coln Rockwell, who got an extensive, are prepared to welcome the assassina. The popular notion is that there is no ventilation of his views in this magazine. For as long as that kind of thing hap-1 meant one less pig. Their failure to do pens, you encourage people to consider as tenable a position that in my judgment ought to be universally rejected as untenable. The whole idea of civilization is little by little to discard certain points of view as uncivilized; it is impossible to discover truths without discovering that their opposites are error. In a John Stuart Mill-type society-in which any view, for so long as it is held by so much as a single person, is considered as not yet confuted-you have total intellectual and social anarchy.

PLAYBOY: On the other hand, by publishing an interview with a George Lincoln Rockwell, one might encourage him to expose the untenability of his views and thus help discredit both himself and his philosophy, even among those who might previously have been sympathizers.

BUCKLEY: I acknowledge the abstract appeal of the argument, but I remind you that it can be used as an argument for evangelizing people in Nazism, racism or cannibalism, in order to fortify one's opposition to such doctrines. The trouble is that false doctrines do appeal to people. In my judgment, it would be a better world where nobody advocated tyranny; better than a world in which tyranny is advocated as an academic exercise intended to fortify the heroic little antibodies to tyranny.

PLAYBOY: If the evils of a particular doctrine are so apparent, what harm is there in allowing someone to preach that doc-

BUCKLEY: What is apparent to one man is not necessarily apparent to the majority. Hitler came to power democratically. It's a 19th Century myth to confide totally in the notion that the people won't be attracted to the wrong guy. George Wallace, not Nixon or Humphrey, got the highest TV ratings. Take, once more, the Panthers. There are, I am sure, hundreds of thousands of Americans who would like to hear a speech by Eldridge' Cleaver. One reason they would like to do so is because they like the excitement. Another is that they like to show off. People like to show their audacity, their cavalier toleration of iconoclasm-its the same kind of thing, in a way, as shouting, "F ---- Mayor Daley" in a loud voice in the middle of a park in Chicago. Moreover, the views expressed by Eldridge Cleaver, et al., have not been proscribed by settled intellectual opinion, because, thank God, we have not experienced in America the kind of holocaust that Caucasians visited against the Jews in Germany. I contend that it is a responsibility of the intellectual community to anticipate Dachau rather than to deplore it. The primary responsibility of people who fancy themselves morally sophisticated is to do what they can to exhibit their impatience with those who

tion of Bobby Kennedy because that that is, in my judgment, a sign of moral disintegration. If you have moral disintegration, you don't have left a case against Dachau. If you don't have that, what do you have? Make love not war? Why?

PLAYBOY: Do you think that a more con-. certed police attack should be launched

against the Panthers?

BUCKLEY: I would support a full legal attack, with the passage of new laws, if necessary, as we have done in other areas. For instance, I don't think we have enough legal weapons against people! who push heroin. People who are practiced in the profession of trying to halt the flow of heroin see themselves as engaged in a losing fight-primarily because by the time the agent can gain entry to the home or apartment where he suspects there is a stash of heroin, it has been flushed down the toilet. The so-called no-knock provision of the President's new crime bill was written precisely to overcome that problem. Now, I know-everybody knows-that that provision is capable of abuse. But I think a libertarian ought always to ask himself: What is the way to maximize liberty? PLAYBOY: In what way does the no-knock

law maximize liberty?

BUCKLEY: Directly. In Manchild in the Promised Land, Claude Brown identifies heroin as the principal problem in Harlem-not housing, not education, not discrimination, not the absence of economic opportunity. Heroin. If the heroin traffic in Harlem were brought under control, we would see-in his judgment -a dramatic drop in crime and a lessening of those restrictions on freedom that accompany a high crime rate.

PLAYBOY: Would you disagree with former Attorney General Ramsey Clark's contention that eliminating poverty is

the key to reducing crime?

BUCKLEY: I would. Drug abuse and crime both have to do with the state of the ethos; and the ethos is not a function of poverty. Consider Portugal or Ireland: Poor people don't necessarily commit crimes.

PLAYBOY: A few minutes ago, you referred to the moral disintegration of some Americans. Would you make that a general indictment-applicable not only to i those who tolerate the Panthers but to most Americans?

BUCKLEY: Yes. The most conspicuous attribute of the 20th Century American is his self-indulgence. In a marvelous book called The Odyssey of the Self-Gentered Self, Robert Fitch traces the principal i concerns of civilization through the past 200 or 300 years; our concerns were, he says, first predominantly religious, then predominantly scientific, then humanistic-and today are essentially egocentric. I think that ours is an egocentric society.

reciprocal obligation by the individual to the society, that one can accept whatever the patrimony gives us without any sense of obligation to replenish the common patrimony-that is, without doing what we can to advance the common good. This, I think, is what makes not only Americans but most Western peoples weak. It comforts me that that also was the finding of Ortega y Gasset. PLAYBOY: How does the increasing social awareness and involvement of young

people fit into your thesis?

BUCKLEY: I don't say that somebody who spends the summer in Mississippi trying to bring rights to black people is primarily self-centered, although such a case could be made concerning some young people and by using less intricate psychological arguments than, for instance, the liberals fling around to prove that we are all racist. I'm talking about the general disease of anomie, which is the result of people's, by and large, having become deracinated, suspended from any relationship to the supernatural and prescinded from the historical situation. A lot of them retreat and think about themselves, even exclusively about themselves -the drug people--the dropouts, formal and informal. Certain others venture into utopianism, which, as I've said, necessarily and obviously breeds frustration and despair, conditions that some of them prefer even to drugs. But the lot of them, I think, fail to come to terms with the world, fail to come to terms with the end of life. They have absolutely no eschatological vision, except a rhetorical sort of secular utopianism. A related phenomenon: When I was last on the Johnny Carson show, he announced to his mass audience, "Well, after all, the reason the Soviet Union arms is because we arm," the implicit axiom being that there is obviously no difference between them and us. What makes it possible for the man who has the largest regular audience of anybody in the United States-not excluding the President-to say blandly something like that is wave after wave in the intellectual offensive against epistemological optimism, against the notion that some things are better than others and that we can know what those things are, PLAYBOY: Do you think this moral relativ-

ism is at least partially a consequence of

the decline in religious belief?

BUCKLEY: Yes. In orthodox religious belief. It's a commonplace that there is no such thing as an irreligious society. The need for religion being a part of the nature of man, people will continue to seek religion. You see the Beatles rushing off to listen to the platitudinous homilies of that Indian quack, Maharishi-what's his name, but they'd rather be caught deathan reading Saint Paul. Young peopl who have active minds tend to be dissa isfied with the ersatz religions they piup, and yet so formal is the comporary commitment to agnosticism-or even tion, that will be generally dispensed to atheism-that they absolutely refuse to plumb Christianity's extraordinary reservoirs of rationality. I doubt if you could get one of these kids, however desperately in search of religion-who will go to any guru, who will even talk to Joan Baez and attempt to get religion from her-to read Orthodoxy by Chesterton or any book by C. S. Lewis.

PLAYBOY: Perhaps orthodoxy-lower case

-is at fault. Many young people would say they think Christ was a great man; they might even know a good deal about Him. But they are appalled by Saint Paul's horror of the body and of sex. BUCKLEY: I'm sure that among the vast majority of students, the knowledge of Christ is superficial and that the only thing they know about Saint Paul is that he was "anti-sex." In fact, Saint Paul's anti-sexuality was, I think, a mode by which he expressed the joys of asceticism, the transcendent pleasure of the mortification of the flesh. By no means is this distinctive to Christianity. In fact, Christianity in its formal renunciation of Manichaeism took a position concerning the flesh that is far more joyful than, for instance, that of the Buddhists or of a number of other religions.

PLAYBOY: One of the reasons many people have difficulty accepting your religion, Roman Catholicism, is that they have been convinced by experts that there are soon going to be more people on the globe than the earth can support, yet the Church does its not-inconsiderable best to prevent the spread of birthcontrol information. Do you also take a serious view of the population problem? BUCKLEY: Yes, I do. I think it is the second most important problem in the world, after ideological communism.

PLAYBOY: Then the Church's position on birth control distresses you?

BUCKLEY: No. It is not established by any means that the influence of the Church is very direct on the matter of the increase in population. It happens that the birth rate is the greatest where the Church has no influence: India, for instance, or Nigeria. It is impossible to establish a correlation between the birth rate in Latin America and the prevailing religion on that continent. The Catholic position on birth control is, therefore, something against which we agonize rather more theoretically than practically. PLAYBOY: What do you think we can do, then, to keep the population down?

BUCKLEY: Get people to stop reading PLAYBOY.

PLAYBOY: What's the real answer? BUCKLEY: Well, the real answer is to make sure that people who don't want more children and who have no religious scruples against the use of abortifacients or prophylactics are aware of how they can get and use them. My own assumption is that we are moving toward the discovery

of a chemical that will prevent perhaps in the water supply-and can be readily neutralized by any woman who desires to do so.

PLAYBOY: Should the U.S. volunteer birthcontrol information and devices to such overpopulated nations as India?

BUCKLEY: They don't need any more information. They can get it from the Encyclopaedia Britannica. As to giving them the pill-sure, if they ask for it.

PLAYBOY: Do you have any other sexual opinions that might shock your bishop? BUCKLEY: I didn't give you a "sexual" opinion. I don't know that giving free pills to India is heretical. Would American rabbis object to free pork for India? Heresy? I don't think so. I happen, for example, to favor the legalization of private homosexual acts committed between consenting adults and of prostitution. The second is the more important. Legalizing prostitution would provide a ready outlet for pubescent lust and greatly facilitate the hygienic problem, pending the domination of the appetite and the restoration of morality. Also, it would cut down the profits and power of the Mafia, the existence of which enrages me.

PLAYBOY: How else would you combat the Mafia?

BUCKLEY: By making gambling-but not gambling debts—legal.

PLAYBOY: Advocating the legalization of gambling, prostitution and homosexual acts between adults puts you in agreement with most liberals. Do you also agree with them in the area of censorship? Would you defend the right of the state to, say, stop performances by Lenny Bruce?

BUCKLEY: I'm troubled by that problem. By the way, do, please, try to remember that the conservative opposes unnecessary legislation. I've written about the censorship dilemma. Obviously, a perfectly consistent, schematic libertarianism would give you an easy answer-let anybody do anything. Including cocaine vending machines. But a libertarianism written without reference to social universals isn't terribly useful. Here, I think, is where the science of sociology becomes useful. If sociology suggests that societies don't survive without the observance of certain common bonds, certain taboos, then we can maintain that in the long run, we diminish rather than increase freedom by protecting people who violate those taboos. Having said that, let me add that I'm perfectly well aware that this particular argument can be abused by people who want a narrow conformity. But once again, let's reach for an example: When Salvation, the rock musical, was produced in New York City, the reviewer for Time magazine listed the things that it takes to make a successful rock musical nowadays. It has to be dirty, anti-American and anti-religious. Under

the last category, he said: It will no longer do to attack Protestantism, because Protestantism has become so ctiolated as to have no potential for shock. You can't shock anybody by making funof the dogma of the Bishop of Woolwich. Second, it can't be anti-fewish, because the playgoing community on Broadway tends to be heavily Jewish and the Jewish people hold that certain things should be held in reverence. For instance, no jokes about Dachau or Buchenwald can be made in New York City. Therefore-attack the Catholics!

There's still a certain amount of awe in the Catholic religion, but the Catholics are a politically unorganized group in New York City and you can get awaywith ridiculing them. So, the writer gives the audience the iconoclast's thrill, but safely: They're not going to lose at the box office. Now-should society in general defer to the specially pious concerns of significant groups within that society? We extend certain protections against public affronts. For instance, the courts recognize a limit to what a storckeeper displays in his window. But what about his shelf? Or the stage? Is it right to have laws forbidding, let us say, a comedy based on what happened at Dachau? I know all the theoretical arguments against it, but there's a tug inside me that says that a society perhaps has to maintain the right to declare certain kinds of aggressions against the venerated beliefs of the people as taboo. This is a codification of grace, of mutual respect. PLAYBOY: Would you admit that the tug inside you to ban certain kinds of irreverence may be irrational?

BUCKLEY: Yes-absolutely. But there is a place for irrationality. Many of the conventions of any society are irrational, The obsequies shown to the queen of England, for example, are utterly irrational. Oakeshott [Michael J., a British economist and political theorist] has made the demonstration once and for all that rationalism in politics-which may be defined as trying to make politics as the crow flies-is the kind of thing that leads almost always and almost necessarily to tyranny.

PLAYBOY: Can you give us a specific way in which society might suffer from comedy-however tasteless and debase -about what happened at Dachau? BUCKLEY: Yes. You can hurt a people feelings. A people whose feelings hurt withdraw from a sense of kinsh which is what makes societies cohe Moreover, a society so calloused as not care about the feelings of its meml

ference that makes people, and the ety they live in, unlovely. PLAYBOY: But if a taboo has to be r tained by force of law, is it still a ta BUCKLEY: It depends. Some taboop codified, some aren't. Some laws p

what isn't any longer taboo. I

becomes practiced in the kind of in

think Lenny Bruce would be ested today in New York, the movement having been in the direction of permissiveness in the past four or five years. The question really is: Do we—or do I, I guess—approve of the trend, and I'm not so sure that I do. A society that abandons all of its taboos abandons reverence. PLAYBOY: Doesn't society abandon something even more precious by attempting to preserve that reverence by force?

BUCKLEY: Again, it depends on the situation. If you have a society that is corporately bent on a prolonged debauch -determined to wage iconoclasm à outrance-then you've got a society that you can't effectively repress. I mean, you have a prohibitive situation. But if you have a society—as I think we still do—in which the overwhelming majority of the people respect their own and others' taboos, the kind of society that, say, forbids a lawyer from referring to Judge Marshall as a nigger, or Judge Hoffman as a kike, then it isn't much of an exertion on the commonweal to implement such laws as have been on the books in New York for generations. My final answer to your entire line of questioning is ambiguous: If you ask simply: Does the individual have the absolute right to do anything he wants in private contract with anothor party? then my answer is: No, only the presumptive right. A sadist cannot contract to kill a masochist. John Stuart Mill reduces the matter of sovereignty to the individual's right over himself. The state hasn't the right to protect you. against yourself-which is a good argument against my being required to wear a helmet when I ride my Honda.

PLAYBOY: Doesn't Mill's dictum against the state's right to protect you from yourself also argue for the abolition of

most drug laws?

BUCKLEY: Does it? Take heroin. Except under totally contrived circumstances, there is no such thing in America as a person inflicting purely on himself the consequences of taking heroin. If a man goes that route, he deserts his family-if The has any; he becomes an energumen who will ravish society to sustain the habit, and so on. Most important-as far as I'm concerned—he becomes a Typhoid Mary of sorts. I know that I'm using a metaphor, but I can defend the use of this particular metaphor. We know from serious studies that heroin users desire to communicate the habit to other people and often succeed in doing so.

PLAYEOY: Do the same arguments apply

to marijuana?

BUCKLEY: Not really, or not so severely. The first and most obvious thing to say about marijuana is that the penalties for using it are preposterous. But I don't believe that it ought to be legalized yet; the consequences of its use have not been sufficiently studied. It seems crazy to me that in an age when the Federal' Government has outlawed Tab, we are

wondering whether we ought to legal marijuana. Now, it may be that marijuana is harmless, although at this moment, I am persuaded by those scientists who emphatically believe the contrary. It may be that we would be much better off persuading everybody who now drinks whiskey to turn on instead. But we don't know. Some scientists say that middle-aged people who take marijuana risk special dangers because they have gradually concatenated their own quirks, latent and active, into a moderately well-adjusted human being. Psychotropic drugs can shatter that delicate equilibrium. Conversely, it is speculated that marijuana can keep some young people from making the individual adjustments they need to make. Some scientists claim that prolonged use of marijuana wages a kind of war against your psyche, the final results of which are not easy to trace. PLAYBOY: Your attitude toward grass typifies your agreement with middle-class Americans on some issues. Are there any contemporary American middle-class values that you dislike?

BUCKLEY: You'd have to make me a list of them. If ostentatious forms of material achievement are a middle-class value, I don't much like them, though I wouldn't go out of my way to evangelize against them; we all have our little vanities. I am told that in certain big corporations, it is unseemly for the junior V. P. to own a more expensive car than the senior V. P., and absolutely verboten for his wife to have a mink coat if the wife of the senior V.P. doesn't have one. But who does approve of Babbittry? Not even Babbitt. He merely practiced Babbittry. The middle-class values I admire are husbandry, industry, loyalty, a sense of obligation to the community and a sense of obligation to one's patrimony. When Winston Churchill died, Rebecca West said that he was a great affront to the spirit of the modern age because he was manifestly superior. I said in introducing Clare Boothe Luce, when we did a TV program in Hawaii a few months ago, that her documented achievements are evidence of the lengths to which nature is prepared to go to demonstrate its addiction to inequality. It is a middleclass value to defer, without animosity, to people of superior learning, achievement, character, generosity.

PLAYBOY: To whom do you personally feel inferior?

BUCKLEY: Millions of people, living and

PLAYBOY: Who among the living?

BUCKLEY: To begin with, anyone who knows more than I do, which would be millions of people—or hundreds of thousands of people—right there. I also feel inferior to people who regulate their lives more successfully than I do, to people who are less annoyed by some of the petty distractions that sometimes annoy me, to people who are more

philosophical in their acceptance of things than I am.

PLAYBOY: Does that include Mrs. Luce? BUCKLEY: She's much more talented than' I am.

PLAYBOY: Norman Mailer?

BUCKLEY: Much more talented than I am. Now, there are certain things in which I am Mailer's manifest superior. Politically, he's an idiot. And he's botched his life and the lives of a lot more people than I've botched, I hope. On the other hand, he's a genius and I'm not.

PLAYBOY: Among other contemporaries,

how about T. S. Eliot?

BUCKLEY: You're talking about birds of paradise now. Like Whittaker Chambers. I make it a point to seek the company—intellectually, above all—of people who are superior to me in any number of ways, and I very often succeed.

PLAYBOY: To whom do you feel superior

-and why?

BUCKLEY: To those who believe that they are the very best judges of what is wrong and what is right.

PLAYBOY: Would you please name names? BUCKLEY: Would you please expand your

printing facilities?

PLAYBOY: As long as the discussion has become personal: To what extent has your feud with Gore Vidal developed into a publicity stunt from which you both have benefited?

BUCKLEY: In my case, at least, to no extent at all. I don't see how one profits a) from being publicly libeled or b) from walking into a situation in which one pays legal expenses several times the value of anything one carned after industrious work preparing for television programs or doing an article.

PLAYBOY: Would you care to add anything to what you said about him on the air during the 1968 Democratic Convention and in response to his subsequent comments about you?

BUCKLEY: No.

PLAYBOY: Why did you agree to appear

with him in the first place?

BUCKLEY: I agreed to appear in November of 1967 because I thought I could use the forum effectively to advance the conservative viewpoint. I was informed in April that Vidal had been selected to appear opposite me. My alternatives then were to break my contract or to proceed. I decided not to break the contract, even though Vidal was the single person I had named as someone I would not gladly appear against.

PLAYBOY: You have been publicly active for 19 years. How successful do you think you have been in advancing the

conservative viewpoint?

BUCKLEY: Very successful. That success he come primarily through the instrumentality of National Review, which has a second highest circulation of any jour of opinion in America. It repeate furnishes the reading public with very best conservative thought, whe

philosophical, critical, strategic or social. It has had the effect of consolidating the conservative position, causing many people to abandon-however unhappily -their resolution to dismiss the conservative alternative as anachronistic, superficial and inhuman. I don't say that National Review, or something like it, would not have been created had I not been around; it most certainly would have-in fact, I only midwifed it-but I'd say that the mere fact of having done so renders me, as midwife, very successful. PLAYBOY: Which failures of the conservative movement in the past 10 to 20 years most distress you? The fact that Goldwater didn't get more votes than he did? BUCKLEY: No, not at all. It was a forgone conclusion that he wouldn't get many votes from the moment Kennedy was assassinated. It's very hard to explain to militant pro-Goldwaterites like myself that in a strange sort of way, an inscrutable sort of way, voting against Goldwater was explainable as a conservative thing to do. The reason I say that is because a nation convulsed in November of 1968 as ours was reached for balm, for conciliation, for peace, for tranquillity, for order. To have had three Presidents over a period of 14 months would have been dislocative beyond the appetite of many conservatives. Now, this doesn't mean that I side with those conservatives who voted against him-I happen to be more adventurous than some conservativesbut I can respect their point of view. In any case, that was not by any means my idea of the great disappointment of the Sixties. That was the failure, on the whole, to verbalize more broadly, more convincingly, the conservative view of things. The conservative critique has been very well made, but it hasn't got through with sufficient force to the opinion makers. It is still hard as hell to find a young conservative with writing talent. That distresses me deeply. Most of the people who write the really finished essays in the college newspapers are liberals, New Leftists. I don't know exactly why and I'm vexed by it, but there were only a dozen—or fewer—conservatives in the Sixties who have become writers of

some achievement.

PLAYBOY: Personally, what do you expect to do during the next five years? Do you plan any more political candidacies?

BUCKLEY: There was a lot of pressure on me to run against Goodell. By the way—I haven't told this before to anybody, but what the hell—I had decided back in 1967 to run against Bobby Kennedy in 1970. I reasoned that Johnson would be re-elected and that Bobby would go for President in 1972. He was, in 1967—as, indeed, later—the symbol of left opposition to Johnson. I resolved to challenge his politics in the Senatorial race. When he died, I abandoned any idea of running for Senator in 1970. Along came Goodell—and the pressures on me to

challenge him. The principal Moral allure was that it was something I deeply wanted not to do. Quite apart from the sort of inertial disadvantages of running against Goodell, and the gruesome prospect of campaigning, I had to face the fact that I would automatically be stripped of those forums to which I had gained access. No more thoughtful television programs, no more columns-because it has now been more or less agreed among American editors that they won't carry a column written by a practicing politician. I think of Galbraith's adage: The Senate is a good place to be if you have no other forum. If I were Senator from New York, it isn't at all clear to me that I'd have more influence than I have today, with my various outlets. PLAYBOY: Did running in the 1965 mayoral race in New York strip you of those forums?

BUCKLEY: Yes and no. In the first place, it was a local contest and I never wrote about it in my columns. The television series was postponed precisely on account of my running. Another thing: It was sometime after 1965 that many newspaper editors reached their decision to embargo writer-politicians. They faced the problem directly when Senator Goldwater, a columnist, ran for President, lost, resumed his column and ran for Senator in 1968.

PLAYBOY: How would you feel about running for a seat in the House?

BUCKLEY: God, no. Not unless I can have all the seats simultaneously.

PIAYBOY: If there were a conservative Administration in this country—say, if Ronald Reagan became President—would you be tempted to accept a high post in the Administration?

BUCKLEY: No. In the first place, I don't like it much. In the second place——PLAYBOY: Don't like what much—Washington?

BUCKLEY: That's right.

PLAYBOY: Cabinet meetings?

BUCKLEY: I don't much like any kind of meetings. Besides, I have no reason for supposing that I'm a skillful administrator; I may be or I may very well not be. But the kind of thing that I am practiced in requires considerable freedom of expression, and freedom of expression is obviously something you need to be very continent about when the point of the thing is to advance the collective endeavor.

PLAYBOY: With or without your own involvement in an official capacity, are you optimistic about the conservative movement in America?

SUCKLEY: I am, mildly. There has been some encouraging de-ideologization of politics in the past 20 years. When I went to college, Henry Wallace was still able to grip a lot of people with hopped-up visions like the nationalization of the steel industry. We've watched

the experience of England since then and studied nationalized industries elsewhere, and no one will go to that parade anymore, no one except the types whosquat in the fever swamps of ideology. The collapse of the poverty program as a Federal enterprise strikes me as significant. It strikes me as significant, too. that Patrick Moynihan got up at an A.D.A. meeting a year or so ago and said, Let's face it, gang, conservatives know something intuitively that it takes us liberals years of intellectualizing to come up with namely, that the Federal Government can't do everything it wants to do. Peter Drucker, who is certainly not considered a conservative fanatic, says now that the only things the Government has proved it can really do competently are wage war and inflate the currency.

We've seen what's his name, that nice guy Kennedy sent down to South America to screw things up-Richard Goodwin-predict in Gommentary that the great struggle of the Seventics will be over the limits of state power. Which is exactly what conservatives wanted to fight about in the Thirties. We've seen Arthur Schlesinger call a couple of dozen Kennedy types into his apartment for a daylong "secret" seminar-nobody was supposed to know about it, but I knew about it-in which they reconsidered their enthusiasm for executive power, because executive power, it turns out, can be administered by the likes of Lyndon Johnson! These are pretty encouraging indices. They suggest to me that there is a wide concern over the survival of the individual in the machine age and over the limits of Federal and executive power. They may, in turn, stimulate a curiosity about the ontological role of the state. That is conservative territory, but admittance is free.

PLAYBOY: Even if you don't intend to run for office again, do you plan to keep writing?

BUCKLEY: Yes. We've kept an alternative landing field in operation, you see, When the liberals fly in, thirsty, out of gas, they'll find it in full working order—radar OK, bar open, Coca-Cola and coffee on the house. We know it's necessary to assimilate the experience of the modern age. Cardinal Newman said in a related contest—between the logical positivists and the conservatives—that one of our great challenges is constantly to incorporate new experience, so as no to leave ourselves with a piece of brittle, the touching of which would cause it to crumble.

PLAYBOY: Don't most dogmas, theologic as well as ideological, crumble sooner later?

BUCKLEY: Most, but not all.
PLAYBOY: How can you be so sure?
BUCKLEY: I know that my Redeemer live

M.

Honorable William F. Buckley, Jr. Editor National Review 150 East 35th Street New York, New York 19016

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have read your column, "FBI Criticism

Is Mostly Ideological," as it appeared in "The Evening

Star" yesterday. Your comments are very well reasoned

and I appreciate your pointing out to your readers some

of the fallacies in the recent attacks against the work of

the FBI MAILED 24 APR 3 0 1971

Sullivan . Mohr \_\_\_\_

Brennan, C.D.

Bishop

Dalbey

Felt Gale Rosen Sincerely yours, J. Edgar Hoover

MAY 1.3 1971

- New York

NOTE: Mr. Buckley was removed from the Special Correspondents List at the Director's instruction in 1967 following his preparation of a mock edition of the "New York Times" in the 5-30-67 issue of his publication in which he attempted to be humorous at the expense of the Director. His comments in this column analyzed some of the criticisms leveled against the Director and the Bureau in recent weeks and it is felt that in this instance an acknowledgment is warranted.

JBT:jmh (4)

### 'ILLÍAM É. BUCKLEY JR.

BATON ROUGE, La.-Like everybody else, only as usual more so, the kids are troubled by reports that the Pederal Bureau of Investigation is getting out of hand. At Louisiana State University, for instance, the matter came up several times, with questions asked that demanded specific answers.

What about the FBI agent who reported on the scoutmaster who wanted to take his troops to the Soviet Union? What about Hale Boggs' charge that his telephone is being tapped? What about the charge that J. Edgar Hoover gave Lyndon Johnson details of Martin Luther King's extramartial life?

.. First the context, in the absence of which explanations simply aren't very useful. The most important thing to bear in mind is that you do not need any police work at all when there are no lawbreakers. But as law-breaking mounts, so does the necessity for police work.

Second, the rise in lawlessness is in two general categories: Conventional crime, and what one might call ideological crime. Car theft, mugging, rape, and murder have risen spectacularly during the past 10 years. This requires intensified police activity, refined the case of, for instance, Osmethods of crime detection, wald, the FBI had a dossier on and improvement in the judicial and penological systems.

The rise in subversion reguires more subtle treatment. During the '30s, '40s and '50s, subversion was mostly the organized job of the Communist party, as agents for the Soviet Union. The FBI brilliantly penetrated the CP, and the tightly-disciplined Communists were neutralized.

ELECTION TO MERCHANIS

During the '60s, subversion proliterated, became, in a manner of speaking a free enterprise, decentralized opera-tion, of the kind that can't be patrolled by the penetration of a single central unit. Nowadays one Bernardine Dohrn is capable of plotting to dynamite the Empire State Building with a half dozen people involved in the operation. To interfere with subversive loners requires a dragnet of very fine mesh.

How fine? I recall the up-roar against J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI after the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Why hadn't Hoover got on to

Lee Harvey Oswald? Hoover's answers to the Warren Commission were ex-tremely interesting. The an-swer to the first question was: The FBI did indeed have a file on Lee Harvey Oswald.

Hoover's answer to the second question was that if the FBI roped in everybody who is a security risk before a President was permitted to pass through, the sequestrian would involve-in a major cityseveral thousand people, and the American public (correctly, in Hoover's estimate) simply wouldn't stand for it. So, in wald, the FBI had a dossier on . him, which however was of only posthumous use—but it didn't drag him in. Nor should

Cases. The way one finds out about the Lee Harvey Oswalds of this world is by accumulating vast amounts of information, most of it absolutely useless. It requires a greater imagination than I have to figsence of any evidence that corrone was ever persecuted on account of a harring traveled, during alls vacation, to Russia, that this is what omnium-gatherum means: You begin by collecting all data, almost without discrimination.

On the matter of Eurgs, we have the word of the P. csident of the United States that Boggs' phone was not tapped. There are those who say that Mixon would not histarte to prevaricate. An right give Mr. Nixon's critics the cenefit of the doubt. But why would Mr. Nixon lie, if there is a chance he would be causal?

Or is it conceivable that John Mitchell lied to him? Again the answer is: Hardly. Did Hoover lie to John Mutch-ell? It/ is far likelier that Boggs was misled, or that he is off on some sort of ideological bender, than that Hoover lied to the attorney general.

Finally, the matter of Martin Luther King. We do not know whether it is so. But I consider this the single most serious charge leveled against the FBI, inasmuch as King was not a government employee, and assaults on his privacy, if they do not bear remotely on the security of the nation against crime or subversion, are inexcusable.

What is the balance? It suggests that the case against the FBI is very weak; indeed, that it is mostly ideological. If anybody wants to make a more convincing case against the FBI, surely it should take the form of saying that they are underachieving rather than over-zealous. After all, when imagination than I have to figure out the reason why a scoutmaster desires to take his boys to Russia. But I am prepared to assume, in the ab- failed to lay their hancs on.

Tolson
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The Washington Post Times Herald
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The Daily World
The New Leader
The Wall Street Journal
The National Observer
People's World
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Date 4-28-71

Date .

94-42995-31



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

то

Mr. Mohr

DATE: 5/19/71

FROM

T.E. Bishop

SUBJECT:

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR. SYNDICATED COLUMNIST

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b6 b70

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By referral from the Director's Office, Bishop
received a call on the afternoon of 5/19/71, from a who
identified herself as columnist William F. Buckley, Jr. Columnist
She said that Mr. Buckley had recently seen a column by one Gary Wills
in a newspaper, name not recalled, which states that on the day on
which the Director testified before the Senate Subcommittee on
Appropriations in November, 1970, he had brought with him 75 extra
copies of his testimony which he turned over to the Subcommittee and
which, according to Wills, indicated that Mr. Hoover was aware of the
fact that these copies would be distributed to the press.
stated that Mr. Buckley would like to disprove this statement on the
part of Wills and asked if Mr. Hoover had, in fact, taken 75 extra copies
of his testimony with him and presented them to the Subcommittee at
the time of his testimony.
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was advised that some extra copies of his testimony had been brought to the Subcommittee by Mr. Hoover, at the request of the Subcommittee, when Mr. Hoover went there to testify. She was also advised that it was a closed meeting, that the number of copies was not known, and it was emphasized to her that the extra copies were furnished to the Subcommittee by the Director at the request of the Subcommittee.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

- 1 Mr. Nonn
- 1 Mr. Brennan (1)
- 1 Mr. Bishop 1010
- 1 Miss Gandy
- 1 Mr. M.A. Tones

7 OTHENA 1971

ABN/

REC-21

94-42

11 MAY 26 1971

CRIME RESEARCH

PEC 16

Dear

July 28, 1971

b6 b70

Your letter of July 23rd has been received and I appreciate the interest which prompted you to furnish me your views. With respect to your inquiry, it would be inappropriate for me to comment as you desire inasmuch as this Bureau exercises no control over information which appears in the news media.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Col

NOTE: There is no record of correspondent in Bufiles. She refers to the recent "hoax" perpretrated by William F. Buckley, or concerning a decision to use nuclear weapons in Viet Nam, which Buckley published in the "National Review."

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JUL 28 1971

PM TEN

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La.

J. Edgar Hoover Federal Bureau of Investigation Washington, D. C.

> b6 b7C

Dear J. Edgar;

What do you think of that hoax pulled by William F. Buckley? Don't you think it was a juvenile action, and he should be kept under surveillance? I mean, after all, his super-conservativism is probably just a cover-up for his subversive activities.

Remember, William F. Buckley is known popularly as a master of deceit.

He also gets quite a bit of money off the underground pornographic magazines and left-wing free press newspapers he owns.

Just as is a threat to the national security, so is Buckley. Also, don't you think he should be forced to publish an apology in his next issue of National Review?

I am awaiting your reply. Thanks.

Mr.	Tolson
Mr.	Felt
***	Sollivan
Mr <sub>2</sub>	MS/pr //
Mt/	Bishop
Mr	Brennan, C.D
Mr.	Callahan
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30m/	RE

Your loyal supporter,

EC 16 94 42995 35

CORRESPONDENCE

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JUL 26 19

-

September 21, 1971

W-100 REC.30

Honorable William F. Buckley, Jr. Editor -National Review 150 East 35th Street New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Buckley:

I would like to express my appreciation for

your thoughtfulness in sending me an inscribed copy of

your book, Cruising Speed." It was indeed kind of you

to think of me in this manner.

Bucklay (JILLIAM) BY Sincerely yours,

MAILED 10

SEP 2 1 1971

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Buckley was removed from mailing list at Director's instructions in 1967 following his preparation of a mock. editorial. Since that time he has written several articles complimentary of Director and Bureau for which he has been thanked. His book is a chronology of events in his life and Director is mentioned on pages 32, 33, 123, 124 and the FBI is mentioned on pages 136 and 137.

Mohr\_

AWT:sel (4)

Sullivan ..

Bishop' Miller, E.S. Callahan J Casper Conrad

Dalbey Cleveland Ponder Rosen

Tavel Walters Soyars

Sep 23

MR. TOLSON: 1 OFFICE OF DIRECTOR FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE September 16, 1971 The attached copy of Cruising Speed, by William F. Buckley, Jr. was sent to the Director from the MR. DALBEY .... MR. CLEVELAND... National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York 10016 MR. ROSEN The book is inscribed to the Director as follows: "For J Edgar Hoover TELE, ROOM ... With admiration Bill Buckley" Reference is made to the Director on page 32-33 and page 123-124. Reference is made to the FBI on page 136-137.

REC-30 94-42 995-34

B SEP 23 1971

# NATIONAL REVIEW 150 EAST 35th STREET

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016

To:

8 DIRECTOR

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover 8 SEP 16 71 Federal Bureau of Investigation Ninth Street and Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C. 20535



RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

October 26, 1971

Honorable William F. Buckley, Jr. Editor National Review 150 East 35th Street New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Your column entitled "Is It Public Justice" or Just Hoover Baiting?" appeared in "The Evening Star, Washington, D. C., on October 25, 1971, and I want to thank you for your support of the FBI. The manner in which you have spotlighted some of the individuals associated with the Committee for Public Justice and the Seminar which is scheduled to be held at Princeton University on October 29 and 30, 1971, should do much to alert the general public to the biased nature of this forum. We in the FBI are most appreciative of your efforts in highlighting the real purpose behind the Seminar.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar Hoover

Tolson Felt

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Bishop Miller, E.S. Callahan Casper Conrad Dalbey

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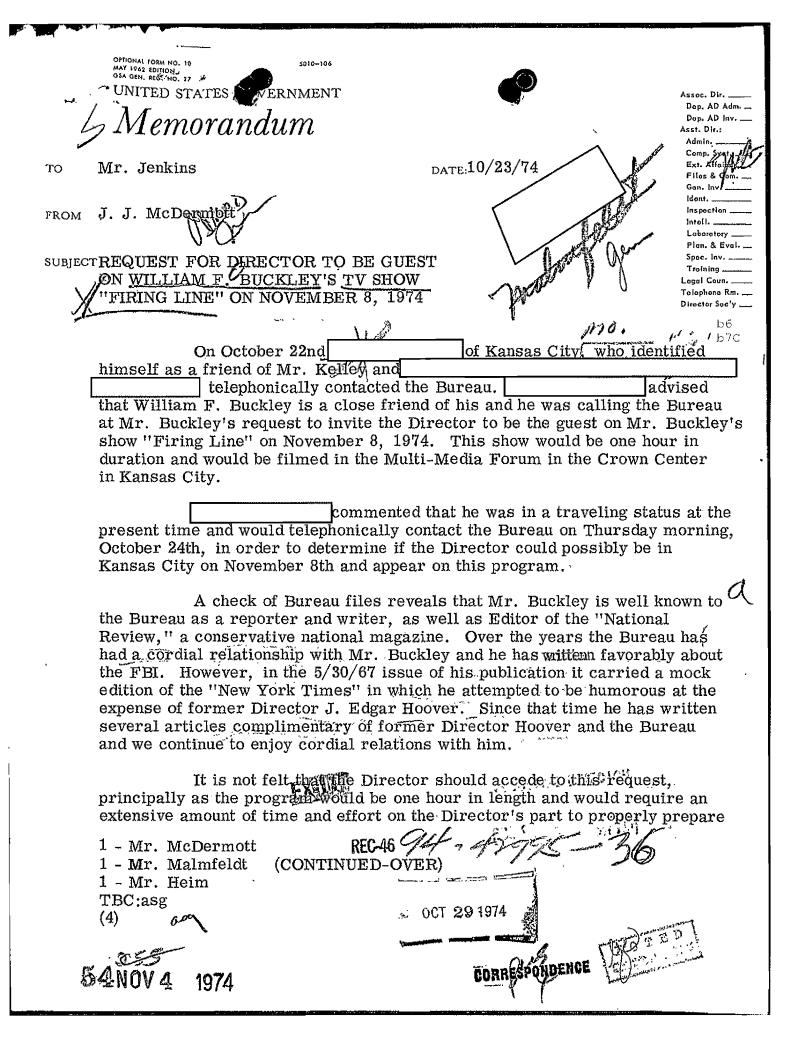
- New York

MAILED 7 OCT 26 1971 FBI

NOTE: See informal memo from Bishop to Felt dated 10/26/ re "Committee for Public Justice." TEB:jo

TEB:jo

TELETYPE UNIT



McDermott to Jenkins memorandum
Re: Request for Director to be Guest
on William F. Buckley's TV Show
"Firing Line" on November 8, 1974

himself for such a program at this time in addition to his numerous other commitments. Also, it should be noted that Buckley's program, while prestigious, does serve as a sounding board for his very conservative views and philosophy. Should the Director make his first major TV appearance on such a show the public could reasonably conclude that he favors Buckley's views. Rather than take the chance of being so characterized, it is felt that when the Director does agree to a nationwide TV appearance, it should be with one-of-the major network programs where the Director would not be affiliated as a partisan with any particular philosophy and would be speaking as the FBI Director and spokesman for law enforcement in general.

Additionally, it should be noted that "Firing Line" is televised mainly on non-prime time over Public Broadcasting Service stations and as such has far limited viewership than major networks who, as you realize, have been besieging us with similar requests for the Director's television appearance.

### RECOMMENDATION

That my office advise \_\_\_\_\_\_that the Director's schedule will not permit him to accede to this request.

South advised your of your

and white

b6 b7c

DATE: 4-24-72

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> Tele. Room Holmes Gandy .

Mr. Bisho

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

FROM M. A. Jone

OPTIONAL TORAT NO. 10 MAY 1962 EDITION GSA GEN, REG. NO. 27

SUBJECT: JACK ANDERSON APPEARANCE ON "FIRING LINE" WETA-TV (CHANNEL 26) 8:00 P.M., 4-23-72

> Anderson was interviewed by William F on Buckley's program, "Firing Line," last evening.

5010-106

The topic of the interview was government secrecy, and Anderson maintained that the press has the right to inspect government files as long as national security is not endangered. He stated that he has an obligation to the public to print any information concerning government activities which comes to his attention as long as it does not, in his view, adversely affect the national interests. Buckley countered that the government has every right to classify documents, and that Anderson has no more right to inspect government files than the government has to inspect Anderson's files.

There was only one brief mention of the FBI by He said the FBI has conducted investigations of movie stars, public figures, and black leaders, and FBI files on these individuals have nothing to do with criminal investigations. He termed this an outrageous abuse of government authority. He said the FBI has gone far beyond its jurisdiction on many occasions and has gone far beyond its trust. stated he has personally seen FBI files which contain information on the sex life of a movie star.

Buckley defended the Bureau's right to collect such information on public figures in security cases because it is the duty of the FBI to collect evidence--not to evaluate it.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Mr. Bishop

1 - Mr. Miller

1 - M. A. Jones

RBD:cl

NOT RECORDEI

176 MAY 5 1972

MAY

ORIGINAL FILED IN 3

October 26, 1971

# MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT C. MARDIAN

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Since I understand to	hat you were somewhat interested
in the letter which I wrote to	b6
Princeton University	, Princeton, New Jersey, I am
enclosing a copy of a column a	ppearing in the Washington Star
of yesterday by William F. Bu	ckley, Jr., which pretty well
	the Princeton group is holding
at the end of this week.	
	$\cdot$
	Very truly yours,
	T FEMAN SER OFFICER
	I. EDGAR HOOVER
	John Edgar Hoover
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1 - Mr. Målmfeldt

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	in length. It is a tacalls for conversati 40-45 minutes followed by a panel consisting the journalists select Washington Post, to known conservatism plete spontaneity and happens to wander. staying away from of journalists-panelist	ped show, but is on between Buck wed by a 15-20- g of three young sted are usually serve as a cre indicated the discussion While servain topics, h	s never edite aley and the aminute periournalists. very liberal ditable count ates that the develops in tated that But is certainly of the cortainly of the cor	guest for approximed of questioning the indicated, including one from the erpoint to Buckley program stresses whatever direction inckley might considered not committle and the end of the	format ately e guest that om the s com-
	JJMcD:crt. (6) 1 - Mrs. Metcalf 1 - Telephone Room 1 - Mr. Heim		EX-110		DEC 16 1974

... R. CIREVI

(OVER...)

Memorandum to Mr. Jenkins

Re: Request for Director's Appearance on William Buckley's Television Show, "Firing Line"

### **OBSERVATIONS:**

The panel show format thrives on conflict and sharply drawn issues. The biggest issue associated with the Director currently is his attitude concerning COINTELPRO. The Director has already delivered his best and most comprehensive shot. To subject himself to the cross-examination of the press on an unrehearsed, unedited program where COINTELPRO would become a major issue would accommodate only the needs of the press. It is not felt that it would serve either the Director's interests or the Bureau's interests. I concur with the opinion previously expressed by Legal Counsel that now that the Director has made his statement on COINTELPRO he, as well as the Bureau, should maintain as low a personal profile as possible on this. (It is noted that we are still getting and will continue to get a lot of mileage out of the Director's comprehensive statement of 11-18-74 through distribution to local news media by our field offices as well as through national columnists as arranged for by the External Affairs Division.

#### RECOMMENDATION:

It is recommended that in view of the foregoing observations the Director decline to appear at this time on "Firing Line" because of his very heavy commitments in the very foreseeable future.

b6 b7C 94-42995-38

October 8, 1976

b6 b7C

Dear

I was pleased to learn from your letter of Septem- . ber 30th of your favorable reaction to the program, "Firing Line," on which Messrs. Felt and Cohn appeared. My associates and I are certainly grateful for your support and we hope our future activities will continue to merit your approval.

Your confidence in this Bureau and the encouragement you expressed are indeed heartening. I share your views that many Americans across our country are of the same mind.

Sincerely yours, .

C. W. Kelley Clarence M. Kelley Director

NOTE: is not identifiable in Bufiles. mentioned program was taped by our New York Office on 9/25/76 and was very supportive of the Bureau.

MN:kmh (3)

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September 30,1976



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Director Clarence Kelley Fereral Bureau Investigation Hoover Building Washington, D.C. - 20515

William F. Buckley

Mr. Kelley.

After seeing the program Wednesday night Firing Line, I want you and the sau to know that I am 100% with you. Mr. Felk and Mr. Cohn did a good job Bureau to know that I am 100% with you. answering the questions that the American people are in the dark about and the things they should know. We sure don't get the news from the press and T.V. as we should. They slant the news to suit the themselves and to make it sound as bad against the Government as possiable.

In the total picture, I don't think that they fool as many people as they think they do. The F.B.I has in the 50 year that it has been in operation has been to me the best of all Government agencys. I trust and hope that before it is too late that the American people will wake up and see what is being done and ldo something about it.

Mr. Buckley is doing a good thing when he has a program like this. I hope that he will have more in the future as this is the best way to inform the American people. As for myself, I think that when you are dealing with the Communist that do theem as they would do us. Their aim is the same now as it was fifty years ago and that is World conquest. Khrushchev said that by 1980 that he would bury us without firing a shot. If these left wingers and the radicals are not keep in check they will destroy all that is dear to the average American.

Mr. Kelly the majority of the American people are with the F.B.I , so keep up the good work and let the Communist and bias press and T.V. complain,

With rest regards.

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#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

#### Serial Description ~ COVER SHEET

Total Deleted Page(s) ~ 14

Page 8 ~ b6, b7C

Page 123 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 124 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 164 ~ Duplicate

Page 228 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 244 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 246 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 249 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 251 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 263 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 265 ~ Referral/Direct

Page 274 ~ b6, b7C

Page 307 ~ b6, b7C

Page 379 ~ Referral/Direct



#### PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

TO SACS WASHINGTON FIELD - ENC. (4)

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE COMMUNICATION SECTION

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

WILLIAM FRANK BUCKLEY, JR., SPECIAL INQUIRY, BUDED JUNE NINE, NEXT, WITHOUT FAIL.

WHITE HOUSE HAS REQUESTED EXPEDITE INVESTIGATION OF BUCK WHO ON MAY TWENTYEIGHT, LAST, WAS NAMED AS MEMBER OF U.S. ADV COMMISSION ON INFORMATION.

BORN NOVEMBER TWENTYFOUR, NINETEEN TWENTYFIVE, NEW YORK CITY, AND RESIDES WALLACKS POINT, STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT. HE IS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF NATIONAL REVIEW WITH OFFICE AT ONE FIVE ZERO EAST THIRTYFIFTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY. SEE WHOS WHO FOR FURTHER BACKGROUND DATA.

ASSIGN CASE TO EXPERIENCED AGENTS AND CONDUCT NO NEIGHBORHOOD INVESTIGATION RE BUCKLEY UNLESS REASON FOR DOING SO ARISES, AT WHICH TIME BUREAU APPROVAL SHOULD BE SECURED.

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### THE WHITE HOUSE Washington

#### **MEMOR ANDUM**

	Washington DATE May 29, 1969	\   
	TO: Mr. Cartha D. DeLoach, FBI	ξ
	FROM: John D. Ehrlichman	
	SUBJECT : FBI Investigation	
	Subject's Name BUCKLEY, WILLIAM F. JR,	
	Date of Birth 11/24/1925 Place of Birth New York City	
	Present Address Wallacks Point, Stamford, Connecticut  Business Address: 150 East 35th Street, New York, New Y  has requested:	ork
1/269 D	Copy of Previous Report  Name Check  X Full Field Investigation	
<b>S</b> .	The person named above is being considered for:	( ) )
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	Position with another Agency	ĺ
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REPORT SHOULD BE DELIVERED BY FBI TO: JOHN D. EHRLICHMAN



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UNITED STATES COVERNMENT

# Memorandum

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$\bigcap (1)$	SAC,	:		
FROM	SAC,	we	F. O	

DATE: 7-9-69

SUBJECT: WILLIAM FRANK BUCKLEY, JR

(161-5900

SOG ACTION: (Records Branch).

Post and destroy

This case will be delinquent. 7 -8 -6

Date of Bureau deadline: 6-9-69

Reason for the delinquency: 195 PENDING

Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau: 7-15-69

AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH, etc.: (This applies only to 116 cases.)

No administrative action necessary.

This

UNITED STATES OVERNMENT

Memorandum

TQ	:	Direc	tor,	FB
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FJeste	<b>*</b> :	SAC,	نب	07

) DATE: 7-1-69

(161-5900)

SUBJECT: WILLIAM FRANK BUCKLEY, IR:

SOG ACTION: (Records Branch)

☐ Post and destroy ☐ File

This case will be delinquent. 7 - 1 - 69

Date of Bureau deadline: 6-9-69

Reason for the delinquency: 18-5 PENDING

Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau: 7-8-69

AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH; etc.: (This applies only to 116 cases.)

▼ No administrative action necessary NECEIALD & C )

9/1/2

# Memorandum

TO Director, FBI ( ) DATE: 6-24-69
FIG. SAC, UFO. (161-5900)
SUBJECT: WILLIAM FRANK BUCKLEY, JR SOG ACTION: (Records Branch)
☐ Post and destroy ☐ File
This case will be delinquent. 6-24-69  Date of Bureau deadline: 6-4-69
Reason for the delinquency: LRS PEROINE
Date the report or necessary communication will reach the Bureau: 7~1~69  AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH, etc.:  (This applies only to 116 cases.)
No administrative action necessary.

FD-205 (Rev. 3-5-69)
UNITED STATES SOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI ( )

FROM : SAC, Alexandria ( 161-RC

SUBJECT: WILLIAM FRANK BUCKLEY JR.

SPI

SOG ACTION: (Records Branch)

DATE 08-21-2008 BY 60324UCBAW/RS/VCF

PER OGA LETTER DATED 08-19-2008

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

6/10/69

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE:

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☐ Post and destroy☐ File

This case will be delinquent.

Bry

6/16/69

WFO TO HANDLE HANDLE

NEW YORK 003 BALTIMORE 002 X

URGENT 6-2-69 WLM

TO WASHINGTON FIELD, NEW YORK, NEW HAVEN, ST. LOUIS AND

BALTIMORE (PLAINTEXT)

FROM DIRECTOR 1P

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

WILLIAM FRANK BUCKLEY, JR., SPECIAL INQUIRY, BUDED JUNE NINE, NEXT, WITHOUT FAIL.

WHITE HOUSE HAS REQUESTED EXPEDITE INVESTIGATION OF BUCKLEY
WHO ON MAY TWENTYEIGHT, LAST, WAS NAMED AS MEMBER OF U.S. ADVISORY
COMMISSTION ON INFORMATION.

BORN NOVEMBER TWENTYFOUR, NINETEEN TWENTYFIVE, NEW YORK CITY, AND RESIDES WALLACKS POINT, STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT. HE IS EDITOR-IN-CHIEF OF NATIONAL REVIEW WITH OFFICE AT ONE FIVE ZERO EAST THIRTYFIFTH STREET, NEW YORK CITY. SEE WHO'S WHO FOR FURTHER BACKGROUND DATA.

ASSIGN CASE TO EXPERIENCED AGE/NTS AND CONDUCT NO NEIGHBORHOOD INVESTIGATION RE BUCKLEY UNLESS REASON FOR DOING SO ARISES, AT WHICH TIME BUREAU APPROVAL SHOULD BE SECURED.

DUE TO URGENT NATURE OF REQUEST IT IS IMPERATIVE BUDED BE MET WITHOUT FAIL. NO DELAY WILL BE TOLERATED.

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END

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FBI NEW YORK

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FILE TO BE 20 St County

PORT THE

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED DATE 08-21-2008 BY 60324UCBAW/RS/VCF HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED PER OGA LETTER DATED 08-19-2008

ENCIPHERED

FBI NEW YORK

WA ---- 17---

6:25 PM JÜRGENT 6-4-69 AWS

TO DIRECTOR, ALEXANDRIA, BOSTON, HOUSTON, LOS ANGELES, MINNEAPOLIS, NEW HAVEN, OMAHA, RICHMOND AND WASHINGTON FIELD (FLAIN)

LOS ANGELES AND WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 161-3080

WILLIAM FRANK BUCKLEY, JR., SPECIAL INQUIRY, BUDED JUNE NINE NEXT, WITHOUT FAIL.

RE BUREAU TEL TO WFO. ET AL. SIX TWO LAST.

FOR INFORMATION OF OFFICES NOT IN RECEIPT OF RETEL. THE WHITE HOUSE HAS REQUESTED EXPEDITE INVESTIGATION OF BUCKLEY WHO ON MAY TWENTYEIGHT LAST WAS NAMED MEMBER UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INFORMATION. BORN NOVEMBER TWENTYFOUR TWENTYFIVE AT NYC. RESIDES WALLACK'S POINT, STAMFORD. HE IS NOT RECORDED CONN., AND SEVEN SEVEN EIGHT PARK AVE., NYC. EDITOR OF NATIONAL REVIEW MAGAZINE, NY, NY. SEE 5 JUL 18 1969 WHO'S WHO FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

APPOINTEE SERVED AS ASSISTANT INSTRUCTOR IN SPANISH AT YALE UNIVERSITY FROM FORTY SOVEN THROUGH FORTY ONE. APPOINTEE WAS UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATE FOR ELECTION TO BOARD OF YALE CORPORATION APROINTEE'S OPPOSITION IN ELECTION WERE CYRUS R. SIXTYEIGHT.

END PAGE ON

LA, WFO

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b2

Mr. Tolson. Mr. DeLoach.... Mr. Mohr ... Mr. Bishop. Mr. Casper.

Mr. Callahan. Mr. Conrad ....

Mr. Sullivan. Mr. Tavel.

Mr. Trotter ... Tele. Room.

Miss Holmes Miss Gandy.

Mr. Felt.

Mr. Gale. Mr. Rosen.

ROOM 1248 / 67C

PAGE TWO
VANCE, THE WINNER, AND ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA
BUSINESSMAN.
THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS ARE KNOWN TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH
APPOINTEE:
BARRY GOLDWATER, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM ARIZONA,
JACOB JAVITS, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM NY,
PETER STARR, PRESIDENT, STARR BROADCASTING, OMAHA, NEBRASKA,
APPOINTEE IS REPORTEDLY MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF STARR BROADCASTING.
JAMES BURNHAM, ASSISTANT EDITOR, NATIONAL REVIEW, PRESENTLY
LOCATED AT KENT, CONN., TELEPHONE WA SEVEN - THREE ONE ONE
SEVEN.
THE FOLLOWING, AMONG OTHERS, ARE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OF NATIONAL REVIEW:
ROGER A. MOORE, ESQ.,
MORRIE RYSKIND,
LLOYD H.
SMITH,
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PAGE THREE

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THE FOLLOWING ARE APPOINTEE'S FAMELY MEMBERS: FATHER, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, SR., BORN EIGHTEEN EIGHTYONE, DECEASED; MOTHER ALOISE STEINER BUCKLEY, BORN THREE ELEVEN EIGHTEEN NINETY FIVE, RESIDING CARRIER CLOSE, SHARON, CONN.,; BROTHERS: JOHN W. BUCKLEY) BORN SIX TWENTY TWO TWENTYIWO, RESIDING THIRTY PARK AVENUE, NYC; SISTERS: JANE BUCKLEY. FORMERLY MRS. G. F. SMITH, II, BORN SIX TWENTYEIGHT TWENTY FOUR, RESIDING CARRIER CLOSE, SHARON, CONN: MAUREEN BUCKLEY, BORN FOUR TWENTY FOUR THIRTY THREE, DECEASED SEVEN SEVENTEEN SIXTYFOUR; ALOISE BUCKLEY, MRS. BENJAMIN W. HEATH, BORN TEN TWENTY SIX EIGHTEEN, DECEASED ONE SIXTEEN SIXTYSEVEN; WIFE PATRICIA BUCKLEY NEE TAXLOR, ALL OFFICES VERIFY RESIDENCES OF APPOINTEE'S FAMILY MEMBERS BY ACTIVE INVESTIGATION, CONDUCT APPROPRIATE AGENCY CHECKS AND INTERVIEW APPOINTEE'S ASSOCIATES IN YOUR TERRITORY.

OMAHA SHOUL DETERMINE FROM PETER STARR EXACT NATURE OF APPOINTEE'S BUSINESS INTEREST IN STARR BROADCASTING.

ALEXANDRIA CHECK

ALL OFFICES NOTE THAT NO NEIGHBORHOOD INVESTIGATION \( \square\) IS TO BE CONDUCTED RE APPOINTEE UNLESS NEED FOR DOING SO ARISES AT WHICH TIME BUREAU APPROVAL SHOULD BE SECURED.

DUE TO THE URGENT NATURE OF REQUEST, IT IS IMPERATIVE BUDED BE MET WITHOUT FAIL. NO DELAY WILL BE TOLERATED.

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JDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

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