

# The Destruction of Joe McCarthy:

## Shanty Irish get their Comeuppance, Jews get the Chair

by Thomas J. Herron

---

### KENNEDY FEVER

The first Sunday of November 1960 was a clear cold day in northeast Philadelphia. Along both sides of the six-lane Harbison Avenue, a major truck route connecting the factories of Kensington and the Delaware River shipping at Port Richmond with Route One prior to the completion of Interstate 95, the entire neighborhood of Wissinoming lined the road that afternoon. My father and I are standing near the firehouse where Harbison Avenue takes a bend half a block from our row house. We're one block north of our parish church, St. Bartholomew's, where I was a student. At eight years old, I'm in third grade. There were about two thousand kids in this elementary school; when I was in first grade there were 80 kids in my class, and there were four first grade classes. Nineteen Sixty was the middle of the baby boom in Catholic Philadelphia; most of the parishes in Philadelphia were in the same overcrowded mode. The Catholic archdiocese was a growth industry with parishes, novitiates, elementary and high schools going up all over the area. There were five priests in the neighborhood rectory and numerous nuns in the convent.

It seemed that all my classmates and their families were out in the crowd that day. Most of the kids are from large, extended families; very often you would find nephews in the grades higher than their uncles. As an only child I found myself in a distinct minority. But there were no racial minorities in the "lily white northeast," as it was known in those days, and Wissinoming was overwhelmingly Catholic, with Irish and Polish

ethnicity predominating. Most of the kids came back to the house to lunch provided by stay-at-home moms. The dads made enough money at blue-collar jobs to provide for a large family and a nonworking wife. However, there were some working mothers, and divorce wasn't totally unknown. It wasn't very well accepted in my neighborhood however and a lot of students made up stories about fathers who had 'died' but really had a new family in some other part of town. The drugs of choice in that era, at least among the dads, were shots and beers at the local tap room. In the upper grades the boys would start calling each other 'fairies' or 'faggots,' but we wouldn't really know what those words meant; the only life-styles we knew were either two-parent families or the priests and nuns. It was a totally different world from what children quickly learn today.

We were all out to see the most famous Catholic in America on that Sunday afternoon. This is the first political campaign that I can recall; everyone I know is talking about it. The crowd is thickening, the word comes that the candidate's motorcade is getting closer. The screaming starts; my father boosts me up on his shoulders so that I can have a view. Squinting in the afternoon sun I see the silhouetted head of Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, his hair very red in the sunlight, go speeding up Harbison Ave. Later that week he would be elected the first Catholic president of the United States and three years later his practice of riding in open limousines would cause his brains to be blown out in Dallas.

My mother didn't accompany us to see the motorcade. She and my father were, like Senator John F. Kennedy, late marrying Irish and they had a lot of knowledge of what had happened in the country that

---

Thomas J. Herron lives in Philadelphia and is a frequent contributor to *Culture Wars*.



they were forever imparting to their son. They knew a lot about the Kennedy family too.

"Hey, mom, I saw John F. Kennedy!" I yelled as I got in the front door.

"He's the son of a bootlegger from Prohibition." was her reply. (1)

"It's all advertising from Madison Avenue, Rose." noted my father, giving his explanation as to why the entirety of northeast Philadelphia was in the grip of Kennedy fever.

"Remember Al Smith, Tom." continued my mother to my dad, "If Smith had gotten in they would have blamed the Depression on the Catholics. And then there was poor Joe McCarthy, another Catholic. Lord have mercy on him. His suits were always rumpled and his shirt collars and cuffs were always dirty. He needed a wife to take care of him. They destroyed him, poor Joe McCarthy. Lord have mercy on him."

---

## THE CONSERVATIVE BABE

Even as a young boy who watched the Huntley-Brinkley Report every night, I knew that no one ever said nice things about Joe McCarthy on television. But I was too young to know who he was or what he had done. Some things haven't changed in 40 years. The

latest person to find that out is a very attractive young woman who serves as one of the pin-up girls for the neoconservative movement, Ann Coulter. In one of her recent books, *Treason*, she has strayed from the reservation of approved opinions by stating that Senator Joseph McCarthy was more right than wrong in his investigations of Communist infiltration of the U.S. government in the 1940s and 50s and for this she has been attacked by some of her close neocon friends. To say that *Treason* is easy reading would be an understatement; the book's style can be most charitably described as juve-

**Some things haven't changed in 40 years.**

nile. One does not have to be a fan of Bill Clinton to find tiresome the author's constant repetition of the story of the DNA on Monica Lewinsky's black dress and the other name calling at "liberals" that Ms. Coulter doesn't like.

She also spreads some favorite neoconservative jargon like calling most Arab countries "Islamofascist," a term, I believe, coined by American Zionist fanatic, Daniel Pipes. Mr. Pipes just this year was found too extreme in his anti-Arab, anti-Muslim writings and so even the U.S. Senate hesitated about confirming him to the U.S. Institute for Peace. Since, as Patrick Buchanan had correctly observed years ago, Capitol Hill is "Israeli occupied territory," Mr. Pipes' writings must be truly ex-

treme. He had to get on the Institute for Peace through a recess appointment (when Congress was out of town) in August 2003 by President G. W. Bush to the loud applause of the neocons at *National Review on-line*. For those of us who believe in life after death it is comforting to realize that, somewhere, George Orwell is having a good chuckle over a guy like Daniel Pipes establishing American policy on peace since the Likud party that has governed Israel for much of the recent decades grew out of the Revisionist segment of Zionism founded by one Vladimir Jabotinsky, who was a fascist and a great admirer of Mussolini. Jabotinsky favored an 'iron fist' approach for Zionists in their dealings with Arabs and his picture is prominently hung in Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon's office. But you won't read about this in Daniel Pipes or Ann Coulter.

Ann obviously takes herself seriously as a writer, but sometimes she causes the knowledgeable reader to burst out laughing. She tries to frame her discussion of Joe McCarthy's comments, like "twenty years of treason" in describing Communist infiltration of both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, by asking us to "try to imagine a parallel universe today" where officials of the Bush administration like Paul Wolfowitz and Richard Perle (whom she actually names) were taking orders from those Islamofascists at al-Qaeda. (2) However she doesn't seem interested in examining, as a possibility, if those two gentlemen and numerous others might be, say, a) dual Israeli-American citizens, b) intimately connected with the ruling party of a foreign country, in this case the Likud party and (c) framing American policy so that a foreign country benefits. Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White are no longer in the federal service, but Ms. Coulter really doesn't want to know if their spirit lives on today in the real world and not just in a thought experiment.

But we would do well to understand Ms. Coulter's importance to the neocon movement. She's the present day Conservative Babe, a very attractive blonde who is sending their message about what conservatism is and what it was to today's high school and college age males. The fact is that in the course of her long defense of Joseph McCarthy she has to let her young readers know that, if they had a mind to study classic American conservatism and compare it to that professed by the administration of G.W. Bush which claims the right of preemptive attack on any nation it feels might be a problem to America at some undetermined future date and to run up large budget deficits in the process, they might be in for a few surprises. The Babe notes, "the

pre-1946 Republican Party would confuse young right-wingers today. At the end of the Second World War the Republican Party was an institution in transition. The leading Republican of that era was Robert Taft-who voted against NATO and opposed the Nuremberg Trials (for which John F. Kennedy would give him a chapter in *Profiles in Courage*). Taft saw the Democrats' interest in international affairs as part of their love of One World Government." (3) If young right-wingers today couldn't recognize traditional isolationist conservatives like Robert Taft, Joseph McCarthy and many others in American history what would they think about today's self described 'conservatives' if they could come back? Would they see that they were really descendants of Trotsky's variation on the Marxist theme? Would they think Ann Coulter dressed as if she hooked her way through law school? Would they ask what exactly she was conserving?

In spite of all her adolescent hectoring that fills the book Ann does manage to stumble on to the truth occasionally. And if you wish to avoid the furor that the Conservative Babe has generated for herself by discussing the Rosenberg spy ring in tandem with Joseph McCarthy's investigations, don't go there. Particularly don't make statements like these in discussing Ted Koppel's *Nightline* interview with Joel Barr, a classmate of Julius Rosenberg, who made it to the Soviet Union just before the FBI was to arrest him in 1950 and who only returned after the collapse of the Evil Empire. "What does Koppel think Soviet spies are supposed to look like? Jim Thorpe? Barr was a first-generation Russian Jew born in Brooklyn, who was a member of the Young Communist League at City College of New York. Apart from being a Harvard-educated patrician WASP, there was no more typical Soviet spy." (4) What is it about the life and work of this senator from Wisconsin who drank himself to death in 1957 before he was 50 that still inspires such a strong reaction today? And are his investigations of the American government, and his ultimate rejection by that same government, still impacting America today?

---

## THE LAST AMERICAN POLITICIAN BORN IN A LOG CABIN

The Cheeseheads of the Fox River valley must be a very determined and independent group of people; they support the only publicly owned National Football League franchise in Green Bay, the smallest media mar-

ket in pro sports, with Lambeau Field boasting a 30-year wait for purchasing season tickets. Their team's name betrays their proletarian origins; Curly Lambeau worked as a shipping clerk for the Indian Packing Company and got his employers to buy the teams' first jerseys in 1919. The area is another blue-collar center, maybe not like the big cities of Philadelphia or Chicago, but filled with blunt talking, hard drinking factory workers, stevedores, merchant seamen, and dairy farmers. Into this world, in 1908, on a farm outside of Appleton 30 miles south of Green Bay, Joseph Raymond McCarthy was born. According to his recent revisionist biographer Arthur Herman, McCarthy was the last major American politician to be born in a log cabin. (5) Joe McCarthy was born into a Catholic world, but his family happened to be the only Irish Catholics in the area; most of their neighbors were of Dutch or German descent.

The McCarthy family were poor farmers in rural Grand Chute outside of Appleton and young Joseph Raymond, the fifth child of seven, would leave school at 14 to establish his own egg business. While many of his future Senate colleagues, like John F. Kennedy, his opponents like Dean Acheson and Alger Hiss, and even his future assistant Roy Cohn, were all spending their teenage years attending exclusive prep schools on the East Coast—the 'right schools' from their upper class families' perspective—Joseph McCarthy was earning a living. When all his chickens died and Joe had a succession of low paying jobs he decided, at age 21 to further his education. He completed four years of high school in nine months while working a night job and graduated with honors.

While still working night shift jobs pumping gas to pay his tuition, he enrolled in Milwaukee's Jesuit Marquette University majoring in electrical engineering. Joseph McCarthy was something of a natural leader on campus and was elected president of his class, duplicating a high school accomplishment. He also found time to participate on the boxing team in his lim-

ited spare moments. Finding engineering too difficult, he transferred to the law school and graduated on time with average grades. While his detractors would later make a point of his mediocre academic attainment, the fact that McCarthy achieved so much education in so short a time must be seen as quite an accomplishment for someone who was the first member of his family to attend high school, let alone graduate from a university.

However, far he went in life, Joe McCarthy always remained at heart a blunt talking son of northern Wisconsin. As Donald Crosby, S.J. states of his personality, "The public McCarthy could be relentlessly aggressive, ruthless, stubborn, and totally unforgiving. In private, however he could be disarmingly engaging, gentle, and deeply loyal." Even when he became a United States senator he remained most at ease in the northern woods as a 'man's man' frying steaks, playing poker, hunting and fishing. No doubt he was a big Packers fan. One of his liberal Catholic opponents, Father Theodore Hesburgh, long time president of Notre Dame University, met Joe McCarthy in the north woods, split a can of beer with him and found him "just a hell of a nice guy." (6)

On the other hand, the Jesuits at Marquette did not turn him into any type of intellectual as one of his principal Catholic congressional opponents was at St. John's

**The McCarthy family were poor farmers in rural Grand Chute outside of Appleton and young Joseph Raymond, the fifth child of seven, would leave school at 14 to establish his own egg business.**

University in adjoining Minnesota. A leading Catholic intellectual, as evidenced by the fact that he regularly contributed to the journal *Commonweal*, Congressman Eugene McCarthy would be one of Joseph McCarthy's earliest Capitol Hill challengers when the two engaged in a radio debate on communist infiltration of the federal government. Crosby states of the senator from Wisconsin, "in truth, McCarthy was an almost totally unreflective man, given to frenetic bursts of activity as

well as loud boisterous speech making. None of his friends recalls that he did much reading or that it made an impact of any kind on his thought.”(7)

For all his life Joseph McCarthy was a practicing Catholic but one for whom religion was a private affair, not “a candle lighting Catholic” to use his term. He would be elected to the U.S. Senate in 1946 as the sole Republican Catholic senator when the burgeoning American Catholic population and efficient Catholic organizational structure would become a matter of note for many observers outside the Church. This was the era of large families, growing parishes, filled seminaries and novitiates, Catholic grammar schools, Catholic high schools, Catholic colleges, Catholic league sports teams, school children in easily recognizable uniforms, bingo in the parish hall on Friday night, communion breakfasts on Sunday morning, beef and beers at the Knights of Columbus, Catholic War Veterans, and an outspoken Catholic leadership like New York’s Cardinal Spellman and Bishop Sheen in the media calling for an American crusade against domestic and international atheistic communism. A lot of the American elite was more petrified at discovering that this well organized ‘fifth column’ of Rome in their midst was questioning *their* commitment to American values rather than any fifth column whose allegiance was to Moscow. Instead of attacking the Roman Church directly they would concentrate their fire on a man who never wanted to lead an exclusively Catholic crusade.

Speaking to a Catholic Press Association convention in Rochester, New York on May 25, 1950, McCarthy could have chosen to rally American Catholics to his banner of outing communist subversion in the federal government at the start of his investigations but he chose instead the pluralistic phrase “Protestant-Catholic-Jew” in united opposition to atheistic communism. (8) That day the senator would gain the undying loyalty of the man who introduced him to the CPA, Patrick Scanlan, the longtime editor of the Brooklyn diocese’s newspaper *The Tablet*. While the senator never wanted to use his Catholicism in his anticommunist battles, his opponents would find a minority of Catholics who wouldn’t mind using their religion to attack Joe McCarthy. These were in the main the same individuals, groups and magazines who opposed Francisco Franco in the Spanish Civil War and who opposed The Radio Priest of Royal Oak in his noninterventionist stance prior to World War II. (9) Also, the story that a Jesuit at Georgetown University, Father Edmund Walsh, gave McCarthy the impetus for his anticommunist

in the government crusade at a dinner party in January 1950 is false. The story appears to have been spread by leftist scandalmongers Drew Pearson and I. F. Stone to muddy the reputation of both the Church and the senator. (10) The senator did use information from revisionist historians at Georgetown in a long speech discussing the blindness of General George C. Marshall and other Roosevelt administration officials to the dangers of a communist takeover in China. Again, the left was trying to link the Church and the Jesuits to McCarthy’s nonsectarian crusade as Pearson and Stone were broadcasting his sources.

But this is to get ahead of our story. McCarthy graduated from Marquette law school and was admitted to the Wisconsin bar in 1935. The next year, true to his Irish Catholic roots, and after an aggressive campaign, he was elected as a judge in Shawano County as a Democrat. Despite the mud later thrown on his career, Joseph McCarthy was known as a fair, shrewd and hardworking judge; however the values of local Democrats that he embodied were diverging from those of the national party, particularly in the area of foreign affairs. Like other Mid-Westerners, such as aviation hero, Charles Lindbergh, and Radio Priest, Charles Coughlin, Judge McCarthy would deliver a Fourth of July speech at an Appleton picnic in 1939 warning his neighbors about the “damnable flow of war propaganda.” (11) How little did he understand the policies of the leader of his party, Franklin Roosevelt.

The term ‘Mid-West Isolationist’ was a pejorative developed by FDR and his staff to question the motives of those who questioned his ultimately successful policy to get the United States involved in World War II on the side of Great Britain and the Soviet Union. This smear campaign echoes in the speeches of Roosevelt’s current successor and his staff, who state bluntly that anyone who questions the provisions of the Patriot Act or the Middle East invasions by American forces is aiding terrorists. Actually the term that opponents of FDR’s campaign to get Japan to fire the first shot at Pearl Harbor after imposing a crippling embargo preferred was nonintervention. Noninterventionists could point to an illustrious American pedigree going back to our first president’s Farewell Address that held that America should not get involved in foreign disputes. If George Washington were alive today would he be on the Attorney General’s watch list of suspected terrorist sympathizers? Also, not all the noninterventionist were Mid-Westerners like McCarthy, some of Father Coughlin’s most vocal supporters, like the aforementioned Patrick

Scanlan, Msgr. Edward Lodge Curran, and the Christian Front organization, were located in Brooklyn. (12)

Why, the noninterventionists wanted to know, did President Roosevelt, under the guise of fighting National Socialism under Adolph Hitler want a full alliance with international socialism under Joseph Stalin? Wasn't the danger to America greater from Moscow than from Berlin? This was the question that the head of the House Un-American Activities Committee, conservative Texas Democrat Martin Dies was asking Franklin Roosevelt in this period. The president replied that Dies should concentrate on the threat from the Nazis and that Communists were ultimately harmless and included some of his best friends. How true that was can be seen in the fact that Whitaker Chambers in those days was breaking from his career as a Soviet spy ring leader and trying unsuccessfully to get the federal government to believe his charges that the high ranking State Department officials Alger Hiss, his brother Donald along with many other senior personnel of the executive branch as well as lower ranking technical personnel at places like the Army's Aberdeen Proving Grounds in Maryland, were Soviet agents. (13)

However when viewed in comparison with the wholesale lying associated with the experiences in the same theater with two future senate colleagues, his sins seem minor indeed. Lyndon Johnson, then a Member of Congress, would pressure the Navy into awarding him a Silver Star for a few minutes in a combat situation, while a whole mythology would be developed about the apparent negligence of a commanding officer of a U.S. Navy patrol boat who got his ship sliced in two by a Japanese destroyer in the Solomon Islands on August 1, 1943. But even if the theater commander General Douglas MacArthur thought that the skipper should have been court-martialed for the only disaster of this kind experienced in WWII by the U.S. Navy, Lt. J.G. John F. Kennedy's father had ready access to a public relations empire and JFK's heroic exploits as C.O. of PT-109 are now a part of American history. (14)

Having switched his party affiliation to Republican Judge McCarthy, while still in the South Pacific, ran and lost in the Wisconsin GOP primary in 1944 but would score a dramatic upset two years later in the primary against incumbent Robert La Follette, Jr. whose family had been involved in progressive politics in that

state for decades. In many respects McCarthy believed in the traditional Republican philosophy; remembering that the GOP was the party of the freedman he campaigned in Milwaukee's black neighborhoods and voted for 1950s civil rights legislation. He became part of the Republican tidal wave in the November

**Like other Mid-Westerners such as aviation hero, Charles Lindbergh, and Radio Priest, Charles Coughlin, Judge McCarthy would deliver a Fourth of July speech at an Appleton picnic in 1939 warning his neighbors about the "damnable flow of war propaganda."**

With the American entry into World War II, Joseph McCarthy volunteered for service in the Marines even though, at age thirty-four and as a sitting judge he could have been exempt. His detractors would later say that he created an image of himself as "Tail Gunner Joe" to enhance his postwar political ambitions and to an extent this is true. In the South Pacific McCarthy was an intelligence officer who would occasionally fly but whose major duties were ground based. He did send dispatches of his exploits back to the Wisconsin papers.

ber 1946 election, in which the Democrats were soundly defeated in both houses of Congress in what many saw was a repudiation of the Roosevelt-Truman policies of appeasement of the Soviet Union. It must be remembered that Joseph McCarthy did not start his anticommunists crusade until his speech before a Republican women's club in Wheeling, West Virginia in February 1950. But ever since the end of the Second World War there had been growing interest among the Republicans in Congress and more media stories about Soviet

subversion of the American government and agents in high places. However President Truman, and his cabinet officials like George Marshall and Dean Acheson appeared deaf to this clamor. Joe McCarthy did not start 'McCarthyism,' it was going strong before he made his famous speech about the 205 communists in the State Department and in large part it was due to the indifference to security matters by the Democratic administration. Many of the investigations were conducted by the House Un-American Affairs Committee (HUAC), a group with which McCarthy had no relationship whatsoever. Also, the Internal Security Act of 1950 was authored by a *Democratic* Irish Catholic, Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada.

In 1945 Elizabeth Terrill Bentley, a Vassar graduate, walked into the FBI office in New Haven and began to relate a story of involvement with a Soviet spy ring that substantiated most of what Whitaker Chambers tried to tell President Roosevelt in 1939. In fact Bentley had been the new liaison for the Washington ring of spies in the federal government when Chambers defected. Being a committed communist, she distained 'bourgeois marriage' and was the lover of chief of Soviet espionage activities in the United States, Jacob Golos, until his death in 1943. She would relate that she received calls

nately, due to a typical government backlog, much of the cable traffic remained undecrypted and untranslated for years.

This was the era when "The Hollywood Ten" script writers were brought before the HUAC during which these writers tried to counter the questions about their communist associations with cries of 'fascism' and 'Nazi.' Actors like Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall, who had come to Washington to lend their support, quickly left the hearings. (16) Really, a question like, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party requires only a simple answer. Harvard-educated American troubadour Pete Seeger, a descendant of original American protestors who came over on the *Mayflower*, as well as abolitionists, then with the folk group *The Weavers*, said the question was like Jesus Christ before Pontius Pilate. This may have shown the depth of his knowledge of the New Testament. Christ, after all, did answer Pilate's question, but at his appearance before HUAC, *sans* banjo, in August, 1955 Seeger, the prototype for so many of the Beatniks and Hippies who would come after him, did offer to sing *Wasn't that a Time* for them acappella. The chairman, however, declined. Decades later, after he had beaten his contempt of Congress conviction in the ap-

peals courts, Pete would admit that he had been a member of the Party, at around the time he received a presidential medal from Bill Clinton. (17) The most famous of these

**Unwittingly Joe McCarthy would be destroyed by one emerging privileged minority when he was trying to prove he was not the enemy of another privileged minority.**

for Golos from a "Julius" and that her lover told her that there was a ring of scientists and engineers from the Lower East Side of Manhattan who were passing technical information to the Soviet Union. (15) Ms. Bentley, dubbed by the press as "the red spy queen" along with Mr. Chambers soon became a familiar fixture at congressional hearings and trials of communists. What was not known until the 1990s was that the FBI was in a position to confirm their charges due to the Verona program that was intercepting and decoding cables from Soviet offices in New York and Washington. Unfortu-

suspects was the aforementioned Ivy League blue-blood Alger Hiss, who once tried to show his social connections by publicly asking committee staff if they would call the Harvard Club and tell them he would be late for a dinner engagement. But the credit for catching Hiss in perjury, even with his many letters of support from establishment figures like Dean Acheson, Justice Felix Frankfurter, and General Dwight Eisenhower, who served as president of liberal Columbia University after World War II, went to another veteran elected in 1946, California congressman Richard Nixon.

Communists were only one group of security risks that congressional committees were investigating in this period; another group, homosexuals, were assumed to infest the elite mandarin precincts of the State Department and to be readily susceptible to Soviet blackmail if entrapped. Among the individuals called before the House Un-American Activities Committee were Henry Hay and his organization's lawyer. While Mr. Hay was a Communist party member it was not for that the congressmen were interested in him. Henry Hay was the founder of the prototype gay rights organization, the Mattachine Society. It appears that there were numerous Communists involved in this group and the Mattachines, in the spirit of the age, reacted by instituting a loyalty oath for their members. But, unwittingly Joe McCarthy would be destroyed by one emerging privileged minority when he was trying to prove he was not the enemy of another privileged minority. But for that we will have to visit Manhattan in the early 1950s and see just who the most zealous Communists were. (18)

---

### UPTOWN JEWS, DOWNTOWN JEWS

While early in the 20th century New York City was the center of the banking industry in the western hemisphere, many of the masses of recent immigrants had little access to the established financial institutions. The Jews who had recently migrated from the Russian empire were no exception to this until an institution that catered to them was established by one of their own *ostjuden* families. When the Marcus family opened The Public Bank on Delancey Street in 1906, it featured tellers in yarmukes speaking Yiddish to their customers. Within a few years, the institution, now called Bank of United States, had 50 branches in the boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn and The Bronx. The Marcuses were introducing Yiddish-speaking immigrants to checking accounts at the same time that, across the country, A.P. Giannini was doing the same thing in San Francisco for Italian immigrants with his Bank of America. However, shortly before the start of the Great Depression, the Bank of United States was hit with a run on the bank and declared insolvent with many depositors losing everything. One of the Marcuses was prosecuted and sent to Sing Sing for unethical business practices but the depositors—the Downtown Jews who were recent immigrants from Eastern Europe—could not help but notice that neither the great WASP bank-

ers like Morgan or the Rockefellers nor the rich German Jewish bankers, or Uptown Jews like Kuhn, Loeb and Lehman, did anything to save Bank of United States from going under when they had the opportunity to do so. One wonders if this helped turn some of the Jewish families on the Lower East Side against all capitalism whether gentiles or Jews conducted it. (19)

While not as far up the social ladder as the great German Jewish banking families, the Marcuses were at the top of the heap of the Yiddish-speaking Jews. They had a daughter, Dora, whom they wanted to marry off and found a suitable mate for her in Al Cohn, a lawyer who handled Jewish patronage for the Irish Democratic boss of The Bronx, and needed a rich wife who could buy him a judgeship. Out of this loveless relationship one child, Roy Marcus Cohn, was born in February 1927; the following year Al Cohn would be the first judicial appointment made by newly elected New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt. Roy Cohn, for all his association with Republican anti-Communists like Joseph McCarthy and William F. Buckley, remained a New York Democrat all his life. Buckley would look favorably at a Cohn bid as U.S. Senate candidate on the New York State Conservative party ticket in 1972 but party chairman Daniel Mahoney, who knew the details of Roy's private life, vetoed this. Near the end of Cohn's life the editor of *National Review* would testify at his friend's disbarment hearing. Cohn's entire family was connected with the Democratic Party; Dick Morris, the former political advisor to Bill and Hillary Clinton before his downfall for his publicized sexual escapades with prostitutes, is a cousin of Roy. (20)

Dora, according to Cohn biographer Nicholas von Hoffman, was considered somewhat mentally unbalanced by her in-laws and was overprotective and very ambitious towards her son. As Judge Al Cohn never had much say over young Roy's development, his directions always being undercut by his wife, he retreated into his career and never played a major part in his son's life. Roy Cohn would live with his mother until her death when he was then in his early forties. Dora Cohn would be the only female figure in his life. His public 'girlfriend,' media personality Barbara Walters, was a strictly platonic affair when he needed to be seen with a woman in public. Von Hoffman plays amateur psychologist and gives his opinion that Roy had a sublimated hatred of women due to Dora's over-protectiveness; this may have had fatal results for another Jewish woman who crossed his path early in his legal career, Ethel Rosenberg. (21)

While Roy Cohn may have had a distant relationship with Al, he learned early on that in New York City it was a good thing to have a father who was a judge and that influence gets you out of unpleasant situations. From his earliest years in prep schools and then at Columbia and its law school, young Roy was an accomplished wirepuller. This may have been good for his own career but it was to prove fatal for a certain Wisconsin senator who had tied his integrity to the brash young lawyer from the Big Apple. Roy's years at Columbia were at the end of the Second World War where he shared the campus with soon to be known New York Jewish intellectuals such as Alan Ginsburg, Murray Rothbard and Norman Podhoretz. True to form, Roy got a friendly draft board in Manhattan to give him a 4F exemption from military service. A major problem with Cohn is that not only did he always bend the rules in his favor, he would boast about it. Late in his life he would write an article for the Sunday newspaper supplement *Parade* magazine titled *You can beat the IRS* about how he paid not a penny of income taxes. For this he was never prosecuted at a time when the federal government was jailing many individuals who owed lesser amounts. (22)

When after his moment of fame in Washington, Roy

**What liberal 'established opinion' would have against Roy Cohn were the facts that he a) helped send Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to the electric chair, b) worked for Joe McCarthy and c) denied until he died of AIDS in 1986 that he was gay.**

returned to Manhattan and became what his biographer calls 'a criminal lawyer and a lawyer criminal', he always operated in the gray zone between the illegal and the legal, betraying the confidences of his clients to the New York press's gossip columnists, taking money, and not performing legal work. However, he would fit in well with Manhattan society, and that fact may give you an idea of the ethics of our nation's largest city. What liberal 'established opinion' would have against Roy Cohn were the facts that he a) helped send Julius and Ethel

Rosenberg to the electric chair, b) worked for Joe McCarthy and c) denied until he died of AIDS in 1986 that he was gay. Since HBO has just done a long presentation of *Angels in America*, which in part covers Roy's life and death, it would be good to look first at the question of Cohn's sexuality.

Today's political correct opinion must bow to the organized gay lobby and hold that once a person comes to a self-diagnosis that they have a homosexual orientation we all must accept that this is something that is basically genetically predetermined and for them to try to change their behavior would do violence to their psyche. Groups of those engaged in reparative therapy like the followers of southern California psychologist Joseph Nicolosi, who claim a high rate of altering homosexual orientation, are facing increasing opposition within the psychology profession. In fact a group of reparative therapists who in October 1998 held a convention in Los Angeles faced a unanimous resolution deploring their activities by the local city council in response to gay lobbying. (23) But this was not always the case. When Roy Cohn was a young man, sodomy was seen as a bad habit, like drinking, that an individual could overcome through will power. The Mattachine Society already mentioned, founded by Communist party

member Henry Hay, was the first group to say that the problems that homosexuals faced were due to social strictures. This caused them to don masks, the French word being *mattachine*, or as they would say today remain in the closet and deny their real natures. It was society's problem in imposing unnatural rules, not the homosexuals' behavior, that made

them security risks in government service. By now it should be obvious that the ruling elite through the government, media and educational institutions has in half-a-century come to accept comrade Henry Hay's position. We see this today in the fact that the local Cradle of Liberty Boy Scout council is being threatened with eviction from city of Philadelphia facilities for adhering to the no gay policies of the national scouting organization by the combined power of the city government, the United Way and the Pew Charitable Trust.

The right thinking people here in Philadelphia obviously feel that my son, a cub scout, will be denied an educational experience if he is denied the opportunity of having a homosexual scoutmaster.

However, the what and when questions of Roy Cohn's sexuality remained somewhat hidden in the spirit of those times which did not persecute the Boy Scouts for refusing gay scoutmasters and did not think of coming out as 'gay' as the secular equivalent to the Evangelical acceptance of Jesus Christ as personal savior. Nicholas von Hoffman states that Cohn had exclusively male companionship after the death of his mother but that in his days as legal counsel to Senator McCarthy's committee he would patronize female prostitutes as well as making Washington's gay bar scene in his first real time separated from Dora. As a young man he would also become close friends with two important figures, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and Francis Cardinal Spellman, both of whose sexual preferences have remained a source of controversy after their deaths. Perhaps, at that time, it might be best to say that Roy Cohn was attracted to men who were attracted to women. In the early 1950s this was enough to destroy his patron Joseph McCarthy. (24)

For a precocious young lawyer who had to wait some months after he finished Columbia Law School to be admitted to the New York bar and then onto the staff of the U.S. Attorney for Southern New York, one thing was not uncertain: his hatred of communism. He would state, late in life, that he believed in God, was a member of a synagogue and participated in services on the two leading holy days as well as attending midnight Mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral on Christmas Eve. But as von Hoffman relates, "in the early 1950s a television producer who met Roy in Washington recalled being told by him that 'Not all Jews are Communists, but most Communists are Jews.' Towards the end of his life in 1979 Roy was still saying what he said as a young man: 'I resent very much the idea of associating Jews with a sympathy for communism.'" (25) New York City in this period was the home of some militantly anti-communist Jews such as Austrian refugee economist Ludwig von Mises, his American disciple Murray Rothbard, the writer Ayn Rand along with fellow refugees from the Soviet Union like columnists George Sokolsky and Isaac Don Levine, who had arranged Whitaker Chambers' unsuccessful meeting with President Roosevelt's aide Adolph Berle in September 1939. However, at the middle of the 20th century, a large number of Jews in the Big Apple did not share this

distain for Joseph Stalin and some were working diligently for him to help bring about the great worldwide proletarian revolution.

---

## RUSSIA AND AMERICA AS VIEWED FROM THE LOWER EAST SIDE

If it has not already done so, the National Parks Service should put the cafeteria of the City College of New York on the National Registry of Historic Places. That is because some of the most influential debates in American history or the history of the world took place there in the late 1930s according to the memoirs of some of the participants. We may get the impression from them that they are on a par with the debates at Independence Hall in Philadelphia relating to the Declaration of Independence or the U.S. Constitution or maybe the image of Socrates, Plato and their followers debating on the porches of the Parthenon in ancient Athens would come to mind. Actually the name-calling of those days was more like the "All the Way I.R.A." and "No Pope Here!" battle cries between the Prots and Papes in the slums of Belfast. We are dealing with the screaming matches between the Steinmetz Club, the American Communist Party's college division, and the Young People's Socialist League of the heretical Trotskyite Socialist Worker's Party. This competition, which happened in alcoves one and two of CCNY's cafeteria, between warring Marxist-Leninist sects did involve two groups of people who would have a pernicious impact on their nation both in the short and long term. One thing both the Stalinist and Trotskyite students at City College would have in common after they graduated was an interest in transferring the might of the American military-industrial complex to foreign nations—to either 1) a large country that would be our rival in the Cold War or 2) the other a small nation in the Middle East, described by its champions as America's 'one reliable ally' in that part of the world. But first let us set the scene in the cafeteria with a quote from one of most honored contemporary American men of letters, who started his long literary career as one of the screamers.

In an essay titled *Memoirs of a Trotskyist*, written in 1977, Irving Kristol gives us a look at the world of CCNY that was in many ways a reflection of the larger world of the city that sponsored this institution of learning. While he didn't know how the alcove system in the cafeteria got started Mr. Kristol notes,

once established, they endured, and in a manner typical of New York's 'melting pot' each religious, ethnic, cultural and political group had its own little alcove. There was a Catholic alcove, the 'turf' of the Newman Society [sic], a Zionist alcove, an Orthodox Jewish alcove, there was a black alcove, for the handful of blacks at CCNY, an alcove for the members of the athletic teams and so forth. But the only alcoves that mattered to me were No. 1 and No. 2, the alcoves of the anti-Stalinist Left and pro-Stalinist Left, respectively. It was between these two alcoves that the war of words was fought, over the faceless bodies of the mass of students, whom we desperately tried to manipulate into 'the right position' but about whom, to tell the truth, we knew little and cared less. City College was known as a 'radical' institution. Most of the students, from Jewish working-class or lower-middle-class backgrounds with a socialist tint, were sympathetic to the New Deal and F.D.R. The really left-wing groups, though larger than elsewhere, were a distinct minority. During my first three years *they* [italics in the original, i.e. the Stalinists] controlled the college newspaper; in my last year we got control. It was a glorious victory. . . . (26)

For some reason that Irving Kristol does not explain, the Trotskyite manipulators on the CCNY campus majored in the humanities and social sciences. Their names are known to us as the founders of the school of thought known as neoconservatism: Kristol himself,

## Julius Rosenberg never left the Lower East Side of Manhattan neighborhood into which he was born in 1918.

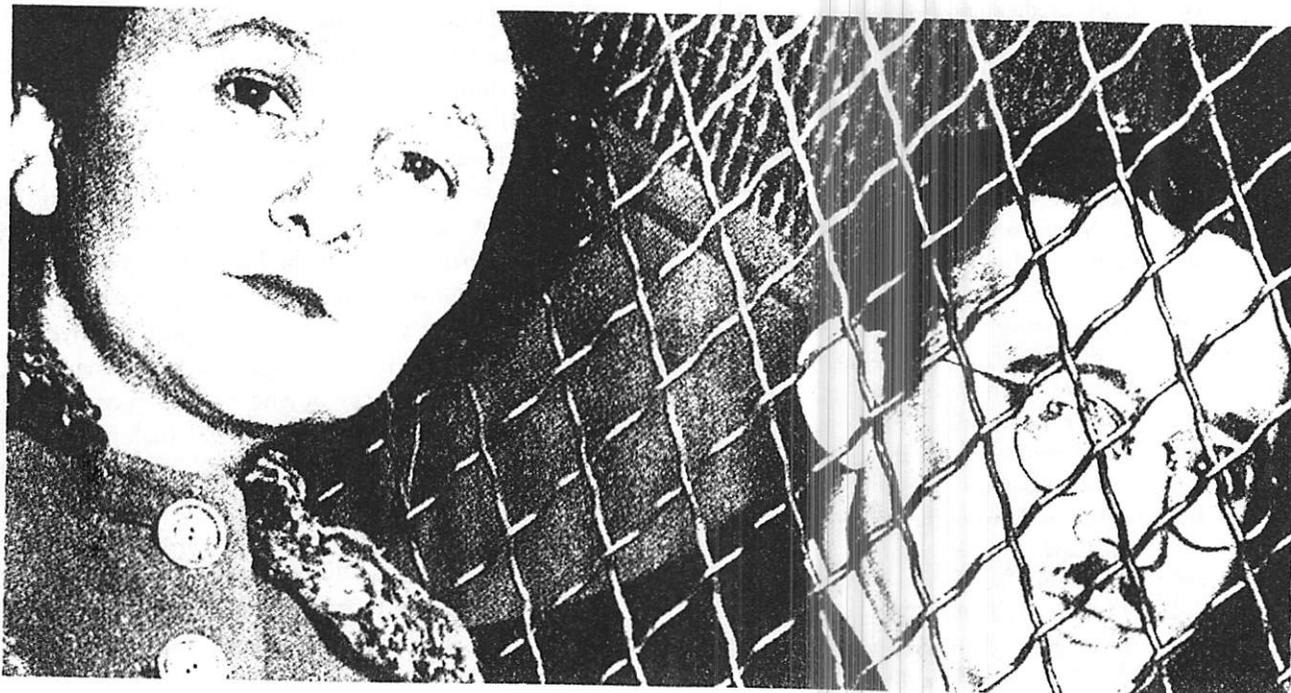
Daniel Bell, Seymour Martin Lipset, Irving Howe and Nathan Glazer. The Stalinists manipulators at CCNY, also for unexplained reasons, seemed to major in the hard sciences and engineering, and Mr. Kristol mentions only one of them in his essay, an electrical engineering major who had been dead nearly a quarter of a century when *Memoirs of a Trotskyist* appeared, Julius Rosenberg. It was the Stalinist scientists and engineers who would first gain public attention about a decade af-

ter they all graduated from CCNY while the Trotskyite social scientists and writers would have to go through more development before they would take over the Republican Party.

Except for the last two years of his life spent with his wife Ethel on death row at Sing Sing federal prison on the Hudson River in suburban Westchester County, Julius Rosenberg never left the Lower East Side of Manhattan neighborhood into which he was born in 1918. As a typical New Yorker he never learned to drive, and this limited his ability to engage in a wide range in his espionage activities. As a boy he had been given an Orthodox Jewish religious education, in which he excelled, and his family hoped that he would become a rabbi. However, while disputing portions of the Talmud and other rabbinic writings he became aware in his teen years of another explanation of reality called dialectical materialism, written by a descendant of a line of rabbis, Karl Marx, whose father had been baptized into the state Lutheran church of his native Prussia so that he could practice law. While in high school Julius Rosenberg started selling the *Daily Worker* door-to-door on the Lower East Side. During his years at City College, he became involved in protests on campus sponsored by the Steinmetz Club and the wider activities of the Communist Party in New York City. Julius' obsession with political activities would have forced him to drop out if he did not have a fiancé, Ethel Greenglass, who persuaded him to complete his studies, and, unlike

Joe McCarthy, Julius Rosenberg did graduate with a degree in electrical engineering. (27)

Ethel, in addition to being an amateur singer of some note, had a history as a labor organizer, and Julius joined a communist dominated union, The Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians (FAECT). They were both the children of Yiddish speaking immigrants from Poland and had both studied at the same Orthodox religious school in their Lower East Side neighborhood. Together they induced Ethel's younger brother David Greenglass to join the Communist Youth League. This was about the time that former Trotsky protégé turned columnist, George Sokolsky was warning his readers in the Big Apple that, "A communist pa-



rade looks Jewish. Jews who believe that they must be 'liberals' and 'progressives' as a protest against Hitler are risking the welfare of all Jews in the United States."(28) With America's entry into World War II David, who had attended a New York City technical high school would be drafted into the Army, while Julius was already working for the Army's Signal Corps as a quality assurance inspector at a Brooklyn supply center. Both the Rosenbergs were active in the party and Julius was chairman of Branch 16B of the Communist Party's Industrial Division.

About 1943 Julius and Ethel Rosenberg dropped their official membership in the Communist Party and Julius apparently, under the direction of a Soviet agent, headed up a ring of scientists and engineers, most of whom were his classmates at City College and ethnic brethren from the Jewish neighborhoods of New York City, who were passing secrets of developmental military equipment to the Soviet Union. Julius would have contacts with classmates working for the Navy in Washington and the Norfolk, Virginia areas, Cornell University in Ithaca, New York and in Army communications equipment just a short train ride away at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, on the North Shore Line out of Manhattan's Penn Station. But shortly before the end of World War II Julius Rosenberg was dismissed from his civil service position with the Army for having concealed his Communist Party affiliations when hired. His appeal proved unsuccessful. If today the research

and development activities of the Defense Department are largely staffed with personnel whose origins are in the Orient, there still can be security problems, as the accusations against the physicist Dr. Wen Ho Lee of a few years ago of spying for Communist China at the famous Los Alamos nuclear facility make clear. However, in the period during and after the Second World War, the think tanks of America's military industrial complex were staffed with another immigrant group in which Julius Rosenberg and his comrades from CCNY flowed freely.

While Julius would go on to another temporary engineering position with Emerson Electric in New York City, he would achieve a successful penetration of the Manhattan Project, the code name for America's atom bomb development group, with a Manhattan project of his own, getting classified information from his brother-in-law David Greenglass, then a private first class and about to be transferred to Los Alamos, New Mexico as a machinist. While Greenglass had little idea of what the top-secret project was he would be working on, his brother-in-law already had detailed knowledge. He charged David to gather the names of important physicists who might be sympathetic to the Soviet cause as well as much technical data as he could obtain. In the presence of their wives, they arranged for a secret recognition symbol that a courier would present to Private Greenglass at his apartment in Albuquerque, New Mexico; Julius Rosenberg cut the side of a Jell-O box in

an unusual design and gave one side to David with the understanding that the other half would be presented by the courier.

As is obvious from even a cursory knowledge of the black world of espionage, the Soviet controls would not simply use a group New York City Jewish scientists, who were mainly known only to each other, as their sole conduit to the secrets of the American military establishment. For their courier on many of the Manhattan Project contacts they used a Jewish chemist from Philadelphia by the name of Harry Gold. Having experienced anti-Jewish hazing from the gentile children in his South Philadelphia neighborhood, who would beat him up as a child when he tried to use the branch library, Gold, a somewhat naive, nerdish character who would probably be brilliantly played by Woody Allen, gravitated to the communist orbit when he heard that anti-Semitism was a capital offense in the Soviet Union and that there was a Jewish autonomous region, Birobidzhan, in that nation as well. (29) Having proven himself successful at stealing industrial patents for the Soviets, Harry Gold was promoted to a courier in the subversion of the American military-industrial complex. When one reads the history of this very successful spy ring, one wonders what language the Soviet agents spoke to people like Julius Rosenberg and Harry Gold, in the movie houses, diners, subway stations and parks of New York City: English, Russian or Yiddish?

What the Soviet Union got when Harry Gold matched his half of the Jell-o box with that of David Greenglass during his visit to the latter's Albuquerque apartment in the summer of 1945 were rough sketches of an atomic bomb prototype. Gold's other contact at Los Alamos was in a position to give him complete technical data on the Nagasaki-type implosion bomb and, despite later public supposition to the contrary, the most productive source was a German gentile. Dr. Klaus Fuchs was the son of a German Lutheran minister who became enamored with left wing theology and politics, joining the Quakers and the Socialist Party after World War I. Young Klaus started as a Socialist but then joined the Communist Party, feeling they were the only effective force to battle the rising Nazis. When Hitler took power in 1933, young Fuchs took flight to England, where, sponsored by Quaker groups, he gained a doctorate in physics from Bristol University. Then, following America's entry into the Second World War, Fuchs moved on to Columbia University and then Los Alamos to work on the Manhattan Project.

With the start of the Cold War, British, American,

and Canadian intelligence services started to examine the background of the people who had helped them win the war against the Nazis, although the Verona transcripts' translation lagged considerably. Klaus Fuchs was the first to be arrested by the British, and Fuchs in turn led to Harry Gold. By this time, early 1950, Julius Rosenberg was trying to get the remnants of his network out of the United States to the Soviet Union via Mexico. His brother-in-law, David Greenglass, had worked in a machine shop on the Lower East Side that Julius ran. It was little more than a front for espionage activities until the families split apart over a monetary dispute. David would later state that Julius told him he was getting information on programs in development about 'sky platforms' and 'thinking machines' for which the mathematics were then being worked out. When Harry Gold's arrest was announced in the newspapers, Rosenberg tried to get his brother-in-law to flee the country but it was too late.

When David Greenglass was arrested in May 1950 he eventually implicated Julius, and David's wife Ruth implicated Ethel Rosenberg, who was arrested one month after her husband in August. However, two of Julius' old classmates from CCNY, Joel Barr and Albert Sarant, who had been working in the military-industrial complex together at Fort Monmouth, did successfully make it out of the country to the Soviet Union. While there they helped to found the Soviet computer industry in a research facility outside of Leningrad. With the fall of the Soviet Union Joel Barr would return to the United States in 1991, vote for Jerry Brown in the following year's California Democratic primary and, as noted by Ann Coulter, be interviewed by Ted Koppel on *Nightline*. Unlike the endless stream of alleged Nazi collaborators Barr was never prosecuted by the American government. A third City College engineer, Morton Sobell, missed his Soviet connection in Mexico and was returned to the United States to stand trial with the Rosenbergs. (30) Two other old classmates William Perl and Max Elitcher, who turned informant, were more military-industrial complex engineers who were also jailed in the breakup of Julius Rosenberg's spy ring. From the perspective of half a century it appears that Rosenberg's task for Soviet intelligence was to serve as a talent scout and project coordinator for more talented scientists and engineers, like Joel Barr, with whom he was quite familiar from the old neighborhood and alma mater. It does not appear that the Rosenbergs ever financially profited from their espionage activities; they did it solely on basis of their faith in Communism.

---

## THE KOREAN WAR

To fully understand the Rosenbergs' trial and execution it must be remembered that it occurred against the backdrop of America's participation in the Korean War. That was a conflict into which this nation stumbled by the mistake of the blue blood Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, who publicly announced a defense perimeter in the Far East to halt Communist advancement that did not include South Korea. A few months after this gaffe, the North Koreans, at Stalin's direction, invaded. Due to a brilliant flanking maneuver with General MacArthur's amphibious landing at Inchon, American forces quickly seized the initiative and raced up to the Chinese border. At this point, the now Communist Chinese invaded and pushed the Americans back to the 38th parallel, where a stalemate would ensue, with the loss of many U.S. troops for nearly three years. If anything showed the incompetence of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations in dealing with world Communism, it was the Korean War. Douglas MacArthur, dismissed by President Truman for disobeying orders when he threatened to use nuclear weapons, was treated to the greatest of-victory parades in history since Julius Caesar returned from Gaul in triumph. While this five star general commenced one of the loudest silencing in history with the famous "old soldiers never die" speech to both houses of Congress, his victory parade tellingly would include a brief stop at the corner of Woodward Ave. and Eleven Mile Road outside Detroit. There Douglas MacArthur had his limousine stop so that he could be photographed shaking hands with another famous American who had previously been silenced by elite pressure, the pastor of the Shrine of the Little Flower, Father Charles Coughlin.

In the months just prior to the start of the Rosenberg trial, Harry Gold and David Greenglass were housed on the eleventh floor of The Tombs prison in New York City, the area known as 'canary row' or 'singer's heaven.' There their stories would be harmonized by the young assistant U.S. attorney, Roy Cohn. (31) With the start of the trial, no one in the New York press pointed out the obvious facts, nearly everyone associated with these spy trials was Jewish. The defendants Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were Jewish as was Morton Sobell, the third defendant. The judge, Irving Kaufman, known as "Pope Kaufman," from his ability to get high grades in his theology requirements at the Jesuit's Fordham University, was also Jewish. So were the prosecutor, Irving

Saypol, and his assistant, Roy Cohn. The defense attorneys for the Rosenbergs, Emmanuel Bloch and his father Alexander were Jewish. Most of the prosecutions witnesses, Harry Gold, David and Ruth Greenglass and Max Elitcher were also Jewish. Even the FBI stool pigeon who befriended Julius in The Tombs, fellow prisoner Jerome Tartakow, was Jewish. The only major exception to this was prosecution witness Elizabeth Bentley whom defense counsel Manny Bloch tired to portray as a fallen woman for having lived with Jewish Soviet agent, Jacob Golos, outside of marriage. By today's standards the testimony makes interesting reading.

However, Bloch, a member of the communist front National Lawyers Guild, made numerous mistakes in the trial and appeals process so that the question of whether his primary job was to defend the Rosenbergs or to protect the Communist Party still cannot be fully determined. During his testimony, in an unsuccessful attempt to save his life, Julius Rosenberg would state that he did admire the Soviet Union because "the Soviet government has improved the lot of the underdog there, and at the same time I felt that they contributed a major share in destroying the Hitler beast who killed six million of my co-religionists, and I feel emotional about that thing." (32) Of course the h-word was not in currency at that time. Why Bloch did not use the fact that the Soviet Union was, at the time of the Rosenbergs' espionage, allied with the United States against the Axis powers is not known. Perhaps it is because American soldiers were being killed by the Communists in a no-win war in Korea at that time. This loophole in British law saved Klaus Fuchs from the gallows and only earned him a 14-year sentence for handing over the more damaging design of the Nagasaki type bomb. He would later be returned to East Germany as part of a spy swap in the late 1950s. The argument that you can't be accused of spying for a 'friendly' country is exactly the, currently unsuccessful, argument of Harvard Law School professor Alan Dershowitz, the appeals lawyer for Navy employee, Jonathan Pollard, who is serving a life sentence for passing government secrets to Israel. The more things change, the more they stay the same. The only exception to the all-Jewish pattern of this trial was the fact that in a city that was 30 percent Jewish, there was not a single Jew on the Rosenberg's jury. Years later, the foreman of the jury, Vincent Lebonitte, would state, "I felt good that this was strictly a Jewish show. It was Jew against Jew. It wasn't the Christians hanging the Jews." (33)

How Ethel Rosenberg, a homemaker and mother of two young sons, got sentenced to death and executed, for at most knowing of her husband's espionage activities and possibly typing classified information that was given to the Soviets is still not clear at this date. What is known is that in sentencing Julius and Ethel to death and Morton Sobell to thirty years imprisonment, Judge Irving Kaufman called them "worse than murderers" and later told the press that he had visited his synagogue several times "seeking spiritual guidance" that week before passing sentence. What Judge Kaufman didn't tell the reporters was that he had held forbidden *ex parte* communications with the Justice Department prior to the sentencing and in particular with the trial's young assistant U.S. Attorney, Roy Cohn. (34) He had imposed a sentence of death on Ethel Rosenberg, apparently at Cohn's suggestion, when this was opposed even by as staunch an anticommunist as FBI director Hoover. Cohn thought that by sentencing the wife, he could get Julius Rosenberg to confess to save her life; later all parties would come to the conclusion that Ethel was the stronger of the two characters and therefore deserved to die. What would Dr. Freud have made about

to save their lives. France in particular was hit with an almost unanimous call in the press to spare the Rosenbergs, and a young press aide at the American embassy in Paris was sent back to New York to read the trial transcript so that he could write an official American response in the French press. His name was Ben Bradlee and this would be only the first of his many appearances where government policies and the press would meet. (35) Among the Europeans who asked the U.S. president to spare the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg was a man who today is constantly excoriated for being indifferent to the deaths of Jews, Pope Pius XII. This call for clemency is, of course, completely forgotten. (36)

However, two groups who today in America are among the most prominent critics of Pius XII's memory in regard to Jews were in favor of executing both the Rosenbergs: the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League. According to John F. Neville, "Fear that religion might serve as a communist mass media propaganda tool first was expressed in an American Jewish Committee memorandum in 1950. Shortly after Julius Rosenberg's arrest, AJC Executive John B.

Slawson proposed a media-relations strategy to blunt a possible Anti-Semitic backlash to the 'atom arrests' that year. Slawson's memorandum, 'Public Relations' Effects of Jewish Atom Spies,' was designed to counter negative news media publicity with 'propaganda-of-fact' tactics. He suggested that the AJC try to place stories in the news media that stressed Soviet anti-Semitism and Jewish opposition to communism

in the United States and Israel." (37) The AJC would have Rabbi S. Andhill Fineberg infiltrate the Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosebergs and publish a book about it to show it as a communist front, *The Rosenberg Case: Fact or Fiction*. Rabbi Fineberg of the AJC would continue his work after the Rosenberg's execution with his unsuccessful demand that the Rosenberg sons, Michael and Robert, be taken away from their leftist guardians, who later adopted them,

**The argument that you can't be accused of spying for a 'friendly' country is exactly the, currently unsuccessful, argument of Harvard Law School professor Alan Dershowitz, the appeals lawyer for Navy employee, Jonathan Pollard, who is serving a life sentence for passing government secrets to Israel.**

Roy Cohn's suggestion? Would he have thought it a displacement of homosexual rage against a Jewish mother, Dora Cohn, whom Roy couldn't kill to, Ethel Rosenberg, a Jewish mother whom he could?

While the Rosenbergs kept their silence on Sing Sing's death row, only writing letters to their supporters using such typical communist vocabulary as "peace loving peoples," "fascists," and "capitalists," the left in the United States and in Western Europe tried to organize

appointed by Manny Bloch, and raised by "normal Americans." (38) It does appear that Jewish judges in the appeals process like Jerome Frank, on the Circuit Court of Appeals, and Felix Frankfurter on the Supreme Court felt that the sentence was excessive, especially for Ethel Rosenberg. However, it appears they were too frightened by the Jewish-Communist connection of the day to do anything but wait unsuccessfully for their gentile colleagues to reduce the sentences. Trial Judge Kaufman did everything he could to hasten the executions and only granted one appeal to defense lawyer Manny Bloch on the day of the execution.

---

### COMPLETELY SILENT

The U. S. Communist Party and its newspaper *The Daily Worker* were completely silent about the fate of these former members until an opportunity late in 1952 came to use their execution to deflect from growing charges of anti-Semitism behind the Iron Curtain. From the perspective of half a century it is hard not to find something admirable about the willingness of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to die for their beliefs, no matter how monstrously wrong they were even when they left two boys, aged six and ten, orphans. However we would have to wonder how many millions of people they would gladly have slaughtered to implement their beliefs in America. But the joke was on them as their hero, Joseph Stalin, who predeceased them by three months in 1953 was coming to the conclusion that Jews as a group could not be trusted. Even a CIA plan to "turn" the Rosenbergs by feeding them evidence of persecution of Jews by authorities behind the Iron Curtain and have them call on Jews throughout the world to abandon Communism in exchange for their lives, came to naught. (39)

What was the news from Eastern Europe that was having an effect on the faith of Communist Jews like Harry Gold and David Greenglass, that would make them willing to cooperate with the FBI when arrested but which had little discernable impact on Julius and Ethel? Well, it had to do with the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948 and the impact that had in the center of world communism, Moscow. At the outbreak of the Cold War, both the United States and the Soviet Union supported the establishment of Israel, with America being the first to grant *de facto* recognition in May 1948 and Stalin granting *de jure* recognition. An ambassador, the future Israeli prime minister, Golda

Meir, born in Russia but a schoolteacher in Milwaukee before she discovered that her historic homeland was in Palestine, was sent from Tel Aviv to Moscow. Upon her arrival, there ensued an outbreak of public enthusiasm by Soviet Jews, most of whom were Communist Party members, which had never been seen before for a foreign official.

This reaction caused the normally paranoid Stalin to view Zionism as a major security threat and to direct his Politburo and secret police to begin a crackdown on this group immediately. His foreign minister Molotov's Jewish wife, Paulina, a girlhood friend of Gold Meir and a candidate member of the Communist Party Politburo, was sent to Siberia. All Jewish cultural institutions, like the Moscow Jewish Theater, were liquidated. The Communist party apparatus and the ministries at all levels were purged of Jewish personnel. Late on the night of August 12, 1952, twenty-four of the leading cultural figures in the Soviet Union were rounded up by the secret police and shot to death in the basement of the Lubyanka prison. That same night 217 Yiddish writers and poets, 108 actors, 87 painters and sculptors and 19 musicians disappeared as well. (40) In the Warsaw Pact nations the heavily Jewish party leaders, like Rudolph Slansky of Czechoslovakia, were purged on charges of Zionism; this after Stalin had used the Czech munitions plants to supply arms to the Jewish insurrection in Palestine in 1948. The new year brought the Doctor's Plot, according to which, a group of Jewish physicians were charged with trying to poison Stalin; it appears that members of his inner circle, many of whom were Jewish or had Jewish wives, beat them to the punch in March 1953. After Stalin's murder a power struggle ensued and a fat peasant from the Ukrainian-Russian border region emerged as the ultimate Soviet leader. But Nikita Khrushchev had an interesting rise in the Soviet Communist Party. When ten to fifteen million Russian and Ukrainian peasants were being starved to death to implement collective farming, he was serving as a *Shabbas Goy* to the Party leaders of the supposedly militantly atheist Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism lighting their candles on Friday nights so they wouldn't violate Jewish law. (41) What is said about the Holocaust should apply here as well: never forget.

But the Rosenbergs would not believe this news from the great Socialist motherland and so they died good Communists and good Jews in Sing Sing's electric chair on Friday evening June 19, 1953. Their final letters indicated that they saw themselves as "the first victims of

American fascism” at the hands of “*Judenrat* Jews” which, of course, were the Eastern European ghetto leaders who had collaborated with the Gestapo. The chaplain Rabbi Irving Koslowe recited from the penitential psalms as first Julius and then Ethel were electrocuted. The time of their executions were moved forward from midnight to eight P.M. that Friday night in early summer so as to occur before the time for lighting of the Sabbath candles. It was the only concession that trial Judge Irving Kaufman ever gave defense attorney Manny Bloch. (42) But the man who had done so much to see to it that Ethel Rosenberg died along with her husband was not there to savor his triumph, for Roy Cohn was in Washington making even bigger headlines.

### **DID JOE MCCARTHY FALL OR WAS HE PUSHED?**

By the time Roy Cohn was introduced to Senator Joseph McCarthy, the latter had been involved in a continuing struggle with some of his Senate colleagues for nearly three years. Ever since his Wheeling, West Virginia speech to a Republican woman’s group there, he

**But the Rosenbergs would not believe this news from the great Socialist motherland and so on they died good Communists and good Jews in Sing Sing’s electric chair on Friday evening June 19, 1953.**

had been continually attacked by members of the Democratic party trying to defend the Truman administration on the initial question of Communist infiltration at the State Department. While some Republicans in the Senate like paleoconservative Robert Taft would support him, the Senator from Wisconsin would find that the American elites, including the people who ran the Republican party, as well as most of the media, were aghast at his attacks on Foggy Bottom. The establishment Republicans loved McCarthy when he attacked the Truman administration as soft on Communism and attacked the 1952 Democratic nominee, the cerebral Adlai Stephenson, with the quip “Alger, I mean Adlai.” The Republicans loved that as payback to the Demo-

crats for Harry Truman saying of their 1948 nominee Tom Dewey that his moustache reminded him of Hitler’s. But Joe McCarthy was too unreflective to see that he was dealing with two sides of the same coin and therefore the liberal wing of his own party would turn on him when they took over in January 1953. McCarthy and many of his supporters made the fatal mistake of equating Republican with conservative. That still continues to this day as we witness the unreflective Conservative Babe stating that, “Liberals chose Man. Conservatives chose God.”(43) Really modern political liberalism and conservatism have both bloomed from the same Enlightenment garden that produced socialism and communism and are at heart agnostic or atheist, with the premise that man alone can reconstruct the Garden of Eden. This is something that the philosophical Whitaker Chambers, never a McCarthy supporter although asked for additional information by the senator, would understand and unsuccessfully try to pass on to his associates in the right wing.

But Joseph McCarthy’s targets of choice were the offspring of the WASP establishment like Alger and

Donald Hiss, Noel Field, Henry Collins and Laurence Duggan, all of whom had all come from ‘good families,’ attended the right prep schools and Ivy League colleges like

Harvard, Yale and Princeton, were polished, athletic, vigorous looking and the essence of the establishment gentlemen. No doubt this is why so many of establishment figures like Eleanor Roosevelt, Dean Acheson, and Justice Felix Frankfurter would defend them from the charge of being Communist agents. They all knew them and their families; the values of these men were also their values. (44) What must have upset these Communist moles and their blue blood supporters the most is that the American proletariat stood Marxist doctrine on its head and loved Joe McCarthy as one of their own. The major centers of McCarthy support were among the working classes of big cities like New York City and Boston, specifically among the blue collar Catholics, particularly the Irish. The vocal anticom-

munism of these ethnics was something that the American elite feared more than communist subversion itself, and they came up with a strategy to deal with it. (45)

The fact is that at the same time the American WASP elite was attempting to destroy the Catholic ethnic neighborhoods of the large cities through public housing, the interstate highway system and forced school busing by setting them against the Southern blacks who had been imported *en masse* to work in munitions industries during World War II, the spectre of Catholic political power haunted all their planning. There was a fear that if Catholics were ever united as a group by a skillful political leader they would counter the bluebloods' plan for the future of America. Father Charles Coughlin was the Catholic boogeyman during the 1930s, from the time when he at first supported then opposed Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal with its welfare-warfare state until he was silenced as a potential subversive in the early days of American active participation in the Second World War. In our own day, the Catholic boogeyman would be Patrick Buchanan, when he opposed the New World Order sponsored by the liberal wing of the Republican Party. In the early '50s the Catholic boogeyman was Senator Joseph Raymond McCarthy. The fact is that there were indications that McCarthy was having an impact on Catholic voters. In the 1950 election, Democratic Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland, who had investigated the senator from Wisconsin's personal finances after his charges against the State Department, was defeated after McCarthy campaigned against him. In 1952 Senator William Benton of Connecticut, who had offered a resolution to expel McCarthy from the Senate, was defeated through a campaign by "potentially dangerous young man" to use the senator's phrase, who had become famous by exposing Reds on the Yale University faculty, in a best selling book about his alma mater, William F. Buckley. (46)

Joe McCarthy's ability to influence the Catholic vote was well understood by his fellow Catholic politicians as well. It isn't much remembered now, but the Republican senator from Wisconsin was a great friend of the Democratic Kennedy family, being a frequent guest at their estate in Hyannis Port and having dated at least one of the daughters of Joseph Kennedy. It is usually thought that the Kennedys are liberal Democrats, but this isn't necessarily a completely accurate description. Old Joe Kennedy was a friend of Father Coughlin as well as an admirer of Father Leonard Feeney of Boston; he had been removed as American ambassador to Great Britain because he opposed the buildup to World War

II being done by the British faction under Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt. More to the point the Kennedy family as a group believes that it should hold political power as witness a granddaughter of the Patriarch Joseph, Maria Shriver, recently becoming First Lady of California through her marriage to a Republican bodybuilder from Austria. In the fall of 1952 while his son, Congressman John F. Kennedy was locked in a close race against Boston Brahmin Republican incumbent Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, the leading Democrat Joseph P. Kennedy, Sr. gave Republican Joe McCarthy a \$50,000 campaign contribution to his reelection campaign in Wisconsin on the condition that he stay away from Massachusetts, whose 750,000 Irish voters were among Tail Gunner Joe's most ardent supporters. (47) In the midst of a Republican landslide that November, Kennedy beat Lodge for the senate seat.

When the Republicans took over both Houses of Congress the following year, Senator McCarthy became chairman of the Government Operations Affairs Committee and the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, the vehicle from which he would launch his examination of communist penetration of the federal government. While Joe McCarthy owed Joe Kennedy big time for his contribution to his reelection campaign, he felt, even if ethnic diversity wasn't as much discussed at that time, that he couldn't take his contributor's son, recent law school graduate Robert Kennedy, as his chief counsel in the anticommunists probe. (48) Bobby, another Irish Catholic, would have to become the assistant to the man who would become the cause of McCarthy's downfall and who was at that moment getting headlines for his prosecution of fellow Jews like Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in New York City. It appears that Senator McCarthy was introduced to Roy Cohn by the Jewish anticommunist columnist George Sokolsky, and as Cohn biographer Nicholas von Hoffman puts it, "The union of McCarthy and Cohn was the partnership of kindred souls, each fueling the excesses of the other." (49) More to the point it had the appearance to outsiders of *menage a trois* when a third member was added to Senator McCarthy's staff at the suggestion of Irving Saypol, the prosecutor in the Rosenberg case, a recent Harvard graduate and "expert" on Communism, L. David Schine.

How David Schine ever became a designated expert on Communism is one of the long lasting mysteries of the entire McCarthy era. His father was a rich owner of a hotel chain and David was an indifferent Harvard undergraduate at a time when the number of Jews there

was still restricted. However he did produce an eight-page document, *Definition of Communism*, which his father placed in his hotel rooms next to the Gideon Bibles. Experts on communism marveled how one document could contain so many basic errors in so short a paper, but Mr. Schine was soon on the Subcommittee staff as an investigator on Red penetration of the government. From a perspective of half a century, David Schine reminds one of the instant "experts" on Middle Eastern or Muslim affairs with Jewish names that are always popping up these days in places like *The Weekly Standard* or *National Review* and whose views are a perfect mirror of the current Israeli government positions. It also isn't known today if he had a homosexual orientation or if he had an affair with Roy Cohn. What is known is that David Schine was everything Roy was not, tall, blonde and handsome, and that Cohn instantly fell for him. Among the other Capitol Hill staffers they were known as Jack and Jill. We must conclude that Joseph McCarthy was so intent on reaching out for Jewish allies in a mainly Jewish minefield of communist subversion that he never questioned Cohn's attachment to Schine. This is the ultimate failing of Senator McCarthy. (50)

**Joe McCarthy, true to his proletarian roots, wanted to go after the Ivy League bluebloods who had been Stalin's willing assistants in American foreign and domestic policies.**

Cohn and Schine soon became the Castor and Pollux of American anticommunism and immediately began making enemies on Capitol Hill, from demanding that they be allowed to use the Senate members' only pool to Roy's treating fellow lawyer Bobby Kennedy as an errand boy. "F\_\_king Jew Bastard!" Mr. Kennedy was heard to mutter, and he soon abandoned Joe McCarthy and became counsel to the Democratic minority on the Subcommittee. As Von Hoffman states, "By asking the Kennedy kid to refill the coffee cups, Roy had invited Nemesis into his life. From here on until Robert Kennedy's assassination 15 years later, Roy was tracked, stalked, and hunted by a man who was as much a hater

as he, who had Roy's energy, and shared a similar outlook about the rules of the game." (51) A few years later when John F. Kennedy was elected president, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy would have two major task forces going at the Justice Department: one was to get Teamster's Union boss Jimmy Hoffa, who had crossed him in public hearings, and the other to get Roy Cohn. Cohn was always able to win against Kennedy in the New York City courts and would not be disbarred until shortly before his death.

As has been mentioned, Joe McCarthy, true to his proletarian base, wanted to go after the Ivy League bluebloods who had been Stalin's willing assistants in American foreign and domestic policies. It was Roy Cohn who turned the investigation to areas he knew well from the spy trials, namely, subversion by Jewish-Communists at military bases in the New York City area. This would lead his boss on a road to confrontation with the U.S. Army and its most distinguished veteran, President Dwight Eisenhower. McCarthy would not realize until too late that Eisenhower was part of the elite and that the head of his own Republican Party was out to destroy him. But these investigations were a matter on which the American elites did not let party affiliation deter them from stopping Tail Gunner Joe. To the elites, the senator and his aides were guilty of ethnic stereotypes. How, they wondered, could the descendants of *Mayflower* colonists have their patriotism questioned by a pugnacious, shanty Irish alcoholic chicken farmer and two rich, young, obnoxious Jews? There would have to be a reckoning.

Speaking of ethnic stereotypes, Joe McCarthy was an Irish bachelor, who at age 45 married his administrative assistant, Jean Kerr, two decades his junior, in Washington's St. Matthew Cathedral in September 1953, about a week from the wedding of his friend and Senate colleague John F. Kennedy to Jacqueline Bouvier. Marriage did not prevent smear mongers like Drew Pearson from spreading rumors that he was a homosexual to other senators and eventually published by Hank Greenspun in the *Las Vegas Sun*. There was always what would today be called a 'gay bashing' minor theme to the Get McCarthy movement, and sometimes

it would come to the surface when Roy Cohn was under scrutiny. But then Joe McCarthy did not have the public relations connections of the Kennedy family, who kept Jack Kennedy's numerous pre and post-marital affairs out of the newspapers throughout his life. (52)

Whatever the rumors over McCarthy's sexual orientation, Roy Cohn would interrupt the senator's honeymoon in West Palm Beach by ham radio and order him to return to Washington. He had discovered that three Army officers and seven civilians had filed a request that the Army investigate lax security at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey and had been stonewalled by the brass for nearly two years. Joseph McCarthy began to hold hearings in Manhattan with Cohn and Schine by his side. During a visit to the top secret Evans area of Fort Monmouth, Roy and the senator were told they didn't hold the required security clearances to enter; Cohn, typically, made a scene. After all, wasn't this the base that Julius Rosenberg had visited and where his City College classmates, Joel Barr and Alfred Sarant, who were now behind the Iron Curtain, were once employed? While the commanding general at Fort Monmouth was cooperative, the Secretary of the Army, Robert Stevens knew that from a security viewpoint Fort Monmouth, in the words of historian Arthur Herman "leaked like a sieve. . . one employee, who also happened to be a friend of both Rosenberg and Sobell had been discovered with more than forty [classified documents at home] but faced no disciplinary action." As if to show a particular ethnic group that they were not conducting a pogrom, Joseph McCarthy and Roy Cohn would take the Secretary of the Army and the Army's Chief Counsel to dine at the delis of the Lower East Side, the Rosenberg's old neighborhood, there to savor Eastern European kosher cooking. (53) Not to be outdone, Roy Cohn was a frequent speaker at many of the numerous communion breakfasts in the parishes of New York City and, according to a bishop who knew him at that time, never took a fee for speaking. It is almost that Roy was obsessed with showing the Catholics that some Jews, like himself, were very anticommunist. (54)

---

## OFFICIAL POSITION

However, the official Eisenhower administration's position on assistance to the McCarthy investigation had changed when Roy Cohn uncovered the next instance

of Jewish Communist infiltration of the Army in the environs of New York. When the Korean War had broken out, the Army had found itself short of doctors and dentists; to alleviate this situation a draft of medical personnel was approved. Among those caught up in the dragnet was a 40-year-old Jewish dentist from Queens, Irving Peress. The interesting thing about Dr. Peress was that he was known to the undercover investigators of the NYPD as an active member of the Communist Party. Upon being commissioned to the rank of captain, Dr. Peress commenced a short military career in which he attempted to spread communist information among his fellow soldiers. His final duty station was close to his home at the now closed Camp Kilmer in Edison, New Jersey. What had come out about the captain is that he had answered "Fifth Amendment privilege" to the questions about Communist Party affiliation in his security investigation. To make matters worse, through bureaucratic inertia, Irving Peress had been promoted to Major prior to his honorable discharge from the Army after a short 15-month tour. The McCarthy subcommittee, meeting in New York City, summoned Camp Kilmer's commander, General Ralph Zwicker to testify about the situation.

What Joe McCarthy didn't know was that General Zwicker had been appalled about the Peress situation and was taking action privately to dismiss him. What the senator also didn't know is that after indicating to the committee staff that he would cooperate, he was given orders emanating directly from the president that he should equivocate in his public testimony. What the press didn't know about Senator McCarthy that day was that his wife had been injured in a car crash the night before and that he had come to the meeting directly from the hospital with, perhaps, only a few shots of whiskey and no sleep. What the country heard from the media was that the senator from Wisconsin told a highly decorated veteran of Normandy and the Battle of the Bulge that he was "a disgrace to the uniform." Things were getting very personal between Joe McCarthy, Roy Cohn, and the Army leadership as their key "investigator," David Schine, had been reclassified and drafted after scandal monger Drew Pearson had raised questions about his 4F deferment. But the media had already sensed that the author of *Definition of Communism* was the weak link in the chain of the anticommunists investigation for some time. (55)

Prior to the reclassification, with the senator's blessing, Roy Cohn and David Schine set out on a grand tour of Europe in the spring of 1953. The purpose of

the trip was to see if the State Department's Information Libraries in the great cities of Europe were filled with communist authors who praised Stalin and denounced America. True to form they traveled first class all the way, with adjoining rooms as *Time* magazine pointed out. However in Paris, with the help of the ubiquitous embassy press aide Ben Bradlee, they were sandbagged at a news conference, and Schine was made to appear ridiculous. (56) When Schine was drafted and sent to Fort Dix, New Jersey for boot camp that November, Cohn used his position with Senator McCarthy to demand special treatment for his close companion from the Secretary of the Army, who was then under investigation by the subcommittee for security problems at Fort Monmouth and Camp Kilmer. The Secretary of the Army would even fly the senator and his aide the short distance from New York City to Maguire Air Force Base in an official aircraft so that they could visit the Army's most famous draftee at Fort Dix next door. The media beat a path to this base in the Philadelphia suburbs to report that other recruits said that David Schine was treated like royalty.

By early the next year, the administration was ready to strike through the Pentagon back at Joe McCarthy. In what became known as the Army-McCarthy hearings, charges were brought against the senator and his staff that they were attempting to blackmail the Army with the investigations at Fort Monmouth and Camp Kilmer in exchange for easy treatment of Private David Schine. The fact that there really were communist security risks running around those bases didn't matter to the elite who ran Washington. What did matter was using Roy Cohn's obsession with Schine as a way to destroy Tail Gunner Joe on the new medium of nationwide television. To make matters worse, Roy Cohn gave the senator incredibly bad advice. Since they were both lawyers, Cohn reasoned, they could defend themselves. Characteristically, McCarthy would not dismiss Cohn until it was too late to protect his reputation.

The battle between Joe McCarthy and the Army exposed the problem with the role of the military in American life. It was President Eisenhower, in his 1960 farewell address, who warned the American people to be wary of the dangers of the military-industrial complex, a term he coined, in their midst. What he didn't say was that he presided over its foundation and growth at a time in our nation's life when people like Joe McCarthy and the original paleoconservatives were trying to do something about it. As Arthur Herman puts it, as if anticipating the Conservative Babe's warning to young

right-wingers, "There were other reasons that the Taftite Republicans did not love the military. They, like McCarthy, saw the Pentagon for what it was: another branch of the federal government, subject to the same inefficiencies and corruptions, and requiring the same budgetary discipline. For generations Americans had been taught that a large military establishment or standing armies were tools of tyranny. . . Men were not immune from the corruptions of empire just because they wore a uniform." (57)

That the Pentagon saw this as political theater and not a serious investigation is seen by the fact that they hired a aristocratic Boston Brahmin with a flare for the dramatic, Joseph Welsh, to be their counsel before the investigating committee. That Welsh's chief job was to smear McCarthy and Cohn is seen by the fact that the media made a big deal over a cropped picture taken at their visit to Fort Dix to see Private Schine at which for some reason the commander of Maguire AFB had been deleted. As Nicholas von Hoffman relates, 'Mr. Welsh was asking McCarthy's assistant, James Juliana, where the cropped photographs of Stephens and Schine came from. 'Did you think it came from a pixie?' he asked and then McCarthy broke in: "Will the counsel for my benefit define—I think he might be an expert on that—what a pixie is? Welsh: 'Yes I should say, Mr. Senator, that a pixie is a close relative of a fairy. Shall I proceed, sir? Have I enlightened you?'" (58) The liberals loved it. They also loved it when the ranking Democrat on the committee, Senator John McClelland of Arkansas, Bobby Kennedy's new boss, started his questioning of Roy Cohn with, "I will ask you if you have any special interest in Mr. Schine?"

However, when McCarthy, who objected to Welsh's grilling of Cohn for his failure to release names of suspected communists working in defense plants, by stating that a member of Welsh's own blue blood Boston law firm, Fred Fisher, had been a member of Manny Bloch's old group, the Communist front National Lawyers' Guild, Welsh, on cue, broke down in tears, asking, "Have you no decency sir? Have you no decency?" More than anything else this staged confrontation sealed Joseph McCarthy's fate and changed public perceptions to the idea that he was a brute and a menace to American liberties. What wasn't known at that time was that the White House, which had enunciated a novel doctrine of "executive privilege" to prevent its personnel from testifying about what they were discussing about McCarthy's investigations, had been working to get the liberal religious community to condemn the

senator from Wisconsin as a menace to the American tradition of tolerance that involved right-thinking Protestants, Catholics, and Jews.

---

## THE SOUPER AND THE ENLIGHTENED CATHOLICS

Their backgrounds were superficially quite similar, poor Irish boys who used educational opportunities to make something of their lives, but that is about the only thing that John Cogley had in common with Joseph McCarthy. For one thing Cogley grew up in Chicago and, like his contemporary further up Lake Michigan, he wasn't "a candle lighting Catholic." However, he states, "I took no part at all, for instance, in parochial activities or ecclesiastical organizations. But from high school days on, I took more than ordinary interest in abstract theological matters." (59) The flames of these interests were stoked when he became involved in a peculiar lay apostolate originating during the decade of the 1930s, the Catholic Worker Movement founded by former leftist Dorothy Day, to which he gravitated after leaving a minor seminary run by the Servite order. That not all of the leftist political doctrine was removed from her movement can be seen in a quote from the guru of the movement Peter Maurin, whose teachings were spread by Ms. Day, who had the American gift for public relations. When the Workers discussed how they hoped to spend eternity, Maurin, a self-taught French peasant, stated that he would like to learn from Thomas Aquinas and argue with Karl Marx. The visitors to the Worker's Houses of Hospitality looked at Peter as somewhat a reincarnation of the Poverello, and many of them students at Catholic colleges memorized his sayings and considered him a one-man university. Cogley would go on to help manage the Workers' Houses of Hospitality in New York and Chicago and commence his writing career with a local Worker paper in his hometown with James O'Gara, another seminary dropout who had also been involved in the Young Christian Workers Movement and who would share his later professional career. (60)

Both Cogley and O'Gara would be drafted during the course of World War II and not follow the course of absolute pacifism proposed by Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker loyalists, who would later be jailed for refusing to cooperate with civil defense preparedness during the Cold War and for civil disobedience during Vietnam. *The Catholic Worker*, like *Commonweal* magazine, had raised eyebrows in American Catholic

circles when they refused uncompromising support for the rebellion of General Francisco Franco against the communist-dominated government of Spain, following a blood bath in which many thousands of priests, religious and Catholic laity were murdered. Their house and publication in Chicago would collapse in their absence, but before he reported for duty John Cogley would marry his wife, Theodora, several rungs above him on the social ladder, with a University of Chicago education and who was working for Chicago social activist Saul Alinsky as a secretary. Upon their discharge Cogley and O'Gara hooked up and started publishing a magazine geared to Catholic high school and college students called *Today* under the patronage of the man who controlled the social and educational outreach of the huge Archdiocese of Chicago, auxiliary bishop Bernard J. Sheil.

The bishop, who had in 1938 delivered a radio address for the dying Cardinal Mundelein denouncing Father Charles Coughlin for alleged anti-Semitism, had been described as President Roosevelt's favorite bishop, although his political radicalism prevented him from getting his own diocese. Sheil did, however, have quite an empire in the Windy City and was making it the epicenter of Catholic liberalism in America. As Donald Crosby, S.J. has written,

The archdiocese had long been the most liberal in the nation and the envy of liberal Catholics living in other, less progressive dioceses and archdioceses. Two of its previous prelates, Cardinals George Mundelein and Samuel Stritch, had pressed the Chicago Catholics into a variety of social reform programs. As a result, the Chicago archdiocese received national attention in the 1940s and 1950s for its programs of racial relations, welfare, ecumenism, and labor affairs. Bishop Bernard Sheil founded the Sheil School for Social Studies that taught the city's Catholics the principles of the social encyclicals, trained Catholic leaders in union work, and exhorted the faithful to involve themselves in such varied problems as housing, integration, health, education and local politics. Other groups, such as the Young Christian Students and Christian Family Movement, inculcated the same progressive ideals in young Catholic and Catholic adults. No Catholic city in America was more innovative, more experimental, more open to change. The liberal clergymen and lay people who dominated the archdiocese truly monopolized the pulpits and press. (61)

When Joe McCarthy came to Chicago on St. Patrick's Day 1954 he found he could not get the same reaction he had gotten from his fellow Catholics, especially the Irish, in the large cities of the East Coast. In fact he would find in short order, Bishop Sheil giving a speech to a labor organization denouncing him with a great deal of media coverage organized by a man with a large amount of influence on this bishop and, by extension, on American Catholic social services to this day, Saul Alinsky. Later the Jewish radical would tell his friend John Cogley, then in New York City, that he wrote Sheil's speech denouncing Joe McCarthy. But the joke was on him, since Cogley was the bishop's ghostwriter. But this is to get ahead of our story. (62)

Finishing college at the Jesuit's Loyola of Chicago with a philosophy major on the GI bill, John Cogley decided on graduate studies in theology with the Dominicans at Switzerland's Fribourg University, in a town that prided itself on being a second Rome with its large number of seminaries and religious houses. With a wife and several children at this point, he found himself the first lay student at the theology faculty and needed a letter of sponsorship from his bishop just as any seminarian would. Bernard Sheil quickly came through with the required documentation. Arriving back in New York City after completing his studies, he stopped by the offices of *Commonweal* magazine, a voice of liberal Catholicism since its founding in 1924, to pick up a

Chicago, James O'Gara would soon follow him to the magazine.

In the early 1950s the term "Commonweal Catholic" seems to have meant a Catholic who had deplored Father Coughlin and General Franco, felt that Cardinal Spellman's novels weren't great works of art, was embarrassed by the heavy-handed censorship of the Legion of Decency, and was particularly upset that people thought that Joe McCarthy spoke for all American Catholics. From his position as *Commonweal* editor, John Cogley had a running battle against the Wisconsin senator and had received, as a result, a "what kind of Catholic magazine are you?" letter from him. McCarthy was not alone in this sentiment. While it was lay initiative, unlike the Jesuit sponsored *America* magazine, which seemed to timidly follow *Commonweal's* lead on McCarthy, Cogley claims in his autobiography that they would occasionally have clerical visitors, the most famous of them being the French Jesuit Teilhard de Chardin who was then living in exile in New York City. It is interesting to recall that both of these magazines were the major conduits for the dissemination of the paleontologist's theories to American Catholics. (64)

From his home in Nassau County, Mr. Cogley would run as a Democrat against a Republican incumbent in November 1954 in an election that was billed as a referendum on Senator McCarthy. Cogley lost; however, he did have help from the television personalities who lived

in his district and were grateful for the fact that he was willing to espouse the enlightened Catholic position on film, namely, that the Legion of Decency was preventing great works of European art from our being shown in theaters by opposing *The Bicycle Thief* and *The Miracle*. His positions were getting attention in Catholic

**In the early 1950s the term "Commonweal Catholic" seems to have meant a Catholic who was upset that people thought that Joe McCarthy spoke for all American Catholics.**

check for an article he had written. Cogley came away from the meeting with a job as an editor, replacing Philip Burnham, the brother of the famous ex-Trotskyite turned conservative, James Burnham, who had withdrawn from an active role at the magazine because he too had become more conservative on religious and political questions. (63) His old friend from Chi-

circles, and Cogley seems to have developed the Irish form of Alzheimer's disease; never forget your grudges. The father of six children recalls speaking to a communion breakfast in Queens with a Jesuit from *America* at which the pastor introduced them by saying he knew more about Catholic family life than did editors from highbrow magazines. We don't know if he refused his



The editorial staff of *Commonweal*, 1952

honorarium, as did Roy Cohn in those days. He also remembers having a Catholic journalism award from my alma mater, La Salle College, being withdrawn by pressure from the Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

But John Cogley was seeking a wider world in Manhattan in the early 1950s and he found it through another editor at *Commonweal*, William Clancy. A former Notre Dame instructor who was opposed to Legion of Decency censorship, Clancy moved to Greenwich Village, then pretty much an Italian ethnic neighborhood, where he made contact with Manhattan literati like Alan Ginsburg, Jack Kerouac and Norman Mailer at the White Horse Tavern in the village, then famous as the scene of Welsh poet Dylan Thomas' death after drinking eighteen shots of whiskey a few years before. In the years before Clancy left to become a priest in the Oratorian order, John Cogley would widen his horizons by staying in the city one night a week with his fellow editor and soaking up the culture at the White Horse. He would soon be discovered as the perfect Catholic to complement the liberal Protestant opposition to Joseph McCarthy and the menace that the Catholic Church, as personified by Cardinal Spellman in New York, posed to American values.

The first Protestant to say that Senator Joseph McCarthy was intent on destroying American democratic institutions and establishing a Catholic theocracy was unsurprisingly Paul Blanchard. However, as this was one of the last moments for the mainline Protestant churches to have a defining role in American life, their liberal theology having not yet rotted them out, this minister turned secular humanist author was not alone. President Dwight Eisenhower feared that, despite McCarthy's disavowal, the senator wanted to be the first Catholic president, using the Catholic vote to propel himself into the White House. His Catholic aide and speech writer, Emmet John Hughes came up with a strategy to unite the mainline Protestant liberals with their Catholic counterparts in an anti-McCarthy cru-

sade for American values. The most prominent of these liberal Catholics would be those at *Commonweal*, centered on its editor, John Cogley.

McCarthy wanted as his chief aide, with supervisory powers over Roy Cohn, J. B. Matthews, who had once written as the opening sentence of a magazine article, "The largest group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." He did have experience in this area, being a Methodist minister and what he was talking about was a small group of very leftist clergy like Paul Blanchard. (65) But by early 1954 prominent liberal Protestant churchmen were racing to issue denunciations of McCarthy and Matthews without examining the substance of his charges of communist subversion of the government. Robert McCracken, the pastor of Manhattan's prestigious Riverside Church, which the Rockefeller family had founded and to which they belonged, denounced McCarthy, as did the two most prominent cathedral deans in the Episcopal Church, Francis B. Sayre, Jr. and James A. Pike, of National Cathedral Washington and New York's St. John the Divine respectively. McCarthy was soon forced to release Matthews from his service, and then he was forced to get rid of Roy Cohn, and by December of 1954 he had been censured by the U.S. Senate.

The two Episcopal deans, who had exchanged pulpits in March 1954 to ask why the Catholic Church had not condemned Joe McCarthy, were an interesting link between the American establishment and the Catholic liberals. (66) Sayre was the grandson of president Woodrow Wilson and had been born in the White House; Pike was even more interesting, having been born and educated as a Catholic. Abandoning his childhood faith while a student at the Jesuit University of Santa Clara, James Pike would go on to become a government lawyer in New Deal Washington. Towards the end of World War II and on his second marriage, he would return to the practice of religion and be quickly ordained an Episcopal deacon and then priest. After serving as a chaplain and instructor at Columbia University, he would move across the street to become dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, where he would be at the center of New York City's liberal religious community. Later he would become a well-known Episcopal bishop in San Francisco, where he became controversial through many of his well-publicized leftist political and theological positions most of which his own church adopted after his death. He would get that

symbol of American establishment recognition with a cover on *Time* magazine in 1966.

Pike, who always enjoyed shocking religious conservatives with his heterodox views, was at that time in a heated personal battle with Francis Cardinal Spellman, who at that moment was at the center of the Catholic conservative support for Joseph McCarthy. It is still not clear if Pike was in contact with John Cogley then, but their paths would cross later. However, a prominent Catholic liberal, former *Commonweal* editor and current president of Hunter College, George Shuster, had gone on record condemning Tail Gunner Joe in March 1953. (67) The senator wanted to broaden his investigation to include communist professors. Shuster replied using a line from *Julius Caesar*, "Upon what meat doth this our Caesar feed that he is grown so great?" At the same time Msgr. George Higgins, of the Chicago Archdiocese, the successor to Msgr. John A. Ryan as head of the Social Welfare Department at the National Catholic Welfare Conference, was holding that the proper Catholic response to communism was to increase social action programs.

---

### INTRAMURAL CATHOLIC CONFLICT

This signaled the outbreak of an intramural Catholic conflict between liberals and conservatives that has continued, in one way or another, to the present day. While there had been an initial skirmish over Father Coughlin before World War II, Senator Joseph McCarthy became a "Catholic issue," both within the Church as well as in the country at large. As Father Crosby notes, "The conflict between Spellman and Sheil threw a glaring light on the painful division that had long existed in the ranks of American Catholicism, the split between liberal Catholics and conservative Catholics. Sheil and his cohorts were part of the larger liberal tradition in American politics, the one identified most often with the New and Fair Deals." (68) Spellman, for whatever his faults, recognized in the elite's attack on Joe McCarthy an attack on the Catholic Church and the position of American Catholics in general. He understood the need for Catholic group cohesion and would state that McCarthy was accepted by his neighbors in Wisconsin who had twice elected him. McCarthy responded to the liberal Republican Ralph Flanders of Vermont who had viciously attacked the senator in a Senate speech with veiled references to his alleged sexual orientation for "setting Catholics against

Catholics." The cardinal responded to this by asking, "Is Flanders uniting us? That's outside of his province. I'd stick to the welfare of the state." As a Catholic from a small town in Massachusetts he recognized an attack by the old-line Protestants and said the senator from Vermont was "naive" for a "Yankee."

Which brings us back to the career of John Cogley, finding Catholic journalism to be very poorly compensated, he made an important contact through a friend who was an editor at *Look* magazine. He was told to meet with Robert Hutchins who had been president of the University of Chicago in his hometown and was at that time the head of the Fund for the Republic. The Fund was specifically designed to combat "McCarthyism" and was a conduit for Ford Foundation funds to groups like "the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, and dozens of other groups organized to combat racial segregation or attacks on American civil liberties." (69) Hutchins liked him and gave him a job, so John Cogley, while keeping his column at *Commonweal* and other Catholic publications was the most of the remainder of his life an employee of the Ford Foundation. (70) What Robert Hutchins wanted John Cogley to study was a natural given his published writings on the dire effects of censorship on artistic expression and on Joseph McCarthy: he conducted an investigation of the effects of blacklisting Communist Party script writers in Hollywood. The study would be widened by the Fund to look at heavy-handed 'censorship' efforts by the Catholic Legion of Decency who were preventing an American version of *The Bicycle Thief*.

To complete the effort, Cogley needed help and got it from a man who shared many of his characteristics—Irish Catholic, Jesuit educated, Catholic Worker movement, *Commonweal* contributor and White Horse regular—Michael Harrington. In addition to all of that, Harrington, who would lose his faith, was also then a self-defined socialist under the guidance of Leon Trotsky's chief American disciple Max Schachtman. After gaining fame for his study of poverty *The Other America*, he would denounce his old party comrades for their rightward drift and give them the name they are known as today, neoconservatives. But first he had to help John Cogley dismantle censorship of Hollywood by groups related to the Catholic Church and their success is seen by the fact that within two decades of the Fund for the Republic releasing its study of blacklisting and censorship and its deleterious impact on American artistic creativity the top grossing American films included *Deep Throat* and *Behind the Green Door*. Did the

Hollywood Ten Communist Party scriptwriters become pornographers? (71)

---

## TALENT SCOUT

After the McCarthy era, Cogley seems to have served the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic as a talent scout for liberal Catholics just as much as Julius Rosenberg once served Soviet intelligence by finding talented engineers and scientists. He would follow Robert Hutchins west to Santa Barbara, when he founded the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions and would edit the Center's magazine. During the late 1950s he was in charge of certain prototype liberal religious dialogues which seemed to presage the later ecumenical movement with its presupposition of theological and political liberalism. The dialogues "Religious Institutions in a Free Society," while supposedly covering all religious groups quickly centered on the compatibility of Catholic doctrine with American democracy. Cogley had recruited two Jesuits, John Courtney Murray and Walter Ong, as well as Msgr. Francis Lally, editor of the *Boston Pilot*. Murray, a noted Jesuit theologian, was so successful at these gatherings in stating that Catholicism and American democracy were essentially compatible, that his lectures were printed by the Fund in 1960 under the title *We Hold These Truths: Catholic Reflections on the American Proposition*. At about the same time the question of what a hypothetical Catholic American president would owe in obedience to Roman doctrine was the subject of one of John Cogley's columns in *Commonweal*. He would soon find that the whole issue was no longer hypothetical when the Catholic senator from Massachusetts, who spent late 1954 in a hospital officially to take care of his "old war wound" from the PT 109 sinking but who in reality wanted to avoid having to vote for censuring his old friend Joe McCarthy as demanded by Democratic Senate leader Lyndon Johnson and thereby angering his Irish base in Boston who were still Tail Gunner Joe's true believers, had his staff contact this obscure writer to ask a question. Would John Cogley join Senator John F. Kennedy's presidential campaign as a speech writer? (72)

Just as John Cogley would be the unknown speech writer for Bishop Sheil's 1954 attack on Joe McCarthy, so he would be the unknown speech writer for the most important speech of the 1960 presidential campaign. On September 12, 1960, a few weeks before he made

his final campaign swing through the cheering crowd of Catholics in northeast Philadelphia, John F. Kennedy would be in Texas to address the Greater Houston Ministerial Association. At that time Senator Kennedy would announce positions that have become commonplace from the lips of nominally Catholic politicians in the succeeding decades. In his speech he opposed diplomatic recognition of the Vatican as well as government aid to religious schools. And in what have become the most interesting comments to the gathering of Protestant ministers, Kennedy stated, "Whatever issue may come before me as President—on birth control, divorce, censorship, gambling or any other subject—I will make my decision in accordance with these views, in accordance with what my conscience tells me to be the national interest, and without regard to outside religious pressures or dictates." In other words the nominally Catholic John F. Kennedy, as an American office holder, would hold his conscience sovereign and not allow any guidance from the teaching Church. (73) After John Cogley wrote the draft of this speech, Kennedy aide Theodore Sorensen called Father Murray and read it to him. The Jesuit theologian did not object and a few weeks after Kennedy's election Father Murray got the symbol of American establishment approval, a *Time* magazine cover story on December 12, 1960, several years before Bishop Pike.

The most interesting thing about JFK's Catholic speech writer, John Cogley, was the fact that by this time he was quickly losing the Catholic faith. Perhaps because of his reception at the parish in Queens or at La Salle College he grew disenchanted with ordinary Catholics and then with Catholic doctrine. He sent his children to Quaker schools and started to attend the half-empty Episcopal churches in his neighborhood, where he grew to love the ornate English of the *Book of Common Prayer*. After the translation of the Catholic liturgy at the end of Vatican II he could find no difference between Anglicanism and Romanism except that the former seemed more progressive on many issues. He could also no longer accept papal infallibility. While working for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, he would come under the sway of another ex-Catholic, Bishop James Pike, who took up residence at the Center after quitting as Episcopal bishop of San Francisco and dumping his second wife for his young secretary. It isn't clear that in his final years Pike was a theist let alone a Christian; he had participated in seances to contact a son who had committed suicide. He would die while on a Holy Land tour with his young

bride when he wandered off in the Negev desert when his rental car broke down. At the same time Cogley would become something of the dean of Catholic journalism spreading "the spirit of Vatican II" from Rome with his young *Commonweal* colleague, Michael Novak, and helping to start the *National Catholic Reporter*. Blazing a trail that another *Commonweal* editor, Peter Steinfelds, would take in the 1980s he would become religion editor at the *New York Times* for a brief period in the '60s, until failing health forced him to return to Santa Barbara and the Ford Foundation's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.

It was *Humane Vitae* that finally caused Cogley's public break with Roman Catholicism. He joined the Episcopal Church in 1973 and in the final three years of his life was ordained a deacon and was studying for their priesthood at the time of his death. He had announced his conversion with a fax to *Commonweal* and the *National Catholic Reporter* and followed it up with an op-ed piece in the *Times*. Although he would have bristled at the title John Cogley's Irish ancestors would have called him a 'souper' or 'soup Protestant.' These were the Catholic Irish who at the time of the Great Famine found it was better to accept the Protestantism of the Church of Ireland and be fed than to adhere to their ancestral faith and starve. However while the Church of Ireland and the Episcopal Church are both parts of the Anglican Communion, the soup that John Cogley took was ultimately from the American elites through the Ford Foundation. Cogley, in his opposition to the Legion of Decency, in his attacks on Joe McCarthy, in serving as a talent scout for liberal Catholics, in writing Jack Kennedy's unconditional surrender on religious matters, and then spreading the "spirit of Vatican II" to his fellow Catholics was always the establishment's good and faithful servant.

---

## THE ECHOES OF JOE MCCARTHY'S FALL

Senator Joseph McCarthy was censured by vote of his Senate colleagues in December 1954 with a unanimous vote of the present Democrats along with many liberal Republicans, who thought they could take back the Senate in the 1956 election after having lost it that November by appearing moderate to the voters. Things would not work out that way and the Republicans did not retake control of the U.S. Senate until 1981 after a conservative tidal wave. One Republican senator who did support McCarthy until the end was Barry

Goldwater of Arizona. He would go on to lose the 1964 presidential election to the then Senate Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson, who engineered the censure. However Goldwater almost won California that year thanks to a washed up actor who made an impassioned television appeal for him there and two years later would be elected governor of that state, Ronald Reagan. It was an unabashed conservative Republican Reagan who led the tidal wave in 1980 and allowed the GOP to regain the Senate.

All this was too late to help Joe McCarthy. After the censure vote, he went into an alcoholic tailspin and never recovered. He could not overcome his defeat like his old fellow communist hunter, Richard Nixon, who suffered two major electoral defeats and had to be taken out by the establishment through the ubiquitous Ben Bradlee's *Washington Post*. Even with Cardinal Spellman helping him and his wife, Jean, adopting a baby girl could not get him out of his depression, and his liver gave out May 2, 1957. He was only 48 years of age, but the working class American Catholics still loved him. After McCarthy died, his widow received over 15,000 Mass enrollments. Unfortunately Joseph McCarthy died not understanding the difference between the words conservative and Republican; nor the fact that American liberalism includes what has come since his time to be called American conservatism and that American liberalism is at heart just as godless as any ideology followed by Lenin, Stalin, or Julius Rosenberg. Some things haven't changed since 1957; Ann Coulter still doesn't get these distinctions either.

While the name of Joseph McCarthy is still excoriated in the American media, it didn't really hurt the two young men most closely associated with him. After he fulfilled his Army tour, David Schine married and moved to California where he got involved in Hollywood as a producer. His most famous credit is the 1971 hit *The French Connection*, the fact that he was connected with a man who was involved with the persecution of Communist party scriptwriters didn't appear to have hurt his later career there. As for Roy Cohn, except for an indictment, complements of Attorney General Robert Kennedy, he did all right for himself too. As Nicholas von Hoffman writes, "By the mid 1970s Roy had lived down his past and come into a new preeminent present. Roy had become a member of the amorously famous, that cloud of celebrity personages whose names are known though why is uncertain. The doors of respectability had opened for him everywhere. If you didn't want to be seen in public, there was some-

thing wrong with you, not Roy Cohn.”(74) But his lifetime of line jumping worked against him at the end. When he was diagnosed with HIV in the early 1980s Roy pulled strings to get the National Institute of Health’s experimental drug AZT. Now it is known that AZT makes rat poison seem benign by comparison, so Cohn’s pushiness may have led to his own early demise in 1986. Who says there isn’t justice in this world? Perhaps the career of Roy Cohn and his direct role in the downfall of Joe McCarthy is proof of the correctness of the traditional position that people who practice homosexual vices are too unstable to be trusted with important positions whether in government, the priesthood, or the Boy Scouts.

The main reason that people today confuse conservatism with the Republican Party is a magazine founded by supporters of the late senator from Wisconsin about a year after his death: *National Review*. Almost all the people at the birth of that journal were connected to Joe McCarthy, William F. Buckley and his brother-in-law Brent Bozell had written the apologetic *McCarthy and His Enemies*. Bozell had been a McCarthy speech writer and would ghostwrite Barry Goldwater’s *The Conscience of a Conservative*. William Rusher, who had served on the staff of McCarthy’s committee, would be the long-time publisher of *National Review*. Communist penitents James Burnham and Whitaker Chambers, who agreed with Tail Gunner Joe’s ends but not his means, would also be prominent in the early years of this conservative journal. The only problem was that under Buckley American conservatism had taken a 180 degree turn away from prewar conservatism by supporting a huge American military establishment and an allowance for a huge welfare state for the duration of the Cold War. Paleoconservatives like Garrett Garret, John T. Flynn and Murray Rothbard would be pushed aside. By the late ‘60s, Bozell would find this modern American conservatism incompatible with Catholicism and found the short-lived journal *Triumph*. In this effort he would be joined by Philip Burnham, brother of James, and former executive editor of *Commonweal*. After being replaced at this magazine by John Cogley, Philip Burnham would complete his rightward odyssey in religious and political matters by also helping to found Catholics United for the Faith. (75)

What can we make of this uproar about communism among Catholics and Jews at the middle of the 20th century in America? It would appear that the American elites, whose numbers and power were in the early phases of decline in this period, faced a Catholic prob-

lem and a Jewish problem. The Jewish problem was the inordinate attachment of Jews, as a group, to the ideology of our competitor, the Soviet Union, even if they had been our ally a few years before, during World War II. Through the break-up of the spy rings by the FBI and the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, the latter of whom was definitely a scapegoat, a message was sent by the establishment to American Jewry. That Jews are highly intelligent as a group is seen in the fact that they soon dropped their passionate attachment to the Soviet Union and the Communist ideology and substituted a passionate attachment to Israel and the Zionist ideology. It would appear that the majority of Jews as a group still seek a political solution to what is in essence a spiritual problem, something that has been true since the first Good Friday. A small minority of them, like Julius Rosenberg and Jonathan Pollard, are treacherous to the land of their birth in pursuit of this quest. Less specifically once the group of quasi-communist Jews in New York City, the Trotskyites under Max Schactman and his disciples like Irving Kristol, felt the jolt of electricity that killed the Rosenbergs, they commenced a rightward migration that ended up with books like Kristol’s *Two Cheers for Capitalism*, his son Bill’s journal *The Weekly Standard*, and a major role in current Republican ideology.

The bluebloods who helped destroy Joe McCarthy never had a problem. Joseph Welsh went on to become an actor in Hollywood and Fred Fisher, the man whom the senator allegedly defamed, became the head of the Massachusetts Bar Association. President Eisenhower’s novel doctrine of ‘executive privilege,’ whereby a president didn’t have to explain his actions to Congress, led to the death of 55,000 Americans in Vietnam and, more recently, two Middle Eastern countries invaded by U.S. troops within two years.

The elites’ Catholic problem was solved by people like John Cogley and Father Murray writing surrender documents that ensured no Catholic politician would ever try to bring American law or policies into line with Church teachings. This was first used by Irish Catholic John F. Kennedy and members of his family but would be adopted by Catholic officials of every ethnic group; Mario Cuomo comes quickly to mind. As to the mainline liberal Protestant churches, they seem to be near extinction in America. The only news to come out of them is from the Episcopal Church. The Church that once had Bishop Pike of California, who left his wife for a younger woman, now has Bishop Robinson of New

(continued on p. 47

---

## MCCARTHY, CONT'D FROM P. 37

Hampshire, who left his wife for a younger man. No doubt John Cogley would have approved this progressiveness.

The big movement in American Protestantism today is definitely premillennial dispensationalism, a trend that crosses over many denominations, para-church organizations and ubiquitous television evangelists. This movement supports every movement of the Israeli government and would seem to rejoice in a nuclear war in that part of the world as concurring with their theology. They, of course, won't be here for the fireworks, having been raptured out of the turmoil to meet Jesus in the clouds. The Jews, who play a major role in this scenario, will have another six million slaughtered by the Antichrist, and the rest will be converted to Christianity and go out and convert the survivors of the nuclear holocaust. It isn't clear if the surviving Jews will get soup when they convert. Jesus will then return with the saints and reign for one thousand years. Then everyone will live happily forever in heaven. This is what a large number of our fellow Americans believe, but the media only get excited when they hear that Muslims think that they'll get forty virgins in paradise if they die for their faith. Our current president, George W. Bush, the offspring of New England liberal Republicans although trying to hide that fact with an incoherent Texas drawl, is under the influence of this theology and the Zionists who use it to further their ambitions for a Greater Israel in the Middle East.

American Catholic liberals like to

boast that American theologian John Courtney Murray S.J. was instrumental at the Second Vatican Council, having the council fathers accept the position of his book *We Hold These Truths* as the basis for their *Declaration on Religious Freedom*. Perhaps, from what we know of John Cogley's meetings with liberal Catholics in the years before Vatican II, Father Murray was just acting as an agent of the Ford Foundation. Cardinal Spellman instinctively knew that Catholic group cohesion was under attack with the as-



sault on Joe McCarthy. Once there was something called the Catholic vote, but today there isn't, so politicians spend their time appealing to cohesive groups like blacks, Jews and Evangelicals. This fall there will be a presidential election and my son will be eight years old, the same age as when I saw John F. Kennedy pass through my neighborhood.

No presidential candidate will be passing through our neighborhood; in fact, there really aren't distinctly Catholic neighborhoods left anymore, and there are few Catholics who vote as Catholics or who recognize Catholic issues.

Unfortunately the Catholic Church in America is still as divided as it was in the days of Bishop Sheil and Cardinal Spellman. The numbers are down all across the board and its scandals are the daily grist of the media. Unfortunately, the Catholic Church cannot at present give a credible alternative to all this insanity in the American thinking process. American liberalism and conservatism are still rooted in godlessness, a fact that the senator from Wisconsin could see even if he lacked the intellectual equipment to make a credible case for the congruence of the trends in American society with international Marxism. He tried his best, but he failed, and we are living with the consequences to this day. As my mother said when they destroyed him, "Poor Joe McCarthy! Lord have mercy on him!"

### Notes:

As in the past, space does not allow us to publish Mr. Herron's extensive footnotes, but they are available in either electronic form by writing to [jones@culturewars.com](mailto:jones@culturewars.com) or in paper form by calling Norma at 574-289-9786.