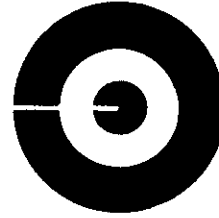


Appendix One: AIM Report on I.F. Stone

AIM
AIM

REPORT
REPORT



Published by ACCURACY IN MEDIA, INC.
4455 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Suite 330
Washington, D.C. 20008 • Telephone: 202-364-4401
Fax: 202-364-4098

Reed Irvine, Editor
Joseph C. Goulden, Associate Editor

\$1.50

August-B 1994

XXIII-16

I.F. STONE OUTED

Newly-declassified FBI archives have provided smoking gun confirmation of a suspicion we and other conservatives harbored for decades: despite his posturing as a non-political gadfly, journalistic icon I.F. Stone was an active member of the Communist Party, USA, at one stage of his career.

The information did not come to us easily. Soon after Stone died in June 1989 we filed a Freedom of Information Act request with the FBI for access to Stone's dossier. Over the years the bureau gave us hundreds of pages of documents, many heavily redacted, others highly repetitive. Although replete with documentation of Stone's work for Communist-front groups and his virulent anti-Americanism, the papers were silent on the vital issue of whether he had ever been a formal party member.

Then, in July, the FBI sent over another series of papers which contain the first document confirming Stone's Communist Party membership. The testimony of the four informants who identified Stone as a party member is summarized in a 29-page accounting of Stone's long career as a promoter of Communist causes. Dated June 13, 1951, the document was previously classified secret. The identity of the four informants is concealed in the documents released, but they were described as being "of known reliability." Three of the persons were listed as former Communists.

Stone was an obscure leftist journalist for much of his career. In his early days he wrote editorials and columns for such papers as the Philadelphia Record and the New York Post. For some two decades beginning in the early 1940s, he was published only on the fringe of the American political scene.

Stone's rise to prominence began during the Vietnam War era, when his far-left, anti-American polemics made him a God-figure to a generation of journalists. His newsletter, *I.F. Stone's Weekly*, became the intellectual house organ of the anti-war movement. Stone had nothing but praise for the brutish Ho Chi Minh and his National Liberation Front, and he heaped scorn on efforts by Presidents Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon to stop the march of Communist totalitarianism across Southeast Asia. On college campuses, the diminutive Stone held audiences in awe as he advocated a victory for the Communists who were killing his own countrymen.

When Stone died, Peter Jennings of ABC News saluted him as a man who "had a truly profound effect on the practice of journalism in America." To Stone, Jennings said, journalism was "to write the truth, to defend the weak against the strong, to fight for justice."

Reed Irvine, chairman of AIM, gave a more objective appraisal at the time: Commenting on Jennings's syrupy tribute, Irvine stated, "Try telling that to the hundreds of millions of victims deposited in the gulags and graveyards of socialist regimes that Stone championed at one time or another throughout his long life."

Stone's vehement hostility to U.S. policy, coupled with his association with a plethora of Communist-front groups, led to suspicions among conservatives that Stone's sympathy with Communist causes went beyond ideological affinity. The FBI reports show that these conservatives were correct—and that such fawning admirers as Jennings were wittingly hoodwinked by a man who did not have the moral courage to declare his Communist affiliation.

"Izzy" Stone, as other journalists knew him, also liked to beat up on the FBI and its director, J. Edgar Hoover. What an irony! Hoover knew as early as 1951 that this bitter

critic had been a party member, and he could have used the dossier to destroy Stone. But he refrained from doing so.

This information was made available to the White House during the Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon Administrations. Stone criticized all three Presidents for their Vietnam policies. Yet none revealed their critic had carried a Communist Party membership card in his wallet that contained a press card. Only now, through AIM, is Izzy Stone's party membership a matter of public record.

Communist in '30s

The FBI files don't identify the confidential informants, but we have learned that one was Louis Budenz, former managing editor of the Daily Worker, the Communist Party organ. Here is an excerpt from the secret FBI report on Budenz's statement.

"The Informant advised that Stone was not a member of the Communist Party when he first met him, but during the mid '30s became very much a member of the Communist Party. This Informant advised that he received information substantiating Stone's membership in the Communist Party not only from Communist Party functionaries such as [deleted] but from [deleted] as well. This Informant was able to advise that Stone assisted the party by aiding in the preparation of attacks on enemies of the Communist Party."

A second confidential Informant, the FBI document stated, "advised that while an active member of the Communist Party, he had been associated with numerous Communist front organizations. This Informant recalled that while in the Party and attending many of the of the Communist front groups, he had met Stone and observed Stone in attendance at some of these meetings.

"This Informant considered Stone to be a Communist because only members of the Communist Party are permitted to attend meetings of these front groups.

"Although [name deleted] considered Stone to be a Communist, this Informant observed that on occasions Stone has deviated from the Communist Party line and as a result has been criticized in the 'Daily Worker' [organ of the CPUSA] by Foreign Editor Joseph Starobin. This indicated to the Informant that although Stone was a Communist, he was not under the complete control and domination of the Communist Party but because of his established eminence as a writer the Communist Party tolerated these infrequent deviations.

"[Name deleted] had no knowledge of any espionage activities on the part of Stone, but offered the opinion that Stone was capable of such activity because he impressed the Informant of being as completely pro-Soviet and a staunch supporter of Russia. . . .

"Confidential Informant [name deleted] of known reliability, and a former member of the Communist Party, advised that during the mid 1930s while active in a Communist Front group [several lines deleted]. This Informant pointed out that at that time Stone was employed as an editorial writer for the 'New York Evening Post' and was able to assist Communist Front groups by reporting on their activities in a favorable light. This Informant advised in April 1951 that during the 1930s [words deleted] Stone [deleted] whom the Informant identified as a known Soviet agent. This Informant had no knowledge of any espionage activities on the part of Stone, and with respect to Stone's financial status, advised that in approximately 1938, Stone was 'broke.' "

Yet another Informant, this one evaluated by the FBI as being of "unknown reliability," told the bureau in 1952 that he had frequently discussed Stone with other party members. "According to this Informant," the report stated, "Stone was belittled as 'half-baked' and not able to follow through his ideas and develop them to a logical conclusion.

"[Name deleted] said that it was generally conceded that when Stone was good in his newspaper column he was very good and when he was bad he was very poor. [Name deleted] considered this analysis of Stone . . . to be a typical two-way approach which the cell members used in referring to persons who were not one hundred percent with them."

Revealed Dulles Mission

The FBI does not cite any involvement in spying for the USSR. A report on August 30, 1954, stated, "Extensive investigation has failed to establish any espionage activity on the part of the subject."

This finding, however, is irrelevant given the context of Stone's career. Such a journalist would be far more valuable to the Soviets as an agent on the influence, a person whose writings could shape public opinion. Stone's name was contained in the "Security Index," the bureau's designation for persons who would be detained in the event of war or

another national emergency.

The heavily-censored files show, however, that Stone's name came up in investigations of such espionage figures as Whittaker Chambers and William Remington. The deletions are such that the context in which Stone was mentioned cannot be determined.

But one report formerly classified as top secret shows that Stone came under investigation in March 1945 for revealing that four Americans stationed in Berne, Switzerland, worked for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), predecessor of the CIA. Stone wrote an article in the leftist New York daily PM charging that persons planning the economic future of Germany were "being drawn from those circles in big business, finance, and the corporate bar which did a great deal of business with the Reich before the war." One of the OSS figures identified was Allen W. Dulles, chief of the OSS station (and later Director of Central Intelligence).

An OSS security officer complained to the FBI and military intelligence officials that Dulles and three other OSS covert operatives had been "uncovered" by the Stone article. Stone's breach could have had dire consequences. Dulles was in Switzerland ostensibly as a "personal representative" of President Roosevelt, not as an intelligence agent. Although the Swiss government presumably knew something of his activities, maintaining the fiction that he was not a spy was essential to his continued presence there.

There is a curious—and perhaps significant—juxtaposition of events relative to Stone's disclosure. At the very time Stone publicized the OSS connection, Dulles was negotiating the surrender of a good chunk of the German army in an attempt to shorten the war. The Soviets opposed any such partial surrender, fearing that the U.S. and the British could move into the vacuum and seize territory in southern Europe which Stalin coveted.

Washington writer James Srodes, who has just finished a biography of Allen Dulles, told us that the exposure could have been "disastrous" for Dulles and his OSS mission. "In the spring of 1945 the Swiss feared that the German army that was retreating from Italy might march right through Switzerland. Thus the government wasn't about to do anything to offend Berlin. Had the Germans caught on to Dulles's true role, they could have forced the Swiss to expel him." Had this happened, the secret surrender negotiations, called "Operation Sunrise," would have failed.

As events turned out, Dulles succeeded in arranging the surrender of nearly a million German soldiers on May 2, an event that foretold the collapse of Hitler. The FBI files do not reveal how this secret information came to be known by Stone.

The Kalugin Factor

The censored FBI files are silent on Stone's known connections with Soviet espionage figure Oleg Kalugin, who was a KGB general when he retired in the early 1990s. Kalugin had frequent contacts with Stone in the 1960s and early 1970s when he worked at the USSR embassy in Washington under cover of being a press officer. This job gave Kalugin a suitable pretext for meeting with Stone and other journalists. An FBI memo which leaked to columnist Jack Anderson (May 1, 1972) stated, "On February 11, 1966 at 1:09 P.M. [Stone] was observed to meet Oleg D. Kalugin in front of Harvey's Restaurant, 1107 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. Together, they subsequently entered Harvey's Restaurant." Writer Curt Gentry quoted the memo in his 1991 book, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and His Secrets*. None of the memos describing this and other Kalugin contacts with Stone are contained in the censored dossier given to AIM.

Perhaps unwittingly, Kalugin lifted part of the veil covering Stone's efforts for the USSR in March 1992 in an interview with Andrew Brown of the London *Independent*. Kalugin stated, "We had an agent—a well known American journalist—with a good reputation who severed his ties with us after 1956." This was the year of Nikita Khrushchev's speech exposing the perfidies of Stalin. Kalugin continued, "I myself convinced him to resume them. But in 1968, after the invasion of Czechoslovakia. . .he said he would never again take any money from us."

Kalugin did not identify the journalist. But when interviewed later by Herbert Romerstein, who writes for *Human Events* and other publications, Kalugin confirmed that he was referring to Stone. He made the same admission later to Reed Irvine. Both these statements were off the record and were reported without identifying the source by name.

Kalugin Waffles

The New York Times and The Washington Post reacted with angry editorials denouncing AIM and Romerstein. After his first denials Kalugin eventually admitted to Brown that he indeed was talking about Stone in the March interview, but that his remarks had been

subjected to a "malicious misinterpretation." Brown, in an article in *The New York Review of Books*, quoted Kalugin, "Never did I mention Stone as a man who was paid as a Soviet agent. I had no facts to back that accusation up. . . He refused to be paid for the lunch. That's all."

We confronted Kalugin with his contradictory statements at a meeting at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, in September 1992, when he was speaking on the record. We asked him to explain what he had meant by the term "agents of influence" as distinct from other agents and journalists with whom he had lunch. Kalugin ducked the question, mentioning people, including himself, whom he said had been falsely accused of being agents of influence. He said that there formerly were many "sympathizers to the Communist cause—fellow travelers who would support any Soviet action in the face of even obvious criminality of these things—for instance, take the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, or other issues." He denied that these people were agents of influence, saying "They were just dupes, Communist-oriented people. They did it on their own. They did not have to be under the influence of the KGB."

Continuing the discussion with Reed Irvine in private, Kalugin asserted that Stone and the Australian Communist journalist Wilfred Burchett—two persons he had identified as "agents of influence"—were not actually agents. He claimed that he had only asserted that they were "involved with the Soviets in the cause. They were fighting for the cause, but not as an agent." They were "fellow travelers," he said.

That Kalugin would lump Stone with Burchett is significant. In 1969, KGB defector Yuri Krotkov testified to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that he had helped get Burchett on the KGB payroll. Kalugin professed not to know anything about the Krotkov testimony. This is hard to believe. Kalugin's denial that Burchett was a paid agent is patently false, which makes his reversal on Stone dubious as well. Russia has a law prohibiting identifying former intelligence agents, which probably explains why Kalugin backtracked on his earlier statements about Burchett and Stone.

ABC's Peter Jennings was not the only journalist hoodwinked by Stone's frequent denials that he had ever been a Communist. But even some liberal writers had trouble with Stone's consistent adherence to the Communist line.

Richard H. Rovere, longtime Washington correspondent for *The New Yorker*, expressed his suspicions in a New York Post review of Stone's 1952 book, *The Hidden History of the Korean War*. Stone blamed the U.S. and South Korea for starting the war and endorsed Communist propaganda claims that the U.S. used germ warfare. Rovere wrote, in part:

"Stone was an adroit stylist, a shrewd and thoughtful analyst, and a man with an incredible capacity for gathering and storing information. His politics were radical but he was not a Communist. . .

"I do not know what happened to deflect Stone's promising career in the forties—but I do know that something unpleasant to contemplate did happen.

"For several years now, Stone has no longer been a promising journalist or even a moderately good one. Zest, style and humor have departed his work, leaving it merely querulous, and it is always querulous in a certain way. The fact of the matter is that Stone's contribution to American journalism today is that of a man who thinks up good arguments for poor Communist positions.

"He is still not a Communist. Every so often, in a peculiar ritual that might be described as the anti-genuflection, he says something that no Communist under party discipline would dare to say—that there is not much free speech in Russia, for example; that Trotskyites should not be denied their civil rights. It is, apparently, a gesture intended to show his friends, his readers, and perhaps himself that he is undertaking his extensions of the Soviet line as a free agent.

"A free agent he unquestionably is, but he uses his freedom in every decisive instance to plead the Communist case and the undermine the anti-Communist case. His performances are not compulsory, but they are manifestly compulsive. . ."

AIM REPORT is published twice monthly by Accuracy In Media, Inc., 4455 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC 20008, and is free to AIM members. Dues and contributions to AIM are tax deductible.

MOSCOW'S WORDS, WESTERN VOICES

BY DR. KENNETH J. CAMPBELL

Accuracy in Media, Inc.
4455 Connecticut Avenue, NW #330
Washington, DC 20008
1994

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----|
| Introduction | 5 |
| I.F. Stone | 7 |
| The Hidden History of the Korean War | 15 |
| I.F. Stone's Weekly | 23 |
| Motivation | 40 |
| The Relationship Between Izzy's Personality Problems and His Status As An Agent of Influence | 43 |
| Addendum | 43 |
| Wilfred Burchett: KGB Journalist | 44 |
| Motivation | 64 |
| Conclusion | 66 |
| Walter Duranty | 67 |
| The Ultimate Lie, The Ultimate Liar | 74 |
| Duranty's Career After 1933 | 78 |
| The Motivation of Walter Duranty | 79 |
| Alexander Cockburn: | |
| Cheerleader for the Hate American Club | 80 |
| Alexander Cockburn's Writings | 80 |
| Summary of Cockburn's Work | 100 |
| Cockburn as a Person | 100 |
| Conclusion | 102 |
| Footnotes | 103 |
| Appendix One | |
| AIM Report—I.F. Stone | 113 |
| Appendix Two | |
| FBI Documents on I.F. Stone | 117 |

will cover
was not:

I.F. STONE

Isidor Feinstein, later to become I.F. Stone, was born on December 24, 1907 in Philadelphia to Bernard and Katherine Feinstein, Russian Jewish immigrants. Soon after his birth, Isidor's mother suffered from postpartum depression, which required the maternal parents to care for him. Although Bernard began work in America as a peddler, he acquired considerable property, which he eventually lost during the Great Depression (1929-39). Because of problems with his in-laws, Bernard moved his family to Richmond, Indiana, but soon returned back east to settle in Haddonfield, New Jersey, a suburb of Philadelphia. In 1914, Bernard opened the Philadelphia Bargain Store, a general store which sold practically everything Feinstein thought his customers might want to buy. By 1924, Isidor ("Izzy") had two brothers and a sister.

There was considerable tension in the Feinstein home. Over the years, the mother, a manic depressive, had numerous breakdowns, often being hospitalized at the Pennsylvania Hospital for Nervous Diseases in Philadelphia. It is not clear what effect, if any, these hospitalizations and the mother's general unhappiness may have had on young Izzy.

Another problem in the Feinstein home was the conflict between Izzy and his father, who wanted his academically oriented son to enter his business, something Izzy simply would not do. The father had hoped to establish a chain of stores, assisted by Izzy. Further, Isidor was openly contemptuous of the family, possibly being ashamed of his immigrant parents whose English was at best broken, and this attitude could only exacerbate strains in the family. Izzy's contempt took the form of antagonizing his father, an example being the time he bought a conspicuous necktie from Wannamaker's, a well-known department store in Philadelphia, despite the fact that his father sold this item in his own store? Another source of friction in the Feinstein home was Izzy's rejection of Judaism, a development which disturbed his parents.

Despite his unfortunate relationship with his father, Izzy did have a man in the family to identify with, his favorite uncle Shumer Feinstein. The uncle was a scholar who taught Hebrew to Izzy and his brother, Max, so that they could go through the bar mitzvah ceremony. (At age 13, Jewish boys, as well as girls today, go through this rite of passage to adulthood.) The uncle always had a story for his admiring nephew, Izzy, which probably helped the youngster to identify with a male role model and thus avoid any serious sexual problems in later years.

In high school, Isidor read *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, and the literary classics, such as the works of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Herman Melville, John Keats, Percy Shelly, John Milton, and William Wordsworth. Izzy also read Communist classics by such luminaries as Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, and Peter Kropotkin, calling himself an anarchocommunist, whatever that meant

in his youthful vocabulary. He also started a newspaper, *The Progress*, at age fourteen, an endeavor in which he supported the League of Nations and was critical of William Jennings Bryan for his defense of religious fundamentalism. Izzy's pursuit of so many outside interests in high school caused his grades to decline drastically, inducing his father to put an end to *The Progress*.

When he was a junior in high school and working in his father's store, Izzy became acquainted with a customer, Jill Stern. She was the wife of J. David Stern, soon to be publisher of several important newspapers on the East Coast, and because Mrs. Stern thought Izzy had good potential, her husband offered him a job. Isidor eagerly accepted the position, Haddonfield correspondent of the *Camden Evening-Courier*. Stern was to replace Shumer Feinstein as a substitute father for Isidor for the next ten years or more.

Upon graduation from high school, Izzy Feinstein's grades were so low that he placed forty-ninth in a class of fifty-two.³ This prevented him from getting into the school he wanted to attend, Harvard University, but the University of Pennsylvania accepted him, owing to the fact that it was required to accept high school graduates from Philadelphia and nearby communities.

In his first year at the University of Pennsylvania, Isidor Feinstein sought membership in the Philomathean Society, a literary group which required him to give a talk before voting on his suitability as a member. Izzy's lecture on the poet Robinson Jeffers did not go over well, owing to a number of factors, such as his nervousness and lack of good grooming. Having been blackballed by the Philomatheans, Izzy joined a small group of Jewish intellectuals, most of whom were later to become editors, playwrights, novelists, and attorneys. These youngsters were radical, having such heroes as the Communist John Reed, who worked for the Soviet government and wrote *Ten Days That Shook The World*. They constantly discussed intellectual topics, sharpening each other's reasoning powers in the process. Isidor Feinstein continued to read Communist documents, such as Friedrich Engels's *Socialism Scientific and Utopian*, also joining the Camden (New Jersey) chapter of the Socialist Party.

Izzy worked as a reporter during college, having obtained a position with the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in his junior year in 1927. Being bored with classes and professors, Isidor Feinstein quit the university in that year to devote himself to his work as a reporter. Shortly thereafter, he married Esther Roisman, the couple remaining together until Izzy's death in 1989.

When the October 1929 stock market crash occurred, to be followed by the Great Depression, Izzy's father, Bernard, lost much of his property. This led to an increase in the frequency of Katherine's confinement to a mental hospital for her manic-depressive problems. Izzy helped his parents, getting a job for his father at the U.S. Mint in Philadelphia, but he was beginning his own family and a journalistic career. Seeing the crushing effects of the Great Depression upon his own family, the radical young socialist and intellectual of the university became hard-

ened in his condemnation of capitalism, even moving near or into the Communist orbit.

In 1931, Isidor Feinstein began work for the *Philadelphia Record*, another of J. David Stern's newspapers, working on the editorial staff. It was at this time that he was "lining up"⁴ with American Communists, according to Robert C. Cottrell, a biographer friendly to Izzy. Did "lining up" mean agreeing with, or did it imply formally joining the American Communist Party? Was this a temporary aberration in his development, or did Isidor Feinstein remain a committed Communist for the remainder of his journalistic career? And even if he joined and then left the Party, did this mean he repudiated Communism or simply cut this relationship so that he might serve the cause more effectively as a non-member? These and other questions have not been answered thus far, and the reader may try to solve them by referring to the body of work that Izzy was to produce for the next forty years or more.

During the Great Depression, American intellectuals tended to divide themselves between those who chose the Marxist solution and wanted to replace Capitalism with Communism, and the followers of the British economist, John Maynard Keynes, who sought to make capitalism function more effectively. Izzy chose the Marxist solution, but his employer, J. David Stern, supported President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who basically adopted a Keynesian approach to the nation's problems. By 1933, Isidor Feinstein had decided to compromise his allegiance to Communism. He wanted to write in support of his ideology—Communism, but he also had to make enough money to care for his wife and first child, who had been born on November 9, 1932. Further, Izzy had to help his parents, Bernard and Katherine, who by this time had lost all of their property and needed his financial aid.

Knowing that he could not attack Roosevelt's policies in the *Philadelphia Record* and maintain his job at this newspaper, Izzy attacked Roosevelt in articles which he wrote for *Modern Monthly* under the pseudonym of Abelard Stone, a reference to the rationalist Medieval philosopher Peter Abelard, whom he admired. In these articles, Feinstein accused President Roosevelt of moving the nation towards Fascism, a wild notion at best, and advocated a "Soviet America."⁵ Change in the American economy, he stated, must be total, following the path of Soviet Russia which, he asserted, had created so much economic progress in a previously primitive country through national economic planning.⁶ From this time until the defeat of Nazi Germany in 1945, Isidor Feinstein also stressed the need for a united front in America, and cooperation among the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and England against Germany.⁷

Owing to the fact that the use of a pseudonym did not prevent journalists and publishers from knowing who "Abelard Stone" was, Isidor Feinstein ceased writing for *Modern Monthly*. Because of his own financial requirements, practicality won out over ideology, as Izzy began to praise President Roosevelt in his

editorials for the *Philadelphia Record*.

In December 1934, J. David Stern transferred Izzy to another of his newspapers, *The New York Post*. Soon afterwards, Feinstein began to contribute articles to both *The New Republic* and *The Nation*, both left-of-center publications at that time. Izzy's brother, Marc, stayed with him and Esther in perhaps 1935, and, meeting a lot of communists at the Feinstein home, eventually joined the Communist party.

When the Spanish Civil War began in 1936, the Soviet Union gave massive aid to the Red-infiltrated Republican government of Spain. Isidor Feinstein urged Western nations to join the Soviet Union in a united front to support the Republican government, also tending to cite excessive violence by the forces of the Fascist General Francisco Franco, but to ignore that of the leftist Republican forces.⁸ In that same year, Josef Stalin, dictator of the Soviet Union, began the show trials of his fellow communists in Moscow, a travesty of justice for anyone willing to see the obvious.⁹ Despite the fact that the bizarre "confessions" were obtained from the victims of these trials by torture, Isidor Feinstein claimed in an article printed on January 26, 1937 that Stalin and his thugs might have had adequate evidence for conducting this massive injustice and the resulting butchery.¹⁰ If nothing else the theatrical atmosphere of these trials should have alerted Izzy Stone that something was wrong. Soon, on February 6, 1937, Stone was lyrical in his praise of the Soviet government, claiming that Communism was transforming Europe's most backward nation "into the most advanced,"¹¹ though he did not explain how advanced nations conduct show trials.

As Izzy continued to emphasize a united front, his publisher, J. David Stern, a firm liberal non-Communist, became increasingly uncomfortable with his protégé. Stern insisted in 1938, for example, that Feinstein should criticize the Spanish Republican government, when it committed excesses, crimes that Izzy had previously passed over. Izzy's relationship with Stern began to deteriorate seriously at this time, culminating in a quarrel in which Isidor denounced *The New York Post* to Stern as a "whorehouse."¹² Stern fired Izzy, who was next hired by Freda Kirchwey, associate editor of *The Nation*, a left-wing publication, which, like Feinstein, had been insisting on a united front within and among the Western nations and the Soviet Union against Fascist Germany. Kirchwey was cited in 1956 by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in its list of sponsors of Communist front organizations. Her activities included sponsorship of or membership in such groups as the All-America Anti-Imperialist League; the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, an organization which sought to send weapons from the United States to Republican (Communist dominated) forces in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39); and the American League for Peace and Democracy. In the 1930s, Kirchwey supported what she considered to be the Soviet experiment.

Free from the restraints of J. David Stern, Izzy Feinstein once again began to criticize President Roosevelt for failing to solve the Great Depression and to

redistribute income, an impossible task for any administration to accomplish in a mere five years. Isidor Feinstein ended 1938 by changing his name on December 28th to I.F. Stone.

On May 23, 1939, a manifesto was published, a document signed by a leading group of American intellectuals (e.g., Sidney Hook, Norman Thomas, and John Dewey), which condemned the united front concept and was very critical of those who attacked totalitarian Germany but ignored or apologized for the totalitarian Soviet Union. Soon, approximately four hundred intellectuals signed a second document that strongly objected to the May 23rd manifesto and expressed dismay at the

...fantastic falsehood that the U.S.S.R. and totalitarian states are basically alike."¹³

I.F. Stone was one of the signers of this second document. The denunciations of Stalin and his system by Nikita Khrushchev, Mikhail Gorbachev, and thousands of Russian thinkers today make us wonder how or why Izzy Stone never retracted his support of the latter statement? Later, Stone acknowledged that he had been "something of an apologist" for the Soviet Union, which is akin to being somewhat pregnant.¹⁴

When it was announced on August 23, 1939 that Stalin and Adolph Hitler had signed their Nonaggression pact, Izzy Stone, in contrast to thousands of Jewish intellectuals who left the Communist party at this time, soon found something good to say about the Soviet Union. In late 1939, Stone claimed that a Soviet intrusion into Eastern Europe as a result of the Nonaggression Treaty could have a beneficial effect upon peasants who did not own the land they cultivated.

Izzy became the Washington editor for *The Nation* in 1939, but finding this city a very expensive place in which to live, he had to take on a second full-time job in 1941 as Washington correspondent for *PM*. This latter magazine was under attack for being controlled by Communists, its detractors including Victor Riesel, then editor of the anti-Communist *New Leader*. During World War II, Izzy was listed as a sponsor for the Citizens Committee and the Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, a well-known Communist and leader in the International Longshoreman's Union. Dr. Harvey Klehr, a professor of political science at Emory University, and John Haynes, editor of the *Newsletter* of the Historians of American Communism, recently discovered in the Moscow archives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a list of members elected in 1936 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. Bridges was one of them.¹⁵ Having presented himself as a defender of civil rights in the Bridges case, Izzy ignored the relocation of thousands of Japanese-Americans into isolated camps after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

editorials for the *Philadelphia Record*.

In December 1934, J. David Stern transferred Izzy to another of his newspapers, *The New York Post*. Soon afterwards, Feinstein began to contribute articles to both *The New Republic* and *The Nation*, both left-of-center publications at that time. Izzy's brother, Marc, stayed with him and Esther in perhaps 1935, and, meeting a lot of communists at the Feinstein home, eventually joined the Communist party.

When the Spanish Civil War began in 1936, the Soviet Union gave massive aid to the Red-infiltrated Republican government of Spain. Isidor Feinstein urged Western nations to join the Soviet Union in a united front to support the Republican government, also tending to cite excessive violence by the forces of the Fascist General Francisco Franco, but to ignore that of the leftist Republican forces.⁸ In that same year, Josef Stalin, dictator of the Soviet Union, began the show trials of his fellow communists in Moscow, a travesty of justice for anyone willing to see the obvious.⁹ Despite the fact that the bizarre "confessions" were obtained from the victims of these trials by torture, Isidor Feinstein claimed in an article printed on January 26, 1937 that Stalin and his thugs might have had adequate evidence for conducting this massive injustice and the resulting butchery.¹⁰ If nothing else the theatrical atmosphere of these trials should have alerted Izzy Stone that something was wrong. Soon, on February 6, 1937, Stone was lyrical in his praise of the Soviet government, claiming that Communism was transforming Europe's most backward nation "into the most advanced,"¹¹ though he did not explain how advanced nations conduct show trials.

As Izzy continued to emphasize a united front, his publisher, J. David Stern, a firm liberal non-Communist, became increasingly uncomfortable with his protégé. Stern insisted in 1938, for example, that Feinstein should criticize the Spanish Republican government, when it committed excesses, crimes that Izzy had previously passed over. Izzy's relationship with Stern began to deteriorate seriously at this time, culminating in a quarrel in which Isidor denounced *The New York Post* to Stern as a "whorehouse."¹² Stern fired Izzy, who was next hired by Freda Kirchwey, associate editor of *The Nation*, a left-wing publication, which, like Feinstein, had been insisting on a united front within and among the Western nations and the Soviet Union against Fascist Germany. Kirchwey was cited in 1956 by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in its list of sponsors of Communist front organizations. Her activities included sponsorship of or membership in such groups as the All-America Anti-Imperialist League; the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo, an organization which sought to send weapons from the United States to Republican (Communist dominated) forces in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39); and the American League for Peace and Democracy. In the 1930s, Kirchwey supported what she considered to be the Soviet experiment.

Free from the restraints of J. David Stern, Izzy Feinstein once again began to criticize President Roosevelt for failing to solve the Great Depression and to

redistribute income, an impossible task for any administration to accomplish in a mere five years. Isidor Feinstein ended 1938 by changing his name on December 28th to I.F. Stone.

On May 23, 1939, a manifesto was published, a document signed by a leading group of American intellectuals (e.g., Sidney Hook, Norman Thomas, and John Dewey), which condemned the united front concept and was very critical of those who attacked totalitarian Germany but ignored or apologized for the totalitarian Soviet Union. Soon, approximately four hundred intellectuals signed a second document that strongly objected to the May 23rd manifesto and expressed dismay at the

...fantastic falsehood that the U.S.S.R. and totalitarian states are basically alike."¹³

I.F. Stone was one of the signers of this second document. The denunciations of Stalin and his system by Nikita Khrushchev, Mikhail Gorbachev, and thousands of Russian thinkers today make us wonder how or why Izzy Stone never retracted his support of the latter statement? Later, Stone acknowledged that he had been "something of an apologist" for the Soviet Union, which is akin to being somewhat pregnant.¹⁴

When it was announced on August 23, 1939 that Stalin and Adolph Hitler had signed their Nonaggression pact, Izzy Stone, in contrast to thousands of Jewish intellectuals who left the Communist party at this time, soon found something good to say about the Soviet Union. In late 1939, Stone claimed that a Soviet intrusion into Eastern Europe as a result of the Nonaggression Treaty could have a beneficial effect upon peasants who did not own the land they cultivated.

Izzy became the Washington editor for *The Nation* in 1939, but finding this city a very expensive place in which to live, he had to take on a second full-time job in 1941 as Washington correspondent for *PM*. This latter magazine was under attack for being controlled by Communists, its detractors including Victor Riesel, then editor of the anti-Communist *New Leader*. During World War II, Izzy was listed as a sponsor for the Citizens Committee and the Citizens Victory Committee for Harry Bridges, a well-known Communist and leader in the International Longshoreman's Union. Dr. Harvey Klehr, a professor of political science at Emory University, and John Haynes, editor of the *Newsletter* of the Historians of American Communism, recently discovered in the Moscow archives of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a list of members elected in 1936 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States. Bridges was one of them.¹⁵ Having presented himself as a defender of civil rights in the Bridges case, Izzy ignored the relocation of thousands of Japanese-Americans into isolated camps after the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

By October 1942, Izzy Stone was both saddened and angered by the fact that America and Great Britain had not invaded Western Europe to take the German Army's pressure off the Soviet Red Army. He failed to consider the fact, or maybe didn't care, that both officers and troops of the U.S. Army were, for the most part, "green," lacking battle experience at this time. For example, once the Americans had invaded North Africa in November 1942, they were soundly routed in their first major battle in the Kasserine Pass, a painful defeat which showed the lack of battle experience of American field commanders, such as General Dwight Eisenhower, and of their troops. When the Allied invasion of Western Europe did occur with seasoned troops in June 1944, this operation barely succeeded because of German fortifications and superb military leadership. Had the Allies invaded Western Europe in 1942, an inexperienced American Army would probably have been butchered, a possibility that did not concern Stone in his insistence that the second front in Europe in 1942 should benefit the Red Army. Fortunately, the British Imperial General Staff, experienced in fighting the German Army, knew what the latter force could do to "green" commanders and troops. The British were able to persuade the American military to delay a second front until 1944, when the Normandy landing was accomplished with seasoned American and British troops.

In January of 1943, Stone attended a press conference given by Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Izzy irritated Mr. Hull to the extent that the Secretary exploded in anger. Freda Kirchwey, Stone's editor, was concerned about this incident and Izzy's lack of tact.

Izzy Stone insisted in March 1945 that Soviet imposition of Communist governments in Eastern Europe would bring benefits to the peasants of these nations, a preposterous argument in view of Josef Stalin's slaughter and starvation of millions of Soviet peasants from 1929-33.

In the latter part of World War II in Europe, the Soviets seized Poland, among other nations, enabling Stalin to establish a provisional government, that of Lublin. At the Yalta conference, where President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Stalin met in February 1945, Roosevelt and Churchill insisted that the Soviet Union permit free elections in Poland, a request Stalin agreed to but did not carry out. He had placed a Communist government in power in Poland and had no intention of permitting the possibility of its defeat in an election. In May 1945, Izzy Stone defended the arrest of sixteen Polish underground leaders by Soviet authorities. His reasoning was that the Poles were responsible for the deaths of more than one hundred Red Army troops. He further claimed that two of these Poles were Fascists. The source of Stone's information about the sixteen Poles was the Communist Lublin government, which the Soviets were forcing upon the Polish nation, hardly an objective authority upon which to rely.¹⁶ In August 1945, Izzy expressed disappointment that the new Communist governments which had been put in power by Red Army guns were not represen-

tative. Nevertheless, Stone reasoned that these governments were popular fronts, whatever this term meant to him then, and had to beat down all vestiges of Fascism before they could become democratic.¹⁷

Once the war was over and Fascist Germany and Italy lay in ruins, Stone insisted in April 1946 that Fascist Spain was a threat to world peace.¹⁸ He did not bother to explain how Spain—both militarily and economically weak—could threaten world peace, a ludicrous notion at best. When anti-Communist liberals—such as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Hubert Humphery, and John Kenneth Galbraith—formed the Americans for Democratic Action in 1946, Stone was unhappy about this development, claiming that it split the left.¹⁹

In 1946, Izzy Stone went to Palestine with the Hagannah, a Jewish underground organization, without first getting leave from Freda Kirchwey at *The Nation*. Consequently, she fired him, and he now depended upon *PM* to make a living. Another outcome of his trip was Izzy's publication of *This Is Israel* in 1948, neither the first nor the last of his books.

Izzy Stone criticized American economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey in 1947, both of which were endangered by Communist insurrections. He claimed that the Greek government was full of "...crooks, incompetents, ex-Axis agents..."²⁰ However, his evidence for this assertion was lacking, and Stone failed to answer an important question, namely: Assuming his allegation to be perfectly true, were the leaders of the Greek insurrection any less corrupt than the men they sought to replace?

When American Communists decided not to support President Harry S. Truman in 1948, they joined with non-Communist liberals to form a third political party, the Progressive, which Izzy supported. Their presidential candidate in 1948 was Henry Wallace, who so consistently championed Soviet positions that he refused to denounce the Communist seizure of the Czechoslovak government in 1948. By 1965, even Izzy Stone was willing to admit that Wallace in the 1948 campaign was willing to

...read second-rate scripts prepared by third-rate Communist Party liners."²¹

On May 22, 1948, Izzy Stone described Gerhard Eisler, the notorious Comintern representative to the United States, as a victim of political persecution by the American government and urged Great Britain not to deport him to the United States where he had been convicted of contempt of Congress.²² In June of 1948, Izzy Stone spoke at the Harvard Law school, where he stated:

We stand with guns loaded on the border of Soviet Russia...forcing the Russians to fight.²³

Also in June 1948, *PM* went out of business, forcing Izzy to seek employment elsewhere, which he found in the *New York Daily Compass*, another left-wing publication. According to an FBI report, the *Daily Worker*, a publication of the American Communist Party, announced on October 15, 1948 its plans to honor Stone at a dinner, along with Henry A. Wallace, Lillian Hellman, Clifford J. Durr, and others.²⁴

On March 24, 1949, Izzy denounced the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), claiming its main purpose was to hold back change rather than to prevent Soviet military aggression in Western Europe.²⁵ The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, a Soviet front organization, sponsored a dinner on May 25, 1949 in appreciation of the work of the Reverend William Howard Melish at the City Center Casino in New York. I.F. Stone was one of the speakers who praised Melish at this affair.²⁶ In June of 1949, Stone described Winston Churchill's hope to drive the Russians out of East Europe to be in line with the interests of such corporations as Standard Oil and Chase Manhattan Bank, though he did not offer evidence to support such a wild claim.²⁷ Even if Churchill's aims and the interests of these corporations did coincide, that does not mean that Churchill pursued his objectives to benefit these or any other corporations.

In the *New York Daily Compass* of August 14, 1949, Izzy described the Soviet revolution as "the biggest event of our time," stating that the march of socialism is certain.²⁸ Stone's statement stands out as a wish rather than the statement of a trend supported by historical evidence. When the Red Chinese drove the forces of Chiang Kai-shek from mainland China in 1949, Izzy Stone claimed that Communism would benefit the backward peasants in that land. Even Stone's admiring biographer, Robert C. Cottrell, was astounded by Izzy's optimism in this situation, commenting that:

What such an analysis suggested was that in spite of the brutal collectivization campaign, the Moscow Trials, the Nazi-Soviet pact, the latest quashing of the Czech democracy, and the Stalinist takeover of Eastern Europe, Stone continued to believe that communism was a progressive force...²⁹

In an article in the *New York Daily Compass* on February 12, 1950, Stone declared that:

When the Russians feel they are no longer surrounded, as they have been since 1917, by a wall of hate, they will turn toward political freedom.³⁰

Stone was thus blaming the Soviet Union's dictatorship on the West, principally the United States, ignoring the centuries old tradition of the despotic tsars in Rus-

sia. In his column in the *New York Daily Compass* of May 25, 1950, Izzy claimed that when the United States, Great Britain, and France protested to Moscow about the latter's creation of an East German army, they simply wished to state publicly an "excuse" for the Pentagon to set up a West German army.³¹ Where was his evidence for this claim? When the North Korean Army invaded South Korea on June 25, 1950, Izzy Stone began gathering material for a book on the Korean War which he would later publish. (See a discussion of this volume below).

Having advocated so many positions favorable to the Soviet Union, Izzy was by 1949 no longer welcome at the White House, nor could he get appointments with most Cabinet level government officials. By the late forties, his columns were of less interest to the American public which had swung dramatically to the right in reaction to Soviet aggression in Europe. Having been ignored, Izzy took his family to Europe in August of 1950, where he claimed that America was becoming Fascist and considered becoming a political refugee in England.³² Surely, this episode in self-dramatization and rationalization of the declining interest in his work has to be seen as pure comedy, a farce which borders on the lewd.

The Hidden History of the Korean War

I.F. Stone published *The Hidden History of the Korean War* in 1952, a book which was to tarnish his reputation for its bizarre and unsubstantiated claims. Before discussing this volume, however, it is important to delineate the themes of Soviet propaganda, and then to ask if these themes are repeated in Stone's book on the Korean War, as well as his succeeding books. Perhaps the best discussion of Soviet propaganda themes is found in *Dezinformatsia*, a volume written by Drs. Richard H. Shultz and Roy Godson.³³ Soviet propaganda themes, they point out, claim that the West, especially the United States, is aggressive and exploitative of Third World countries; guilty of militarism in that it stirs up international tensions; is opposed to negotiations which might limit the increase in nuclear weapons or encourage detente; is suffering from economic, political and social crises; tries to sabotage unity among Communist nations; has contradictions in their NATO alliance in the sense that the United States interferes in the internal affairs of various West European nations; cooperates with any foe of the Soviet Union; and violates human rights. By 1976, however, the Soviets did concede that there were "realistic" elements in Western nations, defining "realistic" as having a positive attitude towards Communism.³⁴ There are other themes in Soviet propaganda, however, which will be mentioned in the course of this chapter.

The main thesis of Izzy Stone's book on the Korean War is that President Harry S. Truman, General Douglas MacArthur, Chiang Kai-shek of Nationalist China, and President Syngman Rhee of South Korea provoked the North Koreans to attack South Korea in June 1950. Each of these men, according to Stone, stood

to benefit from the Korean War. President Truman needed a crisis to persuade Congress to support the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, General MacArthur wanted control of a unified Korea through war, and Chiang Kai-shek needed this conflict to get an American commitment to defend his island of Formosa from invasion by the mainland Chinese under Mao Tse-tung. Syngman Rhee, in political trouble at home, needed a war to get his people's support.³⁵ Since these leaders were allegedly baiting North Korea to attack by launching various provocations from the South, they were not surprised, in Stone's estimation, when the North finally did attack on June 25th.

Stone's logic and evidence for these startling accusations is immediately suspect. Consider first his claim that President Truman was not surprised by the initiation of hostilities. Izzy indicated that Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter, Director of Central Intelligence, had repeatedly warned the Administration that an attack on South Korea by North Korea was a distinct possibility. However, what Stone fails to realize, or has purposely ignored, is that few American leaders took the recently established CIA and its pronouncements seriously at this time. Aware of the CIA's limitations, President Truman didn't even invite Admiral Hillenkoetter to his initial meetings with advisers once the war had begun.³⁶ Truman knew that General MacArthur had not permitted the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to operate in his Far East Command and could not have much faith in its expertise in this area.³⁷

General MacArthur was probably surprised by the attack, contrary to Izzy Stone, because his chief intelligence officer, Major General Charles Willoughby, had a long record of serious mistakes.³⁸ Before the outbreak of the Korean War, Willoughby's intelligence officers had to cover the entire Far East, a daunting task for this limited force, and had very little time to analyze information.³⁹

Izzy Stone points out that John Foster Dulles, then Republican adviser to the State Department, was in South Korea shortly before the attack at the request of President Truman and the Secretary of State, but did not make a public statement on the menace to South Korea from the North. Stone finds this "hard to understand."⁴⁰ A few pages later, Izzy claimed that Dulles was anxious for the United States to do battle with Communism and so was part of the conspiracy cited above.⁴¹ The reason for Dulles's silence on this subject at the time is not difficult to understand. His task was to report first to the President and Secretary of State, and, if they agreed, to comment to the press later. This is standard procedure and not something to be explained by conspiracy theory. Furthermore, if Dulles had been part of such a plot, the last place on earth that he would have wanted to be was in South Korea at or about the time when the North Korean attack occurred. Stone insisted that Dulles's presence in Japan at this time to be part of "a long list of happy coincidences..."⁴² Thus, coincidence is taken as evidence of conspiracy, dubious procedure at best. It is like saying that Lyndon B. Johnson was present when John F. Kennedy was assassinated, and he was therefore part of the con-

spiracy to kill Kennedy.

In his chapter on John Foster Dulles, Stone claimed that:

Peace with Russia seemed to be what Dulles feared.⁴³

To support his contention, Stone pointed out that when Dulles arrived in Tokyo from South Korea on June 21, 1950, he advocated "positive action" to preserve the peace in the Far East.⁴⁴ Stone then asked what Dulles meant by "positive action"? Stone suggested that Dulles was advocating war, but he never made an explicit statement to this effect.⁴⁵ Like Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, Stone smeared those he didn't agree with through innuendo, conjecture, or asking a question which suggests the guilt of his victim. In making this attack on Dulles, Stone was also repeating a Soviet propaganda theme—an aggressive America.

Stone wrote of the "preventive war" group in the United States.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, he did not reveal who in the United States were advocating preventive war and thus the killing of millions of people in a nuclear holocaust. If such a group existed, was it small and composed of nonentities, or did it include a sizeable number of senior officers in the armed forces? Were they a group of mid-level officers who were seen by their superiors as eccentrics and quietly eased into retirement as soon as possible. Again—Izzy suggests, but he does not come forth with the evidence, the technique of a clever scoundrel. Stone's innuendo can only be a repetition of the Soviet propaganda theme of an aggressive America, a bunch of nuclear maniacs ready to make nuclear war upon a frightened and peace-loving world.

Carrying his anti-American diatribe one step further, Izzy Stone stated that in America, sentiments favoring peace and good will were by 1950

...made to seem naive, outmoded, and dangerous—if not downright subversive.⁴⁷

Having made this accusation, Stone did not offer evidence to support it. This charge reflects the usual Soviet propaganda themes that the United States is aggressive and militaristic.

Izzy tried next to turn a coincidence into evidence for causation. He pointed out that Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson and General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, arrived in Japan on June 18, 1950 to confer with General MacArthur. Stone then stated that on the Sunday before the Korean War broke out, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Field Marshal Sir William Slim, met in Melbourne with the Australian defense heads. From this coincidence, Izzy was able to conclude that while the Japanese people longed for peace

...the American and British military seem to have been planning

for war.⁴⁸

Stone used the word "seem" as an escape hatch so that if pressed for evidence publicly, he could reply that this situation "seemed" to be one whereby the American and British military were plotting war in Korea, and that he simply mentioned it so that future historians could study the matter more closely. Nonetheless, the immediate force of this passage is to state that American and British military leaders actually were conspiring to start a war in Korea, despite the fact that Stone did not present even a shred of evidence to support his contention. Izzy Stone had simply repeated the Soviet propaganda theme that the West is militaristic without the slightest recourse to evidence.

Isidor Stone claimed next that it was equally possible that:

on June 25 the North (Korea) attacked without provocation or went over to the offensive after an attack from the South...⁴⁹
(Parentheses mine)

Izzy Stone, ever the propagandist, suggested that North Korea was simply responding to provocations when it invaded South Korea on June 25th, but he gave no evidence to render his suggestion into a possibility or conclusion. The force of his suggestion was sufficient to persuade an uncritical reader that perhaps the South did provoke North Korea into a defensive action which spread over the entire Korean Peninsula. During the Korean War, Soviet propaganda constantly blamed the South for having started this unfortunate conflict.

Izzy claimed that the full text of the message from the American Ambassador to South Korea, John J. Muccio, to the Department of State was not clear as to who started this war. Consequently, Stone alleged, the State Department used a paraphrase of Muccio's cable to make it appear that North Korea invaded the South and thereby stampeded the United Nations into declaring the North as the aggressor.⁵⁰ Stone's allegation is not logical, when we realize that at the time of the attack the South had on paper 38,000 troops on the border with the North, but only 13,000 of them were actually there, the rest having been sent behind the 38th parallel as reserves or given leave to work in the rice paddies. On the other hand, the North Korean army had approximately 90,000 troops, supported by approximately one hundred and fifty Soviet T-34 tanks poised for the attack.⁵¹

Izzy next asked about the Korean War:

...was it MacArthur's plan?⁵²

This is another example of Stone's style of propaganda—to ask an emotionally loaded question with little or no evidence to sustain its viability, realizing that the audacity of the question itself would render it gospel truth or keep it in the memory of many unwary readers. The implicit accusation in this question fits well with the

old Soviet propaganda theme of the militaristic West.

Robert Conquest, a scholar whose careful work on the Soviet Union during the Stalinist era is well recognized, stated that the North Korean leader, Kim Il Sung, went to Moscow in March 1950 to obtain Josef Stalin's permission to attack the South.⁵³ Recent archival evidence obtained by Russian historians reveals that Kim Il Sung bombarded Stalin with fifty telegrams requesting permission to attack the South, finally obtaining the latter's agreement.⁵⁴

Stone next sought to prove that the North Korean attack was not a surprise to the State Department, thus giving credence to the supposition that the Americans had been trying to provoke North Korea into war. Quoting from the testimony of the Assistant Secretary of State for United Nations Affairs, John D. Hickerson, before the Senate Appropriations Committee on the State Department budget in 1951, Stone pointed out that Hickerson testified that analysts at State knew from CIA reports that an attack from the North was coming, but not when.⁵⁵ However, the CIA reports had at this time indicated the possibility of attack from Communist nations in other parts of the world, which indicates that their cry of "wolf" may not have been taken seriously at State.

Stone explained why June 25, 1950 was not a reasonable time for North Korea to attack the South. The Soviet representative in the United Nations Security Council was absent then and could therefore not use his veto to keep the UN from condemning North Korea as the aggressor and agreeing to send a military force to South Korea. Izzy would have had a valid point, if communications between the primitive North Korea and the Soviet Union, still rebuilding from World War II, could be assumed to be perfect in 1950, but this is not at all probable.

Stone next uses the gutter tactic of asking a question which casts suspicion upon his intended victims, but for which he has absolutely no evidence. The question was:

When MacArthur saw Dulles off for home at the airport in Tokyo...did they feel they had at last achieved that "positive action" Dulles expected?⁵⁶

Interestingly, Izzy asked this question at the very end of a chapter, a place at which the reader is most likely to remember an accusation or insinuation. "Positive action" is not defined, but the implication is that it means war. Izzy Stone was simply repeating the time-worn theme of Soviet propaganda that the United States, as well as the West, was aggressive and seeking war. The unethical character of Stone's methodology can be further highlighted by the following example. Suppose an author were to ask:

When Vice President Lyndon Johnson shook hands with Presi-

dent John Kennedy on that fateful day in Dallas, did Johnson feel that at last he was about to achieve "positive action" for his plans?

If one of Stone's colleagues had written such garbage, Izzy would probably have declared him to be completely dishonest, or an incompetent, or an unmitigated fool.

On page 75, Izzy reported that members of the UN Security Council voted to oppose North Korea, because they were dependent upon American aid. But where is his evidence? This was part of Stone's tactics—to make one anti-American statement after the other with little or no evidence to back up his charges. He evidently learned the old political maxim that if one throws enough mud, some of it is bound to stick.

Stone next condemned the "many" in the United Nations who sought to drive the Soviet Union out of this organization in order to use the UN to support the American policy of containment.

There were many who had long hoped to drive the Soviets out of the United Nations and convert the organization itself into an instrument of "containment."⁵⁷

Izzy did not make clear who the "many" were or provide any evidence concerning their intentions, being content merely to make the accusation.

Stone then implied that Josef Stalin, for the sake of peace, was willing to suffer humiliation in the United Nations by resuming Soviet participation in that organization, despite the fact that Nationalist China retained its membership in that body.

...the American press might well have claimed that Stalin was eating humble pie for the sake of peace.⁵⁸

Stalin was not exactly a peace-loving person. By 1952 when Izzy's book was published, Stalin had, according to the calculations of the Robert Conquest, killed forty million of his own people.⁵⁹

Izzy alleged that when United Nations troops were hemmed in at the Pusan perimeter at the beginning of the Korean War,

Had Russia wanted war, that was the time to begin it.⁶⁰

Stone ignores the fact that Soviet leaders wanted to keep out of the Korean conflict, where the United States was being drained of its soldiers, materials, and support from the home front. Instead, Stone was content to parade the Soviet propa-

ganda theme of a peace-loving Soviet Union.

When Stone described the American breakthrough from the Pusan perimeter, he said it was due to the "self-restraint" of Red China and the Soviet Union, adding that this was a military victory for Truman

...just in time for the elections...⁶¹

Thus, an American military victory is described in terms of Communist restraint and an American politician's use of this triumph for personal gain in an upcoming election.

A few pages later, Izzy claimed that the possibility of peace in September 1950 caused anxiety in Washington, owing to the fact that American political and military leaders were using the Korean War to get increased appropriations from Congress in order to build up the newly organized NATO forces.⁶² He added that:

A settlement in Korea at that moment would lessen fear of Moscow...⁶³

There was only one problem with this assertion—as usual, Izzy had no evidence to back up his charge. In contrast to the American warmongers, Izzy found the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Jacob A. Malik, to be "anxious" for peace. How did Izzy know this? Mr. Malik said so.⁶⁴ At this point, Izzy Stone displayed either a desperate naivete to believe whatever the Russians might say, or a determination to follow the Soviet propaganda line, no matter how far from reality it might be.

On p. 104, Stone claimed that peace would have been a "calamity" for American elements who wanted to rearm the Germans and Japanese and sought an excuse to launch a preventive war. Izzy described these alleged American warmongers as "desperados."⁶⁵ In contrast to his earlier claims of a peace-loving Stalin, Izzy described President Truman as having begun

...to combat the idea of peace.⁶⁶

Izzy next claimed that President Truman

...did not want peace.⁶⁷

Izzy sought to prove Truman's warmongering by the claim that in order to achieve relative full employment, the President needed huge defense expenditures, which could be obtained only if he could create a "Red scare."

But President Truman's years in office have been...colored at

home by the fact that government expenditures, as necessary in Truman's day as in Roosevelt's to maintain full employment, depended more and more on the alarms and fears engendered by Soviet-American rivalry.⁶⁸

Where is the evidence to justify this critique of Truman as warmonger and a monstrously evil person who is willing to exploit international tensions for his own personal political gain? As usual, there is none. Stone was simply repeating the claims of Soviet propaganda that America is aggressive and suffering from an economic crisis inherent in capitalism, a defect which requires the massive spending of war to roll back or prevent mass unemployment.

Stone's next wild claim was that:

The war to make Korea safe for democracy seemed to be a war to make Korea safe again for Japanese exploitation.⁶⁹

Once more, one must ask where the evidence for this absurd claim is? And once more, Izzy Stone does not offer evidence, but is content to smear the West with malicious accusations. Izzy's fantasy-laden statement is a variant of the Soviet propaganda theme that the actual or potential economic crisis in the West, which includes its Japanese henchmen, requires protected markets, in this case Korea, in which to sell its defective goods. Also, Izzy once more used his favorite word "seemed," so that if publicly challenged for evidence, he could say that this accusation was really a possibility which he wanted to call attention to, so that historians might study it carefully in the future. And in view of the American dislike for the Japanese during this period, the notion that the U.S. government was planning to obtain a colony in Korea for the Japanese is absurd.

Stone continued to harp on the theme of Truman's need to keep the Cold War going, even though he didn't present a shred of evidence to support this contention. For example, he wrote:

Truman had to risk the ending of the Cold War or its possible transformation into the real thing.⁷⁰

Izzy utilized suggestion in place of evidence.

What if peace settled down on the battlefield again... MacArthur's headquarters... may have been as nervous as Lake Success.⁷¹
(Parentheses mine)

(At the time, the UN was located at Lake Success). At this point, Stone sought to portray General MacArthur as the aggressor in Korea, attacking the Communists

Chinese who, he stated, wanted peace. Izzy claimed:

The fact is that the Chinese Communists had again failed to "aggress" on the scale that some feared and others hoped for.⁷²

On the same page, he described the Red Chinese Army as "in no hurry to attack." Although Stone does not name the "others" who wanted the Chinese to attack, the context of the passage is that General MacArthur hoped for this expansion of the war. And where is the evidence for Izzy's description of MacArthur's hopes? There is, as usual, none. Despite Izzy's allegations of pacific behavior on the part of the Red Chinese army, the UN Command lost more than 11,000 men (dead, wounded, missing or captured) between November 30th and December 1st of 1950, mainly because of the Chinese intervention.⁷³ This statistic indicates the Red Chinese army was not exactly "laid-back" and hoping for peace, contrary to Izzy Stone.

In summarizing Stone's *The Hidden History of the Korean War*, one can only say that this is a masterpiece of innuendo, anti-American rhetoric, repetition of Soviet propaganda themes, and a dearth of evidence to support his theses. It is no wonder that when the *New York Daily Compass* folded in 1952, Izzy Stone found himself unemployable, and the State Department took away his passport.

I.F. Stone's Weekly

In 1952, Izzy was in a desperate situation. He was forty-five years old, had a daughter in expensive Smith College, and was without a job or the prospects of a job. If he did work for Soviet intelligence, his employment with the Soviets could have begun at this time of his utmost vulnerability. Herbert Romerstein has quoted a retired KGB official as saying that Stone had received money from and was an agent of the well-known KGB General Oleg Kalugin. Romerstein wrote that his source had revealed that an unidentified Soviet agent discussed by Kalugin during a speech in England was Stone.⁷⁴

British journalist Andrew Brown in an article in *The Independent* (London) discussed Kalugin's speech at Exeter University. According to Brown:

Mr. Kalugin said that at the end of the Second World War people would come in dozens to volunteer to work for the Soviets, especially in France and Italy. But it was also true that in the United States the KGB 'maintained very serious sources until the late-40s.' The crucial year was 1956. Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Stalinism (which leaked to the West and revealed the horrors of mass executions) revolted the whole world. After

1956, the intelligence service simply could not recruit people on ideological grounds. The invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 was another almost mortal blow. 'We had an agent - a well-known American journalist - with a good reputation, who severed his ties with us after 1956. I myself convinced him to resume them. But in 1968, after the invasion of Czechoslovakia...he said he would never again take any money from us.'⁷⁵

Stone's friends at *The New York Review of Books* challenged the accusation that Stone had been a paid KGB agent. The British writer, Brown, joined in the defense of Stone. However, he also phoned Kalugin on September 3, 1992. Kalugin confirmed that Stone was the person he meant in the anecdote quoted above. He claimed, however, that he had not paid him any money but that he had only taken him to lunch.⁷⁶ The context of the original quote from Kalugin indicates that he was speaking of an agent who had volunteered to work for the KGB, but who after 1968 "said he would never again take any money from us."

Kalugin later told the same story to Reed Irvine and Randy Randall.⁷⁷ Fearing prosecution under a Russian law prohibiting the exposure of an intelligence agent, Kalugin later modified his story to say that he used to have lunch with Izzy, but that was the extent of their relationship. Reed Irvine then taped his conversation with Kalugin who said that Stone was

...fighting for the cause, but not as an agent.⁷⁸

Even if we believe Kalugin's retraction for the record, we must ask why Izzy Stone was having lunch with a KGB officer, who allegedly was willing to waste time with a non-agent?⁷⁹ And if Stone were "fighting for the cause," what specifically could this mean other than working for Soviet intelligence?

In order to remain a journalist and have a visible means of making a living Stone founded the *I.F. Stone Weekly* (hereafter referred to as the *Weekly*), whose first issue was dated January 17, 1953. This was a four-page newsletter for which subscribers paid five dollars a year, hardly enough to pay for the postage. So what was financing Izzy Stone at this time and in the future? To get material for his newsletter, Izzy read government documents and Congressional hearings, not standard fare for most journalists, but he had no choice owing to his increasing deafness. Stone supplemented these sources with background reading in history, literature, and philosophy.

In his *Weekly* of January 24, 1953, Stone referred to the new Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, as a "monster", alleging that Dulles had "pro-Axis sympathies."⁸⁰ Once again, Izzy charged that an American leader was guilty of some terrible offense, which was perfectly compatible with Soviet propaganda and for which he gave no evidence. In the March 5, 1953 issue of the *Weekly*, he wrote

about the recent death of Josef Stalin, describing this thug as "one of the giant figures" of the modern world.⁸¹ This is a curious way to speak of a man who, during his long rule in the Soviet Union, maintained a reign of terror in which he sent forty million of his own people to their deaths and millions to slave labor camps in Siberia.⁸² Stone might have reserved the term "monster" for Stalin instead of John Foster Dulles, a strong Presbyterian layman whose moralistic pronouncements irritated a lot of people but did not result in mass killing or deportations to slave labor camps.

Stone's willingness to defend the Soviet Union and its leaders soon reached bizarre proportions. When East German workers rebelled against the Red Army in the summer of 1953, Izzy could not comprehend why workers would rebel against a Communist state, asking whether this eruption was stirred up by a "military underground," meaning Western intelligence.⁸³ As usual, he put this accusation in the form of a question. This had the effect of making an allegation without the necessity to provide supporting evidence.

Izzy Stone may have seen Stalin as "one of the giant figures" of the world, but Nikita Khrushchev denounced Josef Stalin at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1956 as a maniac and mass murderer, who set up purges and concentration camps. Though intellectuals in the West, such as Sidney Hook and Reinhold Niebuhr, took a second look at the Left at this time and moved to the Right in their political thinking, Khrushchev's denunciation of the "giant figure" did not completely disillusion Izzy Stone, because in April 1956, I.F. Stone went to the Soviet Union. Afterwards he admitted that this nation was "backward," but added that it was a

...great state, capable of grand accomplishments...⁸⁴

The net result of this stubborn admiration for the Soviet Union was the loss of several hundred subscribers to the *Weekly*, indication that even Izzy's readers were beginning to be sickened by his slavish admiration for this ruthless dictatorship.⁸⁵

Going to Communist Poland after he left the Soviet Union, Stone claimed that the Poles had a greater degree of freedom of speech than "loyalty-purge-haunted" Washington, D.C.⁸⁶ This must have been surprising news to the Poles who would later form Solidarity and act to get rid of the Communist dictatorship which had been imposed upon them by the Soviet Union. When the Hungarian Revolt and subsequent Soviet repression occurred in 1956, Izzy admitted that the Soviet Union had acted in an imperialistic manner, but his mild criticisms of the Soviet Union were balanced by scathing attacks upon the United States.

On April 27, 1959, Izzy declared the Communist dictator, Fidel Castro, to be a "hero," referring to Castro's opposition from the United States as from the "Colossus of the North."⁸⁷ The fact that Castro ruled his nation through the secret

police and army did not seem to bother the sensitive conscience of Izzy Stone. own wrongdoing onto East bloc intelligence. This is Soviet propaganda at its best.

The 1950s were not a very comfortable period for Izzy. His journalistic colleagues tended to shun him, government officials, for the most part, did not give him interviews, and FBI Special Agents often followed both Izzy and members of his family. Although this was not a happy time for him, the 1960s would be a more fortunate period for Izzy Stone, owing to the fact that he had a new hero, Fidel Castro, and could, as part of the anti-Vietnam War movement, make vicious attacks upon the American government.

In 1960, Izzy went to Cuba, coming back home deeply impressed by Castro whom he described as a "left-wing Roosevelt" and his "admirably humane" revolution.⁸⁸ Evidently, Stone did not visit any of Castro's prisons, notorious for their brutality. Izzy also derided the Eisenhower administration's opposition to this fine reformer, who was soon to cover Cuba with secret police informers in every city block or village and to provide jails or death for his opponents.

On February 6, 1961, Stone said that both President John F. Kennedy and the Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, had to deal with "rigid fanatics" in their countries.⁸⁹ Thus, if Izzy was to criticize the Soviet Union for its fanatics, he felt it necessary to add that the American leadership had the same problem, though significantly, he failed to identify these alleged American or Soviet fanatics. In the same article, Izzy claimed that many of President Kennedy's problems are

...less the result of Soviet machinations than of the CIA's, the heritage of poor State Department policy and melodramatic thinking at home.⁹⁰

Here is a constant theme in Soviet propaganda—that the Soviets are not the ones who create crises between the two superpowers, but warmongers in the CIA, incompetents in the State Department, and illogical thinking in the United States are the factors keeping this dispute in full bloom. And, as usual, Stone did not name these malefactors in the United States.

Izzy Stone wrote in an article dated April 26, 1961 of President John F. Kennedy's reliance upon the CIA's

...cloak-and-dagger methods, and to go further along the path of adopting the worst practices attributed to the Soviet bloc.⁹¹

The phrase, "cloak-and-dagger methods," suggests totally ruthless methods of operation by the CIA, but does not name the practices, and Izzy certainly gave no evidence of what is implied in this quote. When he cites "the worst practices attributed to the Soviet bloc," the key word is "attributed," which suggests that Soviet bloc intelligence services may not have been guilty of committing unfortunate tactics, but also that a bunch of paranoids at the CIA were simply projecting their

Izzy Stone's writings constantly attacked American institutions and leaders as incompetent, evil, and unworthy of support, which is exactly what Soviet propaganda stressed, at least until the Cold War was over. For example, in his April 26, 1961 article, Izzy wrote about the

...stuffed shirts who direct our intelligence, military and diplomatic bureaucracies...⁹²

and

...Admiral Arleigh Burke, one of the biggest windbags in the military establishment...⁹³

and

The clearest sign of deterioration in national leadership lay in the tone, the implications, and the deceptions of Mr. Kennedy's (President John F. Kennedy) speech...The tone in its arrogant and willful self-righteousness...⁹⁴ (Parentheses mine)

One must ask about Izzy's evidence for these sweeping generalizations, but, as usual, it is missing. His purpose appears to have been to persuade with a barrage of Soviet propaganda rather than to inform his readers.

Stone's constant attacks on the U.S. military reached ridiculous proportions, when he warned in the *Weekly* of May 15, 1961 that American colonels studying guerrilla warfare techniques could, like French colonels in Algeria, become Fascist.⁹⁵ Izzy failed to explain the esoteric process by which the study of guerrilla warfare could lead one to Fascism, nor does he explain what Fascism means, despite the fact that he repeatedly used this term to denounce those who dared to disagree with himself. I.F. Stone next cited the danger that the American military, having become Fascist, would use the methods of guerrilla warfare on "suspected radicals at home..."⁹⁶ As a radical, Izzy must have been afraid that the terrible colonels he had conjured up in his own mind would somehow get him. In this same article, he mentioned the

(John) Birch Society-style views all too prevalent among some (American) officers.⁹⁷ (Parentheses mine)

One must ask for solid evidence to provide some basis for such fears, but Izzy Stone did not provide it. By May 22, 1961, however, Izzy had decided that American colonels studying guerrilla warfare were not so dangerous after all, because, he stated, they were learning this theory "mechanically."⁹⁸ How did Izzy Stone know that these American officers were learning the theory of guerrilla warfare theory "mechanically?"

When the United States put Colonel John Glenn into space, Isidor Stone referred to this achievement in his *Weekly* as of February 26, 1962 as

...a stunt in a competition for world prestige.⁹⁹

Stone appeared to be so eager to attack the United States that he was not willing to consider the scientific gains to be obtained from this venture into space. In his *Weekly* of September 24, 1962, Izzy Stone returned to his earlier attack on the American space program, when he asserted that America's space program was nothing more than

...the touch-football-after-lunch explanation...¹⁰⁰

He thus denied that the challenge to go into space enunciated by President Kennedy could be the product of rational calculation. Instead, Stone explained the space program as the result of the Kennedy family's foolishness, their love of competition, specifically touch football. Stone added that

...only one nation has misused space in a hostile manner..¹⁰¹

Izzy then made it clear that this "one nation" was the United States, implicitly denying that the Soviet space program might have a military use for its development. This passage reflects either utter naivety on the part of Izzy Stone, which was not, or is simply a repetition of the Soviet propaganda theme of an aggressive America.

When the Soviet Union placed medium-range ballistic missiles in Cuba in the autumn of 1962, which could bear nuclear warheads and wipe out most major cities in the United States, President John F. Kennedy placed a naval blockade around Cuba until the Russians agreed to remove their missiles. This was clearly a step required for national survival, but Izzy Stone urged the President to lift the blockade, which would have left America exposed to this Soviet nuclear threat.¹⁰² When American survival was at stake, Izzy Stone demanded a course of action which could lead to its destruction or conquest by the Soviet Union. At the end of 1962, Izzy went to Cuba, where the police detained him overnight incommunicado for no apparent reason. In his *Weekly* of January 14, 1963, Stone admitted that Cuba had become part of the Soviet bloc, but wrote of Castro as a "popular dictator" in his *Weekly* on January 21, 1963, neglecting to mention Castro's secret police and informers who made criticism of the "hero" a dangerous pastime.¹⁰³ In April 1963, Izzy praised Castro, described his journey to Cuba as "inspiring," despite his interlude with Cuban police, and spoke of the menace of the United States to this country.¹⁰⁴

In his *Weekly* of December 9, 1963, I.F. Stone insisted that Americans are

...a whole people...in a state of mind where it is ready to risk extinction...as a means of having its own way in an international dispute, the readiness for murder has become a way of life and a world menace.¹⁰⁵

This passage reflects a theme of Soviet propaganda—that the United States is aggressive, but Izzy takes this accusation one step further. He states that an entire nation, the American people, have become psychopathic in the sense that they were willing to commit any crime to gratify their own desires. He described the propensity for murder as a "way of life" in the United States, which is nonsense, owing to the occurrence of a high percentage of these murders to be in the ghettos. Murder is simply not a way of life for most Americans, and life in American ghettos can only be described as atypical.

When U.S. forces participated in an effort to rescue hostages from rape and slaughter in Zaire in 1964, Izzy (December 13, 1964) quoted a "Mr. Beovagui" of Guinea, then under the leadership of Leftist Sekou Toure, as stating that white mercenaries, protected by the American military, massacred civilians in Zaire and bombed their cities.¹⁰⁶ This accusation is nonsense, and Stone's failure to support it with documentation is obvious. This technique was a standard Soviet propaganda stunt—namely, to quote some Third World newspaper, or leader, as saying that the United States had violated human rights.

In his *Weekly* of March 29, 1965, I.F. Stone was scathing in his criticism of American bombing in Vietnam, comparing America's conduct in this war to that of Fascist Italy, when it bombed natives carrying spears in its conquest of Ethiopia, and Fascist Germany's bombing of Guernica in the Spanish Civil War (1936-38).

The blueprint we are following is that application of terror by bombardment, of "victory by airpower," which the Italians first tried out over Ethiopia and the Germans over Guernica and elsewhere in the Spanish civil war.¹⁰⁷

This accusation against the United States is in line with the Soviet propaganda theme that America violates human rights and is Fascist. Stone's comparison of the United States to Italy and Germany during their Fascist periods is just another of Izzy's efforts to point to Fascism in the United States. Further, the Ethiopian natives had only primitive implements with which to defend themselves, whereas the North Vietnamese were armed with modern weapons from the Soviet Union and China. Finally, the comparison of the American military to that of Nazi Germany is preposterous in many ways. For example, the American military in Vietnam were not out to conquer the world for some maddog leader, a Fuehrer, as were

the German military.

In the same article as discussed in the previous paragraph, Izzy told Americans not to trust their military, part of his constant effort to devalue American leaders and institutions. He quoted a professor of humanities at Michigan State University who said that:

..."total trust in the military" has proven disastrous for great nations: the German General Staff in 1939 assured Hitler of a swift military victory...¹⁰⁸

Stone did not mention how a humanities professor would have an expertise in international relations or military strategy, evidently being willing to quote anyone opposed to American participation in the Vietnam War. Further, the German General Staff in 1939 was willing to attack Poland, but expressed strong reservations to Hitler about attacking France and Great Britain in the West. The General Staff considered the Maginot Line too formidable to attack, but relented when Colonel (later General) Erich von Manstein and Colonel (later General) Heinz Guderian recommended that a breakthrough be attempted through the Ardennes.¹⁰⁹

Stone wrote in the April 20, 1965 issue of the *Weekly* about the Russian

...hope of relaxation of tension with the United States...¹¹⁰

The propaganda theme of a peace-loving Soviet Union is a constant in Stone's work, despite the Soviet conquest of East Europe and part of Germany immediately after World War II, its crushing of the Hungarian Revolt in 1956, its invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan on December 24, 1979.

From roughly 1965 until the end of American participation in the Vietnam War, Izzy Stone was scathing in his criticism of the American government's role in Vietnam, spoke to anti-war groups as he encouraged college students to protest against American participation in this struggle, and continued to repeat Soviet propaganda themes. In the *Weekly* of April 22, 1965, for example, Stone quoted another journalist as writing:

..."somehow the intelligence reports always had it that the war was going well." ¹¹¹

We must first ask how Izzy's colleague, another journalist, had access to intelligence reports? Secondly, which intelligence service was this colleague talking about? The CIA? U.S. Army intelligence? U.S. Air Force intelligence? The Office of Naval Intelligence? If this journalist actually was reading CIA reports in Vietnam, one must ask whether he was reading them carefully? CIA national intelligence

estimates, which included intelligence from Vietnam, were consistently pessimistic about the outcome of the war and warned President Lyndon B. Johnson that the American strategy of escalation was no way to win that war.¹¹²

On May 24, 1965, Izzy quoted Isaac Deutscher, a self-proclaimed Marxist, as stating that:

...the Truman Doctrine and NATO were based on the myth of a Russian military threat to Europe.¹¹³

After the Soviet conquests mentioned in the preceding paragraph, leaders in Western Europe and the United States would have been totally naive not to prepare to defend their countries from the Soviets through such means as NATO. But here is the old Soviet propaganda theme—the peace-loving Soviet Union.

In his issue of the *Weekly* dated June 9, 1965, Stone suggested, but did not make an explicit statement, that one reason President Lyndon B. Johnson was expanding the American military role in the Vietnam War was because it was

...rich in business stimulation. ¹¹⁴

This is an old Soviet propaganda theme—the United States, as well as the West, are in an economic crisis and need war to avoid unemployment. In the same article, he wrote of

Those elements in our military itching for a preventive war against China... ¹¹⁵

Where is Stone's evidence that such people did in fact exist? Who were they? This is a scurrilous assertion, the usual Soviet propaganda theme that the United States is aggressive and militaristic, as its military leaders drool over the enticing prospect of nuclear war.

In his next attack on the American military, Izzy Stone speculated (July 12, 1965) that American planes would bomb the irrigation dikes on the Red River in North Vietnam.

Bombing the dikes has been discussed several times in the French press, but has been blacked out of the American.¹¹⁶

Izzy was so anxious to state the worst about the American military that he swallowed this story in the French press, seldom friendly to the United States, and then implied that the American press was in the process of a cover-up favoring the Pentagon, a ludicrous conjecture at best. He then compared the anticipated American outrage to the Nazi bombing of Dutch dikes during World War II.

Destruction of dikes was one of the war crimes for which Seyss-Inquart, chief of the Nazi occupation in Holland, was hanged in Nuremberg.¹¹⁷

Thus, Izzy was condemning the American military for an anticipated outrage which he was so sure they would commit that he discussed the matter as if it had already occurred. There was only one problem with Stone's analysis—the American military never did bomb the Red River dikes. Stone's extreme anxiety to write the worst about the United States is most evident in this article.

In his September 13, 1965 issue of the *Weekly*, Izzy called for the liquidation of the CIA since it was a

...source of constant interference by the U.S. in other people's affairs...¹¹⁸

However, he said nothing about the need for the Soviet Union to get rid of its KGB or GRU (military intelligence), citing only the alleged misdeeds of the CIA. Further, Stone did not say how the United States could defend itself from the tender mercies of Soviet intelligence, if the CIA were to be liquidated.

On November 22, 1965, Isidor wrote an article, "Time To Tell The Truth For A Change," whose title doesn't suggest a very objective approach by the author to the subject under discussion—the truthfulness of the United States government in 1965.¹¹⁹ His argument was that the American government was refusing to negotiate with North Vietnam which did want peace. This is a theme of Soviet propaganda—American opposition to negotiation of international issues. In the same article, he claimed that the Soviet Union was under attack from Red China

...for serving U.S. interests in trying to bring about peace.¹²⁰

Even if one were to accept his luridly hilarious story that the Soviet Union was serving American interests during this period, it is very difficult for rational people to accept his Communist propaganda theme of a peace-loving Soviet Union.

Stone also stated in November 1965 that the United States was not engaged in pacification in Vietnam, but instead was committing "genocide."¹²¹ He was thus placing the United States in the same category as the Nazis and their troops during World War II and the Khmer Rouge in present day Cambodia. What was Stone's evidence for American acts of genocide?

In his April 14, 1966 issue of the *Weekly*, Stone declared that President John F. Kennedy should not have forced Nikita Khrushchev to remove the medium-range ballistic missiles from Cuba, but instead, should have relied upon negotiations.

Negotiations, however prolonged, would have been better than the risk of World War III. ...Here Kennedy's political interests and the country's safety diverged.¹²²

Izzy therefore stated that President Kennedy was intent on meeting his own needs, to "prove himself" and win the election of 1962 for his party, rather than to spare the world the horror of nuclear war. But where is the evidence to substantiate such a claim? Was the course of action taken during this crisis a result of the decision of one man, President Kennedy, or was it a product of Kennedy and his advisers? In this passage, Izzy Stone simply presented a favorite Soviet propaganda theme—the American people should not trust their leaders or institutions.

In the same article of April 14, 1966, Izzy Stone found President Kennedy, not Nikita Khrushchev, to be the villain in the Cuban missile crisis. Izzy wrote:

But all their (the Kennedys) skill would have been to no avail if in the end Khrushchev had preferred his prestige, as they (the Kennedys) preferred theirs, to the danger of a world war. In this respect we are all indebted to Khrushchev.¹²³ (Parentheses mine)

This is truly an extraordinary passage. Stone glossed over the fact that Khrushchev had set off the crisis by placing medium-range ballistic missiles in Cuba where they could be nuclear tipped and endanger the entire United States. Instead, he found President Kennedy to be the reckless one in this near-disaster, the person who threatened the entire world with destruction. Finally, Izzy declared that all mankind is indebted to Khrushchev for his wise action. Izzy appears to have forgotten that Khrushchev was hardly a moderate person, as shown by the time he took off his shoe during his speech at the United Nations and banged it against a rostrum. The above quote is, at best, an extreme version of the Soviet propaganda themes that American political leaders cannot be trusted to prevent nuclear war and that the Soviet Union is peace-loving.

In the *Weekly* of October 3, 1966, Stone dutifully repeated a favorite Soviet propaganda theme, as if it were absolute truth:

the monolithic and ruthless conspiracy of cold warriors which operates through the Pentagon and the CIA.¹²⁴

Stone was too experienced and shrewd to believe that any government organization, especially the Pentagon or the CIA, could be monolithic in its approach to anything.

On October 17, 1966, Izzy Stone wrote:

The essential issue is the suffering of the Vietnamese people and our unwillingness to bring it to an end unless they surrender to our will. ¹²⁵

In this article, Stone refused to consider the possibility that the American leadership had gotten itself into a terrible quagmire in Vietnam, which it desperately wanted to get out of. Instead, he simply explained this unfortunate state of affairs by reference to a theme of Soviet propaganda—American violations of human rights. Izzy Stone also failed to consider the possibility that if the North Vietnamese had renounced their objective of conquest in the South, there would have been peace in Vietnam.

I.F. Stone claimed on March 20, 1967, without offering any evidence, that American intelligence agencies were helping to destroy freedom in the United States, describing these organizations as follows:

We have but scratched the surface of their pervasive and corrupting influence in eroding the foundations of American freedom. ¹²⁶

If that were not enough misinformation in one newsletter, Stone next compared the CIA to the Russian Ochrana, whose oppressive measures kept autocratic Tsars in power.

Just as Central Intelligence was established under Truman in 1947...to keep the President posted, so the Ochrana was the Czar's eyes and ears. ¹²⁷

The comparison is not even good propaganda, because there is no way that an American president and a Russian Tsar can be compared. The former is hemmed in by Congress, the press, an untold number of pressure groups, and public opinion, whereas the Tsars were relatively absolute in their power in Russia. Furthermore, the Ochrana was used to suppress internal dissent, while the CIA has been utilized to gather, analyze, and disseminate intelligence from abroad.

Izzy Stone accused John Foster Dulles (*Weekly* of May 1, 1967) of favoring German militarism, a variant of the Soviet propaganda theme that the United States is militarist.

John Foster Dulles, lifelong counsel for German big business interests and an apologist for Nazi expansion, turned up to mold U.S. policy in their favor after the war. He and (Konrad) Adenauer

became the Siamese twins of the cold war, a continuation in new guise of Hitler's holy war against Communism. ¹²⁸ (Parentheses mine)

Stone's intemperate language in this case is hardly the stuff of an objective observer. Dulles did represent some German businesses before World War II, but Izzy Stone fails to produce any evidence that these connections were resumed during or after World War II. Stone also failed to present any evidence that Dulles had been an apologist for Nazi expansionism, mainly because no such evidence exists. Finally, to imply that John Foster Dulles and Konrad Adenauer, whose wife had suffered horribly at the hands of the SS, were in the same category as Hitler is to violate all standards of decency and objectivity in the media.

In his February 19, 1968 issue of the *Weekly*, Stone accused the United States of racism and violation of human rights, when he wrote:

The idea that we Americans are a superior race, and are justified in using any means of mass killing to save American lives, will be the argument for using tactical nuclear weapons in defense of Khesanh. ¹²⁹

Although Stone accused Americans of racism in this 1968 article, the United States is the only society in the world, where both leaders and people have admitted that racism was wrong and passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to scourge ourselves of this evil. This is a fact that Isidor Stone ignored, when he mouthed this favorite accusation of Soviet propaganda. Contrary to Izzy's certainty that the Americans would use tactical nuclear weapons in Vietnam, this just did not occur. This was another case where Izzy denounced American leaders for a crime he was certain they would commit, but which never occurred.

In the same article, Stone brought out the Soviet propaganda theme of the unreliability of the United States because of its contradictory tendencies—aggressiveness and realism. The latter element in American foreign policy was described by Soviet propagandists as favorable to negotiations with the Communist nations and to reduction of nuclear weapons. Izzy expressed this variant of the theme as follows:

Everywhere we talk of liberty and social reform but we end up allying ourselves with native oligarchies and military cliques...In the showdown, we reach for the gun. ¹³⁰

Izzy expressed this theme more explicitly in his August 22, 1968 *Weekly*, when he wrote of the two alleged tendencies within American foreign policy:

There is a strong movement for peace, but there is also a strong contingent of cavemen among us...¹³¹

Where is Stone's evidence for this allegation? In this same issue, Izzy also accuses the United States of aggression, a favorite theme of Soviet propaganda. He states:

Our past is littered with Vietnams, small countries on which we have worked our will in the name of anti-Communism and, before Communism, of liberty.¹³²

The April 29, 1968 issue of Izzy's *Weekly* contained the charge that President Johnson and his administration did not want to negotiate with the North Vietnamese, reflecting a Soviet propaganda theme that the United States does not want to negotiate international issues. He wrote:

He (President Johnson) seems to have Walt Rostow (Johnson's national security adviser) feverishly thumbing through the geography books for places Hanoi would be most likely to turn down.¹³³ (Parentheses mine)

The June 10, 1968 issue of the *Weekly* contained a savage version of the Soviet propaganda theme that the United States violates human rights, when Izzy claimed that the nation's military budget had for its purpose:

...to kill, maim, poison, burn, and asphyxiate other human beings at will.¹³⁴

Izzy wrote (*Weekly*, October 7, 1968) of President Johnson's attempts to negotiate with the North Vietnamese:

It was a skillful ploy, not a serious proposal...¹³⁵

This was a theme of Soviet propaganda—the United States does not want to negotiate international issues.

Izzy Stone accused the United States of militarism in his October 21, 1968 issue of the *Weekly*, when he wrote:

The only way to free our resources, financial and spiritual, for that "greater America" (McGeorge) Bundy calls for is, to free us from militarist delusions...¹³⁶ (Parentheses mine)

A militaristic America is another constant theme in Soviet propaganda.

Once again, in the February 10, 1969 copy of the *Weekly*, Izzy Stone asserted that the United States, now led by President Richard M. Nixon, was not sincere in its professed desire to negotiate with the North Vietnamese.

If we (the United States) hope to achieve our aims in South Vietnam by a step-up in the killing, why negotiate? The cynical answer is that the negotiations serve as a smokescreen.¹³⁷ (Parentheses mine)

The insincerity of American negotiations is only a variant of the Soviet propaganda theme of the unwillingness of the American government to negotiate international issues.

In his April 21, 1969 publication of the *Weekly*, Izzy restated the Soviet propaganda theme that the United States is aggressive. He claimed that the United States military had introjected its troops into South Vietnam, contrary to the wishes of the South Vietnamese government.

It now appears from Westmoreland's narrative that the commitment of U.S. combat troops was a unilateral decision by our military, that the South Vietnamese were not only reluctant to see our combat troops enter the country...¹³⁸

Izzy failed to quote the relevant passages in General William C. Westmoreland's materials as evidence for this startling claim, which indicates that we cannot take Stone seriously at this juncture. He also used the word "appear" so that if challenged to back up his contention with evidence, he could reply that he was writing about an appearance that needed further investigation. The very idea that the American military, instead of the President, could have made the initial decision to send troops to Vietnam is absurd. Finally, various Vietnamese leaders, beginning with Ngo Dinh Diem and continuing with his successors, were constantly badgering President Johnson for more American troops.

In the *Weekly* of June 5, 1969, Izzy accused the new Nixon administration of militarism, merely a repetition of Soviet propaganda, stating:

Washington's heart is where the tax dollar goes...the first concern of the new administration, as of the last, was still the care and feeding of the war machine.¹³⁹

In the July 14, 1969 copy of the *Weekly*, Izzy wrote that:

The men named to direct these talks (on arms reduction) and the negotiating positions being mapped out in advance are not calculated to restrain or reduce the arms race but to move it forward into the higher and more dangerous levels...¹⁴⁰ (Parentheses mine)

What evidence did Stone have that American negotiators were bargaining in bad faith? Evidently he had none, because he did not present it in support of his contention. How could Izzy have known the bargaining position of American negotiators? In this passage, Izzy utilized two themes of Soviet propaganda—the aggressiveness of America and the opposition of the United States government to negotiate international issues, the latter shown in its bargaining in bad faith.

By November of 1969, Izzy Stone was warning that mankind's greatest problem was to restrain American imperialism.¹⁴¹ In the post World War II period, the United States enabled its former colony, the Philippines, to become an independent nation. On the other hand, the Soviet Union seized East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and crushed a revolt in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia's attempt to become more independent in 1968. If this were not enough, the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979. Despite these facts, Isidor Stone cited the need to restrain of American imperialism, not that of Russia. I.F. Stone was simply not this stupid. He allowed his hatred of the United States and love for the Soviet Union to color his judgement in this situation, which was fairly typical of him for the entirety of his career as a journalist.

Izzy next (*Weekly* of December 4, 1969) brought out the old charge of Soviet propaganda that the United States is aggressive.

Under Kennedy and McNamara the armed forces were reshaped to meet the varying levels of violence required for a Pax Americana...¹⁴²

In the same issue, he sought to explain this alleged American aggressiveness through this bit of simplistic sophistry:

...a large military establishment must justify its existence by finding work to do.¹⁴³

In short, Stone accused the Pentagon of seeking out wars in order to justify its comparatively large budget, an interesting argument, but one which Stone did not support with evidence.

When 1st Lieutenant William L. Calley led his troops to massacre at least twenty-two men, women, and children in the Vietnamese village of My Lai in 1969, Izzy Stone seized upon this horrible event in his December 15, 1969 issue of

the *Weekly* to claim that:

But we are dealing here not with an occasional atrocity but with a deliberate policy.¹⁴⁴

If this charge is true, it is a serious indictment of the American military, but Izzy Stone gives no evidence to back up his charge. This accusation is also a theme of Soviet propaganda—the United States violates human rights.

In the December 29, 1969 issue of the *Weekly*, Izzy made the astounding statement that:

He (President Nixon) implied that if necessary poverty must go on so that profit can thrive.¹⁴⁵ (Parentheses mine)

What President Nixon actually said was that if taxes were raised, our free enterprise economy would suffer. How Izzy Stone concluded from Nixon's statement that the President was willing to tolerate poverty for the sake of profit is indeed puzzling. If Richard Nixon had dared make such a statement or implication, the large band of "Nixon-haters" in 1969 would have had a field day accusing the President of total unconcern for human suffering.

In his May 4, 1970 *Weekly*, Izzy accused of the then-Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird of the following:

Laird had made a speech to the AP which can only be read as a deliberate effort to sabotage the SALT talks...¹⁴⁶

Where is the evidence for Secretary Laird's misconduct? Izzy didn't even quote Secretary Laird's speech to point out the offending parts. Stone's claim is just another example of his constant repetition of the themes of Soviet propaganda—in this case, the United States is unwilling to negotiate international issues.

Because of deterioration of health and loss of energy with age, I.F. Stone stopped publication of his *Weekly*, as of January 1, 1972. He soon became a contributing editor to the *New York Review of Books*. In February of 1972, Izzy at last made a concession to reality, when he admitted that the Soviet Union under Brezhnev had become a "giant prison."¹⁴⁷ However, in November of 1973, Izzy utilized his position at the *New York Review of Books* to describe President Richard Nixon, then desperately trying to keep from being impeached by Congress, as about to become a dictator.¹⁴⁸ Though this statement is factually ludicrous, it does show a fertile imagination on the part of Izzy Stone, never one to run out of conspiracies to expose.

In 1983, Stone was named an honorary fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, a think tank in Washington, D.C., which has leaned far to the Left.¹⁴⁹ In

his last years, I.F. Stone studied the classics, eventually writing *The Trial of Socrates*, which generally received unfavorable notice from serious classical scholars. On June 18, 1989, Izzy Stone died after heart surgery.

Conclusion. Stone repeated Soviet Union propaganda themes for the entirety of his journalistic career. Though he was sometimes critical of the Soviet Union, Stone usually supported Soviet foreign policy and was highly critical of that of the United States. Whether or not he actually was a paid Soviet agent, as retired KGB Major General Oleg Kalugin claimed in off the record interviews, we cannot at the moment be sure. According to the definitions in Chapter 1, however, I.F. Stone was a Soviet agent of influence.

Motivation

Why did Izzy Stone become a Soviet agent of influence? Why did he use his considerable journalistic talents and keen mind to support a Communist dictatorship, which, had it been in power in the United States, would have denied him the freedoms which he so utilized—freedom of speech and the press?

Self-Image. Stone was self-righteous to the extent that he even experienced feelings of grandiosity. For example, he described himself as “standing alone... beholden to no one but my good readers,” eager to defend victims, rarely compromising his principles, a man who searches for truth, standing up to the powers that be in Washington—such as the FBI, a “guerrilla warrior, swooping down in surprise attack on a stuffy bureaucracy...,” unlike his fellow journalists who could be flattered and manipulated by the military or diplomatic services “immune” to pressure from wherever it might come, a Galahad on a “perpetual crusade,” and “carrying forward the best in America’s traditions, that in my humble way I stood in a line that reached back to Jefferson.”¹⁵⁰ That Izzy should have declared himself humble after this recitation of his great qualities is somewhat puzzling. This self-righteousness enabled Izzy Stone to support a vicious dictatorship, no matter what it did, and at the same time to consider himself to be a man person defending the weak.

Stone had a “black and white” estimate of most people.¹⁵¹ Izzy saw himself as “right,” not only morally, but intellectually, and he described those who agree with him, such as members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in lavish terms. He wrote that this group exhibited:

...the absence of self-seeking or of vanity. They are the stuff of saints... They stand in a line that runs back from Gandhi to Tolstoy to Thoreau to St. Francis to Jesus. I regard them with reverence.¹⁵²

Woe unto those who disagreed with Izzy Stone. Not liking Senator Goldwater and his supporters, Izzy wrote:

...Goldwaterites, for whom property comes first, a nose ahead of God.¹⁵³

Stone found General Curtis LeMay, former head of the Strategic Air Command, to be beyond the pale, practically the epitome of evil. Stone devoted an entire article to General LeMay in the *Weekly* of January 20, 1966 in which he wrote the following material about his subject:

The military-industrial complex never had an officer more loyally blinkered.¹⁵⁴

and

He is as simple minded in prescribing strategic bombing for small wars with underdeveloped peoples as in big wars with industrialized societies.¹⁵⁵

Izzy heaped this verbal abuse upon the general, partially on the basis that he (Stone) had declared air power to have been a failure in World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. Although Izzy could find people who would agree with him on the value of air power, this is a very complex subject for which he fails to present any evidence, nor did he have a background in military strategy. Stone then accused LeMay:

He and his supporters were the ultimate source of the imaginary bomber gap and the equally imaginary missile gap.¹⁵⁶

There is no question about the Air Force having made spurious claims in the 1950s about a bomber gap and then a missile gap, but Izzy failed to present evidence linking General LeMay to this chicanery. I.F. Stone next wrote:

Hate and suspicion of the Navy appear and reappear as the darkest thread in his story (LeMay’s autobiography).¹⁵⁷ (Parentheses mine)

Did LeMay hate or merely dislike some of the officers of the U.S. Navy? If so, which naval officers and why? Izzy added that the U.S. Air Force had transformed the war in Vietnam from

...a war for the loyalties of the Vietnamese people into a war to destroy them...¹⁵⁸

Where is the evidence for this startling claim and what influence did LeMay exercise on this alleged policy? Stone did not tell us.

Convinced that he was always right and his opponents wrong, I.F. Stone did not need to question his own status as an agent of influence for a Communist dictatorship which killed and enslaved millions of people. One of his former research assistants, Peter Osnos, stated that Izzy may have been opinionated, but he had a sense of humor.¹⁵⁹ This may have been true, but it does not detract from the observation that Stone was vile in his treatment of those who disagreed with him. Another of his research assistants, Andy Moursund, cited Stone's wide reading and learning,¹⁶⁰ though this background did not translate itself into a view of human complexity.

Izzy liked to be the center of attention in his home.¹⁶¹ Though he did have to meet deadlines to get his work out to the printer, much of the Stone family life was geared towards meeting Izzy's needs, not those of his children. When he needed a break from work, the family went together to the beach. When Izzy wanted to eat, that's when the family ate. As his daughter Celia said:

Father and his work were one, and to that one we were all of secondary importance.¹⁶²

According to his son Christopher, when Izzy's tea cup was not filled, he exploded in anger.¹⁶³

This need to be the center of attention expressed itself in his work in the sense that Izzy kept himself in the limelight by his support of Soviet propaganda and foreign policy and through his constant condemnation of the American government. For example, he was denounced on at least one occasion from the floor of Congress, periodically followed by FBI Special Agents, and the State Department took away his passport in 1952. During the Vietnam War, Izzy Stone was in constant demand to speak to anti-war groups, meetings in which he bitterly accused the American political and military leadership of crimes against humanity.

Another facet of Stone's personality was that of a cynical hypocrite. For example, he once took a Black judge to lunch at the National Press Club when they were refused service, after which Izzy dramatically resigned from this organization. Had he been sincere in his often stated passion to help Blacks liberate themselves in America, Izzy would have checked first with the National Press Club, and, once this policy was explained to him, he could have used this information to urge fellow members of the National Press Club to change this odious practice. That would have been a more effective method of achieving change than submitting his resignation from the Club. Most importantly, it would have spared the Black judge from a painful humiliation. This cynical hypocrisy enabled Stone to support a brutal dictatorship, that of the Soviet Union, while simultaneously telling himself that he was a moral person in search for the truth.

Izzy Stone also had a self-destructive streak, one that surfaced from time to time and caused him grief. For example, in 1939 Izzy told the publisher of the newspaper for whom he worked, J. David Stern, that his newspaper, the *New York Post*, was a "whorehouse."¹⁶⁴ This led to Izzy's firing, not only a blot on his professional record, but a personal loss. Stern had been his mentor dating back to the time when he hired Izzy, then a high school junior, to write for one of his newspapers. A second glaring example of Izzy's self-destructive tendency cropped up in 1949, when he got himself dismissed from the highly visible TV program, "Meet The Press." Once it was apparent that Izzy Stone antagonized someone on most every panel on which he appeared and was even critical of the "Meet The Press" program, he was dropped as a panelist, having thus denied himself national exposure. A third example of Stone's self-destructive tendency is his publication of his book on the Korean War, a volume so full of wild claims that his employment opportunities were seriously curtailed. Having a self-destructive bent could explain why Izzy Stone allied himself to Soviet propaganda themes, most of which were far from reality. He thus relegated himself to a life of supporting untenable propaganda themes through invective and innuendo. In this sense, Izzy's life was a wasted one.

The Relationship Between Izzy's Personality Problems And His Status As An Agent of Influence

I.F. Stone's decision to be a Soviet agent of influence stems from his self-destructive tendency and his desire to remain in the limelight. He was able to mouth the propaganda themes of the Soviet Union for two main reasons. First, he usually believed that he was right in whatever stand he took and his opponents were entirely wrong. Second, even when he may not have been able to convince himself that he was right, Izzy Stone was sufficiently cynical that he was not bothered by the divergence between his profession of high morality and the reality of his status as an agent of influence.

Addendum

In the summer of 1994, newly declassified FBI documents obtained by Accuracy in Media confirmed that Stone indeed had been a member of the Communist Party, USA, per the testimony of four informants. See Appendices 1 and 2 for an AIM Report concerning the disclosures and excerpts from the FBI documents.

Appendix Two: Excerpts from FBI Report on I.F. Stone

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

30000

Form No. 1

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **NEW YORK**

FILE NO.

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| REPORT MADE AT: NEW YORK | DATE WHEN MADE 1/31/52 | PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE 1/3-5, 7-11, 17/52 | REPORT MADE BY [Redacted] |
|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|

| | |
|--|---|
| TITLE ISIDOR FEINSTEIN STONE, Was. Isidor Feinstein, I. F. Stone, Izzy Stone | CHARACTER OF CASE ESPIONAGE - R |
|--|---|

Investigative SUMMARY RECLASSIFIED ON **04/18/88**
SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR ADD. DISSEMINATION

FACTS: STONE resides 1133 Park Ave., NYC, and is employed as a columnist with the NY "Daily Compass". Two informants identify STONE as a Communist. STONE is subject of CP line, while at other times he disagrees. STONE condemned conviction of CP leaders. At CP convention in Dec., 1950, JOHN GATES, CP functionary, criticized subject. STONE in contact with numerous individuals identified as Communists. At JAPRC meeting, 4/4/49, subject stated he was a "Red". STONE has spoken at meetings of National Council for Arts, Sciences and Professions, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and Washington Book Shop.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

CLASSIFIED BY **62-11173-1000**
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY **1**
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

AGENCY REC. REC'D BY **[Redacted]**

AGENCY **Stat. (respect)**
REC'D **7-7-58**
REC'D **7-12-58**
BY **[Redacted]**

REC'D **2-1-59**
REC'D **2-2-59**
BY **[Redacted]**

COPIES DESTROYED **5-21-66**

AGENCY **Pho-CCDM**
REC'D **9-15-60**
BY **[Redacted]**

[Handwritten signature]

- 5-Bureau (100-37078)
- 1-Washington Field (100-22286)
- 3-New York (100-22286)

100-37078-85
FEB 1 1952
RECORDED

ROUTED TO: **[Redacted]**
SEARCHED **[Redacted]**
INDEXED **[Redacted]**

63 FEB 27 1952

Doc 96

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-90640

b2
b7D

COMMUNIST PARTY CONNECTIONS

Confidential Informant [redacted] of known reliability, a former Communist, advised that he has been acquainted with I. F. STONE for the past [redacted]. When this informant first met STONE the latter was employed on the "Philadelphia Record". This informant advised that subsequently, STONE was employed by the "New York Post" and is now employed with the "Daily Compass". The informant said that STONE was not a member of the Communist Party when he first met him but during the mid 1930's STONE did become a member of the Communist Party. The informant stated that he received information substantiating STONE'S membership in the Communist Party not only from Communist Party functionaries [redacted] but also from [redacted]. The informant also advised that [redacted] assisted the Communist Party by aiding in the preparation of attacks on enemies of the Communist Party.

b2
b7D

Confidential Informant [redacted] known reliability, a former Communist Party member, advised that while he was an active member of the Communist Party, he had been associated with numerous "Communist front" organizations. He recalled that while in the Communist Party he attended many of the functions of the "Communist front" groups and he had met and observed I. F. STONE in attendance at some of these meetings. He stated, therefore, that he considered I. F. STONE to be a Communist because only members of the Communist Party were permitted to attend some of these meetings. f2 u

The same informant said that although he considered STONE to be a Communist he observed that on occasions STONE has deviated from the Communist Party line and, as a result, had been criticized in the "Daily Worker" by foreign editor JOSEPH STAROBIN. This indicated to the informant that although STONE was a Communist, he was not under the complete control and domination of the Communist Party, but in view of his established eminence as a writer the Communist Party tolerated these infrequent deviations. STONE impressed this informant as being completely pro-Soviet and a staunch supporter of Russia. f2 u

~~SECRET~~

NY 100-90640

b2
b7D-

(Confidential Informant [redacted] ^{b2 u} of known reliability, a former member of the Communist Party, advised that during the mid 1930's, while he was active in a "Communist front" group, he associated with and solicited I. F. STONE for [redacted]. The informant pointed out that at that time STONE was employed as an editorial writer for the "New York Evening Post" and was able to assist "Communist front" groups by reporting on their activities in a favorable light.

(Confidential Informant [redacted] ^{b2 u} of known reliability, advised that he knew I. F. STONE who was a columnist for "PM" and also for the "Daily Compass". This informant stated that at times STONE agrees with the Communist Party line and that other times he disagrees. Informant said that STONE has been criticized by the Communist Party press for these deviations from the Communist Party line.

(Confidential Informant [redacted] ^{b2 u} of known reliability, furnished information on October 20, 1950, indicating that I. F. STONE was among those who condemned the verdict and demanded bail for the eleven convicted leaders of the Communist Party.

b1

[redacted]

(c)

b1

[redacted]

(c)

b7C

[redacted]