

Chapter 21

What The Reds Did With and To Noel Field

A Devoted Romantic Comrade to the Very Last

In early 1954 Noel Field's Hungarian jailers teased him with hints of eventual release. Unknown to Noel, his wife Herta was also receiving suggestions of possible freedom. An indication the jailers were serious came when Noel was moved from the dreadful Conti Street prison to the more modern Fo Utca jail. Although in total isolation for another eight months, he was allowed better food as a more sympathetic, but still harsh, interrogator began a near year-long intensive review of Noel's case. But neither the Hungarian government nor Noel were ready for his freedom. The Hungarian authorities had deep concerns about an international black-eye if they admitted they had secretly held the Fields for so long while they had blatantly refused to obey the rules of international law. As in Poland's deliberations about Hermann, a great concern to the Hungarian officials Noel talking about his tragic ordeal if he or Herta were freed. The Hungarian government had some incentives for letting the couple go, however. Stalin's death in 1953 meant an easing of Soviet control over the satellites, there were hints the Polish government would release Hermann Field. So, it seemed counterproductive to keep Noel and Herta hidden away much longer.

Like Hermann, Noel and Herta had mixed feelings about freedom. They had been put through five years of severe sleep deprivation, isolation, and other tortures, but they, like many long-term prisoners, had become fearful of life outside their cells. Noel suffered from the isolated prisoner's aversion to the outside world and, more than Hermann, feared what might

happen if his captors forced him to return to Western Europe or the United States. His Hungarian jailers had lectured him about McCarthyism, the humiliating investigations of Robert Oppenheimer, Owen Lattimore, and John Carter Vincent the old China Hand, and 1953's execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, the American Communist atomic spies.

After many deliberations, the Hungarian authorities released the couple from their tiny cells on November 16, 1954. That came after the government, seeking a propaganda victory, made some appealing offers to the couple if they indicated they would stay in Hungary, praise the regime, and not voice complaints about their years of imprisonment.¹ Noel indicated his willingness to comply and began composing a new autobiography for his captors' files that served his and their new purposes. He reiterated that he always was a true Communist and Marxist and then illogically asserted he was against violent revolution.² He stressed his association with Allen Dulles and the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) had been one-sided: None of his wartime work was directed by the Americans and all of it was for the Cause. He also avoided any criticisms of the Hungarians or Czechs. Noel admitted some personal weaknesses and his essays seemed to confirm a rumor that had been circulating since at least 1950 when Walter Ulbricht, the East German Communist leader, wrote an emotion charged biography of Noel claiming that Noel and Herta had sexual relations with the teen-age Erica Glaser soon after they took her from Spain to the safety of Switzerland in 1939.³

Is it Freedom or Just a Fancy “Prison with Benefits, ” and More One-Way Mirrors

After a few days of better care, Noel and Herta were given new clothes from their prison's warehouse. They were treated to a small going-away party in the warden's office where Noel learned that Stalin had died. He immediately broke into tears.⁴ Noel and Herta were transported to a safe house and then to a state-owned villa at 38 Meredek street in a trendy neighborhood in

the hills above Budapest. It was only then they realized they had been in the same prisons and quite close to each other for a half decade. Moving them to the villa did not mean total freedom or an admission by the Hungarians to the world of any wrong doings, however.⁵

Tellingly, the Hungarian government did not notify the American diplomats in Budapest about the couple's release, or of their location on Meredek Street. The United States' representative, after five years of inquiries, still had no knowledge of where Noel and Herta were. Because the Hungarian government had consistently informed them Noel and Herta had never been in its custody the American authorities believed that Noel, if still alive, was in Czechoslovakia. Some officials continued to believe he had gone into voluntary hiding or had defected to an Eastern country. America's diplomats in Hungary learned that Noel and Herta were in Budapest, and that criminal charges against them had been dropped through an intercepted radio message, not official channels. In addition, it was only a rumor circulating in local diplomatic circles that led the Americans to be aware Noel and Herta might soon ask for asylum in Hungary because they feared being tried for espionage in the United States.

The American diplomats first reaction to the news of the release and the asylum rumor was to consider the possibility that Noel's unexpected surfacing, and the supposed plea for asylum, were part of a plot by the Hungarians to embarrass the United States. Having the suddenly reappearing Fields ask for a safe-haven from political persecutions in the United States would be a propaganda coup for Communism.

To obtain credible information, the American diplomats, led by Christian Ravndal,⁶ visited the Hungarian foreign affairs department. After much protesting, they were given a phone number and address for Noel---but they were refused any answers concerning where Noel and Herta had been for the last five years. The Americans immediately called the phone number,

asked for Noel, and heard a faint voice. It was Noel. He consented to an interview the next day, but at his new residence, not at the American legation. The meeting at the Meredek villa was brief. One reason was that a Hungarian official and a government car were waiting to take Noel and Herta to a hospital. Meanwhile, Endre (Andrew) Marton and his wife, both correspondents for American press services, learned of Noel and Herta's release and began telling the Western press about it.

The very short conference with Noel and Herta left the American diplomats wondering whether the Hungarians had really freed the couple. Noel's refusal to see the Martons and other reporters reinforced that suspicion. In addition, the isolated "block-house-like" villa seemed a perfect site for holding political prisoners and the fancy wines and food in the meeting room appeared part of an elaborate staging. Worse, Noel and Herta's responses sounded rehearsed and it seemed both were afraid of listening-bugs hidden in the room. The American diplomats were correct: The villa was just a more comfortable prison, its domestic staff was its guards, and the rooms, as well as the telephones, were tapped. The Hungarians desperately wanted to keep Noel and Herta isolated, still fearing they would embarrass them if they spoke to anyone from the West.⁷

Noel and Herta did tell the Americans they had been imprisoned (the Hungarians still denied this) but they told of the wonderful treatment they had experienced in the "cleanest and nicest prisons they had ever seen" and said their jailors had given them hotel quality food, including a special tasty diet for Noel because of his ulcer. They stated they had access to unlimited numbers of good books and had been treated with dignity and courtesy. They emphasized they had been accorded the best possible medical attention --better than they had ever had in the West.

Given that Noel and Herta looked like they were more than sixty, not fifty years old, noticing Noel's shaking hands, his thin body, and Herta's pale complexion, the Americans concluded they were not being told the truth. They thought Noel and Herta had been isolated for so long they had lost touch with reality, or they remained so fearful they had to believe their own lies. Assuming contact with the outside world would help, the American representatives offered Noel and Herta a short vacation in Vienna. Accepting such a vacation would also prove the Hungarians had freed them. The diplomats promised the United States would pay all the expenses. They hoped that once the couple was out of a Communist controlled country they would realize there was no need to become expatriates. The American representatives believed that when out of the bloc they would realize there were no persecutions in America and appreciate how prosperous the West was. Sensing hesitation, the diplomats then offered passports and assurances that Noel and Herta would never face retribution in the West.

Yet, Noel gave a negative response to the Americans' offers and indicated he was not going to consider returning to America, or to seek asylum in a neutral country such as Switzerland, his boyhood home. When Noel refused the travel offers, the American diplomats thought the reason was an unshakeable and deep fear of Austrian or even Swiss authorities seizing him and forcing him to return him to the United States for prosecution.

Quite puzzling was Noel's refusing food packages the Americans brought. His explanation contradicted his description of prison life. He stated that his ulcer was so bad that all he could have was three liters of milk a day. Noel then let-slip another contradiction. His declaration that he and Herta did not need any American-supplied medicine (because Hungary had such a good medical system) seemed disingenuous given the Americans' knowledge of health care in the

East. Most disturbing was Noel and Herta's assertions they were in much better physical condition than before they were imprisoned!

The only item Noel accepted from the diplomats during the November visit was a small bundle of *Time* and *Life* magazines the Americans thought would give the couple a better sense of America's history during the last five years. Unknown to the diplomats, the Hungarian authorities were also providing the Fields with back-copies of magazines and newspapers, ones which emphasized a long-term and irrational anti-Communist crusade in the United States.⁸

Disappeared, Again...

Noel then did something that reinforced the American's belief he was not a free or competent man. Without prompting he suddenly blurted-out that he hated American policies and he would continue to work as a good "progressive" as he had done when he supported Henry Wallace's campaign six years before. He also declared he would do his utmost against America unless it underwent changes of its anti-Soviet policies.⁹ After that, a Hungarian official abruptly ended the interview. Noel and Herta were hurried into the government's car.

Another long period of secrecy followed. The Americans were not allowed any type of contact with, or information about, Noel and Herta for almost thirty days-- and they received no assurances they would ever be told where the couple had gone. It was weeks before the couple were seen by anyone from the West. The disappearance reinforced the earlier conclusion the Fields were unfree, perhaps brainwashed. But the American diplomats hoped they were wrong and that Noel was at least reconsidering their offers of help to return to America or a neutral country. Noel did have time to ponder his future while he and Herta spent what became not a two-week but a two and a half month stay in a Budapest hospital.

The Hungarians continued to refuse to inform the Americans where Noel and Herta were. With no other alternative, the legation's staff telephoned the Meredek residence every day and stopped by the villa every two days trying to contact Noel. The most the Hungarians allowed the Americans were two unaddressed letters from Herta, both stating that she and Noel were happy and well. Meanwhile, the Hungarian doctors were treating more serious combinations of problems than had been foreseen. Noel's ulcer and gastric troubles, his calcified vertebrae, and his generally poor health demanded long and intense treatment. The doctors also looked after Herta's severe rheumatism and arthritis. And they began to ponder what to do about her critical thyroid problem.

Where Is Noel Field?, Again?

During the two-and-a-half-month hospital stay Noel and Herta were kept from anyone but a few Hungarian officials. There were two partial exceptions to that isolation, however. As soon as the word of the Hungarians releasing Noel reached the West his brother Hermann wired and telephoned Budapest. Meanwhile, Noel wired Elsie, his physician sister, asking her to come to Budapest to give medical advice. Elsie was close-by in Switzerland helping Hermann adjust to his freedom, but she was hesitant about going behind the Iron Curtain, fearing she would be imprisoned. However, she alerted the American diplomats in Berne who had been in contact with her since Hermann had been released. She stated that if necessary for Noel's mental and physical health she would request an emergency visa and rush to Budapest. After her husband Joe urged her to remain in the West, and after many warnings by the State Department, she declined to go to Hungary.¹⁰

However, based on her observations of Hermann's condition Elsie decided she should do immediately something for Noel and Herta. Knowing that Hermann had a false sense of what

had happened in the West while he was imprisoned, and that he thought he had been abandoned by his country and family, she wanted to provide Noel with information besides what the Hungarian authorities had allowed him during his prison years. Elsie asked if she could use the American diplomatic pouch to send a letter to Noel. The department agreed. She quickly composed one and had Hermann include a note. She also asked Herta's aged mother to contribute a caring letter. As soon as Elsie had the three letters in hand, she sent a packet to the Budapest legation to be forwarded to the Hungarian authorities.. The correspondence told of the continuing love for Noel and Herta and of the many efforts the American government had made to locate them. Although Elsie was still on-the-left she included much about her alienation from Soviet Cold War policies. She emphasized the tragic and undeserved fate of Erica who remained in the Arctic Circle forced-labor camp and who had informed a fellow prisoner she could not survive another winter. Elsie also wrote of how the Communist press unfairly linked Noel's name to the purge trials and executions of the late 1940s and early 1950s. Elsie then gave strong hints that Noel should immediately return to the West. She told him his large savings awaited him, almost one million dollars, and that all his clothes and personal belongings had been well preserved. She also told Noel that she had a huge clippings file she would send him if he wanted to catch-up with the past.

The American legation in Budapest left her packet at the Meredek villa. Whether the Hungarian government ever allowed Noel to see the letters is unknown. If it did, it seems the letters were unpersuasive.¹¹ In fact, Noel soon attempted to convince Elsie to have Hermann move to Hungary. Noel also told his sister that Erica should make Budapest her home, stating he could use his influence to gain her release.

The State Department's belief that Noel remained a captive deepened when the American legation received a letter and package from, supposedly, Herta. It had no return address. It contained all the *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines the legation gave to Noel at the villa during the short November meeting. Although Herta wrote that she and Noel had enjoyed the magazines, it was evident that they had not been touched. That made the American diplomats sure the couple were not being allowed any but Communist-controlled information. It also seemed clear to the American diplomats that Hungary was determined to keep them in the East and that its minions were doing all they could to ensure he believed his only safe-haven was in the bloc.

It appeared they had succeeded after a Hungarian press release informed the world that Noel and Herta, while in the hospital, had formally asked for and received Hungarian asylum.¹² The American legation was not directly informed. When its representative contacted the Hungarian government about the announcement the officials again refused to give an address for Noel. Wanting to determine whether Noel and Herta had freely asked for asylum, the legation's men had no choice but to keep returning to the villa, although they were not sure if it was still the Fields' residence.

My Brother is Mentally Ill

The American's became deeply concerned after they discovered the Hungarians gave a contact phone number for Noel to a left-leaning newspaper reporter and had allowed Monica Felton, the radical British leftist and friend of Hermann and Kate and who had attended China's 1952 peace conference, to have a long visit--while continuing to keep the American diplomats away¹³ Then, the Americans learned that Elsie had been able to talk with Noel on the telephone. After the call, she immediately told the State Department's representative in Berne that she believed Noel was mentally ill. Herta was even worse, she said. She thought both had "swallowed" the

Communist line. Elsie also reported that Noel again emphasized that he believed he could persuade his friends to have Erica released from her gulag and sent to Budapest. Elsie thought that was a bad idea because the Soviets would exploit Erica's release for propaganda purposes. She proposed an alternative. Elsie urged the State Department to quickly secure Erica's freedom, forgive her past Communist activities, and allow her to return to her husband and children at the Hopefield estate in Warrenton Virginia.¹⁴

In response to Elsie's warning about Noel's mental condition the Budapest legation's officials thought of taking drastic steps to protect him. Among them was to freeze his American assets and issue formal diplomatic statements demanding immediate access to him.¹⁵ Just before doing so, they received a letter purportedly from Noel. It came in response to a note the legation left at the villa a month before. Noel wrote that he was still in hospital and could not possibly meet with the American diplomats for at least three weeks. Finally, another round of daily phone calls to the Meredek villa paid-off. After months of trying, the legation made its second direct contact with Noel. The diplomats requested another face-to face interview. Noel agreed to a short one in "a week or two," but he insisted it was to be at the police-protected villa, not at a neutral place or at the legation. Noel also stated he might cancel the appointment. Those stipulations suggested that Noel was still under the Hungarian's control, or that he feared the Americans would abduct him.¹⁶

The January 31, 1955 meeting was another disappointment for America's diplomats Christian Ravndal and N. Spencer Barnes. Noel assured them the request for asylum in Hungary was made by free will. He later wrote his decision had been made after he read the pile of back issues of American newspapers the Hungarians provided while he was hospitalized. The papers, he said, showed how the West continued with its Truman war-making and anti-socialist policies.

In addition, he emphasized the papers revealed how badly he had been portrayed by the “repressors” in the West. Continuing, Noel gave a long a description of his splendid treatment at the Hungarian hospital and what a wonderful job the doctors did while performing Herta’s difficult thyroid surgery--one botched by doctors in the West thirty years before, Noel declared. There was also a salute to the work the Hungarian free health service was going do to correct Herta’s dental difficulties.

None of that convinced the Americans. They again thought Noel’s statements were for the benefit of his captors. Noel’s lack of response to another offer of help to secure asylum in a country such as Switzerland led the State Department’s men to conclude that Noel continued to fear he would be seized then persecuted in the West. When Noel again admitted he had drifted far to the ideological left and was determined to continue working against the American government until it changed its anti-Soviet and capitalistic policies the State Department’s men sadly concluded that he was unbalanced---he had become, at best, a “crackpot.” Despite their concerns about Noel’s mental condition, when Noel declared he and Herta would not voluntarily give up their American citizenship, he was warned that he would be held accountable for any treasonable acts.

With no way to prove that Noel’s choice of asylum in Hungary was coerced the American State Department had to leave him to his chosen fate as an expatriate in an unfamiliar land with a difficult native language. That was not the end of America’s interest in Noel, however. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) soon placed him in the agency’s “Soviet Album,” indicating he was considered a possible Soviet agent.

A More Than Equal Noel Goes Public

After the Hungarian asylum was formalized Noel began issuing astonishing public statements. He declared his family's imprisonment and torture was just a mistake among sincere Comrades! He had no bad words for his inquisitors or the Communist system and he publicly thanked them for the courteous treatment he experienced since they imprisoned him. He did not demand reparations. In response, both he and Herta were hailed as heroes of the Cause by the Hungarian authorities. The state-supplied plush villa at 38 Meredek Street in the Sas Hills section overlooking Budapest became their permanent free-of-charge, home. Although it looked to representatives of the American State Department to be a kind of isolated jail, the structure had three floors equipped with the latest appliances. Noel and Herta had several servants who watched over them--in both meanings, acting as helpers and as spies. The villa continued to have "bugged" living quarters to make sure nothing escaped the notice of the couple's newest state supervisors.¹⁷ Although Noel had not demanded reparations, the Hungarians gave him a one-time compensation worth ten years of a skilled worker's salary and promised a monthly stipend of ten times what a typical worker received. Of course, there would always be free medical care and servants to help around the house.

When good jobs were created for the couple Noel gave-up the monthly stipend. That still left him with multiples of a Hungarian worker's salary. One so much greater his income was more than the Hungarian prime minister's and even if, as one friendly commentator believed, Noel gave back 25% of his salary, he was much-more-equal than others in the land of equality. Although it was not in keeping with his ideology, Noel and Herta lived much like his upper middle-class father had.¹⁸

Noel worked under the formal title of proofreader and was then given a make-work position described as a translator/editor at the *National Hungarian Quarterly*. Herta served as his

assistant. Laszlo Szabo, a Hungarian who defected to the West in the mid-1960s gave a different description of Noel and Herta's assignments. He stated Noel was working for the Hungarian intelligence service forging documents and composing disinformation that was intended to cause discord in the West. One example was Noel helping to build a bogus issue of a 1953 issue *Newsweek* magazine, one that was to be sent to third-world countries to discredit the United States.¹⁹

I Still Am and Will Certainly Always Be....

Life behind the Iron Curtain did not change Noel's devotion to Marxism, it intensified it. In contrast to the ex-OSS leftist expatriate Maurice Halperin, who lived in Russia and Cuba, Noel saw nothing but good in the bloc.²⁰ If Noel heard 1956's revelations of Stalin's brutalities broadcast by the American's Radio Free Europe they did not sway him. He accepted a full membership in the Hungarian Party in 1957 partly because he had become a good friend of J. Peters. Peters was an important Soviet intelligence asset who had been deported from America in 1949 because of his running underground organizations in Washington and Hollywood since the 1930s. Given Peters' deportation it made it difficult for Noel to believe the West has ended persecuting progressives.²¹ Noel and Herta's devotion to Hungary was maintained by authorities continuing to keep them isolated from Western influences. When Flora Lewis, who later wrote Noel's first biography, went to his villa in 1960 she was summarily turned away at the door.²² After that, Herta refused to talk to any Western reporters who inquired about Noel's status or health.²³

Noel had become such a comrade that radio after another hospitalization he spoke on the country's national denouncing the Hungarian revolt of 1956, declaring the Soviet invasion of the country to suppress the rebellion was a necessity. Only the Soviets could save the Revolution

from those who were trying to defeat the world's march to socialism, he declared. Noel reiterated his beliefs in what was perhaps the only interview he gave to the foreign press. Endre Marton, the Hungarian reporter whose work for the American press services had led him to a year in a Hungarian jail for espionage in 1955 where he was assigned Noel's old prison number, 410, was allowed some hours with Noel.²⁴ Endre wrote that in December 1956 Noel declared the Soviet troops in Hungary to be "the true revolutionaries."²⁵ In contrast, and suggesting Noel was, as Elsie believed, emotionally unstable, he told a local reporter he looked forward to returning to the United States when "the time was right."²⁶

Noel later voiced opinions about 1968's Czechoslovakia revolt that also suggested he was having emotional difficulties.²⁷ He saluted its brutal repression. Such statements led one of the Unitarian's lawyers who performed a retrospective study of Noel to comment that Noel had a pronounced persecution complex and believed that he was always right while the world was always wrong. Noel's public outbursts even alienated his family. They found it difficult to live a regular life in America because of the publicity given to Noel's hardline statements.²⁸

Noel's increasingly intense ideological commitments, and the resulting consequences for his objectively viewing the world, were reflected in his 1961 testament to his life's most important inner-light- "moment", his conversion to Communism. In his article, "Hitching Our Wagon to A Star,"²⁹ he failed to criticize his new privileged status and there was no mention of the non-freedoms that became world knowledge after Stalin's death in 1953. He also accepted the results of the brutal purge trials of the 1940s and 1950s. For Noel and Herta, there was No Darkness at Noon and the Communist God had not failed. There were only misguided "liberals" like those who had tried to block the Unitarians from aiding Communists in World War II and who continued work against the people's leaders such as Fidel Castro.

Noel and Herta continued to picture a Hungary filled with hundreds of thousands of happy ex-peasants secure in their work on the country's collective farms, ones that now encompassed 75% of all farmlands. And Noel saw a country filled with an adoring population lauding a rising standard of living that would soon to be equal to the West's. However, Noel did some strange things for someone who claimed the status of a super-egalitarian Comrade. For example, he did not have the ample funds in his American bank transferred to Hungary to be used for "the people." He left them in America to accumulate interest and to profit from the stock market. There was another deviation from Marxist purity. Although he agreed that "property was theft," and had told his sister in 1954 that he cared nothing about his American funds, in 1960 Noel had a third of his near \$1,000,000 American bank account transferred to Hungary so that he could buy and repair the Meredek villa.³⁰

There were other signs of ideological inconsistency as Noel grew older. He told at least one American he was unhappy about his new life. He was especially worried about his increasingly difficult health problems which, he finally admitted, were caused by his imprisonment. According to Stephen Schwartz, the British author, Noel also confessed to being a spy.³¹ However, he never made his disenchantments public. In 1970, he died a devoted romantic Communist and a respected man in Budapest. He was given an impressive formal state funeral. Herta remained true until her death in 1980.

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- ¹ FBI FOIA, noel field ; State Department FOIA,, noel field; Sharp. “*Stalin’s*” *Op. cit.*
- ² Marton, Andre, *The Forbidden Sky* (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1971). Also see his testimony in: “The Erica Wallach Story,” *Op. cit.*
- ³ Ulbritch history, USC 16114/5 (92). Also, see Barth, “*der Fall.*” *Op. cit.*; Sharp, “*Stalin’s*” *Op. cit.*, 39 . On Erica confirming this shortly before her death in 1993. Marton “*True Believer, Op. cit.*, 89 states that family members later refuted the claim.
- ⁴ FBI FOIA, noel field ; Field, Noel “Hitching Our Wagon to A Star,” *Mainstream* (1961): 4-17.
- ⁵ Noel had suspected that Herta had been close-by, but was not sure.
- ⁶ FBI FOIA, noel field ; Sharp, “*Stalin’s*” *Op. cit.*, 307.
- ⁷ Marton, Kati, :”*True Believer,*” *Op Cit.* 188.
- ⁹ FBI FOIA, noel field . The couple never read the American documents although they said they had when they returned them..
- ¹⁰ FBI FOIA, noel field, 1-9-54.
- ¹¹ FBI FOIA, noel field, 12-4-54.
- ¹² FBI FOIA, noel field, 12-24-54”
- ¹³ FBI FOIA, noel field on Felton, 11-20-54 visit; Sharp, “*Stalin’s* “ *Op. cit.*
- ¹⁴ FBI FOIA, noel field, 1-26-1955.
- ¹⁵ FBI FOIA, noel field 1-1-55.
- ¹⁶ FBI FOIA, noel field, 1-3-55.
- ¹⁷ FBI FOIA, noel field
- ¹⁸ Schmidt. “Noel Field,” *Op. cit.*; Fischer, *Op. cit.*, 340.
- ¹⁹ FBI FOIA, noel field ; CIA CREST, Laszlo Szabo; U. S. Congress 1966, Statement of Lazlo Szabo, 89th Congress 2nd session, May 17, 1966 ; U. S. Congress 1957, Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States... U.S. Senate 84th Congress 2nd Session-85th Congress 1st session. circa 1957.
- ²⁰ Kirschner, Don S., *Cold War Exile, The Unclosed Case of Maurice Halperin:* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1995).
- ²¹ Sakmyster, Thomas, *Red Conspirator: J. Peters and the American Communist Underground* (Urbana: U. of Ill. Press, 2011). Peters had been one of Hede Massing’s controllers in the 1930s and had encouraged the recruitment of Noel and Duggan.
- ²² Lewis, Flora, *Red Pawn: The Story of Noel Field* (NY: Doubleday, 1965).
- ²³ FBI FOIA, noel field 7-0-1960.
- ²⁴ Marton, “*True Believer.*” *Op. cit.* 4.
- ²⁵ Kati Marton Emails. Marton, Kati, *Enemies of the People: My Family's Journey to America* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 2009).
- ²⁶ *NYT*, 9-19-1956/
- ²⁷ *WP*, 6-26-1957; Field, “Hitch””, *Op. cit.*
- ²⁸ Marton, “*True Believer,*” *Op. cit.*, 218.
- ²⁹ *Mainstream*, Jan, 1961.
- ³⁰ FBI FOIA, noel field 5-24-1960.
- ³¹ FBI FOIA, noel field, 1-29-63; Schwartz, Stephen, “My Brother, the Spy,” *The Weekly Standard*, 2001.