

Is the FBI Running You? Are You Sure?

by Barbara Boyd

Aug 16—On August 25, 1967, J. Edgar Hoover, the racist, closeted-homosexual, southern masonic monster who ran the FBI, America's very own Gestapo organization, dictated the following memo, titled "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist Hate Groups, Internal Security."

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or **otherwise neutralize** the activities of black nationalist hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. . . . The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a **neutralizing** effect. Efforts of the various groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. **No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups** and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing

conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations. . . .

When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize . . . through the cooperation of established local news media contacts or through such contact with sources at the Seat of Government" (Hoover's office) . . . "careful attention must be paid to ensure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited

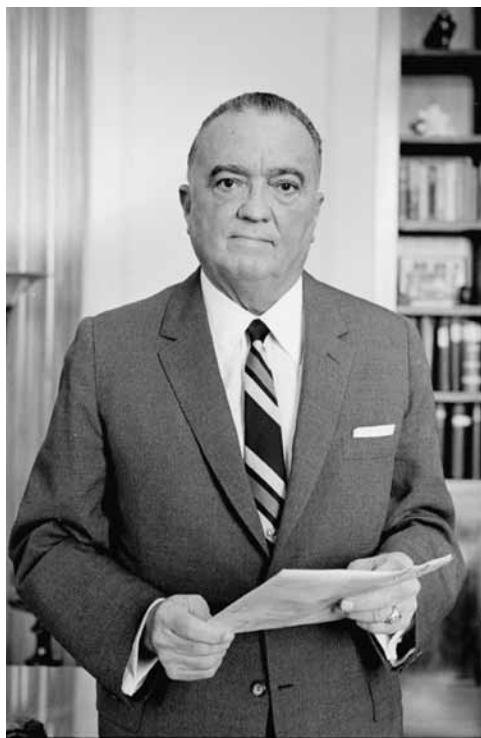
through the publicity, and not merely publicized. (emphasis added)

By March 4, 1968, Hoover further clarified the goals of the program as follows:

1. *Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. "An effective coalition might be the first step toward a real 'Mau Mau' black revolutionary army in America."*

2. *Prevent the rise of a "Messiah" who could unify and electrify the black nationalist movement. "Malcolm X might have been such a messiah. . . . Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, and Elijah Muhammed all aspire to this position."*

3. *Prevent militant black nationalists from gaining respectability by discrediting them to three separate sections of the community—"the responsible Negro community," the "white commu-*



Marion S. Trikosko

J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from its founding in 1935, to his death in 1972.



George Bush Presidential Library and Museum



creative commons/ Matthew W. Hutchins

In Hoover's footsteps: George H.W. Bush, who served as CIA Director, Vice President, President; and Cass Sunstein, President Obama's legal advisor and former Administrator of his Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs.

nity including the 'responsible community' and 'liberals' who sympathize with black nationalists because they are Negroes," and third, "these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement."

"A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black organizations, especially among youth."

The terminology provided by Hoover shouldn't mislead anyone. He included as violent Black Nationalists, Martin Luther King's specifically non-violent Southern Christian Leadership Conference, for example.

By May 5, 1968, Hoover had formally opened the same program against the anti-Vietnam war movement, entitled, "COINTELPRO New Left," disruption of the New Left. Lyndon LaRouche's National Caucus of Labor Committees was targeted in "COINTELPRO New Left," and by 1973-74 had become one of two primary political organizational targets of FBI counterintelligence targeting, although the formal COINTELPRO program had ended by that time.¹

Into the Daylight

On March 7, 1971, anti-war activists broke in to FBI offices in Media, Pennsylvania, stealing files which bore the then-mysterious heading "COINTELPRO," and

then leaked them to the press. It was the beginning of the end of J. Edgar Hoover's career-long effort, in parallel with Army intelligence, a host of Wall Street and government-funded private organizations, and, in later years, the Dulles brothers' CIA, to pacify the population of the United States. Richard Nixon's "Watergate" scandal, leaked to the *Washington Post* by Mark Felt, a high-ranking Hoover protégé turned apostate, followed.

Amongst other revelations, Americans learned that for years the news media had been feeding them an artificial picture of key people and events, based on journalists and media companies, such as CBS, NBC, the *Washington Post*, and the *New York Times*, producing stories dictated by the FBI, CIA, and Wall Street-sponsored public relations experts. The image of the square-jawed, honest FBI man, projected by Hoover's PR machine in comic books, popular magazines and fiction, major motion pictures and television productions, and sold to the American public, turned out to be an awful satanic fraud.

But, the program did not end, obviously, with Hoover. Yes, there was a great hue and cry at the time, and heads rolled. President Nixon was forced to resign. But, the programs and, more importantly, the policies involved, were only partially exposed and reformed.

George H.W. Bush, first as President Ford's CIA Director, and then as Vice-President under Reagan, led the effort to obscure and conceal essential matters from Congress, and to reverse the intelligence reforms initiated in the wake of the Watergate scandal. The top-secret domestic counterintelligence programs were re-

1. The documents are available on the FBI website. Go to the Vault or FBI Reading Room, find COINTELPRO in the index, and click on the subfile Black Nationalist Extremist Groups.

established at that time under E.O. 12333 and related orders, and remain classified. The post September 11, 2001 security world finds various Republican intelligence training think tanks comfortably asserting that J. Edgar Hoover “had it about right” when it comes to the internal security of the United States. They excuse his notorious and visceral racism as “context,”—the natural effect of growing up in the very southern Washington, D.C. at the time he did.

Not to be outdone, Obama’s constitutional law guru Cass Sunstein, husband to Obama’s fanatical UN Ambassador Samantha Power, casually advocates, in a 2009 *Journal of Political Philosophy* piece,² that the government infiltrate any group advocating “conspiracy theories,” especially those who don’t believe the Bush/Cheney Administration’s cover story about 9/11, in order to create “cognitive dissonance.” He also speaks of “neutralization” in this context, as does Obama’s FBI, repeatedly, with respect to alleged terrorists. Sunstein has otherwise argued that federal judges should not interpret federal laws—that task is uniquely that of the President and those around him. This is the unconstitutional theory of the unitary executive, a guiding assumption of everything Hoover and his associates said or did.

“Neutralization”

The Church and Pike Committee Congressional Hearings of 1975-76 revealed that during the FBI’s COINTELPRO programs, and the parallel programs run by Army Intelligence, the CIA (“Operation Chaos”), and the NSA (Operation Minaret), dissident political leaders in the United States were subjected to numerous false arrests and imprisonment, defamation to family, friends, and potential associates, burglaries and thefts, unauthorized wiretaps, bugs, and NSA surveillance, assassinations, and gang-versus-countergang orchestrated murders. FBI informants flooded targeted organizations—alerted to transcribe personal flaws, gossip, organizational intrigue, family, sexual, and financial practices and problems—all for exploitation by the FBI



Rev. Martin Luther King, one of Hoover’s key targets, addresses the August 2, 1963 March on Washington.

or other intelligence operatives.

Mail was opened, documents were stolen in black bag jobs, employers and family were visited and warned. Blackmail acquired by criminal and sexual entrapments, fear of publicity concerning sexual and financial misdeeds, and fear of FBI-created familial estrangements, were used to break cadre in these organizations, turning them into FBI informants. FBI informants were put into positions of leadership in some of the targeted organizations, further enhancing the capacity to disrupt and “neutralize.”

To recall but a few examples. The FBI famously claimed to record, via a surreptitiously placed bug, Martin Luther King’s extramarital sexual encounters. Hoover and friends played the tapes for President Johnson and various Bureau-controlled Washington, D.C. reporters, in a quest to plant the ultimate newspaper story which would destroy King. No one jumped on the story.

Hoover then ordered that the tapes be mailed to King and his wife, together with an anonymous letter suggesting King commit suicide lest the tapes be publicly revealed. This idea apparently occurred to Hoover when *Time Magazine* revealed, in a lead article on King, that King had twice attempted suicide while an adolescent. According to author Curt Gentry, Hoover already had a replacement in mind to lead the “black movement,”—New York lawyer Samuel Pierce.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was rid-

2. Sunstein, Cass R, Vermeule, Adrian (June 2009), “Conspiracy Theories, Causes and Cures.” *Journal of Political Philosophy* (Wiley)17(2): 202-227.

dled with informants from its inception. When it was recently documented that the first person to suggest that the Panthers use guns, providing them to the Panther leadership, was an FBI informant, former leaders of the group denied this possibility, and instead insisted that the individual had been snitch-jacketed, a favored FBI technique. Using its assets, the FBI often suggested individuals were informants, when they were not, simply to discredit the individuals, or place them in physical danger. As a result of Hoover's COINTELPRO directive, the Panthers, Ron Karenga's United Slaves (U.S.) organization, and the criminal gang, the Black P. Stone Rangers, were set up in FBI-orchestrated gang warfare in which many people were killed, "neutralized."

Paradigm of Control

The 1960s FBI counterinsurgency tactics were taken from the Hoover and Army G2 post-World War II war on "communism" and "socialism," following the death of the great Franklin Roosevelt and the ascent of the vicious and mob-tinged little man from Missouri, Harry S Truman. The COINTELPRO operation against the Communist Party was the first formal program so titled by Hoover for these illegal activities. In his book on Hoover, Curt Gentry documents that Hoover and the Army's G2 effectively ran the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and Joe McCarthy and his shyster lawyer Roy Cohn, feeding them all their targets and dirt, although this collaboration was completely denied at the time.³

In his pursuit of "subversives," Hoover enjoyed a long-standing relationship with American organized crime, which actually shared his worldview and fed him information. In addition, among his closest confidants and informants were a network of American Catholics, centered in the New York archdiocese and its Cardinal Spellman, itself deeply entangled with organized crime.

Public objections to Hoover's witchhunts, like those voiced by New Jersey Congressman Neil Gallagher, were met with legal frameups and social ostracism. While it is true that Hoover protected his personal position by using his huge network of agents and informants to gather blackmail information on every President he served under, together with most members of Congress, his famous files were not solely responsible for his long

tenure in his position. He was completely personally funded by Wall Street's Texas networks, Clint Murchison and Sid Richardson, the same networks which gave birth to George H.W. Bush and family. This was not accidental. The historical sketch we provide below demonstrates that he was a created and protected tool of the Anglo-American oligarchy.

Since Hoover's death in 1972, the objectives of this oligarchy have not changed, although their tactics have shifted. Beginning with the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963, the Anglo-Americans have relied increasingly on more directed forms of psychological warfare, basing their strategies on the group- and mass-psychological control studies produced by Kurt Lewin, Eric Trist, and their mass-brainwashing successors. The successive psychological shocks of assassinations of political leaders, terrorist assaults, the rock-drug-sex counterculture, and the internet "revolution," have produced an increasingly atomized, infantile, degenerate, and autistic culture, in which cultural barriers have become the key factor preventing significant social change.

This is what was intended by the National Training Institute and Tavistock Institute studies of group dynamics and mass behavior. In this new paradigm, there is no need for droves of paid informants, because potential targets reveal all of their deepest secrets on public social media sites. There is no need for burglaries to place bugs, when the NSA routinely scoops up everything their targets say or do.

The 20th Century British Drive To Recolonize the United States

What does COINTELPRO itself mean? Formally, it is "counterintelligence program." This program, we will show, comes from the "counterinsurgency" matrix of British imperialism, the policing of subject populations to ensure against any form of popular revolt, or, once an insurgency has taken root, to crush it—by mostly non-conventional military means, always with the option, however, of using lethal force.

COINTELPRO is a war against the population, aimed at controlling public opinion, and isolating and eliminating those who dissent from the allowed public myths and constructs. This is what is meant by "winning hearts and minds." If you take Hoover's "COINTELPRO Black Nationalist Hate Groups" targeting of Martin Luther King, the SCLC, and others, cited above, and compare it to any modern military manual concern-

3. Gentry, Curt, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and His Secrets*, W.W. Norton Company, Inc., New York, 1991.

ing counterinsurgency, the tactics and intent are the same.

Curt Gentry's recent book on Hoover, and the work of Alfred McCoy,⁴ have located the authorship of the Hoover/FBI, Army-G2 post-World War II American counterinsurgency with one Ralph Van Deman, widely credited with creating U.S. Army Intelligence. Van Deman was Hoover's counterintelligence mentor. While the history of this effort is beyond the scope of the present article, my colleague Tony Chaitkin is working on an article which will cover this Twentieth Century subversion of the United States in significant detail.

Lyndon LaRouche has emphasized, however, that the real roots of the FBI's COINTELPRO, lie in the 1901 assassination of President William McKinley, and Bertrand Russell's and David Hilbert's world-wide attack on the scientific outlook, beginning in 1900. The American system of government depends upon a strong and good presidential system, led by an inspired leader who challenges the nation to create a better future. The scientific world-view, exemplified by Gottfried Leibniz and embraced by Hamilton, Washington, and Franklin at the founding of the Republic, was responsible for the nation's great economic progress,—it was the driver of what Hamilton envisioned as the American System of economics.

Following McKinley's assassination, Americans were subjected to a string of London-controlled traitors as presidents—Teddy Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, and Calvin Coolidge. The depravity of these presidencies is illustrated by Woodrow Wilson's reviving the Ku Klux Klan directly from the White House. In the wake of the McKinley assassination, the British moved quickly through their Morgan and Rockefeller U.S. interests, in the coup against American System principles which resulted in the income tax, the Federal Reserve, and Wall Street's consolidation of control of American industry.

As part of this coup, Edward Bernays and Walter Lippmann created modern "public relations," or impe-



Hoover mentor Ralph Van Deman (1865-1952), known as the "Father of American Military Intelligence."

rial propaganda aimed at social control through "public opinion." Both voiced the view that the general public is incapable of exercising reasoned judgment, and consent must be engineered by an elite class of experts, using propaganda. These experts must be employed as a professional intelligence corps to guide the government. Lippmann directly acknowledged his debt to H.G. Wells' *Mankind in the Making* for his book-length screed on this issue, *Public Opinion*.

Working directly with the same Morgan and Rockefeller interests, under British agent and Texan Edward House in the Wilson Administration, Claude Dansey, a satanic and thoroughly evil British intelligence agent, was deployed to Washington, D.C. as the United States entered World War I. Dansey had previously recruited many on Wall Street *directly* to his MI6 networks.

In Washington, Ralph Van Deman, Marlborough Churchill, and Dansey modeled the U.S. Army's G-2 explicitly on British intelligence and counterinsurgency methods. Van Deman had employed these methods while in the U.S. military in the Philippines. He subsequently deployed himself to British colonial India to gain further first-hand experience. Van Deman remained one of Hoover's closest confidants until his death in 1952. In coordination with Hoover and G-2, he ran countless private citizen and group vigilante opera-

4. McCoy, Arthur, *Policing America's Empire*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 2009.

tions (including the American Protective League, the American Legion, and the Daughters of the American Revolution) against alleged Communists, other left-wing “subversives,” trade unionists, and ethnic groups, all of which, as organized forces, Van Deman viewed as potential threats.

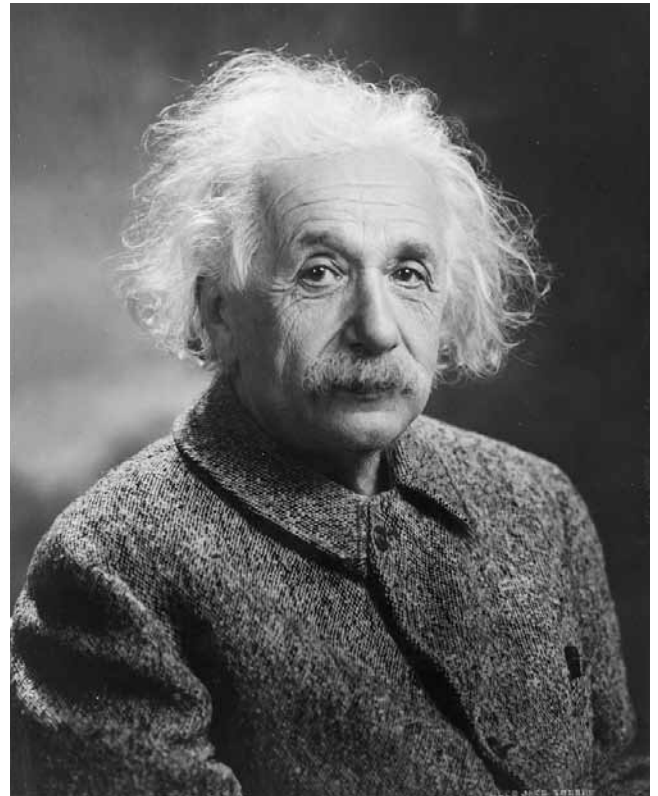
How Does This Work?

Unless a maverick political organization possesses a highly intelligent, fearless, and creative leader, coupled with a true scientific and self-critical culture and a shared truly revolutionary mission, it will, eventually, crumble under the pressures imposed by counterinsurgency operations. These operations are all designed to amplify the social pressures against new or unorthodox political and social views emanating from society generally. Lyndon LaRouche noted this in the early formation of his Labor Committees, citing “centrism” as the essential group dynamic to be defeated:

“The grave problem facing the revolutionary individual is his customary isolation from the overwhelming majority of society. He becomes a pariah. He is under grave social pressure to find a new organization to sustain his sense of social identity in place of the withdrawn or threatened sustenance he would normally seek in other parochialist institutions.”

Under conditions of attack, the defense of the existence of the group itself, rather than continually creating and acting upon the principled agreements upon which the group is based, becomes the individual’s primary and all-consuming focus. Within the group, various factions emerge which, in turn, mediate the individual’s relationship to the group, as a whole. “Belonging” to the subgroup for shared reasons of organizational grievance, replaces the individual’s principled reasons for joining the organization in the first place. Thus, under conditions of government attack, the organization’s goals in practice become increasingly issue-based and parochial, smaller and smaller. Interest groups pursue their own self-interested policies with the passion formerly reserved for the revolutionary goals and program of the group as a whole.⁵

Almost all of the American organizations subjected to the counterinsurgency of the 1960s and early ’70s lacked the prerequisites to survive and defeat the gov-



Library of Congress

Albert Einstein (1879-1955) said on numerous occasions: “My life is divided between equations and politics.”

ernment’s onslaught. Most important, they lacked a compelling vision for creating a future society, and a sound epistemological basis for their programs. Instead, their programs mostly consisted of an array of parochial demands.

When the Ford Foundation and others introduced and funded “local control” community organizing as the means to subvert the potential political awakening of the 1960s, offering so-called radicals a means to maintain their image without the trouble of an actually revolutionary viewpoint, most “New Left” organizers collapsed into aspirational Alinskyite groups, engineering minor reforms which did nothing to really change the lives of the people they claimed to serve. In fact, many of the former radicals became the new, friendlier, colonial administrators in such unchanging landscapes as America’s ghettos.

A Most Refreshing Counterpoint: The Case of Albert Einstein

Albert Einstein was stalked by Hoover beginning in the early 1930s and pursued relentlessly until Ein-

5. LaRouche, Lyndon, “Centrism as a Social Phenomenon, How Not To Build a Revolutionary Party,” *Campaigner*, Vol. 3, No. 1, New York, 1970.

stein's death. In fact, Hoover considered his inability to pin the "red" and "spy" labels on Einstein or demoralize him in any respect, one of his great failures. Nonetheless, Einstein was barred from the Manhattan Project by the FBI and G2, had his household thoroughly infiltrated and bugged, his mail opened, his friendships and employers abused and scrutinized, and his immigration status challenged in a secret effort to deport him.

What stands out in author Fred Jerome's account of Hoover's actions, is Einstein's attitude toward the witchhunt—mocking, defiant, constantly using his own stature in creative defense of his political ideas and his friends. It is as if, like Ho Chi Minh and Gandhi, he had scientifically mapped the central features of Anglo-American counterinsurgency strategy, and set out with a deliberate and bold plan to find and exploit its weaknesses and defeat it.⁶

The mostly-empty canonization of the great scientist which is taught in our schools, leaves out Einstein's political being. He said, on numerous occasions, "My life is divided between equations and politics." According to Jerome, he published at least 195 political essays and articles on political topics, with 150 of his interviews, letters, and speeches quoted in the *New York Times* alone.

A ruthless anti-fascist, Einstein saw fascism, not Communism or the Soviet Union, as the gravest threat to the world. In the United States he ardently opposed racism in all of its ugly guises. He was a supporter of the Lincoln Brigade's battle against the fascist Franco in Spain, a sponsor of numerous Jewish scientists seeking refuge from Hitler, a supporter of Israel provided it reached a just accommodation with its Arab population, and a close friend of Eleanor Roosevelt and Paul Robeson, both of them major targets of Hoover.

Einstein was initially targeted by the Women's Patriot Corporation, one of the more bizarre private police organizations created in the wake of World War I. It opposed giving women the right to vote, among other right-wing causes, and was run by the wives of prominent East Coast bankers and families. By 1932, the mis-

sion of this group had become guarding America's borders against undesirables—communists, pacifists, feminists—and Einstein was at the top of their list. A largely phony, completely hysterical, and almost completely fabricated dossier on Einstein was compiled by a Mrs. Randolph Frothingham (I promise you, I am not making this up), and forwarded to the State Department and the press.

When Einstein heard about the dossier in the press, he mocked it on the front page of the *New York Times* of December 4, 1932:

"Never yet have I experienced from the fair sex such rejection of all advances; or, if I have, never from so many at once. But are they not perfectly right, these watchful citizenesses? Why should one open one's doors to a person who devours hard-boiled capitalists with as much appetite as the ogre Minotaur in Crete once devoured luscious Greek maidens—a person who is also so vulgar as to oppose every sort of war, except the inevitable one with one's own wife? Therefore, give heed to your clever and patriotic women folk and remember that the capital of mighty Rome was once saved by the cackling of its fateful geese."

Yet, as Jerome tells the story, the dossier resulted in the interrogation of Einstein and his wife, Elsa, by State Department officials on the eve of Einstein leaving Germany for what was planned to be a half-year appointment to Princeton in 1932. When the Berlin consular official asked Einstein whether he was a Communist or an anarchist, according to the Associated Press account at the time, "Professor Einstein's patience broke. His usual genial face stern and his normally melodious voice strident, he cried: 'What's this, an inquisition? Is this an attempt at chicanery? I don't propose to answer such questions. I didn't ask to go to America. Your countrymen invited me, yes, begged me. If I am to enter your country as a suspect, I don't want to go at all. If you don't want to give me a visa, please say so, and then I'll know where I stand.'"

Einstein walked out of the meeting, and called the consulate back, demanding his visa in 24 hours lest he cancel his trip. Elsa, his wife, called the press, including the *New York Times* and Associated Press, providing a blow by blow account. Elsa noted that Einstein said, "Wouldn't it be funny if they didn't let me in? The whole world would be laughing at America."

6. Jerome, Fred, *The Einstein File: J. Edgar Hoover's Secret War Against the World's Most Famous Scientist*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 2002. All of the quoted materials in this section are drawn directly from Fred Jerome's excellent account.

In Washington, following the calls from reporters, the State Department announced that Einstein's visa would be issued the next day. In New York City, the wife of the president of General Motors convened a meeting of prominent women who demanded, "on behalf of the intelligent American people," the recall of the consular official who interrogated Einstein and the rebuke of any in the State Department who gave credence to the "absurd" Frothingham dossier.

Fearless

Nonetheless, the phony Frothingham dossier was incorporated by Hoover into Einstein's FBI file, becoming a part of Einstein's official existence for years. As Jerome documents, many of the other allegations Hoover floated through Einstein's FBI file came straight from Nazi intelligence sources. This was not accidental, as Wall Street and London initially sponsored Hitler's rise to power in Germany, and swooned over Mussolini's fascism. Heinrich Himmler was on J. Edgar Hoover's "special correspondents" list until 1939, an open fraternization only surpassed by that of John Foster Dulles.

Einstein's activities on behalf of the Lincoln Brigades drew the ire of Cardinal Spellman and the New York Catholic archdiocese who supported Franco. Spellman was, of course, one of Hoover's key New York City assets.

Perhaps nothing better demonstrates Einstein's fearless confrontation with Hoover's police-state than his public confrontation with the McCarthy witchhunt in 1953. On June 12th, he published a letter in the *New York Times* urging intellectuals not to testify before the red-hunting Congressional committees.

Reactionary politicians have managed to instill suspicion of all intellectual efforts into the public by dangling before their eyes a danger from without. Having succeeded so far, they are now proceeding to suppress the freedom of teaching

'Refuse to Testify,' Einstein Advises Intellectuals Called In by Congress

By LEONARD BUDER

Dr. Albert Einstein, in a letter made public yesterday, said that every intellectual called before a Congressional investigating committee should refuse to testify, and "must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country."

He declared that "it is shameful for a blameless citizen to submit to such an inquisition," and that "this kind of inquisition violates the spirit of the Constitution."

The world's foremost physicist made his views known in an exchange of correspondence with a New York teacher of English who is facing dismissal from the school system because of his refusal to testify before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. The teacher, William Frauenglass of James Madison High School, made public Dr. Einstein's letter, which bore

the postscript that it need not be considered confidential.

Reached by telephone at his home in Princeton, N. J., Dr. Einstein confirmed the letter, which was read to him. He said, in response to a question, that he would refuse to testify if called before a Congressional committee.

Mr. Frauenglass, a high school teacher for more than twenty-three years, wrote to Dr. Einstein on May 9 and referred to a statement the scientist had made recently in which he described himself as "an incorrigible nonconformist" in a "remote field of endeavor" that no Senatorial committee had as yet felt impelled to tackle.

The Brooklyn teacher then related that on April 24 he had been called before the Senate subcommittee as a result of lectures he had given six years earlier at an

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From the *New York Times*, June 12, 1953.

and to deprive of their positions all those who do not prove submissive, i.e., to starve them out.

What ought the minority of intellectuals do against this evil? Frankly, I can only see the revolutionary way of non-cooperation in the sense of Gandhi's. Every intellectual who is called before the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e., must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of this country.

If enough people are ready to take this grave step, they will be successful. If not, then the intellectuals deserve nothing better than the slavery which is intended for them.

Einstein was immediately attacked in virulent editorials by the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. Ultimately, however, his letter helped sparked the resistance which led to the downfall of Hoover's pawns, Joseph McCarthy and Roy M. Cohn.