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May 2015

**THE ART OF MANIPULATION: AGENTS OF INFLUENCE AND
THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN NATIONAL SECURITY STATE, 1914-1960**

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

University of Houston

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the twentieth century, British and Chinese agents of influence, fellow travelers and their unwitting allies conducted political warfare campaigns designed to exploit America's rising xenophobia to achieve specific diplomatic goals. The result of these "friendly" political warfare campaigns led the United States to not only fight in two world wars but also lead to a fundamental shift in U.S. foreign and domestic policy. By creating a culture of fear, these political warfare specialists influenced the U.S. political climate making it amiable toward their respective governments' diplomatic agendas. These foreign agents infiltrated the media, created front organizations, and quietly worked behind the scenes to shape American foreign and domestic policy.

During the First World War, British intelligence played on American fears by suggesting that "hyphenated" Americans might be treasonous. Patience, luck, and nerve finally paid off as a reluctant president asked Congress to declare war. Two decades later, England, once again, found itself embroiled in war. By the summer of 1940, Winston Churchill, the newly appointed British Prime Minister, knew the only way the British Empire could survive was to drag the United States into the conflict.

Using the lessons learned from the Great War, British intelligence began working to drag a reluctant nation to war. British agents of influence suggested that German Fifth columnists working on American soil sought to undermine the nation. The fear of subversion helped to shift U.S. attitudes. The British were not the only nation struggling to survive. Half a world away, the Chinese fought Imperial Japan, and like the British, the Chinese began lobbying the United State for support. The British and the Chinese

competed for American aid. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor did not end this competition nor did the defeat of the Axis powers.

As the “Good War” ended, the British and the Chinese worked to ensure that U.S. aid would help rebuild their shattered economies. The blowback from these operations led the rise of the American national security state. This is the story of how these agents of influence and their domestic allies worked to change the course of a nation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have been working on this project for almost five years and this project would not exist without the support, encouragement, and help of my professors, friends, and family. I would like to recognize those professors, working at the University of Houston, who guided me through this project. They include Dr. Gerald Horne, Dr. Martin Melosi, Dr. Thomas O'Brien, Dr. Jeremy Bailey and Dr. Robert Buzzanco. I would also like to take a moment to thank Dr. Kenneth Hendrickson, professor emeritus Midwestern State University, for starting me on this journey.

No scholar can navigate the labyrinth of archival research without the help and support of a skilled archivist. I was fortunate enough to find several professional archivists that went above and beyond. I would, therefore, like to thank Virginia Lewick, Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, Dan Linke, Seeley G Mudd Manuscript Library Princeton University, Hsiao-Ting Lin, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, and Colin Harris, University of Oxford's Bodleian Library.

In the end, writing is a solitary affair but this project would have suffered without the support, encouragement, and love of my family. I would like to thank my parents James and Margret Arlington for instilling in me a passion for reading, my son, Spenser, for understanding why his father spent so much time reading, researching and writing. And finally, I would like to thank my wife, Tracy, who read this manuscript more times than she would care to admit. Without her love, support, and partnership this work would not exist.

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In the high ranges of Secret Service work the actual facts in many cases were in every respect equal to the most fantastic inventions of romance and melodrama. Tangle within tangle, plot and counter-plot, ruse and treachery, cross and double cross, true agent, false agent, double agent, gold and steel, the bomb, the dagger, and the firing party, were interwoven in many a texture so intricate as to be incredible and yet true. The Chief and the High Officers of the Secret Service reveled in these subterranean labyrinths, and pursued their task with cold and silent passion.

—Sir Winston Churchill¹

¹ Winston Churchill, *Thoughts and Adventures*, (London: T. Butterworth, 1932), 87-88.

INTRODUCTION

State of Fear

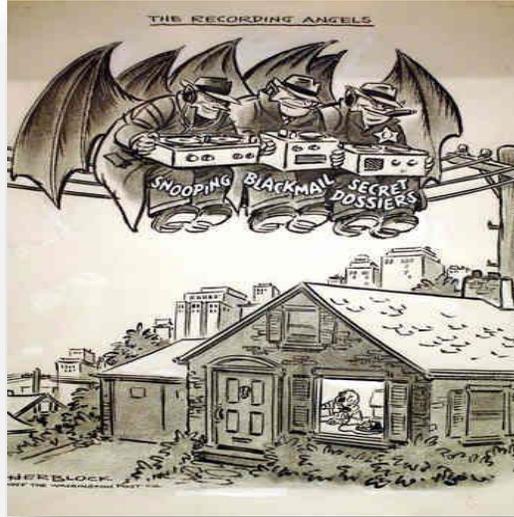


Figure 1¹

On April 18, 1946, Captain Gustave Gilbert, a German-speaking University of Columbia trained Jewish-American psychologist and American intelligence officer, walked through the Palace of Justice in Nuremberg, Germany. Making his nightly rounds, Gilbert headed to the prison complex. It was the first day of the long Easter break and Gilbert knew the men awaiting trial would need to talk, which would lessen their apprehension. The psychologist admitted, years later, that his intelligence duties and his medical duties overlapped. Gilbert explained that his real job was to “watch”

¹ Figure 1: Herbblock, “The Recording Angels,” 1955, Library of Congress.

over the prisoners. It was his responsibility to “be with them at all times” to have his finger “on the pulse of morale” and to “ensure the conduct of an orderly trial.” The uniformed military psychologist spent every day with these men. He spoke to them “during court intermissions and during lunch hours.” He had “extensive conversations with them at night in their cells and over the long weekends.” Gilbert’s rapport with these men lasted “from the beginning of the trial to the end of the trial.” He did not miss a day. And since doctor patient confidentiality did not exist; Gilbert passed any information, he considered important, to the International Military Tribunal (IMT) prosecutorial staff.²

On that Good Friday evening, Gilbert found Hermann Göring, the former *Reichsmarschall* and the former Commander of the *Luftwaffe*, “sweating in his cell.” Gilbert described Göring as an aggressive extrovert, who often viewed himself as the hero. Göring protested that Germany, during the war, had been a sovereign state. The IMT, therefore, had no jurisdiction to try him or his associates. The former *Reichsmarschall* began to realize, however, that his trial would more than likely end with a short walk to the gallows. The self-professed “jovial realist who had played for big stakes and lost” had been replaced by a defensive and despondent man who was “not very happy over the turn the trial was taking.” Gilbert, trying to calm Göring, began discussing international relations, a topic he knew the former *Reichsmarschall*, enjoyed. The prison psychologist stated that he did not believe “the common people are very thankful for leaders who bring them war and destruction.”

² G.M. Gilbert, *The Nuremberg Diary*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1995), 12, 278.

“Why of course, the people don’t want war,” Göring shrugged. “Why would some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best that he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece. Naturally, the common people don’t want war; neither in Russia nor in England nor in America, nor for that matter in Germany. This is understood. But, after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag people along, whether it is a democracy or a fascist dictatorship or a Parliament or a Communist dictatorship.”

Gilbert pointed out, “There is one difference. In a democracy the people have some say in the matter through their elected representatives in the United States only Congress can declare war.”

“Oh, that is all well and good, but, voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same in any country.”³

What the prison psychologist did not realize was that Göring had just succinctly explained how the state, through manipulation and propaganda, can influence its population. On that warm April night, Göring explained to his captor just how easy a state can control its citizens.⁴ What Göring failed to mention is that it is just as easy for a foreign power to influence public opinion. Political warfare, described as “the art of heartening friends and disheartening enemies,” uses “words, images, and ideas” to

³ Gilbert, 12, 278.

⁴ Angelo Codevilla and Paul Seabury, *War: Ends and Means*, (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, 2006), 151. Paul A. Smith, Jr., *On Political War*, (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1989), 3.

persuade rivals to alter their opinions and actions. During the twentieth century, foreign agents of influence and their domestic allies shaped U.S. foreign and domestic policy by creating a culture of fear that exploited the republic's growing xenophobia.

By 1957, this culture of fear had become so prevalent that General Douglas MacArthur stated

Our government has kept us in a perpetual state of fear—kept us in a continuous stampede of patriotic fervor—with the cry of grave national emergency. Always there has been some terrible evil...to gobble us up if we did not blindly rally behind it by furnishing the exorbitant funds demanded. Yet, in retrospect, these disasters seem never to have happened; seem never to have been quite real.⁵

And yet, U.S. policymakers used these feelings of insecurity to rationalize their decisions to sacrifice liberty for security. A detailed examination of the influence of “friendly” political warfare campaigns on U.S. foreign and domestic policy has yet to be conducted. Great Britain and Nationalist China, considered by many as having developed a “special” relationship with the United States, conducted numerous political warfare campaigns during the early twentieth century. By using friendly persuasion, these agents of influence, acting out of self-interest, worked to shape U.S. public opinion. The unintended consequences of these operations helped provide the rhetoric to rationalize the establishment of the American national security state. A key characteristic of the national security state is the state's fixation on defending itself from external and internal enemies.

⁵ An Address to the Annual Stockholder's Meeting of the Sperry Rand Corporation, 30 July 1957, New York, New York, quoted from Edward T. Imparato, *General MacArthur Speeches and Reports, 1908-1964*, (New York: Turner, 2000), 227-230.

These enemies are always portrayed as being ruthless and cunning; so, it is crucial to employ any means necessary to control or destroy these threats. The British and the Chinese used the fear of German intrigue and Communist treachery to further their own ends. This fear of internal subversion became integral to the early Cold War decisions that ultimately killed the New Deal with its emphasis on social spending and ushered in the national security state.⁶ To understand how these “friendly” political warfare campaigns differed from enemy action it is important to examine how German and Soviet agents worked in the United States. Ironically, allied and enemy political warfare campaigns worked in a similar fashion—by trying to manufacture consent.⁷

The most important factors in manufacturing consent, like Göring pointed out, is domestic propaganda and information control. The early twentieth century communications’ revolution allowed political warfare experts to orchestrate seamless campaigns. Signals intelligence (SIGINT) proved to be the greatest secret of the Second World War. Breaking allied and enemy codes allowed nations to read each other’s mail. Success and failure of a propaganda campaign could be tracked and adjustments could be made to improve it. To understand how these campaigns impacted U.S. foreign and domestic policy, it is also

⁶ For more on the national security state see Michael J. Hogan, *A Cross of Iron: Harry S. Truman and the Origins of the National Security States, 1945-1954*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁷ Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922). Lippmann first coined the phrase manufacturing consent in his 1922 monograph. Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 2011) used Lippmann’s phrase as the title for their book.

important to examine the rise of SIGINT. These intelligence operations provide a unique insight into twentieth century global diplomatic history and explain, to some extent, American's hegemonic rise. SIGNIT also provided American policymakers with another reason to establish the national security state.⁸

The clandestine world of espionage usually brings to mind Ian Fleming's dashing protagonist, James Bond—an iconic literary hero, who came to personify the Cold War spy. Luxurious locations, beautiful women, fiendish villains, and exotic weapons provided the basis for Fleming's novels. Fleming knew that while those ingredients made a best seller they did not accurately portray the life of a spy. The English author, who worked for British intelligence during the Second World War, understood the realities of this clandestine world, and he knew the work of the spy was one of persuasion over violence. Fleming recognized that James Bond was not a hero “but an efficient and not very attractive blunt instrument in the hands of government... a highly romanticized version of the true spy.” According to Fleming, a real spy “is another kind of beast altogether.”⁹

In the United States, the business of spying began during the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) with the Continental Congress' decision to set up the

⁸Alexander Cadogan and David Dilks, *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan, O.M., 1938-1945*, (New York: Putnam, 1972), 21. Cadogan stated Intelligence “is the missing dimension of most diplomatic history” and it should be used to help fill in the historical gaps. Also see Christopher Andrew and David Dilks, *The Missing Dimension: Governments and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth Century*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

⁹ Ian Fleming quoted in H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Quiet Canadian: The Secret Service of Sir William Stephenson*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), x.

Committee of Secret Correspondence. The Continental Congress ordered its members to discover the disposition of foreign powers toward the plight of the colonies, report their findings, and exert influence on foreign powers to garner support for the colonial cause. These colonial agents employed a rudimentary form of tradecraft. They worked undercover, wore disguises when necessary, and used secret writing as well as codes and ciphers to communicate.¹⁰ General George Washington, the commander of the Continental Army, set up a network of agents to support his military campaigns. The colonial general believed in “the necessity of procuring good intelligence” as well as understanding the importance of secrecy.¹¹ With the war won, Washington’s spies, who never discussed their wartime exploits, resumed their prewar lives. Believing that spies, like a large standing army, were the tools of the despot, the new republic wanted to dismantle its intelligence apparatus. President Washington, however, believed the executive office should, in times of distress, have the funds necessary to mount clandestine operations. In 1790, Congress created the “Contingent Fund of Foreign Intercourse,” which became known as the “secret service fund.”¹² The role of U.S. intelligence during the eighteenth and nineteenth century was irregular. During times of conflict—the War of 1812, the Civil War, and the Spanish American War—the army and

¹⁰ Christopher Andrew, *For the President’s Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), 7-10.

¹¹ Washington to Col. Elias Dayton, 26 July 1777, quoted from John C. Fitzpatrick, *The Writings of Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931-1944) 8:478-489.

¹² “An Act providing the means of intercourse between the United States and foreign nations,” *Annals of Congress, 1st Congress, 2nd Session*, (Washington DC: Gales and Seaton, 1934), 2:2291. In 1790, Congress allocated \$40,000 to this secret service fund. Within a few years, this secret fund would represent ten percent of the federal budget.

the navy expanded but once the threat was gone the military shrank back to its prewar levels. These conflicts, also, resulted in the increase in the U.S. government's use of spies but once the threat had passed these men and women, just like their Revolutionary War colleagues, returned to their civilian lives.¹³

By the mid-twentieth century, however, this cycle of military expansion and contraction underwent a fundamental change. The republic, out of fear of another Pearl Harbor style attack, decided to keep a large standing army as well as set up its first centralized civilian peacetime intelligence organization. In 1947, President Harry S. Truman, with legislative approval, created the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) for "the sole purpose of getting all the available information to the president."¹⁴ During the early days of the CIA, the agency relied predominately on human intelligence (HUMINT). Case officers handle human sources known as agents (spies). These agents, because of their placement and access to a particular target, gather information, which they pass on to their case officer who gives it to Langley. Once evaluated and analyzed, the data is passed on to government officials (the end users), who use the information to make policy decisions. Often, these officials ask specific questions to address particular security concerns. Langley, then, relays these requests to the case officer, who orders his

¹³ Christopher Andrew's survey of U.S. intelligence only devotes twenty pages (out of 541 pages) to pre-twentieth century U.S. intelligence operations because eighteenth and nineteenth century intelligence operation were sporadic and usually tied to a major conflict.

¹⁴ Harry S. Truman to William B. Arthur, 10 June 1964, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, Post-*Presidential Secretary's Office Files*, Box 14. Memorandum for Mr. Clark M. Clifford, "Proposed enabling legislation for the establishment of a Central Intelligence Agency, 2 December 1946, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, *Papers of George M. Elsey*, Box 56.

agent to acquire the intelligence needed to answer these questions, which brings the intelligence cycle full circle.¹⁵

The first rule of espionage is don't get caught. The case officer, during his daily routine, constantly runs the risk of exposure. For example, agent recruitment is strenuous. A case officer spots, assesses, recruits, tests and trains agents. A single mistake, during recruitment, can unmask the case officer, which might lead to deportation, imprisonment, or execution for either the case officer or his agent. In a perfect world, the information gained justifies the risk.¹⁶ An agent of influence, on the other hand, is someone who uses their position to exert influence on policy or public opinion. These intelligence professionals work to shape the course of a particular event—making the agent of influence “far more valuable, subtle, and dangerous” than a mere spy. These agents are considered more valuable than a well-placed mole. To succeed, the agent of influence enlists domestic allies to carry out specific tasks. Fellow travelers, for example, are those people who sympathize with the cause but had no formal ties linking them back to the agent while “useful idiots” were individuals who had no idea that their actions were furthering the interest of a foreign power. The agent of influence, like a puppet master, pulled the strings and domestic allies worked to shape national policy.¹⁷

¹⁵ For the office view on the Intelligence Cycle see Central Intelligence Agency, *Factbook on Intelligence*, (Langley, VA: Office of Public Affairs, Central Intelligence Agency, 1993), 14.

¹⁶ Victor Suvorov, *Inside Soviet Military Intelligence*, (London: H. Hamilton, 1984), 57-65.

¹⁷ Angelo M. Codevilla, “Political Warfare: A Set of Means for Achieving Political Ends,” *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda and Political Warfare* (Washington D.C.: Institute of World Politics Press, 2008), 220; Richard H. Shultz and Roy Godson, *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy*, (New York: Pergamon-Brassey's, 1984), 193-194.

The work of an agent of influence almost defies understanding. With a subtle but deft touch the political warfare specialist can exert enough influence to shape policy. Stanislav Levchenko, a Soviet defector, who worked for Service A of the KGB First Chief Directorate, the department responsible for conducting Soviet political warfare stated “The Soviet Union has been tricking the West for almost 70 years. There is in the West a factor of elementary naiveté,” a naiveté the British and the Chinese used for their political gain.¹⁸ By exploiting a nation’s fear, agents of influence manufactured consent. These clandestine operations led to a shift in U.S. foreign and domestic policy, which helped establish the American national security state, the military-industrial complex, and the multijurisdictional U.S. intelligence community (IC).

During World War I, Great Britain employed political warfare experts, who worked to drag the United States into the conflict. George Kennan, noted Sovietologist and the father of containment, stated, in the spring of 1948, that “the creation, success, and survival of the British Empire has been due in part to the British understanding and application of the principles of political warfare,” which Kennan understood to be the “art of heartening friends and disheartening enemies.”¹⁹ The use of “words, images, and

¹⁸ Interview quoted in *Soviet Influence Activities: A Report on Active Measures and Propaganda, 1986-87*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of State, Publication 9627, August 1987), 87. State and Justice Department reports on Soviet active measures include *Active Measures: A Report on the Substance and Process of Anti-U.S. Disinformation and Propaganda Campaigns*, (Washington D.C.: Department of State Publication 9630, August 1986); *Soviet Active Measures in the United States*. Washington D.C.: Department of Justice, June 1987); *Soviet Influence Activities: A Report on Active Measures and Propaganda, 1986-87*, (Washington D.C.: Department of State Publication 9627, August 1987).

¹⁹ National Security Council Policy Planning Staff Memorandum, May 4, 1948, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 273, Records of the National Security Council, NSC 10/2, box 32; United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945-1950, Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment*, (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), 668-669.

ideas” to persuade rivals to alter their opinions or actions was not new.²⁰ And like, Sun Tzu, a sixth century B.C.E. Chinese military general, strategist and philosopher, Kennan knew that “the supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting.” Military conflict mired in bloodshed and turmoil should be avoided whenever possible. Sun Tzu urged his readers to understand their opponents—a skilled tactician can psychologically manipulate, unnerve and demoralize his enemies. A true strategist employed every dirty trick short of war to mislead and to outmaneuver his opponent. Making war nothing more than just one tool in the diplomat’s arsenal—a blunt instrument that should only be used as a last resort. Something that modern political warfare experts understand all too well.²¹

George Kennan knew that political warfare encompassed more than just words, images and ideas. Like Sun Tzu, the Sovietologist viewed political warfare as using all the dirty tricks short of all-out war to achieve strategic diplomatic goals. An idea, the author of the *Long Telegram*, feared the American public would never embrace since most Americans

have been handicapped...by a popular attachment to the concept of a basic difference between peace and war, by a tendency to view war as a sort of sporting context outside of all political context, by a national tendency to seek for a political cure-all, and by a reluctance to recognize the realities of international relations—the perpetual rhythm of struggle, in and out of war.

²⁰ Angelo Codevilla and Paul Seabury, *War: Ends and Means*, (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, 2006), 151; Paul A. Smith, Jr., *On Political War*, (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1989), 3.

²¹ Victor H. Mair, *The Art of War: Sun Zi's Military Methods*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), xiv-xv.

Kennan realized that most Americans would view political warfare as being incompatible with the nation's democratic values and traditions, which might spell the end of the republic. He understood that political warfare was simply the logical application of Sun Tzu's doctrine of war.²²

As the "Good War" ended, peace proved elusive. Fighting over America's limited resources, the British and the Chinese exploited the growing postwar political and military tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union to gain the postwar financial support they needed to rebuild their nations. Direct confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States compelled the two superpowers to limit their struggle to a shadow war where both nations courted public opinion. This struggle crossed national boundaries as journalists, media moguls, and scholars strove to win the "hearts and minds" of a nation. By 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican Party presidential candidate, realized the risk of America fighting an "out-and-out shooting war" was far less likely than the danger confronting the United States on what the former World War II general referred to as "the political warfare front."²³ Cold War rhetoric, written by journalists and scholars employed by American, British, and Chinese intelligence during the Second World War, provided the prose used by U.S. politicians, drawn into the fray by smooth talking influence peddlers, to crucify their political rivals.

²² National Security Council Policy Planning Staff Memorandum, May 4, 1948, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 273, Records of the National Security Council, NSC 10/2, Box 32; United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945-1950, Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment*, (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950), 668-669.

²³Eisenhower to George Arthur Sloan, 20 March 1952, quoted in Alfred D. Chandler and Louis Galambos, *The Papers of Dwight D. Eisenhower*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1970-1996), 13: 1098-1103.

Charges of treason and sedition swept the nation. A communist witch-hunt tightened the thumbscrews on American civil liberties. The Soviet-American arms race resulted in establishment of a stable military-industrial complex. Through almost fifty years of what has become known as the Cold War, American presidents and politicians struggled to prevent nuclear Armageddon.²⁴

By using the psychology of fear, political warfare specialists helped shape postwar American foreign policy. The fear of a Soviet first strike or worse a Soviet backed *coup d'état* became the basis for five decades worth of U.S. national security policy decisions.²⁵ Harold Lasswell, a leading American political scientist, who understood the use of fear to gain political advantage, explored how those who “specialized in violence” manipulated the state. Lasswell examined the rise of various military dictatorships—Nazi Germany, Stalinist Russia, Mussolini’s Italy, and Imperial Japan. He came to believe the “specialists on violence would become the most powerful group in society.” Lasswell’s research showed that those who specialized in violence militarized society. They created laws requiring universal military training, they mobilized the scientific and industrial community, and they increased taxes to pay for the vast military-industrial complex that came to dominate the state. Eventually, the “garrison state” would control the lives of its citizens. After the Second World War, Lasswell stressed that even a democratic power, such as the United States, might

²⁴ See Evan Thomas, *Ike’s Bluff: President Eisenhower’s Secret Battle to Save the World*, (New York: Little Brown and Company, 2012).

²⁵ For a detailed account of America’s reaction to the atomic bomb, see Paul Boyer, *By the Bombs Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).

transform into a garrison state. The American political scientist theorized that feeling of continual political danger might compel U.S. policy makers to embrace militarism or risk destroying the republic.²⁶

On March 28, 1947, George Kennan warned students at the U.S. National War College that feelings of fear and insecurity could lead to the rise of totalitarian régimes. It was possible that even Western democracies might suppress any trace of loyal opposition. Fear of internal and external sabotage might compel politicians to undermine the parliamentary social contract that provided governmental legitimacy. Socio-political unrest might cause the Western democracies to turn against their citizenry in the name of national security. Kennan cautioned, “The fact of the matter is that there is a little bit of the totalitarian buried somewhere, way down deep, in each and everyone one of us. It is only the cheerful light of confidence and security which keeps this evil genius down.”²⁷

Hanson Baldwin, the Pulitzer Prizing winning military analyst for the *New York Times*, noticing a shift in American foreign policy, proposed a disturbing question. “How can we prepare for total war without becoming a ‘garrison state’ and destroying the very qualities and virtues and principles we originally set about to save? This...is the grand

²⁶ “The Garrison State,” *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 46, no. 4 (January 1941): 455; For more on the garrison state see Lasswell’s other articles “The Garrison State and the Specialist on Violence,” *The Analysis of Political Behavior: An Empirical Approach*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947): 146-157; “The Universal Peril: Perpetual Crisis and the Garrison-Prison State,” *Perspectives on a Troubled Decade: Science, Philosophy, and Religion, 1939-1949: Tenth Symposium*, New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion in their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life; (New York: Harper 1950), 323-328.

²⁷ George F. Kennan, *Memoirs: 1925-1950* (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), 336-337.

dilemma...of our age.”²⁸ Baldwin, like Kennan and Lasswell, realized the United States, faced with the growing Soviet threat, might allow those who specialized in violence to gain political control, which could rapidly transform the United States into a despotic régime.²⁹ In the two years following the end of World War II, the *New York Times* journalist reported on the U.S. government’s hard-line anticommunist foreign policy. The Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and the passage of the National Security Act of 1947 demonstrated America’s commitment to check communist aggression around the world. These programs also ensured access to free markets, which would avoid another postwar Great Depression.³⁰

Politicians, military commanders, journalists, and foreign intelligence agents exploited this postwar fear of atomic annihilation to ensure that personal and ideological agendas received the federal funding needed to keep American safe. These arbitrary political policy decisions caused a rift first in the Truman administration and then along political party lines. Should the United States uphold its Eurocentric diplomatic approach or should U.S. policymakers shift their focus to the Far East? The partisan struggle between the Republicans and Democrats eventually pitted the agents of the British Empire against the members of the China Lobby as representatives from both nations tried to influence American politics during the late 1940s and 1950s.³¹ British agents and

²⁸ Hanson Baldwin, *The Price of Power* (New York: Harper, 1947), 20.

²⁹ Harold Lasswell, “The Garrison State,” 455-468.

³⁰ Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 16.

³¹ Wilson D. Miscamble, in *George F. Kennan and the Making of American Foreign Policy, 1947-1950*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 212-246, explains why the policy followed in Europe would not work in China.

China lobbyists exploited Kennan's call to contain Soviet expansion. These agents of influence contributed to some of America's most important Cold War decisions.

America's postwar decision to support the Greeks, to intervene in Korean, to orchestrate the removal of the Iranian Prime Minister, Mohammad Mosaddegh, and the Guatemalan President, Colonel Jacobo Arbenz, and the American decision to intervene in French Indochina, which led to the military buildup in South Vietnam.³²

During the first two decades of the Cold War, foreign agents of influence and their domestic allies used the American fear of the bomb, their apprehension of the future, and their growing irrationality of Communisms to orchestrate a campaign of whispers, rumors, and innuendo to shape American public opinion. Most Cold War manuscripts fail to address these internal pressures. Instead, most of these monographs present a subjective account of the times. Each volume can be classified as an orthodox, revisionist, or post-revisionist view of the conflict. Historians, such as Herbert Feis, Thomas A. Bailey, John Lewis Gaddis, Walter LaFeber, Gar Alperovitz, Melvyn Leffler, and Joyce and Gabriel Kolko, present the chaotic post-World War II years as nothing more than America's rapid transformation from a welfare state to a warfare state. Some of these Cold War scholars suggest U.S. policymakers, guided by a conspiratorial plan to alter the nature of the republic, transferred the citizenry's fear of totalitarian expansionism (such as the recently defeated Thousand Year Reich) into a fear of Stalinist

³² Kennan's concept of containment mirrors Georges Clemenceau's use of the term *cordon sanitaire*, which described the French Foreign Minister's establishment of a system of alliances designed to keep Germany and Soviet Russia isolated from the rest of Europe.

Russia.³³ These Cold War scholars fail to explore the use of “soft power” by British intelligence, Chinese lobbyists, and American policy makers to alter the course of the nation. Soft power—as opposed to the “hard” power represented by all-out war—is the state’s use of overt, covert, and clandestine measures that use “all the means at a nation’s command, short of war.” Propaganda, régime change, financial support of client states, funding counterinsurgencies, and political assassination are just some of the tools used by political warfare specialists. The use of soft power, by foreign agents of influence, transformed American domestic attitudes from isolationist to interventionist. Soft power helped convince a reluctant American populace to join the fight first against Imperial

³³ The orthodox, revisionist or post revisionist views comprise the three schools of historical thought concerning the origins of the Cold War. The orthodox view follows the official U.S. version of the origins of the Cold War. The United States acted in the best interest of the world by thwarting Soviet expansionist tendencies. Herbert Feis, *From Trust to Terror: The Onset of the Cold War, 1945-1950*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1970) and Thomas A. Bailey, *America Faces Russia: Russian-American Relations from Early Times to Our Day*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950). The traditional view of the Cold War lasted until the early 1960s but American disillusionment with the Vietnam War led to the rise of the revisionist accounts of the Cold War. The revisionist view blamed the United States for the ensuing conflict. Joyce and Gabriel Kolko’s *The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1945-1954* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) and William Appleman William, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1958) represent just some of the literature concerning the revisionist view of the conflict. The post-revisionist views attribute responsibility for the conflict to both sides. John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941-1947*, (New York; Columbia University Press, 2000) and Walter LaFeber’s *Russia, the United States and the Cold War* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1977) both represent the post-revisionist view which argues that through a series of diplomatic blunders and strategic miscalculations the United States and the Soviet Union found themselves to be on opposite sides of an ideological feud that could have been avoided. Gaddis believes that through a series of diplomatic misunderstandings the Soviet Union and the United States fell into the Cold War while LaFeber argues that the origins of the Cold War can be traced back to the eighteenth century when Russian and American trading interests first collided in Asia. Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Paterson, “Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930s-1950s,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 75, no. 4 (April 1970): 1046-1064.

Germany, and then Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, and finally against Stalinist Russia.³⁴

A propagandist blending fact and fiction intertwines morality with policy to craft a grandiose political rhetoric justifying national security decisions. In the United States, agents of influence, more often than not, referred to America's "unique" sense of mission to rally public support. The religious justification for American expansionism transformed, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, into a secular nationalistic rhetoric that, in part, provided the impetus for the rise of the American national security state. Foreign and domestic agents of influence exploited the idea that America is unique to rationalize the nation's rise to global dominance. This can be seen in the rhetoric surrounding the passage of the National Security Act of 1947.³⁵

Fear provided a strong motivator for change but fear was not enough. The British understood that as a nation most American were "still unsure of themselves individually, still basically on the defensive and still striving, as yet unavailingly but very defiantly, after national unity." The republic struggled to "achieve a genuine nationalism." A

³⁴ Codevilla and Seabury, *War*, 151; Smith, *On Political War*, 3. My definition of soft power defers from Joseph S. Nye's. According to Nye, soft power is the ability to get what one wants through cooperation by attracting likeminded individuals or nation states to your cause. An individual or a nation state can increase its influence and achieve geopolitical gain without resorting to the use of hard power defined by Nye as the use of coercion or force to achieve one's ends. My definition of soft power stems from the Cold War bipolarization of the war and as such soft power follows Kennan's definition as utilizing "all the means at a nation's command, short of war;" thus, hard power becomes synonymous with total war or in the case of the Cold War with a nuclear exchange between the two competing superpowers. For more information on Nye's contemporary view of soft power, see Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power*, (New York: Basic Books, 1991); Joseph Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Succeed in World Politics*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2005); and Joseph Nye, *The Future of Power*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2011).

³⁵ John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity*, 1630. Winthrop based his sermon on Mathew 5:14, which states, "You are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hidden." Also see Henry Luce, "The American Century," *Life*, 17 February 1941.

nationalism expressed in their belief that as Americans they were fundamentally different. Liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, republicanism, democracy and a laissez-faire approach to governing helped reinforce this idea; but if history has taught us anything, it is that people, like nation states, act out of self-interest. The British, and later the Chinese, realized the best way to motivate the American public was by using fear of an internal or external threats while appealing to what the French referred to as *nobles oblige* and to what Americans called exceptionalism. The British and the Chinese used the fear of the hyphenated American, the fear of the treasonous fifth columnists, the fear of communist subversion, and finally the fear of the atomic bomb to help motivate the American public to support their diplomatic goals. Underlying this fear of the other was the idea that the United States had a special relationship with both Great Britain and with China. This myth of the special relationship helped justify American support.³⁶

America's shift from an isolationist to interventionist world view is so complex that it far exceeds the "standard" reading, which largely focuses on Truman's decision to drop "the Bomb" and the immediate postwar diplomatic misunderstandings between the Soviet Union and the United States that lead to the Cold War. Some of these Cold War scholars suggest that the United States navigated these hectic years guided by a massive conspiratorial plan to alter the very nature of the republic, in part, by transferring the citizenry's fear of aggressive totalitarian states (such as the recently defeated Thousand

³⁶ *The Secret History of British Intelligence in the Americas, 1940-1945*, (New York: Fromm International, 1998), 66.

Year Reich) into a fear of Stalinist Russia in order to establish a national security state.³⁷

This study does not suggest that the standard reading fails to provide a logical assessment of the origins of the Cold War but it does suggest that maybe friendly persuasion employed by agents of influence and their domestic allies might have helped frame the debate surrounding the rise of the American national security state.

Many recent scholarly works take on a more nuanced approach to this period—but there are still holes in the literature. The role of intelligence in shaping twentieth-century domestic and foreign policy continues to pose a problem. The “missing dimension” remains elusive as most scholars tend to avoid intelligence studies. The field is still in its infancy. The first official inquiry into the role of intelligence occurred in 1975—a year that has become known as the “Year of Intelligence” or more callously as the “Intelligence Wars.”³⁸ In January 1970, Christopher Pyle, a former U.S. military intelligence officer, stated that Army intelligence spied on U.S. dissident demonstrations, which led to a Senator Samuel James Ervin, Jr.’s (D-North Carolina), senatorial inquiry into the alleged U.S. Army’s domestic spying.³⁹ Four years later, Seymour Hersh, a *New York Times* journalist, reported the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) engaged in domestic intelligence work. Members of the U.S. Congress diligently worked to find out

³⁷ Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Paterson, “Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930s-1950s,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 75, no. 4 (April 1970): 1046-1064.

³⁸ John Prados, *The Family Jewels: The CIA, Secrecy, and Presidential Power*, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 2013), 9. Scholars usually refer to this intelligence windfall as the “Year of Intelligence” while members of the intelligence community continue to refer to 1975 as the “Intelligence Wars.”

³⁹ *Military Surveillance: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Committee Judiciary, United States Senate, 93rd Congress, Second Session, April 9 & 10, 1974*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974).

the truth behind the *New York Times* allegations.⁴⁰ The reports produced by the United States Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (the Church Committee), led by Frank Church (D-Idaho), the United States House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (the Pike Committee), led by Otis Pike (D-New York) and the United States President's Commission on CIA Activities within the United States (the Rockefeller Commission) led by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, provided scholars with a cache of archival material. The Church Committee published fourteen reports. Congressional opposition prevented the official publication of the Pike Committee's final report; although portions leaked to the press. The Rockefeller Commission only published one report about CIA domestic intelligence work. Following the revelations contained in these reports, scholars tentatively began to explore the impact of intelligence on history.⁴¹ The literature on intelligence is broad (but superficial) covering such diverse topics as intelligence theory, reform, management and accountability; exposés on the shape and organization of the IC; detailed accounts of intelligence operations; as well as memoirs written by intelligence professionals.⁴²

⁴⁰Seymour Hersh, "Huge CIA Operation Reported in U.S. against Anti-War Forces, Other Dissidents in Nixon Years," *New York Times*, December 22, 1974.

⁴¹F.H. Hinsley and C.A.G. Simkins, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1993). John Lewis Gaddis, "Intelligence, Espionage, and Cold War Origins," *Diplomatic History*, (Spring 1989), 191-212; Christopher Andrew, "Intelligence and International Relations in the Early Cold War," *Review of International Studies*, (1998).

⁴²For intelligence theory see Arthur S. Hulnick, "The Intelligence Producer-Policy Consumer Linkage: A Theoretical Approach," *Intelligence and National Security*, (May 1986): 212-233; Philip H.J. Davies, "Ideas of Intelligence: Divergent National Concepts and Institutions," *Harvard International Review*, (Autumn, 2002): 62-66; and Loch K. Johnson, "Bricks and Mortar for a Theory of Intelligence," *Comparative Strategy*, (Spring 2003): 1-28. For intelligence reform see John H. Hedley, "The Intelligence Community: Is it Broken? How to Fix it," *Studies in Intelligence*, (1996): 11-19; Arthur S. Hulnick, *Fixing the Spy Machine*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004); and Loch K. Johnson, "The Failures of U.S. Intelligence and What Can be done about Them," *Yale Journal of International Affairs* (February 2006). For intelligence management see Stafford T. Thomas, "The CIA's Bureaucratic Dimensions," *International*

The literature on political warfare campaigns, like the other subfields in intelligence studies, is growing. Harold Lasswell's *Propaganda Techniques in the World War* provided the foundational work on the subject. George Bruntz's *Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire* explores the political warfare efforts conducted by the Triple Entente against Germany. J.D Squires' *British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914-1917* examines the role of literature in the production of propaganda. M.L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor's *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-1918* deals with the struggle between the British Foreign Office and the Home Office over control of propaganda during the war. On American propaganda efforts during the Great War see James R. Mock and Cedric Larson's *Words that Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information*, George Creel's *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information That Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe*, Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information*, and George T. Blakey's *Historians on the Homefront: American Propagandist for the Great War*.⁴³

Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, (Winter, 1999): 399-413. For intelligence accountability see Athan G. Theoharis, *Spying on Americans: Political Surveillance from Hoover to the Huston Plan*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978); and David M. Barrett, *The CIA and Congress: The Untold Story from Truman to Kennedy*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2005); For organizational history see Mark M. Lowenthal, *U.S. Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy*, (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992); and Jeffrey T. Richelson, *The U.S. Intelligence Community*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999); For specific intelligence missions see Richard H. Immerman, *The CIA in Guatemala: The Foreign Policy of Intervention*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982); Stephen F. Knott, *Secret and Sanctioned: Covert Operations and the American Presidency*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); and John Prados, *Safe for Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA*, (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006).

⁴³ Harold Lasswell, *Propaganda Techniques in the World War*, (New York: Garland, 1972); George Bruntz, *Allied Propaganda and the Collapse of the German Empire*, (Stanford, C.A.: Stanford University Press, 1938); J.D. Squires, *British Propaganda at Home and in the United States from 1914 to 1917*,

Friendly intelligence operations provide yet another area of scholarly inquiry that most historians overlook. Using the subtlest of language, Martin S. Alexander, *Knowing Your Friends: Intelligence inside Alliances and Coalitions from 1914 to the Cold War*, in his groundbreaking study, referred to these types of operations as being a mixture of cooperation and competition. Intelligence collection relied on the incidental transfer of information gathered by close contact between liaison officers during their daily assignments. *Knowing Your Friends* ignores operations, that might be deemed hostile, that occurred between allies. For example, during the First and Second World Wars, the British broke and read U.S. communications. The British officials used the information gained to develop plans to help drag the United States into the war. Ernest Cuneo, the liaison between U.S. and British Intelligence during the Second World War, stated “friendly and neutral powers are quaint and laughable terms unrecognized in the world of intelligence. Every major nation taps every other major nation, none more than its Allies.” Cuneo understood that “who is talking to whom” is often “as important as what is said.” The aging spy knew that political correctness is a liability. Allies are fleeting. Self-interest governs diplomatic relations as today’s friend might become tomorrow’s enemy.⁴⁴

(Cambridge M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1935); M.L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-1918*, (London: Macmillan, 1982); James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words that Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1939); George Creel, *How We Advertised American: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information That Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe*, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920); Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee for Public Information*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

⁴⁴ Martin S. Alexander, *Knowing Your Friends: Intelligence inside Alliances and Coalitions from 1914 to the Cold War*, (New York: Routledge, 1998). Ernest Cuneo, a letter to J. Edgar Hoover, 14 March 1969

The literature on British efforts to convince the United States to join the First World War include Barbara Tuchman's, *The Zimmermann Telegram*, Patrick Beesly's *Room 40: British naval Intelligence, 1914-1918*, Wilton B. Fowler's, *British-American Relations, 1917-1918: The Role of Sir William Wiseman*, Friedrich Katz's, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, The United States, and the Mexican Revolution*, Jules Witcover's, *Sabotage at Black Tom: Imperial Germany's Secret War in America, 1914-1917*, and Howard Blum's, *Dark Invasion: 1915: Germany's Secret War and the Hunt for the First Terrorist Cell in America*.⁴⁵ Several memoirs, such as Guy Gaunt, *The Yield of Years: A Story of Adventure Afloat and Ashore*, Norman Thwaites, *Velvet and Vinegar*, Emanuel Voska and Will Irwin, *Spy and Counter-Spy*, and Franz Rintelen, *Dark Invader: Wartime Reminiscences of a German Naval Intelligence Officer*, provide detailed accounts of German intelligence operations in the United States and the British response to these political warfare campaigns. While these monographs provide a snapshot of the times, they fail to link British political warfare campaigns (1914-1919) to British efforts, two decades later, to compel the United States to join the fight against Nazi Germany (1939-1940).⁴⁶

quoted from Thomas E. Mahl, *Desperate Deceptions: British Covert Operations in the United States, 1939-1944*, (Washington: Brassey's, 1998), 47.

⁴⁵ Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmermann Telegram*, (New York: Viking Press, 1958); Patrick Beesly, *Room 40: British Naval Intelligence, 1914-1918*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1982); Wilton B. Fowler, *British-American Relations, 1917-1918: The Role of Sir William Wiseman*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); Friedrich Katz, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Jules Witcover, *Sabotage at Black Tom: Imperial Germany's Secret War in America, 1914-1917*, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1989); Howard Blum, *Dark Invasion: 1915: Germany's Secret War and the Hunt for the First Terrorist Cell in America*, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2014).

⁴⁶ Guy Gaunt, *The Yield of Years: A Story of Adventure Afloat and Ashore*, (London: Hutchinson, 1940); Norman Thwaites, *Velvet and Vinegar*, (London: Grayson and Grayson, 1932); Emanuel Voska and Will

In 1998, *British Security Coordination: The Secret History of British Intelligence in the Americas, 1940-1945*, the organization's official history, was finally published. The BSC, charged with conducting political warfare operations during the Second World War, provided the single most important source on British intelligence in the Americas in the years leading up to the World War II. The secondary literature about the BSC, all quote extensively from the pages of this official history. Thomas F. Troy, the CIA Historian, stated the BSC papers were "often quoted, highly publicized, but still hidden from public view—a sort of forbidden fruit."⁴⁷

Two biographies of William Stephenson, H. Montgomery Hyde's *The Quiet Canadian: The Secret Service of Sir William Stephenson* and William Stevenson's *A Man Called Intrepid* provide a history full of errors. Those flaws, however, are mitigated when the two texts are used with a third biography—Bill Macdonald's *The True 'Intrepid': Sir William Stephenson and the Unknown Agents* and with the BSC papers.⁴⁸ Jennet Conant's *The Irregulars: Roald Dahl and the British Spy Ring in Wartime Washington*, Nicholas John Cull's *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign against American "Neutrality" in World War II*, and Thomas E. Mahl's *Desperate Deception: British Covert Operations in the United States, 1939-1944* explore the British

Irwin, *Spy and Counter-Spy*, (New York: Doubleday, 1931); and Franz Rintelen, *Dark Invader: Wartime Reminiscences of a German Naval Intelligence Officer*, (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

⁴⁷ Thomas F. Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan, Stephenson and the Origins of the CIA*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 150.

⁴⁸ H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Quiet Canadian: The Secret Service of Sir William Stephenson*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962); William Stevenson, *A Man Called Intrepid*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1976); Bill Macdonald, *The True 'Intrepid': Sir William Stephenson and the Unknown Agents*, (British Columbia, Canada: Timberholme Books, 1998).

use of propaganda to influence U.S. domestic policy in the years leading up to World War II.⁴⁹

The literature fails to explore the similarity between 1914 and 1940. These manuscripts, also, fail to examine the unintended consequences of friendly political warfare operations on U.S. domestic and foreign policy. More importantly, none of these monographs examine how British active measures led to the rise of the China Lobby in American politics. These intelligence operations, viewed within the context of nearly a century of perpetual war, will show how political warfare, from World War I through the early Cold War period, directly relates to the U.S. development and implantation of its own political warfare program, which was instrumental in shaping U.S. Cold War domestic and foreign policy.

The literature on the China lobby is almost nonexistent. Max Ascoli's account "The China Lobby" is the starting point for scholarly inquiry into this undefined organization. Ross Koen's *The China Lobby in American Politics* and Stanley Bachrack's *The Committee of One Million: "China Lobby" Politics, 1953-1971*, provides the foundational literature on the China Lobby's efforts to influence U.S. foreign policy. These studies briefly examine the influence of the China Lobby on American politics; however, they date back to the early 1960s and 1970s. Ascoli, Koen, and Bachrack did not have access to any of the recently opened archival resources. A memo, in T.V. Soong's archival records, strongly suggests the China Lobby deliberately and consciously

⁴⁹ Jennet Conant, *The Irregulars: Roald Dahl and the British Spy Ring in Wartime Washington*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008); Andrew Lycett, *Ian Fleming: The Man behind James Bond*, (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, 1995); and John Pearson, *The Life of Ian Fleming*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

targeted certain influential U.S. congressional representatives and senators in their efforts to secure U.S. aid to China.⁵⁰ Other documents found in T.V. Soong's archival records also suggest the China Lobby worked behind the scenes in the U.S. to gain control of all the disparate organizations working on their behalf. This strategy mirrors British Intelligence's use of front organizations during the First and Second World War.⁵¹

These documents suggest the China Lobby held more power than previously recognized; thus, making the China Lobby a major player in shaping U.S. domestic and foreign policy. Recent manuscripts dealing with major China lobby figures, such as Alan Brinkley's *The Publisher: Henry Luce and His American Century*, fail to mention the China lobby in any detail. Even Hannah Pakula's *The Last Empress: Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and the Birth of Modern China* and Jay Taylor's *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-Shek and the Struggle for Modern China* only give passing reference to these lobbyists.⁵²

Unfortunately, there is no single archival file with all the answers. The problem with intelligence history is the material is often "scattered to the winds—a sentence here a paragraph there" forcing the historian to search for answers across a vast field of scholarly inquiry.⁵³ During the Second World War, Ernest Cuneo worked as the liaison

⁵⁰ "Memorandum from Sao-Ke Alfred Sze to Dr. T.V. Soong," Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 39.

⁵¹ "Memorandum Regarding Influencing American Public Opinion," Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 38.

⁵² For more information see Alan Brinkley, *The Publisher: Henry Luce and His American Century*, (New York: Knopf, 2010). Hannah Pakula, *The Last Empress: Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the Birth of Modern China*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009). And Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009).

⁵³ Thomas Troy quoted in Mahl, ix.

between British and American intelligence. The aging intelligence officer revealed the historical difficulty with intelligence studies. As the British worked to influence U.S. prewar policy, Cuneo described his normal daily routine. “I saw Berle at State, Eddie Tamm, J. Edgar and more often the Attorney General, on various other matters Dave Niles at the White House and Ed Foley at Treasury, but so far as I know [there] wasn’t a sentence recorded.”⁵⁴ This lack of written documents makes the historian’s job tougher but does not negate the importance these types of studies. Exactly how much sway did these friendly political warfare campaigns have in shaping twentieth century U.S. foreign and domestic policy can be difficult to pinpoint as there is no smoking gun, no large X marking the spot in the archives saying here are all the answers. Instead, the answers are found in small scraps of information found in personal memoirs and in official papers. The declassification system means that every day more and more information is being released to the public. In piecing together this story, I have broken the research into six chapters.

Chapter One, “Saboteurs, Subversives, and Spies,” examines British and German World War I political warfare operations conducted in the United States. Chapter Two, “Patriotic Fervor,” looks at the blowback of these intelligence operations on U.S. domestic policy. Chapter Three, “Neutrality and War,” evaluates British efforts to drag the United States into the Second World War. Chapter Four, “Empire and War,” traces the origin and influence of the China lobby on American politics as well as examining

⁵⁴ Ernest Cuneo Letter to Dick Ellis, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library, the Papers of Ernest Cuneo, Box 51, Unidentified File.

how the British, Chinese, and Americans clashed over Asia. Chapter Five, “Architects of Empire,” will explore the post-World War II competition between China and Britain for U.S. postwar support as well as examining the effect of perpetual war on American domestic policy.

A small caveat, historians continue to struggle to make sense of our convoluted past. Scholars, often, look for mono-causal explanations of complex historical trends. “You can’t ascribe our fall from grace to any single event or set of circumstances.” As James Ellroy pointed out, “You can’t lose what you lacked at conception.” And yet, nostalgia continues to drive some scholars to produce a hagiographic view of our past where political platitudes and clichés replace documented fact while other historians prefer to demonize our past. It’s time to “demythologize” our past and examine how diplomatic hubris, political realism, foreign interference and the growing realization the atomic bomb made the entire world a hostage to fortune, convinced U.S. politicians to develop and carry out an aggressive interventionist postwar foreign policy. The blowback from these policy decisions unintentionally resulted in the American national security state. This is the story of how those early foreign agents of influence and their domestic allies worked to change the course of a nation.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ James Ellroy, *American Tabloid*, (New York: Vintage, 2001), no page number.

CHAPTER ONE

Saboteurs, Subversives, and Spies



Figure 2¹

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On March 5, 1946 Winston Churchill, former British Prime Minister, gave one of his most important post-World War II speeches at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. The speech electrified a nation as Churchill provided the rhetoric for the Cold War. The former prime minister talked of the “sinews of peace,” discussed the vast iron curtain that had fallen across Eastern Europe, and most importantly he talked about the special relationship between the United States and the British Empire. A relationship based on the “fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples.”² Many scholars contend that this special relationship has existed since the early nineteenth century; while

¹ Figure 2: “Mrs. Edith Cavell Murdered,” French Postcard, Laureys-Paris, 1915.

² Winston Churchill, *The Sinews of Peace: Post-War Speeches by Winston Churchill*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1949), 93-105. According to W. Averell Harriman, Churchill, during an August 14, 1943 dinner with FDR, at Hyde Park, the British prime minister first suggested this idea of a “fraternal relationship.” Churchill liked the idea of a “loose association” between the two countries since an association would be “flexible enough to adjust itself to historical developments. See W. Averell Harriman and Elie Abel, *Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin, 1941-1946*, (New York: Random House, 1975), 222.

others, Dean Acheson, secretary of state for Harry S. Truman, denied its very existence. By the late 1950s, Acheson came to believe that the British had “lost an Empire” and had as of yet failed to “find a role.” Acheson was mistaken. The British did find a role. As their Empire crumbled, the British worked to ensure that their national interests intertwined with the global rise of the United States; thus, ensuring their ability to influence world events.³

As Churchill suggested, this “fraternal association” required a “growing friendship and mutual understanding” as well as continuing “the intimate relationship” between military advisers (and intelligence professionals). Churchill, also, suggested mutual security backed up by the strength of British and U.S. Naval and Air Force bases, which would extend the reach of both nations. Left unsaid was the British would remain safe behind America’s nuclear arsenal. The myth of the special relationship, like American exceptionalism, has come to permeate how many Americans view the diplomatic relationship between the United States and Great Britain. Historically, the special relationship did not really exist before the Second World War and it became a mainstay of U.S. foreign policy only after the beginning of the Cold War. Two factors are essential to understanding how the British shaped American public opinion. How did they develop their political warfare program? And how did this program influence the United States in the years leading up to the American declaration of war against Germany during World War I?⁴

³ Douglas Brinkley, “Dean Acheson and the ‘Special Relationship’: The West Point Speech of December 1962,” *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (1990): 599-608.

⁴ Churchill, *The Sinews of Peace*, 93-105.

On June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip, an obscure Serbian nationalist, ambushed and murdered the heir to the Austrian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, Sophie Chotek, the Duchess of Hohenberg, in Sarajevo, the capital of the Austrian province of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Assassination, as a tool of statecraft, was not an unusual event; thus, the first reaction by most Europeans, who would have been hard pressed to find Sarajevo on a map, was subdued. And yet, Ferdinand and his wife's murder provided the final nudge needed to push the world toward the first global conflict of the twentieth century. No one, at the time, believed the events in Sarajevo might lead to a general European war.

England, embroiled in the Irish Home Rule Crisis, paid little attention to the news of the archduke's murder. David Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (later Prime Minister), recalled that he felt that it might be a "grave matter" but Kaiser Wilhelm II's departure, for his annual North Sea cruise, lessened his fears that events might spiral out of control.⁵ As the July Crisis continued, European leaders, however, secretly discussed the geopolitical advantage to a limited conflict in the Balkans. A Third Balkan War might not be that bad; especially, since most European heads of state thought that war was all but certain.⁶ On a European fact-finding mission, in the spring of 1914, Colonel Edward M. House, President Woodrow Wilson's chief adviser, reported the situation in Europe amounted to "militarism run stark mad" and that eventually there would be "an awful cataclysm."⁷

⁵ David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs of David Lloyd George*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1933), 1:50.

⁶ Ruth Henig, *The Origins of the First World War*, (Florence, KY: Routledge, 1993), 53.

⁷ "Report from House to Wilson, 29 May 1914," Edward M. House and Charles Seymour, 1:235. For a detailed look at House's spring 1914 trip to Europe, referred to as "The Great Adventure" by Colonel House, see Edward Mandell House Papers (MS 466), Series II, Diaries, Volume I, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, Box 299.

As diplomacy failed, nation after nation began to consider the benefits of a limited war. The British believed war might blunt German imperial ambitions as well as decrease German militarism on the continent. Kaiser Wilhelm II, fearing political isolation, believed that “the question for Germany is to be or not to be” and that war would decide the “existence or nonexistence for the German race.”⁸ The events in Sarajevo provided Austria with the “golden opportunity to declare war.” A war might solve the Serbian question. A war, Germany hoped, would help change the status quo on the continent.⁹ In an era defined by Alfred Thayer Mahan’s *The Influence of Sea Power upon History*, Russia’s lack of a warm water port relegated the Eurasian empire to the ranks of a second-class power.¹⁰ Czar Nicholas II saw ports along the Mediterranean Sea as the key to his imperial ambitions and the Hapsburg Empire as the only obstacle to his dreams of empire. After almost three decades of political isolation, the French wanted revenge for the loss of the coal rich regions of Alsace and Lorraine following their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). The Austrian dual monarchy, led by an ailing Emperor, Franz Josef, wanted to absorb the Serbs into the Hapsburg’s multicultural empire. Serbian nationalists, with the promise of Russian support, continued to grow bolder and bolder in their resistance to Austrian political pressure. War came not because of the loss of hope or because of the inevitability of a general European conflict. War

⁸ Kaiser Wilhelm II quoted in Fritz Fischer, *War of Illusions: German Policies from 1911 to 1914*, (New York: Norton, 1975), 161; Kaiser Wilhelm II quoted in Wayne C. Thompson, *In the Eye of the Storm: Kurt Riezler and the Crisis of Modern Germany*, (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1980), 42.

⁹ Albertini, 1:538; Fritz Fischer, *World Power or Decline: The Controversy over German Aims in the First World War*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1974), 95.

¹⁰ Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power on History, 1660-1783*, (Boston: Little Brown, 1918).

came because each nation believed that when diplomacy failed war was the logical next step.¹¹

European diplomats gambled and a generation lost.¹² But at the time, everyone believed the war would be over by Christmas. The Kaiser told his troops that they would “be home before the leaves had fallen from the trees.”¹³ As soldiers, on both sides, died in a war of attrition, British intelligence, with an eye on public opinion, turned intelligence failures into effective anti-German propaganda campaigns. The British discovered world opinion not only mattered but that it also provided a “new front” in the expanding global conflict. Nascent British political warfare experts, working for Captain (later Admiral Sir) Reginald “Blinker” Hall’s NID25, commonly referred to as Room 40,

¹¹ Henig, 54.

¹² The historiography of World War I is tied directly to Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles, which states that “Germany accepts responsibility...for causing all the loss and damage...as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.” The traditional view of the war espoused by the victors determined that Germany was solely responsible for starting the conflict. Revisionist historians like Sidney Bradshaw Fay’s *The Origins of the World War*, (New York: the Macmillan Company, 1928) written shortly after the war blamed incompetent leadership on all sides. Anti-Revisionist historians like Luigi Albertini, *Origins of the War of 1914*, (Enigma Books: New York, 2005), Fritz Fischer, *Germany’s Aims in the First World War*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1968) and A.J.P. Taylor, *War by Timetable: How the First War Began*, (New York: American Heritage, 1969) reverted back to the traditional view that Germany was responsible for the war. Modern historians like Samuel R. Williamson, *Austria-Hungry and the Origins of the First World War*, (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1991) suggests that Austria was equally to blame for starting the war; while, Sean McMeekin, *The Russian Origins of the First World War*, (Boston, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2011) and *July 1914*, (New York: Basic Books, 2013), lays responsibility at the feet of Tsarist Russia and France. Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War: Explaining World War I*, (London: Basic Books, 2000), on the other hand, lays the lion share of the blame on the British. Winston Churchill, *The World Crisis*, (New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1951), believed that romantic notions of war coupled with the general mood that war was all but inevitable led European heads of state to choose war in the summer of 1914. Thus, the world slipped into war and historians, ever since, have attempted to explore the complex origins of the conflict in an effort to explain what happened to the generation of 1914. No one wants to believe that wars begin by accident but David Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, might have had the final word when he confessed in his *War Memoirs*, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1933) that “We muddled into war.”

¹³ Kaiser Wilhelm II quoted in Barbara Tuchman, *The Guns of August*, (New York: Dell, 1963), 142. The over confidence of the German military can best be summed up by General Von Loebell who predicted that the “German army would sweep through Europe like a buss full of tourists.” Fischer, *War of Illusions*, 543.

shrewdly exploited America's rising xenophobia to compel the United States to enter the war.¹⁴

It might seem strange the British Admiralty and not MI6, Britain's foreign intelligence service made famous by Ian Fleming's James Bond, strove to convince the United States to help fight the Germans, but at the time, MI6 was in fledgling state.¹⁵ At the turn of the century, British secret service agents only worked throughout the empire in popular fiction. Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* convinced many readers the British intelligence agents stationed in India played the "Great Game" against Czarist and French agents with consummate skill.¹⁶ William Le Queux, a prolific writer of adventure stories, openly stated the British Secret Service worked in "secrecy and silence" to keep the empire safe from "the machinations of England's enemies."¹⁷ And yet, the British government realized what their enemies did not—their all-powerful, all-seeing secret service did not exist.¹⁸

By the early twentieth century, events on the continent—the rise of nationalism, imperialism, and militarism—contributed to an increase in British war hysteria. An increase in reports of German agents' infiltration of the English countryside further intensified British fears of German subversion.¹⁹ Rising public fear over German penetration of the British Isles coincided with the development of a British literary style

¹⁴ NID25 occupied room 40 O.B. (old building) of the Admiralty, hence the name Room 40.

¹⁵ For a detailed account of the exploits of Room 40 see Patrick Beesly, *Room 40: British Naval Intelligence 1914-1918*, (London: Hamilton, 1982).

¹⁶ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim*, (New York: Bantam Books, 2007).

¹⁷ William Le Queux, *England's Peril: A Story of the Secret Service*, (London: George Newnes, 1903), 42.

¹⁸ Le Queux's efforts helped the British hide their intelligence weakness. F. H. Hinsey, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 1:16.

¹⁹ "Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defense Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: First Meeting, Tuesday, 30th March 1909", October 1909, The National Archives (Kew, UK), CAB 16/8 and CAB 38/15.

known as “invasion literature.” Popular during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, invasion literature began with a short story by Lieutenant Colonel George Tomkyns Chesney called “The Battle of Dorking,” first published in 1871, in *Blackwood’s Magazine*.²⁰ This short story documented the fictional invasion of England by shadowy forces, referred to in the text as *the enemy*. And even though, Chesney did not specifically name the invaders, they strongly resembled the Prussian military. The Prussian army, in 1870, defeated the French army considered at the time to be one of the best in the world.²¹ Chesney’s story provoked a strong response, not only from the British populace but also from various members of Parliament, who feared the British Army was ill-equipped to defend the British Isles.²²

Forty years later, the British fear of Germanic invasion continued to grow as the industrial and military strength of Kaiser Wilhelm II’s Imperial Germany increased. William Le Queux, Chesney’s literary heir, heightened the citizenry’s fear of invasion with every book he wrote. Le Queux was far less shy than Chesney about identifying the enemy: in 1906, he published *The Invasion of 1910*, which documented a fictional

²⁰ Blackwood’s magazine operated from 1817-1980. Popular throughout the British Empire, the most famous publication in Blackwood’s history was Joseph Conrad’s “Heart of Darkness.” For a detailed look at how “The Battle of Dorking” influenced public debate see Patrick M. Kirkwood, “The Impact of Fiction on Public Debate in Late Victorian Britain: The Battle of Dorking and the “Lost Career” of Sir George Tomkyns Chesney, *The Graduate History Review*, (Fall 2012): 1-16.

²¹ George Tomkyns Chesney, *The Battle of Dorking*, (London: G. Richards Ltd., 1914). By the early twentieth century, with the publication of H.G. Wells’ *War of the World*, invasion literature extended to outer space.

²² Mr. Philip Henry Muntz, the Liberal MP for Birmingham, and Hugh Seymour, the Conservative 6th Marquess of Hertford, both from opposite sides of the political spectrum. Both referred to Chesney’s short story in parliamentary debate. Seymour warned that “God grant that we might not require a Battle of Dorking to bring us to our senses” *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser., vol. 208 [1 August 1870], col. 636-639. While Muntz referred to the panic caused by the stories publication and a general belief that the British army “was in an inefficient state.” *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser., vol. 209 [4 March 1872], col. 1337-1341.

account of a German invasion of the British Isles.²³ Le Queux's account of a future invasion captivated the British public. He suggested that German agents, who were, even at the time of publication, scouring the countryside looking for the best invasion routes from the coast to London, had infiltrated the British Isles. Le Queux's premise seemed too sensible not to be true.²⁴ The popularity of *The Invasion of 1910* and the accompanying fear the novel instilled in the British populace had roots in the tension over the Anglo-German naval arms race and Germany's rising colonial ambitions.

Fear, nationalism, imperial ambitions, entangling alliances and German militarization led members of the parliament to question the effectiveness of a decentralized British Intelligence Service.²⁵ On March 25, 1909, Prime Minister H.H. Asquith appointed a Sub-Committee to the Committee for Imperial Defense (CID) to look into the "nature and extent of foreign espionage...taking place" in England.²⁶ This sub-committee debated whether it was "desirable that the Admiralty and the War Office should integrate their investigations into alleged spying by working with the "Police, Postal and Customs authorities" to monitor the movements of "aliens suspected of being

²³ Le Queux's 1910 invasion tale, however, provided an interesting literary device as the publisher tailored the ending of the book to a particular audience—in the English edition, for example, the British overcome the German invaders while in the German edition the invaders successfully subdue the British. John Buchan followed this formula in *The Thirty-Nine Steps*.

²⁴ William Le Queux, *Spies for the Kaiser: Plotting the Downfall of England*, (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1909).

²⁵ "Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defense Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: First Meeting, Tuesday, 30th March 1909", October 1909, The National Archives (Kew, UK), CAB 16/8.

²⁶ Sub-Committee members attending this meeting included Mr. Haldane (Chairman), Mr. R. McKenna (First Lord of the Admiralty), Mr. H.J. Gladstone (Home Secretary), Mr. S. Buxton (Postmaster-General), Lord Esher, Sir Charles Hardinge (permanent under-secretary at the Foreign Office), Sir G. H. Murray (permanent secretary to the Treasury), Rear Admiral A. E. Bethell (Director of Naval Intelligence), General Ewart (Director of Military Intelligence—War Office), General Murray, and Sir. E. Henry. "Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defense Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: First Meeting, Tuesday, 30th March 1909", October 1909, The National Archives (Kew, UK), Cabinet Office 16/8 and Cabinet Office 38/15.

spies.” The sub-committee members determined there was “no regular system or organization to detect and report suspicious cases” and the British were “entirely dependent on casual information” and “unless a Secret Service system is prepared” Britain “shall enter on a war fatally handicapped.”²⁷

During the sub-committee’s inquiry into German espionage, Lieutenant Colonel (later Brigadier General Sir) James Edward Edmonds, the head of Military Operations Directorate 5 (MO5) testified about alleged German espionage conducted in England. According to Edmonds, the number of reports of German Agents had drastically increased over the course of three years. In 1907, there had been only five cases reported. The following year a startling forty-seven cases and for the first three months of 1909 there had already been twenty-four cases of suspected espionage. Edmonds’ firmly believed the Germans had set up an extensive network of spies to ensure their successful invasion of the British Isles.²⁸ Edmond’s audience viewed his report with contempt. “These revelations were received with incredulity and regarded almost as the aberrations of minds suffering under hallucinations.” Edmonds, realizing that he was losing his audience, quickly produced a map of England. This map highlighted, in red ink, “all the positions where reasonably suspected cases of espionage by Germany have been reported.” The bright red marks on Edmond’s map convinced members of the Sub-committee on Foreign Espionage that the danger was real. MO5’s map of German

²⁷ “Organisation of Secret Service”, 4th October 1908, The National Archives (Kew, UK), KV 1/1.

²⁸ “Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defense Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: First Meeting, Tuesday, 30th March 1909,” October 1909, The National Archives (Kew, UK), CAB 16/8 and CAB 38/15. For a well-reasoned and well-argued account of James Edward Edmond’s biases regarding Imperial Germany see Nicolas Hiley, “The Failure of British Counter-Intelligence against Germany, 1907-1914,” *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 4, (December 1985): 835-862.

infiltration recorded 103 suspicious incidents; however, by March 1909, there had only been 76 individual incident reports.²⁹

Edmonds' presentation helped convince the sub-committee to set up the Secret Service Bureau. The Secret Service Bureau, according to the committee report, would work separate of the Admiralty, the War Office, and the Foreign Office while keeping close ties to those organizations. The Committee appointed Captain (later Major General Sir) Vernon George Waldegrave Kell, described as an "exceptionally good linguist," and Commander (later Captain Sir) George Mansfield Smith-Cumming, "who possess special qualifications for the appointment," to head this new agency.³⁰ One of the first decisions facing the newly created bureau was a jurisdictional one. Kell and Cumming divided the intelligence work. Kell decided to take responsibility for "counter-espionage within the British Isles;" while, Cumming had "the duty of espionage abroad."³¹

As World War I began, the better-funded, better-staffed, and longer-lived naval intelligence, the traditional "eyes" of the Royal Navy, continued to do what they always had—provide information to the Admiralty. On August 5, 1914, the British Royal Navy conducted the first offensive military ploy of the war. Using military plans drawn up on June 1, 1912, the British Admiralty ordered the cable ship *Telconia*, into the English

²⁹ "Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defense Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: First Meeting, Tuesday, 30th March 1909", October 1909, The National Archives (Kew, UK), CAB 16/8. Lord Hankey, *The Supreme Command 1914-1918*, (London: George Allen & Unwin. 1961), 1:116. Hiley, "The Failure of British Counter-Intelligence against Germany, 1907-1914," 846.

³⁰ "Memorandum RE: Formation of SS Bureau", 26th August 1909, The National Archives (Kew, UK), KV 1/3. Kell could speak German, Italian, French, Polish, Chinese and Russian.

³¹ "General Report: On the Work done during the 6 Months ending October 1910", Undated Document, The National Archives (Kew, UK), KV 1/9. Kell explained that Captain Cumming and he divided the intelligence work being conducted by the Secret Service Bureau.

Channel.³² The ship's crew found, dredged up, and severed the five German telegraphic undersea cables linking Imperial Germany with the outside world.³³ The British destruction of these cables forced all German diplomatic, naval, and military messages to be rerouted and sent through the ether by the Nauen radio station, located outside Berlin. The inherent vulnerability of wireless traffic (W/T) to enemy interception forced the Germans to rely on encryption to safeguard their communications. As expected, it was only a matter of time before encrypted German wireless traffic "began to pour into the Admiralty."³⁴

The *Telconia*'s successful disruption of German cable traffic proved to be one of the most important offensive operations of the war. As these enemy intercepts arrived, Admiral Sir Henry Francis Oliver, the Director of Naval Intelligence (DNI), realized the Admiralty needed a dedicated team to decipher German wireless traffic. Oliver turned to his friend, Sir Alfred Ewing, the Director of Naval Education. Knowing that ciphers fascinated Ewing, the DNI asked him to select a team and work on decoding these German intercepts. Ewing selected a small group of men, composed predominately of academics and linguists, who possessed two qualifications: "a good knowledge of

³² There seems to be some confusion regarding whether it was His Majesty's Ship the *Telconia* or the *Alert*. Christopher Andrew, *Her Majesty's Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, (London: Penguin Books, 1987); Patrick Beesly, *Room 40: British Naval Intelligence, 1914-18*, (London: Hamilton, 1982); Barbara Tuchman, *The Zimmerman Telegram*, (New York: Viking Press, 1958) all mention the *Telconia* as the ship in question; while, Daniel R. Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon: Telecommunications and International Politics, 1851-1945*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); and Jonathan Reed Winkler, *Nexus: Strategic Communications and American Security in World War I*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008) state that the ship in question was the *Alert*. For continuity, I have chosen to list the ship as the *Telconia*.

³³ "Submarine Cables in Time of War: Note of Action Taken on Report of the Standing Sub-Committee, 1 June 1912," The National Archives (Kew, UK), CAB 38/21/21.

³⁴ John Bulloch, *MIS: The Origins and History of the British Counter-Espionage Service* (London: Arthur Baker, Ltd., 1962), 144-145. David Kahn, *The Codebreakers: The Story of Secret Writing*, (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1967), 266. Liam Nolan and John E. Nolan, *Silent Victory: Ireland and the War at Sea 1914-1918*, (Dublin: Mercier Press, 2009), 26.

German and a reputation for discretion.”³⁵ Having no other office space assigned to this cryptographic section, Ewing’s team worked out his cramped office.³⁶ Not to be left out, the British Army’s Military Intelligence Directorate (MID) began running a similar decoding operation with Brigadier General Anderson in command.³⁷

During the first few months of the war, NID and MID sorted, filed, and identified the intercepted German wireless traffic. The cryptanalysts learned to distinguish between naval and military messages as well as identify various German call stations, but they struggled (and failed) to break the German military and diplomatic codes. The term cryptanalyst is used very loosely here as the art of cryptography was almost unknown in England and yet day after day, these men examined intercepted German message traffic looking for the patterns needed to decipher these codes but the answers eluded them.³⁸ And if not for three fortuitous (for the British) events during the first three months of the war, these men might have struggled on indefinitely.³⁹

On August 11, 1914, members of the Royal Australian Navy (RAN), led by Captain J. T. Richardson, pretending to be part of a quarantine inspection team boarded

³⁵ “The History of Room 40,” Churchill Achieves Centre, The Papers of Alexander Guthrie Denniston, DENN 1. In order to be effective, Ewing brushed up on his knowledge of cryptography by studying the British Museum’s collection of antiquated codebooks.

³⁶ Notable members of Room 40 included Frank Ezra Adcock (classical historian), John Beazley (classical archaeologist and art historian), Francis Birch (cryptographer), Walter Horace Bruford (German literature), William Clarke (cryptographer), Alastair Denniston (cryptographer), and Alfred Dillwyn “Dilly” Knox (classics professor).

³⁷ “The History of Room 40,” Churchill Achieves Centre, The Papers of Alexander Guthrie Denniston, DENN 1.

³⁸ “Winston Churchill’s Original Charter for Room 40,” National Archives (Kew, UK), HW 3/4. A supporting document to Room 40’s charter acknowledges the “solving of this kind of secret writing was almost unknown in England and there were no experts to help.” A note on terminology, David Kahn describes decoding and deciphering as being conducted by someone who legitimately possesses “the key or system to reverse the transformations and bare the original message.” Cryptanalyzing a message implies that the person does not have a key or system to system “break down or solve the cryptogram.” Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, xv.

³⁹ John Johnson, *The Evolution of British SIGINT: 1653-1939*, (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1977), 27.

the *Hobart*, a German merchant ship, as she entered Melbourne's Port Philip. The *Hobart* had yet to receive news that a state of war existed between Germany and England, but the German captain must have suspected something was wrong. Under the cover of darkness, he tried to destroy all the secret papers in his safe. Richardson, at gunpoint, "pinched" the general merchant marine naval codes, *Handelsverkehrsbuch* (*HVB*), which German warships used to communicate with merchant vessels. Richardson sent the codebook to England.⁴⁰ Members of Ewing's team discovered that German outposts, submarines and airships used a form of HVB, which only increased the value of the pinch.⁴¹

A few months before the merchant marine codes arrived in England, on August 20, 1914, the German Imperial Navy cruiser, *Magdeburg*, tried to flee from Russian warships in the Gulf of Finland, but entered a fog bank and ran aground. Captain Richard Habenicht, not wanting his ship to fall into enemy hands, blew up his vessel, which for obvious reasons did not sink. The Russians recovered two codebooks, the *Signalbuch der Kaiserliche Marine* (*SKM*), which were used for important fleet operations. The Russians found the first codebook at the bottom of a footlocker where it had been forgotten (or badly hidden); the Germans threw the second codebook overboard, but Russian divers found it. The Russian Admiralty realized they held a "priceless

⁴⁰ PINCH, *noun* 1. Action of obtaining by covert or any available methods secret official documents, esp. cryptographic documents, of another state or of any organization. 2. Any Secret document or collection of secret documents so obtained, esp. when of cryptographic value. "A Cryptographic Dictionary," National Archives and Records Administration, RG 457, Historic Cryptographic Collection, Pre-World War I through World War II. The British placed a £100 bounty on any secret material recovered from sunken German vessels. Ian Rankin, *Ian Fleming's Commandos: The Story of the Legendary 30 Assault Unit*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2011), 57.

⁴¹ *Room 40*, DENN 1. The code book *Handelsverkehrsbuch* (*HVB*) is located at *Handelsverkehrsbuch* (*HVB*), The National Archives (Kew, UK), ADM 137/4388-4389.

acquisition.”⁴² After scuttling what remained of the *Magdeburg*, the Russians sent one of the codebooks to the British and kept the waterlogged codebook for themselves.⁴³

The HVB and SKM codebooks provided half of the information the British needed to break all the important German naval codes. In October 1914, only a few weeks before the *Hobart's* codes arrived in England, the captain of a German destroyer sinking in the North Sea, after the Battle of Heligoland Bight, ordered a leaden box tossed overboard. The box, dredged up a month later by a British trawler, held a remarkably well-preserved copy of the *Verkehrsbuch* (VB), the codes and ciphers used for secret communication between the German army and the navy.⁴⁴

By November 11, 1914, Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and Admiral Jack Fisher, the First Sea Lord, put in motion a plan that officially established a naval cryptographic section. Churchill and Fisher wanted Sir Alfred Ewing to continue leading his team but they decided that Ewing would report to Captain William Reginald “Blinker” Hall, who replaced Admiral Oliver as DNI.⁴⁵ A few weeks later, Churchill officially chartered Room 40 for cryptographic work. Ewing’s team moved out of his

⁴² Alfred Ewing, “Some Special War Work,” A lecture to the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution, 13 December 1927, quoted in J.V. Jones, “Alfred Ewing and Room 40,” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London*, vol. 34, no. 1, (July 1979): 72.

⁴³ *Room 40*, DENN 1; “Winston Churchill’s Original Charter for Room 40,” The National Archives (Kew, UK), HW 3/4; Bulloch, 144. The code books were handed directly to Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty. For an account of the how the Russians transported the codebook to England see Count Constantine Benckendorff, *Half a Life: The Reminiscences of a Russian Gentleman*, (London: Richards Press, 1954), 158-161.

⁴⁴ *Room 40*, DENN 1; James Gannon, *Stealing Secrets, Telling Lies: How Spies and Codebreakers Helped Shape the Twentieth Century*, (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, 2002), 29-30. Winston Churchill in *The World Crisis* romanticizes the pinch by stating that the waterlogged codebook was pried from a dead German sailor’s clutches. J.V. Jones, “Alfred Ewing and Room 40,” 71-72. Ewing also stated that the code book was pinched from “the body of a drowned signalman still clasping in his arms the confidential signal-book.”

⁴⁵ “History of Room 40,” The National Archives, (Kew, UK), HW 3/3. Hall’s nickname referred to a facial twitch that made one eye “flash like a Navy signal lamp.” William Stevenson, *A Man Called Intrepid: The Secret War 1939-1945*, (New York: Ballantine Books, 1977), 7.

office and into Room 40, located in the Admiralty Old Building.⁴⁶ Shortly after moving into Room 40, Hall ordered Commander Herbert Hope to keep the Admiralty's Operations and Intelligence Divisions advised of the movement of the German Fleet. Hope passed all intercepted and decoded messages to the Admiralty's Chief of Staff, who showed the information to the First Sea Lord.⁴⁷ These cryptanalysts, commanded by Ewing, became obsessed with secrecy. Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) provided a trump card that should only be played "for a really great occasion."⁴⁸

On a tactical level, members of Room 40 began to experiment with direction finding equipment. A new section started to track German shipping and U-boat positions. "Fixes," obtained by direction finding stations built in Ireland, and wireless intercepts, from German vessels reporting their positions to Berlin, provided Room 40 with an accurate picture of the German fleet's location. Secrecy surrounding Room 40 hampered the transmission actionable intelligence to the Admiralty's Operations Division. At first, Room 40's analysts give regular intelligence reports to all British flag officers, but eventually this practice ended and they these only handed these reports to Admiral John Rushworth Jellicoe, the Admiral of the Fleet. This need for secrecy would have dire consequences for British merchant shipping.⁴⁹

While the members of Room 40 worked to keep the Admiralty informed, the Kaiser's troops marched through Belgium, Luxembourg and the Ardennes. Once Great Britain declared war, Imperial Germany began spreading its version of the "true" causes

⁴⁶ "Winston Churchill's Original Charter for Room 40," HW 3/4.

⁴⁷ *Room 40*, DENN 1.

⁴⁸ "History of Room 40," HW 3/3.

⁴⁹ Patrick Beesly, *Room 40: British Naval Intelligence 1914-1918*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1982), 69-70.

of the war while expounding on the hostile plans of its enemies. Knowing the Germans had set up their own propaganda organization—the Erzberger Office, named after its director Matthias Erzberger—the British Foreign Office, worked to create its own political warfare organization.⁵⁰

On September 5, 1914, the British Foreign Office established the War Propaganda Bureau (WPB), commonly referred to as Wellington House.⁵¹ The WPB, like Room 40, worked in complete secrecy. “All public mention of it [Wellington House] was sedulously avoided.”⁵² Known for doing “good by stealth,” most members of parliament were not aware of the bureau’s existence. The British Foreign Office hoped that Wellington House would not only influence public opinion but would also counter German dissemination of “mis-statements and sophistries.”⁵³ David Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, appointed Charles Masterman, a close friend, to head British propaganda operations. In the fall of 1914, Masterman, looking to develop some rules on which to build his organization, met with novelists, playwrights, critics, publicists and members of the press. In what has been described as “an impressive exercise in improvisation,” Masterman enlisted the aid of these prominent literary figures as well as their publishers. Masterman realized that pamphlets and books published by Hodder & Stoughton, Methuen, Oxford University Press, and Macmillan would lend an

⁵⁰ David Welch, *Germany, Propaganda, and Total War, 1914-1918*, (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 22.

⁵¹ Robert Cecil, “British Propaganda in Allied and Neutral Countries,” 29 December 1916, The National Archives, (Kew, UK), CAB 24/3/2. Letter from Herbert Asquith to the King, 31 August 1914, The National Archives (Kew, UK), CAB 41/35/38.

⁵² James Duane Squires, *British Propaganda at Home and in the United States: From 1914 to 1917*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), 29.

⁵³ Cecil, “British Propaganda in Allied and Neutral Countries,” CAB 24/3/2. M.L. Sanders, “Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War,” *The Historical Journal*, (March, 1975): 119.

air of legitimacy to their efforts. The government might lie, but Oxford University Press would not print an untruth.⁵⁴

The War Office tasked Masterman with keeping morale up, vilifying the enemy, reducing pacifism at home, and bringing the neutral powers into the conflict. To accomplish these goals, Masterman employed novelists, poets, writers, critics, and artists such as John Buchan, Rudyard Kipling, Gilbert Parker, G. K. Chesterton, Thomas Harding, Ford Madox Ford, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Louis Raemaekers to work for him.⁵⁵ In total, the War Propaganda Bureau published almost 1200 books, pamphlets, and other miscellaneous publications with such titles as “The Battle of Jutland” and “The Battle of the Somme” (John Buchan), “To Arms!” (Sir Arthur Conan Doyle), “The New Army” (Rudyard Kipling), “The Barbarism in Berlin” (G.K. Chesterton), and “When Blood is Their Argument” (Ford Madox Ford).⁵⁶

To shape the story about the Great War, members of parliament realized that they needed to control the flow of information. Fortunately, spy mania continued to grip the country. As soon as Britain declared war, Reginald McKenna, the British Home Secretary, announced that Scotland Yard arrested twenty-one German spies, which instead of lessening the populace’s fear only worked to intensify the hysteria. The frenzy surrounding German agents lurking in the countryside convinced many that if twenty-one spies had been caught that there had to be at least twice that many still running through the English countryside.⁵⁷ William Le Queux’s *German Spies in England*, published

⁵⁴ Michael L. Sanders and Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-1918*, (New York: Crane, Russak & Co., 1983), 1.

⁵⁵ Gary S. Messinger, *British Propaganda and the State in the First World War*, (New York: Manchester University Press, 1992), 34-35.

⁵⁶ “Schedule of Wellington House Literature,” 1918, Imperial War Museum (London). Not everyone supported the war effort. Bernard Shaw became one of the most vocal voices of dissent.

⁵⁷ *Hansard Parliamentary Debates*, 5th ser., vol. 65 [5 August 1914], col. 1986.

shortly after the war started, warned that German spies continued to operate in England. Le Queux's new novel heightened British war hysteria. According to Le Queux, the British public had been "officially deluded, reassured and lulled to sleep." Le Queux, ever the patriot, sounded the alarm.⁵⁸

The fear of German infiltration allowed members of parliament to pass the Alien Registration Act and the Defense of the Realm Act (DORA). The Alien Registration Act required foreigners, over the age of 16, to register with the local police while DORA made it a crime for a person to "make false statements likely to...prejudice His Majesty's relations with foreign powers." These new laws demanded the Admiralty and the Army Council, the supreme governing body of the British Army, to not only enforce these new laws but also granted these military agencies the power to allow trial by court-martial for those accused of violating DORA. For minor offenses, the military, without the benefit of a trial, could pass summary judgments and dispense punishment.⁵⁹

As these laws began to take effect, the government set up a comprehensive system of censorship. In an effort to catch spies and control the dissemination of military information, parliament authorized the War Office to monitor and censor all incoming and outgoing correspondence.⁶⁰ The Parliamentary War Aims Committee set up the War Office Press Bureau, which Frederick Edwin (F.E.) Smith managed. Lord Kitchener, the Secretary of War, appointed Lieutenant Colonel Ernest Swinton to be the British Army's official correspondent covering the Western Front. Kitchener ordered Swinton to report to

⁵⁸ William Le Queux, *German Spies in England: An Exposure*, (Toronto: Thomas Langton, 1915), 8-9.

⁵⁹ "Defense of the Realm Consolidation Act," 27 November 1914, The National Archives (Kew, UK), MUN 5/19/221/8. The original act (August 8, 1914) was only a paragraph long. During the course of the conflict, members of parliament revised and expanded this emergency legislation.

⁶⁰ For more information on postal censorship see Graham Mark, *British Censorship of the Civil Mails during World War I, 1914-1919*, (Bristol, U.K.: Stuart Rossiter Trust Fund, 2000).

G.H.Q., report to the Commander in Chief and begin writing articles about the British Army fighting in France. G.H.Q. censored Swinton's reports and then sent them to Kitchener, who personally approved every article for publication.⁶¹ British propagandists sent this sanitized version of the news to the United States.⁶²

As the guns of August roared, the United States, the most powerful industrial power, pledged neutrality. America's potential to tip the balance provided the German and British with a reason to carry out political warfare campaigns targeting the United States. These two nations tried to sway public opinion to support either their cause. The organization of these services could not have been more different. The Germans took a decentralized approach. They had roughly twenty-seven different agencies working independently to sway public opinion. These organizations rarely shared information. They competed for budgetary concessions from the *Reichstag*. As the war continued, civilian and military agencies disagreed on how to fight the war. The military wanted nothing less than victory; while, the civilian agencies began sending out peace feelers.⁶³ The British, on the other hand, chose a centralized organization that at least during the first few years of the war used private organizations—such as The Oxford Faculty, The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, the Golden Club, Overseas Club, Victoria League, and the Fight for Right Movement—to help spread their message.⁶⁴ British intelligence would also use this strategy of creating a buffer, by using front organizations, to distance and disguise British political influence during the Second World War.

⁶¹ Ernest Swinton, *Eyewitness, Being Personal Reminiscences of Certain Phases of the Great War, including the Genesis of the Tank*, (New York: Doubleday, 1933), 19.

⁶² Sir Gilbert Parker, "The United States and the War," *Harper's Magazine*, (March, 1918).

⁶³ Messinger, 17-18.

⁶⁴ Squires, 17-25.

To sway American opinion toward the British, Charles Masterman appointed Sir Gilbert Parker, a Canadian novelist and Member of Parliament, to head Wellington House's America political warfare efforts.⁶⁵ Sir Parker used a "gentle courtship" to woo the American public to the British cause.⁶⁶ None of Gilbert's propaganda campaigns referred to either the British government or to Wellington House. There was nothing linking Gilbert to official British policy. Gilbert, using *Who's Who in America*, created a large mailing list consisting of 13,000 influential Americans, libraries, Universities, and newspapers.⁶⁷ Working to stem the flow of pro-German news to outlets operating in the United States, Parker's propagandists "supplied three hundred and sixty newspapers in the smaller cities...with an English newspaper...established contact with the man in the street through interviews, articles, pamphlets...established association, by personal correspondence with influential and eminent people of every profession in the United States."⁶⁸

German military operations—the destruction of the *Lusitania*, the Rape of Belgium, the execution of Edith Cavell, and the covert actions taken by German spies and saboteurs operating in the United States—provided a precise visceral framework of "Hunnish" barbarism, which Gilbert exploited in his efforts to convince the Americans to support the Triple Entente. In a short period, Gilbert set up "an extraordinary widespread organization in the United States...it worked entirely by personal association and inspired by voluntary effort." Parker applied the personal touch. When reaching out to American

⁶⁵ "First Report of the Work of Wellington House," 7 June 1915, The National Archives (Kew, UK), INF 4/5.

⁶⁶ Squires, 49.

⁶⁷ M.L. Sanders, "Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War," *The Historical Journal*, No. 1 (March 1975): 130.

⁶⁸ Parker, "The United States and the War."

lawyers, doctors, scholars, businessmen and politicians, the former novelist crafted a personal letter that he attached to each book or pamphlet that he mailed from London. The quiet nature of his work ensured that most American's believed the illusion that the shift in U.S. public opinion occurred because of "private patriotism and enterprise" and not because of British manipulation.⁶⁹

Even though the Hague Convention of 1907 did not specifically cover submarines, the Triple Entente believed U-boats should follow the Cruiser Rules governing the conduct between surface vessels. Before sinking a merchant ship or naval vessel, according to the prize rules, surface vessels were required to place passengers and crew in a place of safety. For U-boats, this meant surfacing, hailing the ship and then waiting for the passengers and crew to be evacuated—usually to the ship's lifeboats.⁷⁰ The British, struggling to find a countermeasure against German U-boats, developed the Q-ship—a heavily armed merchant ship designed to lure submarines to the surface. Once the submarine surfaced, these armed merchants would open fire sinking the U-boat.⁷¹ The Admiralty, also, ordered unarmed British ship to ram any German U-boat foolish enough to surface. In 1915, Captain Charles Algernon Fryatt, the captain of the Great Eastern Railway steamship the *Brussels*, tried to ram a German U-boat. When the German navy captured Fryatt in 1916, he was court-martial and then executed.⁷² And finally, arms shipments made any vessel a lawful target under the rules of warfare. The

⁶⁹ "First Report of the Work of Wellington House," 7 June 1915, The National Archives (Kew, UK), INF 4/5.

⁷⁰ Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armaments, (Part IV, Art. 22, relating to submarine warfare), London 22 April 1930 quoted from Dietrich Schindler, *The Laws of Armed Conflicts: A Collection of Conventions, Resolutions, and Other Documents*, (Norwell, Massachusetts: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988), 73.

⁷¹ For more information on Q-Ships see Kenneth M. Beyer, *Q-ships versus U-Boats*, (Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 1999).

⁷² "Germans Execute British Skier," *New York Times*, 28 July 1916.

Lusitania reportedly transported munitions to Great Britain in violation of the same international articles of war the Germans violated by destroying the passenger liner making the British, under international law, just a culpable.⁷³

In an attempt to break the British naval blockade, the German Imperial Navy decided to carry out unrestricted submarine warfare against allied shipping. Targeting civilians violated the 1908 London Agreement; and yet, expediency trumped morality as the British tried to starve Germany into submission. Great Britain declared the North Sea a war zone and British ships “held up neutral ships carrying non-contraband goods” to include food.⁷⁴ A confidential War Cabinet memorandum, dated January 1, 1917, stated “practically no goods coming from overseas are getting through to Germany.”⁷⁵ The only hope for Germany to break this stranglehold was through unrestricted submarine warfare. The German Embassy on April 22, 1915 posted a travel warning in various American newspapers advising American travelers that “a state of war exists between Germany and her allies and Great Britain and her allies.” Like the British before them, the Germans declared that “the waters adjacent to the British Isles” were now considered a war zone and that any ship “flying a British flag or an allied flag was subject to destruction.”⁷⁶

On May 7, 1915, Kapitanleutnant Walther Schwieger, the thirty-year-old commanding officer of *U-20*, waited off the Queenstown Banks in search of British merchant traffic. The U-boat commander scanned the horizon for targets of

⁷³ The controversy surrounding the *Lusitania* is not important to the current argument as it was perception and not reality that won the propaganda war during World War I; however, “Loss of the Lusitania,” The National Archives, (Kew, UK), ADM 137/1058 and “Official Inquiry into the Loss of the Lusitania,” The National Archives, (Kew, UK), ADM 116/1416 cover the official British version of the sinking of this ship.

⁷⁴ “Sinking Justified, Says Dr. Dernburg: Lusitania a “War Vessel” Known to be Carrying Contraband, Hence Search Not Necessary,” *The New York Times*, 9 May 1915.

⁷⁵ Memorandum in Regard to the Present Position of the Blockade, January 1, 1917, The National Archives, (Kew, UK), CAB 1/22.

⁷⁶ “Germany Warns Against Travel in Allies’ Ships,” *New York Tribune*, 1 May 1915.

opportunity.⁷⁷ At roughly 2:20 p.m., Schwieger sighted the “four funnels and two masts” of what could only be a large passenger steamer.⁷⁸

Schwieger immediately ordered the *U-20* to submerge to periscope depth. Submerging meant losing speed; he could not use his diesel engines under water and had to rely on the slower 600 horsepower electric engines. Now only able to make about eight knots, but almost invisible to the passenger ship, Schwieger’s *U-20* gave chase. He ordered the helmsman to “proceed at high speed” on a course heading designed to intercept the civilian ship before it made landfall. Forty minutes later, Schwieger fired a single torpedo striking the starboard side of the luxury liner RMS *Lusitania*’s “close abaft the bridge.” Schwieger noted, in his logbook that shortly after His torpedo struck the ship there “followed a very unusually large explosion with a violent emission of smoke (far above the foremost funnel) The explosions caused the boat to stop immediately, list heavily to starboard, and to start sinking by the bow. The U-boat commander noticed the luxury liner looked “as if she will quickly capsize.”⁷⁹

Schwieger, peering through the periscope, watched the chaos for a few moments more and then ordered his vessel to leave the area. The German sinking of the RMS *Lusitania* represented the weakness inherent in Room 40’s transmission of time-sensitive material to the Admiralty. The British passenger ship struck by a single torpedo sank in

⁷⁷ Room 40 tracked *U-20*’s movements. Members of NID knew exactly where the U-boat was located at any given time since every four hours *U-20* reported her position by W/T. “Operations Known to British Intelligence: *U-20*, 1914-1916,” The National Archives, (Kew, UK), ADM 137/4152.

⁷⁸ “Photographic plates of log book of *U-20* for May,” The National Archives (Kew, UK), ADM 137/3923. Thomas A. Bailey, “German Documents Relating to the *Lusitania*,” *The Journal of Modern History*, (September 1936): 335. Bailey addressed the fact that Schwieger did not sign his log book by stating that the U-boat captain was immediately ordered to return to Berlin. Diana Preston, however, in *The Lusitania: An Epic Tragedy*, (New York: Walker & Company, 2002) suggests, in an effort to explain why Schwieger’s signature does not appear on the original logs, that these logs were altered after the fact.

⁷⁹ “Photographic plates of log book of *U-20* for May,” The National Archives (Kew, UK), ADM 137/3923.

only eighteen minutes with almost 1200 lives lost, including 128 Americans.⁸⁰ Room 40's inability to keep the *Lusitania* safe was an intelligence failure, but the British exploitation of this tragedy made it a propagandist's dream; Schwieger's sinking of the *Lusitania* became one of the most iconic images of the war.

As the Admiralty publicly struggled to find a scapegoat for the loss of the *Lusitania*, the British government began searching for a way to turn military misfortune into political triumph. The propagandists working for the British government began churning out copy to vilify the German decision to sink a passenger liner, which at least reduced British culpability. The propagandists, working for Wellington House, shrewdly linked the disastrous sinking of the White Star passenger liner, the *Titanic*, on April 14, 1912, which remained a vivid memory for most people in 1915, with the willful destruction of the *Lusitania*. The British, astutely, pointed out the loss of the *Titanic* was an act of God while the loss of the *Lusitania* was the result of the German navy's decision to flout the civilized rules of naval warfare and willfully and maliciously destroy a passenger liner killing men, women and children.⁸¹

The outpouring of grief and rage over the German decision to sink the *Lusitania* obscured British culpability in the passenger ship's destruction. Dr. Bernhard Dernburg, the head of Germany's propaganda efforts in America, tried to spin the *Lusitania* disaster by claiming the vessel was a legitimate military target. The German justification for destroying of the Cunard ship fell on deaf ears. Most Americans believed *The New York*

⁸⁰ The May 8, 1915 *New York Times* front page proclaimed "Lusitania Sunk by Submarine, Probably 1,260 Dead; Twice Torpedoed off Irish Coast; Sinks in 15 Minutes; Capt. Turner Saved, Frohman and Vanderbilt Missing; Washington Believes a Grave Crisis is at Hand."

⁸¹ Philip M. Taylor, *British Propaganda in the 20th Century: Selling Democracy*, (London: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), 39.

Times, which stated the “Lusitania was Unarmed,” and nothing the Germans said to the contrary would convince the Americas the ship was a legitimate target.⁸² On May 17, 1915, Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador to the United States, wrote to the German Imperial Chancellor stating “our propaganda in this country has, as the result of the *Lusitania* incident, completely collapsed.” Bernstorff went on to say “another event like the present one would certainly mean war with the United States.”⁸³

In a series of unfortunate events surrounding the *Lusitania*, Karl X. Goetz, a German artist, production of a satirical medal depicting the German destruction of the Cunard ship hurt the German’s the most. The failure of both the British government and the Cunard line to heed Germany’s warnings became the subject of Goetz’s bronze medal. One side of the coin stated “No Contraband” while the other exclaimed “Business First.”⁸⁴ Unfortunately, Goetz printed May 5th on his medal instead of May 7th, the date of the sinking. British propagandists took advantage of this mistake. They made cheap copies of Goetz’s medal and handed them out. The British explained the error in dates proved the German attack was premeditated, and the medal was cast to commemorate the event. Photographs of Goetz’s medal were sent to the United States claiming the German government awarded the medal to the heroic crew of *U-20*.⁸⁵

A young mother clutching a small child to her breast slowly drowns in a recruitment poster, designed by Fred Spears entitled *Enlist*. These types of posters

⁸² “Sinking Justified,” 9 May 1915; “Lusitania was Unarmed,” *The New York Times*, 10 May 1915; Johann Heinrich Andreas Hermann Albrecht Graf von Bernstorff, *My Three Years in America*, (London: Skeffington & Son, LTD., 1920), 48-49.

⁸³ Bernstorff, 31.

⁸⁴ Horace White, “More Schrectlichkeit,” *The New York Times*, 5 May 1916.

⁸⁵ Patrick J. Quinn, *The Conning of America: The Great War and American Popular Literature*, (Atlanta: Rodopi, 2001), 54-55.

convinced young men to rush off to war.⁸⁶ Conspiracy and culpability continue to surround the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Captain William Thomas Turner decided not to maintain full speed—the *Lusitania*, having set transatlantic speed records could have easily rushed past a waiting U-boat. The captain also ordered the helmsman to keep a normal heading instead of sailing in a zigzag pattern. Turner knew that standard counter submarine tactics required sailing in a weaving pattern. The lack of a military escort has also been called into question. The British often used military ships to ensure these transports and the supplies they carried safely arrived in England. The inconsistencies surrounding RMS *Lusitania* have convinced some scholars that other, more sinister forces, were at work. Perhaps, on that faithful May day, a nation sacrificed a ship to draw the United States into the conflict.⁸⁷

On February 12, 1915, Winston Churchill, in a letter to Walter Runciman, the president of the English Board of Trade, explained that it was important to attract merchant shipping to the British Isles “in the hope of especially embroiling the United States with Germany...For our part we want the traffic; and if some of it gets into trouble, better still.”⁸⁸ Churchill’s letter to Runciman suggested the First Lord of the Admiralty sacrificed the vessel trying to draw the United States into the war. A decision

⁸⁶ Fred Spear based his iconic World War I recruiting poster on a news story from the Cork Islands, which reported the recovery of a mother and child’s body found intertwined—locked forever in death’s cold embrace.

⁸⁷ Scholars trying to solve the mystery of the sinking of the *Lusitania* realize that the sinking hinges on not only whether Schwieger fired one or two torpedoes but also what caused the secondary explosion. Historians have provided evidence that coal dust, a boiler, or the unlawful transportation of munitions might have caused the second explosion. See Patrick Beesly’s *Room 40* Chapter 7. Beesly, a former naval intelligence officer, concluded that the British government (First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill) willfully placed the passenger liner at risk in an attempt to draw the United States into the war.

⁸⁸ The letter between Churchill and Runciman is quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Churchill and America*, (New York: Free Press, 2005), 57.

Churchill rationalized as being for the good of the country. In 1937, the former First Lord of the Admiralty stated

In spite of its horror, we must regard the sinking of the *Lusitania* as an event most important and favorable to the Allies...The poor babies that perished in the ocean struck a blow at German power more deadly than could have been achieved by the sacrifice of 100,000 fighting men.⁸⁹

Churchill's eloquence summarized the horror of woman and children drowning in the cold sea but the loss of the *Lusitania* failed to immediately drag the United States into the war. It would take another two years to convince President Wilson to send U.S. soldiers to France but the *Lusitania* became a constant reminder of German brutality. At the time, the president's response to the loss of the Cunard ship amounted to nothing more than a strongly worded warning to the Germans.⁹⁰

Wilson's handling of the *Lusitania* crisis caused a division in American politics. Former President Theodore "T.R." Roosevelt, a fervent interventionist, stated "the murder of the thousand men, women, and children on the *Lusitania* is due, solely, to Wilson's abject cowardice."⁹¹ While, William Jennings Bryan, the Secretary of State, believed that Germany had "a right to prevent contraband from going to the Allies, and a ship carrying contraband should not rely upon passengers to protect her from attack." Bryan reminded Wilson that America had already proposed a simple compromise to Germany's use of unrestricted submarine warfare—Germany would stop all submarine attacks against merchant ships if Britain would loosen its blockade to allow food into

⁸⁹ Winston S. Churchill, "The Tragedy of the Torpedoed *Lusitania*, Blunder Which Sealed the Fate of Germany," *News of the World*, 6 June 1937.

⁹⁰ United States, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1915, Supplement, 393.

⁹¹ John Milton Cooper, *The Warrior and the Priest: Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 303. On May 1, 1915, the *U-30* sank the *Gulflight*, a U.S. oil tanker.

Germany. The Kaiser quickly agreed but Whitehall rejected it. In disgust Bryan stated, “Why be shocked by the drowning of a few people, if there is to be no objection to starving a nation.” Starving Germans did not make the news because the decentralized German propaganda agencies failed to exploit the effect the British blockade had on German women and children. The British propagandist, however, continued to shape the story of the conflict by repeatedly vilifying the Germans in the American press. In the end, Bryan resigned. The secretary of state believed the anglophiles leading the nation would eventually find the excuse needed to bring the United States into the war.⁹²

Trying to compel the United States to join the British war effort, foreign agents of influence fed the American populace a steady diet of atrocity propaganda. The most lurid tales surrounded the German “rape” of Belgium.⁹³ German soldiers, during the first few months of the war, committed a series of war crimes. The German fear of the French use of asymmetric warfare conducted by *francs-tireurs*, the name for the irregular forces used by the French during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871), led German commanders to overreact, which resulted in the death of at least 5,500 civilians.⁹⁴ Any perceived insubordination, aggression, or hint of noncompliance to German authority resulted in swift reprisals carried out by the German army. German brutality became legendary.

⁹² William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baird Bryan, *The Memoirs of William Jennings Bryan*, (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1925), 397-399. By February 1916, Lindley Garrison, the Secretary of War, and Henry Breckinridge, the Assistant Secretary of War, resigned in protest because they believed that the Wilson administration was not doing enough to prepare the nation for war. Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 74.

⁹³ John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001). Jeff Lipkes, *Rehearsals: The German Army in Belgium, August 1914*, (Leuven Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2007). Lipkes counters Horne and Kramer’s thesis that the German Army over reacted to the threat of irregular forces. Lipkes traces the atrocities in Belgium back to German desire to move through the Low Countries as fast as possible. Lipkes, an intellectual historian, cites the endorsement of terroristic tactics to Carl von Clausewitz, Count Franz Conrad Hötzendorf and Karl Robert Eduard von Hartmann as providing the ideological framework for German barbarism in Belgium.

⁹⁴ John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities*, Appendix I, “German Atrocities in 1914: incidents with ten or more civilians killed,” 435-443.

The willful murder of Belgium civilians—men, women and children—became the basis for early British anti-German propaganda. Atrocity stories quickly became the most popular form of propaganda. As one British political activist put it, “no war can be won without them.”⁹⁵

Eyewitness accounts asserted that as the German army crossed the Belgium border, German soldiers began a systematic campaign of pillage, murder, rape, and arson. Wellington Houses’ authors, critics, poets, and playwrights recounted these tales of German atrocities to feed an insatiable public appetite for more and more stories of German barbarity. On August 27, 1914, a reporter for *The Times* wrote that a German soldier chopped off “the arms of a baby which clung to its mother’s skirts.” By September 2, 1914, the *Times*’ proclaimed that German soldiers “cut the hands off the little boys so that there shall be no more soldiers in France.”⁹⁶ By December 4, 1914, Viscount James Bryce, the former Ambassador to the United States, began examining German atrocities. The Committee on Alleged German Outrages spent almost five months examining 1,200 eyewitness depositions made by refugees fleeing Belgium as well as looking at captured German diaries to discover the extent of German war crimes in the region.⁹⁷

On May 12, 1915, just five days after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the Committee on Alleged German Outrages, referred to as the Bryce Committee, published its infamous 320-page report.⁹⁸ The Bryce Report, essentially nothing more than anti-German

⁹⁵ Arthur Ponsonby, *Falsehood in War*, (Great Britain: Bradford & Dickens, 1928), 22.

⁹⁶ *The Times* quoted in Ponsonby, 78.

⁹⁷ “Bryce Committee Report on Alleged German Outrages,” August 1915, The National Archives (Kew, UK), WO 161/78.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

propaganda disguised as a legitimate investigation into alleged war crimes, helped convince many Americans the Germans were a cruel and barbarous nation. The decision to appoint Lord Bryce to head the committee looking into German war crimes was genius. From the beginning of the July Crisis, Bryce had been against the war and it was only Germany's decision to violate Belgium neutrality that changed his mind; so Bryce appeared unbiased.⁹⁹ As the former Ambassador to the United States, most Americans still held Bryce in high regard. America's predisposition toward Bryce guaranteed the report would receive serious consideration. Masterman, in a letter to Bryce, wrote "Your report has swept America. As you probably know even the most skeptical declare themselves converted, just because it is signed by you!"¹⁰⁰ A May 13, 1915, *New York Times* headline proclaimed "German Atrocities Are Proved."¹⁰¹

British propagandists understood that any account of evil is "best understood on a personal level. Tales of the humiliation, degradation, and mutilation of a single individual will haunt us long after we hear them...empathizing with their pain, we understand these acts as being intrinsically evil."¹⁰² Arthur Ponsonby, the author of *Falsehood in War-time*, viewed propaganda as the "defilement of the human soul." The British pacifist, however, understood that tales of brutality and depravity, if crafted just right, can shift public opinion. Ponsonby stated, "War is fought in [a] fog of falsehood...any attempt to doubt the most fantastic story has to be condemned at once as

⁹⁹ Trevor Wilson, "Lord Bryce's Investigation into Alleged German Atrocities in Belgium, 1914-15," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (July 1979): 371-372.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Charles Masterman to Lord Bryce, 7 June 1915, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Papers of James, Viscount Bryce, 1826-1958, Box 248, Folder 59.

¹⁰¹ "German Atrocities are Proved Finds Bryce Committee," *New York Times*, May 13, 1915.

¹⁰² James R. Arlington, "Inventing the Devil: The Origin and Transformation of the Nature of Evil in the Early Judeo-Christian Tradition," (Wichita Falls, Texas: Midwestern State University, 2006), 6.

unpatriotic, if not traitorous.”¹⁰³ The passage of the Defense against the Realm Act ensured that any protest against the war would be met with the most severe of punishments as loyal opposition fell to the wayside.

The Bryce Report stated that on August 21, 1914, while the city of Liege burned German soldiers killed thirty-two civilians in the *Place de l’Universite*. After the summary execution, German soldiers publicly raped fifteen to twenty women. At Aerschot, German soldiers killed men and women trying to flee from burning buildings. At Malines and Hofstade, witnesses reported seeing German soldiers cutting off the breast of Belgium women; while tales of children being shot in Capelle-Au-Bois, bayoneted in Weerde, and crucified in Haecht, all showed the depravity at the core of the German army.¹⁰⁴

Stories of German atrocities continued even after the British published the Bryce Report. On August 5, 1915, the German military police arrested thirty-five people for allegedly helping to smuggle allied POWs out of Belgium and into neutral Holland. German authorities sent Edith Louisa Cavell, a 49-year old British nurse working at the Berkendael Medical Institute in Belgium, to the military prison at St. Gilles.¹⁰⁵ The Germans charged Cavell with espionage.¹⁰⁶ On October 7, 1915, Cavell plead guilty to hiding allied soldiers in her home, to providing these men with money, clothes, and maps, and to helping them in their escape from German occupied Belgium.¹⁰⁷ The trial lasted

¹⁰³ Ponsonby, 25-26.

¹⁰⁴ “Bryce Committee Report on Alleged German Outrages,” WO 161/78.

¹⁰⁵ Letter from Baron von der Lancken to Mr. Whitlock, 12 September 1915, quoted in *Correspondence with the United States Ambassador Respecting the Execution of Miss Cavell at Brussels*, (London: Harrison and Sons, 1915), 2.

¹⁰⁶ Letter from Mr. Whitlock to Mr. Page, 9 October 1915, quoted in *Correspondence with the United States Ambassador Respecting the Execution of Miss Cavell at Brussels*, 3.

¹⁰⁷ Letter from Baron von der Lancken to Mr. Whitlock, 12 September 1915, quoted in *Correspondence with the United States Ambassador Respecting the Execution of Miss Cavell at Brussels*, 2.

two days—the verdict death by firing squad.¹⁰⁸ Brand Whitlock, the United States Minister in Brussels, plead with Baron von Bissing, the governor-general in Belgium, to have the nurse’s sentence deferred until the military governor could consider an appeal for clemency. Whitlock pointed out that “the horror of executing a woman, no matter what her offense” and reiterated that Cavell’s sentence was harsher than those already handed out to the other members of her network.¹⁰⁹ Mr. Hugh S. Gibson, First Secretary of the United States Legation in Brussels, and the Spanish Minister, met with Baron von der Lancken to plead for clemency on Cavell’s behalf. Lancken told Gibson that only General von Sauberzweig, German military-governor could commute Cavell’s sentence. After conferring with the Military Governor, Lancken told Whitlock that von Sauberzweig stated that “he had acted in the case of Miss Cavell only after mature deliberation; that the circumstances in her case were such that he considered the infliction of the death penalty imperative” and so must decline any plea for clemency.¹¹⁰

On October 12, 1915, eyewitness accounts stated that an eight-man firing squad shot Cavell. These eyewitnesses reported that Cavell stated, “That patriotism was not enough” and even though she “had seen death so often that it was not strange or fearful” she was still thankful for the time spent in prison because she now had “no hatred or bitterness toward anyone.” In the end, British propagandists would have you believe that she gladly died for her country.¹¹¹ In death, she became the perfect hero. Her execution

¹⁰⁸ “Four German Bullets Killed Nurse Cavell,” *The New York Times*, 12 May 1919.

¹⁰⁹ A Letter from Mr. Whitlock, United States Minister in Brussels, to Baron von Bissing, Governor-General in Belgium, 11 October 1915, quoted in *Correspondence with the United States Ambassador Respecting the Execution of Miss Cavell at Brussels*, 8-9.

¹¹⁰ A Letter from Mr. Hugh Gibson, Secretary of United States Legation, Brussels, to Mr. Whitlock, United States Minister in Brussels, 12 October 1915, quoted in *Correspondence with the United States Ambassador Respecting the Execution of Miss Cavell at Brussels*, 5-6.

¹¹¹ “Her Chaplin’s Narrative,” *New York Times*, 23 October 1915.

showed the depravity of German justice. Ironically, Cavell worked for SIS. A fact that remained secret for almost sixty years. M.R.D. Foot, a British historian, admitted to her SIS lineage when describing the rivalry that existed between various British intelligence organizations working during the Great War. Foot noted that Cavell decided to “turn aside her duty as a spy to perform a work of mercy,” which led to her arrest, trial, and execution.¹¹²

The public outcry over the death of Edith Cavell, like the British portrayal of the Rape of Belgium or the German torpedoing of the *Lusitania*, helped convince the United States to enter the war. *The New York Times* published a grisly account of Cavell’s death, which twisted the historical account to suit the propagandistic needs of the British Empire:

The execution ground was a garden, or yard, in Brussels, surrounded by a wall. The German firing party of six men and an officer were drawn up in the garden and awaited their victim. She was led in by soldiers from the house nearby, blindfolded with a black scarf. Up to this minute the woman, though deadly white, had stepped out bravely to meet her fate, but before the rifle party her strength at last gave out and she tottered and fell to the ground, thirty yards or more from the spot where she was to have been shot. The officer in charge of the execution walked to her as she lay prone on the ground motionless. The officer then drew a large service revolver from his belt, took steady aim from his knee and shot the woman through the head. The firing party looked on as the officer quietly returned his revolver to its case.¹¹³

Once the United States entered the war on April 6, 1917, various newspapers dredged up the story of Cavell’s execution. *The New York Times* reported on September

¹¹² See M.R.D. Foot and J.M. Langley, *MI9: Escape and Evasion, 1939-1945*, (London: The Bodley Head Ltd., 1979); Foot quoted in Nicholas Rankin, *A Genius for Deception: How Cunning Helped the British Win Two World War*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 36-37.

¹¹³ “Miss Cavell shot by German Officer,” *New York Times*, 18 October 1915.

26, 1917 the “Germans gloried in Cavell murder.”¹¹⁴ The article discussed in detail the behind the scenes political maneuvering conducted by Hugh S. Gibson, the First Secretary of the American legation in Belgium under Brand Whitlock, on behalf of Cavell. While Gibson told Baron von der Lancken, the German civil governor of Belgium, that “the civilized world would be stricken with horror at the shooting of a woman,” the German governor simply replied “excellent.” A colleague of Lancken, Count Harrach, sneered and reportedly uttered that he regretted there were not “three or four old Englishwomen to shoot.”¹¹⁵

The Germans refused to grant clemency and as Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, German Secretary for Foreign Affairs, stated, “It was a pity that Miss Cavell had to be executed but it was necessary.” The German secretary added “it is undoubtedly a terrible thing that the woman has been executed; but consider what would happen to a state, particularly in war, if it let crimes aimed at the safety of its armies to go unpunished because committed by a woman.” According to Zimmerman, “men and woman are equal before the law.”¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, for Germany, in 1915, the world did not agree. Killing a woman, even for treason seemed an abomination. Or did it?

The French execution of Margaretha Geertruida Zelle, better known by her stage name, Mata Hari, for espionage echoes the German decision to kill Cavell. On February 10, 1917, the French war minister signed her arrest warrant; three days later, Commissioner Albert Priolet arrested Zelle at her Parisian hotel. The French imprisoned her at Saint-Lazare, a woman’s prison, where she awaited trial. Zelle believed someone

¹¹⁴ “Germans Gloried in Cavell Murder,” *The New York Times*, 26 September 1917.

¹¹⁵ Hugh S. Gibson, *A Journal from Our Legation in Belgium*, (New York: Grosset & Dunlap Publishers, 1917), 356.

¹¹⁶ “German Official Defends Killing of Edith Cavell,” *The New York Times*, 25 October 1915.

was playing a cruel joke on her since she was working for French Intelligence.¹¹⁷ Zelle, known for her open sexuality, came to the attention of German, French and British Intelligence. MI5's Captain Stephen Dillon, at Folkestone, detained Zelle, who was traveling to the Netherlands. Dillon felt that something was not right—Zelle could speak French, English, Italian, Dutch and German, was obviously wealthy and was traveling alone—but after questioning Zelle, he failed to come up with a single reason to detain her.¹¹⁸

Interrogated on multiple occasions, Zelle refused to admit that she was a German agent. She did admit to passing some information to the Germans but only while trying to gain information for French intelligence. Zelle explained that she had to give the Germans something so they would trust her and she was, of course, more than happy to take their money.¹¹⁹ According to French transcripts of her arrest, detainment, and trial, the exotic dancer, who was sleeping with officers of several nations, agreed to work for both countries.¹²⁰ French intelligence, disappointed with the quality of information provided by Zelle, did not fully trust her. When members of Room 40 intercepted and deciphered several messages seeking payment for agent H-21 (Mata Hari) the French decided the exotic dancer was also working for the Germans.¹²¹

On July 24, 1917, the French tried Zelle for espionage. Fighting nearly impossible odds Zelle lost her case. The jury found her guilty on all eight charges in less than an hour—the verdict death by firing squad. Zelle tried to appeal her sentence and

¹¹⁷ Russell Warren Howe, *Mata Hari: The True Story*, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1986), 128.

¹¹⁸ MI5's two volume file on Zelle, The National Archives, (Kew, UK), KV 2/1-2.

¹¹⁹ Ibid. Zelle admitted to accepting £5000, from the Germans, for each mission.

¹²⁰ Howe, 145-164.

¹²¹ Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, 278.

lost.¹²² On October 19, 1917, the French shot the exotic dancer. Henry G. Wales, an American reporter, witnessed Mata Hari's death. Wales's account of her execution lacked the dramatic flair used to describe Edith Cavell's; and yet, his account resonates. Refusing a blindfold and facing her executioners, Mata Hari died after first blowing a kiss to the priest, who escorted her to her death, and then to her lawyer.

She did not die as actors and moving-picture stars would have us believe that people die when they are shot. She did not throw up her hands nor did she plunge straight forward or straight back.

Instead she seemed to collapse. Slowly, inertly, she settled to her knees, her head up always and without the slightest change of expression on her face. For the fraction of a second it seemed she tottered there, on her knees, gazing directly at those who had taken her life. Then she fell backward, bending at the waist, with her legs doubled up beneath her. She lay prone, motionless, with her face turned towards the sky.

A noncommissioned officer, who accompanied a lieutenant, drew his revolver from the big, black holster strapped about his waist. Bending over, he placed the muzzle of the revolver almost—but not quite—against the left temple of the spy. He pulled the trigger and the bullet tore into the brain of the woman.

Mata Hair was surely dead.¹²³

Her death, because she was a German spy and because Germany propagandists failed to take advantage of her execution, did not cause a public outcry against the French as the slaying of a British nurse did. The British shrewdly painted Cavell as a saint and Mata Hari as the whore. The juxtaposition of the Madonna and the Whore has long been a literary trope and in this case one that British propaganda used to lessen the death of

¹²² Howe, 261-262. Zelle's appeal was heard on September 27, 1917 and only took a few minutes to be rejected.

¹²³ Henry G. Wales, "Death Comes to Mata Hari," *International News Service*, 19 October 1917, quoted in Nathaniel Lande, *Dispatches from the Front: A History of the American Correspondent*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 185-187.

Zelle. The British quick to capitalize on the willful murder of Cavell immortalized her execution in post cards, postage stamps, and posters. A French postcard depicted a virginal nurse dressed in white dead at the feet of her villainous executioners dressed in gray. During the war, no one printed post cards depicting the death of Mata Hari. After the war Mata Hari became synonymous with the femme fatal and her skills as a courtesan and master spy have become the stuff of legends; while Cavell is all but forgotten.¹²⁴

By the fall of 1915, the success of Wellington House's political warfare campaigns began to tilt U.S. public opinion toward the British cause. Only, the American president's need to play the role of a neutral mediator kept him from violating the nation's commitment to neutrality. Wilson realized that "The United States must remain neutral, because otherwise the fact that her population is drawn from so many European countries would give rise to serious domestic difficulties."¹²⁵ Words, images and ideas without fear proved inadequate. Far removed from the battlefield, most Americans felt safe. Most, but not all, Americans wanted to avoid sending American troops to Europe. Theodore Roosevelt, ever the imperialist, continually mocked Wilson for his pacifism and cowardice. T.R. wanted the United States to get into the conflict and strongly favored for U.S. intervention in Europe.¹²⁶

Theodore Roosevelt's voice carried. T.R., who stated "speak softly and carry a big stick," had successfully led his Rough Riders into combat during the Spanish-

¹²⁴ See Pat Shipman, *Femme Fatale: Love, Lies, and the Unknown Life of Mata Hari*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 2008). Stuart Jeffries, "Did they get Mata Hari wrong?" *The Guardian*, 16 October 2001. Scholars have suggested that the Germans realized that Zelle was working exclusively for the French; so they intentionally framed her by sending messages they knew the British could read. Getting the other side to execute their own spy is a very clever ruse and would explain why the Germans refused to exploit Zelle's death in the same manner as the British did with Cavell.

¹²⁵ Bernstorff, 65.

¹²⁶ See Theodore Roosevelt, *The Foes of Our Own Household*, (New York: Outlook Company, 1917); and Theodore Roosevelt, *Fear God and Take Your Own Part*, (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1916).

American War—America’s most popular war. The former president of the United States understood war and he was not afraid to call for American troops to be sent to Europe.¹²⁷ Roosevelt, horrified by the events in Belgium, spoke out against those who would apologize for Germany. T.R. believed that “we have less to fear from foes without than from foes within.”¹²⁸ Roosevelt realized that nearly one third of all emigrants could trace their lineage back to the Central Powers.¹²⁹ The former president claimed that those “foes within” were not American

On October 13, 1915, former President Theodore Roosevelt, speaking to the Knights of Columbus, equated dual citizenship with dual loyalty. Roosevelt stated that he “scored as traitors those who were not whole-heartedly for their country first, last and all the time.” He went on to say that “There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americans.” Content to preserve their ethnic ties to Europe, these “false” Americans have failed to assimilate, which questioned their loyalties. Roosevelt stated, what many Americans believed, the influx these hyphenated Americans posed a clear threat to the American way of life.¹³⁰

Roosevelt’s words took root. On December 7, 1915, in his annual State of the Union address to Congress, Wilson praised the nation for remaining “studiously neutral.”

The American president stated

There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty in the very arteries of our national life; who have sought to bring the authority and good name of our Government into contempt, to destroy our industries

¹²⁷ John Milton Copper, *The Warrior and the Priest*, 71.

¹²⁸ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Foes of Our Own Household*, xi.

¹²⁹ David M. Kennedy, *Over There: The First World War and American Society*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2004), 24.

¹³⁰ “Roosevelt Bars the Hyphenated,” *The New York Times*, 13 October 1915.

wherever they thought effective for their vindictive purposes to strike at them, and to debase our politics to the use of foreign intrigue...A little while ago such a thing would have seemed incredible. Because it was incredible we made no preparation for it. We would have been ashamed to prepare for it, as if we were suspicious of ourselves, our own comrades and neighbors! But the ugly and incredible thing has actually come about and we are without adequate federal laws to deal with it. I urge you to enact such laws at the earliest possible moment and feel that doing so I am urging you to do nothing less than save the honor and self-respect of the nation. Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out.¹³¹

Even during the height of the Cold War, no president ever had the nerve to speak so bluntly about possible sedition stemming from what Roosevelt referred to as hyphenated Americans; but Wilson did. The president's speech showed just how intensely the fear of internal subversion gripped the nation.

Exploiting America's xenophobia, British intelligence began conducting a clandestine political war against Germany within the United States—a neutral country. These covert operations proved problematic. British agents had to contend with the Germans and work without offending the host country. The War Office, the Foreign Office, and the Admiralty, all had agents working on American soil. These competing agents quickly learned to settle their jurisdictional disputes in a private and sensible manner. Commander Mansfield “C” Cunningham, head of SIS, sent Sir William Wiseman to set up the Secret Service Bureau's Section V in New York City.¹³² C ordered Wiseman to obstruct German intelligence efforts. C wanted Wiseman not only to block American economic aid to the Triple Alliance but also to stop Germany's efforts to

¹³¹ Arthur Link, *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 35:230.

¹³² The informal title “C” came from Commander Mansfield Cunningham's habit of writing C, in dark green ink, on all the memorandums that he received. Also the Secret Service Bureau's Section V should not be confused with SIS's Section V, which dealt exclusively with counterintelligence work. The exact meaning of Wiseman's Section V is unclear. See note 21 in Richard B. Spence, “Englishmen in New York: The SIS American Station, 1915-21,” *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3, (Autumn, 2004): 534.

enlist the aid of Irish and Hindu seditionists. The British feared, with German support, that these seditionists might try to take advantage of the current conflict to overthrow British colonial rule.¹³³

On October 28, 1915, Wiseman arrived in New York and quickly ran a fowl of Captain Guy Gaunt, the Admiralty's man in New York, who had been in New York since 1914. Gaunt, working as the British naval attaché, decided to "strike out in the Intelligence-cum-propaganda line—independently in case trouble arose." This British naval attaché suggested to the Sir Cecil Arthur Spring Rice, the British Ambassador, that his work should be shrouded in mystery. If questioned, the ambassador could truthfully tell the Americans that he "didn't know what the fool [Gaunt] was doing."¹³⁴ After explaining his plan to Sir Rice, this amateur spy quickly set up a network of agents throughout New York City. Gaunt's network began collecting information on German sabotage and propaganda efforts as well as looking into German backed plots against the British Empire. With the help of Emanuel Viktor Voska, a Czechoslovakian national and intelligence operative, Gaunt's agents infiltrated most of the key Central Power's offices including the German Embassy.¹³⁵ Gaunt viewed Wiseman's arrival as intrusive and complained to the British Ambassador, which lead to Wiseman's removal from New York.¹³⁶

Three months later, C sent Wiseman back to New York. The War Office feared that Gaunt's intelligence operations would be exposed embarrassing the British; so,

¹³³ Memorandum on Scope and Activities of MI1c in New York, 27 April 1918, Sterling Library, Yale University, Sir William Wiseman Papers, Box 6, Folder 171.

¹³⁴ Guy Gaunt, *The Yield of Years: A Story of Adventure Afloat and Ashore*, (London: Hutchinson, 1940), 167-169.

¹³⁵ Franz von Rintelen, *Dark Invader: Wartime Reminiscences of a German Naval Intelligence Officer*, (Great Britain: Routledge Publishing, 1998), vii.

¹³⁶ Gaunt, 172.

Wiseman, who was not a high ranking British official, began working at the British Consulate, located at 44 Whitehall Street. Wiseman selected Captain Norman Thwaites, a wounded soldier, to be his assistant. Wiseman knew that before the war, Thwaites, who spoke fluent German, had spent eight years working as Joseph Pulitzer's private secretary. Thwaites prewar work allowed him to develop contacts throughout New York City to include the New York City Police Department (NYPD). Thwaites good friend, Captain Thomas J. Tunney, became the head of the New York City Bomb Squad. Tunney would be instrumental in helping the British uncover German intelligence strategies in the United States.¹³⁷ Wiseman and Gaunt were not with influence. Gaunt cultivated a relationship with House. House once confided to President Wilson that "British intelligence Service is marvelously good."¹³⁸ Not to be out done, Wiseman, also, developed a relationship with the presidential advisor whom he met for the first time on December 1916. Wiseman, who did not seem to reflect the pro-Republican leanings of the British embassy staff, made a favorable impression on House. MI6's man in Washington began to exert more and more influence over both Wilson and House making him "the most successful 'agent of influence' the British ever had."¹³⁹

Captain Franz von Rintelen, a German spy, arrived in New York about the same time as Sir William Wiseman. On arriving in the United States, Rintelen quickly realized just how effective British anti-German propaganda was on the American public. "With

¹³⁷ New York Office, Section V, Sterling Library, Yale University, Sir William Wiseman Papers, Box 6, Folder 175. Norman Graham Thwaites, *Velvet and Vinegar*, (London: Grayson & Grayson, 1932), 64-65, 153-155.

¹³⁸ Edward Mandel House, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, (New York: Kissinger Publishing, 2005), 426.

¹³⁹ John Bruce Lockhart, the SIS head of station in the United States during the 1950's, quoted in Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American President from Washington to Bush*, 39.

this kind of journalism it was inevitable that not only the mass of newspaper readers, but gradually also official circles in America, would assume an anti-German attitude.”

Something had to be done, as “the Americans were being given a completely false picture of the real situation in Europe.”¹⁴⁰ Rintelen’s mission was not counterpropaganda but industrial espionage. *Wilhelmstrasse* ordered the German spy to impede the flow of munitions from America to the England.¹⁴¹ Rintelen, like Wiseman, ran into jurisdictional jealousy. Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador to the United States, Captain Franz von Papen (who would one day be Chancellor of Germany), the military attaché, Captain Karl Boy-Ed, the naval attaché, and Dr. Heinrich Albert, the commercial attaché, also conducted intelligence operations out of the German Embassy. Bernstorff started out trying to influence U.S. policymakers. As the British blockade tightened, the German diplomat began to plan German covert action against Britain. The German team plotted to destroy the Welland Canal, they devised the Hindu German Conspiracy, and engaged in gunrunning, which led to the seizure of the *Annie Larsen*. Bernstorff, Papen and Boy-Ed viewed Rintelen as an amateur meddler. Shortly after his arrival, they began to work to have the interloper sent home.¹⁴²

Unlike most German spies, Rintelen did not work out of the German Embassy; instead, the thirty-eight year old intelligence officer worked as an illegal resident spy living in New York City.¹⁴³ *Wilhelmstrasse* told the German embassy of Rintelen’s

¹⁴⁰ Rintelen, 18-19.

¹⁴¹ Thomas J. Tunney and Paul Merrick Hollister *Throttled: The Detection of the German and Anarchist Bomb Plotters*, (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1919), 156.

¹⁴² Bernstorff, 122-123.

¹⁴³ John Price Jones, *The German Spy in America*, (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1919), 13. A legal resident spy works under official cover (usually by working in his country’s embassy). An illegal resident spy operates under a non-official cover and if caught is not immune to prosecution. The U.S. intelligence community uses the terms official cover (OC) and non-official cover (NOC).

arrival but did not disclose the nature of his work.¹⁴⁴ Unfortunately, Gaunt's network had already infiltrated the German embassy. British intelligence and American law enforcement officials immediately began to hunt the elusive spy. Rintelen, unaware of British efforts to find him, set up his own network of agents and saboteurs. In an effort to prevent the British and the French from receiving American made munitions, the German spy began buying arms. This program proved successful but Rintelen thought it inadequate. He believed U.S. manufacturing could tip the balance in Europe and he must stop the flow of munitions to the Triple Entente. Rintelen stated "I'll buy up what I can, and blow up what I can't." The German spy decided to sabotage merchant shipping carrying American munitions to England as well as attacking U.S. munition manufacturing plants.¹⁴⁵

Rintelen needed a plan. How do you build improvised explosive devices without getting caught? Dr. Walter T. Scheele, a German chemist, discovered a way. Scheele devised a small "cigar" bomb by using a lead tube holding two distinctive types of acid. When the timer went off, the acid combined creating a small but effective incendiary device. These explosives produced an intense fire designed to force the ship's crew to choose between throwing the entire consignment of munitions overboard or risk destroying the ship. Rintelen needed a secure place to build his bombs. The SS *Friedrich Der Grosse*, a Norddeutscher Lloyd liner, interned for the duration in New York Harbor, provided the perfect place to work. Rintelen convinced the German sailors that their war was not over and that they could still help the *Fatherland*. These sailors'

¹⁴⁴ Bernstorff, 123. The German diplomat bluntly stated that he was not aware of the nature of Rintelen's assignment until the young intelligence officer disclosed this information to him.

¹⁴⁵ Rintelen, 25.

cut the lead tubes needed to house the cigar bombs and then smuggled them to Dr. Scheele's laboratory, located at 1133 Clinton Street, Hoboken, New Jersey, where the German chemist made his bombs.¹⁴⁶ German saboteurs, working under Rintelen's direction, planted these bombs on merchant ships carrying arms bound for England.¹⁴⁷ In just over two years, German agents sabotaged forty-seven ships and attacked forty-three munitions plants.¹⁴⁸

Of the forty-three munitions plants sabotaged by German agents, the most devastating German attack occurred on July 30, 1916. Under the cover of darkness, Lothar Witzke and Kurt Jahnke, two German agents, aided by Michael Kristoff, a Slovak emigrant, blew up the Black Tom Island munitions dump, located on a small island in New York Harbor.¹⁴⁹ The explosion "shook the houses along the marshy New Jersey shores, rattled skyscrapers on the rock foundation of Manhattan...shrapnel from the explosion pierced the Statue of Liberty..." destroyed the Black Tom terminal.¹⁵⁰ Even though this attack occurred almost a year after Rintelen's imprisonment, the German spy still took credit.¹⁵¹ In *Dark Invader: Wartime Reminiscences of a German Naval Intelligence Officer*, Rintelen's account of his war time exploits, the former German

¹⁴⁶ Tunney, 161.

¹⁴⁷ Tunney, 156-162. Tunney believed Rintelen's agents sabotaged the following ships: the steamer *Rio Lages*, the *Euterpe*, the *Rochambeau*, the *Ancona*, and the *Tynningham*. The head of the New York's bomb squad stated that there had never been so many marine fires in a single year.

¹⁴⁸ Nigel West, *Historical Dictionary of World War I Intelligence*, (New York: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 89. The destruction of munition plants by German saboteurs began shortly after hostilities began in Europe. For more details on these prewar operations see John Price Jones and Paul Merrick Hollister, *The German Secret Service in America*, (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1918), 102-104.

¹⁴⁹ *Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Investigation of Mexican Affairs: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations*, (Washington D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1919), 460-461.

¹⁵⁰ Marc Mappen, "Jerseyana," *New York Times*, 14 July 1991; "3 Dead, 12 Missing, and 30 hurt; Loss of \$40,000,000 in Explosion," *The Syracuse Herald*, 31 July 1916; "Munitions Explosion in New York Harbor," *The Kingston Daily Freeman*, 31 July 1916.

¹⁵¹ Rintelen, 40.

intelligence officer recounted his reconnaissance of the island, noting the island's weaknesses and suggesting the island made the perfect target for sabotage. It has long been suspected that Rintelen's organization carried out this daring attack.¹⁵²

The destruction of the Black Tom munitions depot convinced Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt that an extensive network of German agents aided by American collaborators operated in the United States.¹⁵³ Romanticizing his war time experience, Roosevelt imagined these unseen German agents wanted to assassinate him. He believed the threat to his life to be so credible that while commuting to and from work he began wearing a revolver in a shoulder holster. Members of the U.S. Secret Service acquired a secret "hit" list from the German Consul's safe listing all the Americans to be killed in the event of war. The head of the State Department's intelligence efforts, Frank Polk, was number one on the list but FDR was second. According to Roosevelt, due to the threat of assassination, the Secret Service asked both men, for their protection, to carry a revolver.¹⁵⁴

During this time of heightened fear, FDR, the future president of the United States, developed a close relationship with Captain Roger Wells, the Director of Naval Intelligence (DNI). The assistant secretary of the navy, sent several requests to Wells to provide him with information regarding alleged German plots.¹⁵⁵ Roosevelt learned about the collaboration between British intelligence and members of the Wilson administration. He learned about Captain Guy Gaunt and Sir William Wiseman's close

¹⁵² "Plotted Black Tom, Says Von Rintelen," *New York Times*, 3 January 1940.

¹⁵³ David Stafford, *Roosevelt and Churchill: Men of Secrets*, (New York: Overlook Press, 2000), 4.

¹⁵⁴ Christopher Andrew, *For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American President from Washington to Bush*, (New York: Harper Perennial, 1996), 77-78. Stafford, 4. FDR often told a story about how a German assassin sent a bomb to his office. The bomb was defused before it could do any real damage.

¹⁵⁵ Stafford, 4.

friendship with Colonel Edward M. House, a key presidential advisor. FDR's glimpse into the great game played between Britain and Germany, during the Great War, influenced his handling of the British during the Second World War.

Rintelen believed that German sabotage was effective but not effective enough; so, he decided to stop the flow of munitions by fomenting work stoppages and strikes. He met with German-American and Irish-American trade union leaders; after which, Rintelen established the Labor's National Peace Council. The German spy intended this trade union to coordinate strikes and work stoppages among munitions workers. Working through an intermediary named David Lamar, Rintelen insulated Germany's financial backing from the seditious activities undertaken by members of the Labor's National Peace Council.¹⁵⁶ Those hyphenated Americans that Teddy Roosevelt despised worked to impede the British war effort. And when the unavoidable strike occurred, the Labor's National Peace Council offered to pay the wages for any man who stopped work on munitions transports. Von Rintelen's strike briefly brought work to a standstill.¹⁵⁷ By November 1915, the federal government began looking into ties between German agitators and the Labor's National Peace Council's strike.¹⁵⁸

More than just a political agitator, Rintelen's most ambitious plan involved his efforts to entangle the United States in a shooting war with Mexico. The German spy wanted to take advantage of the political instability caused by the 1910 Mexican Revolution. The civil unrest in Mexico might provide a unique opportunity for an industrious saboteur to divert America's attention from Europe to its southern border

¹⁵⁶ French Strother, *Fighting Germany's Spies*, (New York: Doubleday Page & Company, 1918), 161.

¹⁵⁷ Rintelen, 173-174.

¹⁵⁸ "After Labor Men for German Plots," *New York Times*, 24 November 1916; "Funds Came From German Sources," *The Lewiston Daily Sun*, 9 February 1915.

since Rintelen knew that “the only country she [America] had to fear was Mexico.”

Rintelen firmly believed that if Mexico attacked the United States the Wilson administration would stop all munition exports to Europe.¹⁵⁹

In 1915, Rintelen met with Victoriano Huerta, who was living in exile in New York after Venustiano Carranza overthrew his government, at a suite at the Manhattan Hotel.¹⁶⁰ Rintelen offered to supply arms to Huerta and his men. The German spy wanted to sow strife and mayhem south of the border by helping the exiled leader takeover the Carranza government. A civil war in Mexico was sure to foster unrest along the Mexican-American border and possibly pull the United States into the conflict. The German spy hoped that by fostering a Mexican civil war that American policy makers would shift their focus from helping the British to quelling the unrest caused by a possible uprising. Huerta, a bit cautious, believed that Rintelen might be an American agent; so he remained silent throughout most of the conversation. The more the charismatic German intelligence officer spoke the more intensely Huerta listened. Huerta suspected that Rintelen might just be able to help him regain control of Mexico. Huerta, motivated predominately by the need for revenge, came to believe the German might represent Berlin. Huerta stated that if “German U-boats were to land weapons along the Mexican coast; abundant funds were to be provided for the purchase of armaments; and Germany should agree to furnish Mexico with moral support” then it might just be possible for him to regain political control.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Rintelen, 175.

¹⁶⁰ Tuchman, 75.

¹⁶¹ Rintelen, 175-177, 182. John S. D. Eisenhower, *Intervention!: The United States and the Mexican Revolution, 1913-1917*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1995), 416.

According to Rintelen's account, German officials agreed to all of Huerta's demands. *Wilhelmstrasse* was prepared to invest \$10,000,000 to support the former Mexican dictator's attempt to overthrow the Carranza government. Before Rintelen could set his plan in motion, Berlin recalled him.¹⁶² Papen and Boy-Ed sent coded telegrams back to Berlin complaining about Rintelen, which resulted in the young agents return to Germany. Members of Room 40 decoded these messages and British intelligence used the information to track him to Southampton, England where Scotland Yard police captured him. The charismatic German spy talked his way passed the British police but failed to convince Admiral Hall to whom he confessed. Rintelen spent two years in a British prison. Shortly after the U.S. Congress declared war, the British sent him to the United States. The Germany saboteur spent the next three years in a U.S. prison outside Atlanta, Georgia. In 1920, President Wilson commuted his sentence with the stipulation that Rintelen agreed to leave the country.¹⁶³

Even after Rintelen's capture, Papen and Boy-Ed continued to meddle in Mexico's domestic politics trying to shift America's focus away from the Atlantic and toward its Southern border.¹⁶⁴ The German political objectives in the fall of 1915 included interrupting the flow of munitions to the Triple Entente and diverting America's attention away from Europe. Some scholars have suggested that as Huerta's plan seemed unlikely to succeed, Felix Sommerfeld, Francisco "Pancho" Villa's American arms

¹⁶² Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998), 554.

¹⁶³ Rintelen, xxiv. Tuchman, 77-78.

¹⁶⁴ Michael C. Meyer, "Felix Sommerfeld and the Columbus Raid of 1916," *Arizona and the West* 25, no. 3, (autumn 1983): 226. By December 1916, Berlin recalled Papen and Boy-Ed because of their involvement with Huerta and the plan to overthrow the Carranza government. See "Statements Made by Boy-Ed and Von Papen: Both say They Have Merely Done Their Duty: Other Important Dismissals May Follow," *New York Times*, 4 December 1915.

procurer and German agent, offered to use his influence with Villa to convince the Mexican revolutionary to attack the United States.¹⁶⁵

Pancho Villa, like Huerta, was motivated by revenge. In 1915, at the battle of Celaya and the battle of Agua Prieta, Carranza's Constitutionalists defeated Villa's División del Norte. After these two military defeats, the Wilson administration withdrew their support and recognized the Carranza government. Angered by the U.S. decision to withdraw support, the Mexican revolutionary attacked the United States. During the early morning hours of March 9, 1916, Pancho Villa crossed into U.S. territory and with roughly 600 Mexican revolutionaries launched a surprise attack against Camp Furlong, a U.S. Army post near Columbus, New Mexico. The battle, which lasted less than three hours, did not turn out well for Villa who lost sixty-five men while only killing seven American soldiers. During the predawn raid, Villa's men rode through the streets of the tiny border town firing wildly into the homes of Columbus's residents killing eight American civilians. The U.S. Army gave chase killing an estimated eighteen more of Villa's men.¹⁶⁶

Even with Sommerfeld's involvement, there was no real proof that Villa's decision to attack Columbus, New Mexico, was anything more than a well-conceived gambit on Villa's part to fill his dwindling ranks with recruits. In fact, while the Germans encouraged Villa's attack and even cheered the resulting U.S. intervention, they

¹⁶⁵ Friedrich Katz in "Alemania Y Francisco Villa," *Historia Mexicana*, vol. 12, no. 1, (July-September 1962): 101, points out that there is not a single shred of evidence to suggest that Villa was a German agent but given Villa's ties to Sommerfeld it is naïve to believe that Villa's primary arms procurer did not have some influence on the Mexican revolutionary. Sommerfeld, who worked for Karl Boy-Ed, sold off excess arms and munitions, bought by Berlin to Villa. By June 1918, the U.S. government interned Sommerfeld in a George military prison. Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 554.

¹⁶⁶ War Department, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Fiscal Year, 1916*, Vol. 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), 7 - 8.

seemed genuinely surprised by the Columbus Raid. Villa hoped that another American intervention, even one provoked by him, might help him refill his “anti-Americanist” ranks just as the Wilson administration’s 1914 decision to occupy Vera Cruz had done.¹⁶⁷

Villa failed to find the political support he so desperately sought; instead, Wilson announced, “An adequate force will be sent in pursuit of Villa with the single objective of capturing him and putting a stop to his forays. This can and will be done...with scrupulous respect for the sovereignty of that Republic.” In reality, Wilson, without contacting Carranza, ordered a 4,000 man expeditionary force, led by General John J. “Blackjack” Pershing and comprised mostly of members of the U.S. Cavalry with some artillery support, into Mexico to hunt the down the Mexican bandit.¹⁶⁸ While the Mexican revolutionary spent the next year hiding from Pershing’s Punitive Expedition, Wilson struggled to maintain diplomatic relations with Carranza. By denying Pershing’s men the right to cross into Mexico, Carranza resisted U.S. efforts to catch Villa.¹⁶⁹

In the spring of 1916, it looked like the Germans might get their wish, as the threat of a full-scale war between the United States and Mexico seemed likely, even after Carranza agreed to Wilson’s demands.¹⁷⁰ Members of Congress felt that Wilson was not acting forcefully enough. Senator Albert B. Fall (R-NM) wanted Congress to recruit 500,000 men to intervene in Mexico; but Wilson refused. The president stated “no matter how loud the gentlemen on the hill yell for and demand it” he would not order a full-scale

¹⁶⁷ Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, 555.

¹⁶⁸ “President Gives the Order,” *The New York Times*, 11 March 1916.

¹⁶⁹ John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 320.

¹⁷⁰ “Wilson’s Answer Moves Carranza to Denounce Raid as Interventionists’ Plot and Send Messenger Here” *The New York Times*, 15 March 1916.

intervention. Wilson did not want a war with Mexico; he did not want to send “some poor farmer’s son” to fight along the Mexican-American border.¹⁷¹

Pushing deeper and deeper into Mexico, American troops risked starting a skirmish with Carranza’s troops. A prospect that seemed more and more likely, as Mexicans began to believe the United States was seeking conquest and not merely hunting Villa and his followers. The eleven month hunt, for what many Americans considered to be nothing more than a wily Mexican bandit, turned into a comedy of errors. As one Wilson biographer stated, “An American force that eventually numbered more than 7,000—equipped with the latest in military technology, including motor vehicles and airplanes—chased Villa through northern Mexico for months and never caught him.”¹⁷² By January 1917, Pershing and his men began marching northward toward the U.S. border as the Punitive Expedition came to an abrupt end. Pershing’s hunt ended in failure as Villa eluded him at every turn. The Punitive Expedition, however, did provide Pershing’s men with valuable field experience.¹⁷³

Just as the U.S. foray into Mexico ended, Germany’s continual plots along the Mexican-American border led to Room 40’s greatest intelligence coup—the interception, decryption, and transmission to the United States of the infamous Zimmermann Telegram—which finally brought the Americans into the war. In an age when gentlemen did not read other men’s mail, to spy on a friendly or neutral nation would have been

¹⁷¹ “Wants 500,000 Men: Fall Prepares Senate Resolution Looking to Intervention,” *The New York Times*, 10 March 1916. Cooper, 321.

¹⁷² Cooper, 321. Carlo D’Este, in *Patton: A Genius for War*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995) 166-168, explained that the integration of air support with ground troops was years away from perfection. The U.S. Army employed the Curtiss JN-2 “Jennies”, which were so unstable as to be considered flying deathtraps. The six planes assigned to Pershing lasted less than six months before they had all crashed.

¹⁷³ D’Este, 166.

loathsome. War, however, is not a sporting match. National interests often supersede political niceties. Hall realized that in war there are friendly (or neutral) states but there are no friendly intelligence agencies. And sometimes, the ends justify the means.

German diplomats and intelligence professionals used neutral Sweden to send coded messages to the Americas. The Swedes, in defiance of the rules governing neutral states during times of hostilities, hid German diplomatic communications by pretending the messages were sent from Sweden. Since these communications had to traverse Britain, the Swedes enciphered their messages. Members of Room 40, not fooled by Swedish diplomatic duplicity, quickly uncovered the “Swedish Roundabout.” Hall ordered his men to decipher all the message traffic between Sweden and the Americas, which uncovered important but often mundane pieces of information.¹⁷⁴

Using an American diplomatic channel set up by President Woodrow Wilson, Zimmermann sent Bernstorff his infamous message. Hoping to further his peace proposals with the Triple Entente, President Wilson allowed the Germans to send diplomatic communication from the U.S. Embassy in Berlin to their ambassador in Washington. The German’s used this secure communication channel to wage political warfare against the United States. What Zimmermann, German intelligence, and American military leaders failed to realize was that under the pretext of keeping Britain safe, Hall’s men, began intercepting and deciphering these diplomatic communications between Germany and the United States.¹⁷⁵

On January 16, 1917, cryptographers working in Room 40 intercepted and decrypted a telegram from Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, German Secretary for Foreign

¹⁷⁴ Gannon, 18.

¹⁷⁵ Beesly, 213.

Affairs to Johann Heinrich von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador to the United States and Mexico. This telegraph outlined the German plot to help Mexico invade the Southern United States. The decoded text speaks for itself:

We intend to begin unrestricted submarine warfare on the first of February. We shall endeavor in spite of this to keep the United States neutral. In the event of this not succeeding, we make Mexico a proposal of alliance on the following basis:

Make war together, make peace together, generous financial support, and consent on our part for Mexico to reconquer the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The settlement in detail is left to you.

Your Excellency will inform the president [of Mexico] of the above most secretly as soon as the outbreak of war with the United States is certain and add the suggestion that he should, on his own initiative, invite Japan to immediate adherence and at the same time mediate between Japan and ourselves.

Please call the president's attention to the fact that the unrestricted employment of our submarines now offers the prospect of compelling England to make peace within a few months.

Zimmermann.¹⁷⁶

The decryption of the Zimmermann telegram is often viewed as a minor historical footnote. Most monographs discuss the political maneuvering between Britain, Germany, and the United States but these accounts neglect the role played by the men who intercepted and deciphered the message. The Zimmerman Telegram altered the course of two nations. The message compelled the United States to join one of the

¹⁷⁶ The Zimmermann Telegram-Decoded Message, Record Group 59: General Records of the Department of State, 1756 – 1979, National Archives and Records Administration.

bloodiest confrontations in human history. Men who worked in secret have little time for thoughts of glory and recognition as the work becomes all consuming. The excitement surrounding the young cryptographers working on the Zimmerman Note can be seen in the historical records. Nigel de Grey explained that once he got the gist of the contents of the telegram he approached Blinker, as he referred to Hall, and asked “Do you want America in the war Sir?” Hall, who at this point could see the childlike delight in Nigel and Dilly Knox’s faces, simply replied “Yes, why?” And with all the arrogance that comes from secret work, Nigel stated confidently, “I’ve got a telegram that will bring them in if you give it to them.” Then Nigel and Dilly Knox began to explain to Blinker, who could not read German, exactly what the half deciphered text said and what it implied for the British war effort.¹⁷⁷

Once Hall held the deciphered text, he knew its political warfare value but how could he reveal the telegram’s secrets without disclosing the methods used to obtain the information.¹⁷⁸ He told Nigel and Knox that “for the present not a soul outside this room is to be told anything at all” as Hall needed time to think and plan.¹⁷⁹ There was never any thought of not turning the information over to the Americans but Hall did not want to risk compromising the technical means and sources used to intercept and decipher the German telegram.¹⁸⁰ From the contents of the telegram, Hall realized the German

¹⁷⁷ David Kahn, “Edward Bell and his Zimmermann Telegram Memoranda,” *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 14, (1999): 154. Kahn finding Nigel de Grey’s account of the Zimmermann telegram concluded that Hall always intended to use the document which reversed years of historiographical tradition that suggested that Hall waited to see if the United States joined the war without having to reveal the contents of the German telegram.

¹⁷⁸ Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, 285. The members of Room 40 actually used both the American diplomatic copy as well as the Swedish Roundabout copy to decipher the original Zimmermann Telegram. This way the cryptanalysts—Nigel de Grey and William Montgomery—working on the message would hopefully avoid any “garbled” translations.

¹⁷⁹ Beesly, 205.

¹⁸⁰ Kahn, “Edward Bell and his Zimmermann Telegram Memoranda,” 154.

Embassy would have to send the message to Mexico and so Hall deduced that Mexico City provided the perfect location to pick up the document. A British agent, only referred to as T, worked in Mexico City, and he went to the telegraph office and stole a copy of the Western Union message sent to Heinrich von Eckardt, the German Ambassador to Mexico. The members of Room 40 worked to decipher Eckardt's copy of the Zimmermann telegram to see if there were any differences between the two documents. This extra precaution confirmed Hall's fears. There were differences between the texts. If Hall had immediately gone public, he would have unintentionally revealed that British intelligence had broken the German diplomatic codes.¹⁸¹

Hall and his men worked to piece together a copy of the Zimmermann Telegram that matched the one sent to Eckardt. Many historians believe Hall waited to see if the Americans were going to join the war without having to disclose the contents of the telegram. The time delay between intercepting the telegram and its release encompassed the time it took to steal the Mexican copy of the telegram, decipher and compare the two documents, and then prepare a copy the British gave to the Americans. During that time, the Germans renewed their policy of unrestricted submarine warfare and a steadfast Wilson continued to refuse to fight.¹⁸²

With no end in sight, the British war effort threatened to unravel. The Liberal government, headed by H.H. Asquith, fell and a coalition government headed by David Lloyd George replaced it. The new British prime minister realized the wealth of an empire could not indefinitely supply the funds needed to buy the materiel used to fight an

¹⁸¹ Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, 288-291.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

open-ended conflict. The British mortgaged their empire to fight Germany. American businesses, the main beneficiaries, reaped the financial rewards. So as the empire tittered on the brink of financial ruin, British bankers and politicians realized that something had change.¹⁸³

By 1916, David Lloyd George, the newly appointed Prime Minister centralized political warfare efforts by reorganizing the War Propaganda Bureau. This reorganization set up three separate propaganda agencies working within Wellington House—the Ministry of Information, the National War Aims Committee, and the British Military. The Ministry of Information, led by Lord Beaverbrook, conducted civilian psychological warfare outside Britain. The National War Aims Committee, led by Colonel John Buchan, the author of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* who worked as the Director of Intelligence, conducted psychological operations within Britain. Buchan’s team worked to stamp out British pacifism.¹⁸⁴ The British military worked out of Crewe House, which the British government created in February 1918. The Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries, led by Alfred Charles William Harmsworth the Viscount of Northcliffe, orchestrated political warfare operations against Germany.¹⁸⁵

The British hoped the German decision to resume unrestricted submarine warfare would bring the United States into the war. Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, told Robert Lansing the U.S. Secretary of State, of German plans to resume targeting British vessels. Wilson, who won reelection in 1916 as “the man who kept us out of the war,”

¹⁸³ Kennedy, *Over There*, 8.

¹⁸⁴ Robert Cecil, “British Propaganda in Allied and Neutral Countries,” 29 December 1916, The National Archives, (Kew, UK), CAB 24/3/2.

¹⁸⁵ Sir Campbell Stuart, *The Secrets of Crewe House*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921), 8.

refused to commit his nation to the conflict. Edward M. House noted that Germany's resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare made the president "sad and depressed." A deeply disappointed Wilson still refused to enter the conflict since he believed that it would "be a crime for this Government to involve itself in the war."¹⁸⁶ The president responded by severing diplomatic ties, he declared that an armed state of neutrality existed between the United States and Germany, and he armed U.S. merchant shipping. The president's declaration fell short of war. A declaration David Lloyd George's island nation so desperately needed.¹⁸⁷ German U-boats began sinking over half a million tons of allied shipping monthly, and the British were starting to feel the strain. By February 9, the *New York Times* reported that "Germany's ruthless submarine warfare, continued with the success of the last three days, would destroy, within a short time a great part of the world's merchant tonnage."¹⁸⁸ As the supplies desperately needed by the British sunk to the bottom of the Atlantic bankrupting the empire, Wilson's reluctance to commit American troops enraged the British Prime Minister who reportedly shouted, "And so he [Wilson] is not going to fight after all! He is awaiting another insult before he draws the sword."¹⁸⁹

By February 22, 1917, the copy of the Zimmermann telegram was ready. Hall realized the explosive nature of the message he held in his hands but the nature of the job convinced Hall that he needed protect the sources used to gain the information. Blinker

¹⁸⁶ Edward Mandell House Papers (MS 466), Series II, Diaries, Volume 5, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, Box 301.

¹⁸⁷ Gannon, 19.

¹⁸⁸ "See U-Boats Attaining Goals of Destruction," *The New York Times*, 9 February 1917.

¹⁸⁹ It should be noted that while the Germans sunk allied shipping and the British felt the privation caused by unrestricted submarine warfare it was nothing compared to the privations being endured by the German populous due to the British decision to blockade Germany. Sterling J. Kernek, "Distractions of Peace during War: The Lloyd George Government's Reactions to Woodrow Wilson, December, 1916–November, 1918," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 65, no. 2, (1975): 36.

knew that once the British released the contents of the telegram the German intelligence community would immediately begin searching for the method used by Hall and his men to decipher the German message. A naval intelligence officer showed the telegram to Edward Bell, a secretary of the American Embassy in London who established a close relationship with Admiral Hall and his staff. Blinker had on occasion passed information about German espionage in the United States to Bell, who in turn passed the information on to the State Department.¹⁹⁰

At first, Bell believed the telegram to be a forgery, nothing more than British propaganda, but Hall quickly convinced Bell of the letter's authenticity and the two men approached the American Ambassador Walter Hines Page. Page, also, needed convincing, and the charismatic Hall quickly won him over. Page writing to President Wilson described the head of Room 40 as the "one genius that the war has developed." The U.S. ambassador went on to state "neither in fiction nor in fact can you find any such man to match him."¹⁹¹ Page, like Bell, realized the telegram meant war. During this informal meeting, members of the British government decided that Arthur Belfour, the man who had succeeded Winston Churchill as the First Lord of the Admiralty in 1915, should officially present the contents of the telegram to Page who would then relay the information to Washington.¹⁹²

As members of the U.S. Congress and American journalists struggled with the authenticity of the Zimmermann telegram, the German government frantically searched

¹⁹⁰ Kahn, "Edward Bell and his Zimmerman Telegram Memoranda," 147.

¹⁹¹ Confidential Letter from Walter Hines Page to President Woodrow Wilson, 17 March 1917, quoted in Burton J. Hendrik, *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1926), 3:361-362.

¹⁹² Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, 292-293.

for any information about how the contents of a coded message could have fallen into the hands of the British. Hall's meticulous planning led the Germans to deduce the coded message had been stolen in Mexico, which safely hid Room 40's cryptographic efforts for the rest of the war. Hall realized that he could not reveal the methods used to decipher the text, nor that members of Room 40 had intercepted coded German diplomatic messages using a secret network set up by the president of the United States. As the crisis developed, Germany, Mexico, and Japan refused to admit any wrongdoing. Dr. Arthur Zimmermann publicly announced the contents of the telegram were genuine and on April 6, 1917 the United States declared war on Germany.¹⁹³

The long propaganda campaign, conducted by Admiral Hall and the members of Room 40, to compel the United States to enter the war, took almost three years to convince President Wilson to "draw his sword." No single event drove the United States to declare war on Germany in the spring of 1917. Building on the growing anti-German sentiment in the United States, British agents of influence exploited tragedy to manufacture consent. The sinking of the *Lusitania*, the Rape of Belgium, and execution of Edith Cavell combined with the contents of the Zimmermann telegram ensured the German resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare left the president of the United States with limited options. Finally, Wilson decided the only way to "make the world safe for democracy" was by force.

On April 2, 1917, Wilson asked the members of Congress to declare war on Germany, which after some deliberation they did on April 6, 1917.¹⁹⁴ The congressional

¹⁹³ Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, 297.

¹⁹⁴ Woodrow Wilson, "Address of the President of the United States: Delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress," (Washington: Government Printing Office, April 2, 1917). The Senate voted 82 to 6 for war while the House voted 373 to 50.

decision to declare war on Germany and her allies propelled the United States into a conflict that had already claimed almost five million lives. A stagnant defensive perimeter, composed of an elaborate system of trenches, stretched from the Straits of Dover along the coast of Belgium southeasterly through France to the Swiss border. Almost four million soldiers huddled in the mud waiting for the call to go over the top. In the winter of 1917, after nearly three years of horrific fighting, most soldiers (on both sides) prayed for peace. In the United States, young men, with no thought of peace, began to rush off to war.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Kennedy, *Over There*, 3.

CHAPTER TWO

Patriotic Fervor



Figure 3¹

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President Woodrow Wilson knew the average Joe did not want to risk his life in a war where the best result would be to come back in one piece. The American president, better than most, understood the deep ethnic and sectional sentiments that surrounded the issue of military intervention in Europe. “Socialists, radical labor leaders, German Americans, Irish Americans, southern and western farmers” as well as others opposed any declaration of war.² Wilson realized that his administration, like the British, would have to manufacture popular support for the war. Propagandists would need to not only

¹ Figure 3: Herblock, “It’s Okay...We’re Hunting Communists,” 31 October 1947, Library of Congress.

² Arthur Link, “That Cobb Interview,” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 72, No. 1, (June, 1985): 12.

control the flow of information but also use the fear of domestic sedition to garner support for the war. The key to ensuring American support hinged on Wilson's ability to criminalize dissent. The president and his advisers sent the nation down a dark and twisted path as they worked to convince members of Congress to pass legislation designed to destroy any vestige of a loyal opposition. Wilson, eventually, ensured that only his administration's views were heard; but, in the days leading up to the U.S. declaration of war, the president anguished over the need to sacrifice security for liberty. Wilson knew the ends might fail to justify the means and that his decision to bring the nation into a predominately European war might alter the course of the nation.

In *Cobb and "The World,"* Frank Irving Cobb, the chief editor of Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, provided a candid portrait of a president on the brink of sending his nation to war. According to Cobb's account, on April 1, 1917, Wilson called him to the White House. The *New York World* editor stated that he did not arrive at the residence until well past midnight—making it just a few hours before Wilson asked Congress to declare war on Germany.³ The American President appeared "worn down." Cobb asked what was wrong, and Wilson admitted to not sleeping; he confided to Cobb that he spent his nights trying to figure out some way to avoid war, but war was coming.⁴

The British political warfare campaign led by Charles Masterman, Sir Gilbert Parker,

³ Frank Irving Cobb and John Langdon Heaton, *Cobb and "The World,"* (Hallandale, Florida: New World Book Manufacturers, 1924), 269. During the 1960s, the validity of Cobb's claims fueled a fierce academic debate. Arthur Link stated that the meeting actually took place on March 19 and not on April 1. Others, such as Jerold S. Auerbach, believed that Cobb's account was nothing more than a complete fabrication—a nice apocryphal story. In 1987, Link put the issue to bed by declaring that the interview was authentic. Link based his assessment upon a newly discovered manuscript detailing Cobb's interview with Wilson. See, Arthur Link, "That Cobb Interview," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (June, 1985): 7-17.

⁴ Kennedy, *Over There: The First World War and American Society*, (London: Oxford University Press, 2004), 12; Cobb and Heaton, 268.

Guy Gaunt, Sir William Wiseman, and members of Admiral Hall's Room 40 helped convince a reluctant president the only course left was war.⁵

Wilson assumed that war would cause the United States to lose its head "along with the rest." He predicted that Americans would soon "stop weighing right and wrong." The president understood that modern warfare needed "illiberalism at home to reinforce the men at the front." America could not preserve its high ideals and fight a bloody campaign against tyranny. By curtailing American civil liberties, Wilson sacrificed freedom for security. The American president realized that "to fight you must be brutal and ruthless, and the spirit of ruthless brutality will enter into every fiber of our national life, infecting Congress, the courts, the policeman on the beat, the man on the street." Wilson went on to add "Conformity would be the only virtue and any man who refused to conform would have to pay the penalty." According to Cobb, Wilson feared the U.S. Constitution might not survive the ordeal and in anguish cried "If there is any alternative, for God's sake, let's take it!" Cobb, like the president, could not see any alternative.⁶

Failing to find an alternative, the American president embarked on his crusade to "make the world safe for democracy" by limiting those constitutional freedoms that formed the foundation of the republic. In eleven short weeks, the Wilson administration ushered in one of the most repressive periods in American history. On April 7, 1917, a confidential executive order established loyalty oaths for all federal workers. The threat

⁵ Cobb and Heaton, 42. In an effort to avoid foreign entanglements and in part to preserve "her unique mission as savior to a decrepit old order," the United States joined the war as an associate power instead of as a formal ally.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 268-270. George Orwell in his dystopian novel, *1984*, explored the theme of conformity over individuality as a tool of the despot.

of unemployment coupled with the reality of a long prison term removed the voice of a loyal opposition. Under Wilson, all federal employees had to “support government policy, both in conduct and in sympathy.” Calling a federal employee’s loyalty into question allowed employers to confidentially remove any employee they considered “inimical to the public welfare.”⁷

On April 13, 1917, Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, and Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, wrote a letter to Woodrow Wilson expressing their belief that there existed a “need for some authoritative agency to assume the publication of all vital facts” about the war.⁸ These men, like their British counterparts, understood that modern warfare called for more than creating an army. The president needed to mobilize American support by “selling” the war to the American people.⁹ The following day, Wilson signed Executive Order 2594 setting up the Committee on Public Information (CPI), headed by George Creel, a muckraking journalist, editor, and an enthusiastic Wilson supporter.¹⁰ Creel, like Charles Masterman, employed writers, lecturers, artists, actors, and scholars to help shape American views of the war.

⁷ Executive Order 2587A, April 7, 1917, in Woodrow Wilson and Arthur S. Link, *Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966-1994), 41:546-548.

⁸ Letter from Robert Lansing, Newton D. Baker, and Josephus Daniels to President Wilson, 13 April 1917, quoted in James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words that Won the War: The Story of the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1919*, (New York: Russell and Russell, 1939), 50-51. *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, 1935*, Library of Congress, Robert Lansing Papers, Box 75.

⁹ Cooper, Jr., 391-392.

¹⁰ The document might have been signed on April 14, 1917 but the president dated Executive Order 2594 for April 13, 1917. The Committee of Public Information was composed of George Creel (Chairman), Newton D. Baker (Secretary of War), Josephus Daniels (Secretary of the Navy), and Robert L. Lansing (Secretary of State). *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, 1935*, Library of Congress, Robert Lansing Papers, Box 75.

In the spring of 1917, the task of rallying American support for the war seemed all but impossible. The long tradition of sectionalism and nonintervention in European affairs provided formidable obstacles to national unity. A fact recognized by Creel who wrote

During the three and a half years of our neutrality the United States had been torn by a thousand divisive prejudices, with public opinion stunned and muddled by the pull and haul of Allied and German propaganda. The sentiment in the West was still isolationist; the Northwest buzzed with talk of a 'rich man's war,' waged to salvage Wall Street loans; men and women of Irish stock were 'neutral,' not caring who whipped England, and in every state demagogues raved against 'war mongers,' although the Du Ponts and other so-called 'merchants of death' did not have enough powder on hand to arm squirrel hunters.¹¹

And yet, Creel's CPI marshaled a whole generation of "opinion shapers, interpretive geniuses, and storytellers" to shape America's view of the war.¹² CPI fought for "the minds of men, for the conquest of their convictions."¹³ And, Creel's propagandists surpassed anyone's highest expectations as CPI overcame 150 years of sectionalism to sharpen America's sense of nationalism. Creel's rhetoric went hand in hand with Wilson's idealistic views of the nation and the committee running CPI soon gave way to just one man—Creel.¹⁴ CPI's motto summed up this Creel's view of propaganda—"faith in democracy... faith in fact" and so he directed his propagandists to rely on facts and avoid the "hymn of hate." Creel found democracy to be a religion and spent his life preaching "America as the hope of the World."¹⁵

¹¹ George Creel, *Rebel at Large: Recollections of Fifty Crowded Years*, (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1947), 157.

¹² Robert Jackall and Janice M. Hirota, *Image Makers: Advertising, Public Relations, and the Ethos of Advocacy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 13.

¹³ Creel, *How We Advertised America*, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920), 3.

¹⁴ *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing, 1935*, Library of Congress, Robert Lansing Papers, Box 75.

¹⁵ Creel, *How We Advertised America*, (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920), xiv, xviii.

According to Josephus Daniels, the Secretary of the Navy, the President and all the members of his cabinet agreed the United States “should not fall into the stupid censorship that had marked the action of some countries dealing with war news.” The Wilson administration believed that journalistic self-censorship would ensure that reporters would avoid publishing anything that might compromise national security or might “embarrass war operations.” The need to “scoop” the competition, however, guaranteed that patriotism quickly fell by the wayside as correspondents rushed to sell more and more papers and Creel had to work to control the flow of information.¹⁶

The former muckraking journalist believed that CPI’s mission was nothing short of a great “adventure in advertising.” Creel stated years later that his organization had no authority and “yet the American idea worked. And it worked better than any European Law.” Creel believed that since CPI deliberately made propaganda using positive publicity to gain the support of the American people that this distinguished his propaganda campaign from those being conducted by both British and German intelligence agencies. Creel would never admit that his organization was similar to those employed by the European powers.¹⁷

The Committee for Public Information, like Wellington House, used radio, newspapers, movies, the telegraph, posters, and pamphlets to get their message to the American people. Wilson believed “the spoken word may light the fires of passion and unreason or it may inspire to highest action and noblest sacrifice.”

On June 16, 1917, President Wilson personally approved creating the Four

¹⁶ Letter from Josephus Daniels to Cedric Larson, 30 June 1938, quoted in Cedric Larson and James R. Mock, “The Lost Files of the Creel Committee of 1917-19,” *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 1, (January 1939): 10.

¹⁷ Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 4, 24.

Minute Men Division of the Committee of Public Information.¹⁸ Wilson appointed William McCormick Blair, an American businessman, as the director of this new division.¹⁹ At a grass roots level, Creel used his “Four Minute Men” to carry the administration’s message to the American people. These men spoke at movie theaters, schools, labor organizations, fraternal organizations, churches, and synagogues. The subjects of these talks were considered “matters of national importance connected with the war plans of the Government.” Topics covered by these men included “Universal Service by Selective Draft,” “The Liberty Loan,” and “Why We Are Fighting,”²⁰

The *Four Minute Men Bulletin* became the instrument by which CPI disseminated information to its 75,000 volunteers. These men and women conducted thirty-seven speaking campaigns and delivered over 750,000 speeches in 7,448 cities to over 315 million people.²¹ The *Bulletin* explained that each “speech should not be longer than four minutes, which means there is no time for a single wasted word.” Samuel Hopkins Adams, a former Muckraker, set down the rules for the four minute men. They must stick to their time table because “five minutes means a guess; four minutes makes a promise.” Hopkins directed these men to “talk to the simplest intelligence” in the audience that way they

¹⁸ Committee of Public Information, *The Four Minute Men of Chicago*, (Chicago: The History Committee of the Four Minute Men of Chicago, 1919), 22.

¹⁹ In early April 1917, Donald Ryerson, considered the first Four Minute Man, saw the tremendous potential in the establishment of a national organization of “public speakers for patriotic service.” His idea was incorporated into Creel’s organization with William McCormick Blair as the director of this new division. Committee of Public Information, *The Four Minute Men of Chicago*, 7.

²⁰ Committee on Public Information, *General Bulletin*, no. 7A, 25 November 1917, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 63, Records on the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1921, Bulletins, 1917-1918, 11A-A1, box 131.

²¹ Committee of Public Information, *The Four Minute Men of Chicago*, 7.

could “hit everything higher up.” He went on to coach these men to be “natural and direct” as “sincerity wears no frills.” Clichés such as “Doing your bit,” “Business as usual,” and “Your country needs you” were to be avoided as they no longer had any meaning. And finally, Hopkins bluntly stated “finish strong and sharp. The butterfly is forgotten as soon as he departs, but you recall the hornet because he ends with a point.”²²

While Creel avoided atrocity style propaganda, he was not above using fear in his campaigns. Taking a page for the British, Creel’s four minute men invoked the fear of an elusive but ever present German spy to stimulate support for the war. As one Four Minute Man stated, “I have just received information that there is a German spy among us—a German spy watching us.” The speaker declared, “Do not let the German spy hear and report that you are a slacker” since “money means everything now; it means quicker victory and, therefore, less bloodshed” so invest in the war. Invest in your country buy a liberty loan.²³ Eventually, Creel’s organization extended to 153 colleges and universities as junior minute men jockeyed to see who could help “put the message across.” These students studied the propaganda material then gave at least one four-minute lecture to the student body always mindful to stay on point.²⁴

²² Committee on Public Information, *Four Minute Men News*, Edition C, 8 October 1917, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 63, Records on the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1921, Bulletins, 1917-1918, 11A-A1, box 131.

²³ Committee on Public Information, *Four Minute Man Bulletin*, no. 17, 8 October 1917, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 63, Records on the Committee on Public Information, 1917-1921, Bulletins, 1917-1918, 11A-A1, box 131. A total of four-liberty bond drives April 24, 1917, October 1, 1917, April 5, 1918, and September 28, 1918 raised billions of dollars for the war effort and all but the final bond paid on schedule. The September 28, 1918 bond reached maturity during the Great Depression and these investors lost money on the deal because of President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s changes to the gold standard.

²⁴ Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 88-91.

The key to mobilizing public support hinged on Creel's agents getting CPI's message to those hyphenated Americans that Theodore Roosevelt feared and that German agents of influence, such as Franz von Rintelen and Franz von Papen, were targeting. To ensure the Wilson administration's message reached as many ethnic groups as possible, CPI propagandist, like British agents of influence, either openly or secretly supported front organizations like Friends of German Democracy, the John Ericsson League of Patriotic Service and the American-Hungarian Loyalty League. The most important of these front organizations, Friends of German Democracy, became a focal point of CPI's efforts to shape German-American support of the war.²⁵

In the years leading up to the U.S. declaration of war, British Intelligence's exploitation of German sabotage efforts in the United States had heightened American hatred of the German which quickly expanded to all foreign-born immigrants. In reality, as far as the German community went, American citizenship did not shield the hyphenated American from scrutiny. Senator William H. King (D-UT), echoing Woodrow Wilson's 1915 State of the Union Address, explained there was "a feeling throughout the country that there are some Prussian spies in this country who have their citizenship papers—and who should be loyal Americans" but that he knew for a fact that there were "some disloyalists among those who have sworn allegiance to the flag."²⁶

The idea of the disloyal American is best illustrated by the German-language press that continued, even after the U.S. declaration of war, to publish articles sympathetic to the German cause. So Creel appointed Julius Koettgen, a German-born British citizen, the director of the German Bureau working with the foreign born.

²⁵ James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words that Won the War*, 213-233.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 214-215.

Koettgen, also, happened to be the assistant secretary in the Friends of German Democracy. Even though Friends of German Democracy preserved the illusion of being a citizen backed organization, the truth was that CPI, through Koettgen, controlled and shaped the message being presented to the public. CPI's unique relationship with Friends of German Democracy allowed Creel some influence within the German-American community.²⁷

The Germans, however, represented one of the twenty-three ethnic groups that CPI wanted to Americanize. In an effort to Americanize these hyphenated Americans, Creel ordered Josephine Roche, an idealistic social worker, to create "loyalty leagues" in urban ethnic communities. Roche set up a close working relationship with fourteen different racial groups, which she did by using existing organizations and local personnel. Roche used "their own speakers, their own writers, and their own news-papers" to reach "down from the cities to the hamlets." Roche and her team went into homes to aid these families, who failed to understand how federal laws applied to them. Roche explained the new draft laws, helped with the new income tax rules, and addressed individual problems as they were presented to her. Roche was only one woman, and her loyalty groups could only reach so many people.²⁸

Not everyone agreed with CPI's loyalty leagues. The National Security League (NSL), for example, did not approve of Roche's work. During the opening months of the Great War, a climate of fear and anger besieged the United States; Solomon Stanwood Menken, a Wall Street Lawyer, established the National Security League, a preparedness

²⁷ Even though Koettgen proved indispensable, the U.S. government still required him to register as an enemy alien. James R. Mock and Cedric Larson, *Words that Won the War*, 216-217.

²⁸ Creel, *Rebel at Large: Recollections of Fifty Crowded Years*, 193.

organization. Stanwood believed in increasing America's military strength against all enemies. The NSL worked to counter foreign efforts to drag the nation into a European war. If war came, the NSL wanted the United States would win it. While other patriotic groups formed around specific ideals, such as being pro-German, pro-British, or pacifistic, the NSL had one purpose—the defense of the nation. According to NSL literature, the best way to defend the country from hyphenated Americans was through Americanization.²⁹

As war hysteria took root, the NSL's fervent attacks against minority groups fell on fertile ground. Often men and women spoke of America being a great melting pot but during the early twentieth century the pot had not been stirred. These hyphenated Americans struggled to survive in ethnic ghettos. Most of these men and women worked long brutal hours. Trying to fit in, these men and women studied English at night. And English became the cornerstone of the NSL push for the Americanization of these ethnic groups.³⁰ The NSL wanted English to be the only language used for academic and religious instruction as well as insisting that all public announcements should be made in English. The NSL called on teachers to teach a patriotic version of history with good citizenship being at the forefront of all classroom instruction. This new curriculum would help students achieve a "deeper understanding and meaning of the aims of

²⁹ See Solomon Stanwood Menken's testimony before congress in *National Security League: Hearings before a Special Committee of the House of Representatives, 65th Congress, 3rd Session, on H. Res. 469 and H. Res 476, to Investigate and Make Report as to the Officers, Membership, Financial Support, Expenditures, General Character, Activates and Purposes of the National Security League*, (31 Parts, Washington: 1919).

³⁰ Creel, *Rebel at Large: Recollections of Fifty Crowded Years*, 193-195, 197.

democracy.” Ironically, the NSL did not understand that they were trampling on the freedoms they held sacred.³¹

The battle against U.S. civil liberties moved from the classroom to the home as legislators argued over the legality of conscription. On May 18, 1917, members of Congress passed the Selective Service and Training Act giving the U.S. president the power to draft soldiers. The Selective Service Act required all men between the age of eighteen and thirty-one to register for the draft. The American army, in the spring of 1917, was not prepared to fight in a global conflict. Wilson’s decision to enter the global conflict, however, quickly showed the army needed to increase its ranks rapidly if it hoped to make a difference on the Western Front. Wilson compelled Congress to pass and set up the controversial Selective Service and Training Act, which required over 24 million men, regardless of citizenship—natural born, naturalized, or alien—to register.³² The Espionage Act of 1917 replaced the Defense Secrets Act of 1911 making it illegal to interfere with the war effort or with war time recruitment by imposing a \$10,000 fine and up to twenty years in prison for those convicted of breaking the law.

The decision to force men to fight in a foreign war led to a rise in antiwar sentiment compelling U.S. lawmakers to consider expanding the power of the Espionage Act of 1917. Lawmakers began to debate the merits of passing the Sedition bill. Not everyone supported this controversial bill. Senator William Gordon (D-OH) noted the Sedition bill plainly violated the “Federal Constitution guaranteeing free speech” but his

³¹ John Houston Finley, “Duties of Schools when the Nation is at War,” *Teacher’s Patriotic Leaflets*, Vol. I, No. 6, (New York: Committee on Patriotism through Education of the National Security League, undated): 4-5.

³² Selective service held three recruitment drives on June 5, 1917, June 5, 1918 (to get those men who had just turned 18), and September 18, 1917 (which increased the age from 31 to 45).

warnings were not heeded. Senator Hiram W. Johnson (R-CA) argued the removal of Senator Joseph I. France's (R-MD) amendment to the Sedition bill, which allowed honest criticism of the government, meant the end of one of the "privileges that have been ours since we became a republic." John Lord O'Brien, a lawyer from Buffalo, defended the bill stating the danger of pro-German propaganda outweighed the loss of free speech. O'Brien explained most pro-German rhetoric was not seditious. The "most dangerous type of propaganda in this country is religious pacifism: i.e., opposition to the war on the grounds that it is opposed to the word of God."³³

Under the Sedition Act of 1918, America citizens were forbidden to utter or print "any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, contemptuous, or abusive language about the United States government, or the form of government, or the flag." As in Britain, the United States Postal service began to censor the mail. Congress, under the Sedition Act, directed the U.S. Postmaster General, Albert Sidney Burleson, "to refuse the service of the mails to any person or concern using the mails in violation of the act." Members of the U.S. postal service returned mail that violated the law. Over the next two years, those Americans who broke this law received their returned parcels stamped with an ominous warning—Mail to this address, undeliverable under the Espionage Act.³⁴

The Committee on Public Information began to compete with other national organizations on how the United States should fight. By the winter of 1914, many Americans began to demand an increase in defense spending just in case the United

³³ "Fears Speech Curb in Sedition Bill," *The New York Times*, 25 April 1918.

³⁴ "Senate Accepts Sedition Bill," *The New York Times*, 5 May 1918. Kennedy, *Over There*, 80. David Kennedy rightly points that the Sedition Act was a compromise of sorts since there were several proposed amendments being considered by congress at this time. The most extreme measure would have allowed military courts to try civilians accused of treasonous behavior.

States had to defend itself. The National Security League (NSL), an ultrapatriotic society, and a thorn in the side of Creel's CPI, lobbied to create an aggressive defense policy. Creel believed the NSL, a nationalistic and militaristic organization and the American Defense Society (ADS), a splinter group once affiliated with the NSL, represented the worst of these ultrapatriotic organizations. Both organizations supported American intervention in World War I and the members of both groups feed on the most lurid stories. Making their patriotism "a thing of screams, violence and extremes." NSL and ADS members "outjingoed the worst of the jingoists, and their constant practice of extreme statement left a trail of anger, irritation, and resentment."

Shortly after the United States declared war on Germany, atrocity propaganda, used to stir up patriotic fervor, began to rise. Winsor McCay, a famous American artist, created an early black and white animated film depicting U-20's torpedoing of the *Lusitania*.³⁵ Like Fred Spear's recruiting poster, *Enlist*, McCay's film convinced many Americans to join those battalions being sent to France. This black and white film spoke to a primal feeling in American society. A feeling CPI used to whip up war hysteria. CPI propagandists, like their British counterparts, produced a form of invasion literature. Pamphlets like *Why America Fights Germany* portrayed the fictional advance of the Kaiser's army through the New Jersey countryside on its way to New York City. The CPI pamphlet entitled *The German Whisper* reported that German spies worked in almost every American community. U.S. citizens needed to be ever vigilant. Fear became the key to population control. Creel just refused to engage in the bloodthirsty cry of the

³⁵ Winsor McCay, Anke Mebold, John Canemaker, Milestone Film and Video, Winsor McCay: the Master Edition, [New York City, N.Y.]: Distributed by Oscilloscope Pictures, Chatworth, CA: Image Entertainment Inc., 2004.

jingoist to get his message across.³⁶ Creel believed that positive publicity and not the pandering to humanity's baser instincts would provide the stimulus needed to convince Americans to support the war.³⁷

The jingoists took to the streets forming vigilant groups. The American Protective League (APL) founded by Albert M. Briggs, a Chicago advertising executive, to supplement the increase in staffing needed by both the Bureau of Investigation (BOI) and military intelligence, represented the largest of these vigilant groups. The Secret Service opposed the use of civilians. Secretary of the Treasury, William McAdoo, wanted to create a centralized domestic intelligence organization, which would have invalidated the use of auxiliary forces to combat domestic subversion. Bielaski, the head of the Bureau of Investigation, and Thomas Gregory, the U.S. Attorney General, opposed McAdoo's suggestion and rejected creating a centralized intelligence organization.³⁸

According to an internal FBI report on the history of domestic security investigation, the American Protective League, an organization of two hundred and fifty thousand well-meaning volunteers, with offices across the country, "formed a citizens auxiliary to 'assist' the Bureau of Investigation." Sanctioned by the U.S. Attorney General, Thomas Watt Gregory, and run by the head of the Justice Department's Bureau of Investigation (BOI), Alexander Bruce Bielaski, APL agents carried badges bought for \$.75 which they used to help give them legitimacy while they "investigated what they felt

³⁶ Francis MacDonnell, *Insidious Foes: The Axis Fifth Column and the American Home Front*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 24.

³⁷ Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 181.

³⁸ *Supplementary Detailed Staff Reports on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans: Book III*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), 382. The six volumes and six books that compose the U.S. Senate's inquiry into U.S. intelligence activities known as the Church Committee will be abbreviated in the footnotes as Church Committee Report.

were un-American activities.”³⁹ The ever-vigilant APL comprised of businessmen and professionals, who were ineligible for the draft, became bounty hunters receiving \$50 for every draft dodgers brought to justice. When not searching for “slackers” avoiding the war, the APL agents looked for subversives working in their communities. These vigilantes found an ordinary workingman’s complaints about his job, his boss, or a local politician to be treasonous speech. With just a quiet word spoken so the right person would overhear ensured that a difficult neighbor became a disloyal scoundrel. This created a secret army of informants that scoured the land. Constantly watching, searching, and listening for signs of treasonous behavior.⁴⁰ The fear of foreign subversion resulted in such a huge public outcry that agents working for the Justice Department, the Treasury Department’s Secret Service, Military Intelligence, and Naval Intelligence set up a comprehensive human counterintelligence network without any sign of public protest. According to Creel, “Not a pin dropped in the home of any one with a foreign name but that it rang like thunder on the inner ear of some listening sleuth!” Creel went on to say, “Never was a country so contra-espionaged!”⁴¹

Congress passed legislation designed to “use criminal sanctions to help the war effort,” should have streamlined domestic counterintelligence operations but Congress forgot to clarify the jurisdictional responsibilities of the various competing intelligence agencies. Professional law enforcement agents, intelligence professionals, and civilian vigilantes discovered that more often than not there was an “enormous overlapping of

³⁹ From the 28 October 1975, FBI Intelligence Division report, *An Analysis of FBI Domestic Security Intelligence Investigations: Authority, Official Attitudes, and Activities in Historical Perspective*, quoted in the Church Committee Report, Book III, 381.

⁴⁰ Kennedy, *Over There: The First World War and American Society*, 81.

⁴¹ Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 168.

investigative activities among the various agencies charged with winning the war.” And yet, on occasion these agencies worked well together. For example, the 1918 selective service violator raids, conducted in New York and New Jersey which was perhaps the most egregious deprivation of the civil liberties of poor urban working class citizens to occur during this period of xenophobic hysteria. These warrantless raids conducted by 35 BOI agents, several 100 local police officers, 2,000 APL vigilantes, and almost 2,500 military personnel arrested 50,000 men for allegedly failing to register for the draft. Of these 50,000 men detained in the raid, the U.S. army immediately inducted 1,500 while 15,000 “were referred to their draft boards.”⁴²

While the Bureau of Investigation hunted draft dodgers, a young J. Edgar Hoover joined the Justice Department. Hoover spent the war compiling information on enemy aliens.⁴³ In total, this registration process revealed that approximately 500,000 Germans and three to four million Austrian-Hungarians resided in the United States. Only 6,000 out of four and a half million resident aliens were incarcerated for posing a threat to the government of the United States. A little over 1,500 people were arrested and prosecuted under the Espionage and Sedition Acts.⁴⁴ In the end, the Wilson helped pass laws that ensured there would be no domestic dissent and no wavering of purpose. Wilson committed the nation to war and, now, by law, those who opposed the war in word or deed could be fined, imprisoned, or deported. As he predicted, Wilson willingly sacrificed liberty on the altar of national security. Wilson believed once the national

⁴² From the 28 October 1975, FBI Intelligence Division report, *An Analysis of FBI Domestic Security Intelligence Investigations: Authority, Official Attitudes, and Activities in Historical Perspective*, quoted in the Church Committee Report, Book III, 381.

⁴³ Gentry, 69.

⁴⁴ Creel, *How We Advertised America*, 168.

crisis had passed the laws would be repealed. The American president never meant these changes to American civil liberties to become permanent. Unfortunately, Wilson's executive order, due in part to bureaucratic inertia, was not rescinded until the early 1920s and the Sedition Act just like its late eighteenth century counterpart was eventually allowed to expire but once again not until the early 1920s.⁴⁵ The Espionage Act and the Trading with the Enemy Act, on the other hand, remain the bedrock of the national security state and the provisions of these two acts are still in existence today.

With his eye firmly on how the war would transform America, Wilson, also, predicted how the war would end. The peace would be dictated to the conquered. This Wilson suggested would cause the process to fail “as an attempt to reconstruct a peacetime civilization with war standards” was not the way to ensure a lasting peace. Wilson understood that after four years of brutal warfare in the end “there will be no bystanders with sufficient power to influence the terms” of peace as the major powers would all need something tangible to justify the cost.⁴⁶ The victors' need for revenge hampered the prospect of achieving a lasting peace. It would take another six months before the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, which ended the war. During those six months, the British continuously blockade the German coast, causing millions of German men, women, and children to starve, forcing the Germans to accept whatever dictated peace was presented at Versailles.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Kennedy, *Over There*, 87. Kennedy points out that Wilson in an effort to gain public support for the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and American commitment to join the League of Nations that the Wilson administration attempted to once again stir up anti-immigrant feelings by recommending the passage of a peacetime Sedition Act. Congress refused to not only pass Wilson's peacetime Sedition Act but they also refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.

⁴⁶ Cobb and Henson, 270.

⁴⁷ Hew Strachan, *The First World War*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 326. During the winter of 1917-1918, the British Royal Navy without the U-boat threat were able to fully close off the German Coast

By the winter of 1918, an optimistic Wilson traveled to Paris hoping to achieve “peace without victory” by convincing the victorious allies to impose his Fourteen Point plan for peace, which formed the basis of Germany’s willingness to sign the armistice.⁴⁸ The Germans sued for peace believing they would be treated fairly and according to Wilson’s plan but as Wilson predicted a militarist state of mind dominated the Paris Peace Conference of 1919.

With the British, French, and Russians all deeply in debt, the U.S. economy emerged from the war as one of the strongest in the world, which should have allowed Wilson to negotiate from a position of strength—a new role for the United States. Traditionally, the United States found itself in the role of junior partner. Wilson went to Paris to convince David Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, to renegotiate the terms of the Monroe Doctrine. Wilson wanted to establish a mutual defense pact with the British, which would have both nations acting as equal partners. Wilson, also, wanted to ensure freedom of the seas, which would allow American businessmen to compete in the growing global market. American’s participation in the League of Nations became the key, in Wilson’s mind, to a sustainable peace.⁴⁹ The League of Nations would end all wars for all-time. Looking back, it is easy to see Wilson’s naivety as being synonymous with America’s first tentative steps toward becoming a world power. Wilson, an academic, sought to create a utopian paradise based on self-determination, free trade, and

which left an indelible memory of privation in the minds of the conquered German and Austria citizens who hustled to find enough food to survive.

⁴⁸ Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*, (New York: Random House, 2003), 33. Georges Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister, once commented that “God himself was content with ten commandments. Wilson modestly inflicted fourteen points on us.”

⁴⁹ Cooper, Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography*, 455-456.

a global organization where nations could resolve their differences in a peaceful manner ensuring that war never again consumed the world.

The French and the British, also, wanted to guarantee the Great War would be the last global conflict. George Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister, and David Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, believed that Germany should pay for starting World War I. George Clemenceau wanted a militarily weak Germany since the German's had invaded France twice in last half century. David Lloyd George, the leader of a financial bankrupt nation, wanted to squeeze the German economy of every last mark to pay war reparation which would help England expand its overseas colonies while increasing the British global trading empire. The Treaty of Versailles, the result of six months of diplomatic maneuvering, blamed the Germans for starting the war, stripped the Germans of their military, returned the coal rich German provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to the French, required the Germans to pay war reparations, and created the League of Nations.⁵⁰ David Lloyd George summed up the six months of diplomatic haggling by stating that he believed he had done his best for England considering that he was seated between "Jesus Christ and Napoleon."⁵¹

Wilson's dreams of the United States taking an active role in world affairs was shattered by the backlash over Wilson's handling of not only the war but also the peace. The U.S. Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles dealing a blow to Wilson's postwar plans. It seems incredible that a nation that so ready to embraced Wilson's war, so eager to subvert its constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties to suppress a possible

⁵⁰ John Maynard Keynes, in his *Economic Consequences for the War* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Howe, 1920), suggested that setting war reparations too high would lead to hyperinflation resulting in the possible down fall of the Weimar Government and the possible collapse of the global economy.

⁵¹ Margaret MacMillan, 33.

German infiltration, and so willing to send its sons off to war, would so quickly turn its back on the only rational part of the Paris Peace Conference—the League of Nations.

By the winter of 1919, however, with no one controlling the media and keeping the American populace on message, the result of the Senate’s debate on the Treaty of Versailles was a forgone conclusion—a complete rejection of Wilson’s postwar dreams. The Creel Committee, Wilson’s wartime propaganda organization, though not officially abolished until August 1919, had stopped, shortly after the armistice was signed, to work domestically. British political warfare operations in the Americas, also, stopped shortly after the signing of the armistice; so, those sections of the loyal opposition that had remained quiet during the war took their revenge during the peace—America turned inward.⁵²

America’s return to its unilateralist foreign policy objectives, which marked the end of the Great War, should have signaled the end of U.S. domestic intelligence operations but the U.S. Department of Justice’s Bureau of Investigation simply “shifted its attention from critics of the war to the activities of radical and anarchist groups.”⁵³ Since the rise of V.I. Lenin’s Soviet Russia, fear gripped the United States about a possible Bolshevik uprising in America. During the war, Eugene V. Debs and the members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), known as “Wobblies,” attracted the ire of the federal government. The IWW not only wanted to create a classless society but also publicly declared its opposition to the war. The Wilson administration viewed pacifism as treasonous and so on September 5, 1917, the federal government, using the

⁵² Creel, *How We Advertised America*, ix.

⁵³ Church Committee, Book III, 382.

war as an excuse, raided IWW offices in twenty-four cities.⁵⁴ Almost a week before the raid on IWW offices, law enforcement officials arrested Charles T. Schenck, a socialist antiwar pamphleteer, for violating the Espionage Act. Ten months later, on June 30, 1918, Eugene Debs was arrested and sentenced to ten years in prison for breaking the same law. Both men held high-ranking positions within the Socialist Party of America and Debs was a founding member of the IWW.

In January 1919, as the war in Europe ended, the U.S. Supreme Court, in two landmark cases, *Debs v. United States* and *Schenck v. United States*, determined the Espionage Act did not violate the First Amendment right to free speech. Chief Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., described the difference between constitutionally protect and unprotected speech:

The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent. It is a question of proximity and degree. When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.⁵⁵

Based on Holmes' precedent setting decision in the Schenck case, the nation's highest court ruled against Eugene Debs.⁵⁶ Judicial review failed. Members of the Supreme Court provided the key component of the American national security state—the clear and present danger clause. This ruling allowed the executive branch, during times of heightened security, to limit the populace's civil liberties by citing the needs of the many

⁵⁴ Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), 71.

⁵⁵ *Schenck v. United States*, 249 U.S. 47, 52 (3 March 1919).

⁵⁶ *Debs v. United States*, 249 U.S. 211 (1919).

over the needs of the few. A philosophical point understood all too clearly by Niccolò Machiavelli, a fifteenth century Italian philosopher, who realized that politics was amoral. Explaining, for the first time, the *raison d'état* was to ensure the state survived. Machiavelli reiterated an ancient principle of governing—"the end excuses any evil."⁵⁷ All men are amoral, selfish, cowardly, dishonest, and violent; the only way to control the masses was through coercion, deception and fear—with fear being a primary motivator of men and a key component to the rise of the American national security state.

American policy makers, vacillating between American exceptionalism and Machiavelli's realist view of both the state and man, faced their first real test of a wide scale coordinated terrorist attack during the spring and summer of 1919, which marked the beginning of the First Red Scare (1919-1920). While the victors argued over the nature of a dictated peace with the defeated Central Powers, the *Reds*, a pejorative term used to describe anarchist, socialist, and communist sympathizers, carried out two daring bombings. A series of brown paper wrapped packages mailed from West Manhattan to government officials all across the country contained explosives. The attack, allegedly carried out by followers of Luigi Galleani, an anarchist with communist leanings, coincided with the May Day celebrations.⁵⁸ Between April 22 and April 26, Galleanists mailed thirty-six packages—only six reached their destination. Postal workers, alerted to the danger, seized the rest of the packages before they could be delivered. Each parcel contained a small bomb set to explode on opening. This terrorist attack only wounded

⁵⁷ Sophocles, *Electra*, (409 B.C.E).

⁵⁸ Paul Arvich, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991) 158, 142.

two people, the wife of the former Georgian Senator, Thomas J. Hardwick, and their housekeeper.⁵⁹

The second attack occurred on June 2, 1919. Once again several parcels, this time containing twenty pounds of explosives and metal shrapnel, simultaneously exploded in eight American cities.⁶⁰ The U.S. Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, heard a thump against his front door followed by a large explosion. The Galleanists bomber, Carlo Valdinoci, died in the blast. Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who lived across the street, rushed out to make sure that his neighbors uninjured. A corpse and fifty copies of *Plain Words*, an anarchist pamphlet, provided the only clues to whom orchestrated these attacks. The pressure on Palmer and members of the Department of Justice to identify and capture these terrorist bombers led to further abuses of American civil liberties. Palmer, exploiting American feelings of fear and anxiety, used the threat of further terrorist attacks to reorganize the Department of Justice. The attorney general removed any appointees, mainly made by his predecessor John Lord O'Brian, that he viewed as being ill suited (too liberal), to conduct the types of operations Palmer viewed as necessary to bring these men to justice. The attorney general appointed Francis P. Garvan, former New York district attorney, to be the assistant attorney general tasked with investigating and prosecuting these radicals; Palmer, also, hired William J. Flynn, the former head of the Secret Service, to run the BOI.⁶¹

Using the fear of subversive activity, Palmer asked members of Congress to increase his yearly appropriations to help combat this new threat. When members of

⁵⁹ "Bombs sent to 36 U.S. Leaders," *The Chicago Tribune*, 1 May 1919.

⁶⁰ "20 Pounds of Dynamite in Bomb Used in New York," *Washington Post*, 4 June 1919.

⁶¹ Gentry, 75-76.

Congress balked at his fiscal demands, he told these senators that he believed these bombings comprised a vast conspiracy to overthrow the United States government and that he believed, based on information he had received, the next major attack on the United States would coincide with the nation's 4th of July celebrations. The Department of Justice received its increase in funding; most of this money went to form a new Department of Justice Intelligence Division headed by J. Edgar Hoover.⁶²

On August 1, 1919, Palmer officially established the General Intelligence Division (GID). Hoover, who gathered information on enemy aliens during World War I, set up a similar collection operation while managing the GID.⁶³ The former librarian began, once again, to catalog people. Using index cards, Hoover compiled a complex reference system listing information on every radical leader, leftist organization, and subversive publication but the bombings remained unsolved.⁶⁴ The public pressure brought to bear on Palmer to solve these bombings cannot be overstated. The attorney general decided the Bill of Rights was expendable.⁶⁵

The attorney general convinced William B. Wilson, the Secretary of Labor, to allow the BOI to act under the Immigration Act of 1918, which allowed the Department of Labor to arrest and deport those

Aliens who are anarchist; aliens who believe in or advocated the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or all forms of laws; aliens who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government; aliens who advocate or teach the assassination of public officials; aliens who advocate or teach the unlawful destruction of property; aliens who are members of or affiliated with any organization that entertains a belief in,

⁶² Church Committee Report, Book III, 382.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Gentry, 79. By 1921, Hoover had accumulated data on over 450,000 people he viewed as a threat. Hoover and his men compiled 60,000 detailed reports on those organizations, publications, and subversives that he felt warranted special attention.

⁶⁵ Stanley Coben, *A. Mitchell Palmer: Politician*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 210.

teaches, or advocates the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law, or that entertains or teaches [the same].⁶⁶

Based on the laws of the Immigration Act of 1918 allowing for alien deportation, Palmer, Garvan, and Hoover began planning multicity raids to detain and deport suspected radicals. The Supreme Court, in 1893, determined that due process did not apply to deportation cases since deportation was not a punishment but an administrative process resulting in the return of illegal immigrants to their own countries.⁶⁷

On the second anniversary of the Russian Revolution, November 7, 1919, BOI agents, working with local law enforcement, conducted raids in twelve American cities. In preparation for these raids, the BOI ran warrantless wiretaps while Hoover worked to suppress Rule 22 of the Immigration Act of 1918, which allowed detained aliens access to legal counsel. Hoover explained that allowing immigrants arrested for seditious behavior access to legal counsel “defeats the ends of justice.” The purpose of these raids was to suppress radicalism that it made very little sense to allow those out on bail to continue spreading their antisocial propaganda.⁶⁸ The violent raids resulted in mass roundups and deportation of suspected leftists (to include Luigi Galleani) many of which, because of Hoover’s efforts, were denied access to a lawyer.⁶⁹

On December 21, 1919, the Department of Labor deported 249 subversives to include Emma Goldman—the infamous anarchist philosopher. A “cordon of soldiers” prevented anyone from approaching the U.S.S. *Buford’s* pier located on Ellis Island and

⁶⁶ Arthur Garrison, *Supreme Court Jurisprudence in Times of National Crisis, Terrorism, and War: A Historical Perspective*, (New York: Lexington Books, 2011), 115.

⁶⁷ *Fong Yue Ting v. United States*, 149 U.S. 698 (1893).

⁶⁸ Memorandum from Hoover to Caminetti, 22 January 1920, cited in William Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 219; and Memorandum from Hoover to Caminetti, 16 March 1920, cited in *Ibid*, 219.

⁶⁹ Gentry, 84.

an armed detachment of marines were added to the ship's crew to act as guards for these involuntary passengers who would be mostly confined to their quarters during the transatlantic voyage. The passengers, arrested during the November raids, came from all over the United States to include "33 from Pittsburgh, 36 from Cleveland, 26 from Youngstown, Ohio, 10 from Baltimore...and forty-three Reds convicted in New England." Without incident, the *Buford*, dubbed the "Soviet Ark" by the American press, quietly headed for Russia.⁷⁰

On January 2, 1920, the attorney general ordered the largest of the so-called "Palmer Raids." BOI and Immigration agents, working in thirty-three cities, rounded up nearly 10,000 alleged subversives affiliated with communist and socialist organizations. Unfortunately, many of those arrested and detained in these raids were ordinary American citizens who had no ties to these "radical" organizations. "Indiscriminate arrests of the innocent with the guilty, unlawful seizures by federal detectives, intimidating preliminary interrogations of aliens held incommunicado, highhanded levying of excessive bail and denial of counsel" comprise the usual litany of abuses perpetrated by members of the BOI during this multicity raid.⁷¹

Eminent lawyers and legal scholars, in the months following these federal raids, denounced the Department of Justice's violation of the Bill of Rights. These lawyers reported,

We do not question the right of the Department of Justice to use its agents in the Bureau of Investigation ascertain when the law is being violated. But the American people have never tolerated the use of undercover provocative agents or "agents provocateurs" such as have been familiar in Old Russian or Spain. Such agents have been introduced by the Department of Justice into radical movements, have reached positions of influence therein, have

⁷⁰ "Ark with 300 Reds Sails Early Today for Unnamed Port", *the New York Times*, 21 December 1919.

⁷¹ Church Committee Report, Book III, 384.

occupied themselves with informing upon or instigating acts which might be declared criminal, and at the express direction of Washington have brought about meetings of radicals in order to make possible wholesale arrests at such meetings.⁷²

Hoover reacted, to this report's findings, by searching his vast files on American subversives to see if anyone of the GID's critics had radical inclinations. Otherwise the head of the GID ignored the complaints—a decision that would come back to haunt the Department of Justice.⁷³

On May 1, 1920, Attorney General Palmer stated that according to information gained by Hoover's GID agents the Red's planned to assassinate federal and state officials to coincide with their radical May Day demonstrations. Palmer claimed to have the list of those marked for death. He issued a warning to those named, supplied protection for these men and their families, and he assured the public that these measure would be effective against any would be assassins. The memory of the bombings of 1919 further stirred up public hysteria about terrorists living in the United States even as May Day passed without incident.⁷⁴ These hysteric xenophobic days resulted in the arrest of Ferdinando Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Two anarchists held for allegedly murdering two men during a daylight robbery in the small suburban town of Braintree, Massachusetts. The evidence linking the two men to the murders was mostly circumstantial but the evidence linking them to the Galleanists was a bit more substantial.⁷⁵ The trial, with its sensational racial implications and its shameful abuse of

⁷² National Popular Government League, *To the American People. Report upon the Illegal Practices of the United States Department of Justice*, (New York: N.Y. Call Prtg. Co.), 1920.

⁷³ Memorandum from J. Edgar Hoover to General Churchill, 23 January 1923 and 13 May 1920, cited in Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, 225.

⁷⁴ "Nation-Wide Plot to Kill High Officials on Red May Day Revealed by Palmer," *The New York Times*, 29 April 1920.

⁷⁵ Arvich, 149-164.

American civil liberties, divided a nation but the trial would not even start for another three years. Yet, a mere five days after the arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti, on September 16, 1920, a bomb exploded in the heart of New York's financial district killing thirty-eight people and wounding hundreds. Someone parked a horse drawn wagon, containing 100 pounds of dynamite and 500 pounds of cast iron sash weights, across the street from the J.P. Morgan Bank located at 23 Wall Street. The bomb, timed to detonate during the noontime lunch rush, caused more than two million dollars in damage making it the deadliest terrorist attack on American soil.⁷⁶

A mailman working at New York City's Broadway and Cedar Streets found an unwrapped package containing a few handmade fliers stating "Remember, we will not tolerate any longer. Free the political prisoners or it will be sure death for you." Shortly after picking up the fliers, the mailman heard the loud explosion from Wall Street and ran to investigate. He gave the fliers to his supervisor who passed them along until they eventually reach William Flynn. Similar to earlier bombings, the only clue left behind was subversive literature and contrary to public assurances, the crime remained unsolved.⁷⁷

Race, political ideology, and social standing all played a role in the Palmer raids and in the arrest, conviction, and execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, whose trial became intertwined with the deadly Wall Street bombings. Palmer, a U.S. attorney general, who dreamed of one-day becoming president of the United States, tried to justify his actions,

⁷⁶ This bombing would hold the record for being the most deadly terrorist attack for the next seventy years when, on April 19, 1995, Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols destroyed the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building located in Oklahoma City.

⁷⁷ Beverly Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded: a Story of American in its First Age of Terror*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 171.

after the fact, as he explained, “like a prairie-fire, the blaze of revolution was sweeping over every American institution of law and order.” Palmer believed anarchy, socialism, and communist ideology “was eating its way into the homes of the American workman, its sharp tongues of revolutionary heat were licking the alters of churches, leaping into the belfry of the school bell, crawling into the sacred corners of American homes, seeking to replace marriage vows with libertine laws, burning up the foundation of society.” The American government had to act even if it meant violating the civil liberties of a few radicals. America had to be protected as communism was “the creed of the criminal mind” and the “American Government must prevent crime.” The political backlash over the Department of Justice’s violation of American civil liberties during the First Red Scare led to Palmer’s removal from office.⁷⁸

As Palmer left office, a new presidential administration entered the White House. Harding ushered in a period of lawlessness as bootlegged whiskey and bathtub gin flowed through the hidden byways of America’s underground nightclubs where flappers danced and mobsters built their empires. Prohibition brought with it corruption, scandal, and violence. President Warren Harding’s administration represented the corruption of a nation as the president appointed friends and benefactors to public office. Harding’s scandalous administration came to an abrupt end as the twenty-ninth president of the United States suddenly collapsed and died.⁷⁹

Calvin Coolidge, Harding’s vice president, became the thirtieth President of the United States. President Coolidge tried to restore faith in the White House by removing Harding’s political cronies. This political reorganization led to the appointment of a

⁷⁸ A. Mitchel Palmer, “The Case against the ‘Reds,’” *Forum* (1920): 173-185.

⁷⁹ “The Presidency: The End,” *Time*, 13 August 1923.

former Columbia Law School Dean, Harlan Fiske Stone, who Coolidge ordered to clean up a “scandal ridden Department of Justice.” Stone, believing the BOI engaged in “maintaining many activities which were without any authority in federal statutes” and engaged in “many practices which were brutal and tyrannical in the extreme,” immediately asked for William J. Burn’s resignation as Director of the Bureau of Investigation. The attorney general ordered a thorough review of the BOI personnel files removing the “incompetent and unreliable.” Stone then turned his attention to the BOI’s domestic intelligence operations investigating the legality of the Palmer Raids while examining the alleged political surveillance of U.S. senators viewed as potential threats to the American way of life.⁸⁰ BOI agents collected information of Senator William E. Borah (D-ID), the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Thomas J. Walsh (D-MT) who helped expose the Teapot Dome Scandal, and Burton Wheeler (D-MT) who the former attorney general, Harry Daugherty, viewed as “the communist leader in the Senate.”⁸¹

By May 9, 1924, Harlan Fiske Stone stopped the BOI’s domestic intelligence activities. He stated:

There is always the possibility that a secret police may become a menace to free government and free institutions, because it carries with it the possibility of abuses of power which are not always quickly apprehended or understood. ... It is important that its activities be strictly limited to the performance of those functions for which it was created and that its agents themselves be not above the law or beyond its reach. ... The Bureau of Investigation is not concerned with political or other opinions of individuals. It is concerned only with their conduct and then only with such conduct as is forbidden by the laws of the United States. When a police system passes beyond these limits, it is dangerous to the proper

⁸⁰ Church Committee, Book III, 388.

⁸¹ Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval, 1935-1936*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957), 137.

administration of justice and to human liberty, which it should be our first concern to cherish.⁸²

Stone sent for J. Edgar Hoover. When Hoover arrived at his office, the attorney general explained the Bureau was no longer an instrument of domestic intelligence; thus ending, the BOI's infiltration of radical groups, political espionage, and strikebreaking. The BOI would confine itself to investigating federal crimes. Hoover agreed with Stone, who made him the "acting" Director of the Bureau of Investigation which seemingly ended the Bureau's domestic intelligence operations for the next decade.⁸³

Hoover, ever the politician, realized the General Intelligence Division's secret files provided his agency with the political protection to survive the vulgarities of American politics; so, Hoover while disbanding the GID decided to set up a new record keeping system. The BOI director ordered his agents to file those politically sensitive documents in the "Official and Confidential" files, which allowed Hoover, for the next five decades, to maintain control of his personal cache of secrets.⁸⁴

Stone's reforms, which Hoover chose to ignore, only applied to the Department of Justice. Military intelligence and local law enforcement still collected information on alleged internal subversive activities as well as working to stop external threats. It seemed as if Hoover was playing a dangerous game but nine months after Stone began his reform of the Justice Department, the former attorney general became a U.S. Supreme Court judge, where he eventually became chief justice, and Hoover continued to shape U.S. domestic intelligence for the next fifty years.⁸⁵

⁸² Church Committee Report, Book II, 23.

⁸³ Church Committee Report, Book III, 389-390.

⁸⁴ Tim Weiner, *Enemies: A History of the FBI*, (New York: Random House, 2012), 75.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 77.

Herbert O. Yardley, a World War I cryptanalyst working for the U.S. Military Intelligence Division's MI-8 (the U.S. Army's cryptographic section), spent the last year of the Great War studying British cryptography before joining the American delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.⁸⁶ On returning to the United States, the State Department commissioned Yardley to set up America's first peacetime code breaking division known as the American Black Chamber. Yardley's civilian cryptographic section moved into a four-story brownstone located at 141 East 37th Street, New York City. Tasked with reading secret foreign diplomatic codes and ciphers by using any means available, the State Department warned Yardley that if he were caught, "it would be just too bad!" Over the next ten years, the American Black Chamber solved "over forty-five thousand cryptograms" breaking the codes of "Argentine, Brazil, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, England, France, Germany, Japan, Liberia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, San Salvador, Santo Domingo, the Soviet Union and Spain."⁸⁷

The ability to read Japanese naval and diplomatic codes proved useful as Japanese commercial ambitions threatened American economic dominance in the region. These cryptanalysts provided U.S. delegates, attending the Washington Naval Conference, with secret information. U.S. envoys used this knowledge to negotiate with the Japanese. Imperial Japan had the third largest navy in the world and they wanted to expand it. The British and Americas wanted to limit Japanese naval construction by allowing the Japanese to build eighteen battleships to the Western powers thirty ships. This agreement prevented a naval arms race. The Washington Naval Conference marked the height of the American Black Chamber's postwar success. On October 31, 1929, the U.S.

⁸⁶ Herbert O. Yardley, *The American Black Chamber*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1931), 15-16.

⁸⁷ Yardley, 235.

government disbanded the American Black Chamber because Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State, believed that “Gentlemen do not read each other’s mail.”⁸⁸

As the federal government curtailed its intelligence operations, private intelligence organizations became popular. Vincent Astor’s secret society known as the Room became the most extensive of these. By 1927, Astor, a multimillionaire, philanthropist and friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt, set up a gentlemen’s intelligence network composed of like-minded businessmen, who met monthly for dinner and conversation at an ordinary apartment building, located in New York City at 34 East 62nd Street. These monthly meetings brought together an eclectic group of men who regaled their companions with stories of their travels. While sensationalistic news stories could obscure the truth, these travelers met to discuss their personal observations of the world. This allowed those present to make business decisions based on firsthand accounts. Occasionally, the Room would invite guest speakers, such as Commander Richard E. Byrd (polar explorer) and Somerset Maugham (British author and former World War I intelligence officer), to talk about a particular topic.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ David Kahn, *The Reader of Gentlemen’s Mail: Herbert O. Yardley and the Birth of American Codebreaking*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 98.

⁸⁹ Jeffery M. Dorwart, “The Roosevelt-Astor Espionage Ring,” *New York History* 62, no. 3, (July 1981): 309. Dorwart explained that membership was restricted to “men who shared all the attributes and ideas of the original organizers.” The original organizers listed include Vincent Astor (multimillionaire), Kermit Roosevelt (FDR’s nephew), Winthrop W. Aldrich (banker), Frederic Kernochan (federal judge), William Rhinelanders Stewart (philanthropist), F. Trubee Davidson (Assistant Secretary of War for Air), David K.E. Bruce (Andrew Mellon’s son-in-law), Reginald Fincke (national tennis champion), Dr. Eugene Hillhouse Pool (Columbia University Medical School), Nelson Doubleday (publisher), Clarence L. Hay (archaeologist), and British Army Captain H. Nugent Head (Fourth Hussars). The following men were also listed as being members of the ROOM: Theodore Roosevelt, C. Suydam Cutting (a naturalist), Marshall Field III (Journalist), Duncan Stewart Ellsworth and Barkie Mckee Henry (philanthropists), Oliver Dwight Filley (expert miner), Henry G. Gray (Wall street lawyer), Charles Lanier Lawrence (aviation engineer), Robert Gordon McKay (banker), Grafton Howland Pyne and Kenneth Schley (stockbrokers), George Fisher Baker Jr. (a businessman), Beverley Bogert (banker), James Cox Brady (Cutting’s stepson), Frederick L. Carver, (Wall street lawyer), George C. and Louis C. Clark (stockbrokers), W. Sheffield Cowles (Kermit’s nephew), Charles E. Dunlap (coal mine owner), Frederick Strong Moseley Jr. (stockbroker), and George G. Zabriskie.

By 1933, Astor began to send information gathered directly to FDR, the newly elected president of the United States. The information gained by Astor's adventure seeking dilettantes held little strategic value; however, it did provide FDR with a private intelligence organization. The bounds of collective security unraveled as totalitarian nations ignored the fundamental rules of the League of Nations. Imperial ambitions to hold as these totalitarian nations carved out empires at the expense of their weaker neighbors. Luckily, FDR relied on the Room to obtain information about the world at large.

On September 19, 1931, the world watched as the League failed to stop the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) from invading Manchuria, ousting the Chinese, and setting up a puppet régime known as Manchukuo. The League ordered the Japanese to leave Manchuria; the Japanese, however, chose to stay and answered the League's request by simply deciding to renounce their membership.⁹⁰ In 1935, Benito Mussolini, the Italian dictator, defied the League of Nations by invading Abyssinia (Ethiopia). League members refused to provide arms, oil, or rubber to the Italian army but Mussolini ignored the League's call to stop resulting in the fascist dictator's army conquering Haile Selassie's North African nation.

Emperor Selassie, like the Chinese, appealed to the League of Nations but his pleas, like the Chinese, went unanswered. In a memorandum from C. Van H. Engert,

⁹⁰ United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941*, Vol. 1, (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-1941), 87-89, 109-110. The Japanese made it very clear to Henry L. Stimson, President Herbert Hoover's Secretary of State, that they had a special economic and political relationship with Manchuria. They explained to Stimson that they would not tolerate any foreign interference, i.e. any attempt by the League to force the matter to arbitration under Article XV of the League's charter and the Japanese would have no choice but to withdraw from the League.

U.S. Resident in Ethiopia, to Cordell Hull, the U.S. Secretary of State, detailing the European Powers desire to avoid war by avoiding a direct confrontation with Benito Mussolini, the Fascist Italian dictator whose army invaded Ethiopia. C. Van H. Engert's memorandum spelled out the political realities. The Europeans refused to force Mussolini to adhere to the League's Charter. While willing to pass economic sanctions, the League members refused to resort to force to impede Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia.⁹¹

On June 10, 1936, Neville Chamberlain, realizing the idea of collective security perished in the Abyssinia desert sands, gave a eulogistic speech to members of the 1900 Club stating that "the policy of collective security seemed... an attractive alternative to the old system of alliances" but like the old balance of power system, which led to World War I, the idea of collective security, as symbolized by the League of Nations, was beyond the power of the League to guarantee. It was time for the League's member states to acknowledge that the League "could no longer be relied upon by itself to secure the peace of the world" because nations could not be relied upon to threaten war unless their interests were at stake.⁹²

By 1937, the Roosevelt administration began to reevaluate the U.S. position in Asia. The Japanese, no longer content to consolidate their position in Manchuria, invaded China. IJA soldiers simultaneously attacked Beijing and Shanghai. After four months brutal fighting, the Japanese began to advance southward toward Nanking which

⁹¹ United States Department of State, *Foreign relations of the United States diplomatic papers, 1936, The Near East and Africa*, (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936), 68-70.

⁹² George W. Baer, *Test Case: Italy, Ethiopia and the League of Nations*, (Stanford, California: Hoover Institute Press, 1976), 294. Chamberlains speech given on June 10, 1936 was printed in *The Times* the following day on June 11, 1936.

led to the Japanese sinking of the USS *Panay*, an American naval gunboat operating along the Yangtze River just north of the city.⁹³ The news coverage of the “rape of Nanking” coupled with a Japanese soldier’s decision to slap a U.S. diplomat during the Japanese assault further aggravated tensions between the United States and Japan.⁹⁴ As U.S. policy makers began to reassess their strategic Asian goals, Vincent Astor decided to take a more active role in intelligence collection. The multimillionaire, ever the avid yachtsman, and Kermit Roosevelt, ever the adventurer, decided to sail Astor’s yacht, the *Nourmahal*, into the Pacific to see if the Japanese were fortifying those islands gained at the end of the Great War. Japanese threats of violence prevented Astor from exploring these Japanese held Pacific Islands but he met some British intelligence officers working in the area. These men provided the amateur spy with the best information available to the SIS on Japanese activity in the region.⁹⁵

Threats of violence impeded Astor’s Pacific expedition but his failure to secure firsthand information did not deter him, once he returned to New York, he resolved to take a more analytical approach to gaining information. Astor and his organization, now code-named the Club, began collecting economic data from New York’s leading banks. They traced the money used by foreign powers to finance espionage activities in the United States. Astor realized that “Espionage and Sabotage need money, and that [money] has to pass through the banks at one stage or another.” The multimillionaire

⁹³ For a detailed accounting of the sinking of the *Panay*, see Official Press Release on the Sinking of the *Panay*, Official File, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Box 4.

⁹⁴ “Diplomat Slapped by Tokyo Soldier,” *The New York Times*, 28 January 1938.

⁹⁵ From Astor to Roosevelt, undated, President’s Secretary’s File, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Box 116. All other citations from the President’s Secretary’s File will be abbreviated as PSF.

used his contacts in the banking community to pressure American banks to, when asked, volunteer information about those clients who might pose a threat to the United States.⁹⁶

Astor's banking connections, at Chase National Bank, provided incriminating evidence the Amtorg Trading Corporation, the first Soviet Trade Mission to the United States, located in New York City, which provided cover for Soviet intelligence working in the United States. The Club, however, failed to unearth any financial evidence regarding German or Japanese intelligence agents working in New York. Even though the information obtained by the Club failed to expose financial support for German or Japanese agents, these contacts did prove useful. Shortly after Astor set up this informal relationship between the Club and Chase National Bank, the Imperial Japanese ambassador asked Winthrop Aldrich, the Chairman of the Board of New York City's Chase National Bank, to send a delegation to Japan. The Japanese ambassador wanted this delegation to show the Japanese how Chase conducted business. Astor suggested inserting U.S. intelligence agents into this group to gain information on Imperial Japan.⁹⁷

Fear of domestic subversion, a sentiment exploited by the British during the Great War, provided the federal government with a wartime pretext to subvert the U.S. Constitution. The domestic prosperity brought about by the U.S. participation in World War I lessened class dissatisfaction and reduced American fear of subversion. This changed with the October 29, 1929 stock market crash. The onset of the Great Depression further compelled the United States to turn inward as the global depression destroyed the first global economy. During the depression, the Communist Party USA, established in 1919, found public dissatisfaction a fertile environment for recruiting new

⁹⁶ From Astor to Roosevelt, undated, PSF, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Box 116.

⁹⁷ Letter from Astor to Roosevelt, April 20, 1940, PSF, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Box 116.

members. The CPUSA expanded during this period of economic hardship by launching a grassroots movement among the nation's economically oppressed masses.

President Herbert Hoover believed anti-immigration legislation—such as the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798), the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), and the Alien Deportation Act (1918), and the Immigration Act of 1924—would reduce the plight of the average citizen. Hoover signed the Mexican Repatriation Act (1929) based on his belief that it would save American jobs.⁹⁸ Repatriation, unlike deportation, implied a voluntary decision to return to Mexico; but during the Great Depression, fear, intimidation and forced roundups compelled roughly 500,000 people to return to Mexico.⁹⁹ Hoover followed his anti-immigration legislation by signing into law the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act (1930), by raising tariffs on foreign goods, which resulted in U.S. trading partners passing retaliatory tariffs.¹⁰⁰

These legislative measures failed to provide relief to a struggling nation. By the summer of 1932, World War I veterans and their families began demonstrating for financial relief in the form of Congressional bonus payments for their service. According to the Adjusted Service Certificates they were given, this bonus was to be paid out in 1945 but these men and their families were starving in 1932. These veterans, calling themselves the Bonus Expeditionary Force, peacefully assembled in an area known as the Anacostia Flats. More and more protesters joined their ranks causing some to camp in

⁹⁸ Ian Haney-Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*, (New York: New York University Press, 2006) 27.

⁹⁹ Haney-Lopez, 27-28. According to Haney-Lopez, half of those forced to return to Mexico were American citizens. Those behind these forced repatriations did not take the time to differentiate between legal and illegal immigrants.

¹⁰⁰ David Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 49-50.

vacant buildings in downtown Washington D.C. The Bonus marchers, as they became known, awaited a congressional solution to their request.

On July 28, 1932, the Attorney General William D. Mitchell decided to act; he ordered the police to remove these veterans and their families, which resulted in the death of two protesters.¹⁰¹ After these deaths, President Hoover ordered General Douglas MacArthur, the Army Chief of Staff, to end the protest. Hoover's decision to suppress the Bonus Army coincided with an increase in military intelligence investigations into domestic subversive. General MacArthur ordered military commanders to report any treasonous activity. When these World War I veterans and their families marched to Washington to lobby for relief, military intelligence agents exaggerated the communist influence on these "insurrectionists." These intelligence reports "contributed to the decision to use troops in a mass assault to clear the demonstrators out of Washington." Hoover's decision to use the army and not local law enforcement to subdue these demonstrators marked the first time since the Civil War that a U.S. president ordered the army to attack its citizens. The suppression of the Bonus Army exemplifies one of the worst abuses of executive power in American history. Although MacArthur exceeded Hoover's instructions, the press portrayed Hoover as a villain who was insensitive to the plight of the downtrodden, which cost the president the 1932 election. Despite the bad publicity surrounding the Bonus March incident, the military commanders involved suffered no real repercussions for their actions and military intelligence continued to gather information on suspected civilian subversive organizations.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ "Veteran dies of wounds," *New York Times*, 2 August 1932.

¹⁰² Church Committee, Book III, 390.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt won the 1932 election. Faced with his nation's greatest economic catastrophe, FDR decided that only a massive restructuring of the American economy would not only shorten the crisis but would also prevent another financial collapse. The 1932 election gave the Democratic Party control of the White House as well as control of both houses of Congress. The newly elected president, in his first one hundred days in office, helped push through Congress an unprecedented number of social welfare legislation designed to lessen the financial burden placed on the populace by the Great Depression.¹⁰³

Even as FDR worked to lessen these financial burdens, the Soviet Union (USSR) made great strides in joining the global community. In 1933, the United States established diplomatic relations with the Stalinist regime; and in 1934, the Soviet Union joined the League of Nations. Joseph Stalin's reach extended to the American Communist Party (CPUSA). The KGB and the GRU began recruiting members of the American Communist Party to work as Soviet agents. Earl Browder, the CPUSA General Secretary, recruited secret communist sympathizers to work for the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁴ Browder targeted those fellow travelers who had placement and access to sensitive information for recruitment. Through Browder's efforts, the Ware group and

¹⁰³ For more information on Roosevelt's first one hundred days in office, see Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 131-159.

¹⁰⁴ For more information on the American Communist movement, see Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism*, (New York: Viking Press, 1957); Theodore Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, (New York: Viking Press, 1960); Irving Howe and Lewis A. Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History, 1919-1957*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957); Maurice Isserman, *Which Side Were You On?*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); Harvey Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade*, (New York: Basic Books, 1984); Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes, *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself*, (New York: Twayne, 1992); Joseph R. Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972).

the Perlo group, the two largest wartime Soviet spy rings, began working in the mid-1930s.¹⁰⁵

Even though, Astor uncovered economic evidence to suggest the Soviet Union engaged in offensive intelligence operations in the United States, the Roosevelt administration ignored these warnings. Roosevelt and members of Congress decided to concentrate on alleged Nazi and British propaganda efforts and even then, the Roosevelt administration failed to look into the possibility that foreign agents might be working on American soil. Roosevelt expanded the power of the executive branch by transforming the Department of Justice's Bureau of Investigation into the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). J. Edgar Hoover remained director of the newly named agency.¹⁰⁶ The FBI followed Harlan Stone's bureaucratic reforms and, at least publicly, refrained from conducting domestic intelligence operations as U.S. isolationist feelings took root.

During the interwar years, while America turned inward, congressional and presidential influence curtailed domestic intelligence operations, which partially dismantled the infrastructure of the national security state erected by Wilson during the First World War. The British, on the other hand, facing Bolshevik intrigues expanded their intelligence organizations. In 1919, Lord George Curzon, the head of the British government's Secret Service Committee, recommended combining the army's MI1B and the Admiralty's NID25 to form a unified peacetime code breaking organization known as Government Code and Cypher School (GC&CS). SIS and GC&CS both briefly worked

¹⁰⁵ For more information on the Ware and Perlo Group see John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev, *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America-The Stalin Era*, (New York: Random House, 1999).

¹⁰⁶ Weiner, 85.

out of the SIS headquarters located in the Broadway Building near St. James Park where British cryptanalysis provided decrypted foreign diplomatic and military messages to Whitehall.¹⁰⁷

Similar to the British fear of a possible Germanic invasion, the British, by the mid-1920s, feared a possible Bolshevik uprising and so they extended both their foreign and domestic intelligence organizations. The fear of Communist activities helped the British establish the Government Code and Cypher School (GC&CS). The British understood the important role that SIGINT played in the Great War and they believed SIGINT could provide the informational intelligence needed to counter these Bolshevik intrigues.¹⁰⁸ By 1927, GC&CS only deciphered high-level Soviet traffic concerning Bolshevik operations throughout the empire. Because the British intelligence community believed the Bolsheviks posed the only real threat to the empire, the British failed to notice the growing German or Japanese menace. GC&CS cryptanalysts placed a low priority on intercepting, decrypting, and analyzing German, Italian, and Japanese signals traffic. This was an unfortunate. Just as these totalitarian nations began to develop their own sophisticated signals intelligence apparatus, policymakers and intelligence professionals chose to ignore Cuneo's dictum that everyone spies on everyone else.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ These often-verbatim messages were distributed to members of White Hall in blue folders referred to as blue jackets or BJs. Gill Bennett, *Churchill's Man of Mystery: Desmond Morton and the World of Intelligence*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 249,367.

¹⁰⁸ The most important point of contention surrounding the Comintern and its local or national sections (as local communist parties were called) was how much control the Soviet State had over these global political organizations. Nationalistic influences upon how the Communist Party Great Britain (CPGB) or for that matter the Communist Party U.S.A.(CPUSA) sections worked to achieve their own 'communist' revolutions provides contemporary historians with an excellent historiographical question; but to those capitalist nations, during the 1920s and 1930s, struggling with the Comintern, their only concern was maintaining their way of life.

¹⁰⁹ Simon Singh, *The Code Book: The Science of Secrecy from Ancient Egypt to Quantum Cryptography*, (London: Fourth Estate Publishing, 1999), 135-136. The Germans, after reading Winston Churchill's *The World Crisis (1923)*, understood how easily the British cracked the Imperial German codes. This led to the Germany military adopting the enigma machines.

By 1926, British, American, and French cryptanalysts began to encounter German message traffic encrypted using the newly acquired enigma machine. Since the Treaty of Versailles hindered the Weimar Republic's remilitarization, the allied cryptanalysts, believing Germany to be harmless, quickly gave up trying to crack the new German codes. While the British and the French worried about Bolshevik intrigues, the Poles, trapped between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia, looked to their southern border with Germany and apprehensively watched Hitler bluff his way toward more and more territorial gains. These Polish politicians, unlike most European leaders, took the time to read Adolph Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and understood, all too well, that Hitler's desire for *lebensraum*, or living space, meant the end of the Polish state. It should come as no surprise the Poles, motivated by the fear of Germanic invasion, were the first to crack the secrets of enigma—the commercial “off the shelf” solution to Germany's cryptographic needs.¹¹⁰

In 1932, Gustav Bertrand, a French Military Intelligence officer, bought secret documents about enigma from Hans-Thilo Schmidt, an employee of *Chiffrierstelle* (the Cipher Office), the headquarters for German cryptography.¹¹¹ By 1933, Bertrand passed these documents along to the Polish Cipher Bureau where Marian Rejewski, a Polish mathematician, and his colleagues—Henryk Zygalski and Jerzy—struggled to solve the riddle of enigma.¹¹² These documents allowed Rejewski to build his own version of enigma. Within a year, the young mathematician, using a cyclometer, compiled a catalog

¹¹⁰ Singh, 137.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

¹¹² According to Rejewski's testimony, these documents helped the young mathematician break the German code, which allowed the Poles to read a majority of the Germany military signals traffic at least until the eve of World War II.

of all the possible permutations. Rejewski's work allowed the Polish Cipher Bureau to intercept a message then check the catalog to discover the daily key. The daily key allowed the Poles to read the German's most classified message traffic. The Poles proved that hard work coupled with intellectual ingenuity that, in cryptanalysis, nothing remained secret for long.¹¹³

By December 1938, the Germans added two more rotors to the enigma machine, which reduced the Poles ability to read German signal traffic. The Poles realized the German's combined arms approach to war relied heavily on secure communication between the battlefield commander and his subordinates. The Polish Cipher Bureau's ability to read German military communication provided the only hope the Poles had of stopping a German invasion and as fate would have it, just as Hitler began to set his sights on Poland German message traffic went partially dark.¹¹⁴

On July 26 and 27, 1939, Alistair Denniston, the head of GC&CS, Dilly Knox, a senior cryptanalyst with GC&CS, Commander Humphrey Sandwith, the head of the Admiralty's signals and direction finding unit, and Gustav Bertrand, the French Intelligence Officer who originally passed the enigma documents on to the Poles, met with Polish cryptographers. These men traveled to a newly built but heavily guarded facility located in a clearing about 12 miles south of Warsaw.¹¹⁵ The Polish cryptographers, some of whom spoke some French or German, met with the British. The technical nature of cryptography coupled with the Polish cryptographers' inability to speak English, French or even German and the British and French inability to converse in

¹¹³ Singh, 138-139.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 148.

¹¹⁵ A portion of Denniston's diary is quoted in Ralph Erskine, "The Poles Reveal their Secrets: Alastair Denniston's Account of the July 1939 Meeting at Pyry," *Cryptologia*, (December 2006): 294–305.

Polish placed an undue amount of stress on those present. After the meeting and once the British cryptographers were driving away, Dilly, who had spent the last few years trying to crack enigma, began to curse and mutter that the Poles must have “pinched” it. Knox doubted their mathematical accomplishments.¹¹⁶

After the members of GC&CS returned to England, they immediately moved into their new headquarters located at Bletchley Park where they strove to improve on the Polish cryptologic effort.¹¹⁷ A mere two months before Germany invaded Poland and the British and the French declared war on the Third Reich, by happenstance to be sure, members of GC&CS secured a rudimentary understanding of enigma. Winston Churchill, through no effort on his part, had access to a sophisticated signals intelligence apparatus and a secret window into German military and diplomatic plans.

Fear of domestic subversion, a sentiment exploited by the British during the Great War, lay at the heart of the federal government’s subverting of the U.S. Constitution but ironically, just as the First Red Scare ended, the Germans, in desperate need of military hardware and technology to help them secretly remilitarize, began to once again clandestinely work on American soil. William Lonkowski, a German *Abwehr* agent know as agent “Sex,” recruited and built one of the most successful spy rings to work on American soil during the interwar period. Operation Sex, as the *Abwehr* referred to Lonkowski’s intelligence apparatus, infiltrated the Ireland Aircraft Corporation, the Sikorsky plant in Farmingdale, Long Island and the Curtiss Aircraft plant in Buffalo,

¹¹⁶ Erskine, 294.

¹¹⁷ Keith Jeffery, *The Secret History of MI6*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2011), 328. The move from the Broadway location to Bletchley Park was facilitated by Admiral Sir Hugh Sinclair’s 1938 decision to use his own money to purchase Bletchley Park. Sinclair, the director of SIS, envisioned setting up wartime intelligence apparatus away for central London.

New York. Throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Lonkowski spy ring committed industrial espionage on a grand scale but with a change in leadership in the Weimar Republic, the spy ring went into hibernation as Germany severed its ties with Lonkowski.¹¹⁸

By the mid-1930s, the reactivated Lonkowski spy ring merged with Ignatz Griebel's. Griebel, by 1934, contacted German intelligence and offered his services. The German-American doctor's main contact was with Paul Kraus, the Gestapo agent in charge of smuggling intelligence from America to Germany. Kraus used the North German Lloyd and the Hamburg shipping lines to move information from America to Germany. These shipping companies became the main method for transporting information obtained by the Lonkowski spy ring to Berlin.¹¹⁹ On September 25, 1935, a curious security guard stopped and questioned Lonkowski as he tried to board the *Europa*, a ship bound for Germany. The guard wanted to see Lonkowski's violin. Asked to open the case, the security guard found the documents Lonkowski was trying to smuggle out of the country. The guard questioned the German spy but let him go. The guard told him that he would have to come in for further questioning. Lonkowski went home, packed his bags, grabbed his wife and fled the country.¹²⁰

Without further investigation into this German spy ring, the German *Abwehr* continued procuring an astonishing amount of information on the U.S. aircraft industry. The specifications for every plane built at the Farmingdale Sikorsky plant, the blueprints for U.S. Navy's new carrier based scout bomber, the designs for a new Boeing built

¹¹⁸ Fargo, 17-19. The code name for the Lonkowski spy ring was derived from an alias used by Lonkowski—William Sexton—hence the shortened form of sexton became sex.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹²⁰ MacDonnell, 51; Fargo, 33.

bomber, the acquisition of classified maps of the United States, plus a classified report on the U.S. Army Air Corps tactical air exercises conducted at Long Island's Mitchell Field fell into the German's hands. The success of German espionage in the United States was so great that member of the *Abwehr* began to boast, "The United States cannot plan a warship, design an airplane, develop a new device" without those secrets being passed to a member of German intelligence.¹²¹

While German intelligence infiltrated American munitions factories, the effects of the Great Depression compelled many Americans, suffering severe economic hardship, to search for reasons behind their plight, which gave rise to the growing isolationist sentiments that hindered the nation's economic recovery. In April 1934, as the Germans reactivated the Lonkowski spy ring, the Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions Industry, more commonly referred to as the Nye Committee named after the committee Chairman Gerald Nye (R-ND), began investigating the relationship between U.S. arms manufactures and the eventual U.S. involvement in World War I.¹²²

The committee's findings into what Dwight Eisenhower would later term the military-industrial complex were inconclusive but suggested the United States entered the war in Europe not to keep the world safe for democracy but to ensure the British and the French did not default on their wartime loans. Because of the economic blockade of Germany, American munitions manufactures could not sell their wares to the Central Powers so American industrial might churned out weapons of war that were sold to both the British and the French leading many Americans to believe that the war was fought to

¹²¹ Farago, 36.

¹²² Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 388.

protect the bankers and the manufacturers—a fact the Nye Committee could never quite prove but a perception of the U.S. entry into the war that never really gone away.¹²³

While the Nye Committee looked into the economic reasons for U.S. entry into the First World War, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, chaired by John W. McCormack (D-MA) and Samuel Dickstein (D-NY) known as the McCormack-Dickstein Committee, examined the effect of Nazi propoganda on the American public. The McCormack-Dickstein Committee exaggerated the threat from pro-fascist groups working in the United States by stating that German agents were waiting to overthrow the U.S. government.¹²⁴ By the summer of 1938, political infighting caused the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) to reorganize the special investigation committee, now chaired by Martin Dies, Jr. (D-TX). Dies, referred to in the U.S. press as *der Fuhrer*, wanted to expose British propoganda efforts in the United States; so, he ordered his committee to study all foreign propoganda efforts. The Dies Committee failed to find any evidence of British wrongdoing.¹²⁵

Congress responded to the Nye Committee findings by passing a series of Neutrality Acts (1935-1939) mandating a strict policy of nonintervention with all belligerent nations. In June 1938, in response to the Dies Committee findings, Congress passed the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA), which required all foreign agents to

¹²³ In total, the United States loaned approximately the allies 2.4 billion dollars compared to only 27 million dollars lent to the Germans.

¹²⁴ James Earl Haynes, Harvey Klehr, and Alexander Vassiliev, *Spies: The Rise and Fall of the KGB in America*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.), 285. Dickstein, a corrupt politician, worked for Soviet intelligence by providing information from his committee findings to the KGB, but being unpopular, he was quickly supplanted by Dies who, in 1938, took over the HUAC's new Special Investigation Committee.

¹²⁵ Nicholas John Cull, *Selling War: The British Propaganda Campaign Against American "Neutrality" in World War II*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 19.

register with the State Department.¹²⁶ While the legislative branch worked to ensure that the United States would never again become embroiled in a foreign war, the executive branch revived the FBI's domestic intelligence activities as President Roosevelt established the "basic domestic intelligence structure and policies for the federal government." Attorney General Homer Cummings and Hoover both recommended that Roosevelt's call for domestic intelligence operations "be handled in the strictest confidence" so as to "avoid criticism or objections which might be raised to such an expansion by either ill-informed persons or individuals having some ulterior motive." Thus, the president decided to keep U.S. domestic intelligence investigations secret to include excluding members of Congress from knowing about his decision to expand of these organizations.¹²⁷

By 1936, FDR ordered the FBI to conduct a "limited" investigation into Nazi activities in the United States. Working with members of the Secret Service and with Immigration Bureau agents, the FBI began to look into pro-fascist groups. Military intelligence, working independently of the FBI, concluded these pro-fascist groups would, in time of war, resort to sabotage in an attempt to "cripple" the U.S. industrial infrastructure. Hoover reported to the president that the communist wanted to gain control of U.S. labor organizations such as the United Mine Workers union, the West Coast longshoremen's union, and the Newspaper Guild. By controlling these there organizations, the communist would be able to halt shipping, paralyze industry, and stop the publication of any newspaper associated with the Newspaper Guild.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Cull, *Selling War*, 19.

¹²⁷ Hoover, Memorandum for Attorney General, 3 June and 25 October 1940, Library of Congress, Robert Jackson Papers, box 93.

¹²⁸ Church Committee Report, Book III, 393

While the FBI and military intelligence investigated domestic subversive activity, the *Abwehr*, Germany's military intelligence service run by Admiral Wilhelm Canaris continued working in the Americas. These *Abwehr* agents ignored FARA and refused to register with the U.S. government. By 1938, espionage activity increased from an average of thirty five cases a year to a staggering 634 alleged instances of spying.¹²⁹ The most famous case involved military intelligence agents capturing Guenther Rumrich, a member of the Ignatz Griebel's spy ring. The Rumrich trial played out in the media shocking the American populace by portraying the Germans as cunning spies and saboteurs.¹³⁰

Rumrich, proved to be an effective but erratic agent. He bought, for \$30, a copy of the Army signal code used for ship to shore communications from Private Erich Glaser, a German native serving in the U.S. Army. The success of this operation earned the German spy the code name "crown." Rumrich made about \$80 for the classified "Z-code." So, when his Nazi handler, Karl Schlueter, a steward on the *Europa*, working for Dr. Erich Pfeiffer, the head of the *Abwehr* section located at Wilhelmshaven, told him that German intelligence would pay him \$1000 to get fifty blank U.S. passports for German agents being sent to the Soviet Union, all he could see were dollar signs.¹³¹

Rumrich did not know the *Abwehr*, after Lonkowski's flight from the United States began to send the information gained by their agents by coded messages through the mail. In this case, a World War I war widow, living in Dundee, Scotland received these messages and then passed them on to Berlin. A curious mailman reported that this

¹²⁹ Thomas Troy, *Donovan and the CIA: A History of the Establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency*, (Frederick, Maryland: University Publications of America, Inc., 1984), 11.

¹³⁰ MacDonnell, 49-71.

¹³¹ Fargo, 59.

fifty-one year old woman received a lot of mail.¹³² Major W.E. Hinchley Cooke, of MI5, after placing the widow under surveillance, discovered that she was a mail drop for German intelligence. The British decided to tell the Americans; so Captain Guy Liddell, deputy chief of MI5 traveled to Washington where he met with J. Edgar Hoover. Liddell explained there was a significant German spy ring working in the New York. Hoover's men began searching for its agents.¹³³

In February 1938, Rumrich's attempts to gain blank U.S. passports led members of the U.S. Army Intelligence to arrest him. Military Intelligence decided to transfer the German spy to FBI custody for interrogation. Rumrich talked. Soon, the FBI brought Ignatz Griebel in for questioning, and he supplied the names for the other members of his spy ring. In total, Leon Turrou, the FBI agent in charge of the investigation, identified eighteen German agents. Turrou decided not to arrest Griebel, who was cooperating, or for that matter, the other members of his spy ring; instead he told these German agents that they would be subpoenaed for a future court appearance. Fourteen of the eighteen spies fled the country. Only four members—Guenther Rumrich, Otto Herman Voss, Johanna Hoffman, Erich Glaser—were arrested and convicted. Turrou's mismanagement of the Rumrich case depicted the FBI as the Keystone Cops of the intelligence community—a humiliating lesson that Hoover vowed never to repeat.¹³⁴

¹³² "Woman Convicted as Spy in Scotland," *New York Times*, 17 May 1938.

¹³³ Liddell Diaries, Volume 1, The National Archives (Kew, U.K.), KV 4/185.

¹³⁴ Tim Weiner, *Enemies: a History of the FBI*, (New York: Random House, 2012), 93. For the Executive Branch's reaction to the Rumrich case, see President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Press Conference number 469, June 24, 1938, in *Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 12 vols. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 6: 488-489; press conference number 489, October 7, 1938, in *ibid.*, vol. 6: 151; and press conference number 507, December 9, 1938, in *ibid.*, 6: 288-90. For a detailed look at the prosecutorial point of view see, "Contemplated Prosecution in Connection with the Guenther Gustave Rumrich Espionage Case on October 14, 1938," James Branch Cabell Library, Special Collections and Archives, Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Va., J. Edward Lawler Papers, Box 2, Folder 18.

When the British Empire faced its greatest diplomatic crises since the Great War, it appeared that American aid would not be forthcoming. The German remilitarization of the Rhineland and the Japanese Imperial Army's invasion of China prompted England's decision to rearm. Sir Robert Vansittart, the Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in a classified memorandum dated December 31, 1936, stated "One other great change has taken place to our detriment: the recent neutrality legislation in the United States. We scrambled through the last war by importing in its early stages some 500 million dollars' worth of American munitions. To-day, in the event of war, we can count on getting nothing. Our own supplies will therefore have to be more plentiful and timely."¹³⁵

Vansittart recommended that Whitehall should curry American favor in case of war. A plan quickly discarded by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's government. Chamberlain, best remembered for his claim the Munich agreement meant "peace in our time," ignored Vansittart's call for the shaping of American public opinion. He decided to go it alone. The result of Chamberlain and the Western powers' decision to appease Hitler in 1938 was a war by 1939.

¹³⁵ Memorandum by Sir Robert Vansittart on 'The World Situation and British Rearmament,' *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939*, Series 2-Volume 17: Western Pact Negotiations: Outbreak of the Spanish Civil War June 23, 1936-January 2, 1937, 772.

CHAPTER THREE

Neutrality and War



Figure 4¹

As the German *Wehrmacht* marched into Poland, Neville Chamberlain's four-year diplomatic pursuit of a "peace in our time" resolution to a resurgent Germany eventually gave way to a more Clausewitzian approach to international affairs. The brutal memory of the carnage caused by the first modern global industrial war persuaded many European political leaders to follow a policy of appeasement. Adolph Hitler's geopolitical ultimatums came when British and French diplomats chose to accept the German dictator's hawkish demands instead of war. These diplomatic decisions sacrificed

¹ Figure 4: How're we doing?, published by PM Magazine on May 9, 1941, Dr. Seuss Collection, MSS 230. Special Collections & Archives, UC San Diego Library

Wilson's dream of collective security for the elusive promise of peace. Avoiding war at any cost seemed preferable to the alternative, but political hesitancy only emboldened the former corporal. Hitler watched the League of Nations fail to act against Japanese aggression in Manchuria and he watched as the League failed to stop Italy's invasion of Ethiopia. These diplomatic failures showed the idea of collective security to be a mere illusion. States, like people, act out of self-interest. British and French support for Poland did not deter the German dictator and on September 1, 1939, Hitler invaded Poland. Two days later, England and France declared war.

On September 3, 1939, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain appointed Winston Churchill First Lord of the Admiralty, the same position Churchill held during the first few years of the Great War. It was a bittersweet return for grizzled old warhorse who later wrote "I came again to the room I had quitted in sorrow and pain almost a quarter of a century before." A sense of melancholy may have stricken Churchill on his return, but the Admiralty Board, delighted by the news, immediately sent a fleet-wide message proclaiming, "Winston is back."²

Shortly after Churchill took control of the Admiralty, FDR sent Churchill a private letter welcoming him back to his former position.³ With this letter, FDR began communicating with not only the head of the British Admiralty but also with the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain. Even as ties between England and the United

² Winston Churchill, *The Gathering Storm*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1986), 365.

³ "Letter from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Winston Churchill, September 11, 1939," Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Papers as President: Map Room Papers, 1941-1945, Box 1.

States unraveled, FDR wanted Churchill to personally keep the U.S. president apprised of anything the British felt he should know.⁴

Scholars have suggested that FDR “could not have known what he had begun with this letter.”⁵ Roosevelt’s brush with intelligence during and after the Great War, however, suggests the American president understood the importance of setting up informal channels of communication. Using Churchill and his shared experiences as “naval men,” the president set up an informal line of communication with the man many suspected would become the next British prime minister. This correspondence continued even after Churchill moved from Admiralty House to Number 10 Downing Street. These letters not only provided FDR with information about the English war effort, but it also provided Churchill with the means to privately influence the president of the United States.⁶

On May 10, 1940, the same day King George VI, the British monarch, commissioned Winston Churchill to form a coalition government, thus promoting the First Lord of the Admiralty to the Prime Minister’s office, the Germans dramatically ended the Phony War by invading Belgium and the Low Countries. The rapid German advance through Belgium began with the *Wehrmacht*’s implementation of Lieutenant

⁴ “Letter from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Winston Churchill, September 11, 1939,” Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Papers as President: Map Room Papers, 1941-1945, Box 1.

⁵ Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Warren F. Kimball, *Churchill & Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 24.

⁶ For a more detailed archival look at FDR and Churchill’s war time correspondence see Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Papers as President: Map Room Papers, 1941-1945, Box 1-7. To explore these documents in bound form see Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Warren F. Kimball, *Churchill & Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984).

General Erich von Manstein's revised version of *Fall Gelb* (Case Yellow).⁷ This invasion provoked the French and the British to send their best troops in a vain attempt to rescue the beleaguered Belgians. British and French miscalculations allowed German armor to punch through the Ardennes and encircle the French and British forces rushing to aid the Belgian army.⁸

By May 15, 1940, the French Prime Minister Paul Reynaud called Churchill to explain the French counterattack at Sedan had failed leaving the "road to Paris" open. The French Prime Minister believed "all was lost" and he told Churchill that he was thinking of "giving up the struggle." Reynaud pleaded with Churchill to send more troops. The British Prime Minister explained that he could not afford to send any more men. Churchill tried to calm the worried French Prime Minister; but, shortly after talking with Reynaud, Churchill stated, "that whatever the French might do, we should continue the fight—alone if necessary."⁹

⁷ "Borah sees Allies Pulling Punches," *The New York Times*, 18 September 1939. The Second World War began on September 3, 1939 but an eight-month period of inactivity followed the instigation of hostilities. Winston Churchill referred to this period as the *Twilight War*, the Bore War or *der Sitzkrieg*. In a September 18, 1939 interview, Senator William Borah (R-ID) provided the appellation for this period by proclaiming that "There is something phony about this war."

⁸ Manstein's plan called for commando style raids to begin on the night of May 9, 1940 followed by the main German invasion, using German armor, through the Ardennes Forest. A feat most thought was impossible. The resulting rapid drive toward the French Coast proved that risk, luck and speed would play a key role in the success of Hitler's drive toward the West. *Fall Gelb* exceeded the German's wildest expectations for success. See Feldmarshall Erich von Manstein, *Lost Victories: The War Memoirs of Hitler's Most Brilliant General*, (New York: Zenith Press, 2004), 98-102; Ernest R. May, *Knowing One's Enemies: Intelligence Assessment before Two World Wars*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 515; Benoit Lemay, *Erich Von Manstein: Hitler's Master Strategist*, (New York: Casemate Publishers, 2011), 105.

⁹ Martin Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: Finest Hour, 1939-1941*, vol. 6, (Boston: Houghton and Mifflin Company, 1983), 340. On July 27, 1940, the Germans discovered a draft of Prime Minister Paul Reynaud's conversation with Winston Churchill. The Germans attempted to use this draft for propaganda purposes. For more details see, "Reynaud Warned Britain of Fate, Germany Claims," *The Chicago Times*, 27 July 1940.

On May 18, 1940, Randolph Churchill, on leave from the 4th Queen's Own Hussars, arrived at Admiralty House to visit his father, Winston S. Churchill, the newly appointed British Prime Minister. Randolph went up to his father's bedroom where he saw his father standing in front of the basin shaving with an old fashioned Valet razor. According to Randolph, his father had a tough beard and "as usual he was hacking way."

Once Winston Churchill noticed his son standing in the doorway, he told him to "Sit down, dear boy, and read the papers while I finish shaving." After two or three minutes of hacking way, he half turned to his son and said, "I think I see my way through." He resumed shaving.

Astounded by his father's declaration, Randolph said, "Do you mean we can avoid defeat?"—which seemed credible—"or beat the bastards?"—which seemed incredible.

He flung his Valet razor into the basin, swung around and said, "Of course I mean we can beat them."

Randolph replied, "Well, I'm all for it but I don't see how you can do it."

By this time, Churchill had dried and sponged his face and once again turned toward his son and said with great intensity, "I shall drag the United States in."¹⁰

Churchill's extraordinary confidence sprang not from self-delusion but prior experience. He served as the First Lord of the Admiralty during the first few years of the Great War, and from that appointment, he had learned how useful a small group of intelligence professionals could be in upsetting the geopolitical balance. He oversaw the

¹⁰ On February 1963, Randolph Churchill, at Stour, East Bergholt, dictated the story of this May 18, 1940 conversation with his father. Randolph's story quoted in Gilbert, *Winston S. Churchill: Finest Hour, 1939-1941*, 358.

actions of NID-25, an obscure naval cryptanalytic section (but more commonly referred to as Room 40, because of its location in the Old Admiralty Building). Admiral Sir Reginald “Blinker” Hall’s men helped to convince American policymakers to join the Allied cause during World War I. The correspondence between Churchill and the American president contributed to the Prime Minister’s confidence.

Churchill, a student of history, saw the historical parallels between the summer of 1914 and the events unfolding in the spring of 1940. The former First Lord of the Admiralty knew the only way to get the Americans into the conflict was to destroy the nation’s commitment to remain neutral. British intelligence would need to orchestrate a campaign of whispers, rumors, and innuendo. By creating a culture of fear, British agents of influence hoped to convince the Americans that it was in their best interest to fight. Political warfare operations, Churchill realized, often proved as effective as bullets, tanks, and bombs in overcoming political reservations.

Joseph Kennedy, the U.S. Ambassador to England, reinforced Churchill’s fear that Britain might just have to stand alone.¹¹ Kennedy, who believed the British would soon surrender to German demands, brought dark tidings from Washington.¹² The Americans would play a duplicitous game walking a thin line between neutrality and supporting the British. The United States would sell military equipment to the British on

¹¹ From a copy of a message sent from William Stephenson to C states that “KENNEDY is doing a great deal of harm.” Secretary of the State Knox greatly disliked Kennedy and told the president that “if that son of a BITCH comes anywhere near my people again there will be trouble for him.” See copy of this message in Jeffery, 444.

¹² Kennedy was quoted as telling FDR to not be left “holding the bag in a war in which the Allies expect to be beaten.” Robert Sherwood, *The White House Papers of Harry L. Hopkins*, (London: Eyre & Spottiswood, 1948), 151-152.

a cash-and-carry basis. They refused, however, to allow British aircraft carriers to dock in U.S. waters because this would be viewed as a violation of America's Neutrality Laws.¹³ Members of Congress, following American public opinion, continued to call for the nation to remain neutral. Without congressional approval, FDR told Churchill that he could not authorize giving the island nation forty to fifty obsolete U.S. destroyers. The U.S. Navy would also be unable to send their fleet into the Atlantic at "least for the time being" the fleet was to remain at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.¹⁴ Churchill responded to America's lack of support by issuing a veiled threat. He stated the British "are determined to persevere to the very end whatever the result of the great battle raging in France." If his government fell, the new prime minister would be duty bound to secure the best terms possible with the Germans. This meant handing the British fleet to the Germans.¹⁵

Roosevelt ignored the British Prime Minister's threat. FDR explained the United States was doing everything it could to "furnish all of the material and supplies which can possibly be released to the Allied Governments." The legislative realities, however, meant it would take some time before these efforts could "be successful to the extent desired." FDR stated, as one naval person to another, that he understood the importance

¹³ President Roosevelt had gone before Congress to amend the Neutrality Act of 1939 to allow cash and carry purchases by the French, the British and the Chinese. Roosevelt charged that refusal to supply munitions to the British and the French would inadvertently help the German war effort. Congress acquiesced to Roosevelt's demands and thus the British, French, and Chinese were able to buy munitions.

¹⁴ "Telegram from the President to the former naval person, May 16, 1940," Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Papers as President: Map Room Papers, 1941-1945, Box 1; Reasoning behind disposition of fleet at Pearl Harbor can be found in "Retention of the U.S. Fleet in the Pacific," Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Official File, Box 2, China 1930-1940.

¹⁵ "Letter from Churchill to Roosevelt, May 15, 1940," Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Papers as President: Map Room Papers, 1941-1945, Box 1.

of the British fleet. If the worst should come to pass and Churchill's government should fall, the prime minister should understand that "if a General asks for an armistice for his land forces, he does not control or include the disposition of Naval forces."¹⁶

Winston Churchill knew that fortune favors the bold, and that time was running out. Failure to act would ensure the dissolution of the empire.¹⁷ Churchill believed that by employing the methods developed and perfected by Admiral Sir Reginald 'Blinker' Hall, during the Great War, that he could, once again, drag the United States into a predominately European conflict. Strategic political warfare campaigns required a unique combination of tactical human exploitation operations combined with a strong signals intelligence apparatus. The Polish Cipher Bureau's decision to pass on the secrets of enigma gave the British a viable cryptographic device. Now all he needed was someone to set up, organize, and manage a complex clandestine human exploitation operation in the Americas. An organization designed to neutralize pro-fascist propaganda while shifting American public opinion from neutrality to interventionist. A daunting task considering America entrenched anti-colonial, anti-imperialistic, isolationist tendencies, which ran counter to providing unilateral support for the British war effort.¹⁸

In the spring of 1940, Colonel Stewart Graham Menzies, recently appointed head of British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), code named "C", sent William Stephenson, a

¹⁶ "Letter from Roosevelt to Churchill, June 14, 1940," Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Papers as President: Map Room Papers, 1941-1945, Box 1.

¹⁷ *Audentes Fortuna Iuvat*. Virgil, *Aeneid* X, 284.

¹⁸ In Europe, Churchill, in July 1940, established the Special Operations Executive (SOE) a clandestine paramilitary organization tasked with conducting political warfare operations against the Axis powers. For more on SOE see W.J.M. Mackenzie, *The Secret History of SOE: The Special Operations Executive, 1940-1945*, (London: St. Ermins, 2002).

Canadian industrialist, to the United States. C wanted Stephenson to reestablish ties between SIS and J. Edgar Hoover's Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).¹⁹

Immediately after the British declared war, the United States severed ties between these two intelligence services.²⁰ Four months later, in January 1940, the British tried to reestablished communication with the FBI. Arthur Purvis, the head of the British Purchasing Commission, failed to convince J. Edgar Hoover to support the British.²¹

At the time, the United States did not have a unified peacetime intelligence organization. During the interwar years, the FBI took on a law enforcement role. The Army's Military Intelligence Division (MID) and the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) provided tactical (informational) intelligence for their respective services. The British view of American intelligence capabilities was low, and they took a condescending approach to their American counterparts; thus, Anglo-American intelligence cooperation did not exist during the 1920s and 1930s. This did not mean that there was no contact

¹⁹ Thomas F. Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan, Stephenson, and the Origins of the CIA*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1996), 34-36. The details surrounding this first meeting between J. Edgar Hoover and Stephenson has become a matter of some debate as J. Edgar Hoover lists 1942 as the first time these two men officially met but both men had several unofficial meetings well before 1942. The date of the meeting has become a matter of conjecture. Thomas F. Troy, in *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, based upon a letter discussing a business trip by a Canadian industrialist to California which mentions Stephenson's visit to the war arms factory during April 1940 as well as using the date Stephenson requested a Visa to visit the United States, which was also April 1940 as well as Troy simply corresponding with MI6 in November 1969, the reply to Troy's inquiry unequivocally stated that Stephenson visited the United States in April 1940.

²⁰ The fear that American soldiers might be called upon to fight on foreign shores in the event of another global conflict led to the passage of the Neutrality Acts of 1936 and 1939. These acts, a legislative response to the Nye Committee findings, which investigated the allegation of unethical business practices used by members of the arms and munitions corporations during World War I, were designed to prevent the United States from being "drug" into another European or Asiatic conflict.

²¹ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 37-38. This contact went through Assistant Secretary of State Adolph A. Berle who reported the contact to the Inter-departmental Intelligence Committee (IIC). The FBI turned down this request as well as the one made by Hamish Mitchell, security officer working for British purchasing.

between the two nations. In the years before the German invasion of Poland, British Intelligence supplied the Americans with information. British intelligence, for example, gave the Americans information on the Rumrich spy ring, but they did not provide this information out of the friendship. They gave it because it hindered German espionage activities.²²

In the winter of 1940, Vincent Astor's the Club set up a working relationship with SIS agents Sir James Paget and Walter Bell. Paget and Bell worked for the British Passport Control Office, located in New York City.²³ The Passport Control Office (PCO) provided cover for SIS agents working in New York City. Trying to hinder German espionage in the United States, the British passed information to members of the Club and representatives of various U.S. intelligence agencies—FBI, ONI, and MID. When members of the State Department heard about this illicit relationship between U.S. intelligence and the British, they complained. Working in a neutral country requires a soft touch, the British, having no choice, ordered Paget and Bell to sever their ties with the Americans. Astor understood Paget and Bell's value to U.S. intelligence. Information gained by the Imperial Postal and Telegraph Censorship stations in Bermuda, Trinidad, and Jamaica intercepted postal, telegraphic and radio communication between Nazi-controlled Europe and the Americas and Astor knew this information was critical to

²² For a detailed overview of the Rumrich case see Raymond J. Batvinis, *The Origins of FBI Counterintelligence*, (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 2007) 3-28.

²³ Keith Jeffery, *The Secret History of MI6: 1990-1949*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2010), 438. At this time the British operated three SIS stations in the Americas—the New York Passport Control Office (48000), an office in Panama (72000) and one in Montevideo (75000).

U.S. global interests. The amateur spy asked Roosevelt to reestablish contact with at least the Imperial Postal and Telegraph Censorship stations, but FDR refused.²⁴

Purvis' failure and the State Department's decision to sever contact between Astor's private intelligence apparatus and SIS compelled Menzies to send an unlike intermediary to the United States to ask for J. Edgar Hoover's support.²⁵ At first glance, Stephenson, a former World War I flying ace, amateur boxer, one-time conman and thief, turned highly successful inventor and businessman, seemed an odd choice. During the interwar years, Stephenson, like Vincent Astor, managed his own informal clandestine industrial intelligence. This quiet Canadian shared the information gathered with his government, which brought him to the attention of both Winston Churchill and SIS. Menzies, like Hall before him, realized that possible German intelligence operations in North America, while not directly threatening American internal security, posed a clear and present danger to the British war effort. As U.S. demography suggested, even two decades after the Great War, German and Italian immigrants still comprised the majority ethnicity of longshoremen working at U.S. East Coast ports. U.S. neutrality caused British agents to question these dockworkers' loyalties. It was possible these men might be susceptible to recruitment by members of German intelligence. Not an unfounded fear as German intelligence successfully recruited longshoremen during the Great War.

²⁴ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 65.

²⁵ During the First World War, Stephenson, accidentally shot down by the French Air Force, spent several months in a German prisoner of war camp. While a prisoner of war, Stephenson stole a German made can opener, which due to the global conflict had only been patented in Germany. Stephenson escaped and once he made it back to England, he immediately took out a patent on the can opener from which he made his first fortune. Bill Macdonald, *The True 'Intrepid': Sir William Stephenson and the Unknown Agents*, (British Columbia, Canada: Timberholme Books, 1998), 42.

The British feared that German agents, working on the docks, might inform German submarines, operating in the waters just off the coast of the United States, when a British ship transporting munitions left U.S. ports heading for Britain. The British lifeline once again tenuously traversed the Atlantic where Hitler's U-boats sought to sink British merchant shipping. If German submarines could sink enough British ships, they might be able to starve the British into submission just as the British blockade had done to the Germans during the First World War.²⁶

Knowing that a formal meeting between British and American intelligence, in May of 1940, could prove as big a failure as the one conducted five months before, Stephenson decided to arrange a private informal meeting with the Director of the FBI. Contacting a mutual friend, Gene Tunney, the world heavyweight boxing champion best known for defeating Jack Dempsey in 1926 and again in 1927, Stephenson set up a meeting with America's premier law enforcement official to discuss a possible war-time collaboration between SIS and the FBI.²⁷ The meeting went better than Stephenson could have expected. The FBI Director agreed to work with SIS on two conditions. First, the arrangement would remain hidden from the State Department and second J. Edgar

²⁶ While the United States stubbornly clung to the precepts of neutrality members of the U.S. Congress, at FDR's urging, repealed parts of the Neutrality Acts to allow American manufacturers to sell arms and munitions to the British on a cash and carry basis.

²⁷ *The Secret History of British Intelligence in the Americas, 1940-1945*, (New York: Fromm international, 1998), xxv-xxvi. For the remainder of the text these documents will be referred to as the BSC Papers. Letters from Gene Tunney to Thomas F. Troy, 6 and 19 August and 18 September 1969, quoted in Thomas F. Troy, "The Coordinator of Information and British Intelligence," *Studies in Intelligence*, (Spring, 1974): 22-23. The official U.S. account of this meeting states Hoover "discussed arrangements for co-operation between British Intelligence Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation." Federal Bureau of Investigation, "British Intelligence Service in the United States (Running Memorandum)," 1 January 1947 (Freedom of Information Act Release, 2009), 1.

Hoover wanted presidential authorization before he would agree to reestablish contact with SIS.²⁸ Franklin D. Roosevelt realized the chance of the United States avoiding war was dwindling. The American president believed war was coming; so, FDR decided to hide his actions from both the State Department and Congress. According to Ernest Cuneo, FDR enthusiastically gave his consent. The president stated, “There should be the closest possible marriage between the FBI and British intelligence.”²⁹

On returning to England, Stephenson, meeting with Menzies, provided the head of SIS with a detailed briefing on his trip to the United States. Stephenson suggested every effort should be made “to do all that was not being done and could not be done by overt means to assure sufficient aid for Britain.” He told C that he planned to “eventually bring America into the war.”³⁰ Menzies dislike of Stephenson did not stop him from appointing the Canadian industrialist to head the British Passport Control Office (PCO), located in New York City.³¹ The PCO provided cover for SIS agents working on foreign soil. Desmond Morton, Winston Churchill’s personal assistant, might have helped overcome C’s unease with Stephenson. Morton was impressed with Stephenson. He agreed with Stephenson’s assessment of the current situation and he was impressed with

²⁸Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man of Secrets*, (New York: W.W. Norton Company, 2001), 265.

²⁹ There seems to be some discrepancy over whether or not Cuneo actually made this statement as reported in H. Montgomery Hyde, *The Quiet Canadian: The Secret Service Story of Sir William Stephenson* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1962), 26; William Stevenson, *A Man Called Intrepid: The Secret War*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 79-80. Ernest Cuneo denied making the statement in Troy’s *Intrepid and Donovan* two decades after these events occurred and while the BSC papers refer to this conversation between a mutual friend of Stephenson and the president, the papers fail to provide the name of this unknown mutual friend. Troy suggests that the unknown friend might have been Vincent Astor and not Ernest Cuneo but without definitive proof, the name of this intermediary might just be lost to history.

³⁰ The BSC Papers xxvii.

³¹ Gill Bennett, *Churchill’s Man of Mystery: Desmond Morton and the World of Intelligence*, (New York: Routledge, 2007), 255.

the Canadian's ability to secure U.S. cooperation when SIS's agents failed. Not willing to assign an amateur to run SIS operations in New York City, Menzies chose an intelligence professional C.H. 'Dick' Ellis to be Stephenson's second-in-command.³² Some scholars suggest that C suspected Dick Ellis was a Nazi sympathizer and moved him from SIS' headquarters to Stephenson's new organization.³³ At this time, William Wiseman showed up at C's office looking for a job. He wanted to return to the United States and resume his role as a British agent of influence. C refused. The SIS chief stated that "both my predecessors made it clear that in their view Wiseman should never be employed again by this Organization. They had their reasons." So, Stephenson set sail for the United States.³⁴

Stephenson and his wife, Mary French Simmons, journeyed to New York. His mission was to drag the United States into the war.³⁵ Stephenson knew the British, politically isolated with only the English Channel standing between their tiny island

³² Menzies and Stephenson did not like each other. "C" tried to ensure that Churchill sent someone else back to the United States as Stephenson did not have any diplomatic or intelligence training and the position Stephenson would hold would require the skills of both a statesman and a spy. Churchill refused to listen to Menzies' complaints and ordered Stephenson back to the United States. Anthony Cave Brown, *"C": The Secret Life of Sir Stewart Graham Menzies*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1987), 262.

³³ For more information on Ellis' status as a Soviet mole, see Thomas E. Mahl, *Desperate Deception: British Covert Operations in the United States, 1939-1944*, (Washington: Brassey's, 1998), 18-19. Troy, 14-15. Troy explained that MI5 and MI6 conducted a "hostile" interrogation of Ellis where he admitted to helping the Germans before the war but denied being a Soviet spy. Stephenson believed the charges stemmed from political infighting regarding Ellis and control of MI6. Troy, a member of the U.S. intelligence community, noted that Pavel and Anatoli Sudaplatov's *Special Tasks: the Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness* (New York: Little Brown, 1994) fail to mention Ellis' role as a Soviet mole, but the CIA historian could not help but ponder what secrets, regarding Ellis, were hidden behind the veil of national security.

³⁴ Menzies to Jebb, 21 June 1940, quoted in Jeffery, 440. This dislike of Wiseman might have stemmed from his altercation with Guy Gaunt's girlfriend during the Great War.

³⁵ Hyde, 31. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor compelled the United States to enter the war but it can be argued that the BSC's propaganda efforts are what made it acceptable for the United States to pursue a Eurocentric approach to fighting the war.

nation and the German Wehrmacht, needed American support to survive. The British industrialist turned spy arrived in New York just as France fell. Isolationists, noninterventionist, and Nazi sympathizers believed the English, facing overwhelming odds, had no other choice but to surrender. Stephenson, like Churchill, knew that time was running out. He judged the New York City passport control offices, located in the Cunard Building in lower Manhattan, to be inadequate for his purposes; and while he searched for better accommodations, Stephenson worked out of his apartment overlooking Central Park.³⁶

In June 1940, Stephenson focused his attention on Doctor Gerhard Westrick, a high-ranking German agent. Westrick, who registered with the U.S. State Department as a Commercial Councilor, worked at the German Embassy; however, the German agent pretended to be a private citizen living in an expensive rental in Long Island, New York. Westrick, a legal spy, maintained a discrete cover away from the Germany Embassy. He claimed to be an employee of Texaco; a Texas based Oil Company, whose Norwegian-American president, Captain Thorkild Rieber, had long been suspected of supplying oil to Nazi Germany, in violation of American neutrality.³⁷

The war in Europe divided the U.S. business community into two groups those who saw an opportunity to make a profit by financing and supplying Hitler's regime and those whose loyalties lay with the British Empire. As Stephenson arrived in New York,

³⁶ Hyde, 32. Stephenson found the PCO office, located in the Cunard building, to be "cramped and depressing." The one room office and staff, consisting of one assistant and one secretary, seemed wholly inadequate for the type of intelligence apparatus Stephenson envisioned.

³⁷ The BSC Papers, 56. When Doctor Gerhard Westrick applied for a driver's license, he listed a local Texaco office as his business address.

Westrick rented a large suite at the Waldorf Astoria to celebrate the fall of France. Westrick's primary mission was to convince American executives, particularly those working in the Oil industry, to support the Nazi cause. The German agent of influence, regularly, entertained in his Long Island home those American businessmen whom he believed he might sway to support Hitler's growing empire. The party at the Waldorf Astoria, however, was a public celebration designed to drive home the point the British could not help but surrender. Westrick explained it was only a matter of time before Germany defeated Britain. In exchange for their efforts to convince isolationist America to remain neutral, they would be rewarded with business contracts in Axis-occupied Europe.³⁸

Stephenson compiled evidence against Westrick exposing the German agent. More than a propagandist, Westrick met, at his Long Island home, with "obscure young men of German decent who were employed in strategic factories." Stephenson, working through intermediaries, gave the news story, written by members of BSC, to the media. A series of articles published in the *New York Herald Tribune* resulted in a State Department request that Germany remove Westrick for "pursuing activities unfriendly to the United States." The negative publicity caused Texaco shares to drop leading to Thorkild Rieber's decision to resign as president of Texaco providing the British with their first political warfare victory.³⁹

³⁸ Stevenson, 115-116.

³⁹ The BSC Papers, 56-57. Hyde, *The Quiet Canadian*, 70-71.

The amateur agent of influence understood that one successful operation would not win the war and that continued success would depend on his organizational skills. Stephenson needed to recruit sympathetic representatives. People, who by the nature of their daily activities, had access to information that could help persuade U.S. government officials and the American public to support the British war effort. He needed to cultivate and develop a close working relationship with the FBI. And he needed to implement offensive intelligence operations against pro-Axis organizations operating in the Americas. After a few weeks, Stephenson rented room 3603 in New York City's Rockefeller Center where he established the British Security Coordination (BSC).⁴⁰ Rockefeller rented this space to Stephenson for a penny a year.⁴¹ It might seem strange, today, that Stephenson did not move the BSC to Washington D.C. but instead chose to stay in New York City. New York City's vast harbor provided the lifeline for American supplies heading to England. The disaster at Dunkirk, where the British were forced to leave the majority of their equipment, meant the British army needed U.S. war materiel if they hoped to stop a Germanic invasion.⁴²

Stephenson realized the decentralized nature of British and American intelligence made coordination and cooperation difficult; so, he began unifying all British intelligence activities in the Americas and then nearly concomitantly he began suggesting how the United States government could centralize and operate a national level intelligence

⁴⁰ Jeffery, 441.

⁴¹ Mahl, 11. Rockefeller Center would become the home to many organizations working to fight against the Axis powers. The British Press Service (located on the forty-fourth floor) and the British Front organization—Fight for Freedom (located on the twenty second floor).

⁴² Hyde, *The Quiet Canadian*, 3.

agency based on the BSC.⁴³ In an effort to consolidate British intelligence activities, Stephenson convinced the British Purchasing Commission to allow the BSC to take care of all physical security for cash and carry (later Lend-Lease) shipments being sent to England.⁴⁴

The safe transit of these supplies cannot be overstated nor can British fears of possible sabotage. There were nearly six million German-Americans and almost four million Italian-Americans. “Many of these American citizens were employed as workers in the factories producing British war material” any one of which might be sympathetic to the Axis cause. The BSC believed subversive elements, working in the United States, might hinder the British war effort. BSC agents viewed the German Bund, U.S. isolationist organizations, nationalist Indians, anti-British Irish, businessmen with European interests, and “communist influenced left-wingers, preaching against the imperialist war” as possible threats to British interests.⁴⁵

The British intelligence community struggled to ensure these supplies reached England. The BSC worked with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), Canadian intelligence organizations, U.S. Customs and Immigration officials, local police and port authorities, and the FBI to protect these shipments.⁴⁶ Next, Stephenson began to recruit American citizens “who were in a position, directly or indirectly, to influence American

⁴³ For more information on the historiographical argument surrounding Stephenson’s influence on the creation of the Office of Strategic Services, see Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*.

⁴⁴ The BSC Papers, 240-241.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 239-240.

⁴⁶ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 68.

public opinion.”⁴⁷ FDR began campaigning for American readiness and the BCS developed political warfare plans designed to help the president with his efforts to sway public opinion. The British industrialist turned spy renewed his friendship with William J. Donovan.⁴⁸ During World War I, Donovan, a Wall Street lawyer, won the Medal of Honor and earned the nickname “Wild Bill.” Donovan arranged a meeting between Stephenson and Henry Stimson, Secretary of War, and Henry Knox, Secretary of the Navy, to discuss Churchill’s request for fifty obsolete American destroyers. Churchill wanted the destroyers transferred to the British Royal Navy to help safeguard the British Atlantic merchant traffic. The German U-boat attacks against this “Atlantic lifeline” were taking their toll. Stephenson met with Knox and Stimson to discuss finding a way around the U.S. Neutrality Acts.

The major problem, as all three men agreed, hinged on England’s ability to convince the American public that they intended to resist Hitler’s onslaught. In the spring of 1940, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox convinced Franklin D. Roosevelt to send Donovan and Edgar Allen Mowrer on a fact-finding mission to Britain.⁴⁹ Knox ordered Donovan to find out if the British would continue to defy Hitler. Knox sent Mowrer, a Pulitzer Prizewinning foreign correspondent working for the *Chicago Daily News*, a newspaper owned by the Secretary of the Navy, to look into German Fifth

⁴⁷ The BSC Papers, 16.

⁴⁸ The BSC Papers, 3; Gentry, 265; Jeffery, 440.

⁴⁹ Lothian to Halifax, 10 and 11 July, The National Archives (Kew, UK), TNA/FO 371/24237; Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 31.

Columnist activities in Europe.⁵⁰ The information Washington received from London stated the British would surrender. The American Ambassador to the Court of St. James, Joseph Kennedy, whose friends included such notable British pro-fascist parliamentarians as Lady Astor, believed the British lacked the backbone to resist the Germans and the British would have to sue for a negotiated peace. Donovan's mission was to see for himself if Kennedy's assessment of British capabilities and intentions was correct.⁵¹ When Donovan returned, he could then report on British morale and give the White House a detailed list of the war materiel needed to ensure the British could continue to resist. On July 15, 1940, five days after the beginning of the Battle of Britain, William Stephenson sent a telegram to "C." Stephenson explained that Colonel Donovan had left by ship, and the State Department did not inform the U.S. Embassy, in London, about the nature of his trip. Stephenson clarified that he believed Donovan represented the key to American support and the British should open every door for him.⁵²

Donovan, during his two-week trip, went through a lot of doors. Kennedy, aware of Donovan's mission, believed the British sense of propriety would ensure the British

⁵⁰ The term fifth columnist originated with a radio broadcast in 1936 during the Spanish Civil War when the Nationalist general Emilio de Mola announced that his army was advancing on Madrid with four columns preparing to assault the city from four different directions. The fifth column was located within the city and would attack the defenders from within once the battle commenced. See Francis MacDonnell, *Insidious Foes: The Axis Fifth Column and the American Home Front*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 4.

⁵¹ The BSC Papers, 9-10; Thomas Troy, *Donovan and the CIA: A History of the Establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency*, (Fredrick, Maryland: University Publications of America, Inc., 1996), 31. There is some dispute about who actually set up this trip for Donovan. Stephenson claimed that he arranged the trip while Donovan states that the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy asked him to make the trip. For the purpose of this narrative it is not important who sent Donovan only that he went.

⁵² Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 53. Stephenson might have believed that U.S. Ambassador Joseph Kennedy did not know the nature of Donovan's trip but Thomas F. Troy points out that Donovan took the time to dine with the U.S. Ambassador and it is naïve to think the subject of his trip to England did not come up during the course of the meal.

aristocracy would rebuff a lowly colonel's visit to England as an affront to their rigid class standards. The American ambassador viewed Donovan's trip as a waste of time. What Kennedy did not know was that high-ranking British citizens, working in America, ensured that Donovan would see the right people. Stephenson supported this trip and Lord Lothian (Philip Kerr), the British Ambassador to the United States, stressed the importance of this mission to the British war effort.⁵³ In a series of letters and cables sent to London, Stephenson and Lord Lothian opened the doors to the heart of Britain, which gave Donovan the access he needed to complete his mission. More access than Kennedy dreamed possible. The former World War I hero visited the King and Queen, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the British Prime Minister and allowed him to visit a wide variety of civil and military installations. During Donovan's meeting with Winston Churchill, the newly commissioned prime minister used the opportunity to explain British materiel needs especially the importance of getting those obsolete U.S. destroyers. During his stay in England Stewart Menzies, the head of SIS, acted as Donovan's tour guide.⁵⁴

On August 4, 1940, Donovan returned to Washington. He had dinner with Frank Knox, Admirals Harold R. Stark and Walter Anderson, Assistant Secretary of War Robert Patterson, General Sherman Miles, and James Forrestal, Undersecretary of the Navy, where he related the details of his trip. These men listened as Donovan explained that he believed that British morale was high, but they would need more materiel and

⁵³ Lothian to Halifax, 10 and 11 July, The National Archives (Kew, UK), TNA/FO 371/24237.

⁵⁴ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 54.

equipment to repulse a Germany invasion. Over the next few days, he repeated his findings to Henry Stimson, to members of both houses of Congress, and, on August 9, 1940, to the President of the United States.⁵⁵ This meant that key members of the U.S. government understood that support given to the British would be used to fight the Germans. American politicians feared that if Britain surrendered these weapons would be used against America; Donovan assured them that England would not fall.

In the coming weeks, the destroyer-for-bases deal consumed most of Donovan and the members of the BSC's attention. The Wall Street lawyer charted a course between constitutional law and domestic politics to find a way for the British to get their destroyers without having to go to Congress. Donovan argued that exchanging the destroyers for bases fell under executive privilege and FDR, therefore, did not need congressional permission.⁵⁶ On September 2, 1940, Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, announced the United States would be given rent-free land in various British colonial possessions. A ninety-nine-year lease to establish military bases in exchange for the transfer of fifty destroyers to the Royal Navy seemed like a good deal.⁵⁷

While Hull, Knox, and Stimson worked on the destroyer for bases deal, Donovan and Mowrer published a series of articles on German fifth columnists. These articles tore "away the veil of secrecy and subterfuge" surrounding suspected German agents working

⁵⁵ The BSC Papers, 10; Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 56-57.

⁵⁶ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 59. Troy rightly points out that there is no extant (read paper trail) proof that Donovan acted as a legal advisor during these proceedings other than a statement made by Lord Louis Mountbatten, years later, stating that Donovan had done just that. Hyde, 38. Stephenson, quoted in *Room 3603*, states that "As a lawyer argued that there was no need for the President to submit the plan to Congress, on the ground that it was broadly speaking, an exercise of the tradition power of the Executive in foreign affairs."

⁵⁷ "Strategy: Bases Chosen," *Time*, 2 December 1940.

in the United States. These frightening reports told the American public about the underhanded tactics employed by foreign agents living in the United States. The main purpose of these exposés was “in fore-warning and thus fore-arming the American people against a subtle form of attack” employed by the Totalitarian powers elsewhere. These editorials also helped justify, to the American public, the need to send fifty obsolete destroyers to the British. England became America’s first line of defense against the Axis powers. Mowrer pointed out that recent German victories were due in part because Hitler understood the importance of subversive operations calculated to incite “mental confusion, indecisiveness, and panic” to demoralized the enemy. Donovan and Mowrer cited example after example of how Fifth columnists helped bring down nation after nation—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Holland, Poland, and even France.⁵⁸

The French waited too long to expel German agents. Mowrer explained these men and women corrupted the press and poisoned army morale. Donovan and Mowrer described how the German propaganda machine shaped French public opinion. The details of German propaganda read like the playbook for political warfare operations—ironic, considering the British, at this time, were running similar operations in the United States.⁵⁹ The Germans patiently watched and waited until the time was right to strike. With almost mathematical precision, the Germans carried out their political warfare campaigns:

⁵⁸ The *Associated Press, United Press and the International News Service* ensured that these articles appeared in most of the nation’s major newspapers during the summer of 1940. By September 1940, these articles were published in a short pamphlet. William Donovan and Edgar Mowrer, *Fifth Column Lessons for America*, (Washington D. C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1940), 2, 6.

⁵⁹ Donovan and Mowrer, 13.

For years, his [Hitler's] agents in France had...patiently 'worked' the French leaders. When necessary, they were assisted by beautiful women; the Baroness von Einem, the Princess von Hohenlohe and others of lesser brilliance...They 'arranged' for trips to Germany of authors like Alphonse de Chateaubriant and newspapermen like Jean Fontenoy, both of whom returned rabid Hitlerians.

They [Hitler's agents] went everywhere, saw everybody, came to know everything, dipped into French politics through those scandalously venal French newspapers. To the weak and the cynical they preached defeatism, to the unsuccessful, hatred of the Jew, to all the possibility of living on good terms with Germany, if only France could break relations with the abominable Bolsheviks.⁶⁰

The result of France's refusal to defend against this new type of warfare was that defeatism took root and the German military brazenly and with lightning speed forced the nation to its knees. According to Mowrer and Donovan, Adolf Hitler's Third Reich spent \$200 million a year on foreign propaganda and employed almost four million agents bent on world domination.⁶¹ These German agents, according to Mowrer and Donovan, worked for the *Auslands-Organization* (Foreign Organization of the Nazi Party or AO), which had 600 local groups located in forty-five countries. Gauleiter Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, managing AO operations from Berlin, required "every German leaving the Reich to promise to report" everything they saw or heard while abroad.⁶²

As the Nazis gained control over most of Western Europe, a larger and larger portion of the German budget for foreign propaganda was spent keeping the United

⁶⁰ "Fifth Column Masterpiece in Debacle of French Army," *Jefferson City Post-Tribune*, 21 August 1940.

⁶¹ Donovan and Mowrer, 10. According to Mowrer and Donovan, this money was used by eight different organizations—the Gestapo, the Propaganda Ministry, the German Labor Front, the Intelligence Services of the German Army, Navy and the German Air force, along with the German Foreign Office—all tasked with political warfare objectives.

⁶² "War & Peace: No Agents Need Apply," *Time*, 2 September 1940.

States out of the conflict. Following the same Nazi propaganda efforts that led to the rise of Adolph Hitler and to the fall of various European nations, the pro-Axis agents, working in the United States, formed “patriotic societies” calling for American neutrality. Donovan, worried about fifth columnist activity and the media, decided to talk to American public opinion experts. These experts reported that a two-week examination of the U.S. press indicated “an almost complete failure to prevent an Axis monopoly of war news coverage...most journalists...carry a preponderance of Axis news coverage.” American newspapers published very few pro-British stories. Those writers interviewed explained the “Germans show a far better sense of the news” and that their stories have better timing as well as showing a “better understanding of U.S. psychology.”⁶³

Donovan gave Stephenson a copy of his investigation of the U.S. media. During the years leading up to Pearl Harbor, the BSC struggled to counter German propaganda efforts. Dr. Joseph Goebbels, the Nazi Minister for Propaganda, adhered to the dictates of Sir Campbell Stuart’s *Secrets of Crewe House*, which outlined the covert nature of British political warfare during the Great War.⁶⁴ Goebbels came to believe that British political warfare efforts during the Great War compelled members of the German Imperial government to surrender to Allied demands resulting in the Allied betrayal at Versailles. A successful propaganda campaign depended upon a nation’s ability to stay on message. Hans Fritzsche, who worked for Dr. Goebbels as the Chief of Germany’s Press Section, established the Information Section. This section conducted propaganda

⁶³ BSC papers, 69.

⁶⁴ David Garnett, *The Secret History of PWE: The Political Warfare Executive, 1939-1945*, (London: St. Ermin’s Press, 2002), 1.

campaigns against nations targeted for assimilation into the Third Reich. Through Fritzsche's efforts, the Reich government increased the budget of the D.N.B., the official German news agency, by tenfold—from 400,000 marks to 4,000,000 marks. The D.N.B. spared no cost to spread favorable stories about the Third Reich to foreign markets. Fritzsche built a formidable propaganda machine that relied on controlling American access to news from Europe. American journalists received their information from the Transocean News Agency, the Europa Press and D.N.B.; thus, the raw news used by U.S. journalists to write stories about the war in Europe all had a pro-German slant. This perspective carried over to their news stories.⁶⁵

The embarrassing public Rumrich spy ring trial convinced Hitler to order the *Abwehr* to cease their operations in the United States. Dr. Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda, however, continued to conduct political warfare campaigns in the Americas. The Nazi propagandist's investment in the media paid off in the United States. Pro-Axis groups used U.S. isolationist and anti-British sentiment to further their agenda. This resulted in Nazi propaganda showing up on "the front pages of newspapers, shouted at mass meetings, disseminated through special societies and proclaimed in the Senate and the House of Representatives." U.S. Senators spoke of England's resistance to fair trade and freedom of the seas while members of Congress blamed Britain and France for the current war. Rhetoric designed to convince the American populace that nonintervention was the best course. On occasion, everyday men and women violently expressed their

⁶⁵ International Military Tribunal, *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal, Nuremberg, 14 November 1945-1 October 1946*, 42 vols., vol. XXII (Nuremberg, Germany: [s.n.], 1947), 539. The BSC Papers, 68-69.

anti-British sentiment. For example, rotten tomatoes and eggs thrown by disgruntled American women who did not want their husbands or sons to go off to fight in a foreign war pelted Lord Halifax, Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, while he visited Detroit. The aim of these politically motivated women, according to one report, proved accurate leaving a disheveled Halifax to retort, “We do not have any such surplus in England.”⁶⁶

Anti-British sentiment was at an all-time high. Mowrer, in his article on German fifth columnists, failed to mention the success of the pro-Axis propaganda; instead, these articles spoke of German agents, hiding in plain sight, silently waiting for orders from the Third Reich to commit murder, orchestrate kidnappings and organize armed rebellion.⁶⁷ The articles explained the danger of high-level influence on American politics. Similar to Kaiser Wilhelm’s Imperial Germany during the Great War, Hitler’s Third Reich continued to employ its diplomats to perform intelligence functions. Mowrer pointed out the German *Fuhrer* publicly congratulated Captain Fritz Wiedemann, Hitler’s former World War I company commander and the German General Consul in San Francisco, for his efforts, in July 1939, to prevent the U.S. Senate from accepting Roosevelt’s proposed changes to the Neutrality Acts.⁶⁸ This article warned that it might already be too late for the United States. Nazi fifth columnists, already, worked within each of the forty-eight continental states and American citizens’ failure to act could lead to the nation’s downfall. The article said the Nazis were only effective when unopposed. Mowrer

⁶⁶ The BSC Papers, 68.

⁶⁷ Donovan and Mowrer, 12

⁶⁸ Ibid. Captain Fritz Wiedemann stated he was a “good will” envoy and not a spy. “Fritz Wiedemann, German Consul, Claims He’s ‘Good Will’ Envoy,” *St. Petersburg Times*, 11 February, 1941.

explained that Hitler seized “Austria, Czechoslovakia and Denmark by propaganda and blackmail; taken Poland by violence, occupied Norway, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg by force, ruse and treachery; conquered France by superior military equipment and strategy.” Now all that kept the Nazis from assaulting the Americas was “the might of Great Britain.”⁶⁹

While Mower and Donovan’s articles began to shift American public opinion, Stephenson cultivated relationships with influential members of Roosevelt’s administration. Men like Frank Knox, Henry Stimson, Cordell Hull, Ernest Cuneo, Robert Sherwood, and Vincent Astor who all had access to the right people to help the British spy solidify the relationship between the BSC and the White House.⁷⁰ Donovan and Cuneo, eventually, became two of the most important intermediaries between the BSC and the White House. Robert Sherwood, a famous playwright who referred to Stephenson as the “quiet” Canadian, wrote most of Roosevelt’s important speeches on international affairs.⁷¹ Sherwood, with presidential approval, showed the early drafts of these speeches to Stephenson. Stephenson made “small” suggestions to help FDR present the British in the best light.⁷² Roosevelt appointed Vincent Astor, whose informal intelligence organization, the Club, had provided the American president with information since 1933, as his personal liaison to Stephenson’s BSC. On June 26, 1940, FDR sent a memorandum to Admiral Harold Stark, the Chief of Naval Operations

⁶⁹ Donovan and Mower, 13-14.

⁷⁰ The BSC Papers, 16-17.

⁷¹ Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), 270.

⁷² The BSC Papers, 17.

(CNO), stating that he asked Astor to “coordinate the Intelligence work in the New York area.” Roosevelt told Stark that Astor had a “wide knowledge of men and affairs in connection with general Intelligence work.” The president, therefore, wanted Stark to pass this information on to Admiral Walter Anderson, Director of Naval Intelligence (DNI).⁷³ Anderson placed Astor on inactive reserves.⁷⁴ While working in New York, Astor passed information, considered too sensitive to send through diplomatic channels, to the president. He also passed on the “more important results of BSC’s investigations into enemy activities” in the Americas. The president, in turn, would send, through Astor, comments, information and suggestions that allowed the BSC to coordinate its political warfare operations with the White House.⁷⁵

In the years leading up to Pearl Harbor, J. Edgar Hoover became the BSC’s staunchest ally. Hoover ordered his agents to “assist BSC in every way open to them.” The FBI Director even allowed the BSC to use an FBI wireless channel, which provided Stephenson with a secure line of communication with SIS headquarters in London.⁷⁶ With Hoover’s patronage, the fledgling intelligence organization flourished. Given his notoriously xenophobic attitude, Hoover’s decision to work with British Intelligence might seem out of character.⁷⁷ Why, even with presidential approval, would Hoover risk public ridicule and scandal to help the British? FBI support allowed the BSC to operate

⁷³ From Roosevelt to Stark, 26 June 1940, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, PPF, Box 40.

⁷⁴ Troy, 107.

⁷⁵ BSC Papers, 17.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁷ William C. Sullivan and Bill Brown, *The Bureau: My Thirty Years in Hoover’s FBI*, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), 184. William Sullivan, a former FBI agent, once remarked, in his memoirs, that “Hoover didn’t like the British, didn’t care for the French, hated the Dutch, and couldn’t stand the Australians.”

in the Americas. U.S. Neutrality laws ensured the connection between the FBI and British intelligence remained hidden from both the State Department and from members of Congress. This was a risky proposition for Hoover. Stephenson believed Hoover to be “a man of great singleness of purpose, and his purpose was the welfare of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.” Hoover wanted to transform the FBI into the nation’s premier intelligence agency and his ambitions gave Stephenson an opportunity to expand the influence of British intelligence in the United States.⁷⁸

Stephenson knew the FBI competed with the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) and the Military Intelligence Division (MID) to see which organization would become America’s premier intelligence apparatus. All three organizations conducted counterintelligence operations in the United States. Hoover, however, wanted to ensure FDR gave sole counterintelligence responsibility to the FBI. In exchange for helping protect British interest in the Americas, Stephenson placed the resources of SIS at J. Edgar Hoover’s disposal. SIS agents operating in Latin American provided Hoover with intelligence reports. British Imperial Censorship agents sent material they from their Caribbean listening posts to the FBI. Hoover’s relationship with the BSC gave him a distinct advantage since he could pass along information to ONI and MID that, “they required but could not otherwise obtain.”⁷⁹

Intelligence operations differ from law enforcement; the FBI’s handling of the Rumrich case proved the FBI lacked the training necessary to conduct these types of

⁷⁸ The BSC Papers, 3.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 4.

operations. By 1940, the FBI bought modern equipment to help in their daily “crime detection” duties. This equipment, however, was “inappropriate to the efficient conduct of counter-espionage” work. Catching criminals required the FBI to investigate, to collect evidence, and then to provide their findings to a federal prosecutor who would then try the case. A counterintelligence agent wants to identify “more of the accused man’s sources of information, channels of communication, paymaster, accomplices, and methods of training.” A public trial is not always in the nation’s best interests. A trial might disclose the technical means and sources used to gain the evidence against a spy, so a trial and imprisonment was not always the answer. Removing the spy’s access to classified information might be enough. Turning the agent might be preferable to imprisonment. Espionage proved to be more of a gray area than the black and white world of cops and robbers. The intricacies of intelligence work ran counter to the FBI’s mandate of catching the bad guy. In the summer of 1940, SIS educated Hoover’s men. SIS technicians taught FBI agents the fundamental tradecraft needed to conduct counterintelligence work.⁸⁰

The first real test of this FBI-SIS relationship occurred in the autumn of 1940. German agents, as in World War I, worked in Mexico. These German officers reported to Admiral Wilhelm Canaris and not Franz von Papen. Stephenson knew that Canaris’ men posed a greater threat than those the “pretentious ass Franz von Papen” employed. Stephenson held von Papen in contempt. He believed the German to be a dilettante, a failed politician, and a failed soldier and spy. Canaris, on the other hand, Stephenson

⁸⁰ The BSC Papers, 4.

viewed as cunning and formidable.⁸¹ BSC agents, in Mexico City, reported that sixteen Axis vessels—four German and twelve Italian ships, docked in Tampico and Vera Cruz, were planning to run the naval blockade, which confined them to Mexican waters. If these vessels made it past the blockade, they stood a good chance of returning to their respective countries a prospect the British hoped to avoid. The British, forbidden to operate in Mexico's territorial waters, wanted to use limpet mines to prevent these Axis ships from leaving. Sabotage, on such a grand scale, meant the risk of exposure and the British could not afford the bad press.⁸² Needing American support, Stephenson asked Hoover, who had begun to run his own Special Intelligence Service in Central and South America, to have the U.S. Navy patrol the waters outside Vera Cruz and Tampico.⁸³

The FBI Director knew the use of U.S. warships to prevent these vessels from leaving Mexico would be a violation of U.S. Neutrality but he convinced the director of ONI to have the Navy send the ships to the Gulf of Mexico. The U.S. Navy worked out an ingenious plan to stop these ships from running the blockade. On November 15, 1940, the four German ships tried to run. The U.S. Navy trained their spotlights on the fleeing ships illuminating the vessels and the surrounding sea, which convinced the Germans to return to port. Two weeks later, the Germans tried a daylight run. The Americans shadowed these vessels relaying their positions to the Royal Navy, whose ships waited

⁸¹ Stevenson, 300. A sentiment shared by von Rintelen, whom von Papen had recalled to Germany during the First World War which resulted in von Rintelen's incarceration.

⁸² The BSC Papers, 5; Stevenson, 305.

⁸³ 'History of the S.I.S. Division,' National Archives and Records Administration, RG 65, World War II FBI HQ Files, Box 17.

outside Mexican territorial waters. This covert support allowed the British to intercept these vessels and allowed the Americans to preserve the façade of neutrality.⁸⁴

While American neutrality provided political debate during the summer and fall of 1940, FDR began to prepare the nation for war. Almost a year before Stephenson moved to New York and three months before the outbreak of war, FDR began centralizing the fragmented American intelligence community. On June 26, 1939, the president of the United States issued a secret directive ordering J. Edgar Hoover, Sherman Miles, Director of Army Intelligence, and Rear Admiral W.S. Anderson, Director of Naval Intelligence, “to function as a committee to coordinate their activities.” This directive outlined the shared responsibilities for domestic counterintelligence operations between these competing U.S. agencies.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, FDR failed to define the global responsibilities for each of these organizations. This became problematic. During the years leading up to Pearl Harbor, each agency competed with the other two. ONI and MID wanted the president to give their organization the responsibility for global intelligence work.⁸⁶ The establishment of the Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference failed to prevent FBI, ONI, and MID agents from continually crossing “each other’s tracks” leading to wasteful and inefficient use of manpower.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ The BSC Papers, 6.

⁸⁵ “Notes from G-2 Conferences with FBI, Dec. 1939-May 28, 1940,” National Archives and Records Administration, RG 165, Records of the Military Intelligence Division (MID, G-2), 1900-50. This directive, that was sent to the U.S. State Department, the U.S. Treasury and Commerce Department, the postmaster general, the Department of War and the Department of the Navy as well as to the U.S. Attorney General.

⁸⁶ It is also possible that FDR refrained from delineating responsibility for foreign intelligence work in deference to the Neutrality Acts.

⁸⁷ “Notes on Conferences of Interdepartmental Intelligence Conference,” RG 165, National Archives and Records Administration, RG 165, Records of the Military Intelligence Division (MID, G-2), 1900-50.

FDR's World War I experience with German intelligence made the president wary of possible attacks by German fifth columnists. The British exploited this fear. On September 8, 1939, President Roosevelt, held a press conference to explain his decision to change the FBI mandate. Roosevelt authorized the FBI to conduct domestic intelligence operations. The president reminded the American public that in the years leading up to the First World War the United States had been subjected to German sabotage and propaganda operations.⁸⁸

FDR wanted to avoid the excessive World War I violation of American civilian liberties by vigilante groups, like the American Protection League, whose members often exceeded their authority. As Attorney General Frank Murphy explained, "Twenty years ago inhuman and cruel things were done in the name of justice; sometimes vigilantes and others took over the work. We do not want such things done today." On September 6, 1939, FDR sent out a second presidential directive. He ordered all police officials to turn over to the FBI any information "obtained pertaining to espionage, counterespionage, sabotage and violations of neutrality regulations." The president gave the FBI jurisdiction over all foreign intelligence matters concerning the Western Hemisphere.⁸⁹ This second directive expanded the FBI's area of operation. The BSC and the FBI, working in Central and South America, fought to ensure that Nazi sympathizers did not try to repeat the Kaiser's World War I intrigues of embroiling the United States in a shooting

⁸⁸ FDR Press conference number 577, September 8, 1939, in *Complete Presidential Press Conferences of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 12 vol., (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 7: 55.

⁸⁹ "Declare U.S. Ready to Run Down Spies," *New York Times*, 1 October 1939. J. Edgar Hoover to Attorney General Frank Murphy, Church Committee Report, book III, 404.

war with Mexico. To keep their association secret from the State Department, the BSC, and the FBI needed a secure conduit for passing information. On August 16, 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, by executive order, appointed Nelson Rockefeller, then only 32 years old, to head the newly established Office of the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics (OCCCRBAR), commonly referred to as the Rockefeller Office.⁹⁰ The Rockefeller Office, the FBI, and the BSC conducted offensive operational intelligence campaigns in Central and South America. Stephenson's decision to rent office space in Rockefeller Plaza proved fortuitous since his office was located in the same building as Rockefeller's new organization.⁹¹

The BSC and the Rockefeller office approached Latin America from two different points of view. The British wanted to disrupt regional pro-Axis operations while the Americans wanted BSC agents to help ensure hemispheric unity and defense. The Rockefeller office set up a "voluntary" program to remove pro-Axis agents affiliated with U.S. business ventures in the region. Compliance had to be voluntary, but the financial backing of the Rockefeller family name, who's Creole Oil Company conducted a substantial amount of business in the region, lent weight to this policy.⁹² Identification of potential Nazi agents working in the area became an issue in the months leading up to

⁹⁰ Paul Kramer, "Nelson Rockefeller and British Security Coordination", *Journal of Contemporary History*, (January 1981): 73. Two points: one, Paul Kramer worked for the Rockefeller office during the period in question and two, FDR made the appointment but Rockefeller, on June 14, 1940, asked for the job. FDR agreed but only if Rockefeller, a Republican, would accept, Will Clayton, a Democrat, as one of his assistances.

⁹¹ The success of the Office of the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics allowed FDR to establish the Office of Coordinator of Information, which was renamed the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) which eventually became the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

⁹² Mahl, 17.

Pearl Harbor. The United States might have viewed Latin America as its personal domain, but it lacked an operational intelligence apparatus in the region. While the State Department and the FBI maintained a few agents in the area, they did not have enough to establish a human intelligence (HUMINT) collection operation. FDR ordered the FBI and the State Department to coordinate their efforts with the Rockefeller Office.⁹³

By late August 1940, Percy L. Douglas, formerly of the Otis Elevator Company, John E. Lockwood, Rockefeller's friend, George H. Butler, a State Department agent, and Percy Foxworth, the FBI liaison officer to the BSC, conducted joint operations examining regional Nazi commercial activity. The BSC passed any pertinent information gained from British imperial censors to the FBI's New York City office to include the preliminary target list. The FBI integrated the BSC's data with information obtained by their agents. Using material from both agencies, the FBI wrote a detailed reports marked "personal and confidential." These agents sent these reports to Rockefeller's Washington D.C. office, located next to the White House in the old State, War, and Navy Building. Rockefeller Office employees removed any mention of British intelligence from these reports. All the information was attributed to unnamed sources. Each report either began with "We understand from a confidential source believed to be reliable" or "Information has been received from a reliable confidential source." This complicated process allowed FDR and the FBI to hide British support from the State Department and members of Congress. The Rockefeller office produced a detailed report designed to hammer home the importance of regional unity. This report revealed that

⁹³ Kramer, 77.

“firms and individuals known to support objectives contrary to the best interest of the American Republics” represented U.S. businesses, in Central and South America. These pro-Axis businesses used their advertising dollars to persuade U.S. newspapers and radio stations to “adopt anti-American editorial policies.” Money, also, helped convince some to pass confidential trade information to the Axis powers.⁹⁴

While the BSC and the Rockefeller office conducted a secret war in Central and South America, Stephenson set up a secret organization for spreading rumors. Directed from New York City, these rumor-spreading campaigns worked to publish misleading information about Allied strategy as well as working to embarrass targeted Nazis by spreading scandalous gossip about their private lives. Stephenson’s men knew that a “good rumor should never be traced to its source.” It should have a specific purpose and it should simultaneously originate in several different locations. Rumors should be designed for a particular audience. For example, South American Catholics responded well to stories about Nazi desecration of European churches and monasteries.⁹⁵

The idea of embarrassing and harassing Nazi sympathizers in the Americas lead Stephenson’s organization to create the game of “Vik.” The BSC Papers admit that this game never really took off as the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, which brought the United States into the war but the idea proved interesting. Station M, located in Canada, forged documents used for special operations being conducted in Europe but these men and women also came up with Vik. Station M printed cheap books that they secretly

⁹⁴ Kramer, 77-80.

⁹⁵ The BSC Papers, 111.

distributed in South America. These books, published in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, urged Allied sympathizers to “organize themselves into teams and to compete with one another by scoring points for every annoyance or embarrassment caused to the Nazis and their confederates.” Billed as “a fascinating new pastime for all lovers of democracy,” Vik encouraged these competitors to harass and embarrass their Nazi neighbors. Players should call at all hours of the night. They should let the air out the Nazi sympathizer’s tires. They should call various businesses and arrange to have large quantities of useless goods sent COD. And they should spread rumors, targeting these men’s girlfriends, suggesting that they suffered from a mysterious illness. The options for harassment were only limited by one’s imagination. The rules stated “it should be possible to invent at least 500 ways of persecuting a victim without the persecutor compromising himself.” Station M reminded these competitors that in playing Vik they were “acting as a fighting member of the forces of Democracy.”⁹⁶

While Station M’s game seems amusing today, the work conducted by Eric Maschwitz’s team helped shift U.S. public opinion. Maschwitz’s operation hid behind the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. Just as in 1914, the British turned to atrocity propaganda and Maschwitz realized that some of the evidence used to drum up support for the British would have to be manufactured.⁹⁷ He would need a “complete library” of photographs of German personnel, equipment, and vehicles. Maschwitz would also need actual German equipment to be used as props.⁹⁸ Members of Station M believed that

⁹⁶ The BSC Papers, 107.

⁹⁷ Nick Cull, “Did the Mounties and the NFB Fake Nazi Atrocity Pictures?” *Globe and Mail*, (June 1995).

⁹⁸ Memo quoted in Mahl, 14-15

their product had to pass the most microscopic of scrutiny—to include chemical tests.⁹⁹ Information and a deft touch and the blending of fact and fiction could turn a patriot into a spy. Maschwitz manufactured evidence that led, for example, the Germans to execute a Czech traitor and collaborator.¹⁰⁰ As mentioned before, it is considered the highest form of deception to get your enemy to execute their own people.

As Stephenson's organization took shape, U.S.-Japanese relations deteriorated. Roosevelt not only had to worry about ensuring the British could survive against Nazi Germany but he also began to worry about Imperial Japan's expansionist policies in Asia. Fortunately, the closing of Herbert O. Yardley's Black Chamber did not stop U.S. signals intelligence collection. It just closed up the civilian agency responsible for SIGINT collection. Army and Navy signals intelligence continued "reading other people's mail" to include the Japanese. U.S. Naval cryptographers read Japanese diplomatic and naval codes and the U.S. Army created the Signals Intelligence Service. When war broke out in Europe, the Army Signals Intelligence Service immediately received more money, more personnel, and more office space. By the summer of 1940, army cryptographers had broken the most important Japanese diplomatic code—called PURPLE. The decryptations of Japanese traffic became known as MAGIC and remained one of the nation's most guarded secrets.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ The BSC Papers, 105; Hyde, 137.

¹⁰⁰ Hyde, 136-137.

¹⁰¹ For a detailed discussion on MAGIC see David Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing, Company, 1967), 1-67.

The power of the FBI increased to help safeguard those secrets. By 1939, the FBI no longer operated under State Department statutes. The FBI's power to conduct intelligence investigations came from Executive orders. Hoover hid his relationship with BSC from Members of Congress and from the State Department. This did not stop the FBI Director from telling the House Appropriations Committee that he had, on presidential say so, set up a General Intelligence division tasked with investigating espionage, sabotage and neutrality violations. Ironic, since the FBI and the Executive office were both violating the very laws Hoover was ordered to investigate. Just like the Great War, Congress tightened the laws on sedition. The passage of the Smith Act made it a crime to advocate for the violent overthrow of the Government and the Voorhis Act required subversive organizations to register. These two laws augmented the 1917 Espionage Act but enforcement of these laws occurred rarely during the Second World War.¹⁰²

The FBI began supplying the White House with information about subversive activities. Hoover's men compiled a Custodial Detention List and they began infiltrating suspected subversive groups. At this time, wiretapping "persons suspected of subversive activities against the United States, including suspected spies" became a staple of FBI investigation. The FBI needed the approval of the U.S. Attorney General before tapping a suspect's residence but he rarely said no.¹⁰³ Wiretapping violated the Federal Communications Act of 1934 but Attorney General Robert H. Jackson believed the

¹⁰² Church Committee, Book II, 29-30.

¹⁰³ Confidential memorandum from President Roosevelt to Attorney General Jackson, 21 May 1940, quoted in Church Committee, Book II, 37.

government could wiretap its citizens since this information would not be disclosed to anyone outside the government.¹⁰⁴ The FBI began teaching wiretapping and bugging at the appropriately named “Sound School.” The FBI taught its field agents telephone surveillance (TELSUR), microphone surveillance (MISUR), and physical surveillance (FISUR). These field agents referred to these various surveillance methods as “taps,” “bugs,” and “tails.” The FBI, under the guise of national security, bugged several Washington and New York brothels. These agents were looking for blackmail material to be used against foreign nationals. Unfortunately, indiscriminate bugging does not distinguish between foreign nationals and U.S. citizens; so, the FBI collected embarrassing information on prominent Americans. As one historian explained, “Buggings, wiretapping, break-ins, mail opening, and telegraph and cable monitoring...adopted under the guise of ‘wartime necessity’ and found to be highly useful shortcuts, became standard, albeit secret, investigative tools of Hoover’s FBI.”¹⁰⁵

Franklin D. Roosevelt, therefore, received information for British Intelligence, the FBI, ONI, MID, and from MAGIC intercepts. This gave the president a unique perspective going into the 1940 presidential elections. Should he run for a third term or not. The Republicans, in the spring of 1940, believing that FDR would not run for an unprecedented third term, assumed the Republican Party would retake control of the White House. The U.S. response to the war in Europe, however, played a decisive role in the presidential election. The war divided the GOP. There were those who resisted

¹⁰⁴ Church Committee, Book II. Attorney Robert H. Jackson’s interpretation, while never upheld by the court, was upheld by each and every succeeding Attorney General—until 1968.

¹⁰⁵ Gentry, 286-287.

British propaganda efforts and remained devout isolationists and those who believed, like FDR, that the U.S. should provide all necessary aid to England short of war. Senator Robert Taft (R-OH), Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg (R-MI), and New York District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey all campaigned on a similar isolationist platform with each candidate appealing to a different geographic region. Even though these men all had years of political experience, the public could not distinguish one candidate from the other solely based on their views of the war. The war had become the most important political issue, and the fall of France only exacerbated the situation.¹⁰⁶

According to *Life* magazine, most Americans, in the summer of 1940, held strong opinions about the war. Most Americans believed that Germany and Italy would win, and this victory would endanger the United States. Most Americans, therefore, supported compulsory military training, U.S. rearmament, and a commitment to defend Central and South America from European invasion. With the world tittering on the brink of another global conflict, 43 percent of Americans felt optimistic about the future.¹⁰⁷ A war-weary republic's optimistic world view may have contributed to a dark horse candidate stealing the Republican presidential nomination. Wendell Willkie, a man who had never held or run for political office, suggested the United States should do everything in its power, short of war, to help the British. By appealing to the other GOP political factions, Willkie, in what has become known as the "Miracle in Philadelphia," defeated the

¹⁰⁶ Mahl, 3.

¹⁰⁷ "What the U.S.A. Thinks: a Picture of the U.S. Mind, Summer of 1940," *Life*, (29 July 1940), 20.

Republican front-runners and secured the presidential nomination.¹⁰⁸ Thomas Mahl, in *Desperate Deception: British Covert Operation in the United States, 1939-1944*, suggested the BSC helped secure Willkie's nomination. According to Mahl, Sam Pryor replaced Ralph Williams, who injured himself shortly before the GOP Convention, as the head of the GOP Convention Committee. Sam Pryor used his influence to ensure that former President Herbert Hoover and zealous isolationist did not have the opportunity give a rousing isolationist speech, which would have pushed the delegates to support anyone else but Willkie. The reason behind Pryor's desire to help was simple enough. Pryor knew that Willkie did not have the popular support to carry the election, and so Willkie's candidacy ensured that Roosevelt would win an unprecedented third term in office.¹⁰⁹

The momentum gained by Willkie at the GOP convention may have helped convince FDR, at the last moment, to run for an unprecedented third term. Ernest Cuneo, however, stated that Roosevelt gave the "green light" to a third presidential term as early as 1938. According to Cuneo, he enlisted the aid of Walter Winchell, a staunch Roosevelt supporter, to help shape U.S. public opinion to support a possible third term.¹¹⁰ It does not really matter if FDR planned to run in 1938 or 1940. Either way, Roosevelt played the reluctant candidate. He explained, "Eight years in the presidency, following a period of bleak depression, and covering one world crisis after another, would normally

¹⁰⁸ Joseph Barnes, *Willkie*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952), 170. Barnes used the phrase Miracle in Philadelphia for the title of Chapter Eleven of his biography on Willkie.

¹⁰⁹ Mahl, 160-163.

¹¹⁰ "For the Record Crusader to Intrepid," Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Ernest Cuneo Papers, Box 107, Folder 86.

entitle any man to the relaxation that comes from honorable retirement.”¹¹¹ His speech implied that if the people called, he would answer. At the July 1940 Democratic Convention, the people called as state delegation after state delegation shouted “We want Roosevelt.” FDR responded to the call, accepted the Democratic presidential nomination, and thus broke with America’s most fundamental political tradition and ensured American support for the British.¹¹² Walter Lippmann best summed up Willkie’s role.

Second only to the Battle of Britain, the sudden rise and nomination of Willkie was the decisive event, perhaps providential, which made it possible to rally the free world when it was almost conquered. Under any other leadership but his the Republican Party would in 1940 have turned its back upon Great Britain, causing all who still resisted to feel they were abandoned.¹¹³

Stephenson, during this contentious presidential election, did not remain idol. Knowing that U.S. sentiment supported hemispheric defense, he could convince the United States that it was in its best interest to enter the fray while the struggle with Germany occurred on foreign shores. Standing between Stephenson and his goal were the isolationists, a diverse group of Americans dedicated to ensuring the British not embroil the United States in another predominately-European war. Not surprisingly, as FDR pushed the United States toward intervention, that politically, the core group of isolationists came from the Republican Party. In the U.S. Senate, men like William Borah (R-ID), Robert La Follette (R-WI), Hiram Johnson (R-CA), Arthur Vanderburgh

¹¹¹ Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio broadcast, 19 July 940.

¹¹² Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2003), 569.

¹¹³ Walter Lippmann, “Willkie Played Important Part in Country’s Destiny,” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 10 October 1944.

(R-MI), Burton Wheeler (R-MT), Robert Taft (R-OH) and Gerald Nye (R-ND) all worked to keep the United States out of the war.¹¹⁴

The isolationist Republican senators' aims should not be confused with pacifism, fascism, or an unwillingness to bluster defense spending. These isolationist politicians just refused to aid to the Allies—Britain and France. Content to watch the British and the French fall to Hitler's Wehrmacht, the isolationists clamored for hemispheric defense and for the United States to establish fortress America. They suggested the United States forgive British and French World War I debt in exchange for British and French Caribbean possessions. By removing every vestige of European influence in the Americas, these men believed they could set up an impregnable fortress safely guarded against invasion by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, which formed the Americas' eastern and western border.¹¹⁵

Latin or South American despots, who refused to preserve cordial diplomatic relations with the United States could be dealt with. General Robert E. Wood stated “no government in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean South American countries will be tolerated unless it is friendly to the United States...if necessary; we are prepared to use force to attain that objective.” The use of force was never an issue for American policymakers becoming embroiled in a second European was their concern.¹¹⁶ To justify

¹¹⁴ Richard F. Grimmett, “Who were the Senate Isolationists?” *Pacific Historical Review* 42, no. 4, (November 1973): 479-480. John C. Donovan, “Congressional Isolationists and the Roosevelt Foreign Policy,” *World Politics* 3, no. 3 (April 1951): 299-316.

¹¹⁵ Justus D. Doenecke, “American Isolationism, 1939-1941,” *The Journal of Libertarian Studies*, (summer/fall 1982): 206.

¹¹⁶ Robert E. Wood, *Our Foreign Policy: Speech before the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations*, (Chicago: American First Committee, 1940).

their cause, isolationists often quoted men like Lieutenant Colonel Thomas R. Philips and economist John T. Flynn. Both men stressed the logistical impossibility of Hitler sending enough men and supplies 3,000 miles across the Atlantic to invade the United States. These convoys would be sitting ducks for U.S. bombers who would easily be able to destroy enemy ships as they entered American territorial waters. Following Philips and Flynn's rule, if the Germans could not safely reach America, then logically America would have to be the aggressor, and without direct provocation, risk millions of American lives.¹¹⁷ One year and three days after Germany invaded Poland; it seemed to isolationists that their country wanted to do just that.

On September 16, 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, which required all men between the age of eighteen and thirty-five to register with their local draft boards. By October 1940, the first peacetime conscription began as the military, traditionally viewed as the tool of despots by American politicians, began forcibly inducting men into the service of their country. Ironically, the nation, at peace, and with no threat of war on the horizon chose to prepare for war.¹¹⁸ On September 4, 1940, after Congress passed a law allowing conscription, Robert D. Stuart, Jr., a Yale Law School student and heir to the Quaker Oats Company founded the American First Committee (AFC)—an isolationist organization with about

¹¹⁷ Doenecke, 205.

¹¹⁸ "Final Roll-Calls on Draft Bill", *The New York Times*, 15 September 1940. The bill passed the House 232 to 124 with 186 Democrats and 46 Republicans in favor, 32 Democrats, 88 Republicans, and 4 others against. In the Senate, the bill passed 47 to 25, with 40 Democrats and 7 Republicans in favor, 13 Democrats, 10 Republicans, and 2 others against the bill's passage.

800,000 members.¹¹⁹ Chairman of Sears, Roebuck and Company, General Robert E. Wood assumed the leadership of the AFC while Charles Lindbergh became the organization's most famous spokesman. The AFC "did not start out as a pro-German association." The AFC gave out propaganda designed to "obtain the support of the greatest possible number of groups and cliques." Their rhetoric appealed to pacifists, anti-New Dealers, Anglophobes, anticommunists, anti-Semites, American imperialists, and those who viewed Europe as "a corrupt and backward region which stood for all the things from which the Pilgrim Fathers and their successors had fled."¹²⁰ The AFC, like Congressional isolationists, believed in hemispheric defense. No foreign army can successfully invade a militarily prepared nation. The best way to ensure military preparedness was by keeping the United States out of the war and by refusing to aid the Allies. AFC members believed the United States could avoid entering another predominately European conflict—a prospect that weighed heavily on the minds of most Americans during the summer and fall of 1940.¹²¹

As the presidential election of 1940 approached, the tension over the war reached a fevered pitch. Many believed the result of the election would provide the victor with a mandate on how the United States should approach the conflict. On November 5, 1940, Americans cast their vote, and Roosevelt overwhelmingly won the electoral vote securing 449 votes to Willkie's 82. The president, after a hard-fought reelection, promised not to

¹¹⁹ Bill Kauffman and Ruth Sarles, *A Story of America First: The Men and Women who Opposed U.S. Intervention in World War II*, (New York: Praeger, 2003), xvii. Shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the AFC disbanded and Stuart joined the U.S. Army eventually obtaining the rank of Major.

¹²⁰ The BSC Papers, 72.

¹²¹ "What the U.S.A. Thinks: a Picture of the U.S. Mind, Summer of 1940," *Life*, (29 July 1940), 20.

run for a fourth term.¹²² A promise he would eventually break, but shortly after FDR's reelection, the BSC continued its political warfare campaign to bring the United States into the "shooting" war. Having won reelection, FDR redoubled his efforts to secure aid for the British.¹²³

¹²² H. W. Brands, *Traitor to his Class: the Privileged Life and Radical Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*, (New York: Doubleday, 2008) 574.

¹²³ The BSC Papers, 55.

CHAPTER FOUR

Empire and War



Figure 5¹

President Roosevelt's efforts to bypass the Neutrality Acts became a legislative issue in the spring of 1941. Shortly after his reelection, FDR realized the British were on the brink of bankruptcy; so, he began promoting his new plan to aid the Allies. As early as December 1940, Roosevelt, speaking to those political factions that supported hemispheric defense, stated, "We do not need to fear attack in the Americas" as long as Britain, "our most powerful neighbor in the Atlantic" remains steadfast in resisting Nazi

¹ Figure 5: Beware! I can be velly dangerous when aroused!, published by PM Magazine on December 1, 1941, Dr. Seuss Collection, MSS 230. Special Collections & Archives, UC San Diego Library

aggression. Roosevelt stated that England remained America's first line of defense against German aggression. The president went on to explain

Does anyone seriously believe...that we could rest easy if the Axis powers were our neighbors there? If Great Britain goes down, the Axis powers will control the continents of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia, and the high seas—and they will be in a position to bring enormous military and naval resources against this hemisphere. It is no exaggeration to say that all of us, in all the Americas, would be living at the point of a gun—a gun loaded with explosive bullets, economic as well as military.²

Roosevelt's solution was the passage of the "cash-and-carry" addendum to the Neutrality Acts. This addendum allowed the United States to sell munitions to belligerent nations for hard currency allowed the British to survive the summer of 1940. The president's idea was simple and appealed to the fundamental tenants of American exceptionalism. Roosevelt suggested the United States lend the British all the equipment they needed to fight the Germans.

Roosevelt equated lending war material to allowing a neighbor whose house is on fire to borrow a hose to douse the flames. The President went on to state that after the neighbor had extinguished the fire he expected him to return his hose.³ Senator Robert Taft (R-OH) pithily quipped, "Lending war equipment is a good deal like lending chewing gum. You don't want it back."⁴ Senator Burton Wheeler (D-MT) stated the passage of Lend-Lease was the first step toward war and that FDR's foreign policy decisions would "plow under every fourth American boy." Wheeler's accusation

² Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio broadcast, 16th Fireside Chat, 17 December 1940.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Robert A Taft and Clarence E. Wunderlin, *The Papers of Robert A. Taft*, vol. 2, (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1997), 227.

offended the American president. At a January 1941 press conference, FDR stated he believed Wheeler's proclamation was "the most dastardly, unpatriotic thing" uttered by a U.S. senator. The president went on to say that Wheeler's comments were "the rottenest thing that has ever been said in public life."⁵

During the spring of 1941, Congress debated the president's plan to lend material to the Allies and the AFC came to believe the passage of this bill would bring the United States one-step closer to war. As members of the America First Committee lobbied against this bill, British Security Coordination agents came to see this organization and its message as the greatest threat to British war aims. As the AFC launched a full-scale propaganda campaign against Lend-Lease, Stephenson made them the primary target of British counterpropaganda efforts even.⁶ Members of the AFC took out full-page advertisements designed to "obtain the support of the greatest possible number of groups and cliques." With the passage of Lend-Lease, the AFC, undaunted, lobbied against FDR's proposal to use U.S. Naval vessels to convoy these supplies across the Atlantic. Another fight they would lose to presidential political maneuvering.⁷

Stephenson's counterpropaganda campaign called for BSC agents to travel to various U.S. cities across the country to attend AFC meetings. By befriending AFC members, BSC agents began to piece together a plan to impede these isolationists'

⁵ "House Hearings on War Aid to Open with Cabinet Views: President Angered by Critic," *The New York Times*, 15 January 1941.

⁶ Bill Kauffman and Ruth Sarles, *A Story of America First: The Men and Women who Opposed U.S. Intervention in World War II*, (New York: Praeger, 2003), xvii.

⁷ *The Secret History of British Intelligence in the Americas, 1940-1945*, (New York: Fromm international, 1998), 72.

influence. Determined to discredit the AFC, BSC agents began getting proof that Nazi officials had direct contact with American First members. The BSC got copies of checks made out to members of Congress from Nazi agents. For example, Representative Hamilton Fish (R-NY), who *Time Magazine* referred to as the “nation’s No. 1 isolationist” received a \$3,100 check from G. F. Hansen-Sturm, a Nazi propagandist working as the assistant treasurer of the Romanoff Caviar Company.⁸ Fish publicly called Pearson a liar and Sandy Griffith, the head of the Nonpartisan Committee to Defeat Hamilton Fish, tried to convince Pearson to sue the representative for liable. A gambit Pearson refused. The columnist believed a lawsuit would be time-consuming and he preferred to support the British war effort through well-written columns touting the British cause.⁹

Stephenson’s propaganda campaign used journalists to shape American public opinion. Shortly after arriving in the United States, he renewed his friendship with Ernest Cuneo, owner of the North American Newspaper Alliance. Cuneo’s chain of newspapers employed such notable pro-British journalists as Drew Pearson and Walter Winchell. He contacted George Backer, publisher of the *New York Post*, Ralph Ingersoll, editor of the *PM*, Helen Ogden Reid, *New York Herald Tribune*, Paul Patterson, publisher of the *Baltimore Sun*, A.H. Sulzberger, President of the *New York Times*, and Walter Lemmon,

⁸ “U.S. at War: Sloppy Citizenship,” *Time*, 16 November 1942. Drew Pearson, “The Daily Washington Merry-Go-Round,” *The Daily Sheboygan*, 26 October 1942.

⁹ Thomas E. Mahl, *Desperate Deception: British Covert Operations in the United States, 1939-1944*, (Washington: Brassey’s, 1998), 107-135.

owner of WRUL—a popular radio station.¹⁰ Stephenson, also, used journalists, to included Walter Lippmann, William L. Shirer, Edmond Taylor, Douglas Miller, H.R. Knickerbocker, Raymond Gram Swing, Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson. The *New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Post*, and the *Baltimore Sun* ran BSC “plant” stories discrediting isolationist groups.¹¹ These propaganda campaigns, conducted by BSC controlled newspaper columnists, worked because these stories proved to be factual. These columnists’ careers rose as the quality of their stories improved. Having the SIS provide factual material for their articles ensured that they could “scoop” their competition.¹²

Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson proved especially useful. These men published “hot” stories by collecting “dirt” on prominent public figures, which they threatened to publish “unless their prospective victims” supplied them with whatever information they needed. These men proved invaluable to the British war effort but they also represented a dangerous source of information. The British knew Winchell and Pearson could turn on them at any time but these men knew the inner workings of the U.S. government and this knowledge would prove invaluable. If Stephenson was going to succeed, he needed to not only control their vast network of informants but also influence, through pro-British news stories, their broad readership. Winchell wrote a daily column printed in more than 800 newspapers and read by well over 25 million

¹⁰ Obituaries, “Ernest L. Cuneo, 82: Owned News Service,” *The New York Times*, 05 March, 1988. The BSC Papers, 20. Troy, 64,

¹¹ Mahl, 21.

¹² The BSC Papers, 20.

people. Drew Pearson wrote a regular column entitled the *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, which was published in 616 newspapers with a readership of nearly 20 million. Both Winchell and Pearson had a Sunday night radio broadcast with an estimated 15 million listeners each. Both men proved instrumental in helping to sway U.S. public opinion. Setting up contacts within the U.S. media enabled the BSC to launch offensive and defensive political warfare programs. This allowed Stephenson the flexibility to counter external propaganda (German intelligence) and internal (isolationist and noninterventionist) domestic campaigns. The BSC continuously worked to ensure nothing hindered the growing Anglo-American cooperation. German and British intelligence fought, this war of words, by using intermediaries—mostly affiliated with isolationist and interventionist organizations. While the British political warfare effort was not revealed during the conflict, the British did successfully expose “German inspired subversive propaganda” operations.¹³

While Stephenson held a broad mandate to work in the Americas, the BSC did not at first direct these early counterpropaganda efforts. Special Operations Executive’s (SOE) SO1, the division tasked with foreign propaganda that worked with the British Ministry of Information (MOI), initially waged a covert war against the pro-Axis organizations working in the United States. By financially supporting various American interventionist organizations, SOE agents began to infiltrate and assimilate these political

¹³ The BSC Papers, 123, 66.

groups into their political warfare program.¹⁴ Organizations like:

1. *The Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights*. This society organized boycotts of all firms dealing in German Goods, published exposures of Germans and pro-German Americans in the USA, picketed isolationist meetings and issued a periodic bulletin on Nazi activities in America. As an example of its work, at an American First rally, featuring Lindbergh as speaker, the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League distributed leaflets showing Lindbergh in amicable conversation with the be-medaled Erhard Milch of the Luftwaffe.
2. *The League of Human Rights, Freedom and Democracy*. This was a committee aimed at winning the support of organized labor. It had branches in over 200 cities. Its honorary president was William Green, head of the American Federation of Labor; its president, Matthew Woll, vice-president of the American Federation of Labor; and its vice-president, David Dubinsky of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Its theme was that American labor owed it to itself to assist British labor in the fight against Hitler. One of its best achievements was the distribution of a pamphlet contrasting Nazi statements of principle with those of distinguished Americans, under the title of 'Their Aims—Our Aims.' Sample copies of this were sent to 4,800 branch offices of the AFL unions, with such success that over 8,000,000 were eventually distributed in the United States and 2,000,000

¹⁴ The BSC Papers, 69.

more in Latin America. In addition, it sent selected news items to 400 labor papers and magazines every week.

3. *The American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor* was another affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, also under the chairmanship of Matthew Woll. It held mass meetings, sponsored radio broadcasts and distributed 'Aid British Labour' buttons, 'Help Spanish Dictators' circulars, posters, etc.

These two committees were particularly useful in the period when much of the organized labor was still anti-British because it followed, or was attracted to, pro-Soviet isolationists. It was impossible to do anything with large segments of the Congress of Industrial Organizations before June 1941, but its powerful rival, the American Federation of Labor, was thus induced to side with the British.

4. *The Ring of Freedom*, an association led by the publicist Dorothy Thompson, the *Council for Democracy*; the *American Defenders of Freedom*, and other such societies were formed and supported by it to hold anti-isolationist meetings which branded all isolationists as Nazi-lovers.

5. *The Free World Association*, which had on its committee the Spanish Republican politician Julio Alvarez del Vayo, the Uruguayan anti-Nazi propagandist Hugo Fernandez Artucio, the Socialist Louis Dolivet, and other distinguished liberals with whom BSC was closely in touch. Founded in June-July 1941, it functioned in the United States mainly through liberal meetings and articles in liberal weeklies, but had more influence in Latin

America...It also sponsored broadcasts in Europe. In conjunction with the 'Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies'...it held over a hundred 'Stop Mass Murders' meeting throughout the USA in November 1941 against the shooting of French hostages by the Germans. There were 750 speakers, the estimated attendance was 350,000, and 20,000 newspapers carried announcements or reports of the proceedings.

6. *The Civilian Defense and Information Bureau*, which sent 85,000 copies of an article on the British Empire by Sir Norman Angell, reprinted in pamphlet form, to the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, local chairman of the 'Committee to Defend America,' doctors, lawyers, and educators through the USA.

The BSC and SOE concealed, from the general public, their efforts to stimulate and encourage pro-interventionist societies. "All financing and all contacts were managed through reliable cut-outs so that the fact that Britain was greatly responsible for what appeared to be a new surge of honest American opinion was never revealed."¹⁵

The British found the average American worker to be uneducated and lacking any real political traditions. And yet, the pro-British labor organizations—American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor and the Fight for Freedom Committee—tried to convince American workers to support the British war effort. Most of these foreign-born blue collar workers barely spoke English. To reach these men, the BSC found impassioned speeches appealed to the lowest of human emotions often swayed them. By March 1941,

¹⁵ The BSC Papers, 69-71.

as Lend-Lease became a reality, the American Labor Committee to Aid British Labor held a rally where New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman gave the keynote speech helping to raise \$5,000,000 to support the British. The insidious nature of the British political warfare campaign to win over American workers relied on BSC agents working behind the scenes. By that, the British could hide their true intentions since no British citizen belonged to or attended these meetings.¹⁶

The largest two American labor organizations were the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Labor (CIO). Members of the AFL supported Roosevelt and the idea of providing aid to Britain. John L. Lewis, the head of CIO, not only personally disliked Roosevelt but was also staunchly isolationist. Unfortunately, most of the defense industry workers were affiliated with the CIO and the BSC quick began to view “Lewis’s prejudices” as a “menace to Britain.” FDR, also, saw Lewis as a threat. The American president ordered the FBI to investigate Lewis. Before the 1940 presidential election, the public became aware of this federal investigation, which cost Roosevelt the support of the CIO.¹⁷

In November 1941, at the CIO Nation Convention in Detroit, the BSC front organization Fight for Freedom went on the offensive attacking Lewis and his isolationist beliefs. The members of the Fight for Freedom Committee conducted extensive polling of the CIO delegates making sure to phrase their questions to “steer the delegate’s

¹⁶ The BSC Papers, 82.

¹⁷ Ibid., 81; Curt Gentry, J. *Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), 237-238. The details of this illegal wiretapping of Lewis was publically denied by FDR who did refrain from mentioning that Lewis’ daughter, Kathryn, a secret member of the Communist Party who lived with Lewis, was under surveillance and thus every word spoken by Lewis was recorded.

opinion toward support of Britain and the war.” By manipulating the questions to illicit a preordained response, the delegates polled stated “96percent thought defeating Hitler was more important than keeping the USA out of the war. 90percent said they would fight at once if it seemed certain Hitler would defeat Britain. 87percent supported Fight for Freedom against America First.” In fact, those polled voted Charles Lindbergh the number one fascist in the United States. This same poll voted Senator Burton Wheeler, the chair of the Senate Interstate Commerce Commission, who, in August 1941, began looking into the interventionists working in Hollywood, number two. Members of the Fight for Freedom Committee got the delegates at the CIO National Convention to unanimously pass a resolution to support the president’s foreign policy. They also passed out pro-interventionist literature to include “25,000 copies of *Hitler-Wanted for Murder*; 2,000 copies of *Fight for Freedom*; and 2,000 *Smash Hitler* buttons.”¹⁸

The BSC began investigation the connection between pro-Axis propaganda efforts and isolationists legislators. It seemed that members of German Library of Information, in New York City, received franked envelopes from a several senatorial and congressional offices. Odd since the signature on these envelopes appeared to come from the same hand, and the senators and representatives came from all over and yet the letters were all sent from New York City. The British became convinced there was a single distribution center for these franked letters. Most of these letters came from Representative Rush D. Holt, Sr. (D-WV), Senators Gerald Nye (R-ND), George Tinkham (R-MA), Jacob Thorkelson (R-MT), and Burton K. Wheeler (D-MT). All of

¹⁸ The BSC Papers, 83-84.

these men held isolationist or anti-British views. BSC agents, working in New York, discovered the pro-Axis franking operation used a blue stencil. They believed this stencil came from a unique addressing machine. They quickly discovered there were only three of these types of machines in New York City. Further investigation concluded that these letters were being assembled and sent from the Steuben Society, listed as German cultural organization. Once the BSC presented evidence the Steuben Society violated postal regulations, government officials forced this German cultural organization to pay a fine while embarrassing the senators and representatives involved.¹⁹

While the BSC worked to expose congressional bias, the Rockefeller Office, and the FBI continued conducting economic warfare against Axis allied businesses located south of the border. By the summer of 1941, U.S. businesses severed ties with more than a 1000 pro-Axis firms. The Rockefeller office expanded its voluntary mandate against pro-Axis firms. Rockefeller employees asked Latin American companies to look into how their employees spent their money. They wanted to stop these employees from spending their money on Nazi propaganda. They also asked U.S. importers to stop dealing with suspected Central and South America Nazi purchasing agents. Not everyone was willing to sacrifice profit for patriotism. James D. Moony, General Motors, and William Rhodes Davis, Davis Oil Company, refused to adhere to this voluntary program. Business was business and they refused to stop turning a profit just because there was a war being fought in Europe.²⁰ On July 19, 1941, U.S. sentiment had

¹⁹ The BSC Papers, 75-80.

²⁰ Mahl, 18.

shifted enough to allow FDR to make his economic warfare policies compulsory, which marked the end of the Rockefeller office's offensive intelligence operations in the region. The multimillionaire transferred all information compiled by his agents about suspected pro-Axis business dealings to the State Department's newly established World Trade Intelligence Division. To ensure continuity of service, Rockefeller, also, sent some of his organization's key personal to work for this new State Department agency.²¹

In a little more than a year, Stephenson set up a clandestine intelligence organization working out of New York City. He maintained a close working relationship with the FBI. The BSC, working with the Rockefeller Office, successfully orchestrated a covert economic warfare campaign against Nazi sympathizers working in Latin and South America. The BSC using cutouts monitored anti-British organizations working in the United States. Stephenson, also, designed and carried out counterpropaganda campaigns designed to shift U.S. sentiment to support the British war effort. The passage of Lend-Lease proved that these counterpropaganda campaigns worked. American agents of influence working with British intelligence began influencing presidential policy decisions by having access, through Sherwood, to FDR's political speeches.

The greatest BSC success occurred during the first half of 1941. Stephenson and British Intelligence convinced FDR to create the first centralized American peacetime national level intelligence agency. This decision had far-reaching implications that

²¹ Paul Kramer, "Nelson Rockefeller and British Security Coordination", *Journal of Contemporary History*, (January 1981): 77.

extended beyond the end of the war.²² As early as June 1940, Stephenson began to understand that he needed to “secure full American participation in secret activities directed against the enemy outside the Western Hemisphere.” Intrepid needed something that did not yet exist. He needed “an agency responsible for conducting, on behalf of the United States Government, secret activities throughout the world.” Stephenson envisaged an organization similar to the BSC, which would allow for easy collaboration between the two nations. Stephenson began discussing his plans for American intelligence reform with Donovan.²³

Stephenson, however, does not deserve all the credit for setting up COI. Roosevelt, as early as 1939, realized, as did the directors of the FBI, ONI, and MID, that war required a centralized intelligence apparatus, which is why FDR set up the Intradepartmental Intelligence Committee (IIC). The FBI and the military struggled to gain control of whatever wartime intelligence agency Roosevelt chose to create. The military suggested creating a Joint Intelligence Committee with the armed services in control of wartime intelligence. J. Edgar Hoover, working through the IIC, believed that Roosevelt would expand his mandate from the Americas to conduct global intelligence collection in support of U.S. military operations but the president decided to go another way.²⁴

²² For a detailed examination of William “Intrepid” Stephenson’s role in establishing the COI see Thomas Troy’s *Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan, Stephenson and the Origins of the CIA*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

²³ The BSC Papers, 24.

²⁴ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 11-131.

In December 1940, “Wild Bill” Donovan, the president’s unofficial eyes and ears, took a second trip to war-torn Europe. The facts about this mission remain murky as Stephenson claimed that through his efforts, he orchestrated Donovan’s second trip to Europe. A claim Donovan denied. The former soldier turned amateur spy stated that he did not know Intrepid when FDR asked him to make this second trip.²⁵

According to Donovan’s account, FDR asked him to “go and make a strategic appreciation from an economic, political, and military standpoint of the Mediterranean area.”²⁶ Regardless of whom arranged the trip, the two men traveled together to Lisbon and then on to London. Stephenson, just before leaving the United States, sent a cable to Menzies, the head of SIS, stating that it was

Impossible to over-emphasize importance to Donovan’s visit...He can play a great role perhaps a vital one...but it may not be consistent with orthodox diplomacy nor confined to its channels...You should personally convey to Prime Minister that Donovan is presently the strongest friend we have...²⁷

The head of the BSC understood that Donovan exercised a “controlling influence over Knox, a strong influence over Stimson, friendly advisory influence over President and Hull.”²⁸ A sentiment reiterated by Alfred Duff Cooper, British Minister of Information under Churchill. Cooper enthusiastically supported Donovan’s return to London. Besides being a friend, Cooper realized the extent to which Donovan had gone

²⁵ Thomas F. Troy, *Donovan and the CIA: A History of the Central Intelligence Agency*, (New York: Aletheia Books University Publications of America, Inc., 1981), 36.

²⁶ Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 36. Historically there is some argument as to whether or not William Stephenson suggested Donovan take this second trip to Europe, or whether it was Henry Knox or even as Donovan suggests the president of the United States. Ultimately, who sent Donovan to Europe is not as important as the results of this second trip, which made Donovan the up and coming expert on both the war in Europe and British intelligence operations.

²⁷ The BSC Papers, 13.

²⁸ Ibid.

to ensure the British got the supplies they needed to fight the war.²⁹ Donovan was instrumental in orchestrating the destroyers for bases deal as well as ensuring the United States provided Britain with the latest bombsights for their bombers.³⁰

This trip differed from Donovan's first as it included an extensive tour of the war-torn Balkans as well as North Africa. According to an official British account, Winston Churchill asked Donovan to visit the Balkans on "Britain's behalf," which he did.³¹ Donovan met with King George and Premier Metaxas of Greece, King Boris of Bulgaria, and Prince Regent Paul Karadordević of Yugoslavia. Stephenson's account of Donovan's trip to the Balkans credits him with "paving the way for the *coup d'état*" against Prince Paul's pro-German government.³² When asked by General Dusan T. Simovic whether he believed Britain would hold out against German aggression, the former World War I Colonel stated that he thought the British would hold out. Simovic, two days after the Yugoslavian government signed the Tripartite Pact, coordinated the coup that removed Prince Paul and his Prime Minister, Dragiša Cvetković, from power compelling Hitler to invade the Balkan nation.³³

After his brief stop in the Balkans, Donovan headed to North Africa where he met with King Farouk of Egypt. Similar to his first trip, he went everywhere and met with everyone. FDR's envoy, at each of his stops, discussed regional strategy, logistics, and

²⁹ Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 37.

³⁰ The BSC Papers, 13.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 14.

³² Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 84.

³³ Gerhard L. Weinberg, *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 216. The need to secure his southern flank, especially after Mussolini decided to invade Greece played a role Hitler's decision to invade Yugoslavia. The Nazi dictator needed the natural resources found in the region. Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 78-79.

long-term plans for resisting Nazi advances in these regions with heads of states, general officers, and intelligence specialists. Intrepid, also, once again ensured that British intelligence experts gave Donovan an insider's view of how the British conducted special operations throughout Europe. These conversations with "C" helped Donovan convince U.S. policy makers to establish a centralized intelligence apparatus patterned on British Intelligence.³⁴

When Wild Bill returned, he argued the key to retaking Europe lay with the British ability to gain and control North Africa. The British would then need to extend their military influence to include the entire Mediterranean Sea. By using the British Grecian salient, the British could counterattack through the Balkans to the heart of Hitler's Empire. The loss of this salient, a few months later, caused this invasion plan to be altered. The information collected by Donovan, however, provided the framework for the first Anglo-American offensive operation of the war—Operation Torch.³⁵

On March 18, 1940, after three and a half months of unofficial snooping into the allied war effort, Donovan returned home. Similar to his first trip to London, Wild Bill carefully calculated how to disseminate the information he collected. He immediately contacted his friend and mentor Henry Knox. The following day, Donovan briefly met with FDR. There is no written record of what the two men discussed. Historian Thomas Troy believed Donovan took the opportunity to "suggest [to the president] the creation of a new agency" tasked with conducting wartime intelligence operations.³⁶

³⁴ The BSC Papers, 24.

³⁵ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 86.

³⁶ "History of the OSS" quoted in Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 40 and 486.

Shortly after this early morning meeting with the president, the former World War I hero, relying on a meticulously drafted “to do” list, began once again making his way through Washington’s burgeoning intelligence community. He stop to talk with intelligence professionals about wartime censorship, subversive activities, and propaganda broadcasts. Making time to further the British cause, Donovan met with those responsible for shipping U.S. Army equipment, U.S. aircraft, and U.S. munitions to the English Isles. All the while telling anyone who would listen that British morale was high.³⁷

Donovan’s movements quickly came to the attention of General Sherman Miles, Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence. Miles, alarmed by rumors of a “super agency” tasked with controlling all intelligence, sent a memorandum, outlining his concerns, to General George C. Marshall, the Army Chief of Staff. Miles explained that “such an agency, no doubt under Col. Donovan, would collect, collate, and possibly even evaluate all military intelligence.” Miles did not remind Marshal that J. Edgar Hoover continued to ask for the FBI to be given responsibility for all foreign and domestic intelligence operations. MID had successfully, except in Latin and South America, kept the FBI from encroaching on its foreign intelligence collection activities. The War Department, having fought to keep an independent intelligence apparatus, now had to contend with the possibility of Donovan taking control. Miles feared that this new agency would become a clearinghouse for the raw product collected by all three major intelligence agencies. This new agency would then be able to filter the information for presidential

³⁷ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 90-91.

consumption, which according to Miles would be “calamitous” for the War Department.³⁸ What the War Department did not realize is that Stephenson had been “attempting to maneuver Donovan into accepting the job of coordinating all U.S. intelligence.”³⁹

Publicly, the idea of directing this new agency did not appeal to Donovan, who continually asked to for a battlefield command. As one historian so eloquently explained, Donovan was “a hero in search of a role.”⁴⁰ Before taking his second trip to Europe, Donovan asked Stimson for a military command. Stimson explained there was very little chance of him getting command. Privately, Donovan realized that command was no longer an option began to lobby to establish a new centralized intelligence agency, which kept his name at the top of the shortlist to command the new agency. It might not be a military command, but it would do. In addition, as the COI transformed into the OSS, Donovan’s twisting of his mandate ensured his men saw combat—most of which occurred behind the lines.

Stephenson, working behind the scenes, provided Donovan with access to the most powerful men in Britain. He considered Donovan to be the only person for the job. According to Stephenson, Donovan was the logical choice. “He had the confidence of the president, of the Secretary of State and the civilian heads of the Service

³⁸ Memorandum, Miles to Marshall, “Coordinator for the Three Intelligence Agencies of the Government,” 8 April 1941, Record Group 319: Records of the Army Staff, National Archives and Records Administration. This April 8, 1941 memorandum from Miles to Marshall represents the earliest documented reference to a central intelligence apparatus.

³⁹ A portion of a telegram from Stephenson to “C” dated 5 May 1941. Quoted in the BSC Papers, 24.

⁴⁰ Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 52.

Departments.” Since the Great War, Wild Bill had “made some study of, and had given considerable thought to, the conduct of secret activities” and Donovan “had already shown himself willing to cooperate fully with BSC.”⁴¹

As early as April 26, 1941, Donovan began seeking allies to help convince the president to set up a new centralized intelligence agency. Donovan wrote a short letter to his friend and mentor Frank Knox explaining to the Secretary of the Navy the “instrumentality through which the British Government gathers its information in foreign countries.” Any new intelligence agency “should not be controlled by party exigencies.” As “the most vital means of national defense,” the new agency “should be headed by someone appointed by the President and directly responsible to him and to no one else.” The organization’s budget should be “secret and made solely at the discretion of the President.”⁴²

Donovan went on to explain the new organization “should not take over the home duties now performed by the FBI, nor the intelligence organizations of the Army and the Navy.” Instead, the new intelligence apparatus would have three primary roles. First, it would “have sole charge of intelligence work abroad.” Second, it would “coordinate the activities of military and naval attaches and others in the collection of information aboard.” Third, it would “classify and interpret all information from whatever source obtained to be available for the President and for such of the services as he would designate.” These three primary functions of intelligence make what would become the

⁴¹ The BSC Papers, 25.

⁴² Letter from Donovan to Knox, 26 April 1941, cited in Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 417.

COI, the OSS, and eventually the CIA seem nothing more than a clearinghouse for intelligence—a classified news service supplying information to the president.⁴³

Donovan, however, saw a multifaceted intelligence apparatus. A place where data analysis would play a small but vital function. The former World War I Colonel went on to explain to Knox that, “Modern war operates on more fronts than battlefronts. Each combatant seeks to dominate the whole field of communications. No defense system is effective unless it recognizes and deals with this fact.” Thus according to Donovan, “the interception and inspection (commonly and erroneously called censorship) of mail and cables; the interception of radio communication; the use of propaganda to penetrate behind enemy lines; the direction of active subversive operations in enemy countries, all comprise an essential facet of intelligence work.” Donovan wanted the president to establish a centralized intelligence agency able to run any type of operation.⁴⁴

Donovan realized the FBI, ONI, and MID would not willingly submit to a new agency. He proposed the president set up “an Advisory Committee consisting at least of Assistant Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, Navy and Justice and perhaps a junior permanent committee to make certain of the full cooperation of all departments. Donovan’s proposed committee mimicked IIC and the IIC had failed to foster a spirit of cooperation between the rival intelligence services. FDR’s decision not to institute this oversight committee suggests the president did not want an extra layer of bureaucracy between the Oval Office and COI.⁴⁵ By June 10, 1941, Wild Bill put his ideas for a new

⁴³ Letter from Donovan to Knox, 26 April 1941, cited in Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 417.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

agency into a concise report, entitled “Memorandum of Establishment of Strategic Information”, which formally set down his ideas for creating a global intelligence agency. Henry L. Stimson, the Secretary of State, John J. McCloy, the Assistant Secretary of State, and Henry Knox, Secretary of the Navy, knew the directors of the FBI, MID, and ONI would hate the idea; and yet, these men supported Donovan’s plan.⁴⁶ America needed a centralized intelligence agency.

Donovan next turned his attention to finding allies from within Roosevelt’s inner circle. He pitched his idea for a combined intelligence service to Vincent Astor, whose amateur intelligence organization had helped keep FDR informed about world events while acting as a conduit between British Intelligence and the FBI. Donovan hoped to sell Astor on his plan and then have Astor present these ideas on intelligence reform to FDR; unfortunately, Astor preferred the FBI to Donovan’s yet unnamed intelligence organization. Donovan, searching for allies, next turned to Robert E. Sherwood, presidential speechwriter, and BSC confidant. Sherwood like Knox and Stimson supported Donovan, but the presidential speechwriter was out town during the first part of June 1941.⁴⁷

The greatest push for Donovan’s organization came from two unlikely sources—a British Admiral and the new U.S. Ambassador to England. On May 25, 1941, Real Admiral John H. Godfrey, the British Director of Naval Intelligence, and his aid, Commander Ian Fleming, arrived in Washington D. C. to discuss with the U.S. president

⁴⁶ Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 59.

⁴⁷ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid: Donovan*, 124.

the importance of integrating the decentralized U.S. intelligence community. Godfrey, having met Donovan during his two trips to London, pushed the 40-year-old Colonel on FDR as the logical choice to run this new super agency.⁴⁸ As the discussion over this new agency reached its climax, John G. Winant, a former New Hampshire governor who FDR had just recently appointed as the Ambassador to the Court of St. James, replacing the defeatist minded Joseph Kennedy, returned from London. Over the course of several days, Winant met five times with the president.⁴⁹ Stephenson referred to Winant as an avenue “of influence at the White House” an avenue the BSC director intended to exploit to ensure the United States established a global intelligence service. Winant and Godfrey’s pleas for creating Donovan’s agency bore fruit and on June 18, 1941, Stephenson sent a telegram to Menzies stating that

...Donovan saw President today and after long discussion wherein all points were agreed, he accepted appointment... He will be Coordinator of all forms intelligence including offensive operations equivalent to S.O.2...he will hold rank of Major General and will be responsible only repeat only to the President...Donovan accuses me of having ‘intrigued and driven him into appointment... You can imagine how relived I am after three months of battle and jockeying for position in Washington that our man is in a position of such importance to our efforts...⁵⁰

Donovan’s accusation of British meddling reflected a self-deprecating remark made by a man who secretly wanted the appointment. Wild Bill worked to convince Washington insiders to set up COI and he want the job almost as much as the British wanted him to have it.

⁴⁸ Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 59-60.

⁴⁹ Mahl, 21.

⁵⁰ The BSC Papers, 25.

FDR gave Donovan a broad mandate under which to conduct intelligence operations in support of what the executive branch, in this case, the president of the United States, considered national security issues. The American president ordered Donovan's organization "to collect and analyze all information and data which may bear upon national security." COI was tasked with correlating this data and making it "available to the President and to such departments and officials of the Government as the President may determine." Miles' prophetic vision of Donovan's centralized super agency exceeded his worst prediction. COI's mandate allowed the organization "to carry out when requested by the President such supplementary activities as may facilitate the securing of information important for national security not now available to the Government."⁵¹ Thus, centralizing all U.S. intelligence operations under COI gave Donovan the ability to conduct global offensive intelligence operations. To say that this mandate shocked members of the FBI, MID, ONI would be an understatement.⁵²

Creating COI hurt the FBI. The FBI, because of this intelligence reorganization, lost its monopoly on being the only U.S. agency to have direct dealings with SIS.⁵³ Hoover, in a fit of rage, threatened to resign over Donovan's appointment but on reflection reconsidered. Hoover, ever the political survivor, however, arranged for the FBI to conduct the background checks on prospective COI agents. The FBI director, having learned from the BSC, then simply had his agents infiltrate first the COI and then

⁵¹ Franklin D. Roosevelt, Designating a Coordinator of Information, 11 July 1941, cited in Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 423. The BSC Papers, 17.

⁵² Gentry, 266-267.

⁵³ Troy, *Wild Bill and Intrepid*, 132.

the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Some of these agents rose to high-level positions within Donovan's agency. These men provided Hoover with all the information the director needed to ensure his organization survived the war.⁵⁴

By the fall of 1941, Stephenson's organization, working with COI, provided a "vast volume of intelligence" to Menzies. The director of MI6 realized that Stephenson had set up "an almost unassailable personal position in the U.S.A." The former industrialist turned spy controlled all British secret activities in the Americas and had become the "backdoor contact with the White House." The BSC, because of Roosevelt's intelligence reorganization, achieved the impossible. Stephenson, working as the conduit to the various U.S. intelligence agencies, all of which refused to work with one another, somehow convinced these competing agencies to share information with British intelligence working in New York City. When this arrangement proved inefficient, Stephenson worked to create a centralized American intelligence agency. The BSC ensured FDR appointed an Anglophile to head the new organization.⁵⁵ And Stephenson arranged for British intelligence to train all new COI agents at a secret facility in Canada known as Camp X.⁵⁶

As the British worked to ensure the Axis powers did not expand their political warfare operations into the Americas, the BSC began looking for ways to weaken the German-Japanese alliance. Stephenson's men wanted to expose the Japanese to anti-

⁵⁴ Gentry, 267.

⁵⁵ Gill Bennett, *Churchill's Man of Mystery: Desmond Morton and the World of Intelligence*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 255-256.

⁵⁶ For more information on Camp X see David Stafford, *Camp X: SOE School for Spies*, (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1987). Once COI became OSS the British continued training Donovan's agents.

German propaganda. They enlisted the aid of Juiji Kasai, a prominent member of the Japanese Diet. Kasai, a moderate, agreed to send personal letters home to his associates. To avoid postal censors, Captain (later Colonel) James Roosevelt, the president's oldest son and "a good friend of the BSC," arranged to have the Washington Post Office stamp the letters "airmail, special delivery." These postal workers did not mail the letters; instead, a courier delivered Kasai's letters to the captain of the *Heiyo Maru*, a Japanese ship bound for Yokohama.⁵⁷

The British and the Americans, also, began using shortwave radio to reach the Japanese. The British began a rumor campaign suggesting that German fifth columnists were influencing the Japanese government. William Winter, a useful idiot and well-known American journalist, reported

The chances are that Japan would remain neutral, and would support a peaceful policy towards the United States, if Japan were entirely directed by the Japanese. The facts, however, are that there are more than three thousand Nazis in Japan. They are not Japanese; they are Germans. They are reported—and incidentally this is not to be construed as any "inside" information—it is material that has widely been published—the report is that there are more than three thousand well-trained agents, listed as businessmen, technicians, advisers, and just plain tourists, all over the country...Whether Japanese intelligence will overcome Nazi persuasion only the future can reveal.⁵⁸

Winter soon became a regular commentator working for KGEI out of San Francisco and he never discovered that he worked for the BSC. The Malay Broadcasting Corporation and the Australian Broadcasting Commission translated his commentaries into Dutch,

⁵⁷ The BSC Papers, 94-96.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 97-98.

French, Chinese, Japanese, Tagalog, Thai, and Malay and then retransmitted these broadcasts throughout Asia.⁵⁹

These efforts to destroy the German-Japanese alliance as well as exposing the aggressive expansionist plans of the militarist could not stop diplomatic relations between the United States and Japan from deteriorating. Stephenson's organization penetrated the Japanese Embassy in Washington and the Japanese Consulates in New York and San Francisco. The BSC passed the information obtained by these agents to the Whitehouse, which provided FDR a behind the scenes glimpse into Japan's attitudes towards the United States. The news from these agents became more and more alarming. On November 27, 1941, according to the BSC papers, James Roosevelt, FDR's son, delivered a private message to Stephenson. "Japanese negotiations off. Services expect action within two weeks."⁶⁰ American intelligence proved accurate and on December 7, 1941, Imperial Japan attacked U.S. Naval forces stationed at Pearl Harbor. No one expected an attack on U.S. forces stationed in Hawaii—least of all Winston Churchill.⁶¹

As one author put it, "The isolationist cause died on the spot." With the death of almost 2,500 American servicemen, the British finally gained an ally. Winston Churchill immediately called Roosevelt, who told the British prime minister that he intended to ask

⁵⁹ The BSC Papers, 97-98.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 217-218, Forward. Stephenson's account that FDR knew in advance that the Japanese were going to attack U.S. forces somewhere in the world might seem shocking but it should be noted that Stephenson did not intend for these papers to ever been read by the general public. So, there was no reason to include this story unless it was true.

⁶¹ For information about the events leading up to Pearl Harbor see Roberta Wohlstetter, *Pearl Harbor: Warning and Decision*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1962); Gordon W. Prange, *At Dawn We Slept: The Untold Story of Pearl Harbor*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981). For a detailed record of "Magic" and Pearl Harbor see the five volume work entitled *The "Magic" Background of Pearl Harbor*, (Washington D.C.: Department of Defense, 1978).

Congress for a declaration of war. Churchill assured the American president that England intended to join the United States in declaring war against Imperial Japan. As Churchill went to bed that night, he thought “we have won after all.” The next day the United States declared war.⁶²

Half a world away, Chiang Kai-Shek, the leader of Nationalist China, also felt relieved. The Japanese militarists had finally done the one thing, Chiang had secretly been hoping for, they attacked the United States. Now, America’s war aims coincided with China’s, who had been fighting the Japanese for the better part of a decade. The origins of the China lobby can be traced back to the Sino-Japanese Wars. On September 18, 1931, the Kwantung Army, considered by many to be the most prestigious command in the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA), took advantage of China’s Civil War and seized Manchuria. Colonel Seishirō Itagaki and Lieutenant Colonel Kanji Ishiwara believed that Manchuria could solve two of Japan’s most pressing economic problems—poverty and lack of natural resources. Hoping for Tokyo’s blessing the men plotted. When Tokyo refused to sanction their plan, Itagaki and Ishiwara committed *gekokujo* (insubordination) and orchestrated the Mukden Incident, which allowed the Kwantung Army to set up a Japanese-controlled puppet régime called Manchukuo.⁶³ Henry Stimson, the Secretary of State, formulated the non-recognition doctrine, which stated the United States would not

⁶² William Manchester and Paul Reid, *The Last Lion: Winston Spencer Churchill, Defender of the Realm, 1940-1965*, (New York: Little, Brown & Company, 2012), 582-583.

⁶³ “Reflections on Certain Features of the Far Eastern Situation and Certain Problems of U.S. Far Eastern Policy, 4 July 1940,” Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Official File, Box 2, China 1939-1940; John Toland, *The Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire, 1936-1945*, (New York: The Modern Library, 1970), 4-5.

recognize territorial gains won through force of arms.⁶⁴ The Japanese responded by compelling the Kuomintang (KMT or Chinese Nationalist Party) to sign the Tanggu Truce, which ended the conflict on Japanese terms. As the Kwantung Army withdrew north of the Great Wall, the treaty terms went into effect setting up a demilitarized zone between the two nations.⁶⁵

The Kwantung Army consolidated its position in Northern China by building railroads, encouraging Japanese citizens to migrate to the region, and by boosting regional industrialization. Tokyo renounced its commitment to the Washington Naval Treaty and began to expand its navy.⁶⁶ By extending their control over their client state, the Japanese, according to U.S. policymakers, intended to use Mongolia as “a possible ‘jumping off’ line to attack Russia.” Rationalizing their conquest, Tokyo established the Amau Doctrine, which was similar to the Monroe Doctrine.⁶⁷ Just as the Monroe Doctrine protected U.S. interests in the Western Hemisphere. The Amau Doctrine allowed Japan to act unilaterally to preserve the peace in East Asia. If the Tanggu Truce laid the foundation for future Japanese adventurism, then the Amau Doctrine provided the philosophical legitimacy for the future subjugation of China.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ United States. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 76.

⁶⁵ Dorothy Borg, *The United States and the Far Eastern Crisis of 1933-1938*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), 37.

⁶⁶ United States. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1935, The Far East Crisis*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 3. A War Department memo, dated January 7, 1935, explained that the Japanese renunciation of the Washington Treaty brought the nation one-step closer to war with Russia.

⁶⁷ “Reflections on Certain Features of the Far Eastern Situation and Certain Problems of U.S. Far Eastern Policy, 4 July 1940,” Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Official File, Box 2, China 1939-1940; United States. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1935, The Far East Crisis*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), 3.

⁶⁸ T.A. Bisson, *Japan in China*, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1938), 44.

The United States response to Japanese aggression consisted of a series of diplomatic warnings expressing U.S. treaty rights in the region. As long as Japan allowed U.S. merchants to prosper in China by following the dictates of the U.S. inspired Open Door Policy, the United States continued to follow a non-interventionist plan. On December 5, 1935, Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, said “Political disturbances and pressures give rise to uncertainty and misgiving and tend to produce economic and social dislocations. They make difficult the enjoyment of treaty rights and the fulfillment of treaty obligations.”⁶⁹ His statement provides a clear example of the diplomatic rhetoric of the times.

While the IJA consolidated power in Manchuria, Chiang Kai-Shek struggled to find allies to help prevent future Japanese incursions. With non-interventionist feelings taking root in the United States, Chiang turned to Germany for support. Stripped of its colonial possessions, the Weimar Republic forged an alliance with Nationalist China. This period of Sino-German cooperation worked on the barter system where the Germans provided the foreign credit Chiang needed in exchange for the raw materials that Germany needed to re-arm. During this period of political instability, German financial investment in China helped the nation to both modernize and westernize. Germans served as military, political, and economic advisers to Chiang. These men, using the Prussian model, reorganized the Chinese military and set up a Western system of

⁶⁹ United States. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Japan: 1931-1941*, 240.

education. As China began to modernize, the KMT vowed to reunify China under Nationalist rule but the CCP resisted reunification. The Chinese Civil War continued.⁷⁰

On December 12, 1936, Marshal Zhang Xueliang, the former warlord of Manchuria, ordered Colonel Sun Mingjiu to kidnap Chiang Kai-shek. Zhang had grown tired of Chiang's "determination to exterminate the Communist Party before resisting Japan." During the early morning hours, Sun's men moved in and using brute force killed those who stood in their way. Chiang recalled, "Bullets whizzed by quite close to my body and some of my bodyguards were hit and dropped dead." Chiang hid in a cave but soon the elements proved too much and the fifty year old Generalissimo surrendered to Sun.⁷¹ Zhang's hope of dealing directly with Chiang turned sour as the Generalissimo refused to talk and he refused to eat. Worried about his place in history, Chiang decided that if it was to be a show trial followed by execution then he would meet his fate on his feet.⁷²

Zhang was at his wits end and not sure what to do. Chiang's refusal to negotiate had him stumped; so, he contacted the CCP, who had no idea the Young Marshal had the audacity to order his men to arrest the leader of China. Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were elated when they heard the news and thought it was best to just kill Chiang but decided to defer to Stalin. While waiting on Stalin's reply, Zhou, the CCP's top

⁷⁰ William C. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1984), 3-5.

⁷¹ Jonathan Fenby, *Chiang Kai-shek: China's Generalissimo and the Nation He Lost*, (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2004), 1-11. For the Communist side of the Xi'an incident see Philip Short, *Mao: A Life*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999), 347-352. China and Japan fought the first Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) over Chinese and Japanese influence in Korea. The technologically advanced Japanese military quickly defeated the slowly modernizing Chinese army.

⁷² Fenby, 6.

negotiator, went to Xian.⁷³ T.V. Soong and Mayling Soong, Chiang's wife, also, headed to Xian to negotiate for his release.⁷⁴ The Xian Incident has become a focal point for historians with no clear answers about what really occurred. Chiang said that once Zhang read his diary the Young Marshall knew the Nationalist leader was the only man capable of leading China in its struggle against Japanese imperial ambitions.⁷⁵ Others contend that Stalin decided to place his hopes in Chiang as being the only man who could keep the Japanese busy enough so the Kwantung Army did not turn its attention northward.⁷⁶

Chiang's two and a half weeks in captivity altered the course of a nation. Chiang put aside his policy of exterminating the CCP and formed the Second United Front.⁷⁷ Mao Zedong's People's Liberation Army (PLA) and Chiang Kai-shek's KMT put aside their ideological differences and decided to fight the Japanese. The Nationalist leader's decision to work with the CCP allowed Mao and his followers the time they needed to gain in strength. By integrating the People's liberation Army into his forces, Chiang gave Mao's troops combat experience. Experience, Mao would use against Chiang once the war was won.

By the summer of 1937, the IJA advanced southward taking Beijing and opening the Northern China plain to further assault. Up to this point, the Japanese hoped to secure a quick cease-fire followed by a negotiated peace granting Tokyo more Chinese territory,

⁷³ Steve Tsang, "Chiang Kai-shek's 'Secret Deal' at Xian and the Start of the Sino-Japanese War," *Palgrave Communications*, (20 January 2015): 4.

⁷⁴ For T.V. Soong's account of the Xian Incident see "T.V. Soong's diary of Xi'an Incident, 1936," Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 59.

⁷⁵ Fenby, 7-8.

⁷⁶ Tsang, 4-5.

⁷⁷ Hannah Pakula, *The Last Empress: Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the Birth of Modern China*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 272.

but the battle of Shanghai changed everything.⁷⁸ Chiang decided enough was enough and instead of negotiating he decided to fight. Some historians believe the Xian Incident bolstered Chiang's resolve but it was not ending the Chinese Civil War that made the Nationalist leader bold. No it was the promise of Soviet support if Chiang stood up to the Japanese.⁷⁹ The bloody urban fighting lasted throughout the summer and into the fall. The Chinese, out-gunned, retreated southward leaving the way open for the Japanese to advance on Nanking.⁸⁰

By August 1937, Joseph Stalin authorized \$100 million worth of military aid to Nationalist China. Four months later, the Soviet dictator approved another \$200 million in aid. A promise was a promise and to be honest Stalin's motives were not purely altruistic. Japanese expansionist policies placed the USSR and the Japanese at odds. Stalin hoped by supplying the KMT with weapons, munitions, and technical advisers that the Chinese would be able to bleed the Japanese dry.⁸¹ Germany and the Soviet Union provided weapons to KMT troops until each of these totalitarian nations signed treaties with Imperial Japan. Then the supplies stopped coming.⁸²

By the summer of 1940, Chiang needed a new ally. Since the Nationalist government had been forced to flee to Chungking, "the spirit of the Chinese had reached

⁷⁸ For more on the battle for Shanghai see Peter Harmsen, *Shanghai 1937: Stalingrad on the Yangtze*, (Havertown, Pennsylvania: Casemate Publishers, 2013).

⁷⁹ For a detailed view of this argument see Tsang, "Chiang Kai-shek's 'Secret Deal' at Xian and the Start of the Sino-Japanese War."

⁸⁰ Toland, 198.

⁸¹ From September 1937 until June 1941 the Soviet Union gave the Chinese 904 planes, 82 tanks and almost 1,150 pieces of artillery. See Stuart D. Goldman, *Nomonhan, 1939: The Red Army's Victory that Shaped World War II*, (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2012), 73.

⁸² Letter from T.V. Soong to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, 7 August 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Official File China, Box 4, Military Mission to China.

one of its all-war lows.”⁸³ The IJA seemed unstoppable “as every major city was in the hands of the invader.”⁸⁴ The Kwantung Army took the Yangtze River port of Ichang, which put Imperial Japanese bombers in range of the “new” Chinese capital. This intensive bombing campaign took its toll on Chinese morale. Morale was so low the Chiang sent out peace feelers to see what terms he might get for a negotiated peace with Tokyo. The Generalissimo sent one of Dai Li’s agents to the British colonial possession of Hong Kong.⁸⁵ This agent bore a striking resemblance to T.L. Soong, one of his brothers-in-law. This gave the Japanese the impression that they were negotiating with a member of Chiang’s family. These secret talks broke down over the issue of Manchukuo and the Japanese quickly realized that Chiang was not sincere in his desire for peace.⁸⁶

In the absence of a military victory, Chiang needed a political one; so, he sent his other bother-in-law, T.V. (Tse-Ven) Soong, to Washington to secure American aid. Soong, educated at Harvard and Columbia, understood America and he hoped to secure U.S. aid before Roosevelt left office. Soong knew a third presidential term was an impossibility.⁸⁷ Just like William Stephenson, T.V. Soong arrived in America with his wife, Laura.⁸⁸ The couple moved into a small suite at the Shoreham Hotel. Unfortunately, T.V. underestimated FDR’s political ambitions. Soong quick discovered

⁸³ Theodore H. White, “Chiang Kai-shek,” 2 March 1942, *Life*.

⁸⁴ Theodore H. White, *Thunder out of China*, (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1946), 5.

⁸⁵ Dai Li, known as the “Himmler of China,” was the Chief of the KMT Army’s Secret Service. By 1942 Dai Li became the head of Sino-American intelligence activities. For more information on Dai Li see Frederic E. Wakeman, *Spymaster: Dai Li and the Chinese Secret Service*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

⁸⁶ Fenby, 360.

⁸⁷ Ross Y. Koen, *The China Lobby in American Politics*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), 29-30.

⁸⁸ For more on T.V. Soong’s stay in the United States see T.V. Soong Collection, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University.

that Roosevelt's advisers were too busy trying to get the president reelected than to worry about China's problems. T.V. realized that securing a loan on Chiang's behalf would prove a bit more difficult than he thought. He moved out of the Shoreham and into a small house on Connecticut Avenue. Chiang's brother-in-law began entertaining Washington's political elite. Joseph Alsop and Ansel Mowrer (journalists), Harry Hopkins, the president's special assistant, John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War, Henry Morgenthau, Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas G. Corcoran, known as "Tommy the Cork" and an influential member of Roosevelt's New Deal "brain trust." All of these men dined at Soong's house. Soong disliked Chinese food but served it to his guest because that was what was expected and Soong knew how to play game.⁸⁹ Poker often followed dinner. Soong, understanding the rules of client competition, lost; even though according to one admirer, he "could have taken the shirts off their backs had he chosen to do so." This allowed Soong to get "on very intimate terms with them."⁹⁰

Soong's strategy was simple. To win American support, he would present China in a new light and thereby "help the Americans realize what China is doing and what China needs."⁹¹ T.V. Soong enlisted the aid of Dr. Ludwig Rajchman, a Polish Jew, to act as his adviser. A confidential FBI report described Rajchman as "T.V.'s evil genius" while Harry Dexter White, a senior U.S. Treasury department official and Soviet spy,

⁸⁹ Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty*, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1985), 364-367. For more information of Corcoran see the unpublished Corcoran biography, "From Lawyer to Field Marshall," Franklin D. Franklin Library, Ernest Cuneo Papers, Box 111.

⁹⁰ James M. McHugh quoted in Yu, note 96 on page 491-492.

⁹¹ Letter from T.V. Soong to Madame Chiang, 21 November 1941, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 11.

referred to him as a “smooth boy.”⁹² As T.V. Soong’s network expanded deep into the U.S. government, the quality of information he received increased. This network marks the beginning of the “China Lobby.” Soong, often, boasted “there is practically nothing” that goes on in the U.S. government that his sources do not pass to him within three days.⁹³

By September 1940, T.V. Soong’s efforts began to pay off.⁹⁴ He secured a \$25 million dollar loan from the United States, which was followed by another \$50 million.⁹⁵ This was still far short of the funds Chiang needed to fight the Japanese but it was a start. By the winter of 1941, bolstered by securing U.S. aid, Chiang invited Lauchlin Currie, an administrative assistant to the president, to visit Chungking. The reason behind Currie’s visit varies. Some historians suggest that FDR wanted to make sure the money sent to aid China was being spent on the war effort and not lining Chiang’s families pockets. Others have suggested that FDR wanted to set up a “direct channel of communication between Chiang and Roosevelt.” A communication link similar to the arrangement with the BSC, which would bypass both Congress and the State Department.⁹⁶ Knowing the

⁹² “Bureau’s Memorandum on the Soong Family,” 4 March 1943, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Oscar S. Cox Papers, Box 65, Soong Family; Henry Morgenthau, *Morgenthau Diary (China)*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), 270. For more information on Harry Dexter White’s role as a Soviet spy see, John Earl Haynes, Harvey Klehr, and Alexander Vassiliev, *Spies: The Rise and Fall of the KGB in America*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2009), xxxvii, 15-16. According to the Venona decrypts, White was part of the Silvermaster group and his code name was KASSIR and then JURIST.

⁹³The Reporter Staff, “The China Lobby—Part One, in *Our Times: The Best of the Reporter*, 8.

⁹⁴ These were not the first U.S. loans to China. In 1937, the Republic of China received a \$10 million loan. See, “The Republic of China with Bernhard & Co.,” Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Ernest Cuneo Papers, Box 8, Republic of China.

⁹⁵ Soong asked Chiang Kai-shek to delay the sale of tungsten to the United States. Soong used this deal to help secure his first loan to China. “Soong to Chiang, 23 September 1940,” Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 59.

⁹⁶ Pakula, 360.

American president, it was probably a little of both. Currie, a Soviet spy, explained to Chiang that the U.S. press had presented the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in a sympathetic and favorable light and that it was in the Nationalists leader's best interest to work with Mao Zedong's CCP.⁹⁷ Currie also met with Zhou Enlai, who told FDR's envoy that Chiang's government was riddled with pro-Japanese sympathizers. When Currie returned from China, he told Roosevelt the best way to keep the Chinese from succumbing to the Japanese was by providing the Chungking government with the money and materiel they needed to continue fighting.⁹⁸

Following Currie's advice, FDR asked Thomas G. Corcoran to resign from the federal government and undertake a covert mission to help funnel money and materiel to war-torn China. Roosevelt, like Stalin, optimistically believed that China's active resistance to Japanese encroachment would distract Tokyo from greater territorial ambitions. After conferring with Lauchlin, Roosevelt had him contact Corcoran with his clandestine plan to help Chiang Kai-shek.⁹⁹ Corcoran, a Washington insider, established China Defense Supplies (CDS) to act as the sole conduit between the federal government and China. Corcoran modeled CDS on the British Purchasing Commission but CDS differed substantially from its British counterpart. The British Purchasing Commission paid cash for all armaments bought from U.S. manufactures—at least until the passage of

⁹⁷ For more information on Currie's role as a Soviet spy see, Haynes, Klehr, and Vassiliev, *Spies*, 262-267. According to the Venona decrypts, Currie was part of the Silvermaster group and his code name was PAGE.

⁹⁸ "Report on Some Aspects of the Current Political, Economic and Military Situation in China," 13 March 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Lauchlin Currie Papers, Box 1.

⁹⁹ David McKean, *Peddling Influence: Thomas "Tommy the Cork" Corcoran and the Birth of Modern Lobbying*, (Hanover, New Hampshire: Steerforth Press, 2004), 139-140.

the Lend-Lease Act. CDS, on the other hand, would obtain loans from the U.S. Treasury. The money from these loans would be used to purchase weapons and materiel to help the Chinese fight the Japanese. This became the entire Lend Lease program for all of Asia.¹⁰⁰

Corcoran realized CDS was an “unorthodox operation.” And that his actions could be considered “dubious according to the letter of the law.” Members of Congress had proven reluctant to take any action that might antagonize the Japanese but the Neutrality Laws had been written with Europe and not Asia in mind. This loop hole allowed CDS to legally operate during those few months before Lend Lease was enacted. According to Barbara Tuchman, Lend Lease “opened the faucet to the real aid to China” making “the business generated by Lend-Lease through China Defense Supplies” to be more “lucrative than most military procurement operations.”¹⁰¹ CDS existed outside the capitalistic marketplace. The company had only one benefactor, the federal government, and only one client, China. Therefore, according to one historian, “many of those who joined Soong’s effort made fortunes in the lucrative sales to China financed by American credits.”¹⁰²

Shortly after Thomas G. Corcoran filed the incorporation paperwork, he hired William S. Youngman, Jr., the former general counsel for the Federal Power Commission, to head the new company. Youngman enlisted the aid of T.V. Soong,

¹⁰⁰ McKean, *Peddling Influence*, 140.

¹⁰¹ Barbara Tuchman, *Stillwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1972), 281-282.

¹⁰² Michael Schaller, *The United States and China in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 55.

Frederick Delano, the president's uncle, Whiting Willauer, a young lawyer and former Youngman co-worker, and Thomas Corcoran's brother, David, plus a few Chinese who were to act as "technical experts."¹⁰³ CDS, a Sino-American corporation, eventually became the sole representative of China on all Lend-Lease matters. Eventually this obscure organization's efforts provided a political base for the rise of the China lobby.¹⁰⁴ Edward Stettinius, the administrator for the Lend-Lease Program, found Soong to be "one of China's most eloquent and powerful spokesmen."¹⁰⁵ A U.S. historian described Soong as the most "untiring lobbyist" of his time.¹⁰⁶

While Soong convinced Washington to set up an American military mission to Chungking, CDS secured about \$600 million worth of equipment.¹⁰⁷ It would take time for the equipment to arrive but the news of Soong's success helped raise morale in the Chinese capital. By the winter of 1941, T.V. Soong asked Washington to supply five hundred bombers, the pilots to fly them, and a loan for enough money to pay for this operation. The Chinese could then "virtually annihilate the Japanese forces within China and neutralized Japan's naval striking ability."¹⁰⁸ According to Morgenthau, Chiang's

¹⁰³ "Declaration of Trust," Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Franklin A. Delano Papers, China Defense Supplies; Ross Koen, *The China Lobby in American Politics*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), 31.

¹⁰⁴ The Reporter Staff, "The China Lobby—Part One, in *Our Times: The Best of the Reporter*, edited by Max Ascoli, (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, Inc., 1960), 9. It should be noted that Corcoran refused to manage CDS; instead, he became the company's chief legal counselor.

¹⁰⁵ Edward Stettinius, *Lend Lease: Weapon for Victory*, (New York: Macmillan, 1944), 109.

¹⁰⁶ Tuchman, 390.

¹⁰⁷ "Soong to Chiang Kai-shek, 15 August 1941," Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 59.

¹⁰⁸ "Memorandum from T.V. Soong to Morgenthau, 30 November 1940," Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 6.

request was “like asking for 500 stars.”¹⁰⁹ Besides, Soong’s plan ran counter to the Europe first approach. American military commanders were not prepared to bomb Japan.

Luckily, the British had just turned down an order for one hundred Curtiss P-40 fighters. The British Purchasing Corporation viewed these planes as obsolete as a faster more maneuverable model was available. This meant that Nationalist China could receive these left over planes to counter Imperial Japanese fighters. Claire L Chennault, a retired U.S. Army Air Corp pilot, who had been working for Chiang Kai-shek since 1937, traveled to Washington D.C. to supervise purchasing these planes. While China Defense Supplies bought the planes, Chennault recruited 100 pilots and 200 ground crew. These men formed the 1st All Volunteer Group (1st AVG). These American military men were discharged from the armed forces and were employed by the Central Aircraft Manufacturing Company (CAMCO). CAMCO paid very well. Pilots made \$600 a month, flight leaders made \$675, and the ground crews made \$250 a month. Pilots were promised a \$500 bounty for each Japanese plane shoot down. Soong coined the phrase Flying Tigers and a legend was born.¹¹⁰ Working under less than ideal conditions, the 1st AVG pilots performed well and after Pearl Harbor, these men were transferred back to the U.S. military.¹¹¹

In the United States, the Japanese attack convinced U.S. officials that Imperial Japan planned a full-scale invasion of the U.S. West Coast. This fear of an external

¹⁰⁹ Tuchman, 278.

¹¹⁰ “Letter from T.V. Soong to Claire Chennault, May 1940,” Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 62.

¹¹¹ Daniel Ford, *Flying Tigers: Clair Chennault and His American Volunteers, 1941-1942*, (Washington D.C.: HarperCollins-Smithsonian Books, 2007), 45.

attack blended with the possibility of Japanese fifth columnist laying in wait. On February 19, 1942, FDR authorized the deportation and imprisonment of roughly 107,000 Japanese men, women, and children. These immigrants were kept in ten relocation centers under the supervision of the War Relocation Authority.¹¹² Executive Order 9066 made the entire West Coast a military zone, which allowed military commanders the power to exclude whomever they wanted. In this case, people of Japanese ancestry. The internment of Japanese Americans constitutes the greatest World War II violation of U.S. civil liberties.¹¹³

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor ensured China's strategic importance. Churchill and Roosevelt needed the Chinese to stay in the fight and the Allies realized that Chiang had already tried once to broker a deal with the Japanese. American and British policymakers feared that Chiang would do whatever was best for China and a Sino-Japanese peace treaty would hamper Churchill and Roosevelt's plan to defeat Hitler first. A major American concern was the KMT's avoidance of direct military action against the Japanese. Many U.S. military commanders thought Chiang Kai-shek hoarded U. S. military materiel. These men believed the generalissimo needed these weapons to fight Mao's People's Liberation Army once the Pacific conflict was concluded and the bloody Chinese Civil War resumed. Chiang wanted the KMT to triumph.¹¹⁴

¹¹² "War Relocation Authority: Japanese Americans in Relocation Centers," The Truman S. Library and Museum, Philleo Nash Papers, Box 49.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Fenby, 369.

Roosevelt might have a romantic view of China. Believing China to be a great nation. A nation on which the president intended to build his postwar new world order. FDR's postwar dreams aside the president was not willing to place American troops under Chiang's control. Someone needed to go to Asia to ensure that Chiang's forces stayed in the fight. General George C. Marshall, the Army Chief of Staff, selected Lieutenant-General Joseph Stilwell to become the Chief of Staff to Chiang Kai-shek and Commander in Chief of the Allied forces in China. Stilwell, fluent in Chinese and having traveled in China, seemed the perfect choice.¹¹⁵ "Vinegar Joe" proved difficult. He did not share the president's romantic vision. Stilwell believed the United States was "allied to an ignorant, illiterate, superstitious, peasant son of a bitch."¹¹⁶ Chiang found Stilwell to be coarse and rude. The Nationalist leader, in his diary, began referring to the U.S. general as "peanut." As one historian put it "the idea that the tough, abrasive Yankee could work with the Generalissimo... was, at best, a sad commentary on Washington's knowledge of China and its leader."¹¹⁷

In March 1942, Stilwell returned to China. Chiang Kai-shek and his wife welcomed the American general and they immediately began working to defend the Burma Road, which was the lifeline for Allied supplies being sent to Chungking. Chiang gave Stilwell his two best divisions but it proved too little too late and Burma was lost. The Generalissimo believed Stilwell lost Burma because he was arrogant and unwilling

¹¹⁵ Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 196.

¹¹⁶ Theodore White, *In Search of History*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1978), 158.

¹¹⁷ Fenby, 369.

to take advice.¹¹⁸ Stilwell's arrogance and caustic behavior caused Soong and Chiang to consider having the American general recalled.¹¹⁹ Both men believed they needed an American general who not only shared their strategic vision but who would also take advice. Serious consideration for removing Stilwell occurred twice—once in June 1942 and again in October 1943 but Chiang proved reticent to follow through. Eventually, Soong, who had received assurances the United States would recall Stilwell on Chiang's say so, convinced Chiang the general may still prove useful; so Stilwell stayed at least for the time being.¹²⁰

As for Stilwell, he knew that Chiang wanted him recalled and so he planned to remove the leader of China. On at least two occasions, Stilwell asked his Office of Strategic Services (OSS) advisers to come up with a plan for assassinating Chiang.¹²¹ The problem between these two men, besides their dislike of each other, dealt with priorities. Stilwell needed to defend Burma and what he viewed as his supply line. General Stilwell wanted the CCP and the KMT take a larger role in the defense of China. Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong wanted to conserve their forces in preparation for the resumption of the hostilities once the war was over. Stilwell constantly complained about

¹¹⁸ "Telegram from T.V. Soong to Chiang Kai-shek, 21 May 1942," Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 60.

¹¹⁹ Soong helped remove General John Magruder and arranged for Stilwell as his replacement. Maochun Yu, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1997), 71.

¹²⁰ "Telegram from T.V. Soong to Chiang Kai-shek, 12 June 1942 and 16 June 1942," Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 60.

¹²¹ For a detailed look at these plans see Taylor, 257-259.

Chiang's commanders. He repeatedly asked Soong to convince his boss to "appoint a real commander, give him real authority, and hold him responsible."¹²²

Even as Stilwell's relationship with Chiang deteriorated, Soong continued to lobby on China's behalf. In 1943, he helped set up the Sino-American Cooperative Organization (SACO).¹²³ SACO (pronounced SOCKO) established a joint Sino-American intelligence operation commanded by Dai Li, head of Chiang's secret police known as the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics, and U.S. Navy Captain Milton E. Miles known as "Mary" Miles. One historian described the fiercely anti-communist Dai Li as "China's combination of Himmler and J. Edgar Hoover."¹²⁴ This is not to suggest that Dai Li did not have his U.S. admirers to include Admiral Ernest King. Mary Miles, one of Li's admirers, summed up the enigmatic Li but stating,

Dai's greatness rests in his indifference to worldly fame and in his fearless stand against malicious opposition. A sincere and loyal flower of his leader, he never boasted of his achievements, whose value could not be ascertained, he impressed people as being mysterious. Because he was entrusted with the job of uprooting corruption, he faced opposition and attacks from influential quarters. Because he was faithful to his duty, he had to shoulder criticism.¹²⁵

Mary Miles and Dai Li worked well together and SACO took a total immersion approach to intelligence gathering. Roughly 2500 U.S. sailors and Marines trained and worked with Chinese guerilla forces. The "Rice Paddy Navy" as it was informally called

¹²² Stilwell Diary, 18-25 March 1942, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Joseph Stilwell Collection, Box 44.

¹²³ For a detailed look at SACO see Yu, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War*.

¹²⁴ Tuchman, 334. Dai li was not pleased by intelligence reports referring to him as the Himmler of China and once lost his temper over this issue.

¹²⁵ Yu, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War*, 77.

often operated behind enemy lines helping to rescue downed Allied pilots and intercepting Japanese radio traffic. Herbert Yardley, after being ostracized by the Western intelligence community for publishing his book on SIGINT, went to China to work as Chiang Kai-shek's SIGINT specialist.¹²⁶

As the war moved from Europe to Asia, SACO began preparing for the eventual invasion of the Japanese home islands.¹²⁷ The Rice Paddy Navy produced results. This joint intelligence operation, unfortunately, existed in spite of the British, whom the Chinese had grown to distrust. The British trying to survive at any cost began intercepting Lend Lease materiel in Burma. The British wanted to use the threat of closing the Burma Road to convince Chiang to protect English interests in China. The British had already lost Singapore and Hong Kong. They did not intend to sit back and watch their empire crumble.¹²⁸ What was victory without empire? Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt differing views on empire had become a bit of a problem by 1943. Churchill knew that FDR had no intention of returning Indochina to the French and the British prime minister was concerned that America's anti-colonial attitude might strip the English of some of their colonial possessions. China became the battleground for these two opposing views of postwar reconstruction.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ For more information about Yardley's adventures in China see Herbert O. Yardley, *The Chinese Black Chamber: An Adventure in Espionage*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983).

¹²⁷ For a detailed look at Milton Miles and SACO see Milton Miles Papers, Hoover Institute on War, Revolution, and Peace, Stanford University; Linda Kush, *The Rice Paddy Navy: U.S. Sailors Undercover in China*, (New York: Osprey Publishing, 2012).

¹²⁸ Yu, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War*, 70-71.

¹²⁹ For a detailed examination of the influence of empire on the war in Asia see Richard Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan: Britain, America, and the Secret Service*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

During the war, the Americans, for all their talk of subversives and communists, worked with whoever could get the job done. Expediency once again trumping ideals. In 1944, the U.S. Government sent the United States Army Observation Group, commonly referred to as the Dixie Mission, to Mao Zedong's headquarters in Northern China located in Yan'an. The Dixie Mission concluded that the Chinese Communist were less corrupt than the Nationalist making the CCP a useful wartime ally. Colonel David Barrett and John S. Service, an American diplomat, sent Stilwell favorable reports about Mao's People's Liberation Army. Even as Chiang and Stilwell's relationship hit an all-time low, here was no real effort to shift support to Mao; instead FDR sent Major General Patrick Hurley to China.¹³⁰

On August 18, 1944, Hurley became President Roosevelt's Personal Representative to China. Roosevelt wanted Hurley to act as an intermediary between Chiang and Stillwell. In 1943, Washington ordered General Stillwell to take control of the Chinese military forces in an effort to stop a Japanese offensive to seize control of the U. S. held airfields in Southern China. The U. S. Army Air Corps used these airfields to support military operations in the Pacific, and the loss of these strategic airbases would have hampered American efforts to defeat the Japanese in the Pacific.¹³¹ Unfortunately, General Stillwell and Chiang Kai-shek continued to agree on almost nothing and Roosevelt needed results; thus Hurley went to China.

¹³⁰ "Desirability of American Military Aide to the Chinese Communist Armies," National Archives and Records Administration, RG 59, General Records of the State Department.

¹³¹ Barbara Tuchman, *Stillwell and the American Experience in China, 1941-1945*, (New York: the MacMillan Company, 1970), 1-5.

Hurley's first impression of Generalissimo Chiang confirmed his worse fears: Chiang could be evasive and intractable. The Ambassador to China quickly concluded that only the formalization of the Second United Front into a stable coalition government would ensure the survival of a free democratic China.¹³² The precarious situation between the KMT and CCP convinced Hurley that the American war effort in Asia hinged on a political resolution to this civil strife. The possibility that either the KMT or the CCP might sue for a separate peace with the Japanese was too frightening to contemplate. The American war effort depended on continued unified Chinese resistance. The fragile CCP-KMT alliance kept the Kwantung army engaged on the Chinese mainland and prevented these Japanese soldiers from fortifying the Japanese home islands. Hurley believed the key to a stable China was to formalize this tenuous political relationship through the creation of a coalition government. Hurley had a formidable task before him.¹³³ Hurley wanted to pacify the Chinese by forming a coalition government which would avoid a future continuation of internal unrest and allow the Chinese to combat the Japanese Kwantung Army. Both the CCP and the KMT resisted Hurley's efforts. The CCP did not trust Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT refused to establish a coalition government because such an agreement would officially

¹³² United States Department of State, *The China White Paper, August 1949*, 71.

¹³³ The possibility of a separate peace is what drove Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt to meet with Chiang Kai-shek in Cairo on November 23, 1943. During this two day conference, Churchill and Roosevelt elevated Generalissimo Chiang from the leader of the KMT to one of the newly proposed "Big Four." A stable democratic China, under nationalist rule, became necessary for the future geopolitical security of Asia.

acknowledge the CCP as a viable political party.¹³⁴ By 1944, the rift between Chiang and Stilwell became insurmountable. Stilwell wanted complete control of all military forces in China. Hurley believed “Stilwell’s every act is a move toward the complete subjugation of Chiang Kai-shek.” The Generalissimo asked FDR to recall the controversial general, which he did. Stilwell was replaced by General Albert C. Wedemeyer, who remained in China until the end of the war.¹³⁵

In the spring of 1945, the war came home. *Amerasia*, a Far Eastern journal, provided the link the China lobby needed to prove that Communist sympathizers had infiltrated the United States government. Kenneth Wells, an Office of Strategic Services (OSS) analyst, noticed that articles published in *Amerasia* bore a striking likeness to top secret OSS and State Department documents.¹³⁶ Wells told his superiors and they sent a team to *Amerasia*’s offices. Without a warrant, these OSS agents convinced the building superintendent to let them in. Once inside Frank Brooks Bielaski, the agent in charge, found thousands of classified documents. Bielaski, later testified, that the material found in the office “covered almost every department in the government except the Federal Bureau of Investigation...There were documents from British Intelligence, Naval Intelligence, G-2, State Department, Office of Censorship, Office of Strategic Services.”

¹³⁴ Harry S Truman, *Memoirs: Year of Decision, 1945*, (New York: Signet Books, 1955), pp. 349-350. The KMT did recognize the CCP to some degree by allowing a CCP member to attend the San Francisco Conference, which established the United Nations.

¹³⁵ Taylor, 294-295.

¹³⁶ Gentry, 315.

Bielaski considered some of these documents to be a bit salacious in nature—especially a report on “the intimate relations between Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang.”¹³⁷

The OSS turned the investigation over to the FBI. The FBI used illegal (warrantless) wiretapping as well as conducting a warrantless search of *Amerasia*'s offices. Possession of classified documents, while technically a crime, did not constitute an act of espionage. On June 6, 1945, FBI agents, acting on Truman's orders, raided *Amerasia*'s offices where they “discovered” hundreds of classified documents. Despite their concerted efforts, the State Department failed to secure a conviction in this case for treason because of Hoover's use of extralegal means of acquiring evidence.¹³⁸

Meanwhile, J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the FBI, decided the State Department mishandled the case to cover up a vast Communist conspiracy within its ranks. The lobby followed Hoover's logic and claimed that Communist agents had penetrated the State Department. These communist agents worked to influence U. S. policies.¹³⁹

In February 1945, the Big Three—Winston Churchill, Joseph Stalin, and Franklin D. Roosevelt—met along the shores of the Black Sea to discuss, among other important topics, “the political conditions upon which the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan.”¹⁴⁰ Roosevelt believed he needed to enlist the Soviet Union's support in the Pacific theater of the war. Stalin agreed to enter the war ninety days after Germany

¹³⁷ Frank Brooks Bielaski testimony, U.S. Senate, Subcommittee on Foreign Relations, *Hearings re: A Resolution to Investigate Whether There were Employees in the State Department Disloyal to the United States*, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., 1950, quoted in Gentry, 315.

¹³⁸ Gentry, 339.

¹³⁹ John Earl Hayes and Harvey Klehr, *Early Cold War Spies: The Espionage Trials that Shaped America Politics*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 25-40.

¹⁴⁰ United States Department of State, *The China White Paper, August 1949*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1967), pp. 113-114.

surrendered in exchange for the lower Sakhalin Islands, Kurile Islands, and China's recognition of the independence of Outer Mongolia. Territorial gain composed a small portion of Stalin's demands; he also wanted control of the former Japanese railway lines in Manchuria as well as access to of the warm water ports of Darien and Port Arthur.¹⁴¹

Roosevelt believed that Soviet participation in the fight against the Japanese was crucial to save American lives in the allied drive to capture the Japanese home islands. In February 1945, the atomic bomb was still a theoretical weapon—granted a theoretical weapon with devastating potential, but still, an untested super weapon. American military planners believed Soviet troops would tie down the Kwantung Army in Manchuria while U. S. military forces in the Pacific continued island-hopping toward the Japanese homeland. Stalin demanded extensive territorial concessions in the Far East as the price of Soviet participation in this Asian conflict.

On August 6, 1945, as the United States prepared for what many assumed would be a costly invasion of the Japanese home islands, the *Enola Gay*, piloted by Colonel Paul W. Tibbits, dropped the first atomic bomb. This gun-type fusion weapon, codenamed "Little Boy," destroyed the Japanese city of Hiroshima killing roughly 70,000 to 80,000 people. Shortly after the destruction of Hiroshima, President Harry S Truman, who authorized the use of "Little Boy," revealed at a press conference the nature of the United States' newest weapon. Truman took a moment to thank God the German atomic

¹⁴¹ The Yalta agreement fit in with Stalin's post-war national security objectives. The Soviet dictator wanted to create buffer states along the Soviet Union's periphery. These puppet régimes would provide an early warning system in case the Western Democracies attempted to forcibly overthrow the communist nation.

program had failed. The president explained that if the Imperial Japanese Army did “not now accept our terms, they might expect a rain of ruin from the air, the like of which has never been seen on this earth.”¹⁴²

Three days later, on the morning of August 9, 1945, Major Charles W. Sweeney, flying a B-29 Superfortress named *Bockscar*, dropped the second atomic bomb on the Japanese seaport of Nagasaki. This plutonium-239 implosion device, codenamed “Fat Man,” instantly killed an estimated 40,000 to 75,000 people. On August 12, 1945, Hirohito, the 124th Emperor of Japan, decided to accept the Allied terms of unconditional surrender. The defeated imperial war leader explained to his people, via radio, “the enemy now possesses a new and terrible weapon with the power to destroy many innocent lives and do incalculable damage. Should we continue to fight, not only would it result in an ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nation, but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilization.”¹⁴³

Hirohito realized the atomic bomb altered the nature of war. It fundamentally changed international relations. Nuclear weapons ensured that war could no longer be an extension of politics by other means. Nation-states could no longer use force, in the traditional sense, to achieve strategic geopolitical objectives.

¹⁴² U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey: The Effects of the Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, June 19, 1946, President’s Secretary’s File, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, NSC Atomic—Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Box 197.

¹⁴³ Herbert Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2000), 682.

CHAPTER FIVE

Architects of Empire



Figure 6¹

The end of the Second World War should have ended the British and Chinese influence in American politics but this did not happen. The British, militarily and economically weak, sought a closer alliance with the United States. The British still viewed the Americans as the junior partner but their empire needed help; so, they turned once again to their former colony. Franklin D. Roosevelt's death provided the English with an opportunity to secure their empire. Roosevelt, staunchly anti-colonial, planned to keep the French from regaining control of Indochina. When President Harry S. Truman

¹ Figure 6: Herblock, "When People Say We're Still Wiretapping it Makes Me So Mad I Feel Like Talking Right Back to Them," 1975, Library of Congress.

took office, the new American president believed the French would be a stabilizing influence in the region and decided to let the French back into Indochina. The fear of Stalinist Russia convinced the British and the Americans to sign the UKUSA Agreements. The greatest secret of the Second World War was the use of Signals Intelligence (SIGINT) to win the war. This secret agreement, signed in 1946, encouraged sharing SIGINT between the signatory countries.² By 1950, the West would share information on the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and several Eastern European nations.³

The China lobby's influence dwindled as the war ended. With the removal of the Japanese threat, the fight to control the fate of China resulted in bloodshed. At this time, the China lobby expanded its reach by recruiting more and more supporters. Politicians, businessmen, former missionaries to China, journalists, and foreign agents of influence, all joined the Nationalist cause. Lobbyists could be divided into three distinct groups—the realists who feared the spread of communism, the opportunists who wanted to make money off the turmoil in Asia, and the evangelicals who believed Chiang's government could be reformed.⁴

Ross Koen, in his controversial book *The China Lobby in America Politics*, further divided the lobby into two distinct groups—the core and the periphery. The core

² The original signatory nations included the Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

³ For a detailed look at the formation of this agreement from the British point of view see, "Government Communications Headquarters and Predecessor: Records relating to the development of the 1946 'UKUSA' Agreement," The National Archives (Kew, U.K.), HW 80.

⁴ Hannah Pakula, *The Last Empress: Madame Chiang Kai-shek and the Birth of Modern China*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 556-557.

organization composed of well financed Chinese nationals who carried out the directives given to them by the KMT and right-wing American political and business elites who staunchly supported the KMT. Just like the British, the Chinese used front organizations to sway American public opinion. These organizations included the American China Policy Association (ACPA), The China Emergency Committee, the Committee to Defend America by Aiding Anti-Communist China, Committee on National Affairs, The Free Trade Union, and the Committee for Constitutional Government.⁵ China lobbyists used U. S. newspapers and magazines to launch sophisticated propaganda campaigns. The most important of these included *Time*, *Life*, *American Mercury*, *The China Monthly*, *Far East Survey*, *The New Leader*, and *Pacific Affairs*.

Most of the senators and members of Congress who came to support the KMT came from the Republican Party.⁶ The Republican Party incorporated the lobby's rhetoric as "weapons for a full-scale dissent" against the Democratic majority.⁷ Joseph McCarthy (R-WI) became one of the most outspoken critics the Truman Administration's Far East foreign policy objectives. McCarthy single-handedly shifted the China debate from a "foreign policy question to front-page charges of domestic subversion and disloyalty."⁸ Often the anti-lobby congressional members believed that this political

⁵ Ross Koen, *The China Lobby in American Politics*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), 29.

⁶ Stanley D. Bachrack provides the following list of U. S. Senators associated with the China lobby: William F. Knowland (R-CA), H. Alexander Smith (R-PA), Pat McCarran (D-NV), Kenneth S. Wherry (R-NE), and Owen Brewster (R-PA). Bachrack also provides a list of congressmen associated with the lobby: James G. Fulton (R-PA), Robert B. Chiperfield (R-IL), and Donald L. Jackson (R-CA). Bachrack, 39.

⁷ Ronald J. Caridi, *Korean War and American Politics: Republican Party as a Case Study*, (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 107.

⁸ Bachrack, 44.

pressure group wanted to blackmail the State Department into providing unlimited support to Chiang's government.

America's shift from war to peace should have signaled the end of U.S. foreign and domestic intelligence operations. On August 31, 1946, President Harry S. Truman abolished the Office of War Information (OWI) and the Rockefeller Office (Office of the Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics—OCCCRBAR).⁹ General Wild Bill Donovan fought to keep the Office of Strategic Services alive and failing that to convince the president the nation needed a peacetime centralized intelligence agency. Donovan failed on both counts. Truman did not want to create an American Gestapo. Donovan aware of Truman's wishes suggested this new agency "should be prohibited from carrying on clandestine activities within the United States." He went on to explain that it "should be forbidden from exercise of any police functions either at home or abroad."¹⁰ The lack of a law enforcement role should have made J. Edgar Hoover happy but Hoover still hoped to expand the FBI's area of responsibility to include foreign intelligence collection operations. A battle the FBI director would lose. Eventually, Truman decided to dismantle the OSS. The Research and Analysis section, composed of roughly 900 scholars, who used open sources to develop intelligence estimates, was moved to the State Department. The rest of the OSS was absorbed into the U.S. Army.

⁹ Thomas F. Troy, *Donovan and the CIA: A History of the Establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency*, (Maryland: Aletheia Books University Publications of America, Inc., 1981), 287.

¹⁰ Memo for Donovan to Truman, 25 August 1945, quoted in Thomas F. Troy, *Donovan and the CIA*, 291.

While President Harry S. Truman disbanded the Office of Strategic Services, the FBI's extralegal investigative practices continued. The FBI shifted its focus from Nazi spies to Communist agents. The FBI and military intelligence programs sanctioned by President Franklin D. Roosevelt continued for decades. In 1941, J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI Director, promised the wartime intelligence apparatus would be "discontinued" once the national emergency had passed. This did not happen. Domestic intelligence roles and responsibilities grew in the decade following the end of the war. Congress did not stop these operations. Succeeding presidents, from Truman to Kennedy, authorized the FBI to investigate all "subversive activity" in the United States. As the war ended, there was "a national consensus regarding the danger to the United States from Communism" with little distinction between external (Soviet) and internal (communist living in the United States) threats.¹¹

What no one wanted to admit was that the "Good War" ended badly. Six years of brutal fighting had devastated Europe; combat casualties, Nazi Germany's genocidal policies, disease, and starvation had led to over fifty million deaths. Indiscriminate urban bombing campaigns conducted by both Allied and Axis air forces reduced some of the world's greatest cities to rubble. By targeting factories, railroads, bridges, and ports, the victors and the vanquished wrecked the industrial capacity of both Europe and Asia. The 1944 opening of the second front in Europe, followed by the Allied drive to Berlin devastated the countryside. The massive air and land assaults ensured that those fortunate enough to survive the conflict struggled with famine and disease. As the

¹¹ Church Committee, Book Two, 38-39.

survivors set out to rebuild their shattered nations, the experience of those early postwar years precluded Europeans or Asians from ever viewing the conflict as a “Good War.”¹²

In Europe, the people called for land and social reform as well as nationalizing industry. To survive the coming winter, most urban inhabitants resorted to building makeshift shelters out of the rubble of their once great cities. Looking around, they began to believe that their governments could not provide the rapid relief necessary for their survival. In a war-ravaged Western Europe, the combined might of the British, American, and Soviet armies, fighting a war of attrition, ensured that Nazi Germany’s *Gotterdammerung* rivaled the end of Richard Wagner’s *The Ring of the Nibelung*. In the end, the fires consumed Germany’s political demagogues. Those who could fled, while others took their lives, and the rest faced imprisonment and execution.¹³

For the average European, the end of the war meant decades living in displaced person camps. The post-World War II refugee problem posed a public reminder of the cost of war as the West struggled to house and feed an estimated 1.5 million refugees.¹⁴ While in Asia, China had roughly eight million Japanese technicians, administrators, and merchants still needed to be moved back to Japan.¹⁵ Many of these people did not want a

¹² Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992) 1.

¹³ Tony Judt. *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945*. (New York: Penguin Press, 2005). 21. Judt explains that the average caloric intake in various European countries fell to below 800 calories a day and most European governments failed to provide the needed relief to alleviate the suffering. If it had not been for the highly efficient efforts of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), many impoverished families would have perished. This agency credited with helping to stop the spread of contagious diseases, which many health officials believed might cause another pandemic on the scale of the Spanish Flu following World War I.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 22. The last European DP camp closed in 1959. In Japan, the problem with displaced persons was worse.

¹⁵ “President Truman Issues Statement on China, 19 December 1946,” The Harry S. Truman Library, Papers of John F. Melby, Box 1, China File. In Japan, the problem with displaced persons was worse. The

capitalistic democracy; rather, they wanted a form of socialism, which protected basic human rights. The months following the end of the war saw a rapid increase in Communist and socialist party membership: the statistics were staggering for countries in Western, Southern, and Eastern Europe. For example, Communist Party membership in Belgium soared from 9,000 in 1939 to 100,000 in late 1945. Similarly, the Greek Communist Party swelled from 17,000 to 70,000 between 1935 and 1945. Finally, in Czechoslovakia the most startling growth numbers shocked those Democratic leaders trying to maintain control of their nations. In just four months, party membership exploded from 28,000 in May 1945 to 750,000 in September 1945.¹⁶ The growing support for Communist and socialist organizations in Europe caused many Americans to question the sustainability of their capitalistic system. The resurgent left posed a clear and present danger to U.S. postwar plans of open markets and free trade. American post-World War II war aims included developing a free global market. U.S. policymakers wanted to avoid a second Great Depression; so, they set up free trade agreements and opened global markets.

As the Second World War ended, President Truman faced a world torn asunder and he had to make a difficult choice. Should the United States follow a Eurocentric or Asian approach to containing the spread of Soviet communism? The answer, in part, came from an unlikely source—the State Department. Franklin D. Roosevelt, ever

Japanese started a television program called *Missing Persons*. This program worked to reunite family members for almost two decades after the war ended. The last program lasted aired on March 31, 1962. See John Dower, *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 57-58.

¹⁶ Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power*, 7.

mistrustful of those governmental organizations which he could not directly control, created an ad hoc foreign policy staff composed of New Dealers whom the president felt he could trust. FDR's improvised approach to U. S. foreign policy, which often painted a rosier picture for the American public than really existed. This lasted until his death on April 12, 1945. Truman publicly stated that he felt compelled to fulfill FDR's policies, but by 1946 Truman replaced most of Roosevelt's New Deal cronies with advisers sympathetic to his postwar vision of the world.¹⁷ Truman chose to rely on the "experts" in the State Department. In February 1946, the Truman Administration sent a query to the U. S. embassy in Moscow. A junior Foreign Service officer named George Kennan provided the answers.¹⁸

Kennan's "long telegram" explained Stalin dissolved the Grand Alliance because of the Soviet Union's need to justify the dictatorship of the proletariat, which demanded world revolution. Stalin needed an external threat to justify the Communist Party's totalitarian stranglehold on Russia. Kennan stated there could be no possibility of negotiating with Stalin. Containment was the only viable option available to the West. Setting up Kennan's policy of containment provided the teleological impetus the Truman Administration needed to erect the national security state.¹⁹

¹⁷ William E. Leuchtenburg, *In the Shadow of FDR: From Harry Truman to Bill Clinton*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 12-13.

¹⁸ George F. Kennan, *Memoirs: 1925-1950*. (New York: Bantam Books, 1969), 583-598.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

British influence continued and the Truman administration developed a predominately European approach to postwar reconstruction. The use of Lend-Lease to fund economic reconstruction posed a particular problem for Truman as the isolationist block in Congress stood firmly in the president's path. Truman realized that Europe need financial support but finding the money might need a soft touch. The military spending proved to be one area that Truman could reduce the budget. Truman, always fiscally minded, wanted to reduce the military and return it to its peacetime personnel levels. In 1945, the U. S. military numbered 12 million men by 1948 there were only 1.5 million men. America reverted to its traditional posture of keeping a small standing army. A smaller army meant a smaller budget. Truman, always fiscally minded, took the Pentagon's suggested budget of \$15 billion and cut it down to \$10 billion which was still short the \$6 to \$7 billion budget Truman eventually wanted.²⁰ Unfortunately, Truman lacked a strategic vision on which to base his economic cuts. He just wanted to be able to justify every detail in his financial plan. While Truman fought to balance the budget, allegations of communist infiltration of the U.S. government come to the public's attention and threatened to derail the president's plans.²¹

On November 5, 1945, Elizabeth Bentley, a Soviet spy code named "Clever Girl," contacted the New York office of the FBI and provided information on two covert Soviet

²⁰ Clay Blair, *The Forgotten War: America in Korea, 1950-1953*, (New York: Times Books, 1987), 7. Truman discussed his disdain for how the military tried to force him to alter his budget allocations for each of the three branches in his *Memoirs: Years of Trial and Hope, 1946-1952*, (New York: Signet Books, 1955), 50-51.

²¹ Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs: Years of Decisions, 1945*, (New York: Signet Books, 1955), 113-117.

spy rings—the Silversmith Ring and the Perlo Group.²² In 1935, Bentley, while attending Columbia University, joined the Communist Party. In 1938, her boyfriend, Jacob Golos, convinced her to work for the Soviets. After her boyfriend died of a heart attack, the KGB decided to limit Bentley’s access. Feeling marginalized and useless, the “Red Spy Queen” went to the FBI where she provided her interviewers with name after name of Soviet spies. Despite her detailed recollection of these names, Bentley had no documented proof to back up her claims.²³ The KGB diligently recalled all of its illegal spies. Bentley’s accusations compromised two major Soviet spy rings. It would take the KGB two years to rebuild what “Clever Girl” destroyed.²⁴

Bentley, ridiculed by historians, continued to tell her story to anyone who would listen. She eventually became a prime example for the Left that Soviet espionage in the United States was nothing more than empty lies and whispers.²⁵ The release of the ultra-secret Venona intercepts in 1996 would confirm Bentley’s story. The U. S. government refused to use these intercepts in court. The publicity would expose the technical means and sources of a current intelligence operation. An operation providing information on Soviet espionage activity in the United States. Intelligence agents are not concerned with

²² Herbert Romerstein and Eric Breindel, *The Venona Secrets*, (Washington D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2000), 182. James Earl Haynes, Harvey Klehr, and Alexander Vassiliev, *Spies: The Rise and Fall of the KGB in America*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.), 18-19.

²³ Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991), 342.

²⁴ Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev, *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era*, (New York: Random House, 1999), 68.

²⁵ John Earl Hayes and Harvey Klehr, *Early Cold War Spies: The Espionage Trials that Shaped American Politics*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 60-89.

prosecution and imprisonment. These agents only want to plug the leaks. In Elizabeth Bentley's case, the Soviets dismantled their entire collection apparatus.²⁶

Stalin's mistrust of the West prompted the Soviet dictator to set up an aggressive wartime espionage program against his allies. Soviet agents penetrated the Manhattan Project, the OSS, the State Department, the White House, British Security Coordination, MI5 and MI6.²⁷ Klaus Fuchs, a German-born physicist, worked on the Manhattan Project. He supplied the Soviets with atomic secrets. The Alger Hiss spy case provided an important talking point for the China lobby in the years to come.²⁸ Hiss like the others before him, would deny any wrongdoing; eventually he would be convicted not for espionage but perjury. The lobby tied the Hiss spy case directly to the Yalta Conference. The lobby suggested that Hiss whispered quietly into a weakened, sickly FDR's ear, trying to influence U. S. foreign policy. According to the lobby, Hiss may have been the mastermind behind the Yalta Betrayal. However, Ross Koen points out: "Nowhere do the documents indicate that Hiss was a policy maker at Yalta. On the contrary, the records show him as a technician" but this did not stop the whispering.²⁹ In one account of Yalta, a scholar stated that the agreement about China occurred during a "secret meeting with Stalin. Even Secretary of State Stettinius, who was at Yalta, was not permitted to be present... Only the Communist Alger Hiss was permitted to attend

²⁶ For the transcripts in the Alger Hiss Case see "Transcripts of Grand Jury Testimony in the Alger Hiss Case," National Archives and Records Administration, RG 118, Records of U.S. Attorneys and Marshals.

²⁷ Gentry, 315; Romerstein and Breindel, 449.

²⁸ John Earl Hayes and Harvey Klehr, *Early Cold War Spies*, 139-141.

²⁹ Ross Y. Koen, *The China Lobby in American Politics*, (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), 80-81.

Roosevelt—Hiss, the secret Soviet espionage agent... a Communist agent in the State Department.”³⁰

The *Amerasia* affair, the Yalta betrayal, and the Cold War espionage cases, convinced many Americans the Communists had infiltrated the government. In the years to come, foreign agents of influence, using rumors and innuendo, framed a vast historical account suggesting a complex Communist conspiracy operated at the highest levels of government. Venona has shown that to some degree Stalinist agents had infiltrated the U.S. government. These Soviet agents worked in a similar fashion to their British and Chinese counterparts. All three nations sought to influence U.S. domestic and foreign policy and as America transitioned from war to peace an untested American president took office.

By the fall of 1945, the war in Asia had ended. Major General Patrick Hurley, having failed to convince the CCP and KMT to form a coalition government, returned to the United States. A short vacation before resuming his duties in the Orient. According to Hurley, shadowy forces conspired to keep him from completing his mission in China. He believed that Communist sympathizers in the State Department leaked his classified reports to the Chinese Communists. The American Ambassador to China thought that these Communists conspired to limit support to the struggling KMT forces in China. On November 26, 1945, Hurley resigned because a persistent rumor suggested that if he

³⁰ Koen, 82.

returned to China a pretext would be found to fire him. This would allow Harry S. Truman to replace the general with a more politically attractive Democrat.³¹

President Truman took Hurley's abrupt resignation personally. "See what the son of a bitch did to me," exclaimed Truman once he received Hurley's official resignation.³² If Hurley's departure angered Truman, he must have been shocked by the former ambassador's virulent claims that Communist agents were guiding U. S. foreign policy. By 1950, Hurley, who believed the Truman Administration had hindered his historic mission to China, began to openly aligning himself with the pro-Nationalist lobby by attacking the manner in which the United States conducted Sino-American relations during the 1940s. Hurley, for example, referred to the Yalta agreement as "the State Department's blueprint for the Communist conquest of China."³³ The lobby now had an influential former American ambassador to China as its new spokesmen.

The rapid conclusion of the war in the Pacific and the failure of American policymakers to forge a coalition government in China forced the Truman Administration to reassess its Far Eastern policy. Many came to believe the growing political instability in China might lead to the downfall of the Nationalist government. As expected, the uneasy alliance between the KMT and the CCP began to unravel. Truman's response to the growing Asian crisis was to order another representative to China. On December 15,

³¹ United States Department of State, *The China White Paper, August 1949*, 112.

³² Ernest R. May, *The Truman Administration and China, 1945-1949*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lincott Company, 1975), 56;

³³ Russell D. Buhite, "Patrick J. Hurley and the Yalta Far Eastern Agreement," *The Pacific Historical Review* 37, no. 3. (August 1968): 343-353.

1945, President Harry S Truman sent General George C. Marshall to China.³⁴ The president wanted Marshall to find out whether a second Chinese Civil War could be averted. Truman hoped that Marshall might succeed in transforming the uneasy wartime alliance between the KMT and the CCP into a stable coalition government.³⁵ The Truman administration's official Chinese policy was "a strong, united and democratic China is of the upmost importance...for world peace." Truman, therefore, ordered Marshall to arrange for a cease-fire while also laying the groundwork for "a national conference of representatives of major political elements...to develop an early solution to the present internal strife." President Truman believed these two actions would bring about a peaceful unification of China.³⁶

The State Department analysts, however, cited three important reasons impeding the creation of a democratic China. "The Communists were efficient, honest, committed, militarily strong, actively fighting the Japanese and would control northern China after the war." Conversely, the Department believed, "the Nationalist government was weak, corrupt, inefficient, and led by a man losing support because of his inability to effect reform." These foreign policy experts recommended the "United States should adopt a realistic policy concerning China." The policymakers believed the Truman Administration needed to support Mao Zedong before China became a Soviet puppet

³⁴ Draft Telegram to Marshall, 26 February 1946, The Truman Library, Papers of Harry S. Truman, Official File, Box 150.

³⁵ Harry S Truman, *Memoirs: Years of Trial and Hope, 1946-1952*, (New York: Signet Books, 1956), 86-87.

³⁶ U. S. Policy towards China (suggested draft of statement by the White House upon the departure of General Marshall to China)," published in *Marshall's Mission to China: December 1945-January 1947: The Report and Appended Documents*, Vol. II (Arlington, Virginia: University Publications of America, Inc., 1976), 9-11.

régime. These policymakers believed that Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt KMT only hindered U. S. ambitions to create a geopolitically stable Asia with China as the driving force in the Far East. These State Department offices felt that Mao Zedong's Communist ideology differed enough from Stalin's that the Truman Administration should be able to forge a strong alliance with the struggling CCP.³⁷

An overconfident Marshall went to China to stabilize the region just as the CCP and the KMT went to war over Manchuria. General Marshall faced the same opposition to his mission that Ambassador Hurley had faced. The CCP held grave misgivings about working with the KMT based on Chiang Kai-shek's eradication of Communist sympathizers in 1924. The Second United Front slowly unraveled as the KMT and the CCP tried to consolidate their position in a postwar China. General Marshall set up a cease-fire agreement between the two factions and he tried to set up the infrastructure needed to support a democratic government in China. In January 1946, the Political Consultative Conference (PCC) met. This assembly, led by Generalissimo Chiang, quickly guaranteed "freedom of speech, assembly, and association; equal legal status for all political parties; the holding of popular elections; and the release of political prisoners." The PCC also called for a National Assembly to form a committee to draft a constitution—democratic reform seemingly was on the way. By February 1946, Marshall created a plan for the military integration of the CCP and KMT. This new power structure made the President of the Republic of China the Commander in Chief of the

³⁷ Stanley D. Bachrack, *The Committee of One Million: China Lobby Politics, 1953-1971*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 25-26.

Chinese armed forces. The new President exercised control through a National Military Council. Marshall had modest success: he had helped to institute a cease-fire, begin political reform, and set up a plan to integrate the Chinese military. His efforts, eventually, failed to achieve U. S. foreign policy objectives.³⁸

At this time, Mayling Soong traveled to the United States and began reorganizing the Chiang's political warfare apparatus. Working in New York City, Madame Chiang, just as her bother had done years before, held weekly meetings with any group that could effectively influence U.S. politics.³⁹ Chiang Kai-shek used his pro-democratic stance to force the United States military to choose sides in the Chinese Civil War. Even though General Marshall secured a cease-fire agreement, the generalissimo used the American fear of a communist takeover of Northern China to convince the U. S. Army Air Corps to move KMT troops from Southern China to Manchuria. The State Department had been correct in its assessment—the KMT controlled southern China while the CCP consolidated power in the north. The Generalissimo believed he could secure the strategically important Manchurian territory left vacant by the defeat of Japan by airlifting his troops directly into Manchuria. General Marshall told Chiang the KMT did not have the logistical support to subdue Manchuria. Marshall shrewdly told the Nationalist leader that his plans for Northern China overextended the Nationalist military's reach and left him vulnerable to CCP attack. Chiang gambled. If the KMT got

³⁸ United States Department of State, *The China White Paper*, 138-139. The assembly was composed of KMT, CCP, the Democratic Party, the Youth League, and some non-party delegates.

³⁹ Koen, 35.

into trouble, the ever-present United States would take direct military action to prevent the communists from taking over China.⁴⁰

The Truman Administration inherited the Yalta accords, which ensured Stalin would support the Nationalist government. Stalin, forever the pragmatist, had no intention of supporting Mao.⁴¹ The Soviet dictator did not want a strong centralized government along his southern border. Besides, Stalin and Chiang had signed a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, which officially granted the Soviet Union the territorial gains promised at Yalta in exchange for Stalin's support of the KMT.⁴² Stalinist support of the KMT led Mao to conclude that "Stalin tried to prevent the Chinese Revolution by saying...we must collaborate with Chiang."⁴³

If Mao believed the Truman Administration intended to work equitably with both the KMT and the CCP, he was disappointed. Truman told Marshall that no matter what happened, he was to support the KMT. The President's orders significantly constrained his representative. Both sides continued to violate the cease-fire agreement as each side tried to gain political advantage. Marshall imposed an arms embargo designed to halt the violence. Stalin, however, began secretly supplying the CCP with abandoned Japanese weapons caches. A strong, united China was not in the Soviet leader's interests, and

⁴⁰ United States Department of State, *The China White Paper*, 139.

⁴¹ Melvyn P. Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind: the United States, the Soviet Union and the Cold War*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 75-76

⁴² United States Department of State, *The China White Paper*, 116-118. The China lobby declared that Chiang Kai-shek was coerced into signing the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with the Soviet Union in 1945.

⁴³ Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War, 1945-1996*, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1997) 31.

covert military support for Mao would ensure a continuation of the Chinese Civil War. In retrospect, it is fair to infer that by 1947, the KMT was in retreat.⁴⁴

Generalissimo Chiang struggled to control China. The United States began to pull out of China. In 1945-1946, Truman sent 100,000 American soldiers into China, but the KMT needed more support than these men could provide. Unfortunately, the United States could not afford to provide more. Shortly after that, Marshall returned to the United States to serve as Secretary of State. Marshall realized there was a limit to how much support the United States could provide. The State Department determined that it would take an investment of at least \$2 billion and a significant intervention by the American military to ensure the KMT's success. In the chaos of those first five postwar years, American policymakers realized they could not afford to commit everything to Chiang. Soviet aggression in Central Asia, the Middle East, and Europe prevented Truman from ordering more support to China. This postwar uncertainty compelled U.S. politicians to make difficult foreign policy decisions about Asia and Western Europe. These decisions were based on George Kennan's idea of containment.⁴⁵

The first major postwar diplomatic crisis between the United States and the Soviet Union occurred in the Middle East. In 1946, the U.S.S.R. supported a revolt in Northern Iran.⁴⁶ As the Red Army's tanks began rolling toward the Iranian border from

⁴⁴ "Memorandum by General Marshall of a conversation with President Truman and Undersecretary of State Acheson, December 14, 1945," in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, vol. 7, 1945, 770.

⁴⁵ From: Report by the Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State, September 18, 1947, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, vol. 7, 1945, 286-287.

⁴⁶ Vladislav Zubok and Constantine Pleshakov, *Inside the Kremlin's Cold War: From Stalin to Khrushchev*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996.), 121.

Azerbaijan, the United States took this developing crisis to the newly established United Nations.⁴⁷ Truman wrote to Secretary of State Jim Byrnes stating that “unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language another war is in the making. Only one language do they understand—How many divisions do you have?” Truman went on to say that he “was tired of babying the Soviets.”⁴⁸ Stalin agreed to withdraw all Soviet troops if a joint Azerbaijani oil venture was undertaken in northern Iran. Stalin’s Iranian adventure, however, ended in failure, and as Soviet troops disappeared from Iranian soil, and the promise of oil concessions evaporated.⁴⁹ The 1946 Soviet expansionist gambit in Iran, considered a minor problem at the time, became the prime example of Soviet postwar geopolitical ambitions. Stalin’s unpredictability eventually led the Truman administration to reduce foreign aid for the KMT. The president believed the Communist threat was greater in Europe than in Asia.

With the Iranian failure still fresh, Stalin tried to wrest control of the Bosphorus and Dardanelle Straits from Turkish control. The Soviet leader used the threat of force to put pressure on Turkey to concede control of the Straits to the Soviet Union. President Truman told the U.S.S.R. that the Straits would remain in Turkish hands. Truman immediately sent a U. S. naval aircraft carrier—the U.S.S. *Franklin D. Roosevelt*—into the Mediterranean Sea to show Stalin the United States’ willingness to project force in defense of Turkish autonomy. The American willingness to go to war over the Straits encouraged the Soviet Union to reconsider. As a result, Stalin ended his quest for

⁴⁷ LaFeber, 37. This is the first major test for the United Nations.

⁴⁸ Truman, *Memoirs: Year of Decisions, 1946*, 606.

⁴⁹ Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War*, 312.

external territory and began to consolidate his power base in Eastern Europe. However, the damage had been done. By the winter of 1946, the Truman Administration had become convinced there existed a grand Communist conspiracy bent on world domination. The gradual worsening of Soviet-American relations forced American policymakers to shift resources from Asia to Europe. Truman wanted to ensure that pro-socialist forces in Western Europe did not wrest control of the continent from the pro-democratic regimes that were struggling to rebuild in the aftermath of six years of hard fighting.⁵⁰

The year 1947 marked a fundamental shift in U. S. foreign policy. The communist insurgents in Greece and Turkey were poised to topple the pro-democratic government. A battered, beaten, and beleaguered Britain hastily explained the great eighteenth century empire could no longer provide imperial protection to those Mediterranean states threatened by internal strife.⁵¹ The burden of protecting the Middle East would fall to the United States. Confronted with the possibility of a communist coup in Greece and with the growth of communist movements in Western European states, the Truman Administration chose to irrevocably alter the American state.

On February 27, 1947, Truman, Secretary of State George Marshall, and Dean Acheson met with congressional leaders at the White House to discuss communist incursions into Greece and Turkey. Acheson explained that the British could no longer provide financial support to these two Mediterranean nations and it was up to the United

⁵⁰ LaFeber, 38.

⁵¹ A British diplomat told Dean Acheson that England could not provide the monetary support Greece and Turkey needed to counter the communist insurgency.

States to stop the westward advance of communism. Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI) stated the only way Truman could gain the full support of Congress was by “scarring the hell” out of them. Fear of totalitarian domination would provide the votes needed to ensure Greece and Turkey survived the communist onslaught.⁵²

Therefore, the Truman Administration labored to provide the president with a speech designed to ‘scare the hell’ out of not only Congress but the American people. On March 12, 1947, Truman explained that it “would be the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure.” Truman explained the United States role in world affairs was to prevent the totalitarian oppression of free peoples. “If we turn our backs on the world, areas such as Greece, weakened and divided as a result of the war, would fall into the Soviet orbit without much effort on the part of the Russians.”⁵³ The speech subtly expressed the new conflict in universal terms of oppression and freedom. The American people had just fought a three year war against the military dictatorships in Japan and Germany. The Americans understood the need to stop the aggressive expansion of militarist nations and they understood the policy of appeasement was a failure.

Truman formally called on the United States to shed its isolationist tendencies and embrace his new internationalist foreign policy objectives. Truman convinced Congress to provide \$400 million in foreign aid to Greece and Turkey.⁵⁴ The president’s speech established the American ideological framework for the Cold War. More importantly,

⁵² LaFeber, 53.

⁵³ Leffler, *For the Soul of Mankind*, 62.

⁵⁴ LaFeber 54.

the U. S. diplomatic success in Greece paved the way for U. S. Cold War interventionist policy carried out in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East. All of these operations were funded by a frightened Congress. Truman's successful procurement of funding for Greece and Turkey led the president to turn his attention to revitalizing the European economy. America's fear of communist aggression in Europe provided the impetus for the restoring Europe's vigorous economy. Most Americans failed to grasp that the United States, once again, tittered on the brink of economic ruin. The America industrial sector rose to the challenge of war by expanding to provide war material for the Allied cause. By the end of the war, these factories were retooled to produce the luxury items wanted for by a nation that spent three years rationing everything for the war. These factories swiftly out produced domestic consumption. The business community turned toward its prewar markets in Europe, but the European markets were still running at subsistence levels. If the Truman Administration did not act quickly, the European economic crisis might pull the world into a second global depression.⁵⁵

In the spring of 1947, Truman asked Marshall to convince the Europeans to develop individual economic recovery plans. These plans eventually united to become the Marshall Plan. A primary concern for the Western democracies was the American desire to reindustrialize Germany as a means of reinvigorating the stagnating European economy. A second concern was the participation of Russia in this economic recovery program. Members of the Truman Administration made sure the plan's requirements were unacceptable to the Soviets. Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, a Soviet diplomat,

⁵⁵ LaFeber, 54-55.

warned that the “plan would undermine national sovereignty, revive Germany, allow the United States to control Europe, and most ominously, divide Europe into two camps.” Molotov then developed his own plan for Eastern Europe, which acted as a foil to Marshall’s. Ironically, Molotov’s prediction came true. American money circumvented national sovereignty, Germany reindustrialized, and Europe split into two well-armed camps; however, both Western Europe and the United States also avoided a second Great Depression. Capitalism needed open markets to thrive, but Congress had to approve the money to revitalize Europe’s comatose economy.⁵⁶

The crisis Truman needed to push the Marshall Plan through Congress occurred on February 1948. The inherently confrontational nature of the U.S.-Soviet relationship deepened as a Soviet Union sponsored coup d’état in Czechoslovakia toppled the government. The Soviet backed coup proved to the West that Stalin had no intention of keeping his war time promise of allowing the countries in his sphere of influence to choose their form of government.⁵⁷ Soviet aggression in Czechoslovakia provided the necessary amount of fear needed to force Congress to approve the Marshall Plan. The Truman Administration felt the Communist threat in Europe was greater than the threat in Asia. The Republican dominated 80th Congress (1947), however, began to question American policy in China. Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI) stated the new postwar policy toward China would ensure American policymakers would no longer try to form a

⁵⁶ LaFeber, 61. The requirements of the Marshall Plan included allowing the United States to look at the financial records of each country that chose to receive funds.

⁵⁷ Martin Walker, *The Cold War: A History*, (New York: Owl Books, 1995), 55.

Chinese coalition government.⁵⁸ Secretary of State Marshall ordered General A. C. Wedemeyer to return to China to make “an appraisal of the political, economic, psychological, and military” situation. Wedemeyer stated that a piecemeal aid program would fail as it “would be like plugging up holes in a rotten hull of a sinking ship.” China needed not only a new ship but an “honest captain and an efficient crew.”⁵⁹ Wedemeyer, like Stilwell, did not care for Chiang. The American general found him to be “impotent and confounded.”⁶⁰

The Truman administration suppressed Wedemeyer’s final report. The American general stated the Yalta Conference’s decision to allow the Soviet Union access to Manchuria, combined with Marshall’s decision to withhold aid to the KMT, significantly hindered the Nationalist government’s ability to maintain control of China. The official report suggested the KMT government take their case to the United Nations and request aid for postwar economic rehabilitation.⁶¹ Wedemeyer asked the United Nations step in to end hostilities in Manchuria. Finally, the general concluded that once the CCP conquered Manchuria, Stalin, who already controlled Outer Mongolia, would simply pledge support for the new Communist régime. The Truman Administration refused to implement Wedemeyer’s suggestions in Manchuria because Truman and Marshall both

⁵⁸ Bachrack, 37.

⁵⁹ Wedemeyer’s Mission to China, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1947, Volume VII, 638.

⁶⁰ Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Time Runs Out in the CBI*, (Washington D.C.: Office of Military History, Department of the Army, 1959), 52.

⁶¹ Wedemeyer’s Mission to China, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1947, Volume VII, 636.

believed that a U.N. trusteeship of Manchuria would be an infringement of Chinese sovereignty.⁶²

General Wedemeyer determined the KMT government needed the same support as Western Europe. The Chinese economy was in ruins. The secret police, hunting Communist sympathizers, routinely violated the PCC democratic reforms. Only money, material, and a plan similar to Marshall's for Europe would save China from a hostile Communist takeover. As a result, the report was suppressed, and Wedemeyer's suggestions were not implemented. The Truman Administration only provided rudimentary financial support, the 1948 China Aid Act, which granted Chiang's government \$400 million. The 1948 fiscal support for the KMT proved to be too little too late as some Members of Congress came to believe that "the Chinese situation was just hopeless. In 1949, the CCP seized China and the KMT fled to Taiwan."⁶³

In 1946, President Truman faced what some thought were insurmountable domestic problems as Stalin consolidated his hold on Eastern Europe. In 1946, the Republican Party gained control of both houses of Congress for the first time since 1935. The Republican Party began to attack the Truman Administration's postwar policies especially the idea that Truman was "soft" on communism. The Republicans were wrong. Truman was not "soft" on communism. Like Woodrow Wilson, Truman's administration laid the foundation of the national security state. Elizabeth Bentley's

⁶² Albert Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports!*, (New York: Holt, 1958), 465-466.

⁶³ U.S. Congress, Committee on Armed Services and Committee on Foreign Relations, *Hearings, Military Situation in the Far East*, 82nd Congress, 1st Session, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951), 1903.

claims and the subsequent trials about communist infiltration of the U.S. government led Truman to implement loyalty oaths. On March 22, 1947, Truman signed Executive Order 9835 giving the FBI the power to run background checks on federal employees.⁶⁴

The National Security Act of 1947 came dangerously close to creating a garrison state. The illusion of civilian control helped the American public accept the changes to its government. The law established the infrastructure of the national security state. The mechanisms of this new national security state included the Office of the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the National Security Council (NSC), and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The position of Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) provided a good example of how the military maintained control of these various organizations while providing the illusion of civilian control. The DCI could be a military officer but while in charge of the CIA the DCI was not beholden to his parent organization. A senior military officer's ability to ignore orders from his superiors was supposed to provide the DCI with a measure of autonomy. The majority of these early DCIs, however, returned to active military service after their tenure as head of the CIA. This meant that if a DCI wanted his career to continue, after his tenure as DCI, then he might be swayed to listen to those above him. It appeared that those skilled in violence were taking over.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ "Memo, Donald S. Dawson to Harry S. Truman, 24 October 1947," The Harry S. Truman Library, Papers of Harry S. Truman, President's Secretary File.

⁶⁵ Michael J. Hogan. *A Cross of Iron: Harry S Truman and the Origins of the National Security State, 1945-1954*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 65.

The debate over Universal Military Training (UMT) provided the catalyst that might push the country closer to forming a despotic garrison state. In 1946, General Marshall suggested that the United States maintain a 700,000 man active duty army. Each and every man deemed to be in good physical condition would be required to receive basic military instruction.⁶⁶ This military program require a one year commitment. The process would militarize an entire generation. The ideology of military training requires young soldiers to follow orders blindly for the good of the organization while democracy requires an inquisitive citizenry. Congress ultimately failed to pass UMT; instead Congress increased the size of the military.⁶⁷

The domestic political struggle came to a rapid conclusion as Harry S Truman narrowly won the 1948 presidential election. The China lobby believed that Truman had no chance of winning this election so they began backing the Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey.⁶⁸ This presidential election also helped the Democratic Party regain some of those Congressional seats lost in the 1946 midterm elections. Truman shrewdly courted the African-American vote, which helped him win the presidential election. The China lobby learned from their mistake and began courting U.S. Congressional leaders to help secure aid for China.⁶⁹

President Truman knew the United States citizenry might support direct military confrontation with Russian to stop Soviet aggression in Turkey, Greece, or Iran. The

⁶⁶ Blair, 7.

⁶⁷ LaFeber, 73.

⁶⁸ Koen, 34.

⁶⁹ "Memorandum from Sao-Ke Alfred Sze to Dr. T.V. Soong," Hoover Institute on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, T.V. Soong Collection, Box 39.

conflict in Western Europe, however, did not involve tanks, planes, or men. Instead, Western Europe needed something most Americans were unwilling to give—money. The Truman Administration realized that without cold hard cash the rising Communist and socialist parties in Europe would more than likely seize control of Western Europe. Stalin now needed to remain patient. Knowing, the West would eventually succumb to the Communist revolution.

By 1949, the nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek fled to Taiwan (modern Taiwan). The United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) began discussions to normalize relations shortly after the communist takeover in 1949.⁷⁰ As the Truman administration waited for the “dust to settle”, military planners proposed that Truman avoid aligning the U.S. government with the newly established Taiwan régime.⁷¹ Dean Acheson made it clear the United States had no intention of protecting Taiwan from a PRC invasion. The China lobby began working overtime. The Committee for One Million was founded. This new committee had one goal to prevent the normalization of relations between the United States and the PRC. As a secondary goal, the committee worked to keep the PRC out of the United Nations.⁷² The Americans waited while Mao Zedong consolidated power on the mainland but then overnight everything changed.

⁷⁰ Yafeng, Xia, *Negotiating with Enemy: U. S.–China Talks during the Cold War, 1949-1972* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 12-42.

⁷¹ For a more detailed discussion on Truman's China policy see Nancy Tucker, *Patterns in the Dust: Chinese-American Relations and the Recognition Controversy, 1949-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

⁷² For more information on the Committee for One Million see Bachrack.

On June 25, 1950, the North Korean People's Army (NKPA) thundered across the 38th Parallel, shattering the peace of the "Land of the Morning Calm."⁷³ The NKPA field artillery weakened the Republic of Korea's (ROK) forward positions. Soviet T-34 tanks, supporting the NKPA Infantry, proved that the mountainous terrain made a fitting place for an armor division to operate.⁷⁴ The audacious NKPA surprise attack caught the ill-trained and ill-equipped ROK Army off guard. The NKPA rapidly moved down the Korean Peninsula eventually capturing Seoul—the capital of South Korea. The rapid advance forced the ROK and the United States military personnel stationed in South Korea to retreat southward to Pusan merely a few miles from the ocean.⁷⁵ With their backs to the water, the ROK and members of the U.S. military dug in and held out. They barely avoided an Asian Dunkirk. A few months later, General Douglas MacArthur's daring amphibious landing at Inchon roughly 300 miles north severed the NKPA supply lines and revitalized the anticommunist war effort.

As MacArthur thought about crossing the 38th parallel on his trek to the Yalu River, the nervous leader of the People's Republic of China (PRC), Mao Zedong considered his options. What course of action was best for the struggling Communist

⁷³ Bruce Cumings, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), 23. Bruce Cumings traces the origins of the alternate name for Korea (Choson)—"Land of the Morning Calm"—to a third millennium king named Tan'gun. The name is still used today to refer to Korea.

⁷⁴ Blair, 55-57. Blair quotes U. S. Army General W. Lynn Roberts, who directed publicity, campaign to convince the world of the ROK's military prowess, as stating that Korea was "not good tank country." Blair found Roberts stance "inexplicable" since the general had firsthand experience during the Battle of the Bulge with the terror of tank warfare against a tankless infantry.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 170. At Pusan, the ROK forces plus U. S. military personnel formed the Pusan Perimeter. Blair notes that the perimeter marked the southernmost advance of the NKPA. The ROK and U. S. forces were thinly spread but the perimeter followed the Naktong River which provided a natural boundary. This static position made it easily defensible but according to Clay Blair, it was the railway system, which provided needed logistical support that really helped to secure the area from further NKPA incursion.

nation? Mao Zedong decided to create the People's Volunteer Army (PVA) to help liberate North Korea from American aggression.⁷⁶ The introduction of Chinese Communist troops into North Korea transformed the nature of the conflict, fundamentally altered the nature of the Cold War, and provided the impetus for the reemergence of the China lobby in America politics.

Scholars struggling to define this new global conflict produced regional studies designed to explore American foreign policy in Asia. A range of books--*China, Key to the Orient and to Asia; How We Blundered into the Korean War and Tragic Future Consequences*; and *What Caused the Nation's Crisis-Incompetency or Treachery?*--all attempted to outline America's failure in Asia. The China lobby produced books and pamphlets to explain how the Korean War could have been avoided, if only the work of Communist sympathizers in the United States government had not betrayed China to Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party. Support for the Kuomintang government in exile, on Taiwan, could rectify the diplomatic misfortune of postwar China. They argued that it was not too late. Authors, journalists, and pamphleteers affiliated with the lobby's cause called for more money, more weapons, and finally for U. S. military intervention. The United States could alter the balance of power in Asia and guarantee the triumphant reconquest of the Chinese mainland by nationalist forces by providing direct military

⁷⁶Mao Zedong sent a telegram on October 3, 1950 informing Stalin that China was not prepared to support NKPA military operations against the United States. Mao reverses this decision by October 13, 1950. On December 1, 1950 Stalin sent a telegram to Mao wishing the PLA success in Korea. To see the full text of these two telegrams <http://www.wilsoncenter.org> (accessed April 4, 2008).

support. The rallying cry became: Why fight in Korea when the real enemy was Communist China?⁷⁷

The China lobby used the Korean War to reexamine Marshall's failure in China. These lobbyists also worked to bring Wedemeyer's Report to light. Senator Joseph McCarthy, one of the most outspoken critics of the Marshall Mission, vehemently criticized the general's failure to secure the peaceful integration of Mao's Chinese Communist Party and Chiang's Nationalist government following the end of the Second Sino-Japanese War. On June 14, 1951, McCarthy delivered a 60,000-word speech denouncing Marshall's ineptitude. The staunchly anti-communist senator stated, "If Marshall were merely stupid, the laws of probability would have dictated that at least some of his decisions would have served this country's interest."⁷⁸ McCarthy believed Marshall, through "criminal folly," traveled to China solely to "rob us of a great friend and ally" because there was a vast Communist conspiracy designed to "diminish the United States in world affairs."

The "red" hating Wisconsin Senator concluded, "Even if Marshall had been innocent of guilty intention, how could he have been trusted to guide the defense of this country further?"⁷⁹ McCarthy, by attacking Marshall, further transformed the nascent China Lobby from a marginalized political entity into a national security concern. The During World War II, China lobby used persuasion and propaganda to influence U. S.

⁷⁷ Koen, 85.

⁷⁸ Joseph R. McCarthy, *America's Retreat from Victory: The Story of George Catlett Marshall*, (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1952), 168.

⁷⁹ Speech quoted in McCarthy, 168-172.

policymakers to provide men and material for the KMT, but this influence began to wane two years after the cessation of hostilities in the Pacific theater. The Korean War became the catalyst for the reemergence of the lobby in American politics and Senator McCarthy's vehement attacks on Marshall and the Truman Administration's China policy helped propel the lobby's agenda to forefront of American national security concerns in Asia. McCarthy's blistering attacks further alienated those who opposed the power and influence exerted by the lobby because those who chose to speak out against the now powerful lobbyist group would be branded as traitors. McCarthy's claims ushered in the Second Red Scare, which resulted in Communist witch hunts and show trials where whispers ruined careers.

The NKPA invasion of South Korea in the summer of 1950 altered the U. S. relationship with the KMT. Chiang Kai-shek wanted to help the U. N. mission in Korea to repel Communist aggression. President Truman politely told him no, but the president did order the U.S. 7th fleet to sail toward Taiwan in order to provide protection for the KMT government in exile.⁸⁰ The commitment of American forces to protect Taiwan marked a shift in American foreign policy. Unbeknownst to Chiang Kai-shek and the China lobby, the United States and the People's Republic of China (PRC) attempted to normalize relations shortly after the communist takeover in 1949.⁸¹ Mao Zedong's decision to support the NKPA ended these talks and ensured American military support of the KMT.

⁸⁰ Truman, *Memoirs: Years of Trial and Hope, 1946-1952*, 393.

⁸¹ Yafeng, Xia, *Negotiating with Enemy: U. S. -China Talks during the Cold War, 1949-1972*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2006), 12-42.

Chiang Kai-shek's faith in U. S. support failed to take into account the American people's unwillingness to go to war in China. Three years of fierce fighting in Asia defined a generation. American foreign policymakers shared the American people's reluctance to stage a full-scale intervention in Asia to support a corrupt régime. The Truman Administration even went so far as to open backdoor negotiations with the CCP government in 1949, but the Korean War altered U. S. foreign policy. Mao's decision to support the Soviet-sponsored NKPA invasion of South Korea forced the United States into a marriage of convenience with the KMT government in exile.

The China lobby's intense attack against the Truman Administration's China policy, conducted during the Korean War, ensured that the Republican Eisenhower administration would continue to support the KMT. The China lobbyists wove a convoluted tale of betrayal tinged with Communist infiltration of the U. S. government to explain how the United States had "lost" China. The lobby helped legitimized McCarthyism. The witch hunts and show trials, used by the senator from Wisconsin to incite fear and dissension among the American populous, began with the possible infiltration of the State Department by Communist sympathizers who ensured the "loss" of China.⁸² The senator was officially censured in 1954, but not before the lobby compelled U. S. politicians to reexamined decisions made years before the Korean War. The lobby worked to explain how the U.S. lost China. Lobbyist, also, tried to ensure continued support for the Taiwanese government. During this time, Villains were

⁸² The information used by McCarthy to attack Marshall and the Truman Administration had been supplied by the China lobby. McCarthy's 1951 speech helped launch the Second Red Scare. Koen, 85.

created. Scapegoats manufactured. Heroes fell, and demigods sprang forth as the lobby worked to sway public opinion in light of the aggressive NKPA invasion of South Korea, which helped to revitalize the China lobby's influence on American foreign policy.

The communist takeover of China in 1949, the Soviet Union's first successful atomic detonation, and the Korean War increased U. S. concerns that Soviet style communism was destined to fulfill the Marxist dream of world revolution. This fear led to the creation of NSC-68. The foundation of Cold War national security policy stated "the gravest threat to the security of the United States within the foreseeable future stems from the hostile designs and formidable power of the USSR, and from the nature of the Soviet system." This hostile threat of eminent conflict necessitated developing "a level of military readiness which can be maintained as long as necessary as a deterrent to Soviet aggression" as well as assuring "the internal security of the United States against dangers of sabotage, subversion, and espionage." The key to victory was to maximize the peacetime economy while developing essential reserves of natural resources to be used in time of war.⁸³

The NKPA's aggressive drive southward coupled with Mao's decision to send troops to Korea forced Truman to reevaluate his policy on nuclear weapons. The president did not change his mind. Atomic bombs should only be used as a last resort. He, however, allowed his military planners to begin discussing the possibility of using these weapons in Korea. Showing the Soviet Union America's resolve in ensuring that the conflict in the Far East did not extend to Western Europe, the United States, for the

⁸³ NSC-68.

first time, deployed B-29s to both England and Guam.⁸⁴ This forward deployment of U.S. B-29's significantly reduced the time required to strike the Soviet Union with atomic weapons. If the Soviets decided to intercede in North Korea drawing America's attention to Asia while Moscow ordered troops to rush through Fulda Gap and into the heartland of Western Europe, then the United States was prepared to act.⁸⁵

The deployment of nuclear-capable B-29s to England caused some political concerns at the time. The English did not like the idea of having nuclear weapons on their soil. The British government believed these weapons only made them more of a target for possible Soviet aggression. The Truman administration publicized the deployment of these planes to England as nothing more than a routine "rotation" of personnel. This made it possible for the president to gently remind the Soviets that America not only had the bomb but it also had an efficient delivery system. The forward deployment of nuclear-capable B-29s to both Guam and England proved to be the first time the United States used the threat of nuclear war to ensure a diplomatic outcome. For Truman sending these planes to both Europe and the Far East provided the minimal level of force required to guarantee the Soviets did not escalate the conflict in either Europe or Korea. America's show of force during the early days of this conflict was done only in part for the Soviet Union.

The Republican Party's intense condemnation of the Truman administration combined with military planners and the American public's belief that atomic weapons

⁸⁴ Dingman, 55-60.

⁸⁵ Fulda Gap located along the East German border was considered by many military strategists to be the key route the Soviet military would use if the Russians decided to invade Western Europe.

should be used on the battlefield led Truman to inquire into the feasibility of integrating these weapons into the U. S. arsenal. Policymakers began discussing a “no cities” approach to the use of the atomic bomb. In 1951 and 1952 in the Nevada desert at Camp Desert Rock, the United States military conducted a series of tests, code-named Buster-Jangle. These tests sought to prove that nuclear weapons could be an effective force multiplier. Seven atomic atmospheric detonations exposed U. S. military personnel, located as close as 2,500 yards, to high dosages of radiation. The army wanted to prove the average soldier could maneuver around an atomic blast site within minutes of detonation.⁸⁶

Regionally, geopolitical nuclear blackmail made sense. The United States had been testing these weapons in the Pacific since the late 1940s, and American scientist realized that even multiple strikes against mainland China would have minimal effect on the continental United States. The Chinese lacked nuclear weapons, and the Soviet Union did not have an efficient method to launch a retaliatory strike against the continental United States. The Soviets might decide to hit Western Europe or maybe attack targets in Asia, but the USSR could not attack the United States. The creation of both the ICBMs and the SLBMs (Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile) in the late 1950s and early 1960s altered U. S. nuclear strategy from massive retaliation to deterrence.

These postwar Asian proxy wars spawned by the geopolitical bipolarization of the world compelled American civilian and military policymakers to develop a

⁸⁶ For more information concerning Buster-Jangle and the aftermath of these early Cold War atmospheric tests see Philip Fradkin, *Fallout: An American Nuclear Tragedy*, (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

comprehensive plan to integrate nuclear weapons into their postwar strategic planning.⁸⁷ Asia, therefore, became the testing ground for developing U.S. nuclear policy. Most Cold War scholars contend that the study of nuclear strategy involves the examination of a non-event since neither the Soviet Union nor the United States, except for the initial use of atomic bomb against Japan in 1945, unleashed these weapons during the almost forty years of undeclared hostilities.⁸⁸ By the end of the Cold War terms like deterrence, massive retaliation, first strike capabilities, decapitation, flexible response, escalation dominance, and mutually assured destruction formed the fundamental jargon for discussing the deployment of nuclear weapons during times of political upheaval but this specialized language did not exist in 1945. Two short decades later, these terms became a part of mainstream American vernacular.

Intellectually, these words diminished the horrifying reality of nuclear Armageddon. The use of specialized language eventually allowed military strategists to remove themselves from the harsh realities of a nuclear confrontation. Statistics and variables allowed these early nuclear strategists to posit the survivability of a nuclear conflict without having to delve into the moral quagmire of using atomic weapons against civilian population centers. The development of the atomic bomb followed by the advent of the hydrogen bomb rendered the nuclear strategists impotent since these weapons

⁸⁷ Almost immediately after the cessation of hostilities which marked the end of the Second World War, the United States became embroiled in various Asiatic proxy wars—the Chinese Civil War (1946-1950), the Korean War (1950-1953), the first Taiwan Strait Crisis (1954-1955), the first Indochina War (1951-1954), the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis (1958), and the Second Indochina War (1954-1975).

⁸⁸ Lawrence Freedman, “The First Two Generations of Nuclear Strategist”, in ed. Peter Paret, *Makers of Modern Strategy: from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press: 1986), 735.

should only be used according to President Harry S Truman, in a 1948 meeting with David E. Lilienthal, the head of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), when “we absolutely have to...this isn’t a military weapon...It is used to wipe out women and children and unarmed people, and not for military uses.”⁸⁹ The only president to authorize the deployment of the “ultimate” weapon against a foreign power would spend the first few years of his presidency reticently avoiding any serious attempt to develop a coherent strategic plan to utilize nuclear weapons for any purpose other than as a last desperate gambit to be unleashed only when all appeared to be lost.⁹⁰

While it is true that the intellectualization of nuclear strategy occurred during the Eisenhower administration, the exploration of the practical application of atomic weapons on the battlefield began late in Truman’s second term. Truman’s ambiguous nuclear legacy still confounds scholars. By authorizing the use of the atomic bomb against Japan, Truman ushered in the nuclear age; however, by creating the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) in 1946, the president ensured that nuclear weapons would fall under civilian and not military control. The specter of Harold Lasswell’s Garrison State was not far from the thought of those shaping the post-war U. S. foreign policy. Civilian control prevented the rise of tyrannical, despotic regimes and so the illusion of civilian control existed, even though, the military continued to act as the driving force behind the development of tactical nuclear weapons.

⁸⁹ President Harry S Truman uttered those words to David E. Lilienthal during a July 21, 1948 meeting to discuss who would maintain control of the growing U.S. nuclear stock pile. David E. Lilienthal, *The Journals of David E. Lilienthal: The Atomic Energy Years* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 391.

⁹⁰ David Alan Rosenberg, “The Origins of Overkill: Nuclear Weapons and American Strategy, 1945-1960”, in *International Security*, Vol. 7, No 4 (Spring, 1983), 11-12

The first few years of Truman's presidency show the president did not concern himself with the bomb. Military planners, working during the nadir of the Cold War, tried to integrate nuclear weapons into strategic planning, but Truman resisted their efforts.⁹¹ The first atomic target list was established as early as 1947 and the newly created United States Air Force began developing comprehensive war plans that called for aggressive offensive use of nuclear weapons. When Truman became aware of what military strategists were planning, however, he ordered them only to craft war plans that called for the use of conventional weapons.⁹²

The successful Soviet detonation of an atomic device in 1949 convinced a reluctant Truman to allow Edward Teller, a Los Alamos scientist who worked on the Manhattan Project, to develop the hydrogen bomb. Teller successfully detonated the H-bomb three years later. The "super," a term coined by Teller to distinguish the devastating power of the hydrogen bomb from the destructive irrelevancy of the atomic bomb. In 1952, the detonation at "Ivy-Mike" relegated the nuclear bomb to a mere tactical weapon while the H-bomb became a city killer.⁹³ Military strategists began to view the nuclear bomb not as a weapon of last resort but as the most cost-effective force multiplier in the U.S. arsenal. The Buster-Jangle test proved the average soldier could navigate around an atomic detonation and still maintain his fighting effectiveness. These

⁹¹ The first atomic target listed was created as early as 1947 and the newly created U. S. Air Force began developing comprehensive war plans that called for aggressive offensive use of atomic weapons but when Truman was made aware of what military strategist were planning he ordered then to establish only war plans that called for the use of conventional weapons. See Rosenberg.

⁹² Rosenberg, 11-12.

⁹³ Richard Rhodes, *Dark Sun: the Making of the Hydrogen Bomb* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

atmospheric bursts, also, revealed a critical weakness in using tactical nuclear weapons on the battlefield. Soldiers could survive the blast as long as they were “dug” in and these soldiers could then fight effectively. The standard operating procedure for the infantry was to dig in to protect themselves from artillery barrages. This typical conventional warfare tactic could easily mitigate the destructive power of a Hiroshima-type detonation. The mountainous North Korean terrain coupled with the NKPA’s elaborate system of tunnels convinced some military strategists that it was futile to use tactical nuclear weapons in Korea. The atomic bomb, designed when saturation bombing was a viable option, proved to be most effective against civilian population centers. The atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb became city killers and not weapons used against heavily fortified infantry units.

Eisenhower, a former general, on assuming power in 1953, quickly realized the United States could not afford to maintain a professional battle-ready army that would be sufficient to meet any possible threat. Thus, the Eisenhower administration rapidly began developing a “policy of boldness” that would incorporate the use of atomic weapons into U. S. diplomatic and military planning.⁹⁴ Military strategists began to view the nuclear bomb not as a weapon of last resort but as the most cost-effective force multiplier in the U.S. arsenal.

The 1952 elections ushered in a regime change as the reenergized Republican Party led by Dwight D. Eisenhower won the presidential election and control of the

⁹⁴ Roger Dingman, “Atomic Diplomacy during the Korean War, in *International Security*. Vol. 13, No. 3. (Winter, 1988-1989), 54.

House and Senate. Eisenhower inherited Truman's dismal prospect for peace in Korea. The peace talks were at a standstill. The PRC wanted any discussions of peace to include proposals for allowing the PRC to join the United Nations. Mao's theory of negotiating while fighting proved problematic for the American negotiators struggling to find an expedient but honorable end to the hostilities.⁹⁵ The only way that John Foster Dulles, the U. S. Secretary of State, could avoid allowing the PRC to "shoot their way into the U. N." was through nuclear coercion or so the story goes.⁹⁶ The myth of nuclear blackmail during the closing days of the Korean War was just that a myth. Eisenhower, when asked years later why the Korean War ended, stated the Chinese feared the United States would use nuclear weapons.⁹⁷ The Korean War ended for the most mundane of reasons—Joseph Stalin died. The death of the Soviet leader and his promise of support for the Chinese fighting in Korea convinced Mao to return to the negotiating table. Dulles and Eisenhower's bold public claims to the contrary, the PRC did not fear American nuclear superiority. Mao believed the atomic bomb to be nothing more than "a paper tiger which the US reactionaries use to scare people".⁹⁸

On April 16, 1953, shortly after the death of Joseph Stalin, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, war hero turned politician, at Washington D.C.'s Statler Hotel delivered his infamous "Cross of Iron" speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Mao's tactic of negotiating while fighting would prove to be just as problematic for the American's during the Vietnam War. See Qiang Zhai, *China and the Vietnam Wars, 1950-1975* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

⁹⁶ Comparison of Quemoy with Berlin, Secret, Memorandum of Conversation, October 8, 1958, 3.

⁹⁷ *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1952-1954*, 1811.

⁹⁸ John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) 104.

⁹⁹ The actual speech was entitled "The Chance for Peace."

Simultaneously broadcast on both television and radio, Eisenhower, recognizing the death of the Soviet dictator symbolized a possible turning point in global affairs, spoke not only to the free world but also spoke to the men attempting to fill the political vacuum left in the Soviet Union. A man, who knew first-hand the horror of war, acknowledged the fleeting chance for peace that perished eight years ago in the smoldering ruins of the Third Reich could still be achieved in the spring of 1953.

This chance for peace was worth considering since the cost to humanity was too high as the worst possible outcome for this undeclared conflict was an atomic war that might lead to annihilation of the human race. At best, Eisenhower envisioned “a life of perpetual fear and tension; a burden of arms draining the wealth and the labor of all peoples; a wasting of strength that defies the American system or the Soviet system or any system to achieve true abundance and happiness for the peoples of this earth.” The president of the United States continued by stating the one obvious truth of the American-Soviet arms race which was that for “every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.”¹⁰⁰

The Cold War’s militarization of both the industrial and scientific community drained valuable resources as industry and science expended a tremendous amount of energy to create weapons and not enough energy on easing the burdens placed upon its citizens. In the end, Eisenhower concluded that “this is not a way of life at all, in any true sense” to live “under the cloud of threatening war” as “humanity hanging from a cross of

¹⁰⁰ Dwight D. Eisenhower, “A Chace for Peace, 16 April 1953.”

iron.”¹⁰¹ The Soviets and the Americans failed to take advantage of this pivotal moment, and the Cold War lasted for another four decades. Eisenhower might have talked about peace but he put the CIA to good use during his presidency. All that posturing by the Truman administration over the Soviet backed overthrow of the Nationalist government in Czechoslovakia did not stop the CIA from orchestrating régime change in Syria (1949), Iran (1953), Guatemala (1954), Tibet (1955-1970), Jakarta (1958) and Cuba (1959). Domestically, the FBI continued its domestic surveillance programs. By 1956, these operations fell under the Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO). FBI agents were tasked with causing dissention within the Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA).¹⁰² The CIA, which was only chartered for foreign intelligence collection, began influencing the U.S. media. Operation Mockingbird employed the same journalists used by the British during the Second World War to convince the U.S. public of the dangers of communism.¹⁰³

On September 3, 1954, the dangers of communist expansion, once again, came to the forefront as Mao Zedong ordered PLA artillery batteries to open fire on Quemoy. Quemoy was a Nationalist held island “within wading distance” of mainland China.¹⁰⁴ The Eisenhower administration believed the shelling of Quemoy was the beginning of hostilities in the region. Mao, on the other hand, did not view the first Taiwan Strait

¹⁰¹ Dwight D. Eisenhower, “A Chace for Peace, 16 April 1953.

¹⁰² Tim Weiner, *Enemies: A History of the FBI*, (New York: Random House, 2012), 195.

¹⁰³ Deborah David, *Katharine the Great: Katharine Graham and the Washington Post*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 137-138.

¹⁰⁴ The distance between the mainland and Quemoy is a mere 4 miles. Tang Tsou, *The Embroilment over Quemoy: Mao, Chiang, and Dulles*, (Utah: University of Utah Press, 1959), 15.

Crisis as a crisis since the PLA, and the KMT had never actually stopped fighting in the region. In fact, Eisenhower ordered that the Seventh Fleet would “no longer be employed to shield Communist China” from the wrath of the KMT military. Eisenhower “unleashed” Chiang Kai-shek’s KMT and the U. S. officials quietly told the Generalissimo that the Seventh Fleet would protect KMT covert military action on the mainland. The KMT stepped up its clandestine raids into mainland China.¹⁰⁵

The saber rattling between the PRC and the KMT grew more intense during the closing days of the Korean War. Chiang Kai-shek stated that he had a five-year plan culminating in the invasion of the mainland in his drive to wrest control of the Middle Kingdom from Mao’s hands. Mao, well aware of Chiang’s stated intentions, preempted the Nationalist leader by shelling Quemoy in 1954. Bravado only went so far, and Mao understood that sometimes it was necessary to start an international incident in order to force an adversary to negotiate. The U. S. cold war policy of containment also posed another problem for Mao. With the fall of the KMT government on the mainland, U. S. policymakers implemented an Asian version of containment by placing men and material in Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines, Guam, and Taiwan.

The idea of encirclement, for Mao, meant death. This concept originated with the ancient Chinese game of *Wei Qi* in which black and white stones are alternately placed on a board one at a time in order to encircle and kill the opponent’s pieces, thereby taking the space. Mao viewed the American policy of containment in terms of *Wei Qi*. During the mid-1950s, the PRC diligently worked to repair relations with those nations bordering

¹⁰⁵ *Foreign Relations of the United States: 1952-1954*, XIV: 140.

the Middle Kingdom. An armistice restored the status quo in Korea and the French 1954 defeat in Vietnam secured Mao's flanks. The Chinese dictator turned his attention toward Chiang Kai-shek's KMT stronghold of Taiwan. Mao audaciously probed U. S. intentions in the region by shelling Jinmen. Eisenhower and Dulles both tried to get Chiang Kai-shek to relinquish control of Jinmen and Mazu (Matsu) but the Generalissimo made it entirely clear that he could not afford to retreat from these two islands because it would do irrevocable harm to the morale of his army as well as jeopardize his political standing in Taiwan. Chiang Kai-shek prepared to defend those two islands to the death, and he expected the United States to continue to support his desire to reestablish a free China on the mainland.¹⁰⁶

By November, the Eisenhower administration began putting together a concrete plan about Taiwan. His plan called for stopping the Chinese communists from gaining control of either the Pescadores or Taiwan "even at the grave risk of general war."¹⁰⁷ In January 1955, the PLA moved toward the lightly defended the Dachen Islands by capturing the island of Yijiangshan. Eisenhower, unwilling to go to war over these islands, ordered the Seventh Fleet to help evacuate the Dachen Islands in March of 1955.¹⁰⁸ By April 1955, the crisis ended as suddenly as it began. Zhou Enlai, the Chinese foreign minister, offered at the Bandung Conference to hold talks with the United States to resolve the hostilities in the Taiwan Strait. U. S. negotiators initially refused to hold any meeting

¹⁰⁶ Tsou, 15-24.

¹⁰⁷ *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1952-1954*, XIV: 517.

¹⁰⁸ 18,000 civilians and 15,000 troops were removed from the island.

with the PRC in which the ROC was excluded. International pressure mounted, and the United States capitulated by agreeing to hold talks in the summer of 1955.¹⁰⁹

Members of NATO sharply criticized the United States handling of the first Taiwan Strait Crisis to the point that Eisenhower in his memoirs wrote the crisis “threatened a split between the United States and nearly all of its allies” as it pushed “the country to the edge of war.”¹¹⁰ Western European heads of state began to question the U.S. willingness to use atomic bombs on two militarily insignificant islands off the coast of China. U. S. allies believed that “American recklessness, impulsiveness and immaturity in the foreign field” might lead to a general world war.¹¹¹ The threat of nuclear war reached its zenith in March 1955. Even though military intelligence analysts confirmed that the PLA had not begun new construction of any major airfields near the Taiwan Straits, which would be needed in order to invade Taiwan, the Eisenhower administration continued to publicly express the possibility of using atomic bombs to defend the ROC against further PRC aggression. Zhou Enlai’s peace overture in April resolved the issue, but the crisis changed how the United States government would operate in the future.

Mao began the crisis to probe U. S. intentions toward protecting the ROC and unintentionally compelled American policymakers formally to declare their intentions

¹⁰⁹ Au K. Soman, *Double-Edged Sword: Nuclear Diplomacy in Unequal Conflicts: The United States and China, 1950-1959*, (Westport, Connecticut and London: Praeger, 2000), 139-144.

¹¹⁰ Eisenhower believed the First Taiwan Strait Crisis was one of the most serious problems he had to face during the first two years in the White House. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years*, Vol. 1 (Garden City, NY: Double Day & Company, 1963), 459.

¹¹¹ Soman, 140.

with the signing of the American-Taiwan Mutual Defense Treaty in 1954. This treaty bluntly stated the U. S. position regarding possible future aggression on the part of the PRC. The crisis also caused the U. S. Congress and the executive branch to reevaluate how the United States would conduct future wars. In 1954, the French government wanted President Eisenhower to authorize the use of tactical nuclear weapons to help defend the besieged French soldiers at Dien Bien Phu. The Eisenhower administration could not get and do not really want congressional approval for the use of atomic weapons in Vietnam, but with the passage of the Taiwan Resolution in January 1955.¹¹² This resolution gave the president the authority to defend Jinmen and Mazu if it appeared that the PRC planned to invade Taiwan. This act of Congress significantly increased the power of the presidency as the Commander-in-Chief no longer, at least in the case of Taiwan, had to ask for congressional approval to send troops into combat or for that matter authorize the use of atomic weapons in defense of the Nationalist stronghold.¹¹³

Over the next three years, a “released” Chiang Kai-shek began to build up the KMT military presence on both Quemoy and Mazu. The KMT’s aggressive buildup of military personnel, as some historians have stated, was not the spark that ignited the Second Taiwan Crisis; no, it was Mao’s desire to punish, what the communist dictator saw as the aggressive imperialistic policies of the United States in the Middle East that

¹¹² Guangqiu Xu, *Congress and the U. S.-China Relationship, 1949-1979*, (Akron, Ohio: University of Akron Press, 2007) 118-122.

¹¹³ Xu, 118-122.

lead to the PLA's renewed military campaign in the summer of 1958.¹¹⁴ Mao bluntly stated that United States imperial ambitions in the Middle East had to be thwarted by a show of force in the Far East, and Quemoy was strategically located to ensure a rapid response from the Americans.¹¹⁵

On August 23, 1958, the People's Liberation Army launched a new offensive against Jinmen provoking the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis. The PLA artillery batteries, located near Amoy, pounded the small island firing an estimated 40,000 rounds. As artillery shells rained down on Jinmen, hostilities commenced in the water surrounding the tiny island as the PLA air force sank a Nationalist landing craft while the PLA Navy engaged and sank a second Nationalist landing craft. The pressure mounted as the PLA attempted to capture Tungting, a small island near Jinmen. The heavily fortified island of Tungting was able to repulse the PLA's amphibious assault but the coordinated military attack on Jinmen convinced many that the PRC might be preparing for more than just a punitive expedition designed to thwart Nationalist bravado regarding the reunification of China under Nationalist rule. This coordinated attack on Jinmen might be the prelude to a full-scale invasion of Taiwan.¹¹⁶

The Eisenhower administration reacted to the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis as they did the first. Military strategists began postulating what would be the most feasible U. S.

¹¹⁴ Li Xiaobing, Chen Jian, and David L. Wilson, "Mao Zedong's Handling of the Taiwan Straits Crisis of 1958: Chinese Recollections and Documents", found in *Cold War International History Project Bulletin: Inside China's Cold War*, (Issue 16, fall 2007/ winter 2008), 208-209.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 208-210.

¹¹⁶ Jacob V. Staaveren, *Air Operations in the Taiwan Crisis of 1958*, (USAF Historical Division Liaison Office, November 1962), 18.

response to a possible invasion of Taiwan. General Nathan F. Twining, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, explained that if nuclear weapons were deemed necessary to safeguard democracy in the Pacific the U. S. Air Force would be called upon to drop ten to fifteen kiloton bombs on airfields near Amoy. If this spectacular show of force failed to deter communist aggression, then air operations would be expanded as far north as Shanghai. Twining acknowledged that it was possible that the Soviets might respond by striking both Taiwan and Okinawa with atomic weapons, but the “risk would have to be taken if the offshore islands were to be defended.”¹¹⁷

U. S. Pacific Strategic Air Command (SAC) placed B-47's on Guam on high alert while Eisenhower pondered nuclear strikes against mainland China.¹¹⁸ While Eisenhower contemplated the use of atomic weapons, the USAF armed ROC aircraft with Sidewinder missiles and the U. S. Army deployed eight inch howitzers to Jinmen.¹¹⁹ The sidewinder equipped ROC fighters succeeded in maintaining aerial superiority over the Straits of Taiwan. As hostilities began to heat up, Mao loosened his hold on Jinmen. The crisis evaporated almost as quickly as it started. The Communist dictator viewed Jinmen as a soft target to be squeezed whenever the PRC wanted to apply geopolitical pressure against the United States.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Nalty, Bernard C., Declassified Top Secret Air Force Report, *The Air Force Role in Five Crises, 1958-1965: Lebanon, Taiwan, Congo, Cuba, Dominican Republic*, June 1968. The entire report can be found at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/nukevault/ebb249/doc10.pdf> access on November 12, 2008.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ The eight inch howitzer is the smallest piece of artillery that can fire nuclear shells. This weapon would ensure that Quemoy would remain free. Tang Tsou, *The Embroilment over Quemoy: Mao, Chiang, and Dulles*, (Utah: University of Utah Press, 1959), 31.

¹²⁰ Xiaobing, 207-210.

The peaceful resolution of the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis marked the end of the first period in the evolution of U. S. nuclear strategy. After 1958, the Soviet Union, and the United States developed intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) which rendered Eisenhower's "New Look" obsolete. President John F. Kennedy's administration went on to develop the concept of mutually assured destruction (MAD) which became the foundation of U. S. nuclear strategy for the next forty years, but in the early days of the Cold War, U. S. policymakers, confronted with perceived Communist aggression, had to decide when, how and even if these weapons should be used in war.

In January 19, 1960, Eisenhower met with newly elected President John F. Kennedy. They met twenty-four hours before Kennedy was to sworn into office and they talked for roughly forty-five minutes. Eisenhower covered the important aspects of the job—how to use the black satchel known as the "Football" in case of national emergency. How to swiftly call for Marine One if JFK ever had "to get out in a hurry." The two men began discussing trouble spots—Berlin and Cuba. Eventually, the topic of China came up. Eisenhower explained that "it's a high-stakes poker game and there is no easy solution." Eisenhower went on to explain that he would "try to support" the new president anyway he could but if Kennedy decided to approve seating Communist China in the U.N. then Eisenhower would break with tradition and publicly come out against the president; thus, the influence of the China lobby continued from one president to the next.¹²¹

¹²¹ Richard Reeves, *President Kennedy: Profile in Power*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), 29-33.

CONCLUSION

The Wrecking Crew



Figure 7¹

James Ellroy, an American novelist, destroyed the idealized vision of American exceptionalism when he wrote “America was never innocent. We popped our cherry on the boat over and looked back with no regrets.” Ellroy understood that Americans, taking a realist approach, acted out of self-interest. The Founding Fathers, using the prose of the revolutionary, revolted against England, institutionalized slavery, and wiped out the

¹ Figure 7: Herb Lubliner, “Don’t Worry. This Time You Can Really Trust Me,” 10 February 1976, Library of Congress.

native populace to create a republic that stretched from sea to shining sea. When the constitution stood in the way, American politicians, more often than not, subverted it.

As one damned thing after another confronted the Republic, expediency replaced morality. Politicians, acting for the greater good, made decisions based on the information at hand and hoped for the best. There was no Machiavellian plan designed by a secret cabal charting U.S. foreign policy; and yet, somehow, in just over two centuries, America avoided the diplomatic shoals that might have scuttled the nation to become the world's only superpower. The rise of American global influence coincided with the rise of the imperial presidency. American xenophobia allowed political warfare experts to create a culture of fear. By playing on these fears, agents of influence and their domestic allies shaped twentieth century U.S. foreign and domestic policy. In the hands of a skilled propagandist, fantasy and reality often merge to form a stylized version of the truth.²

During World War I, Captain (later Admiral Sir) William Reginald "Blinker" Hall's Room 40, Charles Masterman's Wellington House, and MI6's Sir William Wiseman, conducted political warfare campaigns designed to sway American public opinion to support the Triple Entente. Captain (later Admiral) Guy Gaunt, a member of Room 40 working in New York City, used friendly persuasion to convince members of President Woodrow Wilson's administration that German secret agents plotted to bring America into a 'shooting' war with Mexico. It helped that Germany really was working to bring the United States into a shooting war with Mexico. Mansfield Cumming, the

² James Ellroy, *American Tabloid*, (New York: Vintage, 2001), no page number.

first head of SIS, sent Sir William Wiseman to New York to set up a field office to ensure the safety of British munitions being shipped to Great Britain. Wiseman's greatest contribution to the war involved developing a personal relationship with Colonel Edward M. House and President Woodrow Wilson. This relationship allowed Wiseman to act as an intermediary between Whitehall and the Whitehouse.³

Propaganda like comedy is all about timing. The success of British efforts to sway American public opinion during the Great War has to be viewed through the mosaic of the times. The American populace, like most of the world was predisposed to view Germany as a threat. The rapid rise of the German state and the fear of German aggression can be seen in the literature of the times from *The Battle of Dorking* to *The Invasion of 1910*. This literature, read by British and Americans alike, reflect the sentiment of the times—the Germans were dangerous and posed a threat to world peace. This made the British job easier. The inundation of anti-German propaganda helped frame the debate about U.S. involvement in the First World War. It also helped that the Germans were actively sabotaging U.S. munitions plants and sinking British merchant shipping. The explosion at Black Tom stood as a stark reminder of what could happen if the nation allowed these hyphenated Americans to run amok. Theodore Roosevelt, in speech after speech and in book after book, expressed his fear of the hyphenated American. A fear the British used to convince the populace that German and Italian immigrants harbored treasonous sentiment. While it can be argued that British political

³ Richard Spence, "Englishmen in New York: The SIS American Station, 1915-1921," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 19, No. 3, (autumn 2004): 511-537.

warfare efforts, in large part, led to the Congress' decision to declared war on Germany. One cannot forget that role of unrestricted submarine warfare played on Wilson's decision to ask Congress to declare war.

As the first American soldiers entered the conflict, President Woodrow Wilson diligently worked to convince the Germans that any continuation of the conflict was futile; and, therefore, it was in their best interest to sign an armistice ending the war.⁴ The Germans, expecting an honorable peace, quickly discovered at Versailles the victors dictated the terms of surrender. The allied powers demanded that Germany sign the treaty or face a resumption of hostilities. Having no choice, Gustav Bauer, the new German Chancellor, signed the document. Wilson's dream of collective security died on the Congressional floor as members of the Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. It is strange that a nation so ready to embrace Wilson's war so quickly turned its back on his vision for peace. In large part, this can be attributed to Wilson's propaganda machine closing up shop as the last shots were fired. If the Creel Committee had continued to control the flow of information. If it had continued to shape public opinion then it is possible that the American public might have demanded the United States join the League of Nations; instead, Creel stopped advertising America and members of Congress decided to reject Wilson's postwar plans

⁴ John Milton Cooper, Jr., *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson: Progressivism, Internationalism, War and Peace*, (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2008), 227.

The interwar years proved to be a time of great change as a global depression pushed the world toward economic ruin destroying the first global economy.⁵ While, the Americans, facing the worst economic down turn in the nation's history, reverted to their prewar illusions of nonintervention and isolationism; the British Empire fought to keep their colonial possessions. The Bolshevik call for world revolution convinced Whitehall to expand its intelligence apparatus to prevent communist inspired uprisings from tearing their empire apart. The newly created Weimar Republic struggled to meet its financial debts while internal political maneuvering resulted in the eventual rise of Adolph Hitler's Third Reich.⁶ In an effort to avoid war, European statesmen, ignoring German efforts to remilitarize as well as Adolph Hitler's brinkmanship diplomatic maneuvers, followed a policy of appeasement.⁷

The fear of yet another war convinced many U.S. politicians to increase budgetary funding to the armed forces but these same politicians, in an effort to avoid fighting in another war, passed a series of Neutrality Acts. Secretly, President Franklin D. Roosevelt expanded the powers of the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover's agents once again began collecting information on U.S. citizens. By the summer of 1940, the British and the Chinese

⁵ For more information on the destruction of the first global economy following the end of the First World War see Jeffrey A Frieden, *Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 2007).

⁶ For an economic interpretation of Hitler's Third Reich and the Second World War see, Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy*. (London: Penguin, 2008).

⁷ For more information on the British development of counter-insurgency operations throughout the Empire in an attempt to thwart Soviet advances in the inter-war years see Richard Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War Against Japan: Britain, America and the Politics of Secret Service*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 20-22 and Richard J. Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defense: British Intelligence and the Defense of the Indian Empire, 1904-1924*, (London: Frank Cass & Company, LTD., 1995).

desperately needed American industrial exports to help ensure their national survival. Both nations, fighting against totalitarian encroachment, carried out surprisingly similar political warfare operations against an unsuspecting U.S. populace. These two intelligence operations, in their own way, influenced U.S. public opinion. Even before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor pulled the United States into the global conflict, there were clear signs indicating that British and Chinese efforts were helping to shift American attitudes toward intervention. One month after Germany invaded Poland a U.S. Gallup poll stated that 68 percent of all Americans polled believed the United States made a mistake sending U.S. soldiers to fight in the First World War. By 1940, 62 percent believed that the United States should do everything short of war to help the British. And by the summer of 1941, 56 percent of Americans were in favor of U.S. warships escorting British merchant traffic carrying war materiel to England. This shift in public opinion can be in part attributed to the British Security Coordination's efforts to manufacture consent regarding American support of the British war effort.⁸ The BSC had penetrated the Gallup organization and the Roosevelt administration also had a man working for Gallup. These men worked to ensure that only the British point of view reached the American public. They went so far as discouraging the publication of any polls considered harmful to the British.⁹

⁸ George Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1999*, (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 233-234.

⁹ *The Secret History of British Intelligence in the Americas, 1940-1945*, (New York: Fromm international, 1998), 176.

By the spring of 1941, with the passage of Lend-Lease, American policy makers followed a partial interventionist strategy daring German U-boat commanders to attack those naval vessels assigned convoy duty in the North Atlantic. Ernest Cuneo (Code named Crusader), an attorney who worked as the U.S. liaison between U.S. intelligence and British Intelligence during the Second World War, succinctly summed up Churchill's plan to drag the United States into the war. "...As far as the British tricking the U.S. into war, FDR was at war with Hitler long before Chamberlain was forced to declare it." During the Great War, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt's exposure to Germany's spies and saboteurs shaped the future president's approach to German aggression. Cuneo explained that, "Of course the British were trying to push the U.S. into war."¹⁰ The aging lawyer, writing in 1988 about his wartime exploits, stated a simple fact—the British, in the summer of 1940, needed U.S. munitions and supplies to help stave off a German invasion. Even as France surrendered and England's fathers rushed to evacuate their sons from Dunkirk, American public opinion polls continued to show that an overwhelming majority of Americans supported an anti-colonial, anti-interventionist, pro-isolationist approach to the war in Europe.¹¹

Even though there were sections of the country that hoped that England would prevail, the average American did not want to risk war with Germany to help support the British. After all, that's why the nation's leaders had passed the Neutrality Acts—to

¹⁰ Thomas E. Mahl, *Desperate Deception: British Covert Operations in the United States, 1939-1944*, (Washington: Brassey's, 1998), 7; Stephen Dorril, MI6: *Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service*, (New York: Free Press, 2002), 50.

¹¹ Gallup, 233-234.

ensure that U.S. policymakers did not send American sons to fight and die in another predominately European conflict. Cuneo, however, rightly points out there were elements within the U.S. government that secretly supported the British war effort. These men and women zealously worked to provide the British with the support they so desperately needed. So, while the average American did not want war in the summer of 1940, some U.S. policymakers did. According to Cuneo, Americans were such “pushovers” that he compared British efforts to a famous line from Chaucer, “He fell upon her and would have raped her—but for her ready acquiescence!”¹²

By the spring of 1940, C, the head of SIS, sent William Stephenson to the United States to see if he could reestablish any type of relationship with the FBI. J. Edgar Hoover agree to help the British as long as this relationship remained secret from both the State Department and from members of Congress. Stephenson, with FBI support, quickly put together a sophisticated intelligence apparatus. He knew that by operating in a neutral country that he risked alienating the very people he was trying to sway but there was a war on and Great Britain have very few options. Ernest Cuneo explained that

Given the time, the situation, and the mood, it is not surprising however, that BSC also went beyond the legal, the ethical, and the proper. Throughout the neutral Americas, and especially in the U.S., it ran espionage agents, tampered with the mails, tapped telephone, smuggled propaganda into the country, disrupted public gatherings, covertly subsidized newspapers, radios, and organizations, perpetrated forgeries—even palming one off on the President of the United States—violated the aliens registration act, shanghaied sailors numerous times, and possibly murdered one or more persons in this country.¹³

¹² Mahl, 7.

¹³ “For the Record: Crusader to Intrepid,” Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Ernest Cuneo Papers, Box 107.

Looking back the Allies won. This makes the British efforts and FDR's decisions easier to forgive. As one historian explained isolationism was the villain. "If Hitler and the Japanese were the aggressors, then why debate the issues...the United States had done the right thing." The ends justified the means but the extralegal approach used by the British did not differ from the ones used by the Germans, the Soviets or by the FBI and later by the CIA.

¹⁴Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, members of British Security Coordination began to compete with what became known as the China lobby for the limited U.S. resources both nations needed to fight the Axis powers. The use of lobbyists has become an inescapable part of contemporary U.S. political discourse. There are cigarette, oil, guns, pharmaceutical and agricultural lobbyists working in Washington to secure legislative support for their organizations. This practice has been around for a long time but it was not until the early twentieth century that foreign agents of influence began lobbying Congress. The thought of foreign agents whispering in Congressional ears has become the thing of espionage fiction but during these early days this type of political warfare operations did not exist. Today if you mention the word lobbyist most people immediately think of the Israeli Lobby, which continues to actively work to convince both the American populace and members of Congress to support the nation of Israel but this lobby can trace its roots back to the China Lobby.¹⁵

¹⁴ Warren F. Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991), 13-14.

¹⁵ For more information of the Israeli Lobby see, John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy*, (New York: Macmillan, 2007).

T.V. Soong, Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law, diligently worked to ensure that China received as much support as possible. He followed Stephenson's example and set up a sophisticated political warfare operation. He made contacts within the upper echelons of the U.S. government. Soong cultivated the myth of the Sino-American special relationship but while his efforts fell short of shifting U.S. policy away from Europe his efforts laid the foundation for what became known as the China Lobby. The British prevailed and the United States government decided to commit a preponderance of its military-industrial resources to first defeating Germany. Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to provide just enough resources to thwart the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) from gaining complete control of Asia. The Chinese, who had been intermittently fighting the Japanese since 1894, now scrambled to receive whatever scraps they could get to hold out long enough for the Allies to defeat the Germans and then turn their full attention to the Far East.¹⁶

It was in the Far East that the Anglo-American alliance struggled. The Chinese did not trust the British and the British did not fully trust the Americans. Churchill not only wanted to win the war but he also wanted to ensure that England regained its lost empire. The British prime minister worried that the American president's anti-colonial, anti-imperial feelings might prove insurmountable when the Allies won the war. Roosevelt, whose family made some of their money in the China Trade, saw China as a great power. He believed that China would become the fourth leg upon which world

¹⁶ James D. Hornfischer, *Neptune's Inferno: The US Navy at Guadalcanal*, (New York: Bantam Books, 2011), 151-153.

peace would rest. FDR's vision of collective security included a security council that would work to ensure the peaceful resolution of all disputes. The political realities of the postwar world made this Security Council ineffective.

The successful conclusion to the Second World War should have ended British and Chinese influence but the Soviet Union quickly supplanted Nazi Germany as the main enemy. This shift from one totalitarian régime to another allowed the British and the Chinese continued to lobby for American support. The British and the rest of Western Europe, needed money and materiel to rebuild their shattered economies especially as communist and socialist parties challenged these democratic capitalistic nations to provide for the welfare of their citizens.¹⁷ All the while Joseph Stalin, one time ally to the West, watched and waited for the opportunity to unite Europe under his iron rule—at least that is what the West believed. In China, the resumption of the civil war between Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang (KMT) and Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party (CCP) threatened to split the country in two. Chiang Kai-shek desperately needed U.S. money, weapons, and soldiers to help destroy the CCP.¹⁸

Once again, British lobbyist efforts prevailed and U.S. industrial materiel and financial support began to bolster these shattered European economies. The Marshal Plan economically tied the United States to Western Europe and the UKUSA Agreements bound the United States to the British Empire. Stephenson's men had provided training

¹⁷ Melvin Leffler, *7A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1992), 7.

¹⁸ Report by the Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State, September 18, 1947, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, vol. VII, 1945, 286-287.

to both the OSS and the FBI. Once Truman created the CIA, the new Director of Central Intelligence recruited from the ranks of the former OSS thus giving American intelligence a quaint English feel. The British, however, were broke. Their empire falling apart so they tied themselves to the United States. This allowed the British to use friendly persuasion to ensure that U.S. foreign policy objectives coincided with theirs. This secret agreement, signed in 1946, encouraged sharing SIGINT between the signatory countries.¹⁹ By 1950, the West would share information on the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, and several Eastern European nations.²⁰ The first real break with England on foreign policy did not occur until 1956 over Suez.

By 1947, President Harry S. Truman, with the passage of the National Security Act of 1947, reorganized the United States armed forces and the burgeoning U.S. intelligence community. The president charted a new course for U.S. foreign policy by publicly declaring the United States would support the Greek and Turkish governments' struggle against communist led insurgencies. Economic and military aid coupled with a few U.S. advisers attached to Greek military units ensured that neither nation fell. Truman went on to state that it was "the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."²¹

¹⁹ The original signatory nations included the Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

²⁰ For a detailed look at the formation of this agreement from the British point of view see, "Government Communications Headquarters and Predecessor: Records relating to the development of the 1946 'UKUSA' Agreement," The National Archives (Kew, U.K.), HW 80.

²¹ Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs: Years of Trial and Hope, 1946-1952*, (New York: Doubleday, 1956), 129.

While U.S. aid thwarted communist insurgencies in Europe, members of the China lobby believe America's failure to provide enough support to Chiang Kai-shek directly led to the "fall" of China. The "loss" of China, the Soviet detonation of its first atomic bomb (1949), and the North Korean decision to invade the South provided the members of the China lobby with proof that communist spies and socialist sympathizers orchestrated twenty years of Democratic misrule. This mismanagement of U.S. foreign affairs created a government described by members of the China lobby as one composed of "stupidity at the top... treason just below."²² These communist fifth columnists represented a treasonous element within the government, which had to be rooted out if the nation was to survive. This polarizing period gave rise to such demagogues as Senator Joseph McCarthy, whose anti-communist crusade still bears his name. The truth of the matter was that the goals of the China Lobby coincided with the Republican Party. The GOP used information supplied by lobbyists to attack the Truman administration.

The Truman administration faltered in the years immediately following the end of the Second World War. While willing to confront the Soviets in the Middle East, Truman would only commit conventional forces. The atomic bomb became a weapon of last resort. The early Cold War confrontations between the USSR and the United States were not resolved through nuclear blackmail but diplomatic threats backed up by conventional weapons. It was not until the outbreak of the Korean War and the resultant domestic backlash that forced Truman to reevaluate U. S. nuclear strategy. Truman began testing the use of tactical nuclear weapons. The president quickly discovered that

²² Alfred Kohlberg, "Stupidity and/or Treason" *The China Monthly*, June 1948.

atomic weapons made for efficient city killers but failed as a tactical weapon. A tactical nuclear weapon failed to destroy a well dug in opponent. After the Soviet detonation of its first atomic bomb, Truman conceded that if the atomic bomb made for an efficient city killer then the hydrogen bomb would ensure that no nation would dare attack the United States. After the Soviet Union's detonation of its first atomic bomb, Truman ordered Dr. Edward Teller to construct his super weapon.

The late 1940s, U.S. foreign policy underwent an astonishing change as the United States intelligence agencies began to conduct their own political warfare operations. Prompted by the decline of the British Empire, the United States began to employ black, white and gray propaganda to shape world opinion. The CIA used the same journalists used by British intelligence and the OSS during the Second World War to help convince the America public about the dangers of communism. The FBI continued its extralegal investigative practices and little by little the government whittled away at U.S. civil liberties. About three decades of excess would led to Congressional inquiries into alleged abuses by the U.S. Intelligence Community. The results of these inquiries led to substantial changes in the IC but these changes would only last until the next surprise attack.

The United States survived the Cold War to become the world's sole hyper power, but at what cost. The national security apparatus remains. After September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, the United States, the great republican experiment, continues to struggle to maintain the façade of its republican past. The executive branch with the support of both the legislative and judicial branches continues, in the name of national

security, to whittle away at its citizenries' civil liberties. The Truman Administration took FDR's New Deal infrastructure, combined it with remnants of America's World War II war machine, and transferred America's fear of Nazi Germany to a fear of Soviet communism to create the foundation of the national security state. Truman's advisers followed Niccolo di Bernardo dei Machiavelli, an Italian Renaissance political philosopher best known for his masterful crafting of realist political theory, in establishing the national security state.

Machiavelli explained the most efficient way to transform a republic into a despotic régime was through deception. "He who desires or attempts to reform the government of a state... must at least retain a semblance of the old forms; so that it may seem to the people that there has been no change in the institutions, even though in fact they are entirely different from the old one." Machiavelli realized that "for the great majority of mankind are satisfied with appearances, as though they were realities, and are often even more influenced by the things that appear to be than those that are."²³ Machiavelli's depiction man is just as true today as it was five centuries ago—expediency trumps morality. While his books provide a blue print for the despot, they also provide a warning for the wary.

²³ *Discourses*, 1.25.

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HW:	GCHQ
INF:	Central Office of Information
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