular moment I could not give you the names of half these persons."

Tydings Subcommittee Hearings, p. 6

The evidence makes it clear that the impression that a fresh investigation had uncovered new material was false. McCarthy used information presented to the public two years before.

The reader may wonder just why this is important. If there were Communists in the government, what difference does it make if McCarthy used "old" material? The answer is this:

Leading Republican Congressmen had carefully investigated every one of the cases that McCarthy presented—two years before. These Republican-controlled committees considered the disposition of the "108" and other security cases: the House Committee on Appropriations, the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the Senate Committee on Appropriations.

These Republican Congressmen had no desire to "protect" the Truman Administration when they worked over the "108" cases. They analyzed the same material presented by McCarthy—two years before. Not a single one of these 80th Congress committees, all having Republican majorities, reported that the State Department contained any Communists.

The final word on the material McCarthy was to use two years later

McCarthy Gives 'Aid to Enemies of Democracy'

Three leading spokesmen for American veterans' organizations have recorded the extent to which McCarthy has damaged the legitimate cause of safeguarding the nation against Communist subversion and espionage.

● CHARLES C. RALLS, while national commander-in-chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, put it this way: "I am for any Congressman or Senator who is carrying on a fight against Communism, but I want that fight to be sensible. McCarthy should forget about the publicity. He has hurt the work of those who are fighting Communists by making unfounded charges... I love the idea of what McCarthy is trying to do, but his methods hurt those of us who are sincerely fighting the Communists."

● WILLIAM EXLINE, while senior vice commander of the Military Order of the Purple Heart, wrote in the *Purple Heart* magazine that McCarthy "gave aid and comfort to the enemies of democracy by his unproved charges concerning U.S. governmental agencies... His complete disregard of [American] principle makes him potentially far more dangerous than those he accuses."

● WALTER E. ALESSANDRONI, while chairman of the American Legion's Committee on Un-American Activities, asserted in a letter to McCarthy that failure to make the meaning of our words and actions clear in a period like this "is in itself a contribution to undermining national unity, and could therefore be justifiably classed as an un-American act."



'Joe—Yoo Hoo—Joe'



'Stop Ganging Up on Me'

was given by a Republican member of the House of Representatives. He was Congressman Bartel Jonkman of Michigan, who had investigated Communism in the State Department as a one-man investigating subcommittee for the House Foreign Affairs Committee. He said on Aug. 2, 1948:

"But before the 80th Congress adjourns, I want the members to know that there is one department in which the known or reasonably suspected subversives, Communists, fellow-travelers, sympathizers, and persons whose services are not for the best interests of the United States, have been swept out. That is the Department of State."

Congressional Record
Aug. 2, 1948, p. 9793

The 57 Cases

As McCarthy himself admitted, he occasionally used the figure "57" in referring to Communists in the State Department.

The first recorded use of "57" was

at Salt Lake City the day after the Wheeling speech. McCarthy was interviewed in the Utah capital by a local radio personality, Dan Valentine. His words were recorded, and the record was subsequently sent to the Senate Committee which investigated his charges of Communism in the State Department. Part of the interview went as follows:

MC CARTHY: Last night I discussed the Communists in the State Department. I stated that I had the names of 57 card-carrying members of the Communist Party. . . Now, I want to tell [Acheson] this: If he wants to call me tonight at the Utah Hotel, I will be glad to give him the names of those 57 card-carrying Communists. . .

VALENTINE: In other words, Senator, if Secretary of State Dean Acheson would call you at the Hotel Utah tonight in Salt Lake City you could give him 57 names of actual card-carrying Communists in the State Department of the United States

—actual card-carrying Communists.

MC CARTHY: Not only can, Dan, but will. . .

VALENTINE: Well, I am just a common man out here in Salt Lake City, a man who's got a family and a son and a job. You mean to say there's 57 Communists in our State Department that direct or control our State Department policy or help direct it?

MC CARTHY: Well, Dan, I don't want to indicate there are only 57, I say I have the names of 57.

Now what was the origin of the figure "57"?

The Investigating Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee reported that it came from the same two-year-old "108 cases" and in the same way.

In March, 1948, John E. Peurifoy, then Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Administration, testified before the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department. He was asked about the "108 cases."

At that time only 57 of the 108 were still employed, and of these 22 were being investigated by the FBI as of March, 1948, according to Peurifoy's testimony.

Subsequently, official records in *Report No. 2108* of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations July 20, 1950, based on evidence taken by the Tydings Subcommittee, showed that 41 of the 108 had been cleared and 67 were not employed by the State Department as a result of resignation, death, completion of assignment, or dismissal.

Thus, when McCarthy spoke, only one-third of those against whom he

had brought charges were still in the State Department, and all of these had been considered in 1948, as Republican Congressman Jonkman pointed out, and all had been "fully processed under the President's Loyalty Program and the State Department's Security Program," according to the findings of the Senate investigators in the *Report* cited above.

The Big One

McCarthy admitted to his complete incapacity to document and prove his charges. Testifying Mar. 8, 1950, before the Senate Committee authorized to investigate his claims of Com-

munists in the State Department, McCarthy said: "I am not in a position to file any formal charges."

This was still true more than three years later. In June, 1953, Rep. Brownson, Indiana Republican and a member of the House Government Operations Committee, wrote Scott McLeod, security administrator of the State Department, asking if any of the "57 persons referred to as Communists by Sen. McCarthy on the floor of the Senate Feb. 20, 1950 [are] still in the employ of the Department." McLeod replied that a search of Department files "failed to disclose such a list."

When it became clear that he could not make any of his numbers stick, McCarthy switched his attack again.

He dramatically announced he would prove that a **single employee** of the State Department was the "top Russian espionage agent" in the United States.

New York Times
Mar. 22, 1950

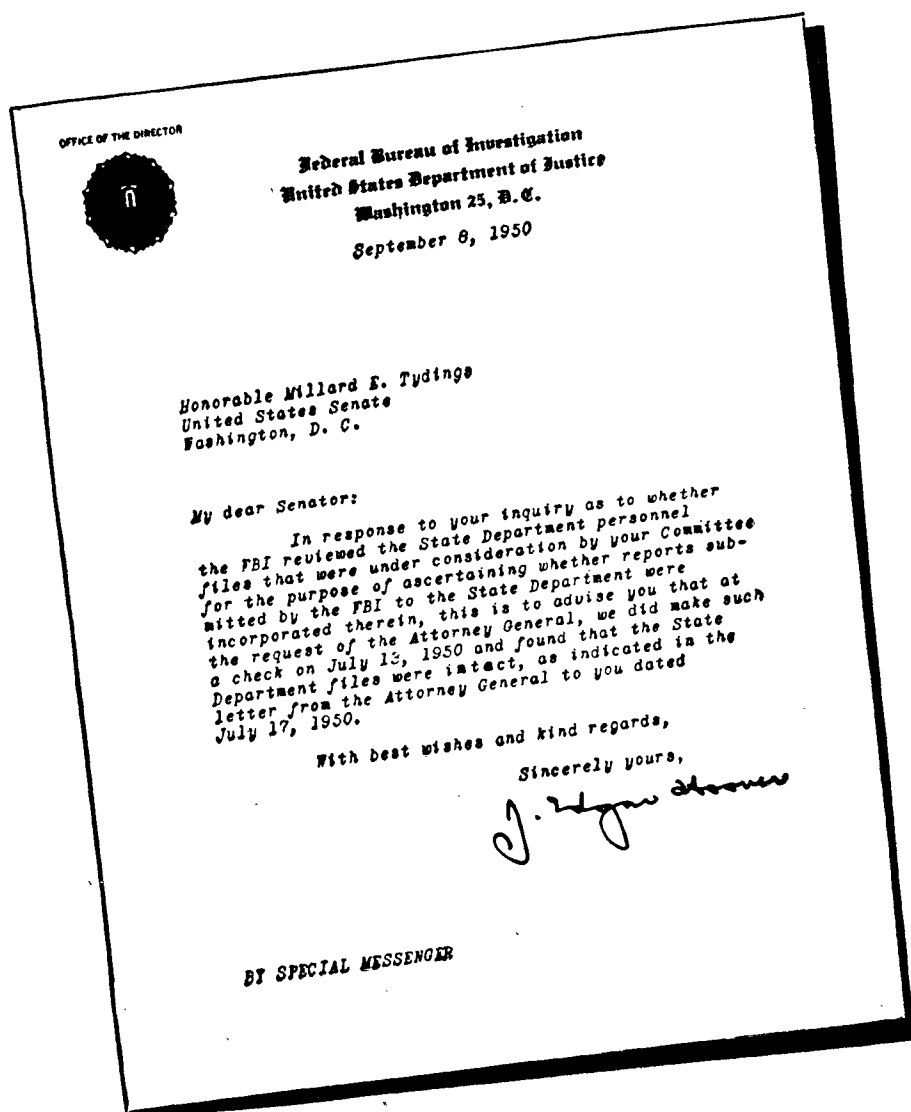
"I am willing to stand or fall on this one," McCarthy said. "If I am wrong on this, I think the Subcommittee would be justified in not taking my other cases too seriously."

New York Times
Mar. 24, 1950

Let the strongly anti-Communist *Time* magazine, a critic of the Truman Administration, tell the story as of Oct. 22, 1951 (20 months after McCarthy made his original charges):

"He [McCarthy] bored in, hitting low blow after low blow. He set up a barrage of new accusations which caught the headlines, drawing attention away from the fact that he had not made good on his original charge. He even began to produce some names. But his most sensational charge was that he knew the name of 'the top Soviet espionage agent' in the U.S. The man so accused turned out to be Owen Lattimore, a Johns Hopkins professor and writer on Far Eastern affairs. Lattimore in fact had great influence in U.S. academic and journalistic circles dealing with the Far East. He was an important factor in leading U.S. toward policies which many Americans regard as tragically wrong.

"But that was not what McCarthy said about Lattimore. He said that Lattimore was 'the top Soviet espion-



Above is a photostatic copy of the letter written by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover making it clear that the files McCarthy claimed had been "raped" were in fact "intact." (See Page 27.)

age agent'—and to this day McCarthy has not produced a scrap of evidence indicating that Lattimore was a spy or in any way disloyal."

Lattimore was subsequently subjected to relentless examination by the McCarran Committee of the Senate. As a result of that inquiry, he was indicted on seven counts of perjury by a federal grand jury. However, Federal Judge Luther W. Youngdahl, formerly Republican Governor of Minnesota, promptly dismissed four of the seven counts.

The counts dismissed were the most important of the seven, especially Count 1 of the indictment which charged that Lattimore swore falsely when he testified that "I am not and never have been a Communist, a Soviet agent, a sympathizer, or any other kind of a promoter of Communism or Communist interests." In dismissing this count, Judge Youngdahl called it "so nebulous and indefinite that a jury would have to indulge in speculation in order to arrive at a verdict." He said that it was "fundamental that a jury should not be asked to determine an issue which can be decided only on conjecture."

And yet as a self-appointed, one-man jury, McCarthy had not only conjectured but had flatly charged that Lattimore was not only a Communist but the "top Russian espionage agent" in the United States.

The Department of Justice has appealed Judge Youngdahl's dismissal of the four counts. That is where the Lattimore case stands now.

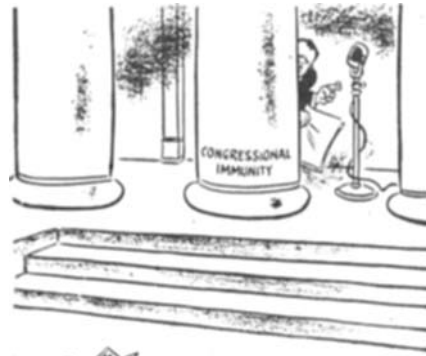
Files and the FBI

Repeatedly, as he bounced from one figure to another and one charge to another in the "numbers racket," McCarthy had not only claimed he was disclosing fresh, new information that he felt it his duty to present to the public, but insisted that his information came from the highly secret loyalty files of the State Department.

"All the information I have given the Senate is in the *State Department files*." (*Congressional Record*, 1950, p. 2063.)

"Mr. President, I have before me information from the *State Department files*, information which the President says the Senate did not

'Step Outside and Say That'



Herblock in The Washington Post

have. (*Congressional Record*, 1950, p. 2048.)

"You can be sure of this: if those files would prove that McCarthy was a liar, they would damn well be opened at sunrise tomorrow morning."

McCarthy Speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Apr. 20, 1950

Two weeks later, President Truman let the Senate Investigating Committee look at the files. McCarthy's reaction was reported by *Time* magazine Oct. 22, 1951:

"Before McCarthy even saw what the State Department turned over to the Committee, he pronounced it 'a phony offer of phony files.' The files have been 'raped,' he cried."

It was after Mr. Truman had made the files available, in response to McCarthy's repeated demand, that McCarthy broadened his demand for additional files. Although he had claimed repeatedly up to then that the *State Department files* would confirm his accusations, McCarthy now demanded that the following files would also have to be opened:

"The FBI files, the Civil Service Commission files, and where individuals have been investigated by the Army, Navy, or secret service, we should also obtain those files."

Congressional Record
July 12, 1950, p. 10139

When President Truman did make

the State Department files available to the Senate Investigating Committee, McCarthy shouted at once that the files did not contain all of the FBI reports.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover put the lie to this one in no uncertain terms. In a letter to the chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee, Sen. Millard E. Tydings, Hoover wrote Sept. 8, 1950, that all the information sent over by the FBI was contained in the State Department loyalty files. (*See photostat, p. 26.*)

The legal protection of legislators for what they say during debate on the floor is supported by a long and honorable tradition.

This protection enables a member of Congress to make sweeping charges against individuals during debate and he can not be sued in a court for slander or libel. Newspapers also can print the accusations, even if they are false, because the speeches in the Congress are privileged and protected from libel charges.

When Sen. McCarthy began his attacks, he promised Congress and the country he would not hide behind his Congressional immunity:

"On the day when I take advantage of the security we have on the Senate floor, on that day I will resign from the Senate. Anything I say on the floor of the Senate at any time will be repeated off the floor."

Congressional Record
Feb. 20, 1950, p. 2043

But McCarthy did not step out from behind his legal shield and repeat the same charges off the floor. He also did not resign.

The *Christian Science Monitor*, one of the most distinguished and universally respected of American newspapers, commented editorially on April 11, 1950:

"Never were pretzel-shaped thought processes more ingeniously bent than in the address delivered to the Marine Corps League at Passaic, N. J., at the weekend. Pronouncing his own speech 'libelous if untrue' he proceeded to hurl at Owen Lattimore charges which can neither be proved true or untrue.

"This was Sen. McCarthy's way of pretending to come out from behind the Congressional immunity under which he previously charged Mr. Lat-

timore with being Russia's 'top espionage agent' in the United States. Sen. McCarthy, however, refrained from repeating this specific charge, perhaps because to do so would permit other opinions than his own to determine whether the charge is libelous."

Later, McCarthy shifted his position.

"When they make those files available so they can be used, those statements will be made in public," he told the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Apr. 20, 1950.

Official Transcript of Speech and Questions, Master Reporting Co., Washington, D. C.

As we have seen above, the files were opened for the Senate investigators two weeks later (May 4, 1950), but Sen. McCarthy refused to deliver on his promise to the newspaper editors. Finally, on Aug. 9, 1951, Sen. McCarthy admitted openly in a speech that he was not going to shed his Senatorial immunity.

Congressional Record
Aug. 9, 1951, p. 9915-26

In the years that have followed, years of countless charges against countless individuals, McCarthy has carefully avoided saying off the floor of the Senate many of the statements he has made on the floor or in the equally privileged sessions of his investigating committee.

McCarthy's original charges of Communists in the State Department, made first at Wheeling, W. Va., and repeated in various forms in the months that followed, resulted in a Senate investigation which produced 3,000,000 words of testimony. The inquiry was conducted by a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations headed by then

Sen. Millard Tydings. The majority of the subcommittee (all Democrats) reached these conclusions July 17, 1950:

"Sen. McCarthy and McCarthyism have been exposed for what they are and the sight is not a pretty one." McCarthy's "charges and methods are a fraud and a hoax," and constituted "perhaps the most nefarious campaign of untruth in the history of our republic."

"We have seen the technique of the 'Big Lie' elsewhere employed by the totalitarian dictator with devastating success, utilized here for the first time on a sustained basis in our history. We have seen how, through repetition and shifting untruths it is possible to delude great numbers of people."

"We sincerely believe that charges of the character which have been made in this case seriously impair the efforts of our agencies of government to combat the problem of subversion. Furthermore, extravagant allegations, which cannot be proved and are not subject to proof, have the inevitable effect of dulling the awareness of all Americans to the true menace of Communism."

Official Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress, 2nd Session, Senate Report 2108

Although Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge, Republican of Massachusetts, one of the two Republican members of the committee, declined to sign the majority report, he did agree that the investigation had failed to produce a single Communist in the State Department.

On the floor of the Senate, Sen. Warren Magnuson of Washington asked Sen. Lodge this question:

"Did the Senator from Massachusetts in his investigation find

any Communists in the State Department?"

"No; I did not," replied Sen. Lodge.

Congressional Record
July 21, 1950, p. 10933

This single-sentence conclusion by a member of McCarthy's own party summarizes the outcome of an investigation which took four months and assembled 3,000,000 words.

Four years to the month after McCarthy's original charges of rampant Communism in the State Department under Dean Acheson, the *Christian Science Monitor* (Feb. 16, 1954) reported that two top Republican spokesmen for the State Department, Undersecretary Walter Bedell Smith and Security Chief Scott McLeod, testified before a House Appropriations subcommittee that "no active Communist has been uncovered in the State Department in the year or more of Republican control."

Balance Sheet

Although Sen. McCarthy's reckless charges were disproved by Republican and Democratic investigators alike, the Wisconsin Senator soon began to make claims of specific gains from his "crusade against Communism in government." Suppose we have a look at the "achievements" as he himself spelled them out for the period between February, 1950, when he made his original charges, and January, 1953, when he became chairman of the Permanent Senate Subcommittee on Investigations. (*This latter phase of his career is covered on Pages 33 to 50.*)

Precisely what did McCarthy claim for this first phase of headline-hunting?

"We got Alger Hiss out, we got Marzani out, Wadleigh, George Shaw Wheeler, and a few others."

McCarthy Interview, U.S. News and World Report, Sept. 7, 1951

The official records show how totally false these claims were, and they show too why *Time* magazine, a strong critic of the Democratic Administration, concluded that McCarthy had made a "miserable showing as an exposé of Reds."

McCarthy did not get Alger Hiss.

Hiss resigned from the State Department in February, 1947. This was three years before McCarthy made his charges.

J. Edgar Hoover Makes a Comparison

"This approach to the internal security problem—an objective search for the truth; slowly, carefully, patiently developing all the evidence; and handling each subject on an individual basis—safeguards civil rights. The blunderbuss method, shooting wildly, hoping that in the broadside the guilty will be hit, unmindful of the number of innocent injured—that method is wrong, the very antithesis of democratic law enforcement. Security investigations can be conducted fairly, accurately and without hysteria. That is the aim of the FBI."

J. EDGAR HOOVER
Director, FBI
Iowa Law Review, Winter, 1952

Hiss was first named by Whittaker Chambers in 1948 and was forced into the open by the House Un-American Activities Committee. This was *two years before McCarthy made his charges.*

It was the FBI and the Department of Justice, not McCarthy, that "got" Hiss.

Hiss was convicted Jan. 2, 1950, when a jury decided he had lied in denying that he had passed secret State Department documents to Chambers. The FBI prepared the evidence and the Justice Department prosecuted. The case was over and Hiss was convicted *before* McCarthy made his first charges in Wheeling, Feb. 9, 1950.

McCarthy did not get Carl Aldo Marzani.

Marzani, a former employee of the Office of Strategic Services, was exposed by State Department investigators as a Communist and was fired in December, 1946, *before McCarthy was sworn in as a Senator.* The FBI and the State Department's investigators dug up the information and the Justice Department successfully prosecuted the case.

McCarthy did not get Henry Julian Wadleigh.

Chambers named Wadleigh as another State Department employee who had passed out documents. Then Wadleigh testified for the federal government against Hiss. McCarthy again had absolutely nothing to do with it. In fact, Wadleigh left the State Department in 1946—*before McCarthy came to the Senate*—and was exposed by Chambers before McCarthy made his first speech on the subject.

McCarthy did not get George Shaw Wheeler.

Wheeler worked for the Foreign Economic Administration and the War Department until 1947 when he was eased out while facing a loyalty probe. He had been working in the U.S. military government in Germany at the time and he fled to Czechoslovakia where the Soviets took him in and put him to work as an economics instructor. (*Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 13, 1950.)

These, then, are the four officials McCarthy claimed to have "got." Actually, as the official records show,

Report Card



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

all four were dismissed from government service before McCarthy began his sensational hunt for headlines.

It was this record which led *Time* magazine to observe on Oct. 22, 1951:

"After nearly two years of tramping the nation, shouting that he was 'rooting out the skunks,' just how many Communists had Joe rooted out? *The answer: none.*"

But just as he used a variety of numbers in charging there were Communists in the State Department, McCarthy has also used different sets of names on different occasions.

When the evidence showed that the four he had named in the *U.S. News and World Report* were dismissed before he raised the question of Communism in government, McCarthy switched to a new group of names. For instance, in the condensation of his book, *McCarthyism: The Fight for America*, which appeared in the May 1952 issue of *Cosmopolitan*, McCarthy asked himself a number of questions and proceeded to answer them.

One of the questions is: "Will you give the names of some of those who have been removed from government service as a result of your proof?"

It is significant to know here that McCarthy does not now refer to the State Department but to "government service," despite the fact that all his original charges were leveled against the State Department.

It is equally striking that while McCarthy listed the names of eight in-

dividuals in this *Cosmopolitan* condensation, *not one of them was on the list he compiled in the U.S. News and World Report interview.* The new batch of cases covered eight individuals in a variety of government departments, but here again the official records show that McCarthy played no part in any of these cases.

A typical example, and we select this one because it represents the only case among the eight which resulted in conviction and imprisonment, involved William Remington. Remington was first investigated long before McCarthy began his attacks. Actually, it was in July, 1948, a year and a half before McCarthy first brought his charges, that a Senate Investigating Committee, headed by Sen. Homer Ferguson, Michigan Republican, first looked into the Remington case.

Sen. Ferguson, a strong McCarthy supporter, said on Apr. 4, 1951, that he did not want to discount the work McCarthy had done, but he made it clear that "outside of Sen. McCarthy's general statements of Communism in government, which of course embraced Remington, I personally do not know of any particular work he did in the Remington case." (*Letter to Robert H. Fleming*, Apr. 4, 1951.)

McCarthy has been equally careless, on occasion, in claiming credit for the conviction of top Communist leaders in the United States. What are the official facts?

After a prolonged trial in New York City in 1949 (one full year before McCarthy first raised his voice on the subject of Communism at Wheeling, W. Va.), the government obtained the conviction of eleven top Communist leaders.

In addition, through the work of the FBI and the Department of Justice, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, David Greenglass, Harry Gold, Morton Sobell, and others were convicted on charges of espionage.

In none of these cases did McCarthy play any part whatever.

The story of "the Numbers Game" provides the background against which the reader can follow what McCarthy did—and failed to do—about the "205," or "81," or "57" when he took over as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations with full power to prove his case (*See Page 33*).



Guarding America's Security

An Elaborate System
Protects the Government
From Spies and Subversives

THERE was a time when many Americans—both Republicans and Democrats—hoped that the United States and the Soviet Union could exist in peace, at least on a live-and-let-live basis, however divergent were their respective philosophies. This belief came out of our wartime alliance with Russia against Hitler's Nazis.

Typical of the former attitude of the American people toward Russia was this comment by Gen. Douglas MacArthur in 1942:

"The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest upon the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army."

*Quoted in Roosevelt and Hopkins,
by Robert Sherwood, p. 497*

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, now on the Attorney General's roster of subversive organizations, numbered during World War II such eminent Americans as Thomas W. Lamont, a partner of J. P. Morgan; Owen D. Young, of General Electric; Mrs. Ogden Reid, owner of the New York *Herald-Tribune*; Secretary of Commerce Jesse Jones, and Lieut. Gen. Leslie C. McNair. In 1944, Gen. Eisenhower hailed the Council with this greeting:

"I wish your Council the utmost success in the worthy work it is undertaking." And as late as the fall of 1946, Joseph R. McCarthy made a statement whose accuracy he left unchallenged for seven years, in which he was quoted as saying: "Stalin's proposal for world disarmament is a great thing and he must be given credit for being sincere." (*Milwaukee Journal*, Nov. 10, 1946.)

Looking back on that period immediately following World War II, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles recently said that "those in charge of our foreign policy at that time seemed to have assumed, as was quite natural perhaps to assume—many of us did—that we were entering into an era of lasting peace, and that the Soviet Union would not be a threat."

*Dulles Press Conference,
Nov. 25, 1953, New York Times*

Mr. Dulles' comment came in response to a statement made in Tokyo by Vice President Richard Nixon. Nixon told the Japanese-American Society in Tokyo that "we misjudged the intentions of the Soviet leaders."

In the months that followed in late 1945 and early 1946 it became increasingly clear that the Soviet Union was less interested in friendly relations with the free world, and

especially with the United States, than many Americans had thought would be the case in the period when the Soviets were our wartime allies in destroying Hitlerism.

When it became apparent that the Soviet Union posed a menace to world peace and that her agents and dupes in the United States were bent on furthering the imperial designs of the Soviet Union by weakening the United States, our government launched an elaborate program to guard our security against those who would commit espionage, sabotage, and subversion.

Actually, as far back as the Hatch Act of Aug. 21, 1939, it had been unlawful for any employee of the government to have membership in a party which advocates the overthrow of the constitutional form of government of the United States.

Gravely concerned over mounting evidence of Soviet intransigence in 1946, Congress went further and gave the Secretary of State the right to fire employees "whenever he shall deem it necessary or advisable in the interests of the United States." *This action was taken before McCarthy was elected to the United States Senate.*

On June 9, 1947, the then Secre-

tary of State, George C. Marshall, appointed a special Personnel Security Board to get rid of "security risks." The Board did just this: it quickly recommended the dismissal of ten employees. This was two years before McCarthy made his first charge of Communism in the State Department.

The Truman Administration launched a comprehensive system of investigation throughout the federal service. Skilled investigators, many of them former FBI agents, were employed to make the initial inquiries. Their data was submitted to a group of appraisers whose job it was to sift the evidence and to report to the boards created to take testimony and make decisions.

J. Edgar Hoover Explains

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, headed by J. Edgar Hoover, played a decisive part then, as it does now, in the operations of the federal government's loyalty and security program. A glimpse of the character and scope of this operation can be gleaned from the testimony before the House Subcommittee on Appropriations Jan. 24, 1953, by J. Edgar Hoover. He reported then that the FBI had processed over 4,000,000 government employee and job applicant forms since the loyalty program was launched in 1947. Of that number the FBI "opened 20,051 active investigations."

"That is," Hoover explained to the Congressional Committee, "we have opened those investigations predicated upon information received or in our files that the individual may be disloyal. Our purpose then is to get the facts, to see whether the allegations can be proved or disproved."

"It has been necessary in only one-half of one per cent of all the loyalty forms checked to conduct full field investigations; 287 employees have either been removed from office or denied appointment in government service as a result of these investigations; 9,837 have been retained or accepted for employment; 2,824 resigned during the course of the investigation. This action raises a question as to why they resigned, whether from guilty consciences or for other reasons."

Gen. Conrad E. Snow, New Hamp-

shire Republican, who then headed the State Department's Loyalty Security Board, summarized the character of the program in a speech given Oct. 25, 1951, when he said:

"Every person who was in the employ of the State Department on Oct. 1, 1947, and every person since employed, in addition to being investigated by the Security Division of the State Department, has been submitted to the FBI for a 'record check.'

"If the FBI on this record check turns up a single item of derogatory information, in the loyalty field, the employee is given a full field investigation, and the confidential reports of the investigation are submitted to the Department Loyalty Security Board for determination of the employee's loyalty and security risk. These investigative reports constitute the prosecution—the 'state's case' which is before the Board for judicial determination."

The Loyalty and Security Program which operated before the Eisenhower Administration revised it was established Mar. 21, 1947, in Executive Order 9835. *This program was in-*

augurated nearly three years before McCarthy launched his charges of Communism in government.

At the top of the President's program was placed a special Loyalty Review Board in the Civil Service Commission. First Chairman of this important agency was Seth Richardson, described by *Time* magazine June 18, 1951, as "a wealthy Washington corporation lawyer, a Republican, and an avowed isolationist. His Republicanism went way back—to the Hoover Administration, when he was Assistant Attorney General, and beyond that, back to his days in North Dakota." Richardson was succeeded in 1951 by Hiram Bingham, who was formerly a conservative Republican Senator from Connecticut.

Each department was ordered to set up an investigating program and to name loyalty boards to hear loyalty cases, all of which were subject to final review by the Loyalty Review Board. Since it was the State Department that McCarthy concentrated on exclusively during this period, it is pertinent to recall here the summing up made by Gen. Snow, the New Hampshire Republican who headed

'As A Catholic . . .'

GRAHAM GREENE, ENGLISH NOVELIST
AND DISTINGUISHED CATHOLIC LAYMAN,
MADE THIS COMMENT ON MCCARTHY IN
A LETTER TO THE PROGRESSIVE:



"As a Catholic I am completely opposed to everything that McCarthyism stands for—the smear tactics which he uses would be described in theological terms as a lack of charity which to a Catholic (and he pretends to be one) amounts to a mortal sin.

"We Catholics of Europe believe that the aspects of Communism which we, as Catholics, are required to fight, can only be fought with honesty and we feel that a far worse enemy than Communism is the kind of treacherous Catholicism which is represented by McCarthy."

the State Department's Loyalty Security Board during this period. Said Gen. Snow in a public address:

"I do not know of a single item of new evidence contributed by Sen. McCarthy that helped the State Department's Loyalty and Security Panel to pass on disloyalty charges.

"The Board thought the other day that it might have some help from the Senator. He had alleged on the floor of the Senate that a State Department employee was associating with the Communists. On inquiry made of the Senator of the name of the Communist, his office replied that the Senator had had the name in his hand when he made the statement, had had it on a slip of paper, but he had lost the paper!"

"Sen. McCarthy has raised a lot of dust, mistaken for smoke, by tramping around the nation and making over and over again the same baseless and disproved accusations.

"This one man is able to raise so much dust only because (1) he is a Senator of the United States, and (2) he speaks in a loud and determined voice and waves in his hand a bunch of photostats that nobody takes the trouble to examine."

"This is McCarthyism," the General said at another point, "the making of baseless accusations regarding the loyalty and integrity of public officers and employees by a person who is himself in high public office and who uses his office at one and the same time as a platform from which to shout his accusations and as a screen to protect himself from action for defamation." The purpose of it all is, of course, not the public interest, but political advancement in a period of public tension and excitement."

Speech by Gen. Conrad E. Snow, Quoted in the New York Times, Oct. 25, 1951

This was the situation when the Republican Administration of Dwight D. Eisenhower took office in January, 1953. In his State of the Union Address, President Eisenhower said that the responsibility for "keeping out the disloyal and the dangerous" rested primarily on the Executive branch of the government. The

President went on to say that unless the Executive branch did so, it "invited disorder and confusion" by being policed by another branch of the government.

The Eisenhower Administration replaced the Truman Loyalty and Security Program with its own program. James C. Hagerty, press secretary to President Eisenhower, in explaining the Administration's Security Program, emphasized on Oct. 23, 1953, these five factors that were being applied by the new security system:

1. All new applicants for federal service must be investigated. Those who got non-sensitive jobs are investigated only by their own departments and get a "name check" in the FBI files.

2. All persons considered for positions in sensitive agencies are given a "full field investigation," meaning that FBI agents investigate their backgrounds exhaustively by checking associates, former employers, family, friends, and similar sources.

3. All past investigations that were not completed will be re-made.

4. All persons who received a full field investigation in the Truman Administration are now receiving another full field investigation under the Eisenhower regime. Hagerty stated that this rule applied to persons who were so investigated merely because they got sensitive jobs, as well as those who get the full field inquiry because adverse data had been filed against them.

5. All employees who have had adverse information filed

against them will receive full field investigations.

Factors 1 and 2 are, of course, applied to all new applicants, while the last three figure in the re-examination of suspected hold-over employees.

Early in 1954, the Eisenhower Administration announced the release of 2,200 employees under this new security program. Despite a storm of criticism that the 2,200 figure was misleading because it included many who talked or drank too much or had other character defects, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell "refused to separate the 'drunks' from the 'spies.'" (*New York Times*, Jan. 21, 1954.)

The demand for a breakdown gained in volume as piecemeal reports on dismissals in individual departments made it clear that an almost negligible number involved any suspicion of "disloyalty."

Brownell Makes a Claim

It is not the function of this study of McCarthy's operations to evaluate the merit, or lack of merit, of the loyalty and security programs promulgated by President Truman and after him by President Eisenhower. We cite the record showing the vigilant policing of the Federal Service merely to underscore what has been emphasized by so many top federal officials, whether Republican or Democrat—namely, that the Executive branch of the government has, without waiting for McCarthy to move and, in fact, moving long before he made his first charges, established elaborate machinery to guard against disloyalty and subversion in the federal establishment.

As the Eisenhower Administration neared the end of its first year in power, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell proudly claimed for the GOP regime that it had licked the problem of Communists in government. In a speech at Fort Worth, Tex., he asserted he thinks "all suspected Reds have been cleaned out of the government." (*Associated Press dispatch*, Dec. 14, 1953.) But McCarthy clung tenaciously to his political meal ticket and sullenly rejected Brownell's conclusion—although in this case McCarthy did not smear his critic, as he had so many times in the past.

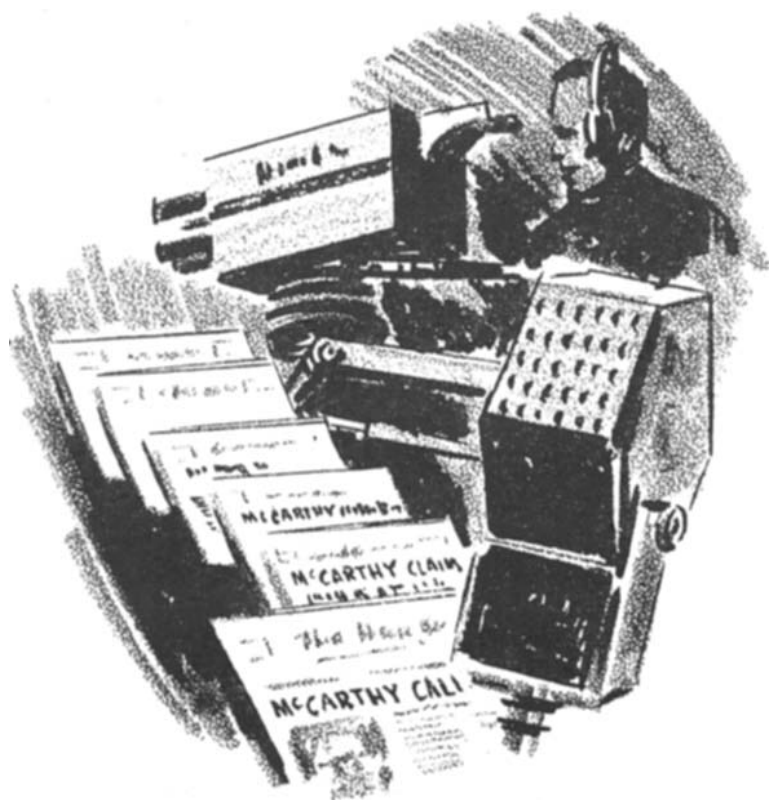
FBI Advice

"My advice to the public is this: "Be alert to the dangers of Communism. Report your information immediately and fully to the FBI. Avoid reporting malicious gossip or idle rumor. The FBI is interested in receiving facts. Don't attempt to make private investigations. Leave that to trained investigators. Don't circulate rumors about subversive activities or draw conclusions from information you furnish to the FBI."

J. EDGAR HOOVER
Director of the FBI, in the
U. S. News & World Report
Aug. 11, 1950

McCarthy Takes Over

**As Chairman of the Investigating
Committee McCarthy Produced
Many A Headline That Did
Not Stand Up as the
Evidence Unfolded**



FOR NEARLY three years, Sen. McCarthy had hurled his charges of Communism in government while he was a member of the Republican minority without power to conduct formal investigations. In January, 1953, when Republicans took control of the national government, McCarthy became chairman of the Committee on Government Operations and chairman of its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. It is noteworthy that in the 15 months that have followed, a period in which he has had full investigative powers, a \$200,000-a-year budget, and a tremendous staff of investigators, McCarthy has made no effort to prove his original charges that there were 205 Communists in the State Department, or 81, or 57. He has, in fact, made no references whatever to the original accusations which first vaulted him into national prominence.

New charges and new techniques were soon developed by the resourceful chairman. Witnesses were summoned in secret and McCarthy's version of what they said often leaked to the press before the witnesses were called to testify in public hearings.

One of the first inquiries conducted

by McCarthy's Subcommittee involved the Voice of America, the radio broadcasting branch of the State Department's International Information Administration (IIA), which told the American story in some 40 languages to a potential audience of 300,000,000 in 87 countries and which put more program hours on the air than NBC and CBS combined.

Public hearings began Feb. 16, 1953, and continued on and off for 15 days until Mar. 19. For days before the first hearings, stories inspired by McCarthy and his aides built up a frightening picture of subversion, espionage, and waste. Thus, on Feb. 13, the Washington, D.C., *Times-Herald* proclaimed:

**PROBERS TOLD OF ANTI-U.S. PLOT
IN VOICE
INFILTRATION CALLED APPALLING**

"A Senate investigation of Communist influence in the Voice of America headquarters here has uncovered amazing evidence of a conspiracy to subvert American policy in this nation's radio propaganda broadcasts abroad.

"Scores of witnesses questioned by day and night in the past week have

involved high officials in a detailed account supported by documentary proof which indicates deliberate sabotage of American objectives in foreign propaganda."

On Feb. 14, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* announced:

**MCCARTHY HITS SABOTAGE BY SOME
ON VOICE CASTS**

"... McCarthy said most of today's evidence dealt with 'a vast amount of waste running into tens of millions' but he declined to elaborate. The rest of the evidence dealt with subversion."

On Feb. 13, the *New York Times* broke it this way:

**MCCARTHY SIFTING VOICE OF AMERICA
HEARINGS ON MISMANAGEMENT AND
SUBVERSION CHARGES TO BE
HELD NEXT WEEK**

The sensational charges of an espionage conspiracy operating within the Voice of America boiled down to these major accusations:

One—Two giant 1000-kilowatt radio transmitters named Baker East and Baker West because of their lo-

cation on the two major coasts of the United States, were deliberately placed in locations where they would be ineffective, with an estimated waste of \$18,000,000. This, in effect, was a charge of sabotage against Voice officials in charge of locating the transmitters. Actually, the result of the McCarthy investigation, as the evidence below emphasizes, was the cancellation of the world's two most powerful transmitters—precisely the end sought by the Soviets.

Two—In broadcasts to Latin America “very sinister influences” were working in a “pattern” that was “stifling anti-Communist propaganda.”

Three—The Hebrew language broadcasts to Israel were ordered cancelled as part of a “pattern” performing a great service to the Communist cause. This “pattern” was too “consistent” to be “mere stupidity.”

Four—The head of the religious desk of the Voice of America was accused of being an atheist.

An examination of the official testimony—plus documented evidence the Subcommittee curiously failed to examine—shows how far removed were the facts from the original charges given great prominence in the nation's press.

Baker East and West

In 1951 the Voice of America decided to build the world's two most powerful broadcasting stations, Baker West to be at Seattle, Washington, and Baker East to be in the Cape Hatteras area of North Carolina. On the first day of his public hearings, McCarthy sought to plant the impression that the areas selected for Baker East and West were not the best sites and were chosen by disloyal officials to weaken the Voice and thus aid the Communist cause.

Said McCarthy Feb. 16, 1953 (*Hearings*, pp. 8-9): “As well as the question of waste, what other significance do you find in this location of Baker East and West? . . . Assume I do not want that [voice] to reach Communist territory. Would not the best way to sabotage that voice be to place your transmitters within that magnetic storm area? . . . Now has it ever-

been suggested by those who have worked with you in the Voice that this mislocation of stations, the waste in the construction program, has not been entirely as a result of incompetence, but that some of it may have been purposely planned that way?”

On the following day, Feb. 17, the *Chicago Tribune* front-paged the story with the assertion that “Senate investigators disclosed that the sites of the stations were apparently selected to facilitate jamming of American broadcasts by Russia.”

Part of McCarthy's charge, that the wrong locations had been selected, was backed by Lewis McKesson, a former engineer of the Voice, who testified that the locations for both Baker East and West were improper because of the alleged interference with radio transmission by the auroral absorption belt (magnetic storms far above the earth extending for about a 1,000-mile belt around the north geomagnetic pole). McKesson testified that in his opinion the more southerly locations of Los Angeles for Baker West, and southern Florida for Baker East would be the proper locations. (*Summary of Committee Hearings*, Feb. 16, pp. 2-3.)

An additional charge was made and repeatedly emphasized before the Subcommittee that the National Bureau of Standards was never consulted:

“MC CARTHY: Is it a fact that the Voice never contacted the Bureau of Standards when they were considering the location of Baker East and West?

“DR. NEWBORN SMITH (chief, Central Radio Propagation Laboratory,

Bureau of Standards): That is correct. We were never formally contacted.” (*Committee Hearings*, Feb. 16, p. 11)

This picture of a group of Voice officials furtively deciding on locations for the two giant transmitters without consulting Bureau of Standards experts is demolished by the facts. Official records which were not submitted to the McCarthy investigators, show that the Voice of America not only consulted the Central Radio Propagation Laboratories of the Bureau of Standards, but sought and received the expert counsel of the research laboratories of the Radio Corporation of America, the Signal Corps of the U.S. Army, and the Research Laboratory of Electronics of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The RCA report, conducted under Contract SCC-1A-1351, was completed and delivered in March 1951. This report concluded: “For Trans-Pacific transmissions, Seattle is somewhat better than Los Angeles.”

On Mar. 2, 1951, the Signal Corps presented its propagation study, a technical analysis without conclusion, to the Voice of America as requested on Feb. 23, 1951.

On Apr. 17, 1951, the CRPL of the Bureau of Standards (Newborn Smith's division) submitted a 39-page report covering data to determine locations for Baker East and West as requested by the Voice at a meeting held in the National Bureau of Standards Feb. 23, 1951.

This fact, if not a contradiction of Dr. Smith's sworn testimony, quoted above, which McCarthy repeated many times with vitally damaging effect, is at least direct evidence that Dr. Smith's statement was extremely misleading. Technically, the Bureau was not consulted on *location*, but it was asked and gave a 39-page report of data to be used in *determining* location. McCarthy asked the one question on *location* only. He made no effort to find out whether *any* consultation had taken place, nor did Dr. Smith volunteer information on the fact that the Bureau of Standards had prepared a 39-page report which he must or should have known about.

Proof of the fact that the Bureau of Standards did indeed conduct a propagation study at the request of

‘The Big Lie’

“Demagogues who shout the loudest about Communism and who smear anyone who disagrees with them by calling them Communists are the foremost disciples of the top technique of Communism—the Big Lie. They can be just as great a danger to your country and mine—to your freedom and mine—as the Communist disciples. They can be even more dangerous in that they are not as easily detected and exposed as the Communists are.”

SEN. MARGARET CHASE SMITH
Maine Republican

Voice officials is found in the complete transcript of letters on file in the State Department. One of these letters, from the Voice to the Bureau of Standards, dated Apr. 25, 1951, thanks the Bureau for "the propagation study submitted to us under your letter of Apr. 17, 1951." Another, from the Bureau of Standards, dated Apr. 27, 1951, discusses the studies made for the Voice.

Meanwhile, on Mar. 8, 1951, far from acting hastily or furtively, Voice officials had requested the Research Laboratory of Electronics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology to set up a special project (which included a representative of the Bureau of Standards) to evaluate all three of the studies previously made and present a recommendation for locations of Baker East and West.

In May, 1951, the MIT study group, using all the data available from the previous inquiries, including the study made by the Bureau of Standards, *endorsed two sites, both of which were accepted by the Voice of America.*

Later in 1951, Lewis McKesson, who had been a principal witness supporting McCarthy's view, pressed his "auroral absorption belt" objections to the two locations. The Voice asked the Research Laboratory of Electronics at MIT to re-evaluate its findings in the light of these objections.

On Dec. 26, 1951, Dr. J. B. Wiesner, director of MIT Research Laboratory of Electronics, by letter to the State Department, emphatically reconfirmed the two original sites in Washington and North Carolina as the best locations and stated that McKesson's "method of analysis is so oversimplified as to lead to erroneous conclusions. . . We believe that the original recommendation that the Baker station should be placed in Seattle is still sound."

On the strength of this report, the Voice of America went ahead on its sites in Seattle and North Carolina. In February, 1952, further MIT studies on auroral absorption raised some new concern on the whole problem. Subsequently, at a meeting of experts which included McKesson as well as representatives of all the scientific study groups concerned, it was decided to get the Federal Communica-

Will It Come to This?



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

tions Commission to obtain actual data from a monitoring service on the West Coast. The results were not conclusive, but southern California sites were explored in July of that year. On July 14, a Voice of America staff report, which carefully weighed all the factors, recommended "that there be no change in the present site [Seattle] of the Baker West transmitter."

On Feb. 21, 1953, Dr. Wiesner of MIT, head of the study project, reported that "though there would be times when the Seattle transmissions would be poorer than the southern sites . . . under favorable conditions transmissions from Seattle would provide stronger signals than more southerly points. We attempted to determine the relative duration of these various conditions and then formed the judgment that for this particular application the Seattle site would provide a more suitable service. . . . McKesson believes that the location [Baker East] should be further south, possibly in Florida. I do not believe that anything will be gained by such a move during normal conditions. The RCA data, which we still believe to be reasonable, indicated that any location on the southeast coast of the United States would be equally good. Cape Hatteras was suggested because it appeared to be slightly better than most other locations."

None of the above data, showing at worst a conflict of expert opinion, was ever presented at the McCarthy hearings. None of the engineering experts who would have testified in favor of the sites selected by the Voice were ever subpoenaed to appear. In fact one of them, Andrew Ring, a private radio engineering consultant, was at the hearing Feb. 16; when Dr. Wilson Compton, administrator of the Voice, wanting him to testify, stated, "He is right here," McCarthy simply repeated, "He is right here" (page 30, Feb. 15, *Committee Hearings*) and then went right on asking other questions.

Later, when Ring was away, Roy M. Cohn, McCarthy's chief counsel, stated he could not get hold of Ring. McCarthy berated the State Department for mentioning witnesses who were "out in the Pacific and not available," although Ben Crosby, Department spokesman, made it clear that Ring was in the country and available when the list of witnesses was submitted to the McCarthy Subcommittee. (*Hearings*, Mar. 3, p. 362)

Tests Confirm Choice

Even more remarkable is the fact that on Mar. 3, only ten days after the Feb. 21, 1953, letter from Dr. Wiesner of MIT to the State Department (*quoted above*), Cohn, in response to a request to get Dr. Wiesner's testimony, stated:

"The staff contacted Dr. Wiesner of MIT. We talked to him, three of us on the line for over one hour. Dr. Wiesner stated that it was his conclusion that Baker West, from a standpoint of efficiency and reliability, should be moved south and away from Seattle and that he would just as soon not come down and testify as that would be his opinion." (p. 361, *Mar. 3 Hearings*)

Cohn's claim is astonishing because five months later, on July 31, 1953, in a letter transmitting the report prepared by MIT in conjunction with the Radio Corporation of America and the Federal Communications Commission, Dr. Wiesner wrote:

"After further consultation with representatives of the International Information Administration, and also with Dr. H. H. Beverage of Radio Corporation of America, it was concluded that if large differences in

signal level of the sort predicted by Mr. McKesson actually existed they would most certainly be disclosed by a brief series of measurements. Accordingly, plans were made to conduct tests during the period from May 28 to July 7, 1952, with assistance from the FCC under arrangements established by the Department of State.

"The results of these tests failed to substantiate Mr. McKesson's predictions."

In a statement Jan. 18, 1954, Sen. Henry M. Jackson, a member of the McCarthy Subcommittee, emphasized that both Dr. Wiesner and the Radio Corporation of America had endorsed the original location of the projects at Seattle and Cape Hatteras. Said Sen. Jackson: "Their approval had been based upon their own studies and studies of the National Bureau of Standards and the U.S. Signal Corps."

In the same statement, the Senator pointed out that Dr. H. H. Beverage, director of the Radio Research Laboratory of RCA, wrote the State Department May 19, 1952: "Seattle should be slightly better than Los Angeles because the distance to Central China is about 800 miles shorter from Seattle than it is from Los Angeles. It is for this reason that Seattle was recommended as a preferred site."

It is significant, too, that Col. F. P. Andrews, for 14 years the chief of the Alaska Communications System, Army Signal Corps, was never called to appear. Yet in a hearing before the Hickenlooper Committee (*Hearings*, Mar. 12, 1954), Dr. Compton

testified about his views: "Col. Andrews' overseas radio had principal points in the Seattle area where this Baker West plant was to be located. He stated and I understand has since then stated in writing that with the exception of about five per cent of the hours of transmission during the year, he had no trouble in getting radio signals out of that area, and that the Seattle area had proven to be over the 14-year period one of the most advantageous areas. . ."

On Feb. 17, 1953, work on the Baker East and Baker West transmitters was suspended by a badly frightened State Department and canceled a month later, Mar. 20, in the face of wide public impression of "sabotage" and "waste" created by the McCarthy Subcommittee's public hearings. The cancellation came at a cost to the taxpayers of more than \$8,000,000 already expended for the projected two most powerful transmitters in the world.

Any fair evaluation of the whole story of the Baker East and Baker West case which captured so many headlines for the McCarthy Subcommittee must certainly result in these conclusions:

1. The location of Baker West in Seattle, despite the fact that only unfavorable engineering testimony was produced in the Hearings, was, as the full evidence reveals, at most a controversy among expert scientists. The fact that the Voice of America made numerous efforts to obtain the best scientific advice from both public and private agencies refutes McCarthy's implied accusation that subversive forces had "purposely

planned" to "mislocate" the sites. None of the evidence showing the extent to which expert opinion supported the Voice of America in its selections was introduced before the McCarthy Subcommittee.

2. The Baker East location in North Carolina was never called an unsatisfactory location, even by the Bureau of Standards. The sole exception was McKesson, who favored a more southerly location in Florida.

3. Even if there had been, as charged, some waste in the construction contracts, waste which could not possibly have exceeded a few thousand dollars, this fact could hardly have been the cause for canceling two 15 million dollar projects after more than 8 million dollars had already been expended.

The most extraordinary aftermath of the inquiry was the fact that an investigation which was begun in order to determine whether the transmitters were "purposely" located in the magnetic storm area, ended with the cancellation of the whole plan—certainly the end most urgently desired by the Kremlin—and with a loss of more than \$8 million to the taxpayers of the United States.

It is equally noteworthy that, despite all the charges and implications of sabotage and subversion, McCarthy made no effort whatever to place his case before the Attorney General for prosecution. The case ended with the cancellation of the program for Baker East and West.

'Going to the Waldorf'

The investigation of Baker East and West marked only the beginning of prolonged inquiry into the Voice of America, but the techniques developed in the Baker case of having witnesses attribute (under the Subcommittee's leading questions) alleged mistakes in policy to "sabotage," "Communist conspiracy," and deliberate "pattern too consistent to be merely stupidity," were now to run wild in the general Voice of America investigation.

Ambitious and disgruntled employees in the VOA were not slow to size up the situation. The process, whereby some 75 of them formed a so-called "American Underground" which operated as a relay belt of gos-

McCarthyism—Communism's Most Potent Weapon

"I oppose what has come to be known as McCarthyism not, of course, because it is hunting Communists, dead or alive, but because it is *not* fighting Communism. When it distorts the evidence, when it smears the reputations of innocent people, when it convicts by accusation, when it tortures our judicial processes, and when it creates a climate of fear which shuts our mouths and closes our minds to such an extent that we might easily fall prey to a loud-mouthed, totalitarian suppression, I say that McCarthyism, in its anti-Communism, has become so much like Communism that it is difficult to tell them apart.

"McCarthyism is Communism's most potent weapon in this country; it is democracy's greatest peril. And it is making ominous headway."

MURRAY D. LINCOLN
President, Farm Bureau Insurance Companies
In the *Ohio Farm Bureau News*
February, 1954

sip, recriminations, and suspicions to the McCarthy Subcommittee, is described in Philip Horton's article, "Voices Within the Voice" (July 21, 1953, issue of *The Reporter*):

"From the moment that the Messrs. Cohn and Schine (McCarthy's staffmen) moved into the Schine suite at the Waldorf Towers a week or so before the committee hearings opened, the 'American Underground' became in effect a secret tribunal.

"At the Voice offices, meanwhile, the expression 'going to the Waldorf' took on a very special meaning. On Feb. 13, the *Washington Times-Herald* described conditions thus: 'Consternation prevailed in the VOA headquarters at 57th Street and Broadway. . . Committee subpoenas were fluttering on desks like pigeons in Union Square, and more than one hundred witnesses had been lined up. . .'

Out of this enormous welter of charges, rumors, and gossip, McCarthy and the Subcommittee staff screened out in executive secret sessions what they regarded as their best cases for public hearings. Some of the major cases are analyzed below.

Latin American Broadcasts

Stuart Ayers, assistant chief of the Latin American Division of the Voice of America, complained that a radio series beamed to our southern neighbors, "The Eye of the Eagle," a sort of superman vs. bad men serial story, was using up most of their budget for recordings. The basic charge was that the series was "juvenile," made America look ridiculous, and contained no anti-Communist material. (*Hearings*, p. 87, Feb. 18) But an analysis of the evidence shows how wide of the mark the charge was.

"MR. COHN: Did you make corrections in this script?

"MR. AYERS: Yes, I inserted seven mentions of the name 'Communist' in the script. . . .

"The Chairman (McCarthy): This witness [Ayers] has submitted names of individuals whom he does not consider good loyal Americans, at least not the type of loyal Americans that should be running the information program. . . ."

Robert Bauer, the Voice division

'HE Been Cleared?'



Burck in *The Chicago Sun-Times*

chief responsible for the "Eye of the Eagle" and presumably listed as not a "loyal American," testified that the serial was definitely anti-Communist, and he cited many lines to prove his statement. A few examples:

"On page 8, Script 1, the real name of the man who calls himself Gomez but is a Communist agent, is Saroff, a Russian name. [Saroff] is suspected by the local chief of police of being a top-level foreign agent.

"In Script 3, the opening paragraph is: 'Our story begins in a small country of Central Europe that lost its independence and lives today under a brutal tyranny of an aggressor nation that tries to dominate the world with its absurd political doctrine.'

"There is also the language 'totalitarian aggressor. . .'

"On page 16 the word Communist is mentioned twice.

"The kidnaper in Script 5 is Bukoff, a Russian name; his goons are Ivan and Sergei; the saboteur is Voronov. . . The plot is about sabotage of an oil refinery. The engineer of the refinery has joined the Communist Party, but when he saw what their rotten aims were he quit the party, calling them extortionists. Although 10 years have elapsed, the Communist Party is trying to force him to be its tool.

"In Script 7 the Eagle says: 'The steamer *Red Star* is registered under the flag of a Communist country.'

The spies are on the *Red Star*. . ." (*Hearings*, Mar. 6, pp. 536-37)

It is clear from the above that even children would get the point of the Eagle vs. innumerable Russian names as villains. It seems clear that we have here an office squabble about whether the propaganda should be laid on with a shovel or merely a trowel. Yet this for McCarthy was sufficient to raise the question of loyalty of a devoted public servant.

In answer to the charges that using up most of the budget for platters was "waste," Bauer testified "that after we sent six sample programs [Eye of the Eagle] to the field, not less than 23 American missions in Latin America have requested 123 complete sets of the program." He cited a series of rave notices and eager requests for this series from American missions and embassies in the Dominican Republic, Salvador, Honduras, Costa Rica, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Cuba, and Venezuela.

So convincing was Bauer's testimony that Sen. Karl Mundt, second-ranking Republican member of the McCarthy Committee, felt obliged to say: "I am inclined to believe that Mr. Bauer is making a very effective presentation, and that there is some question in my mind but what we are wasting a lot of our Committee time trying to arbitrate an argument between dramatic critics, which happens all over the country." (*Hearings*, Mar. 5, 1953, p. 538)

Sen. Mundt's comment dismissing the hearings as "wasting a lot of time" did not, of course, receive anything like the attention given the original charges.

Uproar Over the Hebrew Broadcasts

The McCarthy investigation harvested another crop of headlines involving the Voice of America when it turned microphones and news cameras on the proposed discontinuance of the Hebrew language broadcasts to Israel. Serious charges purporting to present "a deliberate pattern to destroy and nullify" the VOA program were placed before the McCarthy inquiry and duly received their share of newspaper and radio attention.

Two of the charges were made by Dr. Sidney Glazer, chief of the Hebrew Service of the Voice of Amer-

ica, whose desk would have been eliminated by discontinuance of the broadcasts. Dr. Glazer's two complaints were: 1) that close to 85 per cent of the people of Israel could understand Hebrew; hence the need for continuing the program, and 2) the discontinuance of the Hebrew language broadcasts would have come at a time when the VOA might have exploited in Israel the sensational Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia which produced widespread charges of Communist anti-Semitism. (*Hearings, Mar. 4, pp. 397-398 and Feb. 28, pp. 190-211.*) Actually the proposal to drop the Hebrew broadcasts was not carried out at the time, as a result of a decision by higher VOA officials to continue the programs for a while. (*Hearings, Feb. 28, p. 198*)

The third and most significant charge was made by Gerald F. P. Doohar, acting chief of the Near East desk of VOA, who charged there was a "pattern" favorable to the Communist cause in the action of the VOA:

"DOOHER: Well, in my opinion the cessation of the Hebrew broadcasts would have been a well-struck blow in the Communist cause." (*Feb. 28, p. 190*)

"COHN (counsel): Have you detected a pattern along these lines?"

"DOOHER: I have. . . .

"SEN. POTTER: Mr. Doohar, do you consider that the policies were the result of design, or just plain stupidity?"

"DOOHER: Well, sir, I hate to go into the reasoning which may have been behind this pattern. However, I must say that it is exactly what the Soviet Union wanted to happen.

"SEN. POTTER: You think it was too consistent to be just plain stupidity.

"DOOHER: It was certainly consistent, sir, and it certainly was stupid, but I believe that there was a pattern, and stupidity, I believe, does not fall into patterns.

"The Chairman (McCARTHY): . . . If a man is merely stupid, he does the right thing once in a while." (*Feb. 28, p. 199*)

(Note: No other charges were made that could establish a "pat-

tern" by either Glazer or Doohar. The cancellation of the Hebrew broadcasts was the only explicit charge.)

Reed Harris, deputy administrator of field programs for International Information Administration, testified in direct refutation of these three charges that:

One—The decision to cancel the Hebrew language broadcasts was made as a result of budget cuts ordered by Congress. It was reached at a full meeting of the Program Allocations Board in July 1952, well before the Slansky trial's spectacular revelations of anti-Semitism in Communist Czechoslovakia. The decision to drop the broadcasts, moreover, was made with the full knowledge and agreement of Dr. Compton, head of the Voice program. (*Mar. 4, p. 400*)

Two—The number of letters received in December, 1952, from the Hebrew broadcasts at a time when Dr. Glazer testified "we had a terrific increase of listeners" right after the Slansky trials was 16, as compared, for the same month, with 1,557 from Turkey, 1,301 from Greece, 712 from Iran. (*Hearings, Mar. 4, p. 448.*) Facts of this kind confirmed the belief of Voice officials that Israel was a more educated and literate country than many of her neighbors in the Middle East, with first-rate news services of its own, and that this was why the Voice was not much listened to—not nearly so much as in nearby countries like Turkey and Iran, which have fewer sources of news.

Three—Glazer's insistence that the Hebrew language programs were most effective for Israel was disproved by a letter from the American Embassy in Israel, dated Jan. 9, 1953, which said: "The VOA Hebrew broadcasts to Israel still fail to evoke any great listener interest. As the Embassy sees the situation, a regular continuing press campaign is the only remaining hope to create a *raison d'etre* for the VOA Hebrew broadcasts." (*Hearings, Mar. 4, p. 448*)

Four—A scientific panel convened by VOA and asked how the Voice of America could best program in Hebrew or any other languages in

Israel, concluded: "Language choice—English preferred; Hebrew second." (*Hearings, Mar. 4, p. 449*)

Five—VOA broadcasts that go into the Near East and cover Israel include English among many other modern languages familiar to the multi-lingual population of Israel. (Moreover, daily wire and news services to Israel were not cut at all, but continued to carry a heavy volume of anti-Communist propaganda every day.) (*Mar. 4, p. 452*)

It is worth noting here that again the factual refutation received nowhere near the attention given the original charges. Even more significant in this case, however, is the remarkable fact that two months after the public hearings had been concluded, Dr. Robert L. Johnson, president of Temple University, who had been appointed head of the International Information Administration (IIA) by the Eisenhower regime, did precisely what those pilloried by McCarthy proposed to do: he canceled the Hebrew language broadcasts to Israel. But this time there was no mention at all of a "pattern" of Communist-inspired sabotage.

The Charge of Atheism

On Mar. 2, 1953, Dr. John Cocutz, acting chief of Voice's Rumanian service, was testifying critically of Voice operations. In the midst of a discussion of the use of religion to fight Communism in VOA broadcasts, he said he had heard that Roger Lyons, director of religious programming for the Voice of America, was an atheist.

"I talked with [Edwin M. J.] Kretzman (chief policy advisor of VOA) about it and he informed me there is a religious desk in the VOA, which is supposed to help the different language services with religious materials and scripts. 'But,' he said to me, 'I already told some other religious leaders around here that the chief of that desk does not believe in God.'" (*Hearings, Mar. 2, p. 234*)

"The Chairman (McCARTHY): You mean the Policy Director put an atheist or agnostic in charge? . . .

"DR. COCUTZ: I am just quoting what Mr. Kretzman told me.

"SEN. JACKSON: Mr. Kretzman told you he was an atheist?

"DR. COCUTZ: No; Mr. Kretzman told me that he told somebody else also that Mr. Lyons is an atheist." (Mar. 2, pp. 234-235)

Lyons demanded an opportunity to reply. Under oath he testified: "I am not an atheist, or an agnostic. I do believe in God and I would not have accepted the position of Director of Religious Programs if I had not believed in God, and I realize the importance of emphasizing religious and moral factors in the Voice of America broadcasts. . . . I have been in the present position for 18 months, and I have statements from the religious advisory panel of the information program consisting of distinguished religious leaders stating that since I have been in this position there has been a marked improvement in both the quality and quantity of religious programming on the Voice of America.

"I also have letters from clergymen of all faiths testifying that I have done a good job under my responsibility." (Mar. 2, p. 299)

Kretzman, called in to testify on Cocutz's statement, said:

"I was asked at one time by a superior in the Department of State what was Roger Lyons' specific religious sectarian adherence. My answer was that that was not a pertinent question for him to ask; and laughingly I added, 'For all I know, he may be an atheist.'

"This I knew not to be a fact because I had talked to Mr. Lyons previously. . . .

"I would like to hasten to add that I do not think an atheist could do Mr. Lyons' job and I knew that he was not. . . . He is a man of profound religious beliefs [and] a deep belief in God, and he has done a magnificent job in stepping up the religious output of the Voice." (Mar. 3, pp. 307-308)

No supporting evidence was produced for Dr. Cocutz' hearsay charge by any clergyman despite the fact that for 18 months on his job Lyons was daily in touch with leaders of all faiths and worked directly with an advisory panel of religious leaders. The headlines reporting refutation of the charge that the head of the VOA's religious desk was an atheist



were, inevitably, far smaller and far less conspicuously displayed than the original front-page stories screaming the cry of atheism.

Destroying the Voice

The McCarthy attack on the Voice of America continued in subsequent hearings. On Mar. 3, Reed Harris, the deputy administrator, was called, ostensibly to answer the charges made against the VOA at a public hearing of the Subcommittee which was nationally televised. In actual fact, of the two-hour session covering 40 pages of testimony (pp. 331-370), only nine pages dealt with the charges against VOA. The other 31 pages constituted a gruelling cross-examination on a book, *King Football*, written by Harris 21 years before, in 1932, just after he left college. The book—which Harris testified, "I wrote in three weeks and have regretted ever since"—dealt

largely with the dangers of the over-emphasis of intercollegiate football, but included other reflections on higher education.

On the basis of a few paragraphs of sophomoric conclusions arising from an excess of youthful idealistic enthusiasm for academic freedom in a book which had almost no sales and was long since repudiated and forgotten by its author, McCarthy embarked on a relentless vilification that far outdid anything previously heard in these hearings.

No possibility of guilt by innuendo, nor by the most tenuous or fleeting association, was overlooked in digging into events that occurred in a totally different atmosphere 21 years ago. Nineteen years of a distinguished career in public service with full FBI clearance—in fact, the man's entire mature life—was ignored while a U.S. Senator explored the "sinister" significance of a few paragraphs in *King Football*.

‘The Ghost of Torquemada’

“McCarthy’s methods of investigation are an assault on and a denial of the dignity of the individual. Christianity teaches that men are ‘made in the image and likeness of God’ and so loved by Him that He died on the Cross for them. Democracy is one attempt in the political sphere to safeguard and protect that basic respect for each individual having something sacred within him.

“McCarthy has stirred up the ghost of Torquemada and the Inquisitors, which Catholics have been trying to bury as a small and unpleasant incident, as it was, in the total history of the Church. But for many today the Church has once again been covered with mud . . .

“It seems that Catholics should re-examine the basic tenets of their own Faith and of the American political and democratic system. For with the distortions and oversimplifications of McCarthy we are headed for the disruption and negation of everything both these represent at their finest.”

GEORGE PATRICK MICHAEL CARLIN
The Catholic Worker
January, 1954

What was the result of these ‘hearings’?

The U.S. Advisory Commission on Information, a group of distinguished citizens appointed by the President, reported Feb. 3, 1954, that the kind of investigation conducted by McCarthy had seriously crippled the country’s global propaganda program.

“It is not too much to say,” the Commission reported, “that the desirable results sought through the activities of the information program are largely offset, if not destroyed, by the constant counter-barrage which is so generously distributed to the peoples of the world.”

Noting that the information program had been investigated in 1953 by two groups, the McCarthy Subcommittee and a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee headed by Sen. Bourke B. Hickenlooper of Iowa, the Commission found that the Hickenlooper group “rendered thoroughly and extremely constructive” service in revealing both “the strengths” and “weaknesses” of the information program.

But, turning its attention to the McCarthy inquiry, the Commission said: “The wide and unfavorable publicity that resulted from one of the Congressional investigations gave the agency such a bad name that professionally competent persons were reluctant to accept employment in it.” Moreover, said the Commission, such investigations make information workers concentrate on “how the messages will sound or appear to investigators and completely lose sight of whether they

will be effective with their intended audience.

“Some of the investigations which this agency has undergone in the past year have produced unfavorable impressions abroad on the very persons to whom the program is directed.”

Commenting on the report of the Commission, McCarthy said he proposed to reopen the investigation of the overseas information program. “I know we will scare hell out of a few Communists—demoralize them,” he said. “I don’t mind demoralizing the Communist Party.”

This comment was made by McCarthy despite the fact that the Commission is composed of Erwin D. Canham, editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*; Philip D. Reed, chairman of the Board of the General Electric Co.; Ben Hibbs, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, and Justin Miller, chairman of the board of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters.

The “Book-burnings”

The McCarthy investigation which chilled thoughtful Americans most and shook the prestige of our country as the leader of the free world was the inquiry into the presence of books by Communist authors in U.S. libraries in foreign countries. The striking fact about these explosive hearings was that they were completely unnecessary, for the Republican-controlled State Department, under which these libraries functioned, had seven weeks earlier ordered the removal from the li-

brary shelves of all books by Communist authors and sympathizers which did not “affirmatively serve the ends of democracy.” The basic principle in the State Department directive, issued Feb. 3, was that the content of the book, rather than the identity of the author, should determine its utility. In other words, it would be permissible to carry on the shelves of overseas libraries a book written by a Communist if the contents were such that the book could be used for an anti-Communist purpose.

In establishing its policy for the 189 libraries, with 2,000,000 books in 63 countries, the State Department was guided by the recommendations of its Advisory Commission of eminent authorities: Dr. J. L. Morrill, president of the University of Minnesota, chairman; Dr. Harold Willis Dodds, president of Princeton University; Dr. Edwin B. Fred, president of the University of Wisconsin; Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, of Catholic University; and Mark Starr, educational director of the militantly anti-Communist International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

This Commission unanimously endorsed the recommendation of its Committee on Books Abroad (composed of top-flight book publishers, librarians, and scholars) which made this recommendation: “. . . the Committee is positive and unanimous in its decision to recommend to the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange that authorship should not be a criterion for determining whether or not a book is available for U.S. libraries abroad. In this connection the Committee is unanimous in its recommendation that the *content* of the book regardless of *authorship*, be the criterion which determines its availability for inclusion in the U.S. libraries.” (*Italics ours*)

Evidence produced by the State Department showed that almost all the books by Communist authors and sympathizers on the shelves of overseas libraries were of pre-1947 vintage. Other books were, in addition, purchased after 1948, and on these Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, former head of the Central Intelligence Agency and presently Undersecretary of State in the Eisenhower Ad-

ministration, testified emphatically before the Senate Appropriations Committee July 20, 1953:

"... the Library Service had spent no money since 1947 for books by Communists. . . I can say categorically that the Secretary of State is and has been opposed to the works of Communist authors *per se*. . . But the overseas libraries must be free to put Communist works on their shelves if they can be used to counter Soviet propaganda."

This common-sense approach to the problem, which represented the heart of the State Department's Feb. 3 directive, which in turn was based on the unanimous judgment of two groups of distinguished authorities, was not allowed to function for long, however. On Mar. 24, 1953, McCarthy launched his much-publicized hearings on the charge that American libraries abroad were permeated with Communist books. Instead of the quiet corrective adopted by the State Department, the nation and the world were to be exposed to days of noisy headlines shouting a Communist plot to subvert the overseas libraries for Soviet purposes.

McCarthy's tactics in conducting the inquiry were clearly designed to magnify the scope of the problem and create an impression of widespread disloyalty among government employees. Thus, he subpoenaed before his Committee a number of witnesses whose political views were already well-known, in some cases to the public, and in all cases to the FBI. These witnesses, who were not government employees, had written books which appeared on the shelves of the overseas libraries. When questioned under oath regarding Communist connections, they refused for a variety of reasons to testify, claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

McCarthy succeeded in so confusing the authors with government employees that the public gained the totally false impression that a number of public officials were claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

This impression was heightened by the testimony of witnesses friendly to McCarthy like Karl Baarslag, formerly associated with the American Legion's National Americanism Commission, who subsequently joined

McCarthy's staff as a paid employee. Baarslag's testimony in response to Counselor Cohn's questioning ran like this:

"COHN: Did you look to see whether you could find any anti-Communist material [in Germany]?"

"BAARSLAG: . . . My estimate of the proportion would be that the pro-Soviet, anti-American literature ran roughly eight or nine to possibly four or five books on our side." (*Hearings, Apr. 2, p. 160*) "I was rather shocked nevertheless to find that they had never heard of it [*American Legion Magazine*]. So I hopefully asked for *The Freeman*. They had never heard of that. I asked for *The National Republic* and they had never heard of that. There were no anti-Communist magazines." (*Apr. 2, p. 161*)

(Note: These three magazines seemed to have exhausted his list of American anti-Communist publications, although he later testified that the libraries subscribed to 520 publications, including most magazines—nearly all of which are conservative and strongly anti-Communist—available at newstands.)

Baarslag continued:

"... the pattern is one of a vast, as we feel, planned conspiracy that has been going on in this country for many years not only to push pro-Soviet and pro-Communist books, but, to me what is far more sinister and dangerous, the blacklisting, sup-

pression, and knifing of books on our side, the anti-Communist books, and the books telling the truth about Soviet Russia." (*Hearings, Apr. 2, p. 163*)

It is a measure of the demoralization in the State Department created by McCarthy's operations that Dr. Robert L. Johnson, former president of Temple University and the responsible head of the IIA under which the libraries operated, did not answer these shocking charges until more than two months later, on July 15, when for reasons of ill health he resigned his post.

Helping the Communists

On that date in a public statement and also in a letter to McCarthy, Johnson lashed out at Baarslag's statements as "flagrantly inaccurate" and "false." He said: "I cannot understand why anyone would deal in such patent falsehoods unless he were completely incompetent as an observer or downright malicious." Johnson pointed out that his department had distributed 6,000,000 anti-Communist books and that there were 16,729 anti-Communist works in the libraries.

"The reputation of the American people has suffered enough as a result of irresponsible charges and actions in connection with our program abroad. The only group that has gained through these wicked attacks has been the Communist international movement. It is one of the tragic ironies of our time that some of those 'who are in the forefront of the fight against Communism' are among those who are damaging the action programs that do battle against it."

Meanwhile, in the interim between Baarslag's April testimony and Johnson's July reply, a greatly harried State Department issued a series of directives which at first sought to clarify the Feb. 3 directive, but subsequently began to reverse the previous criterion of content rather than authorship. Directive after directive seems only to have heightened the confusion and fright of overseas library officials who could read the headlines in the current American newspapers and who knew what had already happened to the Voice of America.

Aping the Dictators



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

While our friends abroad looked on with mounting horror, frenzied American officials abroad sought to work their way through the layers of confusion. Then, on June 15, the world press reported that a jittery America, succumbing to the Hitler-like methods of McCarthy, was actually burning books. A front-page story in the *New York Times* June 16 follows:

**SOME BOOKS LITERALLY BURNED
AFTER INQUIRY, DULLES REPORTS**

"John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State, disclosed today that there had been a literal though small-scale burning of books after Congressional investigations as his department had moved to rid the shelves of its Information Service libraries abroad of works by Communist authors.

"Secretary Dulles set the number of books burned at 11."

Only the day before, President Eisenhower had felt obliged to denounce the book-burners and thought control. Speaking at the commencement service at Dartmouth College, the President said: "Don't join the book-burners. Don't think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed. Don't be afraid to go in your library and read every book as long as any document does not offend our own ideas of decency. That should be the only censorship.

"How can we defeat Communism unless we know what it is? What it teaches—why does it have such an appeal for men? . . . We have got to fight it with something better."

The tide now began to run against McCarthy on this issue. President Eisenhower returned to the attack

June 26 when he wrote the American Library Association, assembled in convention at Los Angeles, criticizing as un-American "zealots" who with "more wrath than wisdom" sought to suppress information and ideas.

"Freedom cannot be censored into existence," he said. "A democracy smugly disdainful of new ideas would be a sick democracy. A democracy chronically fearful of new ideas would be a dying democracy."

At the conclusion of its convention, the American Library Association adopted a resolution threatening to withdraw its support of the government's overseas library program "unless the integrity and effectiveness of the program is reassured." The Association, consisting of 21,000 members, unanimously criticized the State Department for removing books from the libraries because loyalty of some authors and the material in some volumes were questioned.

Heartened by these developments and concerned about the frightful toll in world opinion, the State Department decided to defy McCarthy and send out, on July 8, its 11th directive to the overseas libraries, instructing them to revert to the original Feb. 3 directive to judge removal of books by content rather than by authorship.

The new directive termed book-burning a "wicked symbolic act" that was not to be condoned. The yardstick for selection of books for overseas libraries, it emphasized, was the usefulness of a particular book in meeting the particularized needs of a particular area. Said Dr. Johnson on that occasion: "We don't deal

with ideas we dislike by imitating the totalitarian techniques we despise. The burning of a book is not an act against that book alone; it is an act against free institutions."

McCarthy's response to Johnson's statement avoided discussion of the issue on its merits, but threatened to cut the budget of the International Information Administration in reprisal.

Perhaps the most revealing reaction to Dr. Johnson's statement came from a Republican member of the McCarthy Subcommittee, Sen. Charles Potter of Michigan, who exclaimed: "I've never seen anything like this committee. It seems we can't go 15 minutes without running into some new problem." (*Quoted by United Press, July 17, 1953*)

The record would not be complete without noting that despite the July directive making content rather than authorship the yardstick of acceptability for books in overseas libraries, the foreign information program has since retreated in several major respects from that position—largely in response to hysteria generated by McCarthyism.

The Rothschild Case

McCarthy's handling of the case of Edward Rothschild, a bookbinder in the Government Printing Office (GPO), can be interpreted as a striking example of the Senator's inability to stand prosperity. For here was a case that seemed more solidly based than his others, and many of his critics were quick to concede that maybe he "had something here."

But McCarthy was unwilling to present the facts as they were; he insisted on indulging in reckless exaggeration and distortion. For example, on a dash out to San Diego, to "take care of a matter" concerning the GPO investigation, McCarthy, with a straight face, told newsmen that this case could be "worse than the Alger Hiss case." (*United Press dispatch, Aug. 24, 1953.*)

Not content with his case against Rothschild, which itself was magnified beyond the provable facts (*see below*), McCarthy, in a series of press conferences, tossed out these accusations:

1. "Sen. McCarthy charged that the Printing Office harbored a 'gambling ring.' He said heavy los-

'Making It Easy for Communists'

"Despite the fact that McCarthy has not been responsible for the conviction of anybody whom he has accused under the cloak of Senatorial immunity, he has justified his irresponsible charges on the basis that he has alerted the general public to the dangers of Communism.

"What he has actually done is to incite a kind of hysteria which must please the Kremlin mightily. 'Divide and conquer' is an old technique. Make everybody suspicious of his neighbor, turn friend against friend, inject a religious angle into the controversy, and when the time is ripe and protagonists have knocked themselves out, step in and take over.

"Intentionally or not, McCarthy is making it easy for Communists to operate behind the smokescreen he throws up."

Sun Prairie (Wis.) Star-Countryman

ers among employees could be blackmailed by agents who sought classified information and might gladly square losses to get such data. This, he held, made gambling 'a grave security risk.'" (*New York Times*, Aug. 29, 1953)

Aside from the refusal under the Fifth Amendment of one witness to answer questions on this score, no evidence whatever was presented at the hearings to substantiate this sensational charge of a 'gambling ring' operating in the GPO, and none has turned up since.

2. "Chairman (McCARTHY): . . . Counsel has been instructed to contact Mr. Cole [GPO security officer] and tell him as soon as he is ready to attempt to explain why 35 cases—where they had a great mass of information from the FBI and other Federal agencies of Communist activities—all were cleared." (*Aug. 22 Hearings*, p. 114)

Cole, when he testified before the Subcommittee, was never asked the question raised above about the "35 cases" and was obliged to make his reply on this point at a press conference:

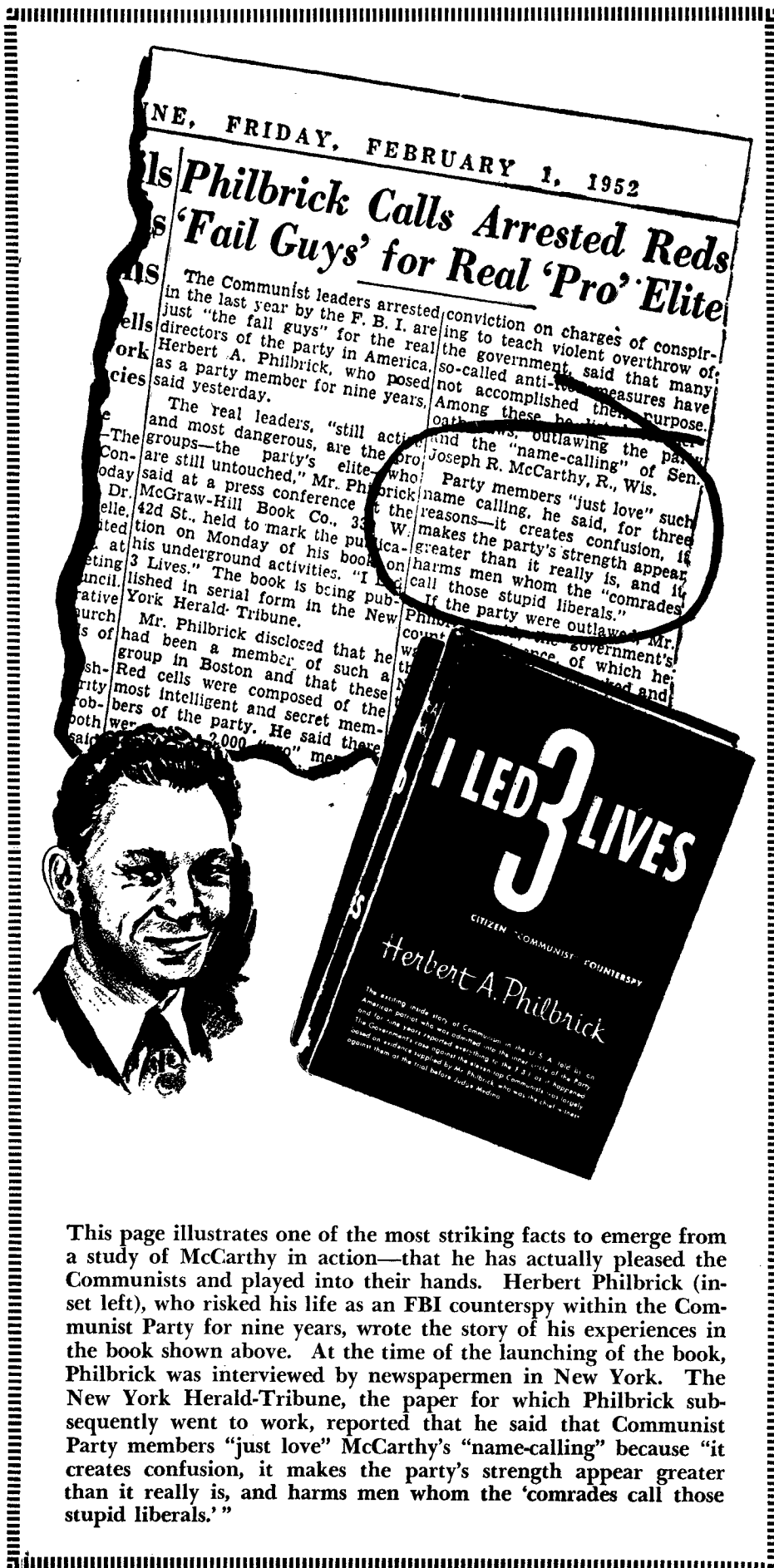
"Mr. Cole also disclosed that the FBI had been asked to make a full field investigation of 176 printing office employees who occupied 'sensitive' positions.

"Of the 35 employees who were principals in loyalty cases handled by the printing office security officials, he stated, 15 had been dismissed. One had retired, he added, and the cases of the other 19 were to receive full field investigation in accordance with the new security procedures established by President Eisenhower several weeks ago." (*New York Times*, Aug. 21)

3. Throughout the hearings and in his press conferences McCarthy gave out a vastly exaggerated version of the amount of classified material handled by the GPO. Typical comment:

"McCarthy also said he was 'trying to establish' whether Soviet agents purportedly working for the GPO stole secret hydrogen bomb information." (*United Press dispatch*, Aug. 24)

Cole again had to make use of his press conference to put the situation in its proper perspective:



This page illustrates one of the most striking facts to emerge from a study of McCarthy in action—that he has actually pleased the Communists and played into their hands. Herbert Philbrick (inset left), who risked his life as an FBI counterspy within the Communist Party for nine years, wrote the story of his experiences in the book shown above. At the time of the launching of the book, Philbrick was interviewed by newspapermen in New York. The *New York Herald-Tribune*, the paper for which Philbrick subsequently went to work, reported that he said that Communist Party members "just love" McCarthy's "name-calling" because "it creates confusion, it makes the party's strength appear greater than it really is, and harms men whom the 'comrades call those stupid liberals.'"

"'Secrets of the atomic bomb or the hydrogen bomb,' Mr. Cole declared, 'were not available to employees of the printing office. Material marked restricted, confidential, secret, and top-secret came to the plant from other government agencies, but very little matter in the last two categories was processed.

"'Secret material processed in the printing office constituted only an infinitesimal part of the \$73 to \$98 million worth of printing it did annually.'

"He criticized as 'completely misleading' some newspaper headlines that 'carloads of secrets' had been stolen from the office." (*New York Times*, Aug. 21)

Still, if we ignore McCarthy's sensational exaggerations and spectacular charges of "gambling rings" and "35 cases" that were intended for newspaper headlines, the evidence in the Rothschild case was of a relatively solid character as compared to his "evidence" in all previous cases.

The evidence ran as follows:

1. Mrs. Markward, an undercover FBI agent posing as a Communist from 1943 to 1951, definitely stated that Mrs. Rothschild was a member of the Communist Party with whom she had attended some 12 meetings and carried out a number of mass mailings in New York and Washington, D.C., in the period 1945-1947. Mr. Rothschild was in the Navy at the time, and Mrs. Markward therefore was not able to make any statement on whether he had had any Communist connections. (*Resume of hearings*, pp. 1-28, Aug. 17)

2. James Phillips, a fellow GPO employee of Mr. Rothschild, testified he had attended a meeting with Rothschild where he had been invited to help in forming a GPO Communist cell in 1939. In the same year Phillips alleged that a Fred Silvers and Rothschild again pressed him to join the Communist Party. (*Resume of hearings*, pp. 28-30, Aug. 17)

3. Miss Cleta Guess, former GPO worker as assistant to Rothschild, testified, in a sworn affidavit read at the hearings, that in the period 1941-43 when she had worked with him, Rothschild had put in his right pocket a secret code of the Merchant Marine and other pamphlets; had carried the *Daily Worker* in his left

pocket; had shown an interest in airplane manuals; and had defended the Communists in an argument with her. (*Resume of affidavit, Hearings*, Aug. 20, pp. 110-112)

Both Mr. and Mrs. Rothschild refused, under the protection of the Fifth Amendment, to testify in answer to the charges when they appeared before the Subcommittee public hearing, although Mr. Rothschild had previously denied four times under oath at Loyalty Board hearings that he had any Communist connections. It is noteworthy that Rothschild was the first among the scores of government employees summoned by McCarthy over a six-months period who refused to answer questions by claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment. All the other witnesses who had claimed the privilege up to then were not employed by the government.

As a result of the hearings Rothschild was suspended and later resigned. To date there is nothing to indicate that the Attorney-General has found sufficient evidence in the hearings to seek an indictment of Rothschild.

It is worth noting here that in what was his strongest case McCarthy's target was an agency of government "not under the executive authority of the White House. Responsibility for the Government Printing Office rests on the six-man Joint Congressional Committee on Printing, consisting of Sens. Jenner of Indiana, Carlson of Kansas, and Hayden of Arizona, and Reps. LeCompte of Iowa, Schenck of Ohio, and Trumble of Arkansas. The chairman is Sen. Jenner." (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Aug. 18, 1953)

The Monmouth Caper

Of the many investigations conducted by McCarthy few have been more spectacularly launched than the investigation into "espionage" at Fort Monmouth, N. J., the Army's vast Signal Corps facility where some of the most vital research into radar is carried on.

Few flopped more spectacularly.

McCarthy was on his honeymoon in Spanish Cay, British West Indies, when, as the Associated Press reported Oct. 9, 1953, a staff member of the McCarthy committee announced that "alleged security leaks" were be-

'Jeopardize Foreign Policy'

"Reckless blasts hurled at the State Department by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, Wisconsin Republican, have reached a point where they jeopardize this nation's foreign policy and threaten collapse of the Republican Administration program at home."

Eau Claire (Wis.) *Leader*
April, 1953

ing investigated at Fort Monmouth.

Dramatically cutting off his honeymoon, McCarthy rushed back to the United States. Up until the time he arrived in New York to take over the investigation, there had been no claims of espionage involved in the probe. On Oct. 12, he formally launched the headline phase of the investigation with the statement, "It has all the earmarks of extremely dangerous espionage. If it develops it may envelop the entire Signal Corps." The next day McCarthy told the *Washington Star*, "I am of the opinion that it definitely involves espionage."

Hearings were held behind closed doors. Developments were fed to the press by McCarthy himself when he emerged periodically from the secret proceedings to tell the public what he was "uncovering." This strange manner of reporting a vital story on espionage did not prevent otherwise responsible papers from running headlines such as these:

"ARMY RADAR DATA REPORTED MISSING"; "ESPIONAGE IN SIGNAL CORPS FOR TEN YEARS IS CHARGED"; "MC CARTHY HINTS OF SPY PLOT HITTING WHOLE SIGNAL CORPS"; "WITNESS CRACKS, BARES SPY RING AT RADAR CENTER."

The *New York Post* established a pattern for responsible reporting, which few other papers followed, by running the following box with each story on new developments in the hearings: "Neither the *Post* nor any other newspaper or press service is being permitted to cover the current Senate hearings. What you read here is what Sen. McCarthy gives out to reporters when he emerges periodically from behind the closed doors."

Here are some of the most sensational charges that helped to make

those headlines and also the facts subsequently uncovered which reveal how frequently flimsy and sometimes non-existent was the evidence to support the reckless charges:

One—Twenty-six out of 57 secret documents missing from the Signal Corps laboratory showed up in the Russian Zone of Eastern Germany. This charge was made in Chicago by Sen. Everett Dirksen, Illinois Republican and member of the McCarthy Subcommittee.

In a series of documented articles on the Monmouth investigation in the *Washington Post*, Murrey Marder exposed the distortion involved in this as well as other charges made by McCarthy and his associates. Marder showed Nov. 8 that this was an old charge that had been investigated in 1952 by Army Intelligence and the FBI and found to be without basis in fact. The Associated Press reported Oct. 18, 1953, that the Army had determined "more than a year ago" that no documents had been stolen. The Army, said the AP, officially announced that "the documents alleged to have been missing at that time were accounted for."

Two—McCarthy charged that an East German scientist who had fled the Soviet Zone reported that he heard Communist scientists say that "the Russians could get anything they wanted out of Fort Monmouth." McCarthy, describing the man as an "eminent scientist," said that the "scientist" had seen "many micro-filmed copies of documents."

The *Washington Post* reported on Nov. 8: "An investigation of that charge, in which the FBI participated, was ordered in December 1952 [nearly a year before McCarthy 'uncovered' him], and then was dropped about March, 1953. McCarthy acknowledged that some intelligence officers believed that the man was 'boasting.' In news accounts last month the man was first described as 'an eminent scientist' and then a 'technician' when it was found he was only 21 years old at the time of escape from the Soviet Zone."

Meanwhile, on Nov. 13, Secretary of the Army Stevens told a press conference that "we [the Army] have been unable to find anything

relating to espionage." According to the *Christian Science Monitor* of Nov. 18, Stevens had said that among the 33 suspensions at Fort Monmouth (most of which occurred after McCarthy started his probe), none had turned out to be spies. On Nov. 24 the *Monitor* quoted Stevens as saying that no "current case" of subversion had been uncovered during an Army G-2 investigation paralleling McCarthy's.

McCarthy Shifts His Position

McCarthy, in the meantime, began to deny that he had ever charged "espionage" at Fort Monmouth (and at the same time launched a diversionary investigation of General Electric in Schenectady). But the Associated Press had quoted him in a dispatch which hit many front pages Oct. 12 as saying that testimony before his Subcommittee "has all the earmarks that extremely dangerous espionage had been committed" and "if it develops as it has been, it will envelop the whole Signal Corps." On Nov. 17, McCarthy was quoted in the *New York Times* in reply to Army Secretary Stevens: "The open hearings beginning next Tuesday will permit the public to see the extent of Communist infiltration and espionage in the Signal Corps. It is extremely important, in view of Mr. Stevens' statement, that the public watch the testimony closely. Regardless of what I say, or what Mr. Stevens said, the final word will come from the witnesses."

In a radio debate with Roy Cohn, counsel for the McCarthy Subcommittee, Joseph Rauh, vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, charged on Nov. 22 that McCarthy "would have nothing on [the following] Tuesday to support their

hoax." Cohn replied that the public hearings "will bear out everything that Sen. McCarthy has said."

Late in November there were two days of open hearings. Three witnesses refused to testify about alleged Communist activities and two refused to say if they had engaged in espionage. None of these were current or even recent Fort Monmouth employees.

Later McCarthy shifted his position. Although he had several times insisted that "espionage" existed (as on Oct. 13 when he said, "I think there is no question but that espionage is involved"), he said Dec. 9, "We don't expect to come up with anything more than contempt or perjury. It is not our function to develop cases of espionage."

But McCarthy was again to change his story. In Senate debate Feb. 2, 1954, McCarthy insisted his one-man inquiry had turned up "very, very current espionage" at Fort Monmouth. He made this claim after Sen. Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana Democrat, read a letter from Army Secretary Stevens, dated Jan. 15, 1954, saying that "insofar as the Army has thus far been able to determine, there is no current espionage or other subversive activities at Fort Monmouth." (*Congressional Record*, Feb. 2, p. 1053)

After completing a comprehensive inquiry into McCarthy's investigation of Fort Monmouth, the *New York Times* reported Jan. 13, 1954, that 19 employees were suspended as security risks, one because, among other things, his mother had enrolled him in the left-wing Young Pioneers of America in 1933 and 1934, when he was 12 and 13 years old; another, an electronics engineer, because he "favored the 'leftist' policies of Max Lerner," a militantly anti-

'McCarthyism Could Lick Us'

"I do not think Stalin could have licked us; I do not think that whoever now may be running Russia can lick us. But McCarthy and the spirit of McCarthyism could lick us—no doubt without intention, but they could—by getting us to fighting among ourselves like the Romans, by persuading every man that he must keep on looking over his shoulder, to make sure that the man beside him doesn't stab him in the back. There is still enough vitality in Western civilization to save us, unless we insist on disemboweling ourselves."

ELMER DAVIS
In *But We Were Born Free*
(Bobbs-Merrill, 1954, p. 228)

Communist writer; and a third, a physicist, because, among other things, he "attempted to transmit" a reprint of a publication to a Czechoslovak professor who requested it. Said the *New York Times*:

"These, a *New York Times* study shows, are among the 19 Monmouth employees now suspended without pay as security risks. . . .

"Such charges—*none involving espionage or disloyalty*, and all vigorously rebutted by the employees—are generally a far cry from the headlines of possible Monmouth spying raised by Sen. McCarthy. In fact, the Wisconsin Republican's Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations has thus far called only one present Monmouth employee in public hearings.

"So far as can be determined, only two of the employees now suspended have been charged with even past membership in the Communist Party. They and all others deny any Communist sympathy."

Public Opinion Supports

The Monmouth Workers

During the hearings Telford Taylor, prominent New York attorney and former Brigadier General who was chief counsel for the United States at the Nuremberg war crime trials, delivered an address at West Point on Nov. 27 in which he said that "most of the McCarthy accusations at Fort Monmouth are indefensible fabrications." Unless McCarthy proves his charges of espionage, Gen. Taylor said, he "will stand condemned as a dangerous adventurer who does not hesitate to gamble with the national security."

McCarthy replied that Taylor had left government service with an "unresolved question of loyalty" showing on his civil service record. He also demanded an explanation from West Point officials of why Taylor was allowed to speak to the cadets at the institution.

Taylor declared that McCarthy's charges were "unfounded and false." Philip Young, Eisenhower-appointed chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, said he knew of no questions about Taylor's loyalty being raised since he entered the Commission in April.

"I've noticed in the past that some

A Torch Without Light



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

of his [McCarthy's] references have not been too accurate," Young said.

On Dec. 9 McCarthy said he was issuing a subpoena for Taylor to appear before the Committee. "He is retired," McCarthy said, "and we are going to see if he is getting a pension or in what way the government is supporting him." Shortly afterward Taylor, still awaiting service of a subpoena, predicted that a "thorough investigation" of McCarthy's Fort Monmouth charges would "destroy the Senator."

In the communities where the Monmouth employees live, public opinion has run strongly in their favor. Thus, the *Asbury Park Press*, in a Nov. 28 editorial, characterized most McCarthy charges then known to it as "ridiculously thin accusations," and said McCarthy's tactics "can easily become a threat to American principles of liberty and justice." The *Long Branch Daily Record*, in a Dec. 16 editorial, denounced "the spectre of McCarthy daily sitting in sole judgment of free American citizens, like a demigod." The *Daily Record* bitterly denounced what it called the Senator's "reckless charges; his masterful dissemination of half truths, insinuations, and innuendos; his assumption of the roles of prosecutor, judge, and jury, and now his threatened intimidation of the Army's loyalty review board; his callous disregard of the reputations

of American citizens who have never been convicted of anything, much less accused; his snide 'ad lib' comments; his abrogation of time-honored civil liberties."

The Federation of American Scientists, after hearing a report from its own committee which looked into the Fort Monmouth case, adopted a statement saying that the McCarthy investigation was "wrecking morale among the scientists at Fort Monmouth and could "result in a net gain for those who work against the interests of the United States." Scientists, it said, will seek work elsewhere rather than endure the kind of treatment suffered at McCarthy's hands at Fort Monmouth.

"Investigations which are characterized largely by sensational headlines and wholesale suspensions can, by crippling our defense research, actually result in a net gain for those who work against the interests of the United States," the statement said. "The effect on our national security would be extremely serious if such investigative methods are allowed to spread to other areas of this country's scientific effort."

At a conference of scientists at Columbia University, Prof. Ernest C. Pollard, Yale University physicist, who is chairman of the Scientists Committee on Loyalty and Security of the Federation, reported that "morale among the professional staff [at Fort Monmouth] is very poor" and that "a high percentage of the scientists not implicated in the present investigations are now planning to seek employment elsewhere."

Prof. Pollard emphasized that "no charges of actual espionage or real subversive activity have been made against any of the 19 scientists suspended or the ten scientists who have been transferred to unclassified work." He emphasized the fact that, contrary to general belief, "not a single scientist" at Fort Monmouth had pleaded the Fifth Amendment, and only one of those suspended had received a public hearing. Pollard's committee found that the "atmosphere of suspicion and distrust" created by the McCarthy charges had "seriously disrupted" the vital defense work of "developing the continental defense network" of the United States. (Quoted in the *New York Times*, Jan. 30, 1954.)

Writing in the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* on Dec. 8, Walter Millis, author and historian, said, "This really vital and sensitive military installation has been wrecked—more thoroughly than any Soviet saboteur could have dreamed of doing it—by the kind of anti-Communism of which Sen. McCarthy has made himself the leader.

"The Fort Monmouth situation is truly scandalous. It is so scandalous that some who have looked into it, thoroughly conservative in outlook and Republican in politics, are talking about demanding a Congressional investigation—not into the alleged espionage (of which on Secretary Stevens' word, no evidence of any kind has been discovered by the Army) but into the processes of witchhunting, bigotry, cowardice, race prejudice, and sheer incompetence which have turned one of our top-level military-scientific operations into a mare's nest of exasperation, fear, and futility. . .

"The personal injustice involved is not here considered. The impairment of the national defense is something which no one whose life may one day hang upon the excellence of our radar screens can dare to disregard."

Editorially, the *Herald Tribune* said, "The picture of this place as a nest of spies can hardly have done less than weaken the incentives which spur such men to creative work—to say nothing of promoting doubts and confusion in the American public. The thought that such a picture was created by Sen. McCarthy to further his own ambition is bitter indeed."

The Washington *Post* said McCarthy's accusations "shattered morale at a post of vital significance to the national defense and badly disrupted activity in an area where work ought to be going forward with utmost energy."

Dr. Harold C. Urey, one of the nation's foremost atomic scientists and Nobel Prize winner, denounced McCarthy's investigation as an "irresponsible type of activity" which had ruined morale "among scientific personnel at Fort Monmouth," according to an Associated Press dispatch. Said Dr. Urey: "I don't believe the U.S.S.R. has a better agent in the country than Sen. McCarthy."

McCarthy had the last word. He said the investigation wasn't closed. He has never formally closed one.

A Major Setback

Before Sen. McCarthy had completed six months as chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, he had been in a head-on clash with the press, some of the nation's educational institutions, the State Department, the Pentagon,

the Foreign Economic Administration, and the White House. At the end of six months he found himself in a stormy controversy involving religion—a controversy in which he was to suffer a major defeat, the worst since he took over the Subcommittee in January of 1953.

The stage was set for the explosion when the six other members of the Subcommittee received a memorandum from McCarthy late in June informing them for the first time that

The Fort Monmouth Timetable

The changing character of McCarthy's claims in the Fort Monmouth case shows up graphically in this timetable:

Oct. 12, 1953

"It has all the earmarks of extremely dangerous espionage. If it develops, it may envelop the entire Signal Corps." (New York *Times*)

"It looks very much like a case of current espionage." (*Associated Press*)

Oct. 21, 1953

"I am not saying whether there is espionage or there is not. . . It would be improper for me to evaluate the testimony. . . I think it is easy for a reporter to make a mistake and refer to espionage. I have been giving reporters a daily resume of the testimony. I think with all of the evidence coming out—I think some of them may have used the word 'alleged espionage'. . . There is evidence of espionage. . . I refuse to say there is or is not [espionage] at this time. I intend to let the evidence speak for itself. . . I won't evaluate, but there is evidence of espionage. . ." (Washington *Post*)

Nov. 5, 1953

"There is no question now, from the evidence, that there has been espionage in the Army Signal Corps." (Washington *Evening Star*)

Dec. 10, 1953

"[I have] no real hope [of proving espionage]. . . We don't expect to come up with anything more than contempt or perjury. It is not our function to develop cases of espionage." (New York *Times*)

Feb. 2, 1954

"We have uncovered espionage." (*Congressional Record*, Feb. 2, 1954, p. 1053)

NOTE: When this issue of *The Progressive* went to press, McCarthy had offered no evidence whatever to support his last claim.

he had hired Dr. J. B. Matthews, "whom I consider to be an outstanding man," as executive director.

Matthews is a former extreme left-wing Socialist who admits he was a fellow-traveler of the Communists, though he denies ever taking out a membership card. In 1938 he published a book called *Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler*. During his fellow-traveling days he was fond of blasting away at the churches and clergy as the "tools of capitalism." His theme was that the basis of the clergy's opposition to Russian Communism was the opposition of the men of wealth who control the churches. This theme was set forth in his book *Partners in Plunder*. A survey by the *Washington Star* in July, 1953, produced the conclusion that "he was active with Communists, Socialists and others in 28 different front organizations, in 15 of which he held an official position."

Matthews had been active as chief investigator for the old Dies Committee, after his conversion from the left. He was briefly back in the headlines in late 1950 in the abortive attempt to smear Assistant Secretary of Defense Anna Rosenberg as a Communist—an attempt which backfired badly. Matthews proudly displays a desk set inscribed, "To J. B. Matthews, a star-spangled American, from one of his pupils and admirers." The set is a gift from Sen. McCarthy. (Cited in the *Washington Star*, July 6, 1953.)

A few days after McCarthy's colleagues on the Subcommittee had received notice of the hiring of Matthews, the July issue of the *American Mercury* appeared. The magazine is owned by Russell Maguire, whose name has been linked in the past to the old racist Christian Front. The lead article, by Matthews, was called, "Reds in Our Churches." Its opening paragraphs were:

"The largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen.

"Since the beginning of the First Cold War in April 1948, the Communist Party of this country has placed more and more reliance upon the ranks of the Protestant clergy to provide the party's subversive apparatus with its agents, stooges,

dupes, front men, and fellow-travelers.

"Clergymen outnumber professors two to one in supporting the Communist front apparatus of the Kremlin conspiracy. . . . The Communist Party has enlisted the support of at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen in the same categories—party members, fellow-travelers, espionage agents, party line adherents, and unwitting dupes."

McCarthy's Conflicting Stories

About Matthews' Article

Developments broke swiftly and explosively.

On July 2, the three Democratic members of the Subcommittee, Sens. Jackson, Symington, and McClellan, issued a statement denouncing the article as a "shocking and unwarranted attack against the American clergy." They called on McCarthy to convene the Subcommittee as "early as possible" to "consider appropriate action."

McCarthy seemed stunned by the storm that broke. On July 2, C. P. Trussell reported in the *New York Times*, "Mr. McCarthy said he knew about both of the *American Mercury* articles by Mr. Matthews when he offered him the Subcommittee post." On July 8, Samuel Shelton, Jr., of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, quoted McCarthy as saying on the previous day, "I haven't read all of Matthews' material and I do not intend to. He undoubtedly has written many things with which I disagree. But I feel I have no right of censorship over anyone."

Later, on July 15, McCarthy declared in a letter to the three Democrats, "I was totally unaware of the controversial article written by Dr. Matthews. It first came to my attention the first week of this month."

Meanwhile, it became known that the article was familiar to Congressional circles. It had been introduced into the *Congressional Record* on June 27 by Rep. Kit Clardy, Michigan Republican and a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee (pp. 44114-4117).

Whether he had read the article or not, McCarthy stood by Matthews. On July 2 he said, "Dr. Matthews has the reputation of being one of the most outstanding authorities, if

not the outstanding authority, on subversion in the United States." (*New York Times*, July 2).

On July 3, Sen. Potter, Michigan Republican, joined the three Democrats in the view that Matthews should not be retained on the Subcommittee. When McCarthy convened the group to consider the question on July 8 he faced this line-up: four members committed to firing Matthews; two—Sens. Dirksen and Mundt—absent and uncommitted; and McCarthy for retention.

Don Irwin reported to the *New York Herald Tribune* July 9, "Lines hardened in the fight joined yesterday when Sen. McCarthy refused to permit a Subcommittee vote on the question although four (three Democrats and Sen. Potter) of the group's seven members demanded Mr. Matthews' separation. . . . Not a single Subcommittee member came to Sen. McCarthy's assistance yesterday—two Republicans (Mundt and Dirksen) were pointedly absent. . . ."

McCarthy emerged from the meeting to tell newsmen, "I have not accepted his resignation. I do not intend to do so." He said that he had refused to put the question of resignation to a vote because Matthews was not a "professional staff member" as defined by law and therefore could not be fired by a majority of the Subcommittee—only by the chairman.

President Eisenhower

Takes a Hand

Meanwhile, protests came from church leaders all over the country. On July 6, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that Bishop William C. Martin, president of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and Methodist Bishop of the Dallas area, made this statement: "There are only two bases upon which such a statement as the Matthews article can be accounted for: either it is deliberate Communist propaganda or it is a revelation of a degree of stupidity and misrepresentation which can be reached only in an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust, and fear. A Communist agent could afford to subsidize the article liberally. He knows that any influence that tends to weaken the confidence of the Protestant layman

in his church and its leaders is helping to remove the most stubborn barrier in his path."

In New York, Dean James A. Pike of the New York Cathedral (St. John the Divine) spoke for thousands of the Protestant clergy when he attacked Matthews' article as "so absurd on the face of it as to reflect on Mr. Matthews' competence to hold any public office. . . It is alarming to find that procedures resulting from fear of Communism are causing us to lose those very things that most distinguish our way of life from theirs."

Even as the headlines were proclaiming across the country that McCarthy would stand by his "star-spangled" friend, the final blow that was to end Matthews' brief tenure as executive director was being prepared in the White House. President Eisenhower on July 9 had received from the three national co-chairmen of the Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews (Msgr. John A. O'Brien of the University of Notre Dame; Maurice H. Eisendrath, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the Rev. Dr. John Sutherland Bonnell, pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church of New York) the following telegram:

"The President

"The White House

"The sweeping attack on the loyalty of Protestant clergymen and the charge that they are the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus is unjustified and deplorable.

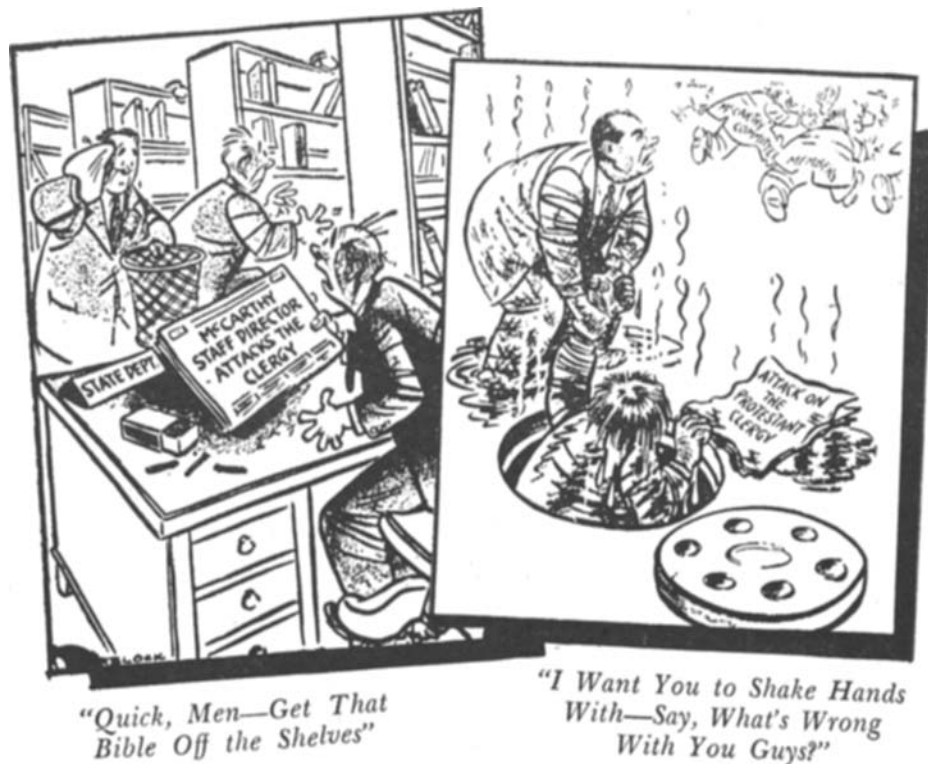
"This is a matter of vital concern to the nation. You are to be congratulated on your recent warning against casting doubt on the loyalty of the churches and synagogues.

"We fully recognize the right of Congress to investigate the loyalty of any citizen regardless of the office he may occupy, ecclesiastical or otherwise. But destroying trust in the leaders of Protestantism, Catholicism or Judaism by wholesale condemnation is to weaken the greatest American bulwark against atheistic materialism and communism."

MSGR. JOHN A. O'BRIEN,
RABBI MAURICE H. EISENDRATH,
DR. JOHN SUTHERLAND BONNELL

The President replied immediately:

"I have received your telegram of today's date. I want you to know at once that I fully share the convictions you state. The issues here are clear. Generalized and irresponsible attacks that sweepingly con-



demn the whole of any group of citizens are alien to America. Such attacks betray contempt for the principles of freedom and decency. And when these attacks—whatever their professed purpose be—condemn such a vast portion of the churches or clergy as to create doubt in the loyalty of all, the damage to our nation is multiplied.

"If there be found any American among us, whatever his calling, guilty of treasonous action against the state, let him legally and properly be convicted and punished. This applies to every person, lay or clergy.

"The churches of America are citadels of our faith in individual freedom and human dignity. This faith is the living source of all our spiritual strength. And this strength is our matchless armor in our world-wide struggle against the forces of godless tyranny and oppression."

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

McCarthy rolled with the punch. On the same day, he announced that Matthews' resignation had been accepted but said that it had been accepted before the President had taken his action. *Newsweek* for July 20 reported that the Presidential announcement had come at 5:29 p.m. and the McCarthy announcement at 6:35.

But the question of whether McCarthy was to have sole power to hire and fire committee personnel was not yet settled. *Newsweek* re-

ported that Vice-President Richard Nixon had worked out a compromise under which Matthews was to resign and McCarthy was to have sole hiring and firing power by agreement of the other members of the Subcommittee.

On July 10 the Subcommittee met and by a party line vote of 4-3 gave the chairman sole power to employ or discharge staff members. Announcing that they had been put in "the impossible position of having responsibility without any voice, right or authority," McClellan, Jackson, and Symington resigned.

"I will accept the resignations," McCarthy said. "If they don't want to take part in uncovering the graft and corruption of the old Truman-Acheson Administration, they are, of course, entitled to refuse." (McCarthy made no effort to detail "the graft and corruption," and a study of the official record shows he has done little if anything in this field.)

Realizing that he headed a solely Republican committee instead of a Senate committee, McCarthy changed his tune by July 15 and sent an invitation to the Democrats to come back. "I sincerely hope," he said,

"you will not permit such differences of opinion among us on details of our housekeeping to cause you not to continue the service which you have been rendering the country while fulfilling your responsibilities as members of the Subcommittee. . ."

The Democrats said that the letter had not influenced them to change their positions in the slightest degree.

McCarthy again went back to the brass knuckles. On the National Broadcasting Company's radio and TV show, "Meet the Press," on July 19, he said that the Democrats had quit because the Subcommittee was "exposing graft and corruption" in the Truman Administration. He said that he would make no move to force them to return if they felt that as Senators "they wanted to draw their pay and not do their work." He compared them to "small, irresponsible boys."

McCarthy continued to defend Matthews, telling the radio and TV audience that he had not "fired" Matthews and had not accepted his resignation. "He quit," McCarthy said, "when the opposition raised the phony religious issue where there was no religious issue."

The furor caused by the Matthews article brought Sen. Harry F. Byrd, conservative Virginia Democrat, into the controversy. "Mr. Matthews," he said, "should give names and facts to sustain his charge or stand convicted as a cheap demagogue, willing to blacken the character of his fellow-Americans for his own notoriety and personal gain." (*New York Times*, July 10, 1953.)

The Matthews' Affair Ends

In Retreat and Defeat

Noting that McCarthy had said that Matthews was "an outstanding authority on subversion in the United States," the *Christian Advocate*, official organ of the Methodist church, said, "In weakening confidence that Protestant laymen have in their church and its leaders, Mr. Matthews is doing precisely what atheistic Communism wants."

The Lutheran, news magazine of the United Lutheran Church in America, said, "To save his [McCarthy's] shriveling reputation he an-

nounced that he had accepted Matthews' 'resignation.' The rafters are ringing with the explosive replies made to Matthews' charge."

An appeal by Matthews to the Subcommittee to be allowed to testify and "document" his charges was turned down by Subcommittee members on the grounds that it would plunge the group into an investigation of the clergy, an area in which it had no jurisdiction. (*New York Times*, July 10.)

On a subsequent TV show, "The Big Issue," Matthews was asked, "If testifying under oath, could you tonight name a single Protestant minister as an espionage agent?" He replied, "I could not." He was asked, "If testifying under oath tonight, could you name 15 Protestant clergymen who are card-carrying members of the Communist Party?" He answered, "I could not." ("The Big Issue" television program on Sept. 14, 1953.)

When Congress reconvened in January of this year, the question of what to do about the absent Democratic Subcommittee members was before the Republican leadership for solution. The Associated Press reported that on Jan. 8, 1954, McCarthy said he was willing to "lean over backward" to get the absent members back, but on the issue of hiring and firing the staff, "I will be completely adamant—I will not give an inch."

By Jan. 25 his retreat and defeat in the Matthews' affair were complete. It was announced that the Democrats had won certain concessions in exchange for returning to the Subcommittee. McCarthy not only surrendered his exclusive authority to hire and fire staff members, but agreed to the following concessions limiting his power:

When the Democratic minority unanimously opposes public hearings on any issue, the question must be taken to the parent Committee on Government Operations for decision by a majority vote.

The Democratic minority will be provided with its own counsel and a clerical employee to keep them advised.

On Feb. 2, 1954, the Senate voted, 85 to 1, with Sen. J. William Fulbright, Arkansas Democrat, the sole dissenter, to grant McCarthy's Sub-

committee \$214,000 for 'this year's investigations.

In the Matthews case McCarthy again showed himself to be a master of the diversionary tactic: when in trouble on one issue, break into the headlines on another. On July 10, 1953, one day after he was forced to accept Matthews' resignation, McCarthy launched an attack on the super-secret Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which brought him a new harvest of headlines on a new issue. In the end McCarthy was obliged to retreat on this one, too, but not, as the Alsops noted in their column July 16, 1953, until "Administration strategists allowed him a little phony face-saving."

The Pattern in Summary

In case after case, as the foregoing makes clear, McCarthy the Chairman demoralized vital services of the national government, terrorized government personnel, and actually contributed to the weakening of our defenses, as the scientists emphasized in their report on the Fort Monmouth case.

Headlines and hysteria made up most of the crop harvested by the Subcommittee, which often functioned as a one-man show with no other Senator, Republican or Democrat, on hand. As Peter Edson, Washington correspondent for the Newspaper Enterprise Association, put it July 11, 1953:

"There has been a headline a day—sometimes two or three—as the chairman has leaped with agility from sensational crag to crag. When all the cases are boiled down, however, the substance of constructive contributions . . . is not too impressive. . . . Nearly all charges have been as vigorously denied as they have been made. Nothing has been proved."

It is not difficult to understand why a year earlier (*See Page 43*) Herbert Philbrick, who risked his life as an FBI counterspy within the Communist Party, told reporters that the Communists "just love" McCarthy's name-calling, because it "creates confusion." Confusion and disunity in America are among the most cherished goals of the Kremlin.

McCarthyism

in Action



Case Studies of the Major Ingredients of The 'Ism,' Including Smearing the Innocent, The Big Lie, and 'Shoot First, Ask Later'

McCARTHYISM has been defined in a variety of ways, none of them flattering to the man who gave his name to the ism. Perhaps the most effective method of evaluating McCarthy and McCarthyism is to observe them in action.

One of the most criticized ingredients in McCarthyism is the ruthless smearing of individuals who happen to hold views on foreign policy or other issues which McCarthy finds objectionable.

The *Michigan Catholic*, official publication of the archdiocese of Detroit, skillfully caught this characteristic of McCarthyism in an editorial (Sept. 20, 1951) which conceded McCarthy's right to fight his foes on foreign policies, and then went on:

"But that is quite a different matter from exposure of covert Communist influence. It is an issue that ought to be fought on its own merits, and not as a smear campaign that seeks to discredit what are apparently honest motives."

When charged with conducting a smear campaign, as he has been, not only by Catholic publications but by spokesmen of virtually every religious denomination, McCarthy habitually denies the charge with a statement like:

"All right, what innocent person have I injured? I've asked that question lots of times—on forums and in speeches—and nobody ever tells me. I've never yet had anyone give me the name of a single innocent person who has been hurt by my

methods." (*New York World Telegram and Sun*, June 13, 1953.)

Americans who have the facts have no difficulty driving McCarthyites to cover when this question is asked. The official records and the reports of the country's most reliable newspapers show the extent to which McCarthy has smeared individuals. Suppose we look at a few of the better-known cases.

The Marshall Case

On June 14, 1951, speaking to an all but empty Senate chamber, McCarthy delivered a 60,000-word attack on one of the most distinguished of Americans, George C. Marshall, former Secretary of Defense, former Secretary of State, former Chief of Staff, a five-star general, and sub-

McCarthy Charges Marshall with Aiding Russian Cause

BY WILLARD EDWARDS
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, June 14—Sen. McCarthy, [R., Wis.] told the senate today that Defense Secretary Marshall consistently has advanced the designs of soviet Russia since 1942.

McCarthy spoke before packed galleries, attracted by advance notice that he would outline "the blackest conspiracy in history."

ern plains of Europe ahead of the Russians.

"It was Marshall, who at Tehran, made common cause with Stalin on the strategy of the war in Europe and marched side by side with him thereafter.

Opened Secrets to Reds

"It was Marshall who enjoined his chief of military mission Moscow under no circumstances to 'irritate' the Russians by asking them questions about their forces, their weapons and their plans.

Some notion of how the pro-McCarthy press played McCarthy's bitter blast at Gen. George C. Marshall can be gained from the above headline in the Chicago Tribune.

sequently (1953) winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace.

Although McCarthy has since offered a variety of interpretations of what he recalled saying on that occasion, the record is clear that he accused Gen. Marshall of treasonable conduct. One of the most pro-McCarthy of the nation's newspapers, the *Chicago Tribune*, reported McCarthy's speech this way:

"Sen. McCarthy told the Senate today that Defense Secretary Marshall consistently had advanced the designs of Soviet Russia since 1942 . . . From largely friendly sources, McCarthy compiled a review of Marshall's important acts which led him to the conclusion that Marshall had always supported Soviet interests and opposed anti-Communist proposals.

"How can we account for our present situation unless we believe that men high in this government are concerting to deliver us to disaster?" McCarthy asked. "This must be the product of a great conspiracy on a scale so immense as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man."

Chicago Tribune,
June 15, 1951

In his bitter outcry against Marshall, McCarthy went on to say:

"Gen. Marshall is at the head of our Armed Services. Quite apart from the destructive nature of his public acts since the beginnings of World War II, I ask in all gravity whether a man so steeped in falsehood who has recourse to the lie whenever it suits his convenience is fit to hold so exalted a place where he must be a model to the officers and men of our Armed Services."

Congressional Record,
June 14, 1951, p. 6752

In his book-length attack on Marshall, *America's Retreat From Vic-*



Gen. George C. Marshall

tory, McCarthy professes to see in Marshall's activities "a pattern which finds his decision maintained with great stubbornness and skill, always and invariably serving the world policy of the Kremlin." And McCarthy added:

"Even as we were spending vast amounts of flesh and blood and steel to win the war there was still being conducted what appeared to be a planned loss of peace. . ."

In his June 14 Senate speech McCarthy, after describing "a conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous venture in the history of man," went on to say that the object of this "conspiracy was to diminish the United States in world affairs, to weaken us militarily . . . to the end that we shall . . . finally fall victim to Soviet intrigue from within and Russian military might from without."

And yet McCarthy continues to insist that "no innocent person has been hurt by my methods." If Marshall has not been hurt by McCarthy's smear attack, the only reason can be that Marshall is too great a figure and too patriotic an American to be affected by McCarthy's calculated attempt at character assassination. On Aug. 22, 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower said:

"Gen Marshall is one of the patriots of this country. If he was not a perfect example of patriotism and a loyal servant of the United States, I never saw one. I have no patience with anyone who can find in his record of service for this country anything to criticize."

The conservative *Washington Star* characterized McCarthy's tirade against Marshall as "an adaptation of Hitler's big-lie technique."

In 1953 when Gen. Marshall was awarded the Nobel Prize for peace, McCarthy was asked if he had anything to say on the award in view of his bitter attack on Marshall's loyalty. "No comment," was all he would say.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

McCarthy broadened his 60,000-word smear attack on Marshall to include others whom he sought to associate in this "black" and "infamous" conspiracy. Among them was Dwight D. Eisenhower, then General of the Army and Command-

er-in-Chief of American forces in Europe, who was described by McCarthy as a partner in the Marshall "conspiracy" against America.

The incident was recalled recently by the Associated Press in a dispatch from Washington:

"In a blistering, two hour and 45 minute speech the Wisconsin Senator wove the name of Dwight D. Eisenhower into what he described as 'a conspiracy so immense and an infamy so black as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man.'

"McCarthy charged, among other things, that Gen. George C. Marshall, as World War II Chief of Staff, played Joseph Stalin's game—wage the campaign against Germany in a manner 'so bad for the free world and so good for international Communism.'

"And 'in all these attitudes,' declared McCarthy, Marshall's 'firm supporter' was his fast-rising protege 'Ike' Eisenhower."

*Associated Press Report,
Wisconsin State Journal,
Nov. 29, 1953*

McCarthy's exact words, as they appeared in his book, were these:

"In all these attitudes Eisenhower, who had been Commander-in-Chief in North Africa, was Marshall's firm supporter."

*America's Retreat from Victory, by
Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy, p. 28*

Philip C. Jessup

Another prominent American smeared by McCarthy—and vindicated by the evidence—was Dr. Philip C. Jessup, professor of international law at Columbia University. Dr. Jessup has held a number of government posts during the past 25 years, starting in the Justice Department during the Coolidge Administration.

In 1950 McCarthy charged that Jessup "has an unusual affinity for Communist causes." (*Congressional Record, Mar. 30, 1950, p. 4464.*) On another occasion McCarthy said, "For some reason or other, you find Jessup always is following the Communist Party line."

McCarthy persisted in his smear of Jessup despite clear-cut evidence to refute his charges.

Hiram Bingham, former Republican Senator from Connecticut,

then head of the Federal Government's Loyalty Review Board, wrote Sen. John Sparkman of Alabama in response to a query:

"My dear Senator: With further reference to your letter of Sept. 24 requesting information as to the status of Philip C. Jessup, a panel of the Loyalty Review Board has now put its seal of approval on the action of the Loyalty Board of the State Department in finding *there is no reasonable doubt of his loyalty.*" (Italics ours)

*Hearings, Nomination of Philip C. Jessup,
Subcommittee of Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, p. 146*

Dwight D. Eisenhower, then President of Columbia University, wrote an unsolicited letter to Jessup Mar. 18, 1950, in which he said:

"I am writing to tell you how much your university deplores the association of your name with the current loyalty investigation in the United States Senate.

"Your long and distinguished record as a scholar and a public servant has won for you the respect of your colleagues and of the American people as well. No one who has known you can for a moment question the depth or sincerity of your devotion to the principles of Americanism. Your university associates and I are confident that any impression to the contrary will be quickly dispelled as the facts become known."

Said the New York Times editorially:

"In making a political career of mud-slinging and Red-baiting, Sen. McCarthy has launched irresponsible, unprovable, and ridiculous charges against so many respected citizens that his attacks have become almost an accolade.

"Sheer disgust and weariness of his demagogic tactics impel fair-minded men to rise to the defense of his victims . . .

"In the case of Dr. Philip C. Jessup, this newspaper has sharply disagreed on occasion with his views and his attitudes on matters of public policy. He is a liberal whose good impulses have sometimes confused and misled him. But we have never had the slightest doubt of his loyalty or his patriotism."

It is true that Dr. Jessup's views on foreign policy were bitterly denounced by critics other than McCarthy. For instance, *Soviet State and Law*, an official Moscow publication, said this about Jessup:

". . . for many years Jessup has been a faithful servant of American imperialism and is one of the most diligent apologists of its foreign policy."

Also, Tass, the official Soviet news agency, said this about Jessup on May 26, 1951:

"The representative of the United States, Dr. Philip Jessup, spoke on the same lines as Mr. Davies. By slander against the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union borrowed from the filthy sources of anti-Soviet

Arthur Eisenhower Compares McCarthy to Hitler

Arthur Eisenhower, brother of the President and vice-president of the Commerce Trust Company, in Kansas City, was quoted by the Associated Press in a dispatch from Las Vegas, Nev., July 24, 1953, as saying: "It is a horrible shame that McCarthy is a Republican for he has done the party no credit. He is the most dangerous menace to America.

"When I think of McCarthy, I automatically think of Hitler. I would believe anything about him."

Asked if he thought the Wisconsin Senator had an ultimate objective, Eisenhower was quoted as saying:

"Of course he has. He wants to keep his name in the papers at all costs. He follows the old political game which is 'whose name is mentioned the most in politics is often selected for the highest office.'

"McCarthy is a throwback to the Spanish inquisition. He calls in people and proceeds to make fools of them by twisting their answers. What chance do they have? They have no rebuttal because they have no recourse to the press, radio, and magazines. It is Nazi-like and what makes it all so much more of a fiasco is that he has never been responsible for the conviction of one—of one, mind you—Communist."

propaganda, he attempted to justify the aggressive policy of the Western Powers . . ."

Testimony at Hearings, Nomination of Philip C. Jessup, Subcommittee of Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, p. 502

'Shoot First, Ask Later'

Another ingredient of McCarthyism is the practice of shooting first and asking questions later, of rushing into print with sensational charges and then, after a while, looking around for some evidence that might support those charges.

A notable case involved McCarthy's shameless attempt to imply that former President Harry Truman had deliberately concealed from the FBI a list of some 150 Soviet spy suspects received from Canadian authorities.

McCarthy's statement hit the front pages with big, black headlines, as he knew it would. Then, according to the Associated Press, "McCarthy fired off a letter to Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell asking if the Justice Department ever got such a list from Truman. He called this a first step toward deciding whether to ask the investigation's subcommittee to call Truman as a witness."

Two weeks later, McCarthy reluctantly revealed that the FBI had assured him Mr. Truman had not withheld any information he had received from Canada—a fact which inevitably received far less prominence in the press. McCarthy, of course, could have acquired the necessary information by picking up a telephone or writing his letter to the Department of Justice before he rushed into print with his original statement.

McCarthy was asked why he did what he did the way he did it, in a "Meet the Press" program shortly afterward. William S. White, Washington correspondent for the *New York Times*, put the question to McCarthy this way:

"Would it perhaps have been better to check first with the FBI before suggesting that you could call the former President?"

"You might do it one way, Mr. White, I might do it the other."

Still another ingredient of McCarthyism is the sly use of innuendo to plant doubts about the integrity

and loyalty of Americans of unsailable character and patriotism. One of the shabbiest examples of this McCarthy treatment involved Nathan Pusey, the new president of Harvard University.

In the summer of 1952, Dr. Pusey was president of Lawrence College, located in Appleton, Wis., McCarthy's home town. Dr. Pusey joined with a group of distinguished citizens, among them bankers, industrialists, clergymen, educators, doctors, and lawyers in sponsoring *The McCarthy Record*. Throughout the campaign of 1952, when he was seeking reelection to the Senate, McCarthy refrained from attacking *The McCarthy Record* or its sponsors, and refused to challenge in any way that documented analysis of his record.

In the summer of 1953, when Pusey was appointed to the presidency of Harvard, Neal O'Hara, columnist for the *Boston Traveler*, asked McCarthy for an estimate of his fellow-townsmen. In his reply, McCarthy said:

"I do not think Dr. Pusey is or has been a member of the Communist Party." The use of this language to create a doubt where none was justified was bitterly denounced by the paper which is closest to and most enthusiastic about McCarthy's operations, his home town Appleton *Post-Crescent*, as a "gutter-type approach."

In his statement to the *Boston Traveler*, McCarthy went on to say of Dr. Pusey:

"His activities could well be com-

pared to the undercover Communist who slaps at the Communist Party in general terms, cusses out the thoroughly well-known Communist, and then directs his energy toward attempting to destroy those who are really hurting the Communist Party by digging out the dangerous undercover members of the party, who parade as loyal to the country which their conspiracy is attempting to destroy.

"What motivates Pusey, I have no way of knowing. He is what could best be described as a rabid anti, anti-Communist."

McCarthy's attempt to smear Dr. Pusey infuriated some of the Senator's best friends in his home town—people who knew Dr. Pusey well and who were thus exposed first-hand for the first time to McCarthyism in action.

The most outraged response came from the Appleton *Post-Crescent* quoted above, whose managing editor, John Reidl, was listed number one among "McCarthy's Wisconsin newspaper backers" by Richard Wilson, chief of the Cowles correspondents in Washington (*Look*, Dec. 1, 1953).

After noting that McCarthy had been fighting "a two-front battle against the machinations of the enemy, and against the doubts of his fellow Americans as to the fairness of his methods," the *Post-Crescent* went on to say:

"These doubts have not been confined to the political opposition. The Senator's supporters in Wisconsin have had to defend him again and again from the charge that he has besmirched reputations in order to advance his own career.

"The Senator has multiplied those doubts by his gratuitous and completely uncalled-for attack on Dr. Nathan Pusey. Dr. Pusey is known to us all here in Appleton for his integrity, his devotion to American ideals, his exemplary personal life, and his leadership in the liberal arts movement that is just as important in fighting Communism as McCarthy's exposures.

"The Senator's act has caused dismay among Dr. Pusey's friends and associates, many of whom have been strong supporters of McCarthy, and are known to have contributed to his campaign funds.



Nathan Pusey

"In stating that 'I do not think Dr. Pusey is or has been a member of the Communist Party' McCarthy has used a gutter-type approach. He could have referred as correctly to Pope or President. It is an insult not only to Dr. Pusey, but to all who know him and are proud to call him friend.

"The only motive for the Senator's statement appears to be Dr. Pusey's opposition to him in last fall's election. If this is the case, McCarthy is running way out of bounds. Dr. Pusey, like any other loyal citizen, has a perfect right to take whatever stand he pleases in a political campaign, and should not be subjected to personal slaps for so doing."

McCarthy's hunger for revenge against Pusey went on a long time.

In a New York inquiry, which had nothing to do with Harvard, Pusey, or education, McCarthy repeatedly threw poisonous barbs at Harvard and Pusey and referred to Harvard as "a sanctuary for Communists." (*United Press report quoted in Wisconsin State Journal.*)

The Commonweal Case

McCarthy's use of innuendo in the case of Dr. Pusey is paralleled by a similar device he used in attempting to smear *The Commonweal*, the distinguished Catholic magazine which has been critical of many of McCarthy's methods. In the Pusey case he said, "I do not think Dr. Pusey is or has been a member of the Communist Party"; in the case of *The Commonweal* he sought to achieve the same result by inviting the public to "draw your own conclusions." Here is what happened:

In August 1953 the North American Newspaper Alliance, a national press syndicate, released to its member papers a four-part interview with McCarthy. In it the Senator was asked to comment on his habit of labelling critics as "Communists."

McCarthy replied, "I'd have to know what critics you have in mind."

When *The Commonweal* was mentioned, McCarthy said, "I never said *The Commonweal* was Communist. I just said that, in front of the Jenner Committee, one of its writers refused to say whether he is a Communist or not. From that you can draw your own conclusions."

'Help! I'm Being Followed'



Herblock in The Washington Post

The editors of *The Commonweal* asked McCarthy to identify the writer to whom he had referred. Five weeks later McCarthy "replied" by asking the editors "what connection Thomas Davin has with *The Commonweal*—whether he writes for it, whether he has any voice in determination of policy, etc."

The Commonweal reported in its issue of Nov. 27, 1953:

"We . . . assured Sen. McCarthy that Mr. Davin had never at any time written a single line for *The Commonweal*, that he has never had the slightest voice in determining the magazine's policy, and that, previous to the present incident, four of the present five editors had never heard of him. We therefore ask the Senator to make a public correction of his own statement (with its dark innuendo: 'from that you can draw your own conclusions') and to bring this correction to the attention of the North American Newspaper Alliance."

In a letter dated Nov. 12, 1953, McCarthy had failed completely to respond to the request of the editors of *The Commonweal* that he set the record straight. Instead he renewed his attack on *The Commonweal*, widely regarded as one of the most effective of anti-Communist publications in the United States. In his letter McCarthy said:

"I may also have pointed out that while you referred to your publica-

tion as a Catholic magazine, as far as I know, you have no right to use that title unless the fact that apparently your editors feel that because some of them attend the Catholic church they are entitled to call *The Commonweal* a Catholic magazine. So that there will be no doubt in your mind as to how I feel about your magazine, I feel that you have done and are doing a tremendous disservice to the Catholic church and a great service to the Communist Party . . ."

In the face of the big distortion heaped by McCarthy on his original innuendo, the editors of *The Commonweal* decided against engaging in a name-calling contest with McCarthy. Said the editors of *The Commonweal*:

"No extended comment on this letter seems necessary. It is sufficient to note that Sen. McCarthy ignores the point in question (the fact that no *Commonweal* writer has ever appeared before the Jenner Committee) and apparently refuses to correct the false implications of his widely publicized comments on *The Commonweal*, resorting instead to his familiar method of personal attack.

"Discussion on this level is, of course, impossible and *The Commonweal* will certainly not stoop to attempt it. But we are indebted to Sen. McCarthy for one thing: he has again demonstrated, more effectively than we could ever hope to do, the level of his 'crusade.'"

A final word on *The Commonweal's* controversy with McCarthy came from another Catholic publication, *The Wage Earner*, published in

Hitler Parallels

Returning from a trip to Europe, Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of the Methodist Church, told reporters that religious leaders in Europe are concerned about McCarthyism because "they see too many parallels to the pre-Hitler days." Said the Bishop:

"Sen. McCarthy has done more to discredit the nation abroad than any other single factor. Europeans overestimate the place and power of McCarthy in this country. They seem to think he is dictating the policy of this country."

The New York Post
Feb. 16, 1954

Detroit by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. Writing in the January 1954 issue, Father Karl Hubble, chaplain of the Detroit chapter, after observing that "one cannot go on indefinitely being silent about Joe McCarthy," struck back at McCarthy's claim that *The Commonwealth* was doing a "tremendous disservice to the Catholic church" and was "dishonestly masquerading" as "a mouthpiece for the Catholic Church." Said Father Hubble: "Having read *The Commonwealth* for most of the 29 years of its existence, we need look no farther for a better example of the slanderous results of the terrifyingly simple McCarthy methods."

Distorting the Truth

A recurring McCarthy device is to play fast and loose with the record, even in cases where the record can be easily checked. An example of McCarthy's loose use of the truth could be found in McCarthy's November 1953 radio and television attack on former President Truman. In denouncing the former President, McCarthy said that Truman's definition of McCarthyism was exactly the same as that of the Communist *Daily Worker*. The definition, he said, was "identical, word for word, comma for comma."

After the broadcast, however, when asked what issue of the *Daily Worker* contained the Truman-employed definition, "an official source of the committee of Senator McCarthy," according to the United Press, qualified the McCarthy statement. It had not appeared in any single issue, this source said, but in selected phrases put together by McCarthy.

Thus, the quotation was not, as McCarthy had pretended, "word for word, comma for comma." Quite the contrary, it was a series of isolated phrases stretching over many issues which were assembled by McCarthy in order to present the wholly false impression that Truman had lifted the *Daily Worker's* precise language in describing McCarthyism.

Another significant example of this characteristic of McCarthyism—distortion by tampering with the truth—was on display in the fall of 1953 when McCarthy suddenly opened a new attack on the Pentagon, charging that it had sent out "clear-

cut, Communist propaganda to 37 of its commands last year."

"If you read this and believed it, you would move to Russia," McCarthy told reporters, pointing to photostatic copies of 70 pages of a document he said was prepared for an indoctrination course for intelligence officers and others.

*Reported by the
Associated Press,
Sept. 10, 1953*

Army authorities were furious, not only because McCarthy had disclosed restricted security information in violation of the espionage laws, but because he had clearly distorted the real meaning of the Army's bulletin which was an intelligence study of the "psychological and cultural traits of Soviet Siberia," made in January, 1952, by the Far East Command.

By selecting certain passages from the report, McCarthy sought to back up his claim that the document was "95 per cent Communist propaganda." But in his release McCarthy significantly omitted precisely those portions of the report which clearly showed the intent to be the exposure of Communism as a way of life. For instance, McCarthy conveniently failed to make available to the press the conclusion of this Army survey which read as follows:

"The Soviet citizen enjoys neither the liberty nor the civil rights which we 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 redress against a harsh authoritarian government . . . His voting rights are a travesty on the ideals and purposes of democracy . . .

'Greatest Menace'

"The greatest menace to liberty we have had in a long time is McCarthyism . . . McCarthy will be blown sky high when people wake up to what he has done."

DR. JOHN LAPP
Former Director of the
Social Science Department
at Marquette University,
The Jesuit College attended
by McCarthy
March 2, 1951

He is the helpless prisoner of a slave state . . . 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."

McCarthy's failure to make this part of the report available to the press at the time he was denouncing the report as Communist propaganda shows again how lazy he believes others are. Perhaps he felt that Pentagon officials would not care to fight back, but it is difficult to understand why he would not know that newsmen would not be content to accept his handout, but rather would ask for permission to examine the entire report.

Another example and one which is a revealing study of McCarthyism in action came in a speech McCarthy gave in Milwaukee, Sept. 3, 1952, during his primary campaign for reelection. McCarthy said in the course of his address:

"There are those who say, 'But there are no longer Communists in government.' I am not going to ask you to take my word for that. I have in my hand the brief prepared by seven lawyers of the Justice Department dated July 28, 1952. Let me read to you from it:

"'Illegal passports have been used to expedite travel in foreign countries by members of the Communist Party. Plans have been discussed by leading members of the party and agents of the Soviet secret police to obtain blank American passports from the [State] Department from Communists employed in the State Department.'

"For the benefit of the press, that's on page 91 of their very excellent and lengthy brief."

Two days later, on Sept. 5, the Associated Press reported from Washington that Atty. Gen. James P. McGranery had exposed the distortion McCarthy had made of the Department report. McGranery said that Paul Crouch, an acknowledged former Communist, had testified that in 1928 he had met a man identified as the head of the Russian secret police in the United States and learned from him that a plan was afoot to obtain

blank passports from Communists employed in the State Department.

"His [McCarthy's] reference to 'plans' discussed to obtain blank American passports from Communists employed in the State Department does not mean that there were Communists employed in the State Department," McGranery said.

In other words McCarthy used a quotation from the Department's report which referred to a condition that was alleged to exist 24 years earlier under the Administration of Calvin Coolidge, to support his charge that there were Communists in government in 1952!

Another ingredient of McCarthyism is the reckless use of exaggeration to bolster a weak case or to create headlines for personal and political aggrandizement. An interesting example of this characteristic of McCarthyism was exhibited in the summer of 1953 when McCarthy returned to his home state to address the Republican Convention of Wisconsin in Madison, June 13, 1953.

In that speech McCarthy demanded that the Justice Department bring the "traitors" responsible for the ammunition shortage in Korea before a grand jury and make them answer for their crimes. McCarthy seemed to be basing his charge and demand on the investigation of the Senate Armed Services Committee. But Sen. Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts Republican and chairman of the committee, promptly asserted that there was nothing whatever in the disclosures before the Committee to indicate a "general picture of treason." The "only thing charged" by the investigators, Saltonstall told reporters, on June 15, 1953, was "inefficiency and bad manners"—certainly a far cry from treason.

McCarthy frequently attempts to prevent the publication of unfavorable material. A notable example occurred in late 1951 when Prof. Hornell Hart, professor of sociology and anthropology at Duke University, was preparing to publish his survey entitled, *McCarthy Versus the State Department*. Hart, more considerate than many authors, sent a preliminary draft of his study to McCarthy. He requested a factual criticism. Instead, he received from Jean Kerr, then McCarthy's secretary, a letter calling the survey "a

The Great Flop



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

typical Communist Party line smear upon Senator McCarthy." Convinced of the accuracy of his findings, Hart decided to go ahead with publication. McCarthy then wrote the president of Duke:

"The purpose of this letter is to call your attention to the fact that this preliminary draft of the Hart report contains a vast amount of the vicious, false, and libelous attacks which have been leveled at me by the *Daily Worker* and some of the Communist camp-following elements of the press and radio. This is to notify you personally of Mr. Hart's project, in case you are not aware of it at this time, and that I shall hold the University legally accountable for the publication of this document."

On Oct. 31, 1951, McCarthy wrote a second letter which contained the following:

"Unless I hear from you on or before Nov. 10 that you are taking steps to have retracted the false and defamatory statements made, I shall assume that the material in the publication meets with your approval."

Despite these threats of libel action, Hart and Duke University went ahead with publication. When the Hart study appeared, McCarthy took refuge in silence.

Still another example involves the then Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air, John F. Floberg. It was

Floberg who had approved the award of medals to McCarthy (*See Pages 9-11*), but apparently McCarthy was concerned that Floberg, in discussing his approval of medals for McCarthy, might delve into portions of McCarthy's service record which he preferred to leave undisturbed. As a result, on Jan. 2, 1953, McCarthy wrote Floberg saying that he had heard Floberg was "displaying classified material to unauthorized personnel." Further, said McCarthy, "this is to inform you that I am aware of this situation and you will be held fully accountable. Will you please prepare a report to me on such activities on your part, and have it available for presentation to me as chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee?"

Note how McCarthy used the power of his position as chairman of the Senate Investigating Committee to crack down on Floberg. Floberg wrote McCarthy Jan. 5, 1953, "you are hereby advised that I have not at any time disclosed any classified material to any unauthorized person or persons; any reports which you have received of any such conduct on my part are false."

'The Ruthless Effort to Make Himself Feared'

The recent uproar generated by McCarthy's violent clash with the U.S. Army—a case in which he accused high Army officials of "coddling Communists"—is perhaps the best recent example of McCarthyism in action. The background:

Dr. Irving Peress, a New York dentist, was called to duty as a captain Jan. 3, 1953. In the routine loyalty inquiry that followed, he invoked the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions. In June, 1953, the commandant at Camp Kilmer, N. J., where Peress was stationed, recommended that the dentist be dismissed. This was more than six months before McCarthy took a hand.

But as a result of the Army's "hurry up and wait" delays known to every GI, Peress was not dismissed then. In a completely separate action Peress received an automatic promotion to major in October under the law requiring advancement of medical men according to age and

professional experience. On Feb. 2, 1954, he was given his honorable discharge.

Army officials, the New York *Times* reported Feb. 26, 1954, "admit certain aspects of the case have been poorly handled. . ." But, they were quick to point out, they "had no feasible legal alternative but to grant the dentist an honorable discharge under Defense Department directives. . ."

The case began to command front-page headlines when McCarthy summoned Gen. Ralph W. Zwicker, new commandant at Kilmer, to a secret hearing. McCarthy's treatment of Zwicker angered Army officials. The official transcript shows that Zwicker, a combat veteran much decorated for heroism, had declined to answer some questions because a Presidential order forbade Army officials from revealing details of loyalty investigations. Zwicker's steadfast insistence on following Presidential orders enraged McCarthy into using language of this kind:

"General, let's try and be truthful. . . . 'I cannot help but question either your honesty or your intelligence.' . . . 'Don't give me any of that double-talk.' . . . 'Anyone with the brains of a five-year-old child can understand that question.' . . . 'Any [General] who says, 'I will protect another General who protected Communists' is not fit to wear that uniform.'"

Afterward, McCarthy said, "I was too temperate."

Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens, expressing resentment at the "unwarranted abuse of our loyal officers," ordered Zwicker and other Army officials not to appear before McCarthy and announced he would go himself.

But the showdown did not come off as scheduled. Stevens met, instead, with McCarthy and the other Committee Republicans. The outcome of the conference was universally interpreted as complete surrender by Stevens, for he agreed to give the McCarthy Committee the names of everyone involved in the Peress case, and consented to their appearance before the Committee.

Greatly troubled by the adverse public reaction to Stevens' capitulation to McCarthy, the Eisenhower Administration gave 100 per cent approval to a statement by Stevens

which said: "I did not at that meeting [recede] . . . from any of the principles on which I stand. . . . I shall never accede to [Army personnel] . . . being browbeaten or humiliated. . . . From assurances . . . received from the Committee, I am confident they will not permit such conditions to develop in the future."

McCarthy struck back by accusing Stevens of having made "a completely false statement" about the assurances.

The violence of McCarthy's attack on Army officials created a front-page sensation throughout the world and measurably lowered American stature everywhere people could read. Even papers usually friendly to McCarthy were critical of his behavior. Thus, the Chicago *Tribune* commented: "McCarthy will better serve his cause if he learns to distinguish the role of investigator from the role of avenging angel." H. V. Kaltenborn, veteran newscaster who said that up to then he had "enjoyed defending McCarthy," found it impossible to swallow McCarthy's conduct in this case. "McCarthy uses the same bludgeon to hit an honorable Army General that he swings at a treacherous Communist. He has become so vindictive . . . that he treats as an open enemy anyone who is not on his side. . . . He has become completely egotistical, arrogant, arbitrary, narrow-minded, reckless, and irresponsible. Power has corrupted him."

Frank Conniff, writing in the usually pro-McCarthy New York *Journal-American* (Hearst) said: "I think

Joe owes the Army an apology but I doubt if our soldiers will get it; the Senator has sure lost his touch since he took up with those oil-rich, anti-Catholic Texas millionaires, the very same gang which threw the shiv at Al Smith back in 1928."

Summarizing the whole case for the Republican New York *Herald Tribune* Feb. 27, Walter Lippmann expressed the conclusion of countless middle-of-the-road newspapers and citizens when he said:

"Manifestly, McCarthy's purpose . . . was to demonstrate his power to intimidate the Army, to show that he was so powerful that he could reach over the head of the Commander-in-Chief and terrorize individual officers. . . .

"This is the totalitarianism of the man: his cold, calculated, sustained, and ruthless effort to make himself feared. That is why he has been staging . . . demonstrations, each designed to show that he respects nobody . . . and no institution in the land, and that everyone at whom he growls will run away."

The shocked outcry of press and public led Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who had previously called McCarthy an asset to the GOP, to say Mar. 2: "When he begins to attack persons who are fighting Communism just as conscientiously as he is, I can't go along with him."

On Mar. 3, the President denounced the "disregard of the standards of fair play" in Congressional investigations, and warned the nation that "in opposing Communism, we are defeating ourselves if either by design or carelessness we use methods that do not conform to the American sense of justice and fair play."

McCarthy sought, as always, to reserve the last word for himself. He issued a statement sneering at the "silly tempest in a teapot" and characterized the criticism as "unprecedented mud-slinging . . . by the extreme left-wing elements of the press and radio. . ." McCarthy did not make it clear whether this designation was meant to include the Chicago *Tribune*, the Hearst press, and the scores of ultra-conservative dailies and radio commentators that had condemned his conduct.



"O.K., Bud, When I Want You Again, I'll Send for You"

'Striking at the Freedom of the Press'

"The Whole Thing Reeks With Totalitarianism," Said the Voice Of the U. S. Newspaper Profession

ONE OF the most frequently recurring characteristics of McCarthyism is his attempt to pin the Red label on those who criticize his methods and morals. This tendency has been especially marked in McCarthy's dealings with the nation's press.

At one time or another McCarthy has denounced as being practically indistinguishable from the Communist *Daily Worker* such leading American publications as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, the *Washington Post*, the *Milwaukee Journal*, the *New York Post*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Time*, the *Madison (Wis.) Capital Times*, the *Portland Oregonian*, the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and the *Denver Post*. In addition, McCarthy has accused the re-write desks of the three great news-gathering agencies, the Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service, of doctoring and distorting stories dealing with his operations in Washington. (*McCarthyism: The Fight for America*, by Joseph R. McCarthy, p. 3.)

The principal characteristic of McCarthy's treatment of critical publications has been an attempt to intimidate them by smearing them as "*Daily Workers*," threatening them with libel actions, and seeking to launch advertising boycotts against them.

Perhaps the best known case involves the Washington columnist, Drew Pearson. After Pearson had

written several columns exposing some of McCarthy's operations in the Senate, McCarthy picked a fist fight with Pearson at a Washington club; on the wave of the publicity that followed, he made a two-hour Senate speech demanding that all his friends boycott Pearson's radio sponsor, the Adam Hat Company. Shortly afterward, the Adam Hat Company withdrew its sponsorship of Pearson's radio program, although officials of the company denied that they had acted in response to McCarthy's intimidation.

Late in 1951, McCarthy tangled with *Time* magazine. On Oct. 22, 1951, *Time* had carried a documented story showing that "after nearly two years of tramping the nation, shouting that he was rooting out the skunks" (Communists in government) McCarthy had failed to root out a single Communist. McCarthy struck back with an appeal to the magazine's advertisers to withdraw their patronage, with the familiar charge that the purpose of *Time's* story was to "obstruct the fight against Communists."

Time, however, refused to be intimidated. James A. Linen, publisher of the magazine, issued a statement on Nov. 9, 1951, saying, "We believe our interpretation and analysis of Sen. McCarthy's political activities is an honest and factual one drawn from months of interviews, research, checking, and cross-reference." Moreover, said Linen, "*Time's* record in the fight against

Communism is long, clear, and consistent. It cannot be twisted around to make it appear that *Time* is obstructing that fight." Henry R. Luce, editor-in-chief of *Time*, in a letter to McCarthy Nov. 5, 1951, asserted that "*Time* feels you haven't lived up to those principles [of fairness] in your campaign against Communism."

'Betraying Principles of Decency'

Commenting on McCarthy's attempt to launch a boycott by *Time* advertisers—an effort which produced no noticeable results—the ultra-conservative Boston *Herald* said editorially Feb. 14, 1952:

"Sen. McCarthy is a good man with a smear, but he can't take it when he is on the receiving end of the tar brush. . . . This new technique of sandbagging newspaper and magazine critics through their advertisers is dangerous and should be stepped on promptly. It strikes at the very basis of an independent press and is as un-American in its essence as anything the Senator has criticized in others."

The Chattanooga *Times* observed Jan. 30, 1952, that McCarthy's boycott threat against *Time* involved "actions and attitudes that betray every principle of decency. . . . We have never witnessed a more disreputable act on the part of one who holds but does not honor, the position of United States Senator. . . . McCarthy does not deserve to sit in a body which represents the entire

nation and any investigation worthy of the name would confirm this fact."

One of McCarthy's more successful efforts at intimidation concerns the Syracuse (N. Y.) *Post-Standard*, which denounced the Senator in 1951 about the same time that *Time* did. McCarthy sued for \$500,000. The *Post-Standard's* lawyers evidently decided that some of the paper's charges were not true, and that a settlement was in order. The settlement included some cash and a retraction that was unique. The retraction took back, not only the statements which the *Post-Standard* could not prove, but statements for which official support existed.

For example, the *Post-Standard* retracted its criticism of McCarthy's \$10,000 Lustron housing pamphlet fee, by remarking that this deal was made "after the Republican Party had been defeated in the 1950 elections and had lost control of Congress and Sen. McCarthy was very unpopular with the Truman Administration. It is not possible, therefore, that Sen. McCarthy could have been useful to the Lustron Company with the Truman Administration."

The fact, as related officially in the Hennings Subcommittee Report on McCarthy in December 1952 (*See Pages 12-21*), was that McCarthy's Lustron deal was initiated not after the 1950 elections, but before the 1948 elections—in other words, while he was still vice chairman of a joint committee on housing which proved quite useful to Lustron by preparing legislation for RFC loans to prefabricated housing companies. McCarthy must be one of the few libel suit winners who has compelled the defendant not only to issue a retraction, but to rewrite history in his behalf.

Another revealing example of McCarthy's tactics was on display in his treatment of the Milwaukee *Journal*, largest daily in Wisconsin. After McCarthy's election to the Senate in 1946 the *Journal* hopefully editorialized: "We think that Joseph McCarthy has it in him to be a good Senator and a good representative of his state. . . . If Joe McCarthy will use his talents and his experience in behalf of the people of Wisconsin and the people of the United States, he

can have a bright future in the U. S. Senate."

But the *Journal* soon found McCarthy's activities in Washington impossible to condone. It criticized him editorially. McCarthy struck back. Although the *Journal* is well-known in Wisconsin for the militancy of its anti-Communism, McCarthy promptly pinned the label of "the Milwaukee edition of the *Daily Worker*" on the *Journal*.

On Aug. 6, 1950, speaking at the convention of the Wisconsin Retail Grocers Association, McCarthy urged the retailers to withdraw their advertising. "Keep in mind when you send your checks over to the *Journal* or pay a nickel apiece, you are contributing to bringing the Communist Party line into the homes of Wisconsin."

Muddying the Waters

McCarthy taxed the credulity of even his warmest admirers when he suggested that the conservative *Saturday Evening Post* had fallen for the Communist line. In the July 9, 1950, issue of that magazine, Joseph and Stewart Alsop reported their critical impressions of McCarthy's activities in charging Communism in government. McCarthy angrily wrote Ben Hibbs, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, on Aug. 15, 1950: "It is disturbing to find that this article is almost 100 per cent in line with

the official instructions issued Communists and fellow-traveling members of the press and radio by Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party."

Hibbs, who knew the Alsops' record of combating Communism, replied to McCarthy: "The Alsops and the *Saturday Evening Post* are against the employment of 'traitors and perverts' in government, just as you are. But we are also against wild, unsupported charges such as you have been making. We feel very strongly that the tactics you have employed succeed only in muddying the waters and playing into the hands of the enemy."

McCarthy's harassment of the press takes many forms. Thus, for instance, on Aug. 22, 1953, McCarthy, according to a United Press dispatch, announced that he had asked the Post Office Department to supply him with estimates on the cost of "subsidizing distribution" of the *Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the New York Communist *Daily Worker*.

In a letter to Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield, McCarthy said that "they are typical examples of papers that overburdened taxpayers should not be called upon to subsidize."

On May 7, 1953, according to the *Washington Post* of that date, McCarthy directed Harvey Matusow, a one-time Communist, to supply the McCarthy Committee with a list of "all the names of Communists who have infiltrated the news media. . . . I realize that this will be a monumental task," McCarthy told Matusow, "so I will not set any date by which you are to complete it." Matusow is the man who told a Montana audience during the 1952 campaign that there were 126 "dues-paying Communists" on the staff of the Sunday New York *Times*. A check showed that the entire staff of the Sunday *Times* totaled only 93.

Wechsler Fights Back

Perhaps the most notorious case involving attempted intimidation of the press—a case in which McCarthy took on a considerable segment of the American press—was the dispute which arose from McCarthy's questioning of James A. Wechsler,

Planning Tomorrow's Menu



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

editor of the New York *Post*. Wechsler, who had been a young Communist in his teens, but had abandoned Communism more than 15 years ago to become one of the nation's most effective editorial foes of the Soviet line, had been high on McCarthy's list for a long time because Wechsler had been equally effective in exposing the machinations of the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

On Apr. 23, 1953, Wechsler was summoned (on 18 hours' notice) to testify before McCarthy's Investigating Subcommittee. The Subcommittee was ostensibly investigating the State Department's overseas libraries and Wechsler was called to testify on his views, his past, and his newspaper opinions and personnel.

The legal pretext was that Wechsler had written books which appeared on the shelves of U.S. overseas libraries. McCarthy, however, never was able to tell which of Wechsler's books had given offense. This, plus the equally obvious fact, clear in the official transcript of testimony, that McCarthy was much more interested in Wechsler's conduct of the *Post* than he was of the views expressed by Wechsler in his books, led to widespread denunciation of McCarthy's tampering with the free press. Of his experience as a witness before McCarthy, Wechsler has written:

"It is not quite possible to communicate the quiet horror of examination by McCarthy. I have no wounds to exhibit; I write what I please about McCarthy. I bear every external resemblance to the person I was a moment before the telephone call from Washington [summoning him to appear before the McCarthy Subcommittee]. But I do not commend the experience to anyone else. . . . No moment can be much more hideous than that in which your own estimate of yourself is alleged to be a case of mistaken identity; when you are charged with harboring the doctrine that you long ago renounced; and worst of all when you know that the men who are making the charge do not believe what they are saying. To be catapulted into the realm of madness without losing one's own reason is a rough journey." (*The Age of Suspicion*, p. 323.)

Wechsler recalled, in his book and in a series of articles he wrote for



James A. Wechsler

his paper, that in nailing down his anti-Communist credentials, he offered as an exhibit a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party in December 1952 which said that the activities of Wechsler, along with a group of anti-Communist labor leaders, were largely responsible for wrecking the Communist attempt to roll up a big vote for the Progressive Party in the 1952 elections.

The Communist pronouncement had charged that "the Reuthers, Dubinskys, Wechslers, *et al*, paralyzed independent political action by protecting the myth that [Adlai] Stevenson was an obstacle to the advance of reaction."

The exhibit seemed to Wechsler "devastatingly conclusive. I thought it might even jar McCarthy. I underestimated the man. Suddenly the faint, familiar smile vanished from his face.

"'Did you write that statement?' McCarthy asked sullenly.

"At first I wondered whether I had heard him correctly. When he made clear that I had, I asked whether the question was facetious. He repeated it, broadening it this time to ask whether I or one of my deputies had inspired the Communist attack on me.

"In what I will always recall as one of the most preposterous moments of my life, I thereupon solemnly denied under oath that I was the author of Communist statements denouncing myself!"

One of the most extraordinary statements from McCarthy came after Wechsler had seemed to meet every known test of anti-Communism. "I am convinced," said McCarthy, "you have done exactly what you would do if you were a member of the Communist Party, if you wanted to have a phony break to the advantage of the Communist Party." (*Hearings*, Apr. 21, p. 276.)

Some indication of what McCarthy was up to in his examination of Wechsler can be found in these quotes from the official transcript of the hearing:

"Do you have any other people who are or were members of the Young Communist League working for you on your newspaper? . . . Your record, as far as I can see it, has not been to fight Communism. You have fought every man who has ever tried to fight Communism. Your paper, in my opinion, is next to and almost paralleling the *Daily Worker*. . . Have you been making attacks on J. Edgar Hoover in the editorial columns of your paper? . . . Have you ever, in your editorial columns, over the last two years, praised the FBI? . . . Have you always been very critical of the heads of the Un-American Activities Committee? Do you think Jenner is doing a good job? . . . Do you know Bernard DeVoto? . . . No one who is an anti-Communist would put the New York *Post* on a shelf to fight Communism any more than they would use the *Daily Worker*. . . If you or I were a member of the Communist Party and we wanted to advance the Communist line, perhaps the most effective way of doing that would be to claim we deserted the party; and if we got in control of the paper, use that paper to attack and smear anybody who actually was fighting Communism. Now, without saying whether you have done it, you would agree that would be a good tactic, would you not? . . . I feel that you have not broken with Communist ideals. I feel that you are serving them very, very actively."

McCarthy's treatment of Wechsler brought a wave of angry editorials in many of the nation's leading newspapers. The American Society of Newspaper Editors appointed a committee to investigate. The committee divided, seven to four, on the

specific issue of whether McCarthy had violated the constitutional guarantee of a free press.

The majority of the committee confessed to some confusion. They could not make up their minds whether McCarthy had intended to punish or challenge Wechsler's opinions as an editor. They wondered if maybe McCarthy had only been interested in establishing the facts of what Wechsler's opinions were. Unable to agree that an offense to freedom of the press had been committed, the majority urged other editors to read the record and decide for themselves.

"A Dangerous Precedent"

Four members of the ASNE committee wrote a supplementary report in which they expressed their own strong conviction that McCarthy had been tampering with constitutional rights. "The people," said the report drafted by J. R. Wiggins, managing editor of the *Washington Post*, "suffer some diminution of their right to know fully and comment freely upon their government whenever a single newspaper, however worthy or unworthy, is subjected by one Senator, however worthy or unworthy, to inconvenience, expense, humiliation, ridicule, abuse, condemnation, and reproach, under the auspices of governmental power."

McCarthy sought to reserve the last word for himself. He issued a statement demanding that the ASNE



Herblock in The Washington Post

*"You Wouldn't Criticize Me,
Would You, Pal?"*

Committee "investigate the extent to which the chairman of your Committee, Mr. Wiggins, through his paper, the *Washington Post*, has prostituted and endangered freedom of the press by constant false, vicious, intemperate attacks on anyone who dares expose any of the undercover Communists. . ."

But others sought and got the last word. William M. Tugman, editor of the Eugene, Ore., *Register-Guard*, who was a member of the special committee, characterized McCarthy's attack on the *Washington Post* as "another move to try to intimidate editors for their honest opinions. . . The Senator's attack on Mr. Wiggins verifies the conclusions we made in reviewing the Wechsler case."

As for the larger issue, whether McCarthy's grilling of Wechsler involved an attempt to investigate the *Post's* editorials, the most significant comment came from *Editor and Publisher*, the newspaper industry's leading trade publication, which concluded that McCarthy had indeed sought to probe into editorials criticizing McCarthy. Said Robert U. Brown, the publication's editor:

"... Nevertheless, that is just what he did do." Continued Brown: "The Senator has every right to attack the *Post*, its editor, or any other newspaper or newspaper man. But we think it is an abuse of his position, and a dangerous precedent, for him to use the forum of his investigating Committee to accuse an editor of subservience to the Communist

cause because that editor's writings are not to his liking. Particularly is this so when the chairman of the Committee approaches such a hearing with pre-conceived ideas and refuses to review every aspect of the record objectively."

The strongly pro-American London *Economist* found Wechsler's courageous response to McCarthy's attempts at intimidation the beginning of what it hoped would be a general movement in the American press to fight back. Said the *Economist*: "It has been particularly dismaying throughout this whole period of McCarthyism that the people who control the media of public communication, though they have a vested interest in freedom of thought and expression, have on the whole refused to fight back. It seems to have taken Mr. Wechsler to show that blood could be drawn even under klieg lights."

America, the national Catholic weekly review published by the Jesuits, concluded after examining the evidence that Wechsler was hauled before McCarthy "because he has dared to engage in a give-no-quarter fight against McCarthyism. Having had some experience of the way the Senator goes about 'replying' to his critics, we admire Wechsler's refusal to play dead."

Perhaps the most effective summary of McCarthy's relations with the press, as indeed in every other aspect of McCarthyism in action, appeared in the newspaper profession's eminently conservative organ, *Editor and Publisher*. Said that magazine at the time McCarthy was threatening *Time* magazine with an advertising boycott:

"When a United States Senator attempts to silence criticism in the press by high-pressure advertising into dropping their economic support of a publication, that is a new low in politics.

"This strikes at the very roots of press freedom—the economic power that makes a free press possible. It is one thing to answer or attack critics—it is another thing to attempt to intimidate and silence them. And in this case the dignity and influence of the U.S. Senate is being perverted to this sin.

"The whole thing reeks with totalitarianism."

Off McCarthy's Wagon

"We have just completed our own personal survey on the subject of Senator Joseph McCarthy.

"At the recent Centennial Convention of the Wisconsin Press Association we talked with 16 publishers, all of whom have actively supported 'Jumbled Joe' during his recent campaign. Of the 16, no less than 11 have had enough. They're off Joe's wagon for keeps. Four more had lost so much of their enthusiasm for Joe that they no longer support him, although they aren't actively opposing him. One—just one of the 16—still regards Joe as the Moses to lead us out of the wilderness."

Sauk City Star
June 4, 1953

WIN

at any cost

The Truth About the Man Who Ran With Communist Support and Then Reached Out for the Support of the Far Right

CRITICS of Sen. McCarthy frequently assert that his tactics are strikingly similar to those of the Communists, whose ideology he denounces so passionately. If his manner of operation, they say, were to be distilled into a written dogma, as the Communist creed has been, it would show no less devotion to the doctrine that the end justifies the means. As Arthur Eisenhower, the President's brother, put it July 24, 1953, McCarthy's purpose is power and his strategy to "keep his name in the papers at all costs."

Patient research into the techniques of McCarthy's political campaigns results in the conclusion that his one all-dominating consideration has been to win at any cost. To achieve his ends he has failed to repudiate support from the extreme left and extreme right, including Communists on the far left and some of the most disreputable, hate-mongering, fascist-minded groups in the nation on the far right.

McCarthy's first experiences in public life are discussed in an earlier chapter. This section is concerned with his political conduct in the years since he first became a candidate for U.S. Senator.

In 1944 McCarthy ran unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination against the incumbent, Sen. Alexander Wiley, now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In preparation for that campaign, he faced two obstacles: 1) he was in

military service in the Pacific, and 2) Wisconsin law made it a felony for a judge to run for a political office. His friends helped him overcome both by launching his campaign for him and by having the 1943 session of the Wisconsin legislature repeal the law. (There was also a constitutional provision against judges running for political office, but that was ignored. See Page 7.)

McCarthy's friends ran the 1944 campaign for him for a while. He was presented to the public by a former Hearst editor and Milwaukee public relations man, James Colby, as a "fighting Marine" who had waived his immunity to military service and "enlisted as a buck private in the Marine Corps," though he never served an hour as a private.

In July of 1944, with many dreary and dangerous weeks of fighting ahead for his Marine buddies, McCarthy wangled a leave and was back in Wisconsin where he managed to show himself at numerous political rallies in his Marine uniform.

The Communists Help to Elect McCarthy Senator

The 1944 campaign is remembered principally for the chapter it added to the story of McCarthy's curious financial affairs. The Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, which later investigated his financial affairs (See page 12), found that the Committee to Elect Joseph

R. McCarthy to the U.S. Senate filed reports with the Wisconsin Secretary of State, showing the following contributions to the campaign:

HOWARD MCCARTHY	
(brother)	\$10,600
TIM MCCARTHY (father)	4,000
ROMAN KORNELY	
(brother-in-law)	3,000

On page 27 of its report the Senate Subcommittee drew this conclusion about the financing of the 1944 campaign: "In that these relatives of Sen. McCarthy do not appear to be people of substantial means and for the further reason that Sen. McCarthy made a profit on securities transactions in excess of \$40,000 in 1943 and withdrew most of these profits in 1944 prior to the Aug. 14 primary election, it might appear possible that the \$17,600 allegedly contributed by Sen. McCarthy's relatives were, in fact, personal expenditures of Sen. McCarthy."

McCarthy was defeated in the primary by Sen. Wiley. After resigning from the Marines Dec. 11, 1944, he returned to begin the campaign that was to defeat Sen. Robert M. La Follette, Jr., in 1946.

During the campaign of 1946 the mail boxes in the cities and rural routes were jammed with literature showing McCarthy in his dashing "tail-gunner's" outfit.

But perhaps the most important single factor in winning the nomination for McCarthy was the help given him by the Communists. It seems in-



credible now that McCarthy should owe his membership in the U.S. Senate to the Communist Party, but any informed appraisal of the factors in the 1946 campaign can lead to no other conclusion.

The Communists were in control of the Wisconsin CIO during the 1946 campaign. The state secretary, the key man in the organizational apparatus, was Melvin Heinritz, a member of the Communist Party. The *Wisconsin CIO News* was diverted to the role of a propaganda sheet for the Communists. Its influence extended deep in the 75,000 rank-and-file members of the CIO unions.

In May of 1945 LaFollette had delivered a major address on the Senate floor warning the nation of the aggressive designs of the Soviet Union. That was enough for the Communists. Through the CIO in Wisconsin they opened up on LaFollette at just about the same time that Circuit Judge McCarthy was focusing his sights on the veteran Senator.

The line was laid down and sent out through the locals. *The CIO News* began a systematic smear attack which reached a crescendo of vilification in the closing weeks of the campaign. (See cut.)

The Communists falsified Bob LaFollette's voting record and refused to correct the lies when ordered to do so by officials of the national CIO. According to McCarthy: *The Man, The Senator, and the Ism*, by Anderson and May, reporters asked McCarthy about this Communist attack on his opponent. "Communists have the same right to vote as anyone else, don't they?" McCarthy is reported to have answered. (Page 104.)

LaFollette's strength had always been great in the labor areas of Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha, but McCarthy captured all three and thereby won the election. LaFollette was defeated by a margin of 5,378 out of a total 410,474 votes cast. It was clear enough, and CIO officials have

Above is evidence to show the extent to which the Communists came to McCarthy's aid in his bid for the U.S. Senate in 1946. The headlines in the upper two-thirds are from the *CIO News*, then completely dominated by the Communists. They threw their heavy artillery against Sen. Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., whose seat McCarthy was contesting. The lower one-third shows excerpts from a 1952 survey by Aldric Revell, anti-Communist CIO leader and political writer, quoting present CIO leaders as exposing the extent to which the Communists helped McCarthy in 1946.

confirmed the fact, that without Communist support McCarthy would have been beaten.

Later in that year the anti-Communist forces in the Wisconsin CIO were successful in cleaning the Communists out. Herman Steffes, Milwaukee, was elected state president. In an interview in 1952 with the *Madison Capital Times* Steffes said, "The Communists were definitely responsible for the election of McCarthy."

Harvey Kitzman, Milwaukee, director of District 10, UAW-CIO, said, "The Communists certainly did defeat LaFollette and elect McCarthy. They are the people mainly responsible for McCarthy. They played a big role in his election." Walter Kappel, UAW-CIO representative, said, "There is no doubt in my mind that the Communists were mainly responsible for electing McCarthy. They were strongest in Milwaukee, Racine, and Kenosha, and that's where McCarthy ran ahead of LaFollette." Said John Giacomo, international representative of the CIO Steelworkers, "The Communists certainly were responsible for the defeat of LaFollette and the election of McCarthy. They didn't come out publicly and say to vote for McCarthy but they opposed LaFollette with everything they had and that was the same thing."

McCarthy won the general election against his Democratic opponent, Howard McMurray, by a vote of 620,430 to 378,772. After the election he was interviewed Nov. 10, 1946, by Lawrence C. Eklund of the *Milwaukee Journal*, who quoted the Senator-elect as saying:

"Stalin's proposal for world disarmament," he said, "is a great thing and he must be given credit for being sincere about it." (McCarthy waited eight years before repudiating the quotation, but the *Milwaukee Journal's* president and editor, J. D. Ferguson, publicly announced Dec. 6, 1953, that the quotation was accurate in every respect. "Sen. McCarthy," he said, "conveniently forgets or denies statements which might now embarrass him.")

It is nonsense, of course, to couple Red votes for McCarthy with his accolade for Stalin and conclude that McCarthy was or is pro-Communist. But many a McCarthy victim has

been publicly pilloried with far less evidence.

McCarthy Goes After MacArthur in 1948

McCarthy's next excursion into a Wisconsin political campaign was in the Presidential preference primary in the spring of 1948. Thomas E. Coleman, boss of the state GOP, had put together a slate of delegates for Harold Stassen, on which McCarthy was a candidate for delegate-at-large. A slate was in the field for Gen. Douglas MacArthur, who had wired from Tokyo that he would consider himself "derelict" in his duties as a citizen if he were called and did not serve. Thomas E. Dewey also had a slate in the field.

It was clear that the Stassen slate, with the backing of the Coleman machine, was the most formidable in the field. But a strong appeal was being made on behalf of MacArthur, principally on the grounds that he was a "native son" who claimed residence in Milwaukee. Stassen supporters sought to explode the "native son" appeal and to plant the notion that the General was an old man and also a divorced man. It was McCarthy who did the hatchet job.

In a letter that went out all over the state, with particular attention paid to church groups that frown on divorce, McCarthy said, "Gen. MacArthur has been a great General. But he is now ready for retirement. He would be 72 years old before a term as President ended. Twice before we have had Presidents who became physically weakened during their term of office and both times it

had very sad results for our country. . .

"On returning to Wisconsin," McCarthy continued, "I notice that hundreds of big campaign billboards tell the people to support the General because he is a native son of Wisconsin. The Hearst papers, which are booming the General's candidacy, refer to him as the 'Wisconsin-born General.' This is not true.

"The General was born in Little Rock, Ark., on Jan. 26, 1880, and not in Wisconsin. He is not listed on any poll list as a voter of Wisconsin. Neither his first nor his second marriage, nor his divorce, took place in Wisconsin. He was first married in Florida to Mrs. Walter Brooks of Baltimore, who now lives in Washington, D.C. After she divorced him in Reno, Nev., he was remarried in New York City. Neither wife ever resided or voted in Wisconsin. In a sworn marriage application for his second marriage he did not claim Wisconsin as his residence, but gave Manila as his residence and Baltimore, Md., as the domicile of his former marriage."

A majority of Stassen's delegates were elected, among them McCarthy.

In 1952, when Gen. MacArthur was four years older than when McCarthy urged his retirement from active public life, McCarthy suggested publicly that the hero of the Pacific would be a good candidate for President.

McCarthy's next major appearance in the limelight was to be his biggest. On Jan. 7, 1950, he was having dinner at the Colony Club in Washington with Father Edmund Walsh, dean of Georgetown University's foreign-

'Homespun Totalitarianism'

Dr. Chad Walsh, a director of *Episcopal Church News*, the national Episcopal magazine, said at Appleton, Wis., McCarthy's home town, Sept. 3, 1953, that "international Communism and domestic McCarthyism" are twin threats, and the Christian churches must lead America's fight against them.

"Our danger is that McCarthyism will gradually grow into a homespun variety of totalitarianism, and will destroy our liberties as surely as Communism would. The antics of the McCarthyites are made to order for the propaganda purposes of international Communism.

"I am sure that McCarthyites are not intentionally aiding the international conspiracy of Soviet Communism, but if they were Communist agents they could not be doing a more useful job, from Russia's viewpoint. The wilder the McCarthyites grow, the weaker they leave America, and the stronger the position of international Communism."

service school, Col. William A. Roberts, Washington attorney who represents Drew Pearson, and Prof. Charles Kraus, of Georgetown's political science department. (Notes on this conference appear in the diary of a close associate of one of the participants; the story is also published in Anderson and May's *McCarthy*, page 172, and has appeared frequently in the press without challenge from McCarthy.)

McCarthy was worried about his political future. His stock had been dropping back home. His income tax scandals had rocked the state; his "quickie" divorces and his troubles with the bar association and the state Supreme Court were not easy to explain.

McCarthy confided that he needed an issue for his 1952 bid for re-election. Several suggestions were made, but McCarthy was intrigued by the possibility that he try Communism in government as an issue. None of McCarthy's three dinner companions had any notion of the kind of show he would conduct.

The 'Despicable Back Street' Campaign in Maryland

McCarthy put the suggestion into effect a month later with the now well-known speech at Wheeling, W. Va. (See Pages 22-29 for a full report of the Wheeling speech and McCarthy's subsequent leap into the limelight.)

In the Maryland campaign of 1950 McCarthy had a chance to test the Communists-in-government issue as a political possibility for himself. Sen. Millard Tydings, conservative Maryland Democrat, was up for re-election.

Tydings had headed the special Senate investigating committee which found that McCarthy's charges of Communists in government were a "fraud and a hoax." McCarthy had determined to "get" Tydings, and he jumped into the Maryland campaign with his Communist issue. Tydings was defeated, though there is considerable disagreement about the effect of McCarthy's influence.

A Senate committee composed of two Republicans and three Democrats looked into the Maryland cam-

paign. These Senators were Robert C. Hendrickson (Republican, N. J.); Margaret Chase Smith (Republican, Maine); A. S. Mike Monroney (Democrat, Okla.); Thomas C. Hennings, Jr. (Democrat, Mo.); and Guy M. Gillette (Democrat, Ia.).

The Senators unanimously concluded that the Maryland election "brought into sharp focus certain campaign tactics and practices that can best be characterized as . . . destructive of fundamental American principles." (*Senate Report No. 647, 82nd Congress, 1st session, p. 6.*)

It was, the report continued, a "despicable 'back street' type of campaign which usually, if exposed in time, backfires."

A four page tabloid, entitled *From the Record*, flooded Maryland. This tabloid featured what the Committee report called the "infamous composite picture" which through a process of photographic faking showed Tydings "in close physical proximity to Earl Browder, Communist leader."

"The tabloid," the Committee found, "contains misleading half truths, misrepresentations, and false innuendos that maliciously and without foundation attack the loyalty and patriotism not only of Sen. Millard Tydings, who won the Distinguished Service Cross for battlefield heroism in World War I, but also the entire membership of the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1950."

Mrs. Ruth McCormick Tankersley, then Mrs. Ruth McCormick Miller

and publisher of Col. Robert R. McCormick's Washington *Times-Herald*, testified before the Committee that "the first time I heard of the contemplated production of the tabloid was when Sen. McCarthy called me that a group of persons interested in Sen. Butler's [Tydings' Republican opponent] campaign were considering producing a tabloid and Sen. McCarthy asked me if they reached a decision to produce such a thing could the *Times-Herald* do the job." (*Hearings, pp. 431-2.*)

The Committee concluded from the evidence that "Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin was actively interested in the campaign to the extent of making his staff available for work on research, pictures, composition, printing of the tabloid *From the Record*." (*Senate Report, p. 5.*)

Although the Committee did not charge McCarthy with personal responsibility for the composite picture of Browder and Tydings, it reported that members of "his [McCarthy's] staff, and particularly Miss Jean Kerr, his research assistant, vigorously supported the propriety of the tabloid and composite photograph in their testimony." (*Senate Report, p. 23.*)

On Page 9 of its report the Committee—Democrats and Republicans alike—offered this serious recommendation to the Senate: "The question of unseating a Senator for acts committed in a Senatorial election should not be limited to the candidates in such elections. Any sitting Senator, regardless of whether he is a candidate in the election himself, should be subject to expulsion by action of the Senate, if it finds such Senator engaged in practices and behavior that make him, in the opinion of the Senate, unfit to hold the position of U.S. Senator."

The Aug. 17, 1951, issue of *The Commonwealth*, the Catholic weekly, said editorially, "Such campaign methods and tactics are destroying our system of free elections and undermining the very foundation of our government. . . If the West Point cadets are to be tried for cheating, why not McCarthy? . . . The issue here is not whether or not Communism must be fought at home; it must. The issue is whether or not we have the intelligence and the courage to do it in the American way, or whether we will leave the job—and our liberties—to a man who runs



"Stop That! McCarthy Will Demand Space for a Reply"

along the back streets to do his cheating when he hasn't the stuff it takes to do things the straight and open way."

When McCarthy came up for reelection in 1952, more than two years had passed since he went to Wheeling, W. Va., on Feb. 9, 1950, to make Communism in government his issue. He had become a national figure and was attracting a fanatical following, many of them Americans who seemed genuinely convinced that McCarthy was the only person in government fighting Communism.

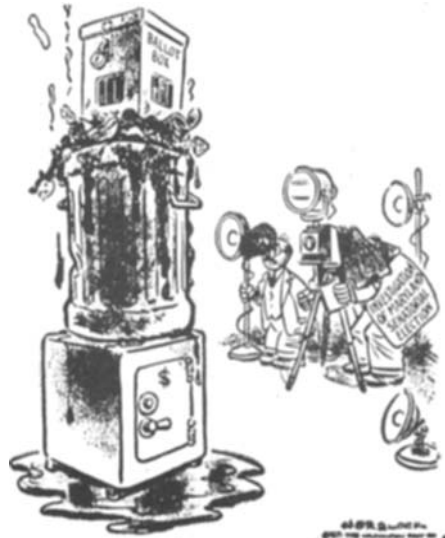
In the primary election he defeated an independent Republican, Leonard F. Schmidt, 515,481 to 213,701. McCarthy made but one major speech, at a Milwaukee Republican rally, broadcast over a network of 31 radio stations in Wisconsin, during the primary race.

In it McCarthy appealed for votes, saying that he needed them "badly." But most significant, in view of his subsequent attitude toward the Eisenhower Administration, was his failure to ask support for the GOP Presidential candidate. His only reference to Eisenhower was a critical one, made without mentioning his name.

His Democratic opponent in the general election was Thomas E. Fairchild, a brilliant young attorney who had served as Wisconsin's Attorney General and as the U.S. Attorney for the western district of Wisconsin.

McCarthy divided his time between campaigning in Wisconsin and barnstorming other states in behalf of Republican Senatorial candidates. He likes to take credit for the defeat of Sen. William Benton of Connecticut and Sen. Blair Moody of Michigan, and other Democratic incumbents against whom he campaigned. But he carefully avoids mention of the fact that he also went into Washington, Missouri, and Montana, where despite a Republican trend in those states, he was unsuccessful in preventing the defeat of three of his closest Senatorial cronies: Cain of Washington, Kem of Missouri, and Ecton of Montana. Perhaps the most notable exhibition of McCarthy's lack of pulling power was displayed in the state of Washington. There McCarthy worked hard for his most effusive supporter in the Senate, Harry Cain. But while Dwight Eisenhower carried the state for the Republican Party

Non-Composite Campaign Picture



Herblock in The Washington Post

by a majority of 100,000, McCarthy's friend Cain was defeated by the Democrat, Henry Jackson, by 134,000 votes.

McCarthy's bid in Wisconsin was well-financed and was conducted through two principal organizations, the Republican Party and the McCarthy Club. The latter raised money across the nation for the campaign. Advertisements appeared in newspapers throughout the country soliciting contributions. Letters were sent to McCarthy's new-found friends among the oil millionaires of Texas. (*Milwaukee Journal*, Dec. 20, 1953.)

A flood of out-of-state money poured in. Among the contributors were such well-known men as H. R. Cullen, multi-millionaire Houston oil man, who came through with one of the largest single contributions, \$5,000; Seymour Weiss, one of the top figures in the old Huey Long machine in Louisiana, who was sent to jail for tax and mail frauds; Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck & Co.; Craig R. Sheaffer of the Sheaffer Pen Co.; and Maj. Gen. Claire Chennault, long identified as a major figure in the "China Lobby".

McCarthy roamed the state. The Associated Press reported that at Eau Claire he told an audience he would make a "good American" out of Adlai Stevenson if he were put aboard Stevenson's campaign train with "a slippery elm club."

McCarthy never permitted anything but the Communist issue to be raised in his campaign. He ignored repeated attempts of the Democrats to smoke him out on his voting record. Questions designed to get an explanation of his strange financial operations and tax difficulties brought the reply that the questions were "Communist inspired."

McCarthy continued to ignore his Wisconsin opponents until the last days of the campaign when he was forced to recognize the gravity of a charge brought against him by Edward P. Morgan, former administrative assistant to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover and a specialist on Communist activities. Speaking over WTMJ-TV Nov. 2, 1952, Morgan charged that McCarthy, "in a mad effort to justify his charges of Communism in the State Department, produced a thick document on the Senate floor" which "two agents of the FBI told me was an out and out forgery." (*Quoted in the Milwaukee Journal*, Nov. 3, 1952)

McCarthy felt obliged to answer in his last campaign talk on the night of Nov. 3 at his home town of Appleton. McCarthy called the Morgan charge a "new low in campaign degeneracy," accused Morgan of "posing" as an FBI agent, and flourished a telegram from Hoover saying Morgan now had no official connection with the FBI. This was a typical McCarthy diversion; for Morgan had emphasized in his TV presentation that he was a former FBI agent and was now practising law in Washington. McCarthy made no effort whatever to answer the Morgan charge of forgery, nor has he instituted libel or slander action against the former FBI official.

McCarthy's Role as Hatchet Man in 1952

The most spectacular part he played in the 1952 campaign was in his old role of hatchetman. His talents were mobilized for the task of smearing Adlai Stevenson as disloyal.

On Sept. 4 he had announced in Milwaukee that he was checking the Stevenson record. He said, "We are finding proof not of guilt by association but of guilt by collaboration." Addressing himself directly to Stev-

enson, he declared, "After your entire record is given them, and I can assure you it will be given before Nov. 4, if the American people want you, they can have you. I don't think they will."

From then on there was a steady build-up for the day when McCarthy would "tell all" about Stevenson. A \$78,000 radio and television network show was scheduled to be broadcast from Chicago on Oct. 27.

The money was raised by a group headed by Gen. Wood. Some of the most generous contributors were Texas oil millionaires whose support McCarthy had attracted. One of the contributors was C. W. Murchison, a Dallas oilman who has been host to McCarthy at his fabulous homes during the Senator's visits to Texas. Other Texans listed were W. L. Golstan, Houston, and E. B. Germany, Dallas.

The attack was delivered in the familiar McCarthy style. Prof. William H. Pedrick of Northwestern University Law School soberly analyzed the McCarthy charges in a scholarly article on the law of libel in the May-June, 1953, issue of *Northwestern University Law Review*. Prof. Pedrick cites several examples of the McCarthy technique, of which this one is typical:

McCarthy speaking: ". . . Stevenson says, 'I was the man who formulated [our post-war Italian] policy' . . . and the head of the Central Intelligence Agency [Gen. Walter Bedell Smith] says the policy then was to 'connive' to put Communists into the Italian government, 'connive' and to bring Togliatti, the Communist leader, back from Moscow, which they did. Now I wonder what their defense of Stevenson's plans for foisting the Communists upon the Italians will be."

Prof. Pedrick's investigation produced the following facts: Stevenson had headed a Foreign Economic Administration mission to survey and report on Italian economic problems in 1943. The report he submitted was classified secret, but that did not prevent McCarthy from speaking as though he were summarizing the document, although he made no claim that he had read it.

"To support his charge that Stevenson formulated a policy of 'conniving' to put Communists into the



Burek in The Chicago Sun-Times

"You Sure Knocked Some Loyalty Into Them, Senator"

Italian government," Prof. Pedrick said, "Sen. McCarthy refers to Walter Bedell Smith's *My Three Years in Moscow*."

"Nowhere in Smith's book is Stevenson's name mentioned nor for that matter is any reference made to the Italian Foreign Economic Administration mission or its report. If Smith undertook to give any credit for our wartime political policy in Italy, it was to Gen. Eisenhower and Mr. Robert Murphy, his chief political adviser."

Two days after the McCarthy speech, the Stevenson report was declassified.

"What does the report show as regards the mission's recommendations concerning Communist participation in the Italian government?" Prof. Pedrick asks.

"The answer is—nothing, nothing at all. Nowhere in the report is the name of Togliatti nor the Communist Party mentioned. The mission simply did not address itself to the problem of the elements to be considered for participation in a government for a democratic Italy."

McCarthy also charged disloyalty against five of Stevenson's advisers and supporters. The charge against Prof. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Harvard historian, is typical.

McCarthy said: "Now in 1946, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., says the present system in the United States makes

even freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia. . ."

The quotation is taken from an article in *Life* magazine for July 29, 1946. It appeared under the title, "THE U. S. COMMUNIST PARTY—SMALL BUT TIGHTLY DISCIPLINED, IT STRIVES WITH FANATIC ZEAL TO PROMOTE THE AIMS OF RUSSIA." Written at a time when McCarthy was receiving Communist help to defeat Bob LaFollette in Wisconsin, the article was one of the most effective anti-Communist pieces of its day and was written after consultation with Whittaker Chambers, among others.

Schlesinger had written that the way to defeat Communism is to eliminate its breeding grounds—poverty and discrimination. "The Communists," he said, "are looking to a next depression as their happy hunting ground. The way to defeat them is not pass repressive legislation or return Martin Dies to public service, but to prevent that depression and to correct the faults and injustices in our present system, which make even freedom-loving Americans look wistfully at Russia."

America, the well-known Jesuit weekly, in the issue of Nov. 22, 1952, called the McCarthy attack on Stevenson a "cheap stunt" and in its issue of Dec. 13, 1952, said, "That Sen. McCarthy, without a shred of warrant, set out to smear the reputation of Gov. Stevenson by trying to wrap up his candidacy in *The Daily Worker* seems to this writer, in view of the evidence, simply incontrovertible."

McCarthy Runs Far Behind His Own Party

On the night before the 1952 election McCarthy went on a radio network and again repeated his charges against Stevenson and his advisers. To his supporters he had risen to a new and heroic stature. If Eisenhower and the other Republicans should carry Wisconsin the next day, they told each other and McCarthy, it would be because McCarthy turned the trick.

The people of Wisconsin made a somewhat more restrained assessment. When the votes were counted on the night of Nov. 4, it was found that McCarthy had trailed far behind the

rest of the Republican ticket and might have fallen if the Republican sweep had not been so strong as to carry him along.

Gov. Kohler, for example, ran 407,327 votes ahead of his Democratic opponent. Gen. Eisenhower ran 357,569 ahead of Stevenson. Republican Secretary of State Fred R. Zimmerman, an outspoken foe of McCarthy whom McCarthy had attempted to purge in the primary, ran 505,300 votes ahead of his Democratic opponent; he led the whole Republican ticket, and polled the highest vote ever given to any candidate in the history of Wisconsin. McCarthy beat Fairchild by 139,042 votes. His margin of victory was 102,616 less than it was in the general election of 1946 against his Democratic opponent, when he ran as a comparatively unknown circuit judge and ex-Marine, and considerably less than every other Republican on the state ticket.

McCarthy did not let his comparatively shabby showing in the Wisconsin election prevent him from darting back into the limelight and reaching out for a major role of leadership in the Republican Party. It is now fairly well settled that he will play a prominent part in the Republican campaign of 1954 to retain control of Congress, for McCarthy has repeatedly declared his determination to campaign this year for Congressional candidates who share his views.

But the big question concerns 1956. Will McCarthy make a bid for the Presidency?

In Wisconsin some of McCarthy's life-long friends know that such ambitions are not beyond his conceptions of the politically possible. Some claim to have heard his boasts that he would someday be the first Catholic President of the United States. His friends know him as a gambler who plays for high stakes.

McCarthy's White House ambitions have claimed much national attention in recent months, particularly since he challenged the leadership of the Eisenhower Administration on basic issues in the closing weeks of 1953. Those ambitions were known in Wisconsin long before.

John Wyngaard is an able Wisconsin newspaperman who covers the state capitol at Madison for a string

of Republican papers in the state. He is a close political confidant of the Wisconsin Senator and a long-time personal friend. To Wyngaard's children, McCarthy is known as "Uncle Joe." Richard Wilson, chief Washington correspondent for the Cowles papers, named Wyngaard, in the Dec. 1, 1953, *Look* magazine article entitled "The Ring Around McCarthy," as one of the newspapermen close to McCarthy. Wyngaard's columns in Wisconsin papers are watched carefully for clues as to McCarthy's moves and moods. As long ago as Oct. 9, 1951, Wyngaard reported to his papers that McCarthy "has been importuned by some of his admirers around the country to enter his name in a few of the early state Presidential preference primaries" of 1952.

"McCarthy's career to date has not been distinguished by the caution of his approach," Wyngaard wrote. "While there is nothing to indicate that McCarthy intends to make the biggest jump of his spectacular political life, those who have followed him closely know also that they will not be surprised if such a decision comes."

McCarthy decided against showing his hand in 1952, possibly because, as Wyngaard pointed out, if the plan

"You Mean I'm Supposed To Stand on That?"



This cartoon by Herblock, Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist for the *Washington Post*, is the first-known use of the word "McCarthyism." It appeared Mar. 29, 1950.

failed "it would probably have a disastrous effect upon his candidacy for Senator in his home state" and because the "barest announcement of such a plan would be detrimental—giving his critics an opportunity to say that his Communist-hunting exploits were calculated solely for his own political aggrandizement."

The Wisconsin Senator's recent repeated denials that he has Presidential aspirations are probably motivated in part by the realization that it is not good politics to let his ambitions show too obviously. On a radio program in Washington Dec. 6, 1953, he said he had "no desire" to be President and there was "no possibility" that he would run.

Opening Up on the Eisenhower Administration

Speculation about his ambitions broke into headlines all over the country after his nationwide radio and TV broadcast Nov. 24, 1953, when he charged the Eisenhower Administration with "batting zero" in the removal of some disloyal individuals from government and insisted that he, McCarthy, would be the issue in the 1954 campaign. It was given greater impetus when, a few days later, he made an appeal that people write and wire the President to change what Secretary of State Dulles called the "heart of our foreign policy."

Newsmen who study McCarthy at close range saw his ambitions long before this, however. On Oct. 27, 1952, the Alsop brothers, two of the most influential of Washington correspondents who write for the Republican New York *Herald Tribune*, reported that "the prize he is playing for is nothing less than the Republican Presidential nomination in 1956." A survey of opinion among Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington caused the Alsops to report Apr. 16, 1953, that "it is almost universally agreed that McCarthy's objective is the Presidency and nothing less."

The immediate reaction regarding the motivation of McCarthy's Nov. 24, 1953, speech blasting both former President Harry Truman and the Eisenhower Administration was the same in both the pro-McCarthy and anti-McCarthy press. One of his

staunchest supporters in Wisconsin, Editor John Chapple of the *Ashland Press*, immediately called for McCarthy's nomination in 1956. "Let Eisenhower be a one-term President," he said. "He deserves no more. Let him make way, however unwilling, for McCarthy."

The *Chicago Tribune*, a warm and unwavering friend, said McCarthy "will make the fight for the Republican Party even if a great many professed members of the party lack the stomach for any fight at all."

Commonweal, the Catholic weekly, said in its Dec. 11, 1953, issue that McCarthy's speech is "perhaps his first bid for the Republican nomination for the Presidency in 1956." The *Chicago Sun-Times* (anti-McCarthy) said, "It is clear that he proposes to take over the Republican Party, Ike included, and shape it in his own image." Joseph C. Harsch, Washington correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, reported, "One White House spokesman characterized the McCarthy speech . . . as a 'hat-in-the-ring' speech." Lyle Wilson, chief of the Washington bureau of the United Press, wrote, "There is ample evidence here that some distinguished Administration insiders believe Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy is grabbing for the 1956 Republican Presidential nomination." Writing in *Magazine Digest* for August, 1953, Julian M. Snyder said that McCarthy is grooming himself to be "the man of the hour." Commenting on McCarthy's denial that he wants to be President, Snyder said: "But there is no other goal toward which his ambition can take him. As he told a friend not long ago, 'I'll either end up in jail—or in the White House.'"

McCarthy Labels Democrats

'The Party of Treason'

It is the theory of some Washington observers that McCarthy, failing to capture the Republican nomination, would head a third-party movement. "McCarthy," the Alsops reported in April of 1953, "would have no compunctions at all about wrecking the Republican Party, if this seems to serve his purposes." And William S. White, Washington correspondent for the *New York Times*, although unconvinced that McCarthy would run for President,

wrote in the June 16, 1953, issue of *Look* magazine that "McCarthy is on no account a typical party man. . . . When 'McCarthy,' as he sometimes calls himself in the third person, transfers his attack from 'Acheson' . . . to the present Republican State Department he is not much troubled by party considerations."

And yet, in recent months McCarthy has seemed to regard himself as a Republican spokesman. In a series of Lincoln Day addresses beginning at Charleston, W. Va., Feb. 4, 1954, McCarthy called on Democrats who are "loyal Americans" to join the Republican Party. In Canton, O., Feb. 5, according to the United Press, and in subsequent "Lincoln Day" speeches, McCarthy characterized the Democratic Party as "the Party of treason."

The speculation about McCarthy's ambitions has caused some observers to attempt an assessment of the kind of support he could expect if he makes his move in 1956. Newsmen noted that at about the time he was challenging the leadership of President Eisenhower, a group of nationalists and McCarthy backers met at the Harvard Club in New York City and announced plans for the formation of an American Action Committee.

Former Rep. Hamilton Fish, the New York super-nationalist, issued a statement saying, "It is obvious that if the Republican Party in 1956 again nominates an internationalist for President and adopts an internationalist platform, there automatically will be a third party with machinery set up in every state."

Others interested in the new organization are Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune*; former Sens. Burton K. Wheeler of Montana and Albert W. Hawkes of New Jersey, and Frank Gannett, publisher of a chain of Eastern newspapers.

There seems little question that McCarthy could command considerable financial support from men of great wealth to advance his political ambitions. One of the first industrialists who offered to come to his financial aid was Walter Harnischfeger of Milwaukee, a backer of extreme right-wing causes with close ties to ultra-nationalist forces in Germany. In 1947, when McCarthy was in des-

perate financial straits and was being pressed by the Appleton State Bank on his overdue loans (see pages 14 to 18), he wrote his banker, Matt Schuh:

"I have made complete arrangements with Walter Harnischfeger to put up sufficient collateral to cure both our ulcers." Two years later, McCarthy played a pugnacious and uninvited role in a Senate committee's investigation of the Malmedy "massacres" during the Battle of the Bulge in World War II—a case in which Harnischfeger was greatly interested. (Quoted in *Commentary*, March, 1953.)

McCarthy's conduct during the inquiry brought charges that he had based his extremely pro-German position on materials provided by a German Communist spy and ultra-nationalist forces in Germany. The records show that McCarthy was assisted in his role in the Malmedy inquiry by Tom Korb, lawyer for Harnischfeger, who was carried on McCarthy's Senate staff payroll as "administrative assistant" during six weeks of the investigation.

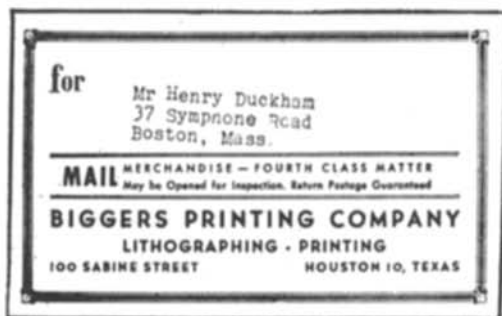
But most of McCarthy's financial support has come not from Wisconsin but from wealthy Texans. They, like some other business forces in the country, were early impressed by McCarthy's attitude on labor. The *New York Times* of Dec. 6, 1946, quoted McCarthy as saying during a coal crisis: "I believe the President should use his powers to immediately draft John L. Lewis into the Armed Services. Lewis should be directed to order his miners to mine coal. If he does not do that, he should be court-martialed. We should go straight down the line. If subordinates of Lewis fail to order the miners back, they should be court-martialed."

McCarthy's Texas supporters, most of whom have made their millions in oil, are enthusiastic about McCarthy and what he is doing. They entertain him royally at their luxurious homes in Texas, provide him with private airplanes with which to travel about the country, and contribute generously to his political projects.

McCarthy's Texas benefactors stoutly insist their support of McCarthy has nothing to do with his voting record. This may well be true, but an analysis of the Senator's



HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



These illustrations present an interesting case study of one phase of McCarthy's support. The photograph on the lower right shows E. M. Biggers, Texas rancher and printer, presenting McCarthy with a \$6,000 Cadillac in behalf of McCarthy's Texas supporters. (Details on Page 74.) The two illustrations above, "History of the United States," a crude bit of anti-Semitism featuring the caricature of a Jewish pawnbroker as the dominant

symbol of America, and "Names of Jews Running the United Nations," were mailed out by Biggers on request to the address shown on the lower left. The UN pamphlet distributed by Biggers is sponsored by the Christian Nationalist Crusade. Among other things, it urges: "The reader of this tract should join the American Committee for the Abolition of the United Nations." To date McCarthy has not, publicly at least, repudiated Biggers' support.

official voting record shows that whether by conviction or other motivation, McCarthy almost always votes their way in the Senate. On Mar. 29, 1950, he voted for the passage of the so-called Kerr natural gas bill which gave natural gas interests an exemption from regulation by the Federal Power Commission. This bill was opposed by the Republican

and Democratic Parties of Wisconsin. The state, through its governor, attorney general, and legislature—all Republicans—made known its opposition on the ground that it would mean an increase in natural gas rates for Wisconsin consumers. McCarthy and one other Republican Congressman cast the only votes the oil people got from the Wisconsin dele-

gation for the bill which Congress passed but then-President Truman vetoed.

On Sept. 28, 1951, McCarthy was paired against an amendment to the tax bill that would have cut the 27½ per cent depletion allowance given to oil operators—an allowance which saves them millions of dollars in taxes each year.

On April 2, 1952, he voted for passage of the so-called tidelands oil bill under which the federal government turned over to Texas, California, Louisiana, and Florida the off-shore oil deposits worth billions.

Cast of Texas Supporters

An investigation of McCarthy's connections with these wealthy Texans was recently conducted by Edwin R. Bayley, a seasoned political analyst of the *Milwaukee Journal*. The results were published in the Dec. 20, 1953, issue of that paper. Here are the names of some of these millionaire supporters of McCarthy and pertinent data about them:

HUGH ROY CULLEN of Houston, who broke into headlines in 1947 when he set up an educational and charitable foundation with 169 million dollars worth of oil properties. He was in the news again when he gave \$2,250,000 to the University of Houston reportedly (but subsequently denied) for winning a football game against Baylor University and a week later gave a million to Baylor. He contributed \$5,000 to McCarthy's campaign in 1952, the legal limit for any one contributor and the largest single contribution reported by the McCarthy Club. In 1948 he wrote a letter to Houston papers attacking Jesse Jones, former Cabinet officer, for, among other things, trying to run Houston "with the assistance of a bunch of New York Jews." (*Quoted by the Associated Press, Jan. 17, 1954.*) Cullen subsequently said he "didn't mean anything by that remark. I was just mad."

DOUGLAS MARSHALL of Houston, who is Cullen's son-in-law. He entertained McCarthy at his home and gave \$500 each to the campaigns of two Wisconsin Republican Congressmen, both of whom voted for the tidelands bill.

C. W. MURCHISON of Dallas, who has an estimated total worth of \$218,000,000, owns 19 corporations, Mexican ranches, and several private airplanes which have been used to fly McCarthy around Texas. Murchison gave \$10,000 to the 1950 Maryland campaign which McCarthy directed against Sen. Millard Tydings. This was part of the money which was not reported, as required by law, until a Senate committee began an investigation of the campaign. Murchison said in an interview that he had contributed a total of \$25,000 to various candidates at McCarthy's request.

In late May and early June of 1953, McCarthy was Murchison's guest in Texas. Part of the vacation was spent on "an island owned by the Murchisons off the coast of Mexico near Tampico, where the Duke and Duchess of Windsor had been entertained two years before," the *Journal* said. "The party was said to include 14 oilmen and the purpose of the trip was the shooting of rare 'white winged doves.' " McCarthy had announced before leaving Washington that he was going out of the country for about 10 days on business involving his investigating committee.

CIPRIANO ANDRADE III of Dallas, another one of the oil millionaires

who entertain McCarthy when he is in Dallas. He arranged speaking dates for McCarthy at American Legion meetings in Texas.

AUSTIN HANCOCK of San Antonio is a retired insurance executive and founder of the American Heritage Protective Association. Hancock, who was quoted in *Look*, Dec. 1, 1953, as saying that he hopes to get the 1956 Republican Presidential nomination for McCarthy, has distributed a considerable number of anti-Semitic tracts, some written by himself, others written by fellow racists.

W. L. GOLDSTAN of Houston, who contributed \$500 to McCarthy's radio and TV attack on Adlai Stevenson during the 1952 campaign.

E. B. GERMANY of Dallas, another oilman and chairman of the board of a bank and president of the million dollar Lone Star Steel Co., who contributed \$250 to McCarthy's attack on Stevenson.

H. B. KECK of Houston also is an oil tycoon. When McCarthy and his wife flew into Madison, Wis., Nov. 1, 1953, they had at their disposal a converted Douglas B-26, described by personnel at the Madison airport as "plush." The plane is owned by the Superior Oil Co. of Houston. The president of the Superior Oil Co. is H. B. Keck, who, according to the *Milwaukee Journal*, "is possibly the same person as the 'N. B. Keck' listed as a donor of \$2,000 to McCarthy's campaign club in 1952." The *Journal* pointed out that *Moody's Industrials*, an investors' service manual, indicates that the Superior Oil Co. is interested in tidelands oil and that in 1947 it joined with another company in leasing from Texas about 66,000 acres of submerged land in the Gulf of Mexico and Galveston Bay.

Another private plane which McCarthy has used to carry him about the country belongs to John Fox, publisher of the *Boston Post*. Though Fox is not a Texan, he has wide-ranging oil holdings. Gas fields in Pennsylvania alone, according to the *Saturday Evening Post*, bring him an estimated \$400,000 a month. His paper has joined McCarthy in attacking Harvard University as a nest of Communists. When McCarthy came to Wisconsin from Boston Nov. 19, 1953, and landed at the Stevens

'Wrecking the Republican Party'

"McCarthy will have no compunctions at all about wrecking the Republican Party if it seems to serve his purposes. His contempt for his own party was amply demonstrated during the battle over the confirmation of Charles E. Bohlen as ambassador to the Soviet Union. He then implied clearly that the Republican Secretary of State was a liar. He arrogantly defied both the Senate Republican leader and the chairman of the Republican Policy Committee. And at least by implication, he also attacked the Republican President.

"McCarthy has certain very great assets (as a new party candidate). For the first time in American political history, he has succeeded in uniting behind him the whole assortment of small, proto-Fascist extremist groups. These have existed for a long time, but despite their attempts to poison the political atmosphere, they have heretofore been hardly more than a nuisance. Now they are all together in one movement, which can exercise a balance of power in key areas."

THE ALSOP
Washington Post
Apr. 15, 1953

Point airport, he was flown there in Fox's plane.

HAROLDSON LAFAYETTE HUNT of Dallas, who is McCarthy's most important backer among the wealthy Texans. His income has been estimated at \$200,000 a day, or about \$70,000,000 a year before taxes, and he is reputed to be the nation's richest man. He made his money in oil. According to Ben H. Bagdikian, who wrote a series of articles about Hunt and his political activities for the Providence (R.I.) *Journal-Bulletin*, Hunt was recently awarded leases on tidelands oil property by Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas. He was the biggest single awardee, getting more than 100,000 acres at an average of \$6 an acre while others paid as high as \$400.

"Hunt believes that Shivers is a good possibility for President," the *Journal-Bulletin* reported. "He thinks the same of Sen. McCarthy." When Hunt was asked if he were supporting McCarthy for the Presidency in 1956, he replied, "Some day I might be able to answer that better. But I think it is a little too early. It's two years away."

"Hunt," according to the *Journal-Bulletin*, "is estimated to own 200 million dollars' worth of farm land. He is estimated to be the biggest independent oil operator in the world with holdings in excess of 500 million dollars. He is estimated to be the largest grower of pecans in the world. He has, in addition, gold mines, natural gas, and other interests."

In 1951 Hunt established Facts Forum, which the *Journal-Bulletin*, after an exhaustive investigation, described as "an organization of growing power in American mass communications and public opinion." Facts Forum presents political views on a network of radio and TV stations, most of the time for which is

On the right are samples of issues of "Common Sense," published by Conde McGinley, one of the nation's most virulent racists, featuring, 1) anti-Semitism; 2) attacks on the Messrs. Eisenhower and Stevenson as "Marxist stooges," and 3) fulsome praise of McCarthy.



furnished free. Hunt has said that it is a non-partisan, non-political, educational project with rules against carrying on propaganda. Facts Forum sends out a great quantity of literature and public opinion polls and is building local units in communities throughout the country. It pays members for letters that they get published in their local papers, most of which are letters that reflect the views of Hunt and McCarthy. It has obtained a tax exemption for its expenditures and its contributors.

The *Journal-Bulletin* found that half of Facts Forum's "basic program more often than not is devoted to the political philosophy and methods of McCarthy." According to Richard Wilson in the Dec. 1, 1953, issue of *Look* magazine, Jean Kerr, former aide to McCarthy and now his wife, helped "to launch a recorded television series called Facts Forum. The program was backed by H. L. Hunt, Dallas oil operator, sometimes called the richest man in America. McCarthy was the first guest star on the program. Some say Hunt will eventually back him in a series of reports to the nation on his activities."

According to Frederick W. Collins, Washington correspondent for the Providence (R. I.) *Journal-Bulletin*, he was asked by Victor Johnston, former McCarthy administrative assistant and now secretary of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, to appear on a Facts Forum program interviewing McCarthy. Collins reported in his paper that Johnston told him Hunt was ready to spend some of his fortune electing "our kind of guy."

Hunt, according to the *Journal-Bulletin*, is the biggest contributor to Americans for America, an organization that "spent more than \$50,000 for the benefit of ultra-conservative Republican candidates all over the country." The head of Americans for America is Gen. Robert E. Wood, chairman of the board of Sears, Roebuck and strong McCarthy backer. Wood is an officer of Facts Forum.

One of McCarthy's most enthusiastic Texas backers is E. M. Biggers, wealthy rancher who took the lead in collecting the money to buy McCarthy a \$6,000 Cadillac for a wedding present. Biggers made the presentation to McCarthy and his wife in

Washington. In an interview with the *Milwaukee Journal*, Biggers said, "We had more money than we needed, so we bought all the accessories for the car that we could. Then we still had some money, so we insured it for him. Then we still had some, so we sent what was left to Jean [Mrs. McCarthy] and told her to use it to buy gas for the car."

The Racists Backing McCarthy

Biggers, who also operates a printing plant, seems to dislike Eisenhower as much as he did Truman and thinks that McCarthy is the salvation of the Republican Party, according to the *Milwaukee Journal*. "The Republicans are all through unless they embrace McCarthyism completely," he said in an interview with the *Journal*. "This country is in great danger and Joe is about the only one who knows it."

Biggers does not think that Russia is a danger to America. "I don't worry about Russia," Biggers told the *Milwaukee Journal*. "We could shut them up in 48 hours. Just give 'em an ultimatum." The danger to this country, he told the *Journal*, is "being swallowed up by liberalism, socialism, or whatever you want to call it." He was quoted in the *Journal* as saying that a large part of the country's trouble is due to the fact that "there are too many Jews in Washington." Biggers has a reputation as one of the most active and violent of the peddlers of race hatred.

One of the items distributed by Biggers is entitled *History of the United States*, a four panel cartoon in which the familiar Nazi caricature of a Jewish pawnbroker is shown dethroning Uncle Sam following Uncle's successful rout of the American Indian. (See Page 71.) Biggers has also distributed the bigoted literature of Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council in New York and the anti-Semitic leaflets composed by Gerald L. K. Smith, one of the best known of the hate-mongers.

Cut out of the same cloth as Biggers is another one of McCarthy's Texas backers, Austin Hancock, a retired insurance executive, of San Antonio. He is the founder of an organization known as the American Heritage Protective Association.

In October, 1945, Hancock issued

a 24-page booklet entitled, *Unfolding That Fair Employment Practice Plot*. To help support his thesis that the FEPC legislation is "communistic" he cited such authorities as Elizabeth Dilling, the notorious Chicago hate peddler. On Page 21 he lumped the CIO and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with "un-American" and "communistic" groups.

A Hancock booklet issued in November, 1952, entitled *Unfolding Social Security*, smears the late U.S. Sen. Robert F. Wagner of New York. On Page 6 is found this statement: "This limited scheme of insurance was originated and imported (it is said) from Germany by its original author, R. F. Wagner, New York, U. S. Senator originally from Germany—a staunch New Dealer and author of many un-American bills including that pro-Communist-Socialized Wagner Act. . . . It is unnecessary to give you Wagner's German Jewish ancestry—the race issue has no place in this presentation. Anyway, we do not know Wagner's original name."

This same pamphlet, on Page 44, carries an article entitled, "Jewish United Nations," by Conde McGinley, editor of the notorious and violently anti-Semitic *Common Sense*.

Richard Wilson, in the previously quoted article in the Dec. 1, 1953, issue of *Look*, says, "He [Hancock] has said that he hopes to help get the Republican Presidential nomination for McCarthy."

McCarthy has attracted—the recorded facts do not show that he sought—fanatical support from hate groups across the country. The dean of the hate merchants, Gerald L. K. Smith, grows rhapsodic when he discusses McCarthy in the pages of his publication, *The Cross and The Flag*, and he has made his Christian Nationalist Crusade a distributor of McCarthy speeches and other materials.

The December 1950 issue of *The Cross and The Flag* said, "We are reprinting another of Sen. McCarthy's speeches in this issue. This fearless young statesman constitutes one of the most hopeful signs that has appeared on the horizon of our national life." Smith has helped McCarthy carry on his feud against President Eisenhower. In the November, 1953, issue, Smith noted the attack made

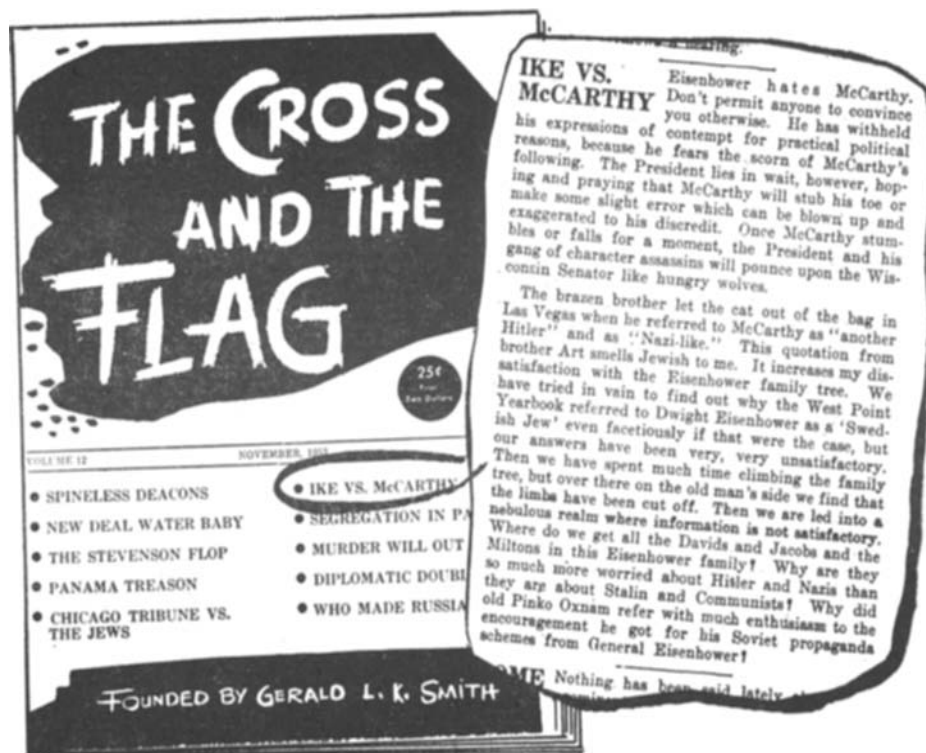
on McCarthy by Arthur Eisenhower, brother of the President.

"Eisenhower hates McCarthy," he said. "The brazen brother let the cat out of the bag in Las Vegas when he referred to McCarthy as 'another Hitler' and as 'Nazi-like.' This quotation from brother Art smells Jewish to me. It increases my dissatisfaction with the Eisenhower family tree. We have tried in vain to find out why the West Point Yearbook referred to Dwight Eisenhower as a 'Swedish Jew' even facetiously if that were the case, but our answers have been very, very unsatisfactory."

McCarthy is also backed by Conde McGinley, the hate-mongering editor of *Common Sense*, perhaps the shrillest racist publication in the nation today. In April, 1950, McGinley wrote in his publication: "Those Americans who wish to live as free men and enjoy Christian worship as they see best, should thank our good Lord for such a man as Joe McCarthy. . . Those 55,000 admitted Communist party members are only shock troops for the Marxist-Zionists who are the brains and directors of Communism." On Oct. 15, 1950, McGinley warned in a headline, "YIDDISH MARXISTS PLOT U.S.A. DEFEAT BY U.S.S.R." In the same issue, McGinley wrote that the "Yiddish Marxists invented the Zionist movement. Yiddish Marxists developed this Zionist movement into the most subtle instrument for aggression in the history of the world." Another McGinley headline, this one Aug. 15, 1952, shouted, "INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT RULES BOTH PARTIES—ADLAI AND IKE MARXIST STOOGES." (See cut Page 73.)

Frank L. Britton of Inglewood, Calif., is also a McCarthy zealot. His *American Nationalist*, on Aug. 10, 1953, published the charge that "Jews Plot to Murder McCarthy" and attacked the "McCarthy-hating National Conference of Christians and Jews." Virtually every issue carries laudatory references to McCarthy—sandwiched in between attacks on Negroes and Jews.

Another source of McCarthy support is the Minute Women of the U.S.A., Inc., which was exposed as a fanatical organization by the *Houston Post*, in a series of articles by Ralph O'Leary, beginning Oct. 11, 1953. *Time* magazine, on Nov. 2, 1953, re-



Here are the cover of the November issue of Gerald L. K. Smith's "The Cross and The Flag" and an excerpt from the editorial page in which Smith lashed out at Arthur Eisenhower's attack on McCarthy. This is the kind of racist support McCarthy has attracted without publicly accepting or repudiating that support.

ported that the *Post* series showed the Minute Women to be engaged in "irresponsible vigilantism" and "the most powerful organization of its kind . . . since the Ku Klux Klan." McCarthy wrote Suzanne Silvercruys Stevenson, founder of the Minute Women, May 8, 1952, hailing the organization's work in fighting Communism.

There are many others from the shabby and shadowy world of hate mongering who have rallied to McCarthy. There is nothing in the record to show that McCarthy has either solicited or repudiated their support.

McCarthy also has formidable press and radio support from the Hearst and McCormick newspapers and from such commentators as Fulton Lewis, Jr., Westbrook Pegler, Walter Winchell, George Sokolsky, and others.

A distinguishing characteristic of McCarthy's political career was

summed up in the complaint filed by the Wisconsin Board of Bar Commissioners asking his disbarment because of his conduct in the 1946 campaign that put him in the U. S. Senate.

"He . . . knowingly and willfully placed the gratification of his personal ambition above the interests of the public," the Board said.

It is eight years since that Board of noted Wisconsin lawyers formed this basic judgment of McCarthy's character. Certainly the documented facts assembled in these pages confirm the accuracy of their estimate of the man. His "win at any cost" approach to public affairs led him to launch his national political career with the support of the Communists, and, as he seemed to reach out for the biggest political prize of all, he completed the circle by attracting the support of the right-wing extremists—the Texas oil millionaires, the *Chicago Tribune* nationalists, and the racist spokesmen for the hate cult.



SOWING SEEDS OF DISUNITY

**Facts on the Extent to Which McCarthy
Has Split the Free World and Has Helped
To Strengthen the Communist Cause**

THE most ironic commentary on Sen. McCarthy's operations is the fact profusely documented on this and succeeding pages—that the man who has made anti-Communism his career has strengthened the Communist cause more than any other single American. As *La Croix* (*The Cross*), the French Catholic daily, put it with devastating simplicity June 19, 1953: "Far from being a formidable foe of Communism, McCarthy is fast becoming the precious ally of Communism." And a leading spokesman for American Protestantism, the *Christian Century*, reported Sept. 23, 1953, that "in the free nations" McCarthyism, "making America an object of derision before the world . . . [is] helping the local Communist Parties"—so much so that McCarthy has become "the best agent Moscow has."

In no area of American political life have McCarthy's operations proved more destructive than in the critical and highly sensitive field of foreign relations. The testimony of American diplomats, journalists, travelers, and of political leaders and publicists in the countries of the free world, is virtually unanimous that McCarthy has actually aided the Communists by creating a widening gulf between our Allies and ourselves.

Consider the background against

which McCarthy has operated to divide the anti-Communist nations of the West:

1. The principal strategic goal of the Kremlin—as defined by the late Premier Stalin and the present Premier Malenkov—is to loosen the bonds that hold the nations of the West together under American leadership.

2. It was the awareness of this basic Soviet strategy that led Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to exclaim in a press conference Dec. 1, 1953: "Never in all our history was there a time when good friends and Allies meant so much to us."

Yet it is precisely at this decisive moment in history that McCarthy provides a great deal of grist for the Soviet propaganda mill by damaging his country's reputation for decency and respect for democratic rights. Even McCarthy's supporters are shaken when they see the harvest of ill-will he has sown abroad. Congressman Timothy Sheehan, Illinois Republican and a supporter of McCarthy, told the press when he returned from Europe last fall:

"In all the sections I visited, everyone seemed to know Sen. McCarthy and his investigations. Even during short political discussions, this subject was always broached at the very

beginning of conversations. It was unfortunate that the general opinion is that Sen. McCarthy is another Hitler. . ." (*Madison, Wis. Capital Times*, Nov. 23, 1953)

Rep. Sheehan's conclusion that Europe generally regards McCarthy as "another Hitler" is reflected in scores of editorials in the European press. An analysis of this editorial comment shows that criticism of McCarthy is based in part on the fear that the Wisconsin Senator is crippling American foreign policy and imperiling the security of the Western alliance designed to prevent Communist aggression.

Paris-Match, France's most important weekly newsmagazine, catering to a conservative audience of more than a million, put it this way June 5, 1953: "If the United States is ruled by fanatical, brutal McCarthy, can the British and Western Europe accept the leadership of a furious demagogue? In the general crisis within the Atlantic Alliance, McCarthy has become a weapon for the anti-Americans."

A leading French daily, *Paris-Presse*, summarized the extent to which McCarthy has confused and weakened U.S. foreign policy when it said May 19, 1953: "The United States has two Secretaries of State—McCarthy and Dulles, and in six

weeks McCarthy has created for Dulles most cruel embarrassments. He decapitated the Voice of America, almost torpedoed the nomination of a U.S. ambassador to Moscow, called Dulles a liar, fastened on Dulles a security chief devoted completely to McCarthy, imposed on Dulles a deal with Greek shipowners, forced the firing of two competent officials in Germany, and is now trying to impose a China blockade . . ."

This summary by a French daily friendly to the U.S. is accurate, but incomplete. For it was written some months before McCarthy added a significant new chapter by attacking what Dulles called "the very heart" of U.S. foreign policy in a nationwide radio and television program Nov. 24, 1953.

What most astonished Europeans, a survey of their press discloses, is the fact that while his original targets had been Democrats Truman and Acheson, he continued to blast away at the President and Secretary of State although now they were Republicans Eisenhower and Dulles.

Combat, a French daily, reflected the opinion of many other European newspapers when, in an article entitled, "McCarthyism: The Advance Guard of Fascism in the United States," it said on Apr. 22, 1953: "While the Democrats were in power McCarthy took out after Acheson, but now that McCarthy's own party is in power, far from calming himself he seems to have doubled his zeal and does not hesitate to attack Dulles and Eisenhower." As Stewart Alsop observed in the Republican New York *Herald-Tribune* Jan. 10, 1954, "McCarthy is, after all, a political carnivore—he lives by attacking. He cannot subsist indefinitely on the corpse of the Truman Administration."

The Eisenhower Administration had been in office only two weeks when McCarthy struck. On Feb. 2, 1953, President Eisenhower delivered his first State of the Union message to Congress. In it he said that "the primary responsibility for keeping out the disloyal and the dangerous rests squarely upon the Executive Branch. I am determined to meet this responsibility." Two days later, Feb. 4, McCarthy initiated the first of a series of attacks on the State Department whose head, John Foster Dulles, had just two weeks before taken his

oath of office. By Feb. 22 the New York *Times* could headline a Washington dispatch this way:

McCarthy POSES ADMINISTRATION PROBLEM
His Wide Swings Are Hitting Dulles
AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT

McCarthy's Attack on Charles E. Bohlen

Before the Eisenhower Administration had been in office three months, McCarthy broadened his attack by challenging the integrity of the President, the Secretary of State, and the Republican leaders of the Senate. In February 1953, President Eisenhower nominated Charles E. Bohlen for the key post of American ambassador to Moscow. Bohlen entered the Foreign Service under President Hoover in 1929 and had served his government for 24 years when he was selected for this important ambassadorship.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as is its duty, examined Bohlen's qualifications for the position. The members of that committee, which included Republican Senators Taft, Knowland, Ferguson, Hickenlooper, and Chairman Wiley, voted unanimously, 15-0, their approval of Bohlen's high qualifications.

Then McCarthy rose to accuse and attack. He charged Bohlen with being a security risk and alleged that there was damaging material in the FBI files on Bohlen. So bitterly did McCarthy attack that a committee of

two, Sen. Taft for the Republicans and Sen. Sparkman for the Democrats, took the almost unprecedented step of reviewing FBI's Bohlen file. Sen. Taft then reported to the Senate of the United States:

"There was no suggestion anywhere by anyone reflecting on the loyalty of Mr. Bohlen in any way, or any association by him with Communism or support of Communism or even tolerance of Communism."

Congressional Record,
Mar. 25, 1953

While some people had told the FBI that they disagreed with Bohlen's political views, Sen. Taft said that these same people ended up their statements by saying that they had "full confidence in the character, the morality, and the general standing and reputation of Mr. Bohlen."

Thus were McCarthy's charges proven false by "Mr. Republican" himself, as the late Sen. Taft was called. President Eisenhower, in a press conference Mar. 25, also refuted McCarthy's attack. The President said that he knew Bohlen personally, was well acquainted with his philosophy, and believed that he was the best qualified man in the United States for this important post.

For McCarthy, the whole-hearted approval of the President and Sen. Taft and the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was not enough. The Senator from Wisconsin continued his attacks on Bohlen, charged Secretary Dulles with "untrue" statements, and on the floor of the Senate questioned the honesty of the Senate Majority Leader, William F. Knowland of California.

So malicious were the McCarthy tirades against Bohlen and those who supported him, including the President and the Secretary of State, that Knowland cried out in the Senate: "If we have so destroyed confidence in men in the government of the United States, then God help us."

McCarthy himself was thoroughly repudiated when 74 Senators voted their approval of Bohlen's appointment; McCarthy could find only twelve to join him in a negative vote. They were: Sens. Bricker, Ohio; Bridges, New Hampshire; Dirksen, Illinois; Dworshak, Idaho; Goldwater, Arizona; Malone, Nevada; Mundt, South Dakota; Schoepfel,



"We Have Documentary Evidence
That This Man Is Planning
a Trip to Moscow"

Kansas; Welker, Idaho, all Republicans; Johnson, Colorado, and McCarran, Nevada, Democrats.

McCarthy was repudiated, but McCarthyism made its contribution to the Communist cause: Ambassador Bohlen's departure was delayed for weeks by McCarthy's attacks at a time when expert American representation at Moscow was important to the new Republican makers of foreign policy. It was the period immediately after Stalin's death when vital decisions affecting grave issues of peace and war were being hammered out in Moscow; the United States alone had no ambassador there. As Clifton Utley told an NBC audience, "Even in the Bohlen matter, where his case was so bad it was foredoomed to defeat, McCarthy essentially commanded the Senate to stand still for two weeks—and it did."

Throughout the non-Communist countries of Europe, McCarthy's effort to obstruct the Eisenhower Administration caused deep concern over the influence he would exercise on American diplomacy. A survey conducted by the *New York Times* Mar. 29, 1953, found America's allies inquiring whether American diplomats in the future were going to be bullied into making distorted reports to please McCarthy. Anti-Communist leaders were reported as being appalled by McCarthy's attack on Eisenhower's "new team," and American prestige was found to be "visibly tarnished." Senate approval of Bohlen was hailed, on the other hand, by the leading non-Communist papers of Europe. "The influence of Mr. McCarthy in the Senate is clearly diminishing," said a leading French pa-



Charles E. Bohlen

per, *Le Monde*, hopefully on Apr. 7, 1953.

Other outstanding diplomats have been hounded out of government service by McCarthyism. The Senator has used the State Department and the Foreign Service as a political punching bag. The fact that in doing so he weakens American diplomacy and strengthens Communist diplomacy has never deterred him from irresponsibly assaulting individuals.

The survivors of McCarthy's attacks carry on their duties greatly disheartened. Never knowing who will be McCarthy's next victim, State Department employees avoid responsibility for action and duck decisions

which could be distorted into political attacks.

More important, American diplomats must spend time guarding against sudden stabs from McCarthy and his numerous staff of investigators instead of devoting themselves to advancing the cause of the free world.

Americans of maturity and ability have become reluctant to serve the Department of State and its Foreign Service. Young men are dissuaded from even applying for positions by the thought of being future victims of political smears. Foreign Service job applications declined by almost half in the first six months of 1953 compared to what they were in 1952. With a much smaller group from which to choose, standards of ability and intelligence are measurably lowered.

The *Christian Science Monitor*, June 6, 1953, reported an interview with a State Department official, whose identity it protected, in these words: "The men and women in the State Department don't talk any longer about staying for the good of the service. They want to get out fast. They feel their Department has been ruined beyond repair. . . . Fear, intrigue, and suspicion are now the currency of the whole State Department. No one trusts anyone. No one says anything he can avoid saying. The practices of Fascism have come to the United States."

In a letter to the *New York Times* Jan. 17, 1954, five of America's most distinguished former diplomats spoke up against the impact of McCarthyism on the Foreign Service of our country without identifying the Senator by name.

The five men who signed the letter were: Joseph C. Grew, who had 41 years in our foreign service and was our ambassador to Switzerland, Turkey, and Japan, and served for a time as Undersecretary of State; Norman Armour, 33 years in the State Department, who held, among others, the posts of ambassador to Chile, Argentina, and Spain, and was an assistant Secretary of State; Robert Woods Bliss, 33 years in the State Department, onetime chairman of the Board of Examiners for the Diplomatic Service, minister to Sweden, ambassador to Argentina; G. Howland Shaw, 27 years in the State

'A Form of American Totalitarianism'

William F. Clancy, associate editor of the Catholic magazine *Commonweal*, told the ADA of Newark, N. J., that "if McCarthy had never really existed, Communists would have invented him."

Clancy said that, rather than being opposed to McCarthy, the Communists are actually delighted to be able to use his attacks on loyal Americans to spread their own anti-American propaganda here and in other parts of the world.

"McCarthyism is actually a form of American totalitarianism," Clancy said. He pointed out that the two foremost Catholic magazines in this country, *Commonweal* and *America*, a Jesuit publication, were both strongly anti-McCarthy.

"If one is truly anti-Communist," he said, "he must of necessity be an anti-McCarthyite. Both are anathema to a free, democratic society."

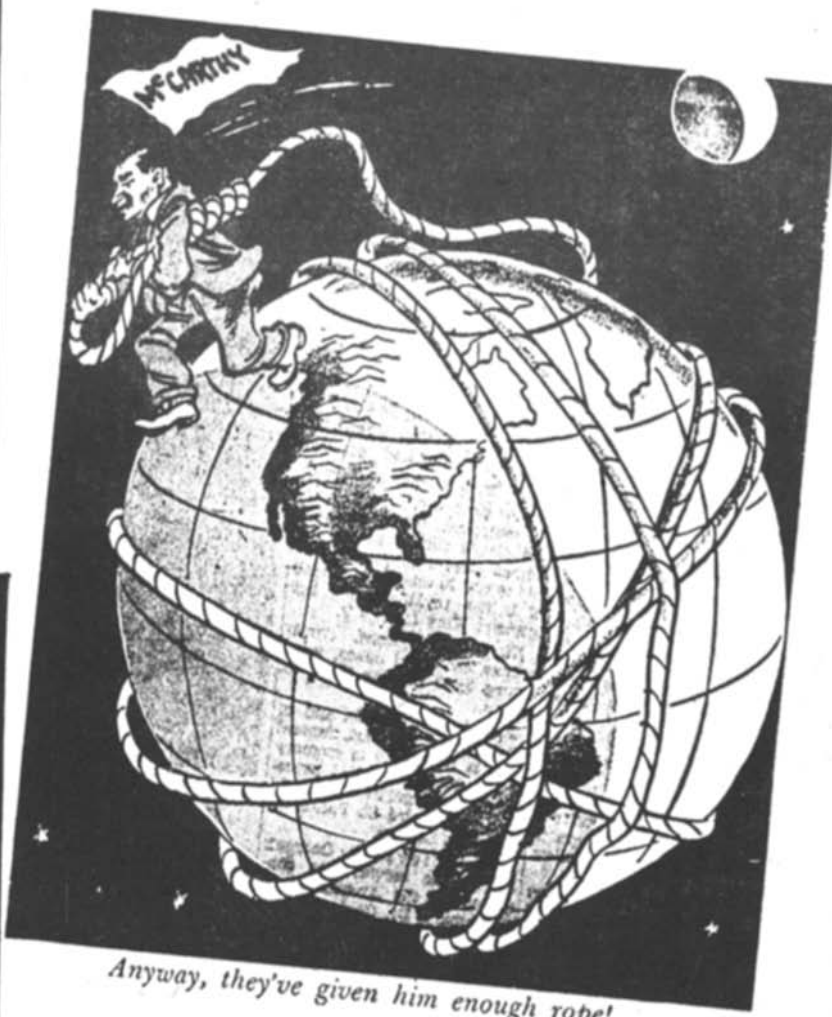
Quoted in the *ADA World*
November, 1953



'Steady Now, Pal—Don't Ham-string Me in My Work.'



'We've got the range, now pour it on!'



Anyway, they've given him enough rope!

Department, chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, expert on personnel problems, member of the State Department's Policy Commission; and William Phillips, 39 years in the Department of State, Assistant Secretary of State, Undersecretary, ambassador to Belgium, Italy, and minister to Canada.

Writing of the attacks "from outside sources" on the "loyalty and moral standards" of the Foreign Service, these five retired diplomats pointed out that "with rare exceptions the justification for these at-

tacks has been so flimsy as to have no standing in a court of law or in the mind of any individual capable of differentiating repeated accusation from even a reasonable presumption of guilt."

Among the "sinister" results flowing from these reckless attacks, the five men maintained, was the fact that "the conclusion has become inescapable that a Foreign Service officer who reports on persons and events to the very best of his ability and who makes recommendations which at the time he conscientiously

believes to be in the interests of the United States may subsequently find his loyalty and integrity challenged . . . A premium therefore has been put upon reporting and upon recommendations which are ambiguously stated or so cautiously set forth as to be deceiving.

"When any such tendency begins its insidious work it is not long before accuracy and initiative have been sacrificed to acceptability and conformity. The ultimate result is a threat to national security. In this connection the history of the Nazi

and Fascist Foreign Services before the Second World War is pertinent."

After pointing out the extent to which anonymous informers and careless investigations play their part in the type of attacks made on the Foreign Service, the five diplomats ask "whether we are not laying the foundations of a Foreign Service competent to serve a totalitarian government rather than the government of the United States as we have heretofore known it.

"Fear is playing an important part in American life at the present time. As a result the self-confidence, the confidence in others, the sense of fair play, and the instinct to protect the rights of the non-conformist are—temporarily, it is hoped—in abeyance. But it would be tragic if this fear, expressing itself, in an exaggerated emphasis on security, should lead us to cripple the Foreign Service, our first line of national defense, at the very time when its effectiveness is essential to our filling the place which history has assigned to us."

This has been the impact of McCarthy and McCarthyism on the agencies of American foreign policy. Communists and fellow-travelers, boring from within, would have difficulty in equaling the wreckage of the American diplomatic service achieved by McCarthy from his Senate seat.

The Greek Ship Deal

McCarthy has not been content to batter and intimidate the men who are charged with our national security, but he has ventured into the field of making foreign policy on his own. As Senator he has not only played at replacing the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover, but also at replacing Secretary of State Dulles and President Eisenhower himself. The making of foreign policy, as clearly understood in the Constitution, is the responsibility of the Executive Branch of our government.

The first of McCarthy's ventures in the making of foreign policy would have been high comedy, based as it was on pure bluff, if it had not contributed to confusion among our allies about the character of American policy.

On Mar. 27, 1953, McCarthy received his first repudiation by his party and the Eisenhower Admin-

istration as headlines throughout the nation proclaimed his defeat in the Bohlen appointment. But an hour after he was decisively voted down on the floor of the Senate, McCarthy's office telephoned the press gallery to announce an important press conference the next day. When the Washington correspondents had assembled, McCarthy broke his Greek shipping story.

McCarthy's strategy in leaping from the Bohlen reversal to the Greek ship story was part of the basic pattern of his "battle-plan" described by George H. Hall in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* Apr. 4, 1953: "Attack always, never defend, never explain and never retreat; when in a hot spot, break off the engagement and attack on another front."

McCarthy announced that he had been carrying on negotiations with the Greek shipowners of New York City. As a result he had secured an agreement with the owners of 242 merchant ships to stop all trade with Communist China, North Korea, and Russian Pacific ports. He spoke of the "dismal failure" of the Eisenhower Administration in not stopping this trade and claimed that he was carrying on negotiations with the Greek ship owners of London to reach the same sort of agreement. The "agreement" reached Mar. 25, 1953, was "negotiated" by McCarthy and several of his staff members without the knowledge of his Senate associates on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations over which he presides.

After McCarthy had made the headlines with his claims, the facts were revealed in small type. The Senator's story was based on a danger which did not exist. The Greek owners told reporters that their ships

had not carried any cargo into these ports for at least two years. (*New York Times*, Mar. 30, 1953). They said they cooperated with McCarthy because they wanted to end "bad publicity." (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch* Apr. 5, 1953.)

On Mar. 31, 1953, the *New York Times* quoted the Greek shipowners as saying the vessels have "not taken cargoes of strategic materials to Red China, but have usually arrived empty at Darien from Japan to load coal for Japan and soya beans for India, Ceylon, and Europe. The deals have been made publicly in the Baltic shipping exchange in London." London Greeks also affirmed that ships under their flag were not going to Communist ports and that ships leased to other countries were forbidden to carry strategic materials to Communist countries. (*London Times*, Apr. 17, 1953) Moreover, testimony before the Committee showed that there were only 26 Greek-owned ships involved in any trade with China, and not the 242 claimed by McCarthy in his first sensational splash in the headlines.

Actually McCarthy claimed credit for something the Eisenhower Administration had already accomplished. The State Department and the Foreign Operations Administration had a few weeks previously, after months of negotiations, reached a pact with the Greek government to ban the flow of strategic materials to Communist countries. The Greek officials took prompt action, and, in deference to the Greek government, the State Department gave no publicity to the achievement.

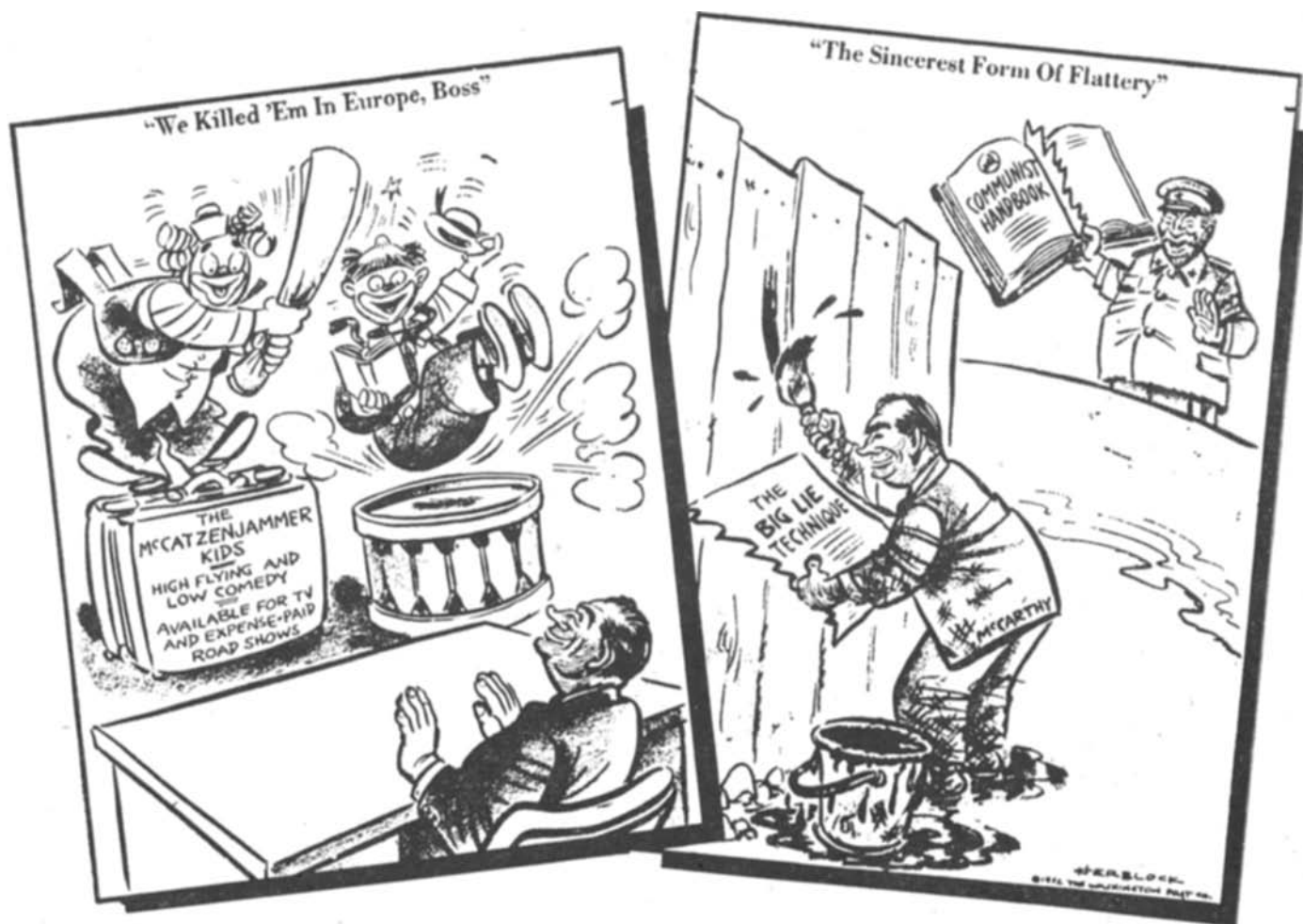
As a Senator, McCarthy had been told about the Greek pact in confidence following his inquiry to the Eisenhower Administration. He immediately set about to harass the Greek shipowners of New York, and they offered to confirm what their government had already accomplished. McCarthy had made, as a high Eisenhower official frankly stated, "phony claims." (*New York Times*, Mar. 30, 1953)

McCarthy had not only made phony claims but he had entered into unconstitutional negotiations with citizens of a foreign country. Harold Stassen, director of the Foreign Operations Administration and once a

'Steamroller'

"In Senator Joseph McCarthy's book there is only one side to his story—his side: and woe to anyone who would argue otherwise. They can expect McCarthy to come at them like a clattering, thundering steamroller."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Dec. 7, 1953



close associate of McCarthy's, bluntly asserted that McCarthy's tactics were "undermining American foreign policy" and were "harmful to our objective." (*New York Times*, Mar. 31, 1953)

In a letter to Sen. John L. McClellan, a member of McCarthy's Subcommittee, Stassen wrote that McCarthy's action "had these unfortunate effects: It confused the issue of responsibility in the seeking of international action to cut down the flow of goods to the Communists; it increased the difficulties of concluding the necessary agreements with other nations which we are seeking . . . and it has made it more difficult to obtain information and cooperation" in investigating Greek ship-owners. (*Quoted in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Apr. 5, 1953)

After Secretary Dulles called McCarthy to a conference, a press statement was released by the Eisenhower Administration which pointed to the dangers of Congress unconstitutionally entering the field of foreign policy.

This statement McCarthy was unable to challenge and, as the *New York Times* said, "The Voluntary Secretary of State promised to retire from his unconstitutional role." (Apr. 2, 1953) To reporters McCarthy admitted that the initiative for the agreement had come from the Greek shippers. But the Senator, cornered by his contradictions, refused to discuss the matter further. A few weeks later he was again back at work endangering American foreign policy on other fronts.

Cohn and Schine Leave Trail of Ill-Will in Europe

Europeans who lacked first-hand knowledge of McCarthyism and what it means were brought face to face with its workings in April of 1953. As chairman of the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, McCarthy sent his two personal aides on an "investigation" trip through Western Europe. These two young men, Roy M. Cohn and G. David Schine,

aged 26, were supplied with a fat expense account out of the U.S. Treasury for a whirlwind trip across the continent. Stopping briefly at key points, they left behind them a trail of denunciations of American officials and a shocked Europe. No time was taken for sober study and investigation. Radio Free Europe's staff of 1,200, for example, was processed by Cohn and Schine in little more than a half hour.

Neither of the men whom McCarthy selected had any knowledge of Europe or of its diplomatic problems. Schine had a background of a wealthy playboy who had written several popular songs, served as a press agent for a dance orchestra, and had chased after Hollywood starlets. Cohn's experience was more serious, but limited to a few years of legal practice. These two of McCarthy's "investigators" appeared in Europe—representatives of the U.S. government—to insult officials and display their buffoonery and ignorance in each city they visited. Their antics in

Europe earned them the derisive nickname of the Keystone cops.

Writing in *The Reporter*, Richard Rovere observed that the trip "was marked from beginning to end by low comedy. In the basic circumstance of the trip there was the ready-made plot for a gorgeous farce—two young men madly and preposterously bent on the ideological purification of the greatest government on earth. And the journey itself, the real journey, had such familiar fixtures of farce as a female spy who was once the toast of Vienna, a contretemps that involved a platoon of diplomats in a search for a mislaid billfold, and an altercation—denied *in toto* by the principals but sworn to by reputable journalists and in any case firmly fixed now in the profoundest realities of myth—in which young Mr. Schine chased young Mr. Cohn around the hotel lobby swatting him over the head with a rolled-up magazine."

Rovere, who conducted a comprehensive inquiry into the Cohn-Schine expedition, reported that it "appears to have been set up only a few days in advance, and the purpose of it was so obscured that almost everywhere the travelers touched down they gave a different account of why they were traveling. In Paris they said they were looking for inefficiency in government offices overseas. In Bonn they said they were looking for subversives. Asked in Munich which it was, Cohn explained that it was both. 'Efficiency,' he said, 'includes complete political reliability. If anyone is interested in the Communists, then he cannot be efficient.'

"In Rome, a new angle came to light. McCarthy, back in Washington, had told the press that they had been sent abroad to bring back a report on the amount of money that had been spent 'in putting across the Truman Administration' in Europe. This was news to Cohn, but he was equal to it. 'We hadn't heard about that,' he said, 'but anything the chairman of our committee says, if he said it, goes with us.'

"Apparently they had no purpose beyond McCarthy's continuing one of free-style, catch-as-catch-can harassment."

The press of Europe, from conservative to liberal, warned of the ill effect the Cohn and Schine mission had in giving a distorted impression of the United States. The mission gave the Communists a boost in their anti-American campaign, and Communist papers were jubilant over the activities of McCarthy's agents.

One European cartoonist pictured two zoot-suited youngsters lounging over an American official's desk and asking, "Is there anything around here which would injure respect for America?" To this question the official bravely and honestly answered, "Besides you, nothing else!" (*New York Times*, Apr. 18, 1953)

In Vienna, the usually pro-American *Arbeiter Zeitung*, after hearing Cohn and Schine's hasty denunciations of American officials, questioned whether McCarthy's methods differed essentially from those of the Communist secret police. In Germany, the independent Munich *Merkur* expressed horror at the extent to which the McCarthy aides

"undermined confidence" in anti-Communist radio broadcasts beamed to the Russian people. "It is not known whether Sen. McCarthy was helping the Soviets intentionally or not," said the *Merkur*, "but the effect of his activities was such that he will probably be made an honorary member of the Communist Party by the Kremlin soon." (*Quoted in the U.S. official HICOG digest of German press comment*)

'McCarthy Is a Disgrace To the Name of America'

In Stockholm, *Dagens Nyheter*, Sweden's largest and most influential daily, said of Cohn and Schine: "What the gentlemen possibly might have discovered they have already spoiled by foolishness and arrogance. They have introduced anti-American propaganda far more effective than what possibly could have been accomplished by the 'Communistic' books and persons they were supposed to investigate . . . The unanimous opinion of Europe is that Joseph McCarthy symbolizes exactly the reverse of what America stands for and what we have learned to appreciate. His name is the arch enemy of liberty, and a disgrace to the name of America." (*April 24, 1953*)

When the two inquisitors came to London, Lord Beaverbrook's conservative *Daily Express* said: "McCarthy is seeking to promote bitterness between Britain and America, thereby playing Malenkov's game."

The London *News Chronicle* said the Cohn-Schine visit might be worthwhile if they should depart with the impression that "for the large numbers of British citizens McCarthyism has done more to bedevil Anglo-American relations than any other single factor."

The ultra-conservative *Financial Times* lost its temper over the harm done by these two young men and spoke of them as "scummy snoopers" and "distempered jackals."

The usually pro-American London *Times*, on Apr. 29, described the Cohn-Schine expedition as a "grotesque voyage" and noted that McCarthy had so greatly damaged U.S. interests abroad that he "has become the direct concern of the United States' allies."

Sapping America's Prestige

London

"The Communists' manipulation of European distaste for 'McCarthyism' as a maneuver to divide the United States from its allies abroad has caused concern here.

"British and U.S. students of trans-Atlantic relations believe that the picture, at least partly distorted, of the activities of Sen. McCarthy . . . that is being widely accepted in Europe is being employed by the Communists to sap the prestige and influence of the United States. . .

"Prof. Dennis W. Brogan declared in the current edition of *The Spectator*: 'It is an exaggeration, but not much of one, to say that the issue of "McCarthyism" is one of the most powerful wedges being driven between the British and American peoples (and between the American and French and other European nations).'

DREW MIDDLETON in
The New York Times
Feb. 18, 1954

The United Press reported from London Apr. 24, 1953, that *The Independent Weekly*, publication of the Church of England, referred to "McCarthy's two agents of intolerance and totalitarianism."

The Attack on Attlee

For McCarthy this contribution to the Communist effort to discredit the United States and split this nation from its allies was not enough. In May of 1953 McCarthy poured all his venom into promoting ill-feeling and distrust between the United States and Great Britain. On the floor of the U.S. Senate on May 14, McCarthy attacked the former British Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, as a Communist, calling him "Comrade Attlee," and charging him with insulting the United States and its citizens.

The occasion for McCarthy's assault on an American ally was a speech which Attlee made in the House of Commons as leader of Her Majesty's Opposition. In the course of a long discussion of foreign policy, the former Prime Minister explained the diversity of opinion in the United States and the constitutional limitations placed upon the President of the United States in his relations with Congress.

In contrast to the British system where the Prime Minister derives his power directly from control of Parliament, Attlee pointed out that President Eisenhower "speaks for the Administration, but in America power is divided between the Administration and Congress." Mentioning also that sometimes members of Congress oppose the President, Attlee commented that one "sometimes wonders who is the more powerful, the President or Sen. McCarthy." In the same speech Attlee expressed Britain's gratitude for America's assistance and his admiration of Presidents Eisenhower and Truman. He repeatedly explained that he had no intention of criticizing the American system of government, but was explaining its workings.

McCarthy gave no heed to what Attlee had actually said, but used the occasion of the speech to denounce Great Britain and imply that Attlee, long a leading foe of Communism, was a Soviet sympathizer. Other Senators were irate at McCarthy's blow to Anglo-American friendship. Both

Sen. Alexander Wiley, McCarthy's Wisconsin colleague and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the next ranking Republican member of the Committee, Sen. H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, were quick to disavow the attack of their fellow Republican Senator. Speaking of the McCarthy affair, Sen. Smith said, "I can imagine nothing more pleasing to the Kremlin . . ."

In Britain, Attlee hastened to counter the ill effects of the McCarthy speech: "I do not think that anyone in this country judges America by Sen. McCarthy. The British Labor Party and I myself have been vigorously opposing the Communist Party in this country ever since its formation—long before Sen. McCarthy was ever heard of."

The French Catholic Daily, *La Croix*, said June 17, 1953: "McCarthy's insulting of Attlee earned him the general reprobation of Europe and America (except the extremist papers)." The Paris daily, *Combat*, put it this way May 15: "McCarthy's indecent attack against Attlee brings to mind a few predecessors in this kind of eloquence. Goebbels never did better on the best day he ever had."

McCarthy Attacks "The Very Heart of American Policy"

At the end of eleven months of McCarthy's constant attacks on American policy and American officials, the Eisenhower Administration recognized the fundamental split between the leaders of the Republican Party and the junior Senator from Wisconsin. In the weeks preceding this step, McCarthy's charges had reached a new peak of violence. At a crucial stage in international negotiations—in fact, on the eve of the Big Three Conference in Bermuda—he was again undermining his nation's representatives.

On Nov. 24, in a nationally broadcast and telecast speech which was ostensibly a reply to former President Truman's indictment of McCarthyism, the Wisconsin Senator, according to the Alsops in the New York *Herald-Tribune*, "intimated that the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy is one of 'whining, whimpering appeasement.'"

McCarthy's speech was studded



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

with phrases like "perfumed notes," "phony truce," and "blood trade." *The Tablet*, chief organ of the Catholic church in England, warned (Dec. 12, 1953) after the McCarthy outcry, "Unless the President can silence the Senator, the Republicans will be in difficulties . . . The world today could not support anything short of a hard, cold realism guiding the policies of the U.S. The time is too serious for Messiahs of either right or left."

The Chicago *Sun-Times* (Dec. 3, 1953) reflected the editorial opinion of many middle-of-the-road dailies in this country when it characterized McCarthy's principal theme as a demand for "blackmail, coercion, and intimidation" and "blustering and domineering methods" in the conduct of American foreign policy. Referring specifically to McCarthy's attack on the Eisenhower Administration for not cracking down on allied nations which trade with Communist China, the *Sun-Times* said: "McCarthy, who professes to abhor Communist methods, would employ those very methods to bring our allies abjectly to heel. He would threaten and browbeat them as Russia does her satellites."

McCarthy's attempt to discredit the Republican Administration for condoning "blood money" trade between our allies and China was answered by Harold E. Stassen, chief of Foreign Economic Operations, who was McCarthy's choice for President in 1948.

Stassen had pointed out on an earlier occasion that the problem involved "a very complex question. If

we insist our Allies break off some of their present trade some of them would be in a position to ask, 'How do we stay alive economically?'" On Jan. 9, 1954, Stassen, whose anti-Communist credentials are as impressive as any official's in the Republican Administration, said that increased East-West trade this year would help push democratic ideas through the Iron Curtain and might even improve political relations with Russia.

Stassen declared in an interview, carried by the Associated Press, that the Republican Administration is now inclined to favor East-West trade because Western Europe's recovery has reached the point where such trade can be economically as well as politically profitable. He pointed out that the Administration still opposed trade with Red China, and would at least until peace is restored in Korea and Indo-China, but, he emphasized, a general resumption of East-West trade could "succeed in convincing the people of the Soviet bloc that the free world is pursuing a genuine policy of peace and even force their leaders to be less hostile to the West."

On Dec. 1, 1953, Secretary of State Dulles, after receiving the President's approval, struck back on the broader issues raised by McCarthy in his attack on the Administration's foreign policy. Without mentioning his name, but with direct reference to McCarthy's attack, Dulles repudiated the Senator's recent insinuations that the Eisenhower Administration was appeasing the Communists.

Dulles told the press: "The burden of that criticism was that we spoke too kindly to our allies and sent them 'perfumed notes,' [the McCarthy phrase] instead of using threats and intimidation to compel them to do our bidding." After stating the desire for constructive criticism, the Secretary of State said that these charges [McCarthy's] were attacking "the very heart of American policy."

The Secretary of State went on to discuss the need for the closest cooperation with our allies. These nations had been willing to give the United States air bases on the periphery of the Soviet Union which were essential to protect the American people from sudden air attack. And our allies, Dulles said, were not as McCarthy would have them, satellites on



Dwight D. Eisenhower

the Soviet pattern. Therefore: "We shall be firm and persistent in trying to secure agreement on what we believe to be right. We shall expect a fair sharing of efforts and burdens. But we shall not try to be arrogant, or to demand of others what we ourselves, if circumstances were reversed, would reject."

President Eisenhower stood fully behind Secretary Dulles in opposing the McCarthy policy of treating our allies in such a way as to drive them into Soviet hands. In his press conference the President said, as paraphrased by the *New York Times* Dec. 2, 1953: "Such coercion, imposed by



John Foster Dulles

us on our Allies, would mark the United States, not as a leader, but as an imperialist power, which is the very charge leveled against us by Soviet propaganda that feeds on Mr. McCarthy's diatribes."

Britain, the nation which has suffered most from McCarthy's attacks, hailed the Administration's step.

The *Manchester Guardian Weekly* said Dec. 10, 1953: "The rebukes issued by the President and Secretary Dulles to Sen. McCarthy have been reassuring, at least on this side of the Atlantic, because they have set up a barricade of good sense to stem the flood of vituperative politics."

The *London Daily Telegraph* (Dec. 5, 1953) devoted its lead editorial to denouncing McCarthy's "intensification of the demagogic technique which has inflated him into a figure of worldwide significance . . . Even if the Senator fails to shake the Administration, his campaign will continue to poison American attitudes to friendly nations."

Reviewing the whole episode, *ABC*, an important newspaper in Franco Spain, said Dec. 4, 1953:

"The intolerant aggressiveness of his temperament and an impeccable instinct for publicity have led McCarthy to believe that the most important man in today's American political life is McCarthy . . .

"Having received for nothing one half-hour on radio and TV networks, worth in normal circumstances several hundred thousand dollars, McCarthy used the thirty minutes not to defend himself against attacks by ex-President Truman but to attack President Eisenhower, the allies of the United States, and those of the Republicans who disagree with the Soviet spy hunt which is foremost in the Wisconsin Senator's political capital . . .

"The simple negation of the obvious is a familiar tactic for the Senator from Wisconsin . . . His world is divided between traitors at the service of Russia and patriots at the service of McCarthy . . ."

In Rome, *Giornale d'Italia*, the conservative daily, commented that Eisenhower and Dulles took the political risks involved in fighting back against McCarthy because "from too many capitals came alarming reports of the opinion that had been forming

in friendly countries about the American conduct of foreign affairs." The Eisenhower Administration, said this Italian paper, felt obliged to act because "in Europe and Asia the impression was growing that McCarthyism dominates Washington."

'The Spreading Poison'

The incalculable damage done by McCarthy to the Western cause in its historic struggle against Communist ideology shows up with great clarity in the sober comments of our friends in Europe and Asia. The central Soviet goal, Kremlin strategy has emphasized, is to drive a wedge between the United States and its allies.

That is why President Eisenhower urgently emphasized Dec. 4, 1953, that "unity among free nations is our only hope for survival in the face of the worldwide conspiracy backed by the weight of Soviet military power." That is why Secretary of State Dulles said Dec. 1, 1953: "Never in all our history was there a time when good friends and allies meant so much to us."

Yet it is precisely at this time that McCarthy creates doubt and division among our friends and holds American institutions up to ridicule and mockery throughout the free world. Few Americans realize how seriously our allies abroad take McCarthy and how deeply he strikes terror in the hearts of our friends.

On July 16, 1953, Joseph C. Harsch reported for the *Christian Science Monitor* that "Sen. McCarthy is the most frequently discussed American in Europe."

Constantine Brown, columnist for the *Washington Star*, wrote from Switzerland Oct. 9, 1953: "McCarthyism is more discussed in intellectual circles here than the Soviet threat or Eisenhower's foreign policies."

The New Yorker for May 30, 1953, carried a dispatch from Paris noting that "for the past month American visitors to Europe who are important enough to know important Europeans have been reporting that they are everywhere being asked the same question: 'What are you going to do about McCarthy? What has happened to America?'"

From Rome, Frank Kelley cabled the *New York Herald Tribune* July

26, 1953, the report that the Italians "are bewildered that a nation so strong as America should be so tolerant of [McCarthy's] fanaticism, of witch-hunting methods in dealing with problems of Communism."

From Paris, Don Cook of the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote July 26, 1953: "It is a rare Paris diplomatic gathering where a remark is not made to the effect, 'But when we see things like McCarthyism happening to your country, we certainly have doubts about America's capacity for world leadership.'"

In Belgrade, Eric Bourne sent a dispatch to *The World*, monthly U.S. magazine, for November 1953 reporting that among the forces in world affairs most feared in Yugoslavia is "the influence on U.S. policy of Sen. Joseph McCarthy . . ."

In Tokyo, Prof. Sadayoshi Fukuda, writing in the October issue of the magazine *Bungei Shinju*, reported that one of the principal reasons for anti-Americanism in Japan is "the red-hunting conducted by McCarthy."

In Delhi, India, *The Sunday Statesman* wrote Nov. 22, 1953, of "McCarthy's special nose for politics by smear" with this observation: "While it would be foolish to suggest that the American mind has been paralyzed by McCarthy, its slow poison has spread fairly wide and deep."

In a series of articles in the *Christian Science Monitor* in July 1953, Joseph C. Harsch made these significant comments while studying conditions in Europe: "In each European country anti-McCarthyism takes

its own separate form based on national experience . . . In Germany the German mind has found what it regards as a release from its own sense of guilt about Hitler. From the day Hitler achieved power, Germans have winced under the charge of having lacked the political wisdom and the moral courage to stop Hitler before it was too late. To the German of 1953, Sen. McCarthy is reason to say to an American, 'Now practice what you have preached.' Sen. McCarthy has become the German's vindication of his own sense of guilt about Hitler." (July 22) "If the future generation of Europeans turns again to Communism, the turn will be dated from the spring of 1953 when McCarthyism discredited anti-Communism in Europe. Europe cannot be held against Communism without the support of its intellectuals and its working classes. In those areas the damage [done by McCarthy] has been devastating." (July 23)

It is strikingly significant that all anti-totalitarian political groups in Europe are opposed to McCarthy. The *New York Herald-Tribune* for May 22, 1953, put it this way: "He is criticized as much from the extreme Right as from the extreme Left, and the Center regards him as a threat to the world it is trying to create."

On July 22, 1953, Joseph C. Harsch of the *Christian Science Monitor* expressed much the same conclusion in these words: "There are literally no defenders of Sen. McCarthy in Europe except for the occasional individual who always hated America anyway . . . Such a person says, and I

A 'Fearful Thing'

"The voice of McCarthy was abroad in the land and it is now, as it was in the beginning, a poisoned and fearful thing. It went on forever making unproved charges, forever irresponsible, forever merely free of libel; it went on exploiting the insecure, the anxious, the confused, and the afraid.

"It told no truth, and held no answers. . . . We have known demagogues in our political history but this is a special kind—an evil kind, a deliberate kind. It adds falseness to the already false.

"It represents the other side of the election coin. It is the spurious and the counterfeit. It would be legal tender nowhere in any world where reason was and where intelligence was operative."

The Commonweal
Catholic weekly magazine

have heard it, 'I like McCarthy. He proves how barbarous America really is.'"

Even more significant than this universal loathing of McCarthyism by the democratic forces of Europe is the fact that the Communist press alone makes little or no genuine protest against McCarthy, for it is in the totalitarian interest to have America's good name besmirched by the junior Senator from Wisconsin. A survey of the French press, conducted by Lionel Durand, former foreign editor of *Paris-Presse* and more recently editor of the official organ of the World Veterans Federation, showed that over a sample period of two months in 1953 papers of all but one political and religious complexion—conservative, middle-of-the-road, Catholic, Protestant, and independent—expressed alarm and disgust over McCarthy's operations. The one exception was the French Communist daily, *L'Humanite*, which alone made no direct attack on McCarthyism.

Aiding the Communists

Americans know that McCarthy is not running the United States, despite the fact that he wields tremendous influence, and that the traditions of American freedom and democratic procedure are still strong.



*"Feel Free
To Write Whatever You Want"*



*"I Hear He's Going to Demand
Equal Time in the White House"*

But outside of the United States it is the reports of McCarthy's charges which give the distorted impression of his power. And when, as in the case of the Cohn-Schine mission, outstanding officials are discharged after being subjected to McCarthy's attack, McCarthy's rule of terror seems stronger in the eyes of outsiders than it really is. As the *Washington Post* pointed out Oct. 3, 1953, the very fact that "McCarthyism seems to have reached such heights of intimidation is almost as damaging as if the intimidation were a fact."

So great has been the adverse impact of McCarthyism on U.S. foreign policy that the U.S. government has officially recognized the barriers which McCarthy has created to bar the successful functioning of that policy. The National Security Council, the most important strategic planning body in the United States, made up of the military and diplomatic chiefs, has had to concern itself with a detailed study of the effect of McCarthy in undermining confidence in America. (*Washington Post*, Nov. 21, 1953)

But it is the aid McCarthy gives Communism that chiefly concerns our friends abroad. Adlai Stevenson, for instance, reported in *Look* magazine Sept. 23, 1953, that "one of Western Europe's most responsible and respected leaders told me that McCarthyism has done America more

harm in eight months than Soviet propaganda has done in eight years."

Bill Baggs, columnist for the *Miami Daily News*, reported a conversation with a Norwegian who emphasized that McCarthy "makes these times hard for us. He promotes hysteria. When he promotes hysteria, the Communists use this against America in Europe."

In Italy, a *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent found that Italian Communists owed "a vote of thanks" to McCarthy because his attacks on the U.S. Information Service led to the removal from their library shelves of some of the most effective anti-Communist propaganda ever to appear in Italy.

In Canada, the *Montreal Star* reported that McCarthy "has become a symbol in many parts of his own country and abroad of the worst kind of American. Enemies of the United States joyfully proclaim this, and many friends of America have had their faith in American leadership weakened by the presence of such a man in the Senate."

A representative report on British opinion was written by Philip Drew, special correspondent for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, from London Dec. 5, 1953: "The other day an English friend who watches international doings, and particularly Anglo-American doings, pretty closely, shook us considerably with this one:

"If the Soviet Communists hope to weaken the Western Alliance, and most especially the Anglo-American part of it, they will never succeed. But they can satisfy themselves there is a man unconsciously doing a much more efficient wrecking job than anybody in the Kremlin would ever have chosen. The name is Sen. Joseph McCarthy."

"Just to set things straight the man who said this is no bug-in-the-head Bevanite. He is not even a socialist. He is a conservative who is sick to death of reading every day in British and American newspapers little things and big things that add up to the souring of Anglo-American feelings. And he is not alone. It is what an alarming number of Britons are thinking."

Constantine Brown, columnist for the *Washington Star*, was obliged to

report from Switzerland Oct. 10, 1953, that Communists were effectively spreading wild rumors about the degree to which McCarthy is now able to control American thinking. One of the "concoctions" of "poisonous propaganda against the United States" shows the extent, Brown reported, to which the Communists have exploited fears of McCarthyism.

"A sample of this concoction was served with cigars and coffee after a dinner attended by this reporter: 'McCarthyism is actually an American form of Hitlerism. McCarthy's impact on the frightened American mind of today is no less powerful than Hitler's was before he came to power 20 years ago. He has created the bogey of treason in the government and has slurred the reputations of men whose only guilt was to think, years ago, differently from the present American thinking.'"

Reports of this kind by commentators as conservative as Constantine Brown, who are not identified as anti-McCarthy, make it clear how joyfully the Communists have been boosting McCarthy's reputation as a way of creating doubt and suspicion of America among European friends. These rumors developed and circulated by Communists had reached so many in pro-American Switzerland that one of Europe's outstanding newspapers, the Swiss *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, pleaded with Americans to realize "what kind of impression is created abroad by those tendencies which are characterized by the name of McCarthy. Persons whom we had become used to admiring have been helplessly subjected to the most debasing investigations." (Quoted in a Geneva dispatch to the *New York Herald Tribune* July 26, 1953)

In an Austrian estimate of McCarthy and his works, the *Neue Wiener Tageszeitung* said Apr. 19, 1953: "McCarthy's influence and his methods of action of 'making politics' run counter to the whole of the past character of the United States and to the spirit actuating this democratic country. They are unheard of, because his method of approaching the problem is not serious, and offends the sacred principles of fair play."

Another Austrian estimate of McCarthy, this one by Dr. Oskar Pollak,

The Challenge



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

chief editor of the militantly anti-Communist *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, on Apr. 14, 1953, characterized McCarthy as "the best ally the Communists have in the United States." On another occasion (May 20) this leading Austrian daily put it this way: "Looking at the total of McCarthy's activities, one sees that in foreign affairs he has always—with few exceptions—played into the hands of the Communists."

Said the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in a leading editorial Apr. 14, 1953: "The methods of the McCarthy G.P.U. are a mockery of the liberties of an American citizen—liberties of which the citizens of the whole free world are proud. It is the worst and most ineffectual weapon against Communism—to copy its G.P.U. No one indeed needs to warn us in Austria . . . what Communist infiltration means and how it should be fought. That is why we protest against McCarthy and his terror. It makes the battle harder for America—and for us."

La Croix, the Catholic daily of France, not only described McCarthy on June 19, 1953, as "fast becoming the precious ally of Communism" (see p. 76) but went on to say editorially: "Led by another man than McCarthy, the Committee to investigate the danger of Communism would certainly have appreciable results. Unfortunately that is not the case . . . It can never be said too often

how much that war (between McCarthy and the whole Democratic Party, half the Republican Party, the State Department, and perhaps even the White House) has done to America and the whole world; that war of lies, of groundless attacks, slander, and pompous declarations that McCarthy has waged with pitiless violence . . . McCarthy doesn't care a bit about results. What interests him is the publicity these affairs bring him. His only fear is to fall into obscurity. His only desire: attract attention."

On another phase of McCarthy's operations, *La Croix* noted that "in accusing indiscriminately the innocent and the guilty, McCarthy does enormous harm to the former and gives a manifest advantage to the latter. But far from wishing to change his methods, he has a tendency to worsen them. He lies. He accuses with no proof. He starts with the idea that the public is too stupid to prefer a complex truth to a simple but spectacular lie . . . Let us hope that in the interests of the United States and of the entire world they [the American people] do not take too long to discover the truth about Joe McCarthy, Senator and witch-hunter."

Another French daily, the influential *France-Soir*, a moderate paper, said on Nov. 4, 1953: "Sen. McCarthy specializes in the most far-fetched accusations, launched under the cover



Burek in The Chicago Sun-Times

"Haven't You Heard? McCarthy's Declared War on the Army"

If McCarthy Were a Witness . . .

A well-known British journalist, for three years a Washington correspondent, last year tried his hand at reporting a hypothetical Senate hearing where the witness, rather than the inquisitor, was Senator McCarthy—but where the method was still strictly McCarthyite. The remarkable result, reprinted below, was published in the famous English magazine, Punch (June 10, 1953).

CHAIRMAN. Well, Senator, picking up our questioning where we left off yesterday, you will admit, I take it, that when you defeated the late Sen. Robert LaFollette in the Wisconsin primaries in 1946, you had the support of the Communist and fellow-traveler vote?

MCCARTHY. What of it? As I said at the time, Communists have votes, don't they?

CHAIRMAN. Please answer the question, Senator. Did you have the support of the Communist and fellow-traveler vote against LaFollette?

MCCARTHY. I believe so.

CHAIRMAN. Right. Now would you also agree that LaFollette, whom you defeated with the aid of this vote, though holding strong liberal views, was intensely anti-Communist, long before you or most other professed anti-Communists of today thought of taking up such a position?

MCCARTHY. I'm not familiar with the late Senator's record.

CHAIRMAN. It's not within your knowledge, then, that he was one of the very few members of the Senate to see, in advance, the appalling dangers of the mood in which President Roosevelt ap-

proached the Yalta Conference, to the point that he actually went to see the President before he left for Yalta to plead with him to take a tougher and more realistic attitude towards the Russians?

MCCARTHY. No, it's not.

CHAIRMAN. You see what I'm getting at, though, don't you, Senator—that the Communists and fellow-travelers in Wisconsin had very good reasons for wanting to get LaFollette out of the Senate and you in, and were delighted when you succeeded?

MCCARTHY (*banging the table, thereby stimulating a new burst of energy on the part of the photographers*). If that is so, they've had every reason subsequently to regret it.

CHAIRMAN. Are you so sure?

MCCARTHY. I'd like to read into the record a resolution passed by the American Communist Party and published in the *Daily Worker* to the effect that Senator Joseph McCarthy is one of the bitterest and most unrelenting foes of Communism. . .

CHAIRMAN. You can read anything you like into the record, Senator, but did you help to draft the resolution?

MCCARTHY. Did I help . . . that's ridiculous. We're both grown up, aren't we?

CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

MCCARTHY. No, I didn't.

CHAIRMAN. Now another question. Have you got any present or former Communists on your staff?

MCCARTHY. I . . .

CHAIRMAN. The question, Senator.

MCCARTHY. My staff has been carefully selected and screened.

CHAIRMAN. What we want to know is whether there are any present or former Communists among them.

(*A pause.*)

MCCARTHY. Two former Communists who . . .

CHAIRMAN. Good. For the record, the Senator employs two former Communists. He was elected in Wisconsin with Communist and fellow-traveler support. He denies being as of now a member of the Communist Party, but it is a matter of public knowledge that his activities since he became a Senator have greatly benefited the cause of Communism here in the United States and abroad.

Furthermore, it can be said with a certainty that, if he were an undercover party member, chosen for that reason to oust LaFollette (particularly dangerous, from the Communist point of view, because a progressive himself, and bearing a name famous among progressives, and at the same time intensely and knowledgeably anti-Communist), everything he has done and said subsequently would support such a hypothesis.

(*McCarthy begins to expostulate violently, again lavishly photographed the while.*)

CHAIRMAN. You'll have every opportunity, Senator, to rebut these grave charges. The session is now suspended.

—MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE
Editor, *Punch*

of parliamentary immunity against high officials and eminent persons. His accusations are always made in the most sensational form. In general, these accusations are not followed by real proof, but the noise made by the Senator shatters the most solidly established reputations and has already resulted in the destruction of careers of men well known in the United States."

The right-wing Paris daily, *Aurore*, made this comment on June 9, 1953: "Since Sen. McCarthy launched the witch-hunt, the United States, which had been until then sure of its strength and of its institutions, lives in a tense atmosphere with the press each morning denouncing new plots and the radio revealing each night new conspiracies."

In Norway, *Arbeidernes Pressekontor*, news service of the Labor Party which serves 45 Norwegian newspapers, carried an article Nov. 11, 1953, by Anders Buraas, who had just completed a five months fact-finding trip through North America. Referring to McCarthyism, Buraas concluded: "The loser is American democracy. In the opinion of the rest of the world the prestige of America has been weakened . . . Democracy has survived many a tough fight, but somewhere there must be a limit to what democracy can endure."

Also in Norway, *Kontakt*, a middle-of-the-road monthly magazine, observed in June 1953: "McCarthy managed to cripple the information machinery of the Voice of America at a time when America had most use for it, namely during the period of Stalin's death . . . The result of McCarthy's investigations is a crippling demoralization of government employees . . . Nobody dares make a major decision any more. . . He creates fear among Americans . . . It is the same foundation on which Hitler built his Germany . . . McCarthy is the most power-hungry and unscrupulous politician of the century."

Aktuell, independent news magazine that is printed in Norway and circulates throughout all Scandinavia, wrote May 23, 1953: "Among those who make it most difficult to be a friend of America, Sen. McCarthy is number one. He destroys more good will than the Information Service can possibly build. When he is caught

'Guerrilla Warfare'

"There is today no challenge to the latent greatness of the American people that so demands action than the problem of legislative investigating committees which conduct political guerrilla warfare . . . and in the process besmirch private citizens, public officials, and each other . . . It is here in the growing misuse of the investigative process that the rights of the individual are being most grievously assaulted."

WILLIAM T. GOSSETT
Vice President
The Ford Motor Company

lying, he answers by spreading more poison."

Dagbladet, largest daily in Norway, warned its readers Mar. 20, 1953, that the United States was mistaken in feeling that Fascism was a purely European disease. "Hitler had less support in Germany when he took over than McCarthy has in America today. It was rather difficult in the 1930's to make people understand what type of a man Hitler was. Those who tried to tell the truth were told they were hysterical if not something worse."

In Sweden, *Dagens Nyheter*, Stockholm's largest daily, commented editorially June 19, 1953, that "McCarthy's position in American political life is alarming in more than one

sense . . . These reactionaries with taints of Fascism have succeeded, although to a limited degree so far, in discrediting the principles of any living democracy. They have succeeded in pressing President Eisenhower and other high officials in a manner which in our eyes has weakened the present American government, and America . . . If any group in America is engaged in un-American activities it certainly is Sen. McCarthy and his followers."

In Italy, John P. Leacacos, a conservative European correspondent for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, cabled from Rome Dec. 4, 1953: "Dirty espionage linen being washed in public back home has lowered esteem for the United States and indirectly enhanced Russian prestige. Accusations that former American officials were once Reds is used by the Communist press to brag: 'See, even in capitalistic America there are important proletarian patriots who believe in Communism.'"

Leacacos reported that scoffers who dislike the United States are able to capitalize on the operations of Americans like McCarthy by being able to say: "Willy nilly, the United States is taking on vices of its arch enemy, Communism. Fear imbued by Red terror in its victims is allegedly duplicated by fear and uncertainty instilled in American citizens by 'smear' charges."

In Germany, the Frankfurt *Allge-*

Our Reliance—'The Love of Liberty'

Below is the Lincoln quotation which McCarthy, in a radio address to the nation Nov. 24, 1953, garbled and distorted to produce exactly the opposite of Lincoln's point:

"What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling seacoasts, our Army and our Navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle.

"Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1858

meine, an independent conservative and one of the most important dailies in Western Germany, on Nov. 13, 1953, warned that the "spread of McCarthyism" would "fill America's friends with increasing anxiety." On Dec. 2, 1953, that German daily editorialized that it "is an illusion" to believe that McCarthy's chief objective is to expose spies. "What is really going forward has emerged into clear light in McCarthy's challenge to President Eisenhower. Forces are growing in America with which we have long been familiar in our less fortunate continent. No country is protected against fascistic germs . . . If these forces should continue to gain ground in America, the leading Power of the Western World, there would be reason for the gravest anxiety."

On Dec. 22, 1953, *Der Kurier*, a French-licensed daily in Berlin, one of the most influential Christian Democratic publications in Germany, in a review of the Anderson-May book on McCarthy, commented that McCarthy "sees Communists everywhere, as a delicious alcoholic sees white mice." The review wonders if "not the least important explanation of McCarthy's . . . following in the U.S.A. is the fact that Americans saw only from afar" the tragedy of the rise of Hitler.

This theme that McCarthyism might be a stage in the development of Nazism is contained in scores of warnings in the German press. The *Weser-Kurier*, an independent publication, said that if Goebbels were alive, he "would have appreciated McCarthy," and the *Allgemeine* of Frankfurt professed to see in McCarthy "a united loudspeaker to give voice to the anti-liberal, anti-Semitic, and anti-British forces . . . in America."

The exposure of the frightful price the United States is paying for McCarthyism comes not only from American correspondents abroad and foreign editors, but from American travelers and GIs stationed overseas. Two comments from Americans abroad are representative of countless others like them. One is from an American soldier, the other an American woman.

Joseph V. O'Brien, now a civilian after 12 years of active military and combat duty in Europe, Africa,

To What Low Levels?



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Japan, and Korea, was on a furlough in Copenhagen, Denmark, during the summer of 1953. In a report to the *Milwaukee Journal*, Dec. 26, 1953, O'Brien wrote that he met a Chinese Communist who told him that "Sen. McCarthy is one of Communism's best friends in America."

"I asked why, to which the Chinese replied: 'Your Sen. McCarthy generates and spreads suspicion, doubt, and distrust of your public officials, military leaders, your religious, educational, and scientific institutions, neighbor against neighbor. We care nothing about who McCarthy talks for or against, so long as he generates and spreads confused thinking and widespread distrust. Your Sen. McCarthy supplies us indirectly with endless propaganda material which we use to our great advantage and to the detriment of America.'"

The American woman is Josephine Quirk. She traveled in Europe on a confidential mission during the summer of 1950. She reported her findings in an article in the October 1950 issue of Father Baker's *Victorian*, a Catholic monthly published by Father Baker's Homes for Charity (National Shrine and Basilica of Our Lady of Victory) at Lackawanna, New York. Here is what this woman who has spent 15 years lecturing in this country on Communism had to say about what she heard in Europe:

"Even if every man accused [by McCarthy] of Communism is really a

Red, it will never justify the weapon he has given Moscow to blast and misrepresent us.

"The Senator is the 'darling' of Moscow. They hope he goes on forever. Wherever there is a Red leader, the Senator's accusations are hailed and passed on to the people as actual proofs of the power of the Kremlin in the most important department [State] of the U.S. government . . .

"The Russians, no matter what we think of them, are no dopes about gauging the sensitiveness of Europeans. They have been watching the effect of McCarthy's foaming charges with very shrewd interest and have been exploiting them to the hilt."

It would be possible to go on indefinitely with comparable quotations. All of them hammer home the same conclusion—that McCarthy has seriously impaired the functioning of American foreign policy, reduced our capacity for leadership in the free world, sown seeds of doubt and disunity among our friends and allies, and strengthened Communism in the world struggle of ideologies. Just as significant as the multiplicity of anti-McCarthy comments by anti-Communist forces abroad is the scarcity, if not the downright absence, of such quotations in the Communist newspapers of Europe. These papers regard McCarthy as their helper because his irresponsible attacks undermine confidence in the men and institutions that are most dangerous to the Communists.

'As Great a Threat

As the Kremlin'

Perhaps the most striking commentary on the extent to which McCarthyism parallels Communism in its threat to freedom came from Father Leon Sullivan, a Catholic missionary who was imprisoned by the Communists in China. Writing of his experiences in *The Commonwealth*, the Catholic weekly, Nov. 14, 1952, Father Sullivan said: "I would rather return to my Chinese Communist prison cell than avail myself of Senator McCarthy's 'protection.' He is as great, if not a greater threat to American freedom than the military might of the Kremlin, and, believe me, I do not underestimate either the Kremlin's might or its cleverness."

'The Big Truth'

Our Great Hope Is a Fighting Faith in Freedom, Not the Fear Generated by McCarthy

THE DOMINANT reality that emerges from the documented record of McCarthy in action is the fact that this man who has made anti-Communism his political career has contributed dangerously to strengthening the Communist cause. If the Kremlin could succeed in planting one of its own agents in the Senate of the United States, it could hardly hope for greater results in creating doubt, disunity, and fear in America than it has gained from McCarthy's operations.

If this judgment seems harsh and extreme, we can only reply that the hard facts painstakingly assembled in this issue of *The Progressive* make it clear that—

- McCarthy has struck violently at the very principles of freedom and fair play which distinguish democratic self-government from Communist regimentation.
- McCarthy has sown seeds of suspicion and disunity among the nations of the free world at the very moment they most need unity against the threat of Communist aggression.
- McCarthy has flagrantly demoralized the civil and military establishments of our government at a time of unparalleled world crisis.

By substituting headlines and hysteria for facts and evidence, McCarthy has so successfully harnessed Hitler's concept of "The Big Lie" to his own purposes that many decent Americans actually believe he has exposed a Communist plot in our gov-

ernment and rescued the Republic from betrayal by traitors.

Many Americans who share this belief say they find McCarthy's methods repulsive, but they feel that in tense times like ours we need someone to do "the dirty work" of exposing the subversives in our midst.

This widely held feeling might be more understandable if McCarthy were in fact exposing Communists in government and saving us from a Red plot. But fact piled relentlessly on fact in this issue of *The Progressive* shows that the evidence does not in any way support such a conclusion.

In the pitifully rare cases that he has focused his sights on what may have seemed like a worthwhile target, McCarthy has so totally distorted the evidence and overplayed his hand as to render his "revelations" less than useless. In his eyes honest mistakes, misjudgments, or misunderstandings become part of a sinister pattern of conspiracy.

The evidence seems to us overwhelming that if we overlook methods because it is results we say we want, McCarthy has not in any measurable way contributed to strengthening the security of our country against spies and saboteurs. More than four years of hit-and-run accusations have yet to produce a single conviction of a Communist in government on evidence uncovered by McCarthy.

Some Americans who know of no specific achievements in McCarthy's record of Red-hunting are still loath

to criticize because they think his activities have been worthwhile in dramatizing the evils of Communism and alerting the nation to the menace. However, as Elmer Davis so crisply put it recently, "This amounts to saying that nothing brings the danger of fire more to the attention of the public than turning in false alarms all over town."

But means and methods are important to people who love liberty and cherish principles of tolerance and fair play. It is the contrast between our means and methods, and those of the totalitarians, whether Communist or Fascist, which mark

As America Goes, So Goes the World



Fitzpatrick in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

one of the great gulfs between them and us.

Allan Nevins, one of our foremost historians, summed this up with great clarity recently when he said:

"The fact is that in the protection of basic human rights, method is everything. The Spanish Inquisition justified torture on the ground that it was in a good cause, and was a mere matter of method. The Russian secret police justifies the knock on the door at 3 a.m., the summary sentence, and the pistol shot or deportation to a slave camp on the ground that all this is in a good cause and is a mere matter of method."

The right of Congressional committees to investigate and the need for the most comprehensive surveillance in guarding the nation's security are not at issue; what is at stake is the urgent necessity for exposing and combating the dangerously un-American character of McCarthy's one-man show before it completes the corruption of what is finest in the American system of law and justice.

Learned Hand, one of the wisest of American jurists, who has retired as Chief Judge of the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals after 42 years on the bench, warned his countrymen of this very danger in a memorable address a year and a half ago. Said Judge Hand:

"I believe that that community is already in the process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy, where non-conformity with the accepted creed, political as well as religious, is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation without specification or backing takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists, to win or lose.

"Such fears as these are a solvent which eat out the cement that binds the stones together; they may in the end subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread; and they can be allayed only insofar as we refuse to proceed on suspicion, and trust one another until we have tangible ground for misgiving."

In his nightly newscast Feb. 24, 1954, Edward R. Murrow quoted

When the Clouds Roll Away



Burek in Chicago Sun-Times

David Schoenbrun, CBS chief in Paris, on precisely this point. Commenting on the shocked response of our friends in Europe to the capitulation of the U.S. Army to McCarthy, Schoenbrun told Murrow: "They [our friends] don't think a line can be drawn between objectives and methods, particularly when methods, as in the McCarthy case, are so spectacular and destructive that they obviously achieve objectives far removed from the avowed one.

"It is a case of burning down the barn to catch a rat, one French editor told me, pointing out that it is ridiculous to say you approve rat-catching, although you deplore the fact that the barn burned down. You cannot separate the two, any more than you can say that you approved Hitler's aims while deploping his uncouth methods. Hitler's aims may have been to eradicate Communism in Germany and destroy the Soviet Union, but what his *methods* did in fact accomplish was to eradicate democracy in Germany and destroy France—not Russia."

II

We live in a dangerous age, and surely one of the greatest dangers that confronts us is the counterfeit philosophy of Communism and its appeal to the underprivileged of humanity. But we do not begin to meet

that menace by burning books, by crushing dissent, and by creating an atmosphere of hysteria.

"How can we defeat Communism," President Eisenhower asked at Dartmouth last year, "unless we know what it is? What it teaches—why does it have such an appeal for men? . . . We have got to fight it with something better."

Here is the heart of our problem in this dangerous age—the challenge to oppose Communism with something better. This we can never hope to do if we abandon our most cherished democratic principles and embrace the very methods we abhor in Communism. This process of diluting precisely those qualities which distinguish us from those we oppose is dangerously far advanced in McCarthyism. McCarthy's daily activities carry us perilously close to the Kremlin concepts that trial by jury must be replaced with trial by mere accusation; that honest, human error of judgment is equivalent to criminal offense; that dissenters are traitors, and that every friendly foreign nation must become our regimented satellite or suffer our wrath and reprisals.

The first battle in the struggle against Communism is within ourselves—to strengthen our own dedication to democracy by living its compelling principles in our daily lives.

If we are to be true to ourselves and effective in action with others, ours must be more than a mere negative adherence to anti-Communism. A fighting faith in freedom, not cringing fear of Communism, alone will qualify the United States of America to lead the free world in the historic clash of ideologies that is the dominant fact of life in our time.

We of *The Progressive* are convinced that our best chance to keep the lamps of hope and liberty burning brightly in a world hungry for light and leadership is to deal head-on with the conditions which create the doubts and fears on which McCarthy and Malenkov thrive. The first great stride down that road of hope must be to replace "The Big Lie" of Communism and McCarthyism with "The Big Truth" of a working democracy.

INDEX

ABC (Spain), 84
 ADA World, 78
 Acheson, Dean, 25, 28, 70, 77
 Adam Hat Co., 59
 Aktuell (Norway), 89
 Alexander, Jack, 9
 Alsop, Joseph and Stewart, 50, 60, 69, 70, 72, 83
 Alsop, Stewart, 77
 America, 62, 68, 78
 American Action Committee, 70
 American Heritage Protective Association, 72, 74
 American Legion Magazine, 41
 American Library Association, 42
 American Mercury, 48
 American Nationalist, 75
 American Society of Newspaper Editors, The, 61, 62
 Americans for America, 74
 Americans for Democratic Action, 19, 45
 America's Retreat From Victory, 52, 53
 Andrade, Cipriano, III, 72
 Andrews, Col. F. P., 36
 Appleton Post-Crescent, 10, 54
 Appleton State Bank, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 70
 Arbeidernes Presse-kontor (Norway), 89
 Arbeiter Zeitung (Austria), 82, 87
 Armour, Norman, 78
 Arundel, Russell M., 14
 Asbury Park Press, 46
 Ashland Press, 70
 Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, 56
 Attlee, Clement, 83
 Ayers, Stuart, 37

Baarslag, Karl, 41
 Badger Village, 10
 Bagdikian, Ben H., 73
 Baggs, Bill, 86
 Baker East and Baker West, 33, 34, 36
 Baltimore Sun, 13, 19, 21, 66
 Bank Deposit Exhibits, 15
 Banking and Currency Committee, 12, 14, 15
 Bauer, Robert, 37
 Bayley, Edwin P., 72
 Bentley, Mr. and Mrs. Alvin M., 17, 18
 Benton, Sen. William, 12, 67
 Beverage, Dr. H. H., 35, 36
 Biggers, E. M., 71, 74
 Bingham, Hiram, 31, 53
 Bliss, Robert Woods, 78
 Bohlen, Charles E., 77, 78, 80
 Bonnell, Rev. Dr. John Sutherland, 49
 "Book-burnings", The, 40
 Boston Herald, 59
 Boston Post, 72
 Boston Traveler, 54
 Bourne, Eric, 85
 Bricker, Sen., 77
 Bridges, Sen., 77
 Britton, Frank L., 75
 Brogan, Prof. Dennis W., 82
 Brown, Constantine, 85, 86, 87
 Brown, Robert U., 62
 Brownell, Atty. Gen., 21, 32, 54
 Brownson, Rep., 26
 Bungei Shinju (Japan), 85
 Buraas, Anders, 89
 Burns, Leonard, 10
 Butler, Sen., 66
 Byrd, Sen. Harry F., 50
 Byrnes, James F., 23

Cadillac (\$6,000) wedding present, 71, 74
 Cain, Sen., 67
 Canham, Erwin D., 40
 Carlin, George Patrick Michael, 40
 Carlson, Sen., 44
 Catholic Worker, The, 40
 Central Intelligence Agency, 40, 50, 68
 Central Radio Propagation Laboratory, Bureau of Standards, 34
 Chambers, Whittaker, 29, 68
 Chapple, John, 70
 Chattanooga Times, 59
 Chennault, Maj. Gen. Claire, 67
 Chicago Sun-Times, 70, 83
 Chicago Tribune, 29, 34, 52, 58, 70, 75
 Christian Advocate, The, 50
 Christian Century, The, 11, 76
 Christian Nationalist Crusade, 71, 74
 Christian Science Monitor, 27, 28, 40, 45, 48, 59, 70, 78, 85, 86
 Clancy, William F., 78
 Clardy, Rep. Kit, 48
 Cleveland Plain Dealer, 33, 86, 89
 Cocutz, Dr. John, 38, 39
 Cohn and Schine, 37, 81, 82, 86
 Cohn, Roy M., 35, 37, 45, 81
 Colby, James, 63
 Coleman, Thomas E., 65
 Collier's Magazine, 21
 Collins, Frederick W., 74

Combat, 77, 83
 Commission on Religious Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 49
 Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, 12
 Committee on Government Operations, 33, 50
 Common Sense, 73, 74, 75
 Commonweal, The, 55, 56, 66, 70, 78, 85, 90
 Communist support of McCarthy, 4, 58, 63, 64
 Compton, Dr. Wilson, 35, 38
 Congressional Record, The, 4, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28, 45, 47, 48, 52, 53, 77
 Conniff, Frank, 58
 Cook, Don, 85
 Correspondence between McCarthy and his banker, Matt Schuh, 16
 Cosmopolitan, 29
 Crosby, Ben, 35
 Crouch, Paul, 56
 Cullen, Hugh Roy, 67, 72

Dagbladet (Norway), 89
 Dagens Nyheter (Sweden), 82, 89
 Daily Worker, The, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 68, 88
 Davin, Thomas, 55
 Davis, Elmer, 45, 91
 Denver Post, 59
 Der Kurier (Germany), 90
 DeVoto, Bernard, 61
 Dewey, Thomas E., 65
 Dies Committee, 48
 Dies, Martin, 68
 Dilling, Elizabeth, 74
 Dirksen, Sen. Everett, 45, 48, 77
 Dodds, Dr. Harold Willis, 40
 Doohar, Gerald F. P., 38
 Drew, Philip, 86
 Dulles, John Foster, 30, 42, 69, 76, 77, 80, 81, 84, 85
 Durand, Lionel, 86
 Dworshak, Sen., 77

Eau Claire (Wis.) Leader, 44
 Eberlein, Mike, 6
 Ecton, Sen., 67
 Editor and Publisher, 62
 Edison, Peter, 50
 Eisendrath, Maurice H., 49
 Eisenhower, Arthur, 53, 63, 75
 Eisenhower, Dwight, 30, 32, 42, 52, 53, 58, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 77, 80, 83, 84, 85, 90, 92
 Eklund, Lawrence C., 65
 Election Notice, 1936, Showing McCarthy as a Democrat, 7
 Ellender, Sen. Allen J., 45
 Episcopal Church News, 65
 Eugene, Ore., Register-Guard, 62

FBI, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 39, 41, 43, 45, 50, 61, 67, 77, 80
 Facts Forum, 73, 74
 Fairchild, Thomas E., 67, 69
 Father Baker's Homes for Charity, 90
 Federal Communications Commission, 35, 36
 Federal Power Commission, 71
 Federation of American Scientists, The, 46
 Ferguson, J. D., 65
 Ferguson, Sen. Homer, 29, 77
 Fish, Rep. Hamilton, 70
 Fleeson, Doris, 10
 Fleming, Robert H., 29
 Floberg, John F., 9, 57
 Foley, Raymond, 13
 Foraker, Clyde M., 13
 Foreign Economic Administration, 68
 Fort Monmouth, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50
 Fox, John, 72
 France-Solr, 87
 Frankfurt Allgemeine (Germany), 89, 90
 Fred, Dr. Edwin B., 40
 Freeman, The, 41
 From the Record, 66
 Fukuda, Prof. Sadaoyoshi, 85
 Fulbright, Sen. J. William, 50

Gannett, Frank, 70
 General Electric, 45
 Germany, E. B., 68, 72
 Giacomo, John, 65
 Gillette, Sen. Guy M., 66
 Giornale d'Italia, 84
 Glazer, Dr. Sidney, 37, 38
 Gold, Harry, 29
 Goldwater, Sen., 77
 Golstan, W. L., 68, 72
 Gossett, William T., 89
 Government Printing Office, 42, 43, 44
 Greene, Graham, 31
 Greenglass, David, 29

Grew, Joseph C., 78
 Guess, Miss Clela, 44
 Hagerty, James C., 32
 Hall, George H., 80
 Hall, Leonard W., 58
 Hall, Gus, 60
 Hancock, Austin, 72, 74
 Hand, Learned, 92
 Harnischfeger, Walter, 70
 Harris, Reed, 38, 39
 Harsch, Joseph C., 70, 85
 Hart, Merwin K., 74
 Hart, Prof. Hornell, 57
 Hatch Act, 80
 Hawkes, Sen. Albert W., 70
 Hayden, Sen., 12, 21, 44
 Hebrew Language broadcasts, 37, 38
 Heinritz, Melvin, 64
 Hendrickson, Sen. Robert C., 12, 21, 66
 Hennings Subcommittee Report, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 60, 63
 Hennings, Sen. Thomas C., Jr., 12, 21, 66
 Hibbs, Ben, 40, 60
 Hickenlooper Committee, 36, 40
 Hickenlooper, Sen. Bourke B., 40, 77
 Hiss, Alger, 28, 29
 Hoover, J. Edgar, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 61, 67, 80
 Horton, Philip, 37
 House Committee on Appropriations, 24
 House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Dept., 24, 25
 House Committee on Foreign Affairs, 24, 25
 House Government Operations Committee, 26
 House Subcommittee on Appropriations, 31
 House Un-American Activities Committee, 29, 48
 Housing Act of 1948, 12
 Housing and Home Finance Administration, 14
 Houston Post, 75
 Hunt, Haroldson Lafayette, 73, 74

I Led 3 Lives, 43
 "If McCarthy were a Witness," 88
 Independent Weekly, The, 83
 Iowa Law Review, 28
 Jackson, Sen. Henry, 36, 39, 48, 67
 Jenner Committee, 55
 Jenner, Sen. William, 20, 44, 61
 Jessup, Philip C., 53
 Johnson, Dr. Robert L., 38, 41, 42
 Johnson, Sen., 78
 Johnston, Victor, 74
 Joint Congressional Committee on Printing, 44
 Jones, Jesse, 30, 72
 Jonkman, Bartel, 25, 26
 Justice, Dept. of, 27, 29

Kaltenborn, H. V., 58
 Kappel, Walter, 65
 Keck, H. B., 72
 Kelley, Frank, 85
 Kem, Sen., 67
 Kerr, Jean F., 15, 18, 57
 Kiermas, Ray, 18, 19, 20, 21
 Kimball, Dan, 10, 11
 Kimball, Lt. P. T., 10
 Kitzman, Harvey, 65
 Kontakt, (Norway), 89
 Korb, Tom, 70
 Kornely, Roman, 63
 Kohler, Gov., 69
 Knowland, Sen., 77
 Kraus, Prof. Charles, 66
 Kretzman, Edwin M. J., 38, 39

La Croix (France), 76, 83, 87
 LaFollette, Sen. Robert M., Jr., 4, 5, 8, 11, 63, 64, 88
 LaFollette, Robert Marion, Sr., 4
 Lamont, Thomas W., 30
 Lapp, Dr. John, 56
 Lattimore, Owen, 26, 27
 Laurel Race Track, 13
 Leacacos, John P., 89
 LeCompte, Rep., 44
 LeMonde (France), 78
 Lerner, Max, 45
 Lewis, Fulton, Jr., 75
 Lewis, John L., 70
 L'Humanite (France), 86
 Lincoln, Abraham, 89
 Lincoln, Murray D., 36
 Linen, James A., 59
 Lippmann, Walter, 68
 London Daily Express, 82
 London Daily Telegraph, 84
 London Economist, 62
 London Financial Times, 82
 London News Chronicle, 82
 London Times, 80, 82

Long Branch Daily Record, 46
Look magazine, 54, 69, 70, 72, 74, 86
Louisville, Courier-Journal, 59
Loyalty Review Board in the Civil Service Commission, 31, 44, 53
Luce, Henry R., 59
Lustron Corp., 12, 13, 14, 21, 60
Lutheran, The, 50
Lyons, Roger, 38, 39

MacArthur, Gen. Douglas, 30, 65
Madison (Wis.) Capital Times, 5, 59, 65, 76, 80
Magazine Digest, 70
Magnuson, Sen. Warren, 28
Maguire, Russell, 48
Malmedy "Massacres", 70
Malone, Sen., 77
Manchester Guardian Weekly, The, 84
Marder, Murrey, 45
Markward, Mrs., 44
Marquette University, 6
Marshall, Douglas, 72
Marshall, Gen. George C., 30, 51, 52, 53
Martin, Bishop William C., 48
Maryland election, 66
Marzani, Carl Aldo, 28, 29
Matthews, Dr. J. B., 48, 50
Matusow, Harvey, 60
McCarran Committee, 27
McCarran, Sen., 78
McCarthy, Howard, 63
McCarthy Record, The, 4, 5, 54
McCarthy refused to cooperate with the Hennings Subcommittee, 18
McCarthy runs far behind his own party, 68
McCarthy: The Man, the Senator, and the Ism by Anderson and May, 10, 64, 66
McCarthy, Tim, 63
McCarthyism: The Fight for America, by Joseph R. McCarthy, 23, 29, 59
McCarthy's stock market deals, 18
McClellan, Sen. John L., 48, 81
McCormick, Col. Robert R., 66, 70
McGinley, Conde, 73, 74, 75
McGuire, Dr. Martin R. P., 40
McGranery, Atty. Gen. James P., 56
McKesson, Lewis, 34, 35, 36
McLeod, Scott, 26, 28
McMurray, Howard, 65
McNair, Lt. Gen. Leslie C., 30
Miami Daily News, 86
Michigan Catholic, The, 51
Middleton, Drew, 82
Miller, Justin, 40
Milwaukee Journal, The, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 30, 59, 60, 65, 67, 72, 74, 90
Minute Women of the U.S.A., 75
Moody, Sen. Blair, 67
Monroney, Sen. A. S. Mike, 66
Montreal Star, 86
Morgan, Edward P., 67
Morgan, J. P., 30
Morrill, Dr. J. L., 40
Muggeridge, Malcolm, 88
Mundt, Sen. Karl, 37, 48, 77
Munich Merkur, 82
Munn, Maj. E. E., 11
Murchison, C. W., 68, 72
Murphy, Robert, 68
Morrow, Edward R., 92
My Three Years in Moscow, 68
Meyers, Paul A., 22, 23

National Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People, 74
National Assoc. of Radio and Television Broadcasters, 40
National Broadcasting Co., 50
National Bureau of Standards, 34, 35, 36
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, The, 30
National Council of the Churches of Christ, 48
National Economic Council in New York, 74
National Republic, The, 41
National Savings and Trust Co. of Washington, 15, 17
National Security Council, The, 86
Neue Wiener Tageszeitung (Austria), 87
Neue Züricher Zeitung (Switzerland), 87
Nevins, Allan, 92
New York Herald Tribune, 10, 30, 43, 47, 48, 69, 77, 83, 87
New York Journal-American, 58
New York Post, 44, 56, 59, 61
New York Times, 22, 26, 32, 33, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54, 58, 60, 70, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 84
New York World Telegram and Sun, 51
New Yorker, The, 85
Newspaper Enterprise Assoc., 50
Newsweek, 49
Nimitz, Admiral, 10, 11
Nixon, Richard, 30, 49
Norehouse, Cdr. Albert K., 11
North American Newspaper Alliance, 55
Northwestern University Law Review, 68
Nuremberg war crimes trials, 46

O'Brien, Msgr. John A., 49
O'Brien, Joseph V., 90
Odyssey of a Fellow Traveler, 48
O'Hara, Neal, 54
O'Leary, Ralph, 75
Olney, Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren, 21
Oxnam, Bishop G. Bromley, 55

Paris Aurore, 89
Paris-Match, 76
Paris-Presse, 76, 86
Partners in Plunder, 48
Pearson, Drew, 19, 59
Pedrick, Prof. William H., 68
Pegler, Westbrook, 75
"Pepsi-Cola Kid", 14
Peress, Dr. Irving, 57
Peurifoy, John E., 25, 26
Phillbrick, Herbert A., 43, 50
Phillips, James, 44
Phillips, William, 79
Pike, Dean James A., 49
Pollak, Dr. Oskar, 87
Pollard, Prof. Ernest C., 46
Portland Oregonian, The, 59
Potter, Sen. Charles, 42, 48
Price, John, 14
Providence (R.I.) Journal-Bulletin, 73, 74
Punch, 88
Purple Heart, 10, 11
Pusey, Nathan, 54, 55

Quaker Dairy, 7
"Quickie" divorces, 7
Quirk, Josephine, 90

RFC, 12, 13, 14, 60
Radio Corporation of America, 34, 35, 36
Rauh, Joseph, 45
Reed, Philip D., 40
Reid, Mrs. Ogden, 30
Reidl, John, 54
Remington, William, 29
Reporter, The, 37, 82
Research Laboratory of Electronics, MIT, 34, 35
Revell, Aldric, 64
Richardson, Seth, 31
Riggs National Bank of Washington, 15, 17, 18
Ring, Andrew, 35
Roberts, Col. William A., 66
Roosevelt and Hopkins, 30
Rosenberg, Assistant Sec. of Defense Anna, 48
Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel, 29
Rosenberry, Chief Justice Marvin B., 6
Rothschild Case, The, 42
Rovere, Richard, 82

Sabbath, Rep., 23
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 21, 44, 48, 59, 80, 81
Saltontall, Sen. Leverett, 57
Saturday Evening Post, The, 9, 22, 40, 59, 60, 72
Sank City Star, 62
Schenck, Rep., 44
Schine, G. David, 81
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 68
Schmidt, Leonard F., 67
Schoenbrun, David, 92
Schoepfel, Sen., 77
Schuh, Matt, 13, 16, 17, 70
Scientists Committee on Loyalty and Security, 46
Seaboard Airlines Railroad, 13, 14
Senate Appropriations Committee, 24, 41
Senate Armed Services Committee, 57, 66
Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 63, 77
Senate Report No. 647, 82nd Congress, 1st Sess., 66
Senate Rules and Administration Committee, 20
Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations, 53, 54
Senate Subcommittee on Investigations, 28, 33, 46, 47, 80, 81
Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 60, 63
Shaftel, Stuart, 11
Shaw, G. Howland, 78
Sheaffer, Craig R., 67
Sheehan, Rep. Timothy, 76
Shelton, Samuel, Jr., 48
Shivers, Gov. Allan, 73
Signal Corps, 34, 36, 44, 45
Sillers, Fred, 44
Smith, Sen. H. Alexander, 83
Smith, Gerald L. K., 5, 74, 75
Smith, Sen. Margaret Chase, 34, 66
Smith, Dr. Newbern, 34
Smith, Gen. Walter Bedell, 28, 40, 68
Snow, Gen. Conrad E., 31, 32
Snyder, Julian M., 70
Sobell, Morton, 29
Sokolosky, George, 75
Soviet State and Law, 53
Sparkman, Sen. John, 53
Spectator, The, 82
Starr, Mark, 40
Stassen, Harold, 65, 80, 81, 83, 84

State Department's Division of Security, 24
State Department's IIA, 33, 35, 38, 40, 41, 42
State Department's Loyalty Security Board, 31, 32
State of Wisconsin v. Joseph R. McCarthy, 7, 8
Steele, Jack, 10, 11
Steffes, Herman, 65
Stevens, Robert T., 45, 47, 58
Stevenson, Adlai, 67, 68, 69, 73, 86
Stevenson, Suzanne Silvercruys, 75
Strandlund, Carl, 12, 13, 14
Sullivan, Father Leon, 90
Summerfield, Arthur E., 60
Sun Prairie (Wis.) Star-Countryman, 42
Sunday Statesman, The, 85
Surne, Donald, 57
Symington, Sen., 48
Syracuse (N. Y.) Post-Standard, 60

Tablet, The, 83
Taft, Sen. Robert A., 77
Tankersley, Mrs. Ruth McCormick, 66
Tass, 53
Taylor, Telford, 46
The Age of Suspicion, 61
The Cross and the Flag, 74, 75
Tibbets, J. L., 19, 20
Time magazine, 6, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 59, 62
Tobey, Sen. Charles W., 20
Truman Administration, 17, 31, 32, 50, 60, 77, 82
Truman Loyalty and Security Program, 32
Truman, President Harry S., 27, 32, 54, 56, 69, 71, 74, 77, 83, 84
Trumble, Rep., 44
Trussell, C. P., 48
Tugman, William M., 62
Tydings, Sen. Millard E., 27, 66, 72
Tydings Subcommittee, 24, 25, 26, 28

Un-American Activities Committee, 61
U. S. Civil Service Commission, 46
U. S. Department of Agriculture, 14
U. S. News and World Report, 23, 28, 29, 32
U. S. official HICOG digest, 82
Urey, Dr. Harold C., 47
Utley, Clifton, 78

Van Straten, Henry J., 18
Valentine, Dan, 25
Victorian, 90
Voice of America, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 77

Wadleigh, Henry Julian, 28, 29
Wage Earner, The, 55
Wagner, Sen. Robert F., 74
Wall Street Journal, 60
Walsh, Dr. Chad, 65
Walsh, Father Edmund, 65
Washington Evening Star, 10, 44, 47, 48, 52, 85, 86
Washington Post, 45, 47, 59, 60, 62, 72, 86
Washington Times-Herald, 33, 37, 66
Wayne Hummer & Co., 13, 18, 19, 20
Wechsler, James A., 60, 61, 62
Weiss, Seymour, 67
Welker, Sen., 78
Werner, Judge Edgar V., 6
Wesser-Kurier (Germany), 90
Wheeler, Sen. Burton K., 70
Wheeler, George Shaw, 28, 29
Wheeling, W. Va., 22, 23, 28, 29, 66, 67
Whitaker, James E., 22
White, William S., 70
Who's Who in America, 9
Wiesner, Dr. J. B., 35, 36
Wiggins, J. R., 62
Wiley, Sen. Alexander, 63, 77, 83
Wilson, Lyle, 70
Wilson, Richard, 54, 69, 74
Winchell, Walter, 75
Wisconsin Board of Bar Commissioners, 6, 8, 75
Wisconsin CIO News, 64
Wisconsin Citizens' Committee on McCarthy's Record, 4, 5
Wisconsin Constitution, 7, 8
Wisconsin Department of Agriculture, 6, 7
Wisconsin Department of Taxation, 20
Wisconsin Retail Grocers Assoc., 60
Wisconsin State Journal, 10, 53, 55
Wisconsin Supreme Court, 6, 7, 8
Wisconsin Supreme Court accuses McCarthy of violating State's Constitution and Laws, 6
Wood, Gen. Robert E., 67, 68, 74
World, The, 85
Wyngaard, John, 69

Young, Owen D., 30
Young, Philip, 46
Youngdahl, Judge Luther W., 27

Zimmerman, Fred R., 69
Zwicker, Gen. Ralph W., 53

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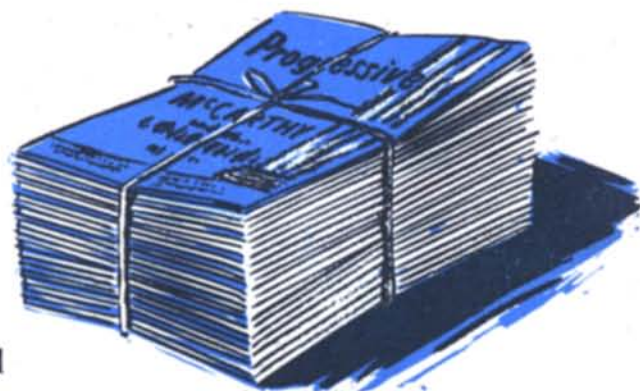
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