

# Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

Produced, Written and Narrated by Emile de Antonio

Co-Producer, Director of the Films, POINT OF ORDER, RUSH TO JUDGEMENT and THAT'S WHERE THE ACTION IS



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SENATOR JOSEPH R. MCCARTHY

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# MCCARTHY

"The issue between Republicans and Democrats is clearly drawn; it has been deliberately drawn by those that have been in charge of twenty years of treason. Now, the hard fact is, the hard fact is that those who wear the label, those who wear the label 'Democrat' wear it with the stain of a historic betrayal."

"The Democratic Party has, time after time and irrevocably, labeled itself as the party which stands for government of, by, and for Communist crooks and cronies. You can't get away from that. See, not a single one of those now in leadership of the Party have raised their voices against this type of treason, my good friends. Which means that if they return to power, you get another--another twenty years of the same."

That tongue, that voice, were the mark of domestic politics in the United States in the nineteen-fifties. Joseph R. McCarthy, the Junior Senator from Wisconsin. In 1946 he was elected to the Senate on his war record. "Tail-gunner Joe." He was not a tail-gunner. He spoke of his wounds. He had no wounds. In 1952, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for the missions he never flew. Obscure in the halls where senators advise and consent, he advised not at all, and consented to small favors: some sugar for the Pepsi-Cola Company in the days of rationing. A speech for the Lustron Corporation for ten thousand dollars. Most of all, he made the rounds of Washington cocktail parties, until February the ninth, 1950. On that day, he discovered Communism, as one writer described it, "the way Columbus discovered America." With that discovery began the most meteoric political career in our history.

February 9, 1950, an unknown Junior Senator. One month later, he began living his life in the headlines.

"Well, last night I discussed the Communists in the State Department. I stated that I had the names of fifty-seven card-carrying members of the Communist Party. I notice today that the State Department has denied that. They say they don't know of a single one in the State Department. Now, I want to tell the Secretary of State this: If he wants to call me tonight at the Hotel, I'll be glad to give him the names of those fifty-seven card-carrying Communists. Now, I, I don't claim to be in the FBI or anything, so that when I have the names of fifty-seven you can be right well sure there are a lot more."

But the Junior Senator was a liar. There weren't fifty-seven card-carrying Communists in the State Department. There wasn't one. In that early of extant McCarthy speeches, was the beginning of the Big Lie Technique he perfected. Here McCarthy hunts down his favorite quarry: the intellectual. In this case, Professor Wendell Furry, of Harvard.

"Number one, you had contacted last summer. Is that right?"

"Yes."

"Have you been in contact with him since last summer?"

"No."

"Where does he work?"

"Well, he happens to be working for a University in Great Britain."

"Let's take Number two. When did you last see him?"

"For Number two.... I'm not sure

just when I last saw him, it was, it was within the last year or two, and I know from professional connections just where he's working."

"Where is he working?"

"In an American university, and I am pretty sure on nothing connected with any government work."

"What's, what's his name?"

"I refuse to state."

"You are ordered to state."

"I refuse."

"For the benefit of counsel, I may say that I realize we're wasting time trying to get this man to give the names of his co-conspirators; uh, I am going to give him the opportunity, though, to answer all of these questions. Each time he refuses he will be cited for contempt. And this will be another way, perhaps, of getting rid of some of Mr. Pucey's Fifth Amendment Communists."

Another intellectual, Reed Harris, was Deputy Director of The Voice of America. McCarthy didn't even allege Harris was a Communist. However, he had written a book complaining about excessive commercialism in college football. He resigned after this colloquium:

"I have asked for your file; and in view of the fact that you said your file cleared you, I asked for anything in the file which would indicate a clearance; and the answer has been no--"

"Mr. Chairman, I, I--"

"When you say you were cleared--"

"I resent very much that statement. The new--new people who are in charge--"

"Well, whether you resent it or not, I'm relating the facts. I must, I must relate the facts as they are. I talked to the Department this morning, and I asked whether there was anything in your files that would indicate that you were cleared, and the information that I had was no, there was not, and I have asked for your file. Uh....you, the other day...uh, after...uh...a bit of questioning rather reluctantly consented to let us have your file--"

"That is absolutely false. There was not a bit of reluctance in it. I even offered to let you look at that file."

"Now, let's, let's get down to the question again."

"All right, but I think that when you're casting innuendos and aspersions here without any support that it's not fair. I think you should let me tell what I have to say."

"If this particular proceeding were held in a Court of Law where it were possible to, to question the questions, as it were, where the legal counsel could be on both sides of the table and not merely on the prosecu-



tion side, that I could satisfy anybody in this United States (no demonstrations in here!) that I am a loyal American citizen. Oh, I know that I have had two full Field FBI investigations. Can Mr. Cohen say that, has he had two full Field FBI investigations, been examined all the way back to his birth? I have. And I have, by Military Intelligence, by Naval Intelligence, by the Office for Emergency Management and by the Civil Service Commission."

"Let's get down the Naval Intelligence Investigation, then, seeing you brought it up. Is it correct that in 1932, Naval Intelligence investigated you when you applied for a commission, and that you were turned down after that investigation? That's correct, isn't it? Seeing you brought up your Naval Intelligence investigation."

"I'm saying that they investigated me thoroughly, I'm saying that they did turn me down, they said for physical reasons. If they turned me down for security, I don't know that."

Here, McCarthy questions a Loyalty Board member who defended the Constitutional rights of a government printing office employee.

"Now, within all this mass of information, positive testimony of membership in the Communist Party by the husband and wife, the stealing of documents, can you tell me why you recommend that nothing be done about his case?"

"The reason, as I mentioned before, was that, we had no further information submitted to us, as a Board."

"Man, what further information did you want? What further information could you guess? Than that he was stealing top secret material, that he was a member of the Communist Party; that his wife was a high functionary; what more did you need? What must you have before you recommend that a man be discharged, or go before the Loyalty Board?"

"It wasn't established that he had stolen, as it was charged, that he had stolen some material."

"Well, the FBI reported that they gave you the name of the witness who would so testify; you didn't call the witness. How could you establish it?"

"We considered the statement that she made to the FBI."

"You considered it."

"Yes, sir."

"Right. Now, what, what more would you need, than the report from the FBI that this man was a Communist, and that they had witnesses that he was stealing secret material--"

A primer for American demagogues. How did it work? Not headlines alone, but also the sanctuary of Senatorial immunity. This made for two McCarthys. One speaking from the floor of the Senate, immune from any kind of legal redress, enjoying the freedom of total irresponsibility. For example: McCarthy referred to Professor Owen Lattimore as the architect of the policy of treason in the Far East. Lattimore challenged McCarthy to repeat that phrase off the Senate floor. McCarthy did not, and in fact, when asked directly by a reporter about Professor Lattimore, he replied: "I think he's extremely dangerous."

A powerful Committee Chairman can turn a Senate hearing into a Star Chamber. Witnesses before McCarthy were not permitted to cross-examine. They were not allowed to confront their accusers, or

even find out who they were. McCarthy relied heavily on what he called "the loyal American Underground." These were nuts, cranks, frustrates, and well-intentioned super-patriots who stole from their own files to produce leaks and rumors for the Junior Senator. Another McCarthy device: the professional paid informer. These included Louis Dedens, former editor of The Daily Worker, Elizabeth Dilling, the spinster who saw red networks all over America, and Harvey Matusow, who confessed to being a Communist in many parts of the United States, who named hundreds of names. Matusow broke down and counter-confessed. It was all a lie. He did it for money. He did it because he wanted to belong. Because the FBI, the House Unamerican Activities Committee and Senator McCarthy wanted him to. Having told the truth, he was sentenced to five years for perjury.

Here McCarthy describes his investigation of Gustavo Doran.

"I would like to take a few minutes of your time to give you a, the evidence in a few typical cases. Cases of individuals which I consider so dangerous to this nation. You multiply these, multiply these by hundreds and thousands, and you get somewhat the picture. May I have that briefcase? Let me give you one of, typical case, if I may....we gave to the Secretary of State, thank you, we gave to the Secretary of State and to the unlamented Tydings Committee, the evidence on a number of individuals, let's just pick a few at random, if we may here tonight. Let's first take the case of a man, Gustavo Doran. Among other things, we gave the Tydings Committee the evidence showing that this top State Department employee who was then promoted to the United Nations, had been, while in Europe, head of S.I.M.; that's a counterpart of the G.P.A. the Russian Secret Police. We said, now, gentlemen, if he was Regional Head of the Secret Police in Europe, he shouldn't be handling Top Secret material in our State Department. That he should not be promoted to the United Nations. Well, what happened? The State Department held the usual press conference. They said "Now this is an example of McCarthyism at its worst." They said "Just because there was a bad actor over in Europe by the name of Gustavo Doran," they said "McCarthy is trying to smear our poor innocent Gustavo," files, and they might get away with that. But with considerable difficulty and some expense we sent investigators to Europe. We dug up this picture which I hold in my hand. Look at this if you will, ladies and gentlemen. Here is one of the experts that was smeared, if you please, by McCarthy, in the uniform of the Secret Police, the European Secret Police. We sent that over, we sent that over to the President, to the Great Red Dean of Fashion himself, Atchison. And said "Now, now do you claim it's a case of mistaken identity?" We attached to it this man's picture from his own State Department file. Well, what happened, nothing but silence greeted that. Where do you think this man is, as of tonight my friends, this man whose picture I hold in my hand, in the uniform of the Secret Police? As of tonight he is in the United Nations, and his task is to screen displaced persons, and decide which will make good loyal Americans. Unbelievable, you say, yes. Fantastic, yes, but it's all a matter of cold record. Keep in mind, if you will, that none of these creatures are either Democrats or Republicans. Not a single one owes loyalty to either of America's great political party."

Most of the hearings he held were closed. And no one



knew anything about them. Until the Senator met the press with selected readings from the authorized version. The files he so ominously referred to were supermarket cartons. The briefcase held a bottle of bourbon. Here he attacks his most famous victim, Adlai Stevenson, just before the 1952 Presidential election.

"We now come to the much discussed testimony by Adlai Stevenson, in the trial of Alger Hiss. Now, my good friends, I haven't considered, I have not considered this fact standing alone as overly important from the Stevenson record. His only link in the chain of events which prove the case in Stevenson versus Stevenson. Now, what does impress me, however, is the deathly fear that Governor Stevenson displays when additional links tying in to Alger Hiss are brought forth. We find that he very cleverly attempts to imply that his knowledge of Hiss was casual, remote, and that he was not vouching for Hiss' character at the trial. Now I hold in my hand a petition that has never been made public before either, in the New York courts; a petition by the Hiss lawyers, when they asked the court to admit Stevenson's statement. Here is the affidavit to his lawyer:

"Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois has been closely associated with Alger Hiss in the course of certain international diplomatic undertakings. They were together at the San Francisco Conference of The United Nations; and they were also together at the London Conference. And they say this, the testimony of Governor Stevenson would be of great importance to Alger Hiss." Candidate Stevenson replied:

"I have known Hiss briefly in 1933 when I worked for about five months in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in Washington, where he was also employed. I did not encounter him again until twelve years later, in March of 1945 in the State Department. I saw him intermittently from March of 1945 to March of 1946, in the course of our official duties, although half of that time I was in London for the United States Government. He never entered my house, and I never entered his. I saw him twice, I saw him twice in the Fall of 1947, at the United Nations General Assembly in New York, when he called at my office. I have not seen him since."

All America was complicit. Senator Taft, Mister Republican himself, backed McCarthy all the way. He said "Whether Senator McCarthy has legal evidence, whether he has overstated his case, is of lesser importance. The question is whether Communist influence in the State Department still exists." Taft's complicity meshed with his Presidential aspirations. He needed a bully-boy to slug the Democrats. McCarthy was it.

Here the Junior Senator describes the Secretary of State:

"Ladies and gentlemen, is there anyone in this hall tonight, or is there anyone in the radio or television audience, who can tell you why the President and the Secretary of Defense, why they say it's a crime, a crime, not to betray this nation, but a crime to expose those who are betraying this nation. And I'd like to call upon those millions of Democrats today to scrub and push and wash clean this government by voting the Republican ticket this Fall. Now, in this fight, in this fight some of my good friends have accused me of being

too rough. To them, to them I say, there is no common sense limit, there is a common sense limit to gentleness and delicacy. That limit is where disloyalty and treason begin, where organized deceit and Godlessness begin. If we are to win this fight, my good friends, if we are to win this fight we must use all the intelligence, all the courage, all of the skill, every effort of mind and body. And if, as is obviously the case, a rough fight, a rough fight is the only fight the Communist can understand, then the Republican Party will give them a rough fight. Even though, even though it might be less unpleasant, less unpleasant to do it another way, we can't fight Communists, we can't fight Communists in the Atchison-Lattimore fashion of hitting them with perfumed silk handkerchiefs at the front door while they batter our friends with brass knuckles and with black-jacks at the back door. It can't be done that way. And I say, my good friends, I say that one Communist in the Defense plant is one Communist too many; one Communist, one Communist on the faculty of one university is one Communist too many; one Communist among the American advisors at Yalta was one Communist too many, and even, even if there were only one Communist in the State Department, even if there were only one Communist in the State Department, that would still be one Communist too many. And our job, our job as Americans and as Republicans, is to dislodge the traitors from every place where they've been sent to do their traitorous work."

The giggle, the mad whimper struck a strange note in our political life. No one remarked on it. But our complicities of people was greater than Senator Taft's. For in the land there was silence. The Senator had reached us. We listened and wanted to believe, or we listened and were ashamed, or we said "where there's smoke, there must be fire." And the victims were produced.

Edward R. Murrow was an exception. He attacked McCarthy. Here is McCarthy's response, in an interview with Fulton Lewis, Jr.:

Lewis: "Now, Mr. Edward R. Murrow, on another television network, ah, made an attack on you, a half-hour attack, I believe it was, night before last. Would you care to comment on that attack by Mr. Murrow against you?"

"Well, I may say, Fulton, that I have a little difficulty answering the specific attacks that he made because I never listen to the extreme left-wing, bleeding-heart elements of the radio or television. However, after you invited me to come over here and appear on your program, I started to check into Mr. Murrow's background a bit, and you'll note I have in my hand a copy of the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph. It's dated February 18, 1935. The headline, "American Advisors, American Advisors to Communist Propaganda School." Now, see, there is reproduced the front of a booklet entitled "Moscow University Summer Session," and on the National Advisory Council, Edward R. Murrow, Assistant Director, Institute of International Education. The story goes on to tell what the Moscow University taught; if I may quote from it, "The violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order." This may explain why Edward R. Murrow, week after week, feels that he must smear McCarthy. Now, just what disturbed him the other night I don't know; maybe he is worried about the fact that he, having been on the National Advisory Council of Moscow University, having advised people to attend that school, which according to this, teaches,



again I quote, "the violent overthrow of the entire traditional social order"; maybe Mr. Murrow was worried about the exposure of some of his friends. I don't know."

Lewis: "Now, the American Civil Liberties Union, he said, he quoted you as having said something about the American Civil Liberties Union as being, as having been listed as a subversive organization, said that was not so. Ah, do you care to comment on that?"

"Yes, I, uh, don't mind, may I say that I, there are some individuals in the ACLU that are good Americans, but Murrow again was not telling the truth when he said it had not been listed; I have, as you see here, Fulton, the fourth report of the Unamerican Activities Committee in California, and I quote from page 107; and this is a quotation in regard to the organization which Murrow said had not been listed:

"The American Civil Liberties Union may be definitely classed as a Communist front or transmission belt organization. At least ninety per cent of its efforts are expended on behalf of Communists who come into conflict with the law." So that again, Mr. Murrow is not telling the truth. And then late in 1953 and early 1954 the junior Senator began the work that was to undo him. He decided to investigate subversion in the Army. It all began with an obscure dentist named Irving Peres.

After I heard that testimony I wrote to the Secretary of the Army, Bob Stevens, and said, "Mr. Secretary, let's find out who promoted this man." Incidentally, he was promoted three months after it was known that he had been involved in Communist activities. "Then let's court-martial the whole foul lot and serve notice upon every officer in this man's army, that the twenty years of treason are past." That letter, my good friends, went out Monday, of this week. Today is Thursday. Bob Stevens was due back yesterday morning. Due back from Europe. What do you think happened? That Major was removed from the jurisdiction of the Army by receiving an Honorable Discharge. That's right. Inconceivable, I know, yet unbelievable yet, and I can understand how someone says "no, that's impossible"--but, my good friends, there are the cold, harsh facts."

And now a brief playlet, starring Senator McCarthy. He plays two roles: himself, and General Ralph Zwicker.

"Let's go over it again, General. You did say if you found that he stole fifty dollars the night before, he would not have gotten an Honorable Discharge the next morning.

General Zwicker: That is correct.

The Chairman: You did learn, did you not, from the newspaper reports, that this man was part of the Communist conspiracy, or at least that there was strong evidence that he was. Did you not think that that was more serious than the theft of fifty dollars?

General Zwicker: He has never been tried for that, Sir. And there was evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Question: Now, don't give me that double-talk, General. In the imaginary \$50 case, the case of having stolen money the night before, he would not have been tried the next morning for that.

Answer: That is correct; but he didn't steal the fifty dollars.

Question: If he were accused of stealing \$50, would

you wait until he was tried before you prevent his Honorable Discharge?

Answer: Yes, either tried or exonerated.

Question: What if you heard that this man was a traitor? Then, General, would you hold up his discharge until he was either exonerated or found guilty?

Answer: I am not going to answer that question, I don't believe, the way you want it, Sir.

The Chairman: All I want, General, is for you to tell us the truth. That's all I ask of you.

General Zwicker: On all of the evidence, anything that has been presented to me as Commanding General at Camp Kilmer, I had no authority to retain him in the Service. "I said to him, and I, as I look it over I think my language was too temperate. If I were repeating it today it would be much stronger. I said, "Then, General, you should be removed from any command. Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted to General and who says "I will protect another General who protects Communists" is not fit to wear that uniform, General! As I think it is a tremendous disgrace to the army to have to bring these facts before the public, but I intend to give it to the public, General, I have a duty to do that. I intend to repeat to the press exactly what you said, so that you can know that, and be back here to hear it, General.

The attack on Zwicker triggered the Establishment response. The Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954. When they were over, so was McCarthy. For thirty-six days, eight hours a day, the largest political audience in history, twenty million viewers, got a good look at the Junior Senator. The electronic medium toppled a demagogue. There was another force in that toppling. Joseph Welsch, a lawyer from Boston. His wit bloomed, and McCarthy raged. Here Welsh questions McCarthy about an army commission for his assistant, G. David Schein.

"You are being asked, at the question at the top, almost at the top of the page, if this college graduate, referring to Schein, partially filled out an application, a form for a commission in the army."

Senator McCarthy: "I don't know the slightest thing about the application he filled out."

Mr. Jenkins: "You don't know one thing about that?"

Senator McCarthy: "I never saw it."

"Senator, I have the application that David Schein filled out, and I can show you--"

"I'll bet they tell me I notarized it."

"No, you merely signed it."

Welsh questions James Julliana, a McCarthy assistant:

"Well, then the only thing to do is to bring in the photostat of the original picture with three people in the cast, isn't that right?"

"I wasn't asked for it, and I didn't deliver it."

"I think that's right, you were asked for something different from the thing that hung on Schein's wall."

"I never knew what hung on Schein's wall."

"You did know what was hung on Schein's wall when that was handed to you, Sir."

"I did not know what hung on Schein's wall."

"Did you think this came from a pixie? Where did you think this picture that I hold in my hand as Exhibit Three, came from?"

"I have no idea where it came from."



"Question. Question. Did you think this came from a pixie?"

"Would the counsel for my benefit define--I think he might be an expert on that-- 'Pixie'."

"Yep, yep; I should say, I should say, Mr. Senator, that a pixie is a close relative of a fairy."

"Shall I proceed, Sir? Have I enlightened you?"

Mr. Welsch questions Senator McCarthy about a letter allegedly written by J. Edgar Hoover:

McCarthy: "Could we make it very clear, Mr. Jenkins, and Mr. Chairman, that I will not under any circumstances reveal the source of any information which I get as Chairman of the committee. Now, one of the reasons why I have been successful, I believe, to some extent, in exposing the, Communism, is because the people who give me information from within the government know that their confidence will not be violated; there is no way on earth that any committee, any force, can get me to violate the confidence of those people."

"Senator McCarthy. When you took the stand you of course understood you were going to be asked about this letter, did you not?"

"I assumed that would be the subject."

"And you of course understood you were going to be asked the source from which you got it."

"I never tried to--"

"I just said you understand you would be asked--"

"I will answer that; I never try to read the minds of the Senators to know what they will ask me."

"Could I have the oath that you took read to us slowly by the Reporter?"

"Mr. Welsch, that doesn't seem to be an appropriate question. You were present; you took the oath yourself. He took the same oath you took."

"The oath included a promise, a solemn promise by you, to tell the truth, comma, the whole truth, comma, and nothing but the truth. Is that correct, Sir?"

"Mr. Welsch, you are not the first individual that tried to get me to betray the confidence and give out the names of my, my informants. You will be no more successful than those who have tried in the past. Period."

"I am only asking you, Sir, did you realize that when you took that oath, that you were making a solemn promise to tell the whole truth to this committee?"

"I understand the oath, Mr. Welsch."

"And when you took it, did you have some mental reservations, some Fifth or Sixth Amendment notion that you could measure what you would tell?"

"I don't take the Fifth or Sixth Amendment."

"Have you some private reservation when you take the oath that you will tell the whole truth, that lets you be the judge of what you will testify to?"

"The answer is, there's no reservation about telling the whole truth."

"Thank you, Sir. Then tell us who delivered the document to you."

"The answer is: No, you will not get that information."

"You wish, then, to put your own interpretation on your oath and tell us less than the whole truth?"

"Mr. Welsch, I think I made it very clear to you that neither you nor anyone else will ever get me to violate the confidence of the loyal people in this government who give me information about Communist infiltration. I repeat, you will not get their names, you will not get any information which will allow you to identify them, so that you or anyone else can get their jobs. You can go right ahead and try until doomsday."

Mr. Welsch questions Roy Cohen, Chief Counsel to Senator McCarthy:

"Mr. Cohen: what is the exact number of Communists, or subversives, that are loose today in these defense plants?"

"The exact number that is loose, Sir?"

"Yes, Sir."

"I don't know."

"How, roughly, how many?"

"I can only tell you, Sir, what we know about."

"Well, that's 130, is that right?"

"Yes, Sir, I'm gonna try to particularize for you if I can."

"I'm in a hurry; I don't want the sun to go down while they're still in there if we can get 'em out."

"I'm afraid we won't be able to work that fast."

"Well, I've got a suggestion about it, Sir. How many are there?"

"I believe the figure is approximately 130."

"Approximately one-three-oh."

"Yes, those are people, Mr. Welsch--"

"I don't care, you told us who they are. In how many plants are they?"

"How many plants?"

"How many plants?"

"Yes, Sir, just one minute, Sir. I'd say sixteen, off hand."

"Sixteen plants. Are you alarmed at that situation, Mr. Cohen?"

"Yes, Sir, I am."

"Nothing could be more alarming, could it?"

"It's certainly a very alarming thing."

"Will you not, before the sun goes down, give those names to the FBI and at least have those men put under surveillance?"

"Sir, if there is need for surveillance in the case of espionage or anything like that, I can well assure you that Mr. John Edgar Hoover and his men know a lot better than I, and I might respectfully suggest, Sir, that probably a lot of us, just who should be put under surveillance. I do not propose to tell the FBI how to run its shop. It does very well."

"And they do it, and they do it, don't they, Mr. Cohen?"

"When the need arises, of course."

"Then they've got the whole hundred and thirty, have they, Mr. Cohen?"

"I am sure of it, Sir, and a lot more."

"Well, then what's all the excitement about, if J. Edgar Hoover is on the job, chasing these hundred and thirty Communists?"

"Mr. Welsch, all the excitement--"

"Well, then as a second line of defense, let's send the hundred and thirty names to the Department of Defense tonight, would you mind doing that?"

"Whatever the committee directs on that, Sir, I'll--"

"I wish the committee would direct that all the names be sent both to the FBI and to the Department of Defense with extreme suddenness."

"Mr. Chairman, I so move."

"In view of Mr. Welsch's request that, the information be given once we know of anyone who might be performing any work for the Communist Party, I think we should tell him that he has in his law firm, a young man named Fisher whom he recommended, incidentally, to do the work on this committee, who has been for a number of years, a member of an organization which is named, oh, years and years ago, as the legal bulwark of the Communist Party, an organization which always springs to the defense of anyone who dares to expose



Communists, ah, I certainly assumed that Mr. Welsch did not know of this, uh, young man the time he recommended him as the Assistant Counsel for this committee, but he has such terror, and such a great desire to know where anyone is located, who may be serving the Communist cause, Mr. Welsch, and I thought we should just call your attention to the fact that your Mr. Fisher, who is still in your law firm today, whom you asked to have down here, looking over the secret and classified material, is a member of an organization not named by me, but named by various committees, named by the Attorney General, as I recall, and I think I quote this verbatim as the 'legal bulwark of the Communist Party.' I have been, ah, rather bored with your phony request to Mr. Cohen, here, that he, personally, get every Communist out of government before sundown, therefore, we will give you the information about the young man in your own organization. Now, I'm not asking you at this time to explain why you tried to foist him on this committee; that you did, the committee knows. Whether you knew that he was a member of that, Communist organization or not, I don't know. I assume you did not, Mr. Welsch, because I get the impression that while you are quite an actor, you play for a laugh, I don't think you have any conception of the danger of the Communist Party."

"Mr. Chairman, Mr. Welsch to say that he has no recognition of, nor memory of Mr. Welsch recommending either Mr. Fisher or anybody else as counsel for this committee."

"Mr. Chairman."

"Mr. Welsch."

"Under the record, then, Mr. Chairman, the news, the news story on that."

"Mr. Chairman, under these circumstances, I must myself have something approaching a personal privilege."

"You may have it, Sir."

"Senator McCarthy, I did not know Senator, Senator, sometimes you say may I have your attention--"

"I, I must--you said Senator McCarthy didn't know, I--"

"May I have your attention. Now, this time, Sir, I want you to listen with both. Senator McCarthy, I think until this moment--"

"Just, just a minute. Let me ask--Jim, Jim, will you get the news story to the effect that this, this man belongs to the, this Communist front organization--"

"I will tell you that he belonged to it."

"Will, will you get the, the citations, order the citations showing that this was the legal arm of the Communist Party and the length of time that he belonged, and the fact that he was recommended by Mr. Welsch. I think that should be in the record."

"Senator, you won't need anything in the record when I finish telling you this. Until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. Fred Fisher is a young man who went to the Harvard Law School and came into my firm and is starting what looks to be a brilliant career with us. When I decided to work for this committee, I asked Jim St. Clair, who sits on my right, to be my first assistant. I said to Jim, 'pick somebody in the firm to work under you that you would like.' He chose Fred Fisher, and they came down on an afternoon plane. That night, when we had taken a little stab at trying to see what the case was about, Fred Fisher and Jim St. Clair and I went to dinner together. I then said to these two young men, 'Boys, I don't know anything about you except I've always liked you. But if there's anything funny in the life of

either one of you that would hurt anybody in this case, you speak up quick.' And Fred Fisher said, 'Mr. Welsch, when I was in the law school, and for a period of months after, I belonged to the Lawyers' Guild,' as you have suggested, Senator. He went on to say, 'I am secretary of the Young Republicans League in Newton, with the son of Massachusetts' governor. And I have the respect and admiration of my community, and I am sure that I have the respect of the twenty-five lawyers or so in Hale and Door.' And I said, 'Fred, I just don't think I'm going to ask you to work on the case. If I do, one of these days that will come out, and go over national television, and it will just hurt like the Dickens.' And so, Senator, I asked him to go back to Boston. Little did I dream that you could be so reckless and so cruel as to do an injury to that lad. It is true he is still with Hale and Door, it is true that he will continue to be with Hale and Door. It is, I regret to say, equally true that he shall always bear a scar needlessly inflicted by you. If it were within my power to forgive you for your reckless cruelty, I would do so. I like to think I'm a gentle man. But your forgiveness will have to come from someone other than me."

"Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman."

"Senator McCarthy."

"May, may I say that Mr. Welsch talks about this being cruel and reckless, he was just baiting, he has been baiting Mr. Cohen here for hours. Now, I just give this man's record, and I want to say, Mr. Welsch, that it has been labeled long before he became a member. As early as 1944--"

"Senator, may we not drop this. We know he belongs to the Lawyers' Guild, and Mr. Cohen nods his head at me--I did you, I think, no personal injury, Mr. Cohen."

"No, Sir."

"I meant to do you no personal injury. And if I did, I beg your pardon. Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator. You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, Sir? At long last, have you left no sense of decency?"

On December 2, he was censured by the Senate. Two and a half years later, he died. Harry Truman defined McCarthyism one way:

"It is now evident that the present administration has fully embraced, for political advantage, McCarthyism. I'm not referring to the Senator from Wisconsin. He's only important in that his name has taken on a dictionary meaning in the world. And that meaning is, the corruption of truth. The abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of due process of law. It is the use of the Big Lie. And the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism and security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth. It is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of our society."

I feel, myself, that McCarthy's epitaph is to be found in Webster's Dictionary:

"McCarthyism: an American political attitude of the mid-twentieth-century, closely allied to know-nothingism, and characterized chiefly by opposition to elements held to be subversive, and by the use of tactics involving personal attacks on individuals by means of widely publicized, indiscriminate allegations, especially on the basis of unsubstantiated charges."