

(1) The Pendulum of Dogma

"McCarthy and His Enemies," by William F. Buckley, Jr. and L. Brent Bozell (Henry Regnery. 413 pp. \$5). SR herewith publishes a debate on the book by two writers who have been prominently identified with opposing positions on the McCarthy issue. Though the editors have already taken their stand on the general position held by Mr. Schlesinger, they believe that the controversial nature of this book entitles the authors to a statement of their case by someone who is no less committed to their position than Mr. Schlesinger is to his. The editors have long since given up the notion it is possible to obtain a single "objective" review by an "uncommitted" authority on a blazing controversial bawl.

By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

IT was to have been expected that in time the effort would be made to render Senator Joseph R. McCarthy intellectually respectable. James Burnham and John Chamberlain have made passes at this interesting objective, and other writers have tried their hand; but not until "McCarthy and His Enemies" came along was a full-length, custom-built, fourteen-karat job available. The authors of this singular book are William F. Buckley, Jr., known for "God and Man at Yale" a few years back, and L. Brent Bozell, another Yale

graduate and a contributor to the right-wing newsletter *Human Events*.

Their first purpose is to examine the actual record and performance of Senator McCarthy, in an effort, as they would describe it, to disentangle what McCarthy actually has done from what the liberals (or, as they prefer to designate them, the Liberals) say that he has done. Their method is to analyze certain McCarthy cases, attempting to weigh the balance between truth and error in his contributions, and then to generalize from McCarthy's approach a more explicit philosophy for our times than McCarthy himself has been willing to articulate. Their deeper purpose is to administer to the liberals (or Liberals) chastisement for stupidity, self-righteousness, intellectual terrorism, and complicity in the Communist conspiracy.

The pose of the book is one of critical detachment. This enables the authors to dissent from numbers of McCarthy's specific charges or actions. But, while going through the motions of suspending judgment and considering evidence, they really accept McCarthy and his evidence at his own evaluation; this is the book's essential trick. Thus it is assumed throughout that McCarthy's genuine purpose is his stated purpose—i.e., to attack Communists. Yet, when one considers the number of anti-Communists he has attacked, from General Marshall to James Wechsler, from Bernard DeVoto to Leon Keyserling, from Wilson Wyatt to Archibald MacLeish, one is compelled to conclude either (a) Mc-

Carthy's main target is liberals and Democrats, pro- or anti-communist; or (b) he is so stupid and his aim is so bad that he ought not to be in the communist-hunting business at all.

And it is hard to persuade oneself that McCarthy is stupid. The evidence would suggest rather that McCarthy is no more genuinely anti-Communist than the Communists themselves were anti-Fascist—that he is eager to exploit widespread and justified popular feelings on behalf of sensation, confusion, and himself, and that anti-Communism, like the Communists' anti-Fascism, is the pretext at hand, rather than the principal objective. Bertrand Russell was surely right in suggesting that McCarthy is the one American politician who, as President, might do a deal with Malenkov.

IN their detailed analyses, Messrs. Bozell and Buckley apply the same convenient technique of assuming the truth of the charges which they are pretending to test. Thus they consistently cite Louis Budenz as a wholly reliable source. Yet they note that Budenz called Owen Lattimore a Communist, which Lattimore flatly denied; they note too that Lattimore was subsequently indicted for seven counts of perjury; but they characteristically fail to note that Lattimore was not indicted for false testimony in connection with his denial of Budenz's charge of Party membership. This would suggest that the Department of Justice has a somewhat lower opinion of Budenz's credibility than Messrs. Bozell and Buckley. In fact, the woods are full of people who have denied under oath Budenz's scatter-gun accusations that they were Party members; and none of them has ever been charged with perjury. Still, none of this deters our authors, who, while affecting to weigh evidence, blandly write that men and women who have



—Burck in the Chicago Sun-Times.

"Peek-a-Boo!"



—Justus in The Minneapolis Star.

"Bedtime Stories."



—Paige in The Louisville Courier Journal.

"Uncle Joe."

roundly denounced Budenz's accusations "are known to one or more responsible persons as having been members of the Communist Party" (my italics), when all that is known is that irresponsible ex-Communists have made reckless accusations. Despite Bozell and Buckley, one would like to cling to the old-fashioned theory that there is a gap between accusation and proof.

The authors similarly print Harold Stassen's account of the celebrated State Department conference of Far Eastern experts in 1949 as if it were correct, smoothly suggesting that the official transcript bears Stassen out. Actually the official transcript fails to establish Stassen's contentions—and fails even more to support the Buckley-Bozell claim that "a substantial majority of those present" approved the ten points of the so-called Lattimore-Rosinger plan. Their whole treatment of China, it need hardly be said, swallows intact the thesis that China was lost in Washington, and even contends that things might have been different if only the advice of Alfred Kohlberg had been taken in 1944.

THEY do occasionally, as I said earlier, admonish McCarthy for extravagances of language or even of judgment. But this is done gently and with forbearance. "As regards his imputation of treasonable motives to Marshall," they mildly say, "McCarthy deserves to be criticized"; or, in calling James Wechsler a secret Communist devoted to writing attacks on himself in the *Daily Worker*, McCarthy "may have gone too far, but he is reasonable in applying a standard different from that applicable to persons innocent of involvement in the Communist conspiracy." Such misjudgments, in short, were natural excesses of zeal, trifling when compared with the magnitude of McCarthy's services. Much of the time, indeed, the authors calmly transform the hurling of accusations by McCarthy into the simple and necessary "raising" of questions. And they feel that "if anything, his conduct and language have mellowed since Eisenhower's inauguration"—an observation which probably antedated the most recent McCarthy imbroglio, but hardly antedated the Wechsler fight or the Bohlen fight or the East-West trade outburst of last December, and which in any case does not commend the authors as judges of character or as prophets.

William Schlamm, in an elaborately ironic and archly satiric "prologue," points up the moral of the Bozell-Buckley story, portraying McCarthy—
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(2) In Defense of McCarthy

By George E. Sokolsky

THIS review has to be written in the midst of a critical political battle which may destroy the career of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy both as a primary factor in the Republican Party and a fighter against Communism or which may strengthen his position of leadership in this country. Never since the South seceded because Abraham Lincoln was elected President has any individual political personality gathered about him the storm clouds and the tumult of political battle. Not even Theodore Roosevelt, when he split the Republican Party by organizing the Bull Moose, influenced the course of internal affairs so violently.

Therefore, one cannot write with objectivity. As the country is divided over McCarthy, so must a reviewer be for the man or against him. It is possible to be for his fight but against his leadership in it; it is not possible to be for him and against his fight. The target is the Communist infiltration into the American Government.

Much has been written about the Wisconsin Senator, but little has been meaningful because the writers usually belabor some minor point, pro or con, or resort to *ad hominem* attacks which prove nothing but that men are not always what they are alleged to be.

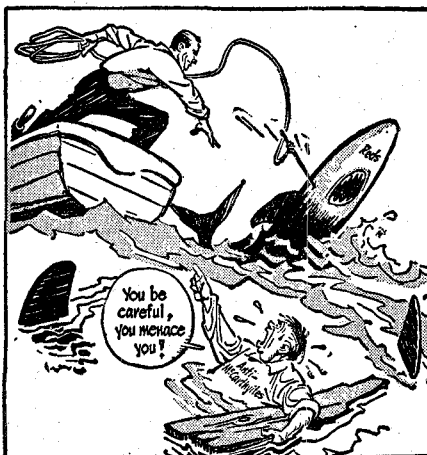
The value of the work of William F. Buckley, Jr., and L. Brent Bozell is that it states the case much as McCarthy himself sees it. His attitude is that he is fighting a tough conspiracy, which has had more than a century of trial and error to learn how to function. These conspirators have, in at least seventeen countries, succeeded in capturing a government by polit-

ical rather than military means. McCarthy rejects the possibility of conducting a war against the Marxists with routine delicacy or by the rules of evidence, rather recognizing the dictum of Frederick Engels, who said: "The irony of world history turns everything upside down. We, 'the revolutionaries,' the 'rebels,' we are thriving far better on legal methods than on illegal methods and revolt . . . The parties of order, as they call themselves, are perishing under the legal conditions created by themselves . . . and if we are not so crazy as to let ourselves be driven into street fighting in order to please them, then nothing else is finally left for them but themselves to break through this legality so fatal to them."

McCarthy has had predecessors in this battle and most of them were politically destroyed. Buckley and Bozell give the history of the efforts of others to clean the Communists out of Government by ordinary means and describe their failures. In this field the effort of J. Anthony Panuch, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, 1945-1947, is significant, because had he succeeded Alger Hiss would have failed before he succeeded in diverting traditional American policy in China into a confusion of purpose which proved to be a boon to the Soviet Universal State.

Messrs. Buckley and Bozell, having cited an effort by routine means that failed, introduce the McCarthy technique, which is based on the assumption that one or a very few men can cause irreparable damage. One Klaus Fuchs can do more harm than a division of professional spies; one Julius Rosenberg penetrated two of the most guarded areas of America, Los Alamos and Fort Monmouth; one Arthur A. Adams could walk off with a sample of plutonium. Therefore the task, as McCarthy has seen it, is to work on little pieces of data to find a pattern of infiltration, to discover the innocents who provide cover for the agents, to expose agent and innocent alike, thereby breaking up highly organized and well-rooted apparatuses which it took great effort and time to establish.

THIS design Buckley and Bozell describe patiently. It is impossible for anyone to know what has already been accomplished without reading the millions of words in the transcripts of the public and closed sessions of the three committees that work in this field. Newspaper reports, necessarily
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—Barrow, in the Omaha World-Herald.

"Apparently some people like to swim with sharks."