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CHAMBERS' REIGN AT TIME

"To some of his colleagues,
his fear of communism seemed
a morbid preoccupation, a
kind of King Charles' head."

Time, December 20, 1948

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Whittaker Chambers went to work for Time magazine in the spring of 1939, in fear of his life but confident, doubtless, that Communist assassins would never find him in so secluded a nook as Rockefeller Plaza. He must have been confident too, if he had read the magazine, that its publisher, Henry R. Luce, was uncontaminated by Communism and likely to be friendly to a refugee from its evils. Time's staff had long included a nucleus of ex-Communists, whose value, apart from their sometimes considerable abilities, was the seal of their ex-ness and the breadth of their information about Communism. Luce, a power in the Republican Party, is astute in recognizing the value of the converted ideologue who can state the case for the Right as passionately as once he stated it for the Left. The Time ex-Communists have always been facile in accomodating their own views to those of their publisher.

It was through one of these, ^{who had joined the Time staff in 1935.} Robert Cantwell, that Chambers was hired as a book reviewer at fifty dollars a week. Cantwell, an able writer who had written proletarian novels in the thirties, had been a close friend of Chambers in the wild days of the revolution in Greenwich Village; and if not a party member, he had given his name and talents to Communist causes. He broke with the Communists about the same time Chambers's Trotskyite friends had broken, ^{in 1935} ~~and had joined the Time staff in 1935.~~ Earlier, he had supplied Chambers with one of his many aliases (Lloyd Cantwell) and was used by him as a reference when he applied for a government position in 1937.

Chambers was an unprepossessing figure among the natty staffers at Time. He is remembered from his first appearance by one of them as a fat little man in a dirty shirt, his stomach sagging over his belt, and with a green moulded wire peg putting from a broken front tooth.

In three years, Chambers moved from book reviewing to editor, in charge of various back-of-the-book departments, including Books, Religion and

Cinema. Following a breakdown, apparently serious, he was given a seven-month leave of absence; he returned as one of the magazine's first senior editors.

In 1944 he was put in charge of Foreign News. Following another breakdown, he returned to back-of-the-book editing and special writing projects. In his last years at Time, he wrote major cover stories and Life's ten-part "History of Western Culture." Well before he resigned, he was earning \$30,000 a year as one of Luce's leading thinkers.

When Chambers came to Time, his chief stock in trade was his knowledge of left-wing groups. Hitherto, the magazine had divided the world into radicals who were bad and conservatives who were good. "In our naivete in the early days of Time", Luce explained, "we had a department for radicals and socialists in which we put stories about Debs and others who seriously questioned our society — they were in a special category." Chambers taught his associates to distinguish between ~~the~~ ^{current} and ^{retired} radicals, between the ~~Stalinists and Trotskyites~~ ^{Stalinists and Trotskyites}, and ~~the~~ ^{the} Lovestoneites and varieties of Socialists who ~~sometimes~~ ^{and} support Luce policy. Researchers consulted him when an article was in preparation, and one researcher's memorandum in 1941 read: "We cannot prove yet (Chambers is calling a couple of sources) that is a Party member, but he was in and out of the Party office in the days when Chambers was active...Will add anything Chambers is able to get on from Ludwig Lore, Eugene Lyons, etc., tomorrow." The late Ludwig Lore was an anti-Communist writer, and Eugene Lyons is a ranking professional anti-communist.

One of Chambers's fellow writers at Time, John Chamberlain, wrote a reminiscence of his days on the magazine in the New Leader of October 15, 1949 in which he said of Chambers: "The new addition to the staff of Time soon put us right. He had an uncanny insight into Communist and fellow-traveler manipulations." ^{2/}

"It was like having a full-time member of the FBI on the staff," another writer commented.

In Witness, Chambers tells of his difficulty in mastering Time style, which he reverently defined as "something extra that Time requires." It requires only such indignities against language as a writer can devise, and Chambers made his contribution with such phrases as "intelligentsiac lefties", "red rash", etc.

Time reviewed only two or three books a week out of the dozens published and Chambers saw to it that the proper books were chosen. He delighted in first-person accounts of renunciations of Communism, like Jan Valtin, James Burnham, Granville Hicks and Louis Fischer, and played them up almost to the exclusion of any other books. The works of liberals or persons Chambers regarded as fellow-travelers were rarely mentioned. Anti-Communist periodicals like the New Leader and Partisan Review were acclaimed, and so were publishers who specialized in "Red exposes." Chambers's favorite publishing firm was Alliance Books Corporation, a small company whose books were largely of the expose sort. In 1939, it had five "serious" books on its list, three of them anti-Soviet; these three were reviewed at length by Time. A former researcher in the Books department recalled:

"Books were chosen for review wholly according to the arbitrary and esoteric whim of Whittaker Chambers. There was, of course, a Books conference attended by writers and the researcher, but the final result was usually exactly what Whit wanted or thought his bosses wanted. I often used to wonder what the effect was on the reader who was interested in keeping up with the latest books, because it certainly was no guide for him."

Chambers knew enough Marxism to give a tone of authority to his anti-Communist reviews and articles, and no one was at pains to question the accuracy of his quotations and paraphrases of Marx and Lenin. But book reviewing was too limited a field for Chambers, the crusader. When he renounced Communism, it was no passive repudiation. He did not consider himself a conservative, but as a crusader for the "Christian Democratic counter-revolution." "Counterrevolution, and conservatism," he wrote in Witness, "have little in common. In the struggle

against Communism the conservative is all but helpless. For that struggle cannot be fought, much less won, except in terms of total sacrifice."

When the foreign news editorship became his towards the end of the war in 1944, Chambers's own "counterrevolution" was launched in the slanted reporting of foreign news in Time. As the Nazi tide receded in Europe, new popular governments were forming which rejected the kings and prime ministers who had made deals with Hitler.

When the unmistakable socialist orientation of the new governments became known, accusations from Western sources charged that the Soviet Union was attempting to create a "cordon sanitaire" in reverse after World War II. In the immediate post-war period, Russia's desire for ultra-friendly (i.e. socialist and anti-capitalist) neighbors did not seem as unreasonable as it does at the present time, after years of cold war tensions.

Time readers, like most Americans had high hopes for post-war international co-operation, and Time correspondents in every part of the globe optimistically reported on the political aspirations of the newly liberated peoples.

From the moment when victory for the Allied cause appeared certain, Time's foreign news department, under Chambers, was directed to discrediting the attempts at popular governments abroad, and especially to attacks on the wartime alliance with the USSR as one inevitably impermanent, and probably not necessary in the first place. In retrospect, it seemed as if the magazine had been already committed to the policy later formulated by Chambers in Witness:

"The Soviet Union was not a 'great ally' -- it was a calculating enemy making use of World War II to prepare for World War III."

It is now clear that Whittaker Chambers and Time magazine were girding for World War III, but in 1944, the USSR's condition was such that she could not prepare for other than reconstruction. It should be remembered, and rarely is in our press, that this nation had, since 1941, held out against 257 German divisions.

More than 200 of these divisions were prize troops, superbly equipped and trained. With seven million of her soldiers and civilians dead, another nineteen million maimed, her eight western Soviets (the most populous and fertile area extending to the Caucasian mountains) plundered and devastated, much of her industry in ruins, twenty-five million homeless, the USSR, according to Time's Foreign Editor was busily preparing for another World War.

The best of Time's foreign staff had been abroad in war areas as correspondents, and Chambers had advanced in their absence, though some of them were his senior in service to the magazine, and all of them were his superiors as journalists. They were conscientious reporters, of varying political views or none at all, filing cables on what they saw in the various posts. Chambers suppressed their stories altogether, or distorted them beyond all recognition.

At that time, the normal schedule of the foreign news department called for a Sunday deadline, with Monday given over to checking and editing. Time had a large staff of researchers who were obliged to check every word of copy, and were responsible for its accuracy. If a researcher believed that the copy went beyond the facts, or misrepresented them, she (and it was usually a she) informed the writer; if the writer, in the face of this challenge, wanted his copy to go through anyway, he had to initial it.

As senior editor, Chambers changed the schedule, and demanded finished copy by Friday, so that he would have the balance of the work week to rewrite everything in the department. Saturdays and Sundays he spent locked in his office; he often worked forty-eight hours at a stretch, with intervals out for black coffee and catnaps on his couch. He ran the department autocratically, and his copy was sacrosanct. When researchers pointed out that so much of it was editorial assertion and therefore uncheckable, he brusquely offered to initial it.

When other writers complained that they had nothing to do, since

Chambers

would trust them with nothing, and when correspondents complained at the treatment given their cables, Chambers hinted to the managing editor that they were followers of the Party line. The editors, who seldom read the cables, were impressed by the assurance with which foreign news was written and by its florid style.

Defending Chambers on one occasion, John Shaw Billings, whose name is bracketed with Luce as a top editor, explained:

"Whit puts on the best show in words of any which we've ever had."

A month after the invasion of Normandy and three months before the Allied liberation of Athens, a Time correspondent interviewed two members of the Greek resistance movement in the city of Izmir on the Turkish coast. His ten-page cable was, ^{6/} he reported, "the first time the authentic uncensored voice of inside Greece resistance had spoken to the world." His story told of the fight of the Greek people "not only to drive out the invader from their country but to rebuild that country better than it was before."

The National Liberation Front (EAM) had set up a provisional government, the PEEA, and had held elections for a national assembly. "Under the noses of the Germans, the Greeks voted secretly--sometimes at church services, sometimes in factories, offices and universities...The announcement of the creation of the PEEA struck fire throughout Greece". Some of Greece's most distinguished figures went to the mountain capital of the provisional government. "Alexander Svolos, professor at Athens University, able, beloved, liberal politico, forced into retirement by Metaxas," became the president. PEEA's proclamation of aims, "publicized for the first time," included the rebuilding of the country "on the principles of self-determination of the people, of the Atlantic Charter and of the Teheran Conference," and guaranteed "personal liberties, personal property, freedom of religion." The cable concluded: "The world should hear the voice of EAM from inside Greece. Whether it is truly or will remain the voice of the Greek people depends on the future and on the extent to which the world hearkens to its message."

The world had no chance to hearken to the message through the pages of Time. This was a journalistic scoop, which most publications would have played in headlines; but not a word of it appeared in print. For three months, Foreign News carried only two short items on Greece which called the EAM "Diehard leftists." After the British reached Athens, Time told of the "Desperate political situation... Side by side with the German terror flourished a Greek terror ..."^{7/} The resistance movement was "almost entirely in the hands of the Greek Communists."^{8/}

In the spring of 1944, a British plane landed Time's correspondent, Stoyan Pribichevich, behind German lines in Yugoslavia. He was the only American newspaperman in the Balkans, representing the entire American press as well as the Luce publications. He was captured by Nazi paratroopers, narrowly escaped execution by a firing squad, and finally entered Belgrade with the army of liberation. A Time advertisement boasted: "He is one big reason why Time has so often been first...first to focus your attention on the rise of Mihailovich, then first to call the turn on the clash between Mihailovich and Tito."^{9/}

By the fall of 1944, none of Pribichevich's dispatches were getting into print. When he cabled:^{10/}

"Evidence collected from Allied officers in this area, from German and Chetnik prisoners, from seized documents and correspondence, from testimony of the local population shows that General Mihailovich's troops today openly cooperate with the occupation troops in the fight against Marshall Tito's National Liberation Army...a number of villagers testified that Kalabaich's Chetniks...killed four women and two men and horsewhipped a number of women for dealings with Serbian partisans..."^{11/}

Time printed:

Tito accused Mihailovich of collaboration with the Germans. What has caused the rift?...Had Moscow decided to crowd out the Communists' only important competitor for the control of the Yugoslav resistance? Whatever the cause, though Chetniks and Partisans both continued to fight the Germans, they also began to fight each other."

The cables that were not suppressed were so edited by Chambers as to reverse their meaning. Correspondent Percy Knauth filed, in October, 1944, the

12/
first eye-witness account of the Red Army occupation of Rumania. This dispatch was printed at length, with a by-line, but the editing had made it a Whittaker Chambers special. Knauth had described the good and the bad of the occupation, and of the economic and social system of Rumania. He wrote, "Their country is one of Europe's richest, but their social system is almost feudal...Peasants...on big estates of the rich, earning just about what they need to keep in living and propagating...When the Americans arrived in Bucharest they were stormed by the rich with pleas to accept automobiles complete with chauffeurs, radios, apartments, country villas...just so they would have the protection of the American flag against requisitioning by Russian and Rumanian armies."

Not a word of this appeared in the magazine. The story appeared under the headline, "Fear in Rumania," ^{13/} and it depicted a terrorized country at the mercy of Red Army looting and requisitioning. The Time version ended: "...they believe that there are fundamental differences between the war aims of the Allies and the Russians..." Note the italics in the ending of Knauth's cable as it was filed:

"Like German propagandists, they believe that there are fundamental differences between the war aims of the Allies and the Russians...That is the strongest heritage which the Germans left behind."

The story, as edited by Chambers, was printed by Dr. Josef G^Ebbels in Das Reich, crediting it to Time, "a neutral source." From Das Reich it was reprinted everywhere in Nazi-occupied Europe as an example of what the Red conquerors would do if the Volksdeutschen failed to resist them.

Another correspondent, Theodore H. White, was baffled by the magazine's suppression of his stories from China, critical of Chiang Kai-Shek and the corruption of his regime; Time described Chiang as defending "the last vestiges of democratic principles in China." ^{14/}

In Moscow, John Hersey was so angry at the treatment of his copy that he refused to file political articles at all, and confined himself to

accounts of Shostakovich's new symphony and the rebuilding of Stalingrad for another Luce magazine, Architectural Forum.

From Paris, the late Charles Fertenbaker protested Time's reports of Communist riots, substituted for his cables describing France's well-organized and legal local governments. From London, John Osborne complained of Chambers's deletions from his cables and of his outright inventions. Chambers ignored all objections, and continued to edit copy supporting his thesis, stated in Time of November 27, 1944: "From Greece to Holland there were social and political crises
....A specter is haunting Europe -- the specter of World War III."^{15/}

He was often caught in his distortions by writers able to prove the correctness of their stories. Chambers would shrug and smile and say: "Well, every little bit helps." Repeatedly he stated, "Truth doesn't matter."

The correspondents finally brought their rebellion into the open, near the end of 1944, and were joined by the writers and researchers in the foreign news department. John Shaw Billings, Chambers's immediate superior, defended his editor as "a sick man -- under a great strain," but he agreed to have a formal inquiry into their complaints. Three bureau chiefs, Hersey, Fertenbaker and Walter Graebner, were asked to submit their opinions of Chambers's handling of the department. The chief researcher for the department was appointed assistant to Billings and checked a year of cables against the stories Time had printed. She spent months preparing an exhaustive summary, which bore out the truth of the charges.

But Chambers was not dismissed or demoted, though the researcher was, for Billings accused her of assembling a biased report. Luce created a new "International" section of the magazine, and all stories about Russia and Communism were handled there. Chambers continued as editor of the rest of the foreign news under the old department title.

One of the factors which restrained Luce from parting with Chambers was his habit of performing above and beyond the line of duty. After the Crimean

Conference, International thought "Yalta looked good." Two weeks later, Foreign News disagreed. Chambers had composed a cynical fairy tale, "The Ghosts on the Roof,"^{16/} the ghosts being Tsar Nicholas and his family, former owners of Livadia Palace, scene of the Big Three conference. Eavesdropping in the company of Clio, Muse of History, the royal family rejoiced in the similarity it found between Stalin's aims and those of Imperial Russia. The fable ended with Clio's prophecy of "more wars, more revolutions, greater proscriptions, bloodshed and human misery" and the thought that if mankind learned nothing from History, it would have to learn from *Malpogena*, Muse of Tragedy.

In Witness, Chambers laments:^{17/} "To get the piece into print, I had had to make a common journalistic compromise. I agreed to lop off the end which described the Soviet Union and the United States as two jet planes whose political destiny could be fulfilled only when one destroyed the other.... It took courage in those days for Time to run a piece like 'Ghosts on the Roof'."

Indeed, this was a strictly extra-curricular assignment which met with considerable inter-office opposition before publication. Afterwards, too, it aroused a storm of protest, despite an apologetic preface. One reader pointed out that the tale depicted American diplomats as nincompoops always being out-smarted by "wily foreigners." Another reader wrote, "Your ^{little} fairy tale does the hope of mine and of all partisans of peace a grievous disservice.... Please don't louse up our chances for peace."^{18/}

Another volunteer job which was ahead of its time was a story Chambers wrote on David Lilienthal, after the late Senator McKellar proclaimed Lilienthal a Red. McKellar's attack came in the same week in which Communist Gerhart Eisler was making headlines. Chambers's report, published as Time's lead story,^{19/} opened: "Two men were held up to public view last week as dangers to the Republic." Slyly pairing Lilienthal and Eisler, the article linked "confused" and "Totalitarian liberals" and "left-wing New Dealers" to "an active, aggressive, malignant

thing -- conspiratorial communism -- which must be rooted out." Although Chambers's researcher, recognizing his semantic tricks, refused to check the story, Time editors professed astonishment when angry letters poured in. A subsequent issue carried an apology for the "misconstruction."^{20/}

In Chambers's latter years at Time, he turned to religion, wielding his greatest influence on back-of-the-book departments. Looking back on his conversion, he explained, "The problem of socialism is not the problem of economics as is generally assumed. It is the problem of religion, the problem of atheism. Then the religious problem intrudes itself on the Communist mind, one can no longer be a Communist. That is what happened to me."^{21/} He had been baptized in 1940 by Bishop Manning at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. He chose the Episcopalians, he said, because they were "the most powerful enemies of communism."^{22/} Two years later, he became a Quaker. Although he habitually wore the dark suit and black tie of the Quakers, his language was far removed from "plain talk" and his theology closer to fundamentalism. In his new role, he could be nothing less than an Old Testament prophet, preaching hell-fire and damnation.

Chambers's unique brand of mystico-religious doubletalk ("It is the dialectical logic of that trinitarian oneness whose trinity is as much a necessity to the understanding of Godhead as higher mathematics is to the measurement of motion")^{23/} can be recognized in Time cover stories on Reinhold Niebuhr, Arnold Toynbee, Marion Anderson, Albert Einstein, and in a lengthy Life phantasy, "The Devil."^{24/} In all of these he turned his knowledge of Marxian dialectics inside out to develop a philosophic base for conservatism, representing the thesis that God and good are passive and all change, all progress is initiated by the forces of evil.

"The Devil" in an imaginary interview in a New York nightclub on New Year's Eve, states Chambers's ideology most baldly. Speaking in an exaggerated left-wing jargon ("heastly lackeys of celestial imperialism," "diversionists," etc.), the Devil explained that he launched "Hell's Five Hundred Year Plan" in the

18th century, when he first read Voltaire, Diderot, Helvetius and Locke. "Faith in the human mind had supplanted faith in God," Chambers's Devil said. "I saw that Hell must write Progress on its banners and Science in its methods...and leave the rest to rationalism, liberalism and universal compulsory education...."

"Progress has been steady," the Devil boasted. "In less than a generation, the ideas of the Enlightenment led directly to the French Revolution.... A chain reaction was set up all over the world that instability of all traditional institutions, which is part of modern man's distress, was begun. The industrial and scientific revolutions furthered the process. Meanwhile, another first-rate idea occurred to me. Shall I ever forget the day when the prodigious thought of Evolution popped into my head? ... one of my sublimest strokes In less than a century I had undone the work of more than a thousand years and knocked the studs from under the religious culture of Europe. Why? Because evolution explained the universe without Him The rest followed as a matter of course; the growth of factories to supply the huge demands for material goods which were the only values secular man could really feel ... the inhuman industrial oppression of man, women and children whose desperation found expression in the inhuman horrors of communism, socialism and anarchism...."

In each of his articles, Chambers attacked science, "the bland influence of the idea of progress,"^{25/} reason, which "raised a tyranny of its own,"^{26/} "optimistic liberalism"^{27/} and "the materialist belief that, in the free competition of science and sweat, man and machines, mankind's lot could be steadily improved."^{28/} Cloaking his economic conservatism in religious garb, he warned of "the sin of seeking security at the expense of other life."^{29/}

Life's "History of Western Culture" was originally conceived as a staff-written historical report. When Luce read the first article, he announced, "This was written by a Godless man." The balance of the series was turned over to Chambers who, practicing his apocalyptic style, twisted history to fit his philosophy.

In the Middle Ages, according to Chambers,^{30/} the serf gained "a new security and the hope that by tireless effort he might better his lot." Feudal society's "capacity for progress towards justice and freedom" was based on "its belief that every man -- king, saint, robber-knight and unwashed serf -- had an inviolable, immortal soul."^{31/} In the article devoted to the "Age of Enlightenment," royal mistresses and courtesans overshadowed Voltaire and Rousseau. In characteristic paradox, the tumultuous year of 1848 was "essentially a revolution against the absolute rule of reason" of "the 18th century philosophers of the Enlightenment."^{32/} Highlighting the ruling groups, Chambers's history paid scant attention to peasants and workers who "in the course of a savage revolt committed frightful atrocities" or "went to pieces from gin ... while their wives and children starved, a multitude of wretches grew vicious, turned criminal, went mad."^{33/} Describing the Edwardian era when "the idea of leisure as one of civilization's highest boons" emerged, Chambers wondered, "what was to be done with this leisure by masses of men whose human capacities were just about equal to the simplest tasks."^{34/}

So striking was Chambers's mysticism in a secular journal that it won approval from leading Catholic periodicals like Commonweal and The Sign which applauded Time, Inc.'s "conversion." "Not only is Time promoting the concepts of Christian theology but in the last few years, it has gone out of its way to be nice to the Middle Ages," The Sign observed.^{35/} And Commonweal wrote editorially,^{36/} "It comes so perilously close to Catholicism that we are indeed left wondering."

Chambers's anti-rationalist approach was felt even in the Science department. Science writers vigorously objected to a story on atomic bomb developments which portrayed physicists as mad scientists. "What is the goal of science?" Chambers asked. "To blow up the world?...the scientists, with the purest scientific motives in the world, still toy with the idea of a scientifically induced Doomsday. They know the gun is loaded, but their fingers itch to try the trigger."^{37/}

From his earliest days at Time, Chambers sought to influence not only

Time readers but also Time's staff. At first, his recruiting technique was pure melodrama. Lunching with a potential convert to his cause, he would pointedly select a corner table in a restaurant, making a little drama out of watching the entrance with his back to the wall. "We are surrounded by spies and traitors," he explained. With this mood established, he would describe with thoughtfully contrived suspense, the plight of a White Russian general in Paris who was arguing with his landlady about the rent, while the two OGPU agents following him knew that he wouldn't be worrying about the rent for very long. To make his last days comfortable, they were tempted to tell him not to worry, but they didn't. A week later, he stepped into a cab and was chloroformed. The OGPU'ers meant to put the body on a garbage barge, but the barge had already left because the general took so long to chloroform. They finally cut him in small pieces and sent him back to his fatherland via the diplomatic pouch. Then there was the story of the Barnard girl who pursued a "leftist deviation." She was lured to an old warehouse in Greenwich Village and there was bricked up in a wall. (As Chambers was somewhat vague as to the site of the warehouse, the body may still be there.)

At one rendezvous he accused a writer of heading Time's "Communist apparatus" and begged him to recant. At another, he pleaded with a youngster to break with his comrades. The recipient of this appeal recalled, "It didn't matter to him that I wasn't a member of the Communist Party. He thought I was, and he had always considered himself final arbiter on these matters. I felt the key to his paranoid personality was his feeling of deep personal guilt which he had to wash away with his overwhelming passion for confession."

As Chambers moved up Time's ladder, he was in a position to assist ambitious young people who responded to his overtures. After a carefully calculated approach (a typical opening gambit: "Do you read history for pleasure?"), he proceeded to dazzle a likely convert with his learning, while holding out promises of promotion. One new writer, after a first encounter with Chambers, returned to his office with a far-away look in his eyes. "Whit says that I'm

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In all these contacts, Chambers preserved his conspiratorial manner. Dangling the hope of becoming a writer before a researcher, he offered to try her out on book reviews, if she would keep the project a secret. The main difficulty, he explained, was to obtain the book she was to review. Since the Books office was always kept locked, she must find a way to get the key while the Books researcher was at lunch. For three days she hijacked the key and borrowed the book in the manner Chambers had outlined, growing increasingly uneasy about the surreptitiousness of his plan. During the fourth lunch hour, the Books researcher arrived at her desk and pounced on the book, declaring "Whit said he thought you might have it."

With the boldness that comes of having a mission, Chambers devoted the major part of his early days at Time to getting acquainted with his fellow writers. First he would pump his trilby, Robert Cantwell, a gentle, understanding soul with a passion for conversation that called forth an unburdening response in others. Fortified with second-hand ammunition from Cantwell, Chambers would waddle quietly around the halls, sticking his head into the office of one liberal writer after another, saying in a low and ominous voice, "I know who you are." This speech was laden with the implication, "I have something on you." Like as not the writer so addressed would be curious enough to continue the conversation with the sinister-looking little man. If this did not suffice, Chambers would begin his intellectual strip-tease, dropping a hint or two about his OGPU experiences. While some would tell him to get out, most were affable enough, and in those days writers, researchers and copy boys felt free to state to Chambers or anyone else how he or she felt about the world in general and the Time unit of the Newspaper Guild in particular.

It did not take Chambers long to discover that the Guild was a "tool of the Communist International." Nevertheless, he joined, on the principle that he could be most destructive "boring from within," an application of his philosophical modus vivendi, uttered many times since his conversion from Communist to anti-Communist: "I am glad I was a member of the Communist Party. I have learned their technique and I am going to use their technique against them."

Flanked by Cantwell and another of his satellites, the late Calvin Fixx, Chambers had little to say at Guild meetings. As a new writer, he rightly felt he could be most effective addressing the gatherings through his disciples who were thoroughly briefed at pre-meeting conferences. This method had one shortcoming: when Cantwell was asked an unexpected question from the floor, he would have to hesitate and bend over while Chambers whispered the proper answer, to the interest and delight of unreconstructed members. Often Cantwell would get himself into deeper water. Then Chambers would pull at his coat-tails, signalling time for another huddle, and sometimes jerk him out of the game.

While the Guild devoted itself to better pay and working conditions for Time employees, Chambers and his two cohorts stuck doggedly at the task of exposing Communists. At these meetings, they would inject resolutions condemning the Soviet Union or aid to Spanish Loyalists or suggesting the Guild go on record in favor of the deportation of Harry Bridges. Those who did not vote for these resolutions went inexorably, down in Chambers's book as Communists.

A third Chambers satellite was Samuel Welles, with whom for a time he shared an office. The cat left the bag one day, when other Guild members in the room heard Welles ask, "Whit, are we going to meet so I'll know whom to vote for at the Guild meeting?"

When Chambers felt he had another prospect for "conversion," he would invite the person to one of his pre-Guild faction meetings. While he succeeded in forming several of these "cells" as he enjoyed calling them, in different departments of the Luce organization, his personality, plus the usually childish presentation of his followers, doomed every measure he sponsored in the Guild to failure. The Chambers group was continually on the verge of being ousted from the Guild for non-payment of dues, but before crucial meetings would pay up enough to be eligible to vote. It was generally believed that Chambers was at this time supplying the Luce management with names of ardent Guild members. In his role as a finger-man for management, Chambers was probably more successful.

Although most of Chambers's colleagues were repelled by this flattery

and betrayal pattern, he managed to collect a loyal coterie of disciples. One of the magazine's senior editors today is an ex-office boy whom Chambers befriended. Its China expert served his apprenticeship under Chambers in Foreign News, and one of Time's contributing editors, a man long considered to be Whit's great and good friend, lived and perhaps still does in a cottage adjoining Chambers's Maryland farm.

Towards Henry Luce Chambers had a different approach. When asked to suggest some revisions in a Luce speech, he responded: "Your speech is a simple authentic testimony of the spirit It is a voice which I have seldom been privileged to hear you speak, and it moves me deeply. I may not intrude upon it. Any flash of Chamber-
sian prose would jangle in this context like a false chord. Nor is 'erudition' needed. I think it would be out of place in a speech whose one rhetorical device is its dialectic suppleness. In short, it is a good speech because it proceeds from the spirit, and the mode of the Christian spirit is simplicity. God bless you, Harry." ^{39/}

Before Chambers gave his first public testimony, he went to Henry Luce for advice. Luce, battling the shade of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1948 election campaign, unhesitatingly gave him his blessing and told him to tell all. Throughout the House hearings and the taking of depositions in Hiss's libel suit, Chambers was accompanied by Harold Medina, Jr., a member of Time's legal counsel, as well as by his personal attorney. In their first reports of the Hiss-Chambers controversy, the Luce magazines were solidly behind their editor. "Someone was lying in his teeth," Time announced. "It was clear that on one vital point, it was not Whittaker Chambers who was lying." ^{40/} Chambers "Looked as unprepossessing as a baker — a calfs, pudgy little man who kept an old pipe in the pocket of his untidy blue serge suit," ^{41/} while Hiss was a "sure-footed witness, with a lawyer's skill with words." ^{42/} By the time of the second trial, Time had subtly shifted its emphasis from Chambers to the prosecutor, Thomas Murphy. The final story on the trials reported Chambers "a weary tarnished man," ^{43/} saying, "My work is finished."

Whittaker Chambers's work at Time is finished, but in many departments his spirit lingers on.

CHAMBERS' REIGN AT TIME -- FOOTNOTES

- 1 Kenneth Stewart, "Henry Luce Talks About His Brand of Journalism," PM, Sept. 3, 1944.
- 2 New Leader, Oct. 15, 1949.
- 3 U.S. v. Hiss, transcript p.1761. Testimony of Malcolm Cowley.
- 4 ~~John Ford (Chambers' pseud.), "Literary Analysis," American Mercury, Feb. 1944.~~ ^{with Miss Poy}
- 5 Witness, p.497.
- 6 Percy Knauth Cable #18, received July 15, 1944.
- 7 "For example, Time, Aug. 28, 1944.
- 8 Ibid., Oct. 16, 1944.
- 9 Ibid., May 29, 1944.
- 10 Stoyan Fribichevich Cable #34, received Sept. 10, 1944.
- 11 Time, Oct. 9, 1944.
- 12 Percy Knauth Cable #47, received Oct. 5, 1944.
- 13 Time, Oct. 23, 1944.
- 14 Ibid., Nov. 13, 1944.
- 15 Ibid., Nov. 27, 1944.
- 16 Ibid., March 5, 1945.
- 17 Witness, pp. 500-501.
- 18 Time, March 26, 1945.
- 19 Ibid., Feb. 17, 1947.
- 20 Ibid., March 10, 1947.
- 21 American Mercury, Feb. 1949.
- 22 U.S. v. Hiss, transcript p.1762. Testimony of Malcolm Cowley.
- 23 Time, March 8, 1948.
- 24 Life, Feb. 2, 1948.
- 25 Time, March 8, 1948.
- 26 Life, Nov. 22, 1948.
- 27 Time, March 8, 1948.

- 28 Life, Nov. 22, 1948.
- 29 Time, March 8, 1948.
- 30 Life, May 26, 1947.
- 31 Ibid., Sept. 15, 1947.
- 32 Ibid., Nov. 22, 1948.
- 33 Ibid., _____
- 34 Ibid., Nov. 27, 1947.
- 35 The Sign, Oct. 1947.
- 36 Commonweal, April 16, 1947.
- 37 Time, Dec. 3, 1945.
- 38 U.S. v. Niss, transcript p.1761, Testimony of Malcolm Cowley.
- 39 National Guardian, Oct. 18, 1948.
- 40 Time, Aug. 30, 1948.
- 41 Ibid., Dec. 13, 1948.
- 42 Ibid., July 11, 1949.
- 43 Ibid., Jan. 30, 1950.

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engaged in stealing the secret of the atom bomb. It seems to have been established that he had traveled back and forth between the United States and the USSR over a period of twenty-five years, and that in New York he associated openly with persons who were under FBI surveillance as Communist Party members. Just how Adams managed to carry on so long without interference by the FBI is a question that has never been answered--or even asked--although his supposed exploits have become a saga of the great FBI spy hunt. It seems that he was first investigated, not by the FBI, but by Army Counter-Intelligence^(CIC) a fact omitted from the Hearst article and later accounts.

The other alleged spy-master was Andrei Schewchenko, described in the FBI's manual as an official of the Soviet purchasing agency, Amtorg, who had been "particularly active in attempting to obtain classified United States Army information regarding jet propulsion."⁶

In the same issue (December 4) of Hearst's New York paper, a companion piece underlined the political purpose of the leak. This article was headlined, "Journal Spy Disclosure Hastens Demand for State Department Rec Probe" and asserted that the revelations "added new fuel to the anti-Russian fire lighted by Maj. Gen. Hurley's charges that communists are deeply infiltrated in the State Department." It quoted Senator Wherry (Republican-Nebraska) as promising to place the Rushmore story in the Congressional Record and to press for a special committee to investigate the State Department "from top to bottom." Still another article in the same issue asserted that the disclosures had reduced the Daily Worker to a state of "stunned silence."

The next day, December 5, the Hearst papers printed more of the FBI story about Adams under the headlines: "Red's Courier Network Here Revealed."⁷ On December 6, they featured Hurley's charges about communist sympathizers in the State Department, but also found space for the Adams story,⁸ as they did on the two following days. On December 8, Representative Dondero, (Republican-Michigan) read the original Rushmore article into the Congressional Record, and Senator Therry did the same thing on December 10.⁹ Dondero demanded that the House Military Affairs Committee call J. Edgar Hoover "for testimony about Red espionage in this country" and find out whether any other government agency had prevented the FBI from arresting Soviet spies.¹⁰ (Later, the Committee held hearings, but the testimony was secret.)

After the first outpouring in early December, 1945, articles about the "atomic spy," Adams, became almost a regular feature of the Hearst papers. For instance, four months later, in the first weeks of March, 1946, they printed two more Rushmore articles about the then well-known Soviet agent.¹¹

The climax of this particular publicity campaign about Soviet spies came in September, 1946, just before the presidential campaign and just after the public testimony of Chambers and Bentley, when the Committee on Un-American Activities published a report on Soviet espionage giving first place to Adams and his alleged network. Notwithstanding the fact that the Hearst press had been exposing this network for several years, the Committee's report was a sensation. It received more newspaper space and larger

4

headlines than the original expose of three years before. From that time, the Adams "spy ring" became a regular item on the agendas of the congressional witch hunt committees.¹²

In early December, 1945, when the Hearst press began to publicize the alleged spy rings of Adams and Behavchenko, it was obvious that the articles had the specific purpose of attacking State Department officials, as well as the general purpose of building up excitement about Soviet espionage. The articles accused the State Department of preventing the FBI from arresting atomic spies. Also, they were tied to the charges (of former Ambassador Hurley and they raised the demand that "Reds" in the State Department should be investigated by Congress.

On December 6, Secretary of State Byrnes denied that his department had requested the FBI not to arrest or prosecute Adams.¹³ The Hearst newspapers buried this categorical denial and expanded their charges, asserting "that the FBI had been in daily communication with the State Department" concerning Adams, that "such arrests" must have the permission of the State Department, that the FBI had requested the permission, and that Adams was still not under arrest, although the FBI was watching him 24 hours a day.

Meanwhile, on December 5, the Des Moines Register published a story from its Washington Bureau asserting that the Rushmore article was a deliberate "plant" by the FBI, and that the purpose was to stir up a congressional investigation of State Department personnel. The FBI was said to be indignant because

two State Department officers involved in the "Amerasia Case" earlier in 1945 had been cleared and reinstated, notwithstanding evidence gathered by the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover was "reliably reported to be looking for an opportunity to air that evidence." This article closed with a statement which has since proved accurate:

"G-men have been shadowing State Department people for a long time and the story planted in New York is regarded here as an open invitation to Congress to ask the FBI what it has uncovered."
14

The articles in the Des Moines Register showed an awareness of what Hoover was up to, but it omitted two vital points. Evidently the writer did not know that the FBI search for "Reds in the State Department" was only a part of a much larger spy hunt then beginning. Furthermore, he overlooked the really major difference between the State Department and the FBI, which was not the Amerasia case, but the control of foreign intelligence. Hoover had long wanted control of these operations. He had lost out during the Roosevelt administration, when the OSS was set up as an independent agency. (This perhaps explains why Hoover's first list of suspected "Soviet spies in government"--in the note sent to the White House on November 8, 1945--contained a preponderance of OSS names.) In the Fall of 1945 it appeared that he was about to lose a second time and that the Truman administration would give the proposed permanent foreign intelligence agency to the State Department. Because of this bitter bureaucratic feud,

the FBI undoubtedly derived political as well as bureaucratic satisfaction in spreading stories about "Reds" in the State Department.

Attack on the State Department's new Research and Intelligence Section and the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs began early in 1946¹⁵ in the Hearst press with the warning that it would be of totalitarian proportions and foreshadowed the absorption of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

By March, as might be expected, asserted "red leanings" of *Certain* employees of the new State Department intelligence unit were featured in a Journal-American story under the headline "Demand Byrnes Oust Pro-Reds".¹⁶ And the running attack on OSS continued in the same article, together with the warning that members of the House Military Affairs *Committee* would urge the War Department against the interchange of intelligence with the State Department.

Finally in April, 1946, the late Alfred McCormack, a New York lawyer, resigned as head of the Research and Intelligence Unit of the Department of State because of "sharp differences in opinion had arisen over the organization of the department's intelligence function."¹⁷

In the end, neither of the two agencies won control of foreign intelligence; the Truman administration established the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) as an independent body.

At the time they instigated the publicity about Adams, the FBI were writing in their book that he was probably still engaged in atomic espionage. The reason they gave was not, however, very convincing:

*Arthur Adams has been very inactive in recent months as far as contacts with individuals outside the office of Keynote Recordings, Inc., are concerned. There has been no indication, however, that he has given up his espionage activity, inasmuch as Igor Gouzenko had advised an agent of this Bureau in the presence of representatives of the RCMP that espionage relating to the atomic bomb is the No. 1 project of the Soviets at the present time."¹⁸

The Hearst article of December 4 said that "squads of four G-men work in eight-hour shifts, guarding against ^{his} escape." Nevertheless, Adams vanished. Just when this happened has never been divulged, but it well may have occurred while the nationwide publicity campaign about him was in full swing."¹⁹

The alleged spy rings of Adams and Schevchenko, as described by the FBI and the Hearst press in late 1945, included a large number of other persons. It remains to inquire whether any of these was ever indicted or convicted of the espionage charged.

The answer is that no such legal action was ever taken against any of the alleged spies, either by the Democratic or the succeeding Republican administration, notwithstanding the categorical nature of the FBI charges. One of the accused, a scientist, was tried for contempt of Congress, after he had defended himself by invoking the Fifth Amendment, but he was acquitted.

In this respect, the FBI hullabaloo about these two alleged spy rings was typical of the entire spy hunt. The FBI charges were not based on evidence which could stand up in court. The spy hunt was essentially a publicity operation, and the absence of legal proof to back up the charges was only a minor inconvenience.

"Human Events" Newsletter is Tipped Off

For many years prior to 1945 the Hearst papers had been a favored medium of the FBI, because Hearst and Hoover had similar ideas as to what was good reading matter for the American public. But it must not be supposed that Hoover confined himself to the Hearst chain when he set out to use the press to create the proper acceptance for his supposedly top-secret book on Soviet espionage. For instance, the story about Adams was also published in shorter form by other newspapers.

The FBI's spy book was not officially circulated until December 4, 1945. It was, according to Attorney-General Brownell, "a secret and highly important report." But it was not "secret" in any meaningful sense. Even obscure publications were tipped off about its contents, before anyone except the FBI had seen it, and they were also told what kind of campaign was being initiated.

Take, for example, the little-known Washington newsletter of that period called "Human Events." It seems to have obtained inside information, presumably from the FBI, several days before December 5, 1945; its issue published that week predicted that that there was going to be a vigorous search for the "Red Fifth Column" in the State, Treasury and other departments. ²²

Of course, we now know that the prediction was accurate. A vigorous search did take place; it took the form of a spy hunt which has lasted for more than ten years. We also know that the manual on Soviet espionage which the FBI had just written contained the names of a number of State Department officials and that Hiss was one of these named. We also know that the same book identified various Treasury officials, including Harry Dexter White, as members of Soviet espionage rings which had allegedly reported to Bentley. Thus, "Human Events" named the two departments of government where the main FBI spy targets were then working.

If there was any truth to the charges in Hoover's report of November 27, 1945, one such statement as that published in "Human Events" would have been sufficient to alert an espionage organization--even a second rate one. The spy rings directly pointed to by the published statements would almost certainly have been told to disband and cease operating. The entire Soviet espionage apparatus would have become much more circumspect, temporarily at least. Thus, the effect would have been to make it impossible to detect current espionage. If the FBI did not have enough

evidence to arrest the numerous spies named in November, 1945, the ensuing publicity campaign made it almost certain that little additional would be obtained.

If all this is plain to a layman, it must have been well understood by Hoover and his lieutenants, who had had long experience in counter-espionage. Yet, as we have seen, the facts indicate that the FBI was not a victim of the spy leaks in the latter part of 1945, but that, on the contrary, the agency actively promoted this newspaper publicity.

What conclusion is to be drawn from this behavior? In the first place, one is forced to conclude that at the very beginning of his spy hunt, Hoover valued newspaper publicity about Soviet spies far more highly than actual evidence against them. He must have known that he could not have both. If Hoover and his chief aides had thought in November, 1945, that there was a chance of catching any of the innumerable alleged spies "in the act," it is hard to believe that they would have tolerated--let alone instigated--the leaks and publicity which began then and soon became commonplace. One must conclude that Hoover did not believe the FBI was likely to obtain evidence of current espionage by any of the accused.

If this was the attitude at the top of the FBI at the beginning of their great spy hunt, the possible explanations are limited. The first explanation, one charitable to the FBI, is that they knew that all the spies named in their book had already been alerted and were lying low. But if this was the fact, one

finds no hint of it in the memorandum of November 27, 1945. On the contrary, the whole tenor of the book was that Soviet espionage was then being intensified and that most of those accused were currently engaged in espionage. From a reading of the book, the ordinary person would have believed that many arrests were imminent. Therefore, it is hard to accept this more charitable explanation of the behavior of the FBI chiefs. One is driven to conclude that at the outset of the spy hunt Hoover and his lieutenants did not really believe that the people they were accusing were Soviet spies, and that consequently they had no hope of detecting espionage. Of course, this would have been the secret but real attitude in the top echelon of the FBI if they had coached the spy stories and coached pliable informers to repeat them. If such was the case, one would expect this hidden but real attitude would affect the conduct of the spy hunt. In a bona fide counter-espionage operation, publicity would be completely destructive, but publicity to the FBI even in this undertaking was sought, as the FBI needed inspired "public" plaudits to justify its ever-expanding budget. Another objective was to establish a tight control over all intelligence operations of this government, and through publicity to destroy "competing" intelligence and security agencies.

add Churchill Iron Curtain Fulton Mo speech March 5 1946

Footnotes for "Press Leaks--the Adams Story; Human Events"

1. "Interlocking Subversion," Part 15, p. 1849.
2. New York Journal-American, December 4, 1945.
3. Excerpts from the FBI memorandum of November 27, 1945, concerning these two networks have been published by the Senate Internal Security Committee in the following parts of the series on "INTERLOCKING SUBVERSION IN GOVERNMENT": Part 15, pp. 1027-8, p. 1051, p. 1062; Part 16, pp. 1175-6. A more extensive account of Adams' alleged espionage is set forth in the "REPORT ON SOVIET ESPIONAGE ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH THE ATOM BOMB" by the Committee on Un-American Activities (September 22, 1945). This report is obviously based on FBI material, although the Committee, following the usual practice, is careful not to attribute any of its information to the FBI, while going out of its way to read into the public record parts of a secret Military Intelligence report. (See p. 168.)
4. See the account on the above report of the Un-American Activities Committee.
5. See pp. 167-8 of the same report.
6. "Interlocking Subversion," Part 15, p. 1052.
7. New York Journal-American, December 5, 1945.
8. Ibid., December 6, 1945.
9. Congressional Record, p. 11,708.
10. New York Journal-American, December 8, 1945.
11. New York Journal-American, March 5-6, 1946.
12. For example, it was rehashed by the Internal Security Subcommittee, in 1953 and 1954.
13. New York Journal-American, December 6, 1945.
14. The article in the Des Moines Register was repeated in the New York Journal-American on December 7, 1945. The Register, referring obviously to Schevchenko, though not by name, pointed out that he had "official, diplomatic status," that his activities had nothing to do with the atomic bomb, and that the FBI had deliberately dragged in that subject to make a more tempting morsel for Congress. The Hearst paper replied by pretending that the unnamed person was Adams, who was a private person and had no diplomatic status.

15. New York Journal-American, January 20, 1948.
16. New York Journal-American, March 14, 1946.
17. New York Times, July 12, 1956.
18. Interlocking Subversion, Part 16, p. 1176.
19. Report (op. cit.) on Soviet Espionage Activities, September 28, 1948, p. 167.
Years later, one veteran Washington newspaperman, it has been reported, was tipped off that Arthur Alexandrovitch Adams was an interdepartmental hoax. A pre-war (World War II) directive on Intelligence and Security gave all responsibility to the FBI, except in the field of atomic security. This was reserved for an agency then known as the Manhattan District. Any leads on spies after atomic secrets were to be turned over to the security section of the Manhattan District. Believing that the FBI had leads and were "holding out", the security section of Manhattan District created Mr. Adams, and quite an unmistakable link to "atomic" secrets and domestic communists. Mr. Adams was an experienced, veteran private "dick" who accepted this assignment for patriotic reasons - and pay. He was briefed, given some created semi-classified "documents", communist contacts, and adopted on his own, a thick Russian accent. The FBI apparently did shadow Mr. Adams who had some protection from arrest from the Manhattan District, perhaps channeled through the State Department. Whether the FBI turned this "hot" suspect over to the Manhattan District may never be known, but at some point, the necessity for "Mr. Adams" evaporated - and so did he - except, apparently, from FBI files and the Hearst newspapers.
20. ~~See the~~ statement of Senator Wherry to the Senate, December 10, 1945.
21. Interlocking Subversion, Part 16, p. 1112.
22. As reported by the New York Journal-American, December 6, 1945.

12. *UN 2/28/51*

named Franklin Spier and his wife. Chambers himself calls them leftists, though, as pointed out earlier, they were mild liberals. But in Chambers' vocabulary, leftism is coequal with Communism, and the home of leftists would hardly be the place to begin establishing a character for conservatism.

He had, moreover, been ordered to live in New York, so ~~the move to the country~~ ^{remains in} was not consistent with what he tells us was his attitude at the time: "Whatever I was told to do was a military order, and I must obey it as such." / SA

In the Fall, however, along with many New Yorkers who spend summer in the country, Chambers returned to the city -- to "obey ^{SA} orders" ^{SA} now that the summer's heat was past. *"military"*

In Witness he declares that he rented a furnished apartment in Greenwich Village, and left the mail box and the telephone in the landlord's name as a security measure. Facelessly disappearing into a part of New York where he was well-known for his raucous drunkenness and disorderly behavior would have been feat enough; apart from the difficulty of being faceless at all, with a face memorable for its carious teeth. But it is fair to ask: what kind of landlord was it who would consent to this irregular arrangement? The landlord, he says, knew that Chambers was a Communist (he was under orders not to be known as one, remember); and Chambers trusted him because he was "making his first tremulous ~~XXXXXXXX~~ splashes in the great leftward intellectual *undertow* of the 30's, borne up, more cheerfully than most, by a buoyant displacement of Scotch and soda."⁹

The implication seems to be that the man drank too much, and it is to be wondered that the disciplined "Bob" could be so trustful. But, much more than that, the story is a piece of artful concealment. The apartment was not rented from some obscure landlord. Chambers shared the ~~park~~ place with Robert Cantwell and his family, and the Cantwells had subleased it from Slater Brown. Both these names will presently be given their significance. In 1948, Chambers told the House Un-American Activities Committee that Cantwell had visited him at the Village apartment. That is devious use of the truth, and the intention, apparently, was to protect Cantwell, who later became an editor of Time and helped Chambers get his job there. A further intention would be to play down Cantwell's past radicalism, for he was one of the writers active in the League of Professional Groups for Foster and Ford in the 1932 presidential campaign. Slater Brown, another writer, also figured in that organization and later became an editor of New Masses. Neither was proper company for a man under orders to stay away from left-wingers, *was was the apartment suitable as it was, according to a friend, a "gold fish bowl" for radicals*

The truth is he made no attempt to "disappear as a person" at all. He was more in evidence than ever, meeting boon companions in the bars and elsewhere, using his own name and making no attempt at disguise. The simplest disguise, probably, would have been to have his teeth fixed.

During the winter of 1932-33
For a time, to be sure, he lived on Staten Island under the name of "Arthur Dwyer" and had a telephone in that name. But the alias was pointless, for at the same time his wife was receiving prenatal care at a clinic on East Fiftieth Street, Manhattan, under the name of Mrs. D.W. Chambers. She would, one imagines,

take the ferry at St. George as Mrs. Arthur Dwyer and land in Manhattan dropping the need for disguise and becoming again Mrs. Chambers.

The alias of Dwyer was abandoned altogether when the Chambers family moved back to the Spier farm, the next summer, where they had always been known by their real name.

After an entire year deep in the communist underground, Chambers resumed his legal name, and in some inexplicable fashion, managed to avoid detection - and keep in touch with his vast spy apparatus without a telephone - for the Spier farm still had none.

In the Fall, after the birth of their first child, the Chambers acquired a telephone in their new apartment, and again disguise was dropped for they were known as Chambers. Chambers recalled that they shared a hall telephone with other rooms of the dilapidated castle near the George Washington bridge.

In the Spring, the Chambers family moved back to Lynbrook and remained there for several months prior to their appearance in Baltimore. Chambers' fame in the town of Lynbrook was such that he did not attempt an alias, and once again, the Communist courier would return to the Long Island village where he has spent his youth, where he attempted no alias, and where he was known as Whittaker Chambers. - ~~should anyone have cared to check.~~

He made mysteries, as always, but Chambers' acquaintances were used to them by now; some old acquaintances remember that, when he was well on in drink, he would darkly hint that he was doing important work for the Communist International, and he liked to be thought of a "C.I. Rep" (Representative). This is surely the strangest spy in history, who hid out in public and secretively

gave away his most important secret.

He solves the problem for himself by omitting everything he really did while he was allegedly about his sinister work for the Russians, and disposes ahead of time of the refutation of those who knew him by saying that shortly after his disappearance, there were "a dozen liberals who, in the great whispering gallery of New York City, soon knew that I was engaged in some kind of underground work." /10

It is no refutation, as two further episodes will show, if the evidence already cited has not already done so. "Underground workers," Chambers ^{writes} "were absolutely forbidden to drink." /11 He contradicts that statement even within Witness, as will later be seen. But it is amply contradicted by people who ^{remember} remember him from the days, between 1932 and 1934, when he made a hangout of various bars on South Street, located conveniently near the ferry, when Chambers was living in Staten Island. Many of the habitués of these bars and Greenwich village bars were left-wingers, and they remember Chambers as a free-loader who sought sympathy -- and drinks -- by hinting that he was doing some kind of secret work.

The second episode is told by Matthew Josephson, author of Stendahl and other biographies, historical works and novels, and it took place when Chambers was staying at the Greenwich Village apartment of the Cantwells. In March, 1933, Josephson went to the apartment, excited over the news of the just announced Bank Holiday, one of the dramatic anti-depression measures of the Roosevelt administration. Josephson told this writer that at first he was refused admittance to the apartment; he could hear sounds of scuffling and heated argument inside. But after some moments, he was allowed

to enter. From under the bed, ^{presumably} a dirty and disheveled figure emerged and was introduced to Josephson as Whittaker Chambers. The Cantwells explained that Chambers was "in hiding."

Josephson, though interested, was more interested in discussing the nationwide bank closings. As soon as he heard the news, the unkempt Chambers shouted; "It's come -- it's come! The revolution is here! Tomorrow the Village will see barricades in the streets. The cobblestones will come up." Cantwell too seemed pleased at the news and in agreement with Chambers about the nearness of the revolution. Josephson had other views. He told them he himself was going to take what money he could scrape together and buy stock, being convinced that an inflation would result. Chambers, baring as many of his teeth as were not already bared, denounced Josephson as a "bourgeois spy." The incident has stayed fresh in the biographer's mind as being one of several that convinced him that he would never be happy with the Communists.

This is a sordid record, and it is not to be wondered that Chambers suppressed it in his book and at the Hiss trials. He was not under ground at all: he was under the bed.