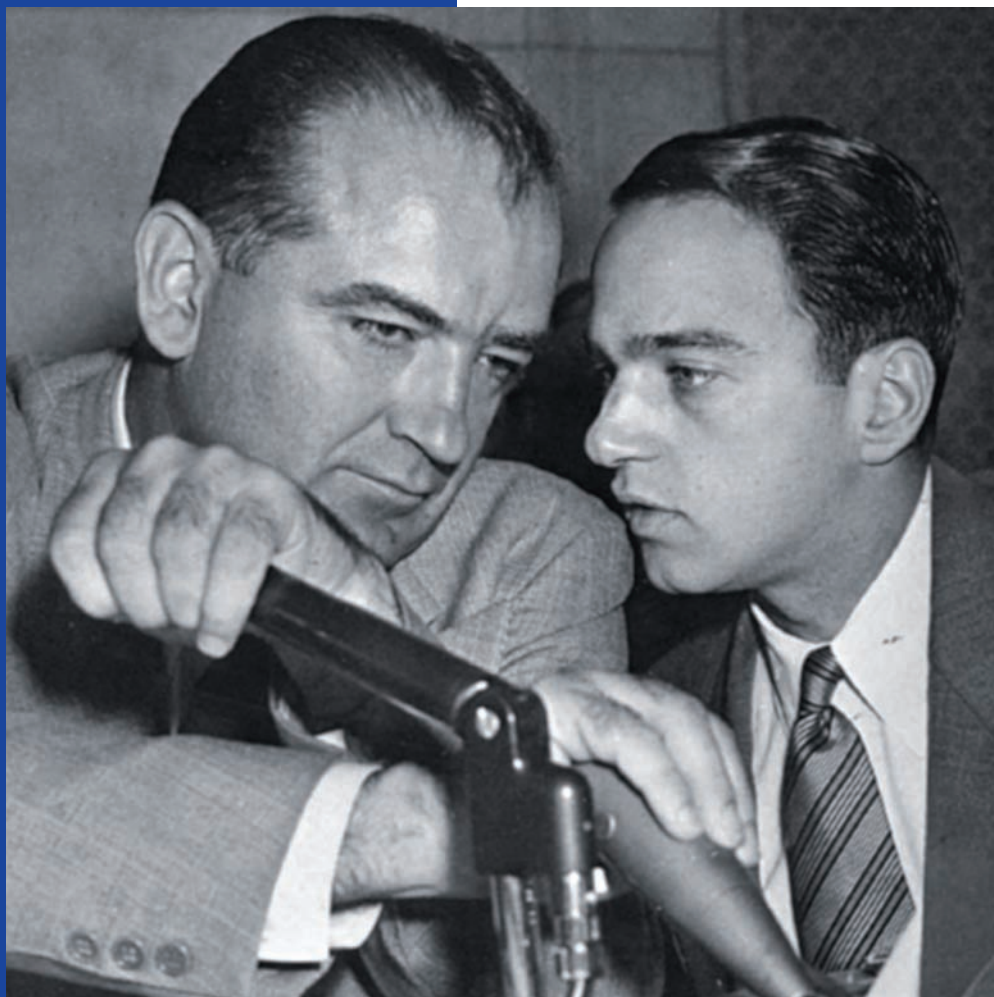


THE MODERN SCHOLAR

GREAT PROFESSORS TEACHING YOU!

American Inquisition: The Era of McCarthyism

COURSE GUIDE



Professor Ellen Schrecker
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

American Inquisition: The Era of McCarthyism

Professor Ellen Schrecker
Yeshiva University



Recorded Books™ is a trademark of
Recorded Books, LLC. All rights reserved.

American Inquisition:
The Era of McCarthyism
Professor Ellen Schrecker



Executive Producer
John J. Alexander

Executive Editor
Donna F. Carnahan

RECORDING

Producer - David Markowitz
Director - Matthew Cavnar

COURSE GUIDE

Editor - James Gallagher
Design - Edward White

Lecture content ©2004 by Ellen Schrecker
Course guide ©2004 by Recorded Books, LLC
Cover image: © Library of Congress

©2004 by Recorded Books, LLC

#UT013 ISBN: 978-1-4025-4759-1

All beliefs and opinions expressed in this audio/video program and accompanying course guide are those of the author and not of Recorded Books, LLC, or its employees.

Course Syllabus

American Inquisition: The Era of McCarthyism

About Your Professor	4
Introduction	5
Lecture 1 Junius Scales and My Sixth-Grade Teacher: Two Stories of the McCarthy Era and What They Tell Us About Political Repression in Cold War America	6
Lecture 2 Communism in America: The World of the Witches	12
Lecture 3 Anticommunism in America: The World of the Witch Hunters	16
Lecture 4 The Rehearsal for McCarthyism: Anticommunism and Political Repression Before the Cold War	22
Lecture 5 The Cold War Comes to Washington: Communism, Anticommunism, and the Truman Administration's Loyalty-Security Program	27
Lecture 6 The Orchestra Leader: J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI, and the Machinery of McCarthyism	31
Lecture 7 Soviet Espionage and Internal Security: The Big Spy Cases and Their Political Impact	36
Lecture 8 The Committees and Their Witnesses: "Are You Now or Have You Ever Been . . . ?"	42
Lecture 9 Joe McCarthy and the Loss of China: Anticommunism as Partisan Politics	48
Lecture 10 The Hollywood Blacklist and Beyond: The Entertainment Industry Under Fire	53
Lecture 11 On the Waterfront and in the Schools: Political Tests for Employment	57
Lecture 12 The Dog That Didn't Bark: The Collapse of the Liberals	62
Lecture 13 Collateral Damage: Private Lives During the Red Scare	67
Lecture 14 McCarthyism and American Democracy: What Were the Costs?	71
Course Materials	76



About Your Professor

Ellen Schrecker

Ellen Schrecker is a professor of history at Yeshiva University in New York City. After receiving her B.A. and M.A. from Radcliffe College and her Ph.D. from Harvard, she switched from European to American history. She then taught at Harvard, Princeton, and New York University before taking her current position in 1987.

Professor Shrecker is a child of the 1950s whose sixth-grade teacher was a victim of the red scare. She decided to write about McCarthyism after teaching a course about it more than twenty years ago and discovering that there was no book that would make the anticommunist furor comprehensible to her students. Since then she has become widely recognized as one of the nation's leading experts on the McCarthy era. Among her many books and articles on the subject are *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*, a *Choice* Outstanding Academic Book, 1998; *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*; and *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities*, which won the History of Education Society's Outstanding Book Award for 1987.

Professor Schrecker has also written about contemporary academic freedom both as the co-editor (with Craig Kaplan) of *Regulating the Intellectuals: Perspectives on Academic Freedom in the 1980s* and, from 1998 to 2002, as the editor of *Academe*, the magazine of the American Association of University Professors. Among her other publications are a monograph on Franco-American relations in the 1920s and a Chinese cookbook. Currently she is editing an anthology of original essays on the meaning of the Cold War, to be published by the New Press in 2004.



Public Domain: Photo by Herman Heller, 1954. Released by the World Telegram & Sun

Senator Joseph McCarthy and his closest aide Roy M. Cohn confer during the Army-McCarthy hearings in 1954.

Introduction

During the early years of the Cold War, the anticommunist witch hunt that we now call McCarthyism swept through American society. As we will discover, McCarthyism was much more than the career of the blustering senator from Wisconsin who gave it a name. It was the most widespread and longest-lasting episode of political repression in American history. Dozens of men and women went to prison, thousands lost their jobs, and untold numbers of others saw what happened to those people and refrained from expressing controversial or unpopular ideas. McCarthyism remains all too relevant today; if nothing else, it reminds us that we cannot take our basic freedoms for granted.

This course aims to provide a basic understanding of what happened during the Cold War red scare of the late 1940s and 1950s. It will look at this red scare from the perspective of both the victims and the perpetrators, and will try to answer the following question: How could such a politically repressive movement arise in a modern democratic society such as the post-World War II United States?

In order to answer that question, this course will look at earlier red scares as well as at some of the key players and institutions involved. It will examine those aspects of the domestic and international politics of the late 1940s and 1950s that contributed to the rise of the anticommunist furor. It will also explore the most important political trials of the era as well as investigate the experiences of its more anonymous (and perhaps more typical) victims. Finally, it will assess the costs of McCarthyism. How did it affect the men and women directly involved with it? And, more important, how did it affect American culture, politics, and the rest of American society?

Lecture 1:
Junius Scales and My Sixth-Grade Teacher:
Two Stories of the McCarthy Era and What They Tell Us About
Political Repression in Cold War America

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* and *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents* both by Ellen Schrecker.

Introduction:

We will look at two representative cases in order to introduce some of the main themes that we will be examining throughout the rest of this course.

Consider this . . .

1. Why do we still find McCarthyism relevant today?
2. How have our interpretations of McCarthyism shifted over time? What is the significance of those shifts?
3. Why does McCarthyism still generate so many myths?

I. The Scales Case and My Sixth-Grade Teacher: Typical Victims, Typical “Crimes”

A. What is significant about the case of Junius Scales?

1. In a five-to-four decision, in October 1961, the Supreme Court ruled that Scales had to go to prison for being a member of the Communist Party.
 - a. This ruling shows that McCarthyism extended far beyond the career of Joseph McCarthy.
 - b. As late as 1961, the Supreme Court was still ruling that the 1940 Smith Act, which criminalized membership in an organization “teaching and advocating” the overthrow of the United States government, did not violate the Constitution.
2. Junius Scales was not an “innocent liberal.” He was an extremely active and well-known member of the Communist Party.

B. What is significant about the case of my sixth-grade teacher?

1. He was quietly dismissed in the middle of the school year in 1953 at the height of the McCarthy era. This secrecy was typical of so much of what happened during that time.
 - a. No one ever explained why he had been fired.
 - b. It was likely that the firing had been the result of an FBI intervention.
2. His dismissal is an example of the economic sanctions that were the most common way in which individuals were punished during the McCarthy era.

3. Again, like Junius Scales, my teacher was not an “innocent liberal” but a former Communist who had been active in the labor movement.

II. What These Two Cases Show Us About McCarthyism: A Definition and Quick Overview

- A. McCarthyism is more than McCarthy. It began before Joseph McCarthy entered the scene and it continued for several years after his demise.
- B. How widespread was McCarthyism and what groups and individuals were affected?
 1. Not all sectors of American life were affected. McCarthyism targeted the Communist Party and all the groups and individuals associated with it. Though a few “innocent liberals” were affected, most of the men and women who got caught up in the McCarthy era purges were in or near the party.
 2. The Body Count: Because there were so many secret victims like my sixth-grade teacher, we will never know exactly how many people were affected. Two people were killed, several hundred imprisoned or deported, and perhaps as many as 12,000 lost their jobs.
- C. How did McCarthyism operate?
 1. Many institutions were involved, some more actively than others. The most well-known were the congressional investigating committees and the FBI, but there were dozens of other public agencies and private organizations that collaborated in identifying and punishing politically undesirable individuals.
 2. McCarthyism operated in accordance with a two-stage process of applying sanctions.

JUNIUS IRVING SCALES (1920-2002)

Junius Scales' childhood was spent in Greensboro, NC, where his father was a well-to-do businessman. Despite his privileged upbringing, Scales became a desegregationist while attending the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. He also helped to organize a chapter of the Communist Party a short time later. His opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, the Cold War with Soviet Russia, and general anticommunist sentiment in North Carolina all contributed to Scales' antiestablishment stance. He was arrested by the FBI and tried under the Smith Act.

The Supreme Court eventually heard Scales' case after it was handed up by lower courts for a decision. His conviction under the Smith Act was upheld and he served more than a year of his six-year prison term before President Kennedy commuted his sentence.

Scales rejected his Communist past in later years, but he never forgot those whose ideals he shared. “Communists were putting themselves on the line and getting beaten to death,” he said, “and they were the most courageous people I knew.”

Junius Scales died August 5, 2002, in Manhattan.

(Source: Independent Weekly Online @ <http://indyweek.com>)

- a. First the individual was identified by an official body, then fired by his or her employer.
- b. Because they identified McCarthyism with the first stage, people involved in imposing the second-stage sanctions were able to deny that they were participating in McCarthyism. This deniability made the political repression more effective.

III. The Meaning of McCarthyism

- A. The historical explanations of McCarthyism have changed over time.
 1. The first serious explanation identified McCarthyism as a Populist backlash. This theory was propounded by Richard Hofstadter in the 1950s; it claimed that the anticommunist furor was propelled by the status anxieties of American citizens.
 2. In the 1960s, revisionist historians began to view McCarthyism not as an aberration, but as politics as usual, fueled in large part by Republican Party partisanship and the Truman administration's desire to gain support for its Cold War foreign policy.
 3. After Watergate revealed the extent of the FBI's secret operations, historians began to use the Freedom of Information Act and came to

AN ARMY OF COMMUNISTS?

The most well-known episode of the McCarthy era was that of the Army-McCarthy hearings during the spring of 1954. These hearings before the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate's Government Operations Committee investigated charges that Senator Joseph McCarthy and his chief aide, Roy Cohn, had improperly pressured the Army to obtain special privileges for a young staff member of McCarthy's committee after he was drafted. In reality, the hearings were sparked by the Eisenhower administration's desire to get back at McCarthy for his earlier allegations that high-ranking Army officers had not been sufficiently vigilant against Communists in the military.

Televised, the Army-McCarthy hearings provided the American public with the opportunity to see McCarthy's harassment and bullying first hand. During the investigation, the chief attorney for the Army chided McCarthy for his destructive tactics in a now-famous remark, "Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last?"

These hearings began McCarthy's fall from grace and his eventual censure by the U.S. Senate a few months later.

-
- emphasize the key role of the FBI in the events of the McCarthy era.
- B. A recent theory emphasizes the “Countersubversive Tradition.”
1. This theory looks at the persistence of antiradicalism in American life and the way in which Americans have traditionally demonized their enemies.
 2. This kind of an explanation for the anticommunist furor is in accord with the contemporary enthusiasm for cultural history among historians.
- C. Why does McCarthyism remain so controversial? It brings into question America’s conduct during the Cold War.
1. The recent revelations from the archives of the former Soviet Union and the release of the previously secret KGB telegrams intercepted by the American government’s VENONA project have revealed that about a hundred American Communists spied for the Soviet Union.
 2. Contemporary concerns about civil liberties reveal how relevant the history of McCarthyism is.

IV. An Overview of the Course: Main Themes and Interpretations

- A. We will be looking at both the witches and witch hunters.
1. Because most of the victims of McCarthyism were in or near the American Communist Party, it is important to look at the history of the party, who its members were, why they joined, what they did, and how their activities in the party made them vulnerable to the repression of the 1940s and 1950s.
 2. The political repression of the McCarthy era was, in large part, the undertaking of a self-conscious network of professional anticommunists. In a future lecture we will look at these people, their political backgrounds, and how they worked together to create and operate the machinery of McCarthyism.
- B. The Mechanisms of Repression: We will look in considerable detail at the way in which that machinery operated.
1. The most important single institution involved with the political repression of the McCarthy era was J. Edgar Hoover’s FBI. Hoover had been obsessed with Communism for years. He was a brilliant bureaucratic politician and the Cold War gave him an opportunity to lead a national crusade against it.
 2. Congressional investigations were the public face of McCarthyism. There were several committees, besides that of Joe McCarthy, that specialized in exposing Communists. HUAC, the House Un-American Activities Committee, was the oldest and best known.
 3. Private employers made McCarthyism effective by firing the men and women who were identified by the FBI or called before a congressional committee. The entertainment industry’s blacklists are only the most well-known of these economic sanctions, but they occurred in almost every area of American life.
- C. McCarthyism would not have been effective without the collaboration of mainstream institutions.

1. The federal judiciary played a crucial role in legitimizing the political repression of the early Cold War. Until the mid-1950s, the Supreme Court refused to intervene to protect people's rights in cases that involved Communism.
 2. Liberal institutions like universities and labor unions also participated in the McCarthy era purges. Sometimes they fired people directly, sometimes they just observed a blacklist. Because of fear and because of their own anticommunist beliefs, liberal organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) stood on the sidelines and did nothing to prevent what was going on.
- D. The Impact of McCarthyism: More than fifty years have passed since McCarthyism raged through American political life, but its legacy remains. We will look at some of the areas—from Hollywood to Harvard to the labor movement and the civil rights movement—that were most affected by the Cold War red scare. And, finally, we will try to draw some lessons from that time for today. Could it happen again? How can we prevent it?

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. Do you think McCarthyism would have developed if Senator McCarthy had not been around?
2. How did the two-stage nature of McCarthyism contribute to its success?
3. Can we consider McCarthyism a top-down movement or one that developed at the grassroots level?

Suggested Reading

Schrecker, Ellen. *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford Books, 2d ed., 2002.

Schrecker, Ellen. *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1998; paper ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Other Books of Interest

Fried, Richard. *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Scales, Junius Irving and Richard Nickson. *Cause at Heart: A Former Communist Remembers*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://indyweek.com/durham/2002-08-14/triangles2.html> - A short biography of Junius Scales.
2. <http://en2.wikipedia.org/wiki/McCarthyism> - Wikipedia (Free Internet Encyclopedia) has a good general-knowledge description with many links to other information on McCarthyism.

Lecture 2: Communism in America: The World of the Witches

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself* by Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes.

Introduction:

Contrary to what many people believe, there were few “innocent liberals” among the men and women affected by the Cold War red scare. Most of the victims of McCarthyism were in or near the American Communist Party. In this lecture, I will give a short history of the party, explain why so many idealistic men and women joined it during the 1930s and 1940s, discuss what they did while they were in it, and, finally, describe those aspects of its structure and activities that made it particularly vulnerable to the witch hunts of the McCarthy era.

Consider this . . .

1. Why would an idealistic young man or woman have considered joining the American Communist Party in the 1930s and 1940s?
2. What was the impact of the Communist Party's connection to the Soviet Union on its activities within the United States?
3. To what extent did the Communist Party's behavior contribute to the repression directed against it?

I. American Communism in Its Early Years

- A. The American Communist Party developed from the left wing of the U.S. Socialist Party after the Bolshevik Revolution.
 1. The Communist Party became part of an international revolutionary movement and gained prestige within radical circles because of its connection to the Soviet Union.
 2. The party went underground because of repression against it in the early 1920s, creating a conspiratorial culture that shaped the Communist Party throughout its existence.
 3. Early years of American Communism were marked by schisms and infighting.
- B. The Soviet Union asserted control over the party, selected its leaders, and enforced internal discipline.
 1. Moscow became arbitrator of conflicts within the American Communist Party and purged dissidents. Soviet priorities determined much of what the U.S. party did.
 2. Sectarianism and isolation from the rest of American society marked the Communist Party throughout the 1920s. Most of its members were foreign-born workers who didn't even speak English. Moscow pressed the party to become more Americanized.

3. The party's discipline and the dedication of its most active members, known as cadres, created an important core of political activists, especially within the labor movement.
 - a. The party's discipline was a two-sided phenomenon. Members suppressed doubts about Soviet purges, while reliance on party decisions gave them unity and effectiveness.
 - b. So-called "front groups," organized by the party, made it effective in a wide range of activities, from labor unions to dance groups and literary magazines.

II. The Communist Party grows because of the Depression and the rise of Hitler.

It will become the largest, most dynamic political organization on the left.

- A. At a time when capitalism seemed on the skids, Communism seemed to offer a viable alternative. "There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union."
- B. The Communist Party's activism in economic struggles attracted new members. Communists organized among unemployed workers and became active in the struggles to organize unions in the mass production industries.
- C. The Popular Front: Because of the USSR's fear of Germany, Communists in the United States and elsewhere led the struggle against fascism and sought allies among liberals and other noncommunist groups.
 1. The American Communist Party supported Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and adopted a patriotic stance. "Communism is 20th-Century Americanism."

ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM

Communism in America first emerged in an organized form during the nineteenth century. Rapid industrial expansion in the 1800s increased the nation's per capita wealth from \$200 to \$1200. However, wealth was not evenly distributed. This led to the growth of socialist and communist ideas. The Workingmen's Party, composed largely of socialists, was founded in 1874. It was later re-named the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) and in 1886 was involved in organizing the national campaign for an eight-hour work day. The SLP put forth several candidates in the presidential elections of the 1890s and its support grew. In 1900, it lost votes to the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and merged with the SDP in 1901 to form the Socialist Party of America.

Most socialists opposed World War I and expressed their desire for U.S. neutrality. In 1917, the U.S. government passed the Espionage Act, which led to the imprisonment of many party members.

In 1919, leaders of the Socialist Party of America opposed the Russian Revolution and expelled 20,000 members who supported the Soviet government. These former party members formed the American Communist Party.

2. Students, intellectuals, and middle-class Jews were particularly attracted to Communist Party's opposition to Hitler.
3. The American Communist Party organized volunteers to fight with the international brigades in the Spanish Civil War.

III. The Nazi-Soviet Pact Period and the Rehearsal for McCarthyism

Stalin's 1939 nonaggression agreement with Hitler forced the American Communist Party to change its position and allowed the party's enemies to mount a campaign of repression against it.

- A. The Communist Party's flip-flop with regard to Germany lost it some members and alienated its liberal allies.
- B. Fearing repression, the party turned inward. Some cadres went underground.
- C. A wave of anticommunism swept through American society. Government at every level cracked down against Communists, enacting measures and creating precedents for the more serious repression of the McCarthy era.
- D. Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union and the American entry into World War II granted the Communist Party a reprieve from repression. Communists became patriotic and threw themselves into the war effort.

IV. The Cold War and the Rise of McCarthyism

As the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified, American Communists found themselves increasingly harassed. They responded by becoming sectarian and turning inward.

- A. The Duclos Letter and the Communist Party's postwar flip-flop: Stalin apparently ordered the American Communist Party to adopt a harder line. The Communist Party supported the third party presidential candidacy of Henry Wallace in 1948.
- B. Fearing repression, especially after the Supreme Court upheld criminal conviction of the party's top leaders, the Communist Party ordered some of its leading cadres to go underground. It then conducted internal purges to eliminate supposedly disloyal members.
- C. Members dropped out of the party because of repression, Cold War anxieties, and the party's rigidity. Revelations of Stalin's crimes by Khrushchev in 1956 finally split the party and turned it into a minor political sect.

V. How should we evaluate American Communism?

- A. We must recognize both its positive and negative features. It was a deeply flawed movement that, for better or worse (and I think it is the latter), dominated the American left during the 1930s and 1940s.
 1. Communists made important contributions to movements for social change, especially in the fields of labor and civil rights.
 2. The party was always unpopular. Its secrecy, lack of democracy, and obeisance to Moscow increased the opposition to it and rendered it incapable of working effectively within the American political system.
- B. Because the Communist Party had been so influential within the American radical movement, the Cold War red scare nearly destroyed the left and knocked an entire generation of political radicals out of action. We will explore the implications of that situation later in this course.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. What aspects of American Communism made it attractive to so many people during the 1930s?
2. How did the Communist Party's unpopularity shape its activities?
3. What caused the demise of American Communism? Did the Communist Party self-destruct during the 1950s or was it destroyed by McCarthyism?

Suggested Reading

Klehr, Harvey and John Earl Haynes. *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself*. New York: Twayne, 1992.

Other Books of Interest

Draper, Theodore. *The Roots of American Communism*. New York: Viking, 1957.

Isserman, Maurice. *Which Side Were You On? The American Communist Party During the Second World War*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982.

Ottanelli, Fraser M. *The Communist Party of the United States: From the Depression to World War II*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991.

Starobin, Joseph R. *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972.

Websites to Visit

1. http://www.findarticles.com/cf_dls/m1061/2_108/55698579/p1/article.jhtml - *Commentary Magazine* site with a six-page article describing the highlights of Communism in America.
2. <http://students.washington.edu/ruckus/vol-3/issue-3/16reds.html> - A short history of Communism in America by Roy Chan.
3. <http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/USAcommunist.htm> - A short history of American Communism.
4. <http://faculty.washington.edu/gregoryj/cpproject/index.htm> - A history of Communism in Washington State.

Lecture 3: Anticommunism in America: The World of the Witch Hunters

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *American Anticommunism: Combating the Enemy Within, 1830-1970* by M.J. Heale.

Introduction:

McCarthyism was not a spontaneous development that welled up from below. It was, at least in part, the conscious product of a dedicated group of anticommunist professionals who shaped its ideology and built its machinery. Since the 1930s, these professionals—law enforcement officials, journalists, labor leaders, politicians, former Communists, and others—had devoted themselves to the struggle against American Communism. This lecture will examine these people, their activities, and the networks that they constructed.

Consider this . . .

1. How did the countersubversive tradition contribute to anticommunism in the United States?
2. What function did red-baiting play in the labor struggles of the late 19th and early 20th centuries?
3. How did conflicts within the American left influence the development of the anticommunist network?

I. **An anticommunist network whose members were to create and administer the machinery of political repression during the 1940s and 1950s began to develop in the late 19th century—if not before.**

- A. It developed primarily in response to labor struggles.
- B. As different groups on both the right and on the left came into conflict with the Communist Party, the network gained new members.
- C. As we shall see in later lectures, the members of this network held strategic positions that enabled them to shape much of what went on during the Cold War red scare.

II. **The anticommunist furor of the McCarthy period was, in many respects, simply another manifestation of a longstanding counter-subversive tradition.**

- A. Radicalism of all varieties has never been popular in the United States.
- B. During periods of stress in American history, there has always been a tendency to look for some kind of enemy within.
 1. The most common scapegoats were usually outsiders of one type or another—American Indians, immigrants, and radicals.
 2. Though the targeted groups differed, they were invariably demonized and attacked in language that rendered them somehow less than human.

3. During the early years of the Cold War, a political minority—Communists—came to be viewed as the incarnation of the subversive menace.

III. The modern form of anticommunism developed during the working-class unrest of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

- A. Working-class struggles during the strike wave of 1877 produced the first episode of red-baiting.
- B. The Haymarket Massacre during the labor troubles of 1886 inaugurated a massive police crackdown on radicals, in the process creating a group of law enforcement officials with a stake in antiradicalism.
 1. The demonization of immigrants and anarchists allowed anti-union employers to attack organized labor.
 2. Often subsidized by business groups, local police forces organized red squads that specialized in the surveillance and harassment of radical activists and union organizers.
- C. The red scare, precipitated by the Bolshevik Revolution and the post-World War I strike wave, brought together a number of groups and individuals who became the core of an anticommunist network.
 1. During World War I, the federal government became deeply involved in cracking down on radicals and immigrants. The FBI's J. Edgar Hoover began his anticommunist career by masterminding the Palmer raids.
 2. Patriotic organizations like the recently founded American Legion supplied personnel for vigilante attacks on radicals and striking workers.
 3. The red scare produced a cadre of right-wing anticommunists both inside and outside of government who dedicated themselves to the struggle against the left for the next several decades.

HAYMARKET MASSACRE

The famous Haymarket Massacre in Chicago was a seminal event in the history of the labor movement. It occurred on May 4, 1886, but actually began a few days earlier, when more than 300,000 workers across America went on strike on May Day, demonstrating for an eight-hour work day as part of an international movement headed by the anarchist International Working Peoples' Association (IWPA).

After organizing the May Day strikes, the IWPA held a rally at the McCormick Reaper Works on May 3. August Spies, publisher of the anarchist journal *Arbeiter Zeitung*, addressed the crowd. When the police arrived, they opened fire on the crowd and killed two workers. The next day, another rally was held at Haymarket Square to protest the brutality of the police. At the end of the rally, as the police arrived, an unknown assailant threw a dynamite bomb into the police ranks. The police fired on the crowd in return. Several police officers were killed along with some protesters. More than two hundred people were estimated injured. Eight anarchists, including August Spies, were apprehended on charges of committing murder. All eight were convicted and four were later executed.

IV. The labor struggles that accompanied the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the 1930s encouraged red-baiting among the CIO's opponents.

- A. Communists were active in these struggles.
- B. Traditional craft unionists within the American Federation of Labor (AFL) felt threatened by the CIO and, along with some business leaders and right-wing politicians, attacked the new organization as being Communist dominated.
- C. By the late 1930s, conservatives were also attacking the Roosevelt administration for its support of the CIO and claiming that it, too, had been infiltrated by Communists.

V. The Catholic Church provided leadership and institutional support to the anticommunist network.

- A. Catholicism had long been antagonistic to socialism and Communism. The Spanish Civil War made the Church even more ferociously anti-communist.
- B. Because the Church's constituency was largely from the working class, many priests and Catholic laymen focused on driving Communists out of the labor movement.
- C. The Church helped some ex-Communist professional witnesses leave the party by offering both spiritual and financial assistance.

VI. Among the most influential members of the anticommunist network were a group of ex-Communists and other former leftists.

- A. Competing with Communists for the allegiance of American radicals, many Socialists tended to be hostile to the Communist Party and, in fact, some of the most virulent anticommunists came from the right wing of the Socialist Party.
- B. Some of the Trotskyists, Lovestoneites, and other men and women who were expelled from the Communist Party after losing out in its internal struggles during the 1920s and '30s joined the anti-communist network.
- C. These people became extremely valuable to the anticommunist cause because of their supposed "expertise" and inside knowledge about the Communist Party. As professional witnesses and authors, they created scenarios about the party that came to be adopted by the rest of society.

VII. Liberals turned against Communism after the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact. They were the last, and perhaps most important, group to join the anticommunist network.

- A. Liberals had tried to work with Communists against Hitler during the Popular Front period despite finding the party a difficult and unreliable ally.
- B. The Communist Party's flip-flop in the wake of the Nazi-Soviet Pact was the last straw for these liberals.

C. During the Popular Front period, liberals had protected Communists from their enemies. When the liberals turned against the Communist Party after the Nazi-Soviet Pact, that protection ended and the party became much more vulnerable to the hostility against it.

VIII. By the end of the 1930s, long before McCarthyism supposedly got under way, an informal network of dedicated anticommunists was already in place.

- A. These people became the main architects of the McCarthy era's anticommunist purges. They organized the blacklists, staffed the congressional committees, and supplied information to journalists and politicians.
- B. The diversity of the anticommunist network made it particularly effective, allowing different groups and individuals to specialize in combating Communism in different sectors of society.
- C. The members of the anticommunist network worked closely with one another, sharing information and helping each other find jobs and outlets for their anticommunist "expertise."

NAZI-SOVIET PACT

As the world now knows, Adolf Hitler, Reich Chancellor of Germany (1933-1945), was bent on dominating Europe with the development and rise of his "Third Reich." After annexing Austria and Czechoslovakia in 1938 and 1939, respectively, he set his sights on Poland. Knowing that invading Poland would mean raising the ire of the Soviet Union, Hitler designed a plan to appease the formidable nation, which had previously sought and failed to achieve a collective security agreement with Britain and France. In the face of German expansionism, the Soviet Union was open to an agreement that would give it time to build up its forces.

The German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact was signed in August of 1939. Publicly, the agreement stated that Germany and the Soviet Union would not attack one another. However, it also contained secret provisions allowing for the two nations to divide Poland, giving the Soviet Union control of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and Finland. Only nine days after the agreement was signed, Germany invaded Poland and began World War II. The Nazi-Soviet Pact held until 1941, when Germany finally attacked the Soviet Union.

THE AMERICAN LEGION

*Preamble to the Constitution of
The American Legion*

*"For God and Country we associate ourselves together
for the following purposes:*

To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one hundred percent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our associations in the great wars; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and goodwill on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

The American Legion was founded in 1919 shortly after the end of World War I by members of the American Expeditionary Force stationed in France. Primarily an organization devoted to the needs of American military veterans, the American Legion also promotes community service through its 15,000 "posts" worldwide. The organization states that it currently has over 3 million members on its rolls.

One of the Legion's main activities over its 85-year history has been to use the voting power of its membership to influence Congress in passing veteran-friendly legislation. The Legion cites as its biggest achievement in this area the passage of the "G.I. Bill of Rights" in the 1940s.

In the early 1950s, the American Legion allied itself with other anticommunist organizations and personalities. Multimillionaire and movie mogul Howard Hughes was invited to speak to a gathering of Legionnaires in California in 1952. At that meeting, he was quoted as saying, "There are a number of people in the movie industry who follow the Communist party line."

The Legion presented a gold medal and a Citation of Merit to J. Edgar Hoover in 1953 in honor of his 30th year as director of the FBI and for his "activities in combatting Communism."

During the Vietnam War, the American Legion was often at the forefront in defending America's involvement in the conflict.

The Legion has always taken a pro-military stance regardless of any official government policy, as it believes the servicemen and women who serve their country, in war or peace, deserve its support.

(Source: The American Legion, <http://www.legion.org>)

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. What groups in American society had the most to gain from using anticommunism as a tool?
2. What contributions did former leftists make to the anticommunist cause?
3. Why did the Communist Party have so many enemies?

Suggested Reading

Heale, M.J. *American Anticommunism: Combating the Enemy Within, 1830-1970*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.

Other Books of Interest

Goldstein, Robert J. *Political Repression in Modern America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002.

Preston, William Jr. *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963, 2d ed. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://newman.baruch.cuny.edu/digital/redscare/> - Pictures from the red scare.
2. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/courses/hist409/red.html> - Overview of the red scare and Palmer raids.

Lecture 4: The Rehearsal for McCarthyism: Anticommunism and Political Repression Before the Cold War

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism* by Richard Gid Powers.

Introduction:

Even before the Cold War, anticommunism was a powerful force within the American political system. Though the intense political repression that characterized the post-World War I red scare abated rather quickly, it never really went away. The labor unrest of the 1930s sparked a spate of anticommunist legislation at every level as well as several state and national investigating committees. The Nazi-Soviet Pact added to the anticommunist furor. By the time World War II broke out, the country was primed for a major red scare that was only averted by America's wartime alliance with the Soviet Union.

Consider this . . .

1. Why was the New Deal administration vulnerable to charges of being soft on Communism?
2. How did international crises affect the level of tolerance toward American Communism?
3. What kinds of precedents for the future McCarthy era political repression were being set during the administration of FDR?

I. In 1940, Morris Schappes, an English professor at the City College of New York (CCNY) went to prison for perjury.

Schappes' offense was lying about the membership of CCNY's Communist Party branch. His case shows that all of the elements we associate with McCarthyism had been developed years before Joe McCarthy appeared.

- A. Schappes' conviction resulted from an investigation by the Rapp-Coudert committee, a New York State legislative committee that was looking into Communism in the New York City colleges.
- B. Over thirty New York City municipal college teachers and administrators lost their jobs as a result of the Rapp-Coudert investigations.
- C. The case shows that a two-stage process of eliminating politically undesirable employees was already in place before Pearl Harbor.

II. The legacy of the earlier post-World War I red scare did not disappear.

Much of its machinery of political repression remained intact and would be resuscitated or copied when anticommunism revived in the 1930s and again in the '40s and '50s.

- A. Many antisubversive measures were on the books at both the state and national levels.
 1. These laws usually contained loyalty oaths and were often applied to teachers.

-
2. Immigrants, who had fewer rights than citizens, were also targeted.
 - B. Investigating committees, which had been active at both the state and national levels during the earlier red scare, continued to examine Communism. In 1930, Republican Congressman Hamilton Fish, a founder of the American Legion, mounted a major investigation.
 1. Among Fish's witnesses were professional anticommunists and conservative labor leaders.
 2. The Fish committee fizzled. Its witnesses seemed disreputable and anticommunism had not yet become a major issue.
- III. **The New Deal administration of Franklin Roosevelt was not particularly concerned about the issue of Communism and therefore treated the subject in a politically expedient manner, taking measures that set precedents and created machinery for the future purges.**
- A. Roosevelt was not a civil libertarian and did not oppose politically repressive measures, especially when pressured by congressional conservatives or motivated by national security concerns.
 - B. Roosevelt expanded the powers of the FBI.
 - C. By the late 1930s, the New Deal administration was on the defensive because of the recession of 1937-8, the failure of FDR's court-packing plan, and his unsuccessful attempt to purge the Democratic Party of its most conservative members.
- IV. **Conservative opponents of the New Deal administration began to accuse it of being soft on Communism.**
- This "Communists-in-government" scenario would become one of McCarthyism's main themes.
- A. Conservatives denounced the administration's support for the CIO, claiming that it revealed Communist influence within the government.
 1. The National Labor Relations Board, which did harbor a few party members, came under attack.
 2. The administration was under pressure to deport Harry Bridges, the Australian-born head of the left-wing Longshoremen's Union.
 - a. Throughout the late 1930s and 1940s, the government repeatedly tried to deport Bridges, but the federal judiciary prevented it every time.
 - b. There was even an attempt to impeach Labor Secretary Frances Perkins for her failure to deport Bridges.
 - B. The House Un-American Activities Committee was established in 1938. Its chair, Texas congressman Martin Dies, searched for Communists in the labor movement and federal government.
- V. **The Nazi-Soviet Pact and the start of World War II in Europe inaugurated a new wave of anticommunist political repression.**
- A. The Roosevelt administration, convinced that Communism had become a matter of national security, began to crack down on Communists.
 1. Administration officials were particularly concerned about Communist-led strikes in defense industries.

2. The government prosecuted the head of the Communist Party for a minor passport violation and sought to deport Harry Bridges (yet again) and other foreign-born leftists.

B. Congress passed several antisubversive measures, including the Smith Act, which made “teaching and advocating” the overthrow of the government a federal crime, and which would be used against the Communist Party during the McCarthy era.

C. Authorities at every level began to prosecute individual Communists.

D. State and local investigating committees, like the Rapp-Coudert committee, were established to look for Communists.

E. Many liberal organizations, some labor unions and the ACLU among them, adopted anticommunist resolutions and even purged individual Communists from their leaderships.

VI. After Hitler invaded the Soviet Union and the United States formally entered World War II, the incipient red scare abated—but not entirely.

A. The United States and the USSR were allies and the American Communist Party became hyperpatriotic.

B. The U.S. military discriminated against party members, while the Dies Committee continued to look for Communists in government.

VII. As often happens during wartime, individual freedoms came under attack.

The measures that were implemented were to set precedents—both juridical and bureaucratic—for the future.

A. The Justice Department prosecuted Trotskyists and Nazis under the Smith Act.

B. The federal internment of Japanese-Americans was justified, by both the Roosevelt administration and the Supreme Court, on national security grounds.

C. The FBI and military intelligence agencies expanded their surveillance of ordinary Americans.

THE SMITH ACT

First proposed by Congressman Howard Smith of Virginia and signed into law by President Franklin Roosevelt, the Alien Registration Act of 1940, commonly known as "The Smith Act," made it a criminal offense to advocate or belong to a group that advocated the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. The act also contained clauses forbidding a person to organize or affiliate with any association that teaches, advises, or encourages such an overthrow. It was the first statute since the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 criminalizing the advocacy of ideas.

In 1948, the Truman administration invoked the law against eleven of the Communist Party's top leaders. In this case, the defendants were charged with conspiring to violate both the advocacy and organizing sections of the Act. The trial took place in New York City over the course of nine months and ended with what many believe were foreordained results. Though the defendants claimed that they were for majority rule and against violence, except as a means of self-defense, all eleven were found guilty. Ten received five years in federal prison and were forced to pay fines of \$10,000. The eleventh defendant, Robert G. Thompson, a World War II veteran who had received the Distinguished Service Cross for bravery, received a slightly shorter sentence of three years.

The Supreme Court later took up the case when the convicted Communists appealed their sentences. In its decision, the Court upheld the convictions by a vote of six to two. Applying a test of clear and present danger, Chief Justice Vinson's majority opinion was that suppression of speech in this case was warranted due to the nature of the evil that would be prevented by doing so. He concluded, "If Government is aware that a group aiming at its overthrow is attempting to indoctrinate its members and to commit them to a course whereby they will strike when the leaders feel the circumstances permit, action by the Government is required."

Justice Frankfurter, concurring, concluded that the threat to national security posed by the Communist conspiracy outweighed considerations of individual liberty. Justices voting with the majority also argued that the Communist Party was subject to extensive governmental regulations because it was an antidemocratic and secret organization, subservient to a foreign power, utilizing speech plus action to achieve its goals.

Of the two dissenting justices, Hugo Black argued that the government indictment of the Communists was unconstitutional and forbidden by the First Amendment as "a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press."

Further indictments of Communist Party members followed in the 1950s. In the end, over 140 Communist Party leaders were indicted. But in 1957, most indictments of Communist Party members ended with the case of *Yates v. United States*, which limited the scope of Smith Act prosecutions. In its six-to-one decision, the Court drew a sharp distinction between the advocacy and teaching of an idea for concrete purposes of forcibly overthrowing the government and the teaching of an idea as an abstract concept. It restricted the application of the Smith Act to instances of active participation in, or verbal encouragement of, specific insurrectionary activities.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. What determined the Roosevelt administration's treatment of the Communist Party?
2. How did FDR's opportunistic response to Communism and civil liberties contribute to the political repression that occurred during his administration?
3. Would there have been a full-fledged red scare if the Soviet Union and the United States had not been allies during World War II?

Suggested Reading

Powers, Richard Gid. *Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism*. New York: Free Press, 1995.

Other Books of Interest

Lichtenstein, Nelson. *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Ogden, August Raymond. *The Dies Committee*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press ed., 1984, orig. ed. 1945.

Sirgiovanni, George. *An Undercurrent of Suspicion*. New Brunswick: Transaction, 1990.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://www.trussel.com/hf/clarkto2.htm> - Text of an article by Morris U. Schappes appearing in the *Daily Worker* of October 13, 1947, entitled "Clarkton Too Hot for Times Critic." The article gives context for witch-hunting during the pre-McCarthy period.
2. <http://tucnak.fsv.cuni.cz/~calda/Documents/1940s/Alien%20Registration%20Act%20of%201940.html> - Text of the "Smith Act," which passed the U.S. Congress as the "Alien Registration Act of 1940."
3. <http://newdeal.feri.org/texts/browse.cfm?MainCatID=365> - The New Deal Network site contains a set of texts about a left-wing student organization.

Lecture 5: The Cold War Comes to Washington: Communism, Anticommunism, and the Truman Administration's Loyalty-Security Program

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *The Federal Loyalty-Security Program* by Eleanor Bontecou.

Introduction:

If any single event precipitated the political purges of the McCarthy era, it was the Truman administration's creation of a loyalty-security program for federal employees. Adopted in 1947 at the very beginning of the Cold War, the program was designed to eliminate Communists from the government. Because the FBI had a hand in constructing the program, many of its provisions had been drawn up to accommodate Bureau practices, not protect federal workers. In this lecture, I will examine the program, assess its implementation, and look at the injustices that it produced.

Consider this . . .

1. Why was the federal government's loyalty-security program created?
2. How did the difficulty of identifying people as Communists affect the design of the loyalty-security program?
3. Why did the program lead to so many abuses? Was it because of the program's design or its implementation?

I. With the advent of the Cold War in the late 1940s, domestic anticommunism moved from the margins to the mainstream of American politics.

- A. Escalating conflicts over the postwar international order transformed America's erstwhile Soviet ally into its main enemy.
- B. Because of its ideological and organizational ties to the Soviet Union, the American Communist Party came to be seen as a threat to the United States. There were three specific dangers:
 1. Communists in sensitive positions could (and, as we shall see later in this course, did) spy for the Russians.
 2. Left-led unions might follow party orders and sabotage defense production through strikes or other measures.
 3. Communists did subscribe to a doctrine that theoretically advocated revolution despite the unlikelihood of success.

II. On March 21, 1947, President Truman issued Executive Order 9835, establishing a wide-ranging loyalty-security program designed to eliminate Communists from federal employment.

- A. Even before it set up the loyalty-security program, the Truman administration had already begun forcing many suspected Communists out of the government.

- B. The administration was responding to a political problem—the possibility that if it did not create such a program, the recently elected Republican-dominated Congress might impose a much more partisan one.
- C. The FBI, which was looking for a new mission in the aftermath of World War II, wanted to investigate government employees.

III. The design of the loyalty-security program reflected FBI concerns about identifying Communists and protecting its own sources of information.

As a result, the program contained enormous potential for abuse.

- A. The program made membership in the Communist Party grounds for dismissal, but the party was a secret organization. As a result, the program relied on other kinds of political tests that might indicate that someone was a Communist.
 - 1. According to Executive Order 9835, a federal employee could be fired for “membership in, affiliation with, or sympathetic association with” one of the party’s so-called “front organizations.”
 - 2. In order to facilitate implementation, the program provided for the Attorney General to create a list of suspect organizations. Soon all kinds of public and private groups were using the Attorney General’s list to screen out political undesirables.
- B. Every federal employee had to be investigated. If a preliminary check of the records revealed any “derogatory information,” the FBI would then run a full field investigation. If it found “reasonable grounds” for suspecting someone’s loyalty, that employee could lose his or her job.
 - 1. Because the Bureau wanted to protect the identity of its undercover informants, federal workers could not confront the people who made charges against them.
 - 2. Many of the charges were frivolous or based on mistaken identities.
 - 3. Though appeal procedures existed, fighting the charges was both costly and degrading, so most federal employees facing loyalty-security proceedings simply resigned.
- C. The criteria for dismissal changed over time.
 - 1. After the Korean War, as the Truman administration came under increasing political pressure, it changed the criteria for dismissal from “reasonable grounds” to “reasonable doubt.”
 - 2. The Eisenhower administration eliminated considerations of loyalty altogether and simply fired people who were suspected of being security risks.
 - 3. Federal employees who had managed to rebut the charges against them sometimes found themselves facing the same charges a few years later. In some particularly sensitive cases, people had to undergo as many as half a dozen hearings.
- D. Until the mid-1950s, the federal judiciary did not place any serious obstacles to this program, even though many judges and Supreme Court justices recognized the injustices that accompanied it.

IV. The implementation of the loyalty-security program was often quite erratic, bearing little relationship to national security and tending to reflect the conservative biases of the security officials who administered it.

- A. Until the Supreme Court stepped in, the loyalty-security program affected all federal workers regardless of their connection to national security.
- B. There was considerable variation in the manner in which different agencies implemented the program. Thus, for example, a higher percentage of postal workers lost their jobs under the program than foreign service officers.
- C. Most of the charges involved some kind of left or liberal political activity, most often in a labor union or civil rights group.

V. The damaging consequences of the loyalty-security program were wide-ranging.

- A. The program was probably unnecessary as most Communists had already left the government and were by the early 1950s also leaving the party.
- B. We do not know how many talented people were dissuaded from public service because of the loyalty-security program. Federal bureaucrats, afraid that they might be accused of disloyalty, tended to play it safe, especially if their jobs were politically sensitive in any way.
- C. As we shall see later, other institutions ranging from school systems to movie studios adopted similar political tests for employment.
- D. Though designed to deflect criticism, the loyalty-security program did not protect the Truman administration from partisan charges that it was soft on Communism. In fact, by drawing attention to the relationship between Communism and national security, it may have fed the growing red scare.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. How did the government's loyalty-security program contribute to the political chill that characterized the McCarthy era?
2. Why did the political tests for employment enshrined in the federal government's loyalty-security program become so influential?
3. Was the loyalty-security program necessary? Could the federal government have found a better way to protect itself?

Suggested Reading

Bontecou, Eleanor. *The Federal Loyalty-Security Program*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1953.

Other Books of Interest

Bernstein, Carl. *Loyalties: A Son's Memoir*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.

Brown, Ralph S., Jr. *Loyalty and Security: Employment Tests in the United States*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.

Website to Visit

<http://www.uhuh.com/laws/donncoll/eo/1947/eo9835.txt> - This site contains the full text of President Truman's Executive Order 9835 signed on March 21, 1947, and a statement he issued on November 14, 1947, explaining the need for the order and the mechanics of its implementation through the Loyalty Review Board, the FBI, and the Civil Service Commission.

Lecture 6: The Orchestra Leader: J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI, and the Machinery of McCarthyism

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* by Richard Gid Powers.

Introduction:

McCarthyism has been misnamed. It should have been called Hooverism; for, if any single individual deserves the credit for masterminding the anticommunist political repression of the 1940s and 1950s, it was J. Edgar Hoover. His FBI, which was very much a reflection of its director, not only developed much of the machinery of McCarthyism, but also operated it. In this lecture, we will look closely at the way in which Hoover and his agents exploited the anticommunist furor to carry out the director's dual agenda of fighting Communism and increasing the power of the FBI.

Consider this . . .

1. How did Hoover's quest for bureaucratic power contribute to the growth of McCarthyism?
2. What was Hoover's political agenda and how did the FBI implement it?
3. Why were so many of the FBI's anticommunist activities unauthorized?

I. Hoover and the FBI: An Overview of the Bureau's Culture and Its Director

- A. Hoover dominated the FBI from his appointment as its director in 1924 until his death in 1972.
 1. Hoover's private life was unconventional. He never married and lived with his mother until he was in his forties.
 2. Hoover imposed a rigidly conformist culture on his Bureau's agents.
- B. A brilliant bureaucratic politician, Hoover dedicated himself to enhancing his agency's reputation and power.
 1. Hoover worked at cultivating good relations with powerful people who could help him and the FBI. He did this by proffering personal assistance and information, or through blackmail.
 2. From the 1930s on, Hoover emphasized public relations. He and his lieutenants worked with journalists, film studios, and others to burnish the image of his agency and its men.
 3. Hoover tried to court liberals as well as conservatives, insisting (speciously) that the FBI cared about people's rights.
 4. Hoover obsessed constantly about anything that might harm the Bureau's reputation, punishing his critics and covering up his subordinates' dirty tricks.
 5. Hoover was equally adamant about ensuring that other agencies, like the CIA, did not infringe upon his turf.

C. Anticommunism was central to the FBI's mission from the start.

1. Hoover's activities in planning the Palmer raids after World War I fed into his lifetime obsession with Communists.
2. Even before the Cold War, Hoover collected material about American Communism for his files and kept individual members of the party under surveillance though he had no authority to do so.
3. Once the Cold War began, the FBI mounted a conscious campaign to "educate" the American public about the dangers of domestic Communism.
 - a. Because Hoover hoped that a criminal prosecution of the Communist Party would reveal its subversive nature, he ordered his men to construct a case against the party's top leaders.
 - b. Hoover used the Bureau's public relations department as well as his network of friendly journalists and politicians to publicize his essentially ideological interpretation of the threat of Communism.

II. Much of what the FBI did during the McCarthy period supported its primary functions of obtaining evidence for Justice Department prosecutors and running security checks.

- A. Though Hoover's agents engaged in many unauthorized activities, most of their work was completely legal.
- B. Restrictions on the kinds of evidence that could be produced in court limited the Bureau's investigations and, in many instances, tempted it to operate illegally.
- C. During the McCarthy era, Hoover tried to expand the FBI's jurisdiction.
 1. As we noted in Lecture 5, the FBI designed and then ran the Truman administration's loyalty-security program.
 2. The Bureau wanted—and, in 1950, got—Congress to authorize a program for the emergency detention of potential subversives that would legitimize the Bureau's until then unauthorized surveillance of thousands of American citizens.
 - a. Hoover had been spying illegally on these people anyhow.
 - b. By the early '60s, the Bureau had collected information on more than 400,000 individuals and organizations.

III. The FBI collaborated with other government agencies, as well as with state and local authorities, private employers, and others.

- A. A good example of that collaboration was the "Responsibilities Program" under which the FBI secretly notified governors or other high-ranking state and local officials of alleged Communists in their employ.
- B. Especially after Hoover became disillusioned with what he felt was the Truman administration's reluctance to fire subversive employees, the FBI leaked sensitive material to congressional investigators.
- C. The Bureau leaked similar material to friendly journalists.
- D. Because these leaks were unauthorized, Hoover was adamant about insisting that the recipients conceal the source. He invariably excommuni-

cated anyone who revealed that he or she had gotten information from the Bureau.

IV. Secrecy was central to the FBI's operations. Hoover and his men were so concerned about maintaining the Bureau's image as a thoroughly professional organization that they devoted enormous resources to concealing their activities.

- A. Often Hoover did not inform his superiors in the Justice Department about what the Bureau was doing.
- B. The FBI conducted many secret and illegal activities, including break-ins, unauthorized wiretaps, and searches through people's trash looking for evidence.
- C. The Bureau recruited hundreds of secret informants, some of whom surfaced during the political trials and committee hearings of the 1940s and '50s.
- D. Hoover was adamant about preserving the "sanctity" of his Bureau's files. He claimed that this was because he wanted to protect the civil rights of the individuals in them, but in reality it was to conceal his agents' dirty tricks. On occasion, he even doctored the files.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE FBI

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is the government agency responsible for investigating many types of violations of federal law, most of which are criminal in nature or related to counterintelligence. The agency reports its findings to the Attorney General and other attorneys for decisions on prosecution.

Prior to the founding of the FBI in 1908, the Justice Department had no organized force of investigators. It relied on private detectives as well as those hired from the Secret Service. President Theodore Roosevelt, a Progressive and an idealist, believed that in being responsive to the nation's needs, the federal government must intervene when necessary to produce justice. Under his administration, older federal laws were more vigorously applied and many new ones were created. His desire to establish the FBI was initially highly controversial because throughout the 1800s, cities, states, and local jurisdictions had fulfilled most governmental responsibilities. In time, however, advances in transportation and communication gradually reinforced the need for a bureau responsible for investigating federal crimes.

In the Bureau's early years, there were relatively few federal crimes. The FBI investigated violations of law related to banking, naturalization, antitrust, and land fraud. In later decades, under Director J. Edgar Hoover, the Bureau broadened its mission and began collecting evidence about the movements and actions of Soviet spies as well as civil rights and anti-Vietnam activists. In the 1980s, the Bureau investigated many crimes related to the illegal drug trade and received concurrent jurisdiction with the Drug Enforcement Administration over narcotics violations. In the 1980s and 1990s, international crime posed additional challenges for the agency and recently, it has focused its resources on investigating terrorism, including cyber terrorism.

V. Because Hoover believed that the Communist Party and everything and everyone associated with it was illegitimate, all the Bureau's activities in the field of countersubversion were designed to destroy its influence and punish its members.

- A. The FBI wanted the Justice Department to put Communists on trial as a way to delegitimize their activities.
- B. By the late 1950s, after the federal judiciary began reversing the convictions of political defendants, the FBI developed the secret COINTELPRO program of dirty tricks to harass and discredit Communists. Later on, that program expanded to include a wide variety of dissidents.
- C. Even after the McCarthy era petered out, Hoover remained obsessed with Communism.

J. EDGAR HOOVER

Born on New Year's Day, 1895, in Washington, D.C., J. Edgar Hoover was the youngest son of Dickerson Naylor Hoover, who worked for the Coast Guard and Geodetic Survey, and Annie Marie Scheitlin Hoover, daughter of Swiss mercenaries and niece of the Swiss honorary consul general to the United States. In high school, the young Hoover excelled in many subjects and became captain of his cadet corps. He then studied law in a work-study program for government employees at George Washington University while working at the Library of Congress.

In 1917, when other young men his age were enlisting for World War I, Hoover took a job as a clerk in the files division of the Justice Department to provide financial support for his ailing parents. A confident, reliable, and meticulous worker, Hoover was promoted repeatedly while working in the Alien Enemy Bureau. It was in this bureau that he first observed raids and roundups of various supposed radical groups, including members of the International Workers of the World.

In 1919, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer launched an attack on American radicals after his house was bombed; he put his special assistant, J. Edgar Hoover, in charge of the effort. Hoover soon established a filing system on left-wing radicals, thoroughly researched Communist movements, and became an expert in anti-communism. In 1921, he became assistant Chief of the Bureau of Investigation and was made Director under the Coolidge Administration in 1924.

From 1924 until his death in 1972, Hoover focused his efforts on making the Bureau of Investigation a model of efficiency and organization. He compiled the world's largest fingerprint collection, built a crime laboratory, and established a training school for police. His penchant for creating files on individuals and groups gave him enormous power and he became increasingly controversial after World War II when he focused on the threat of Communist subversion. After his death, reforms were made to prevent abuses of power stemming from the collection of information on individuals. His writings include *Persons in Hiding* (1938), *Masters of Deceit* (1958), and *A Study of Communism* (1962).

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. Why was the FBI so central to the operations of the anticommunist network?
2. Why was there so little resistance to the FBI's violations of individual rights?
3. Would it be possible for today's FBI or a similar agency to disregard people's rights in the same way as it did in the McCarthy era?

Suggested Reading

Powers, Richard Gid. *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover*. New York: Free Press, 1987.

Other Books of Interest

Diamond, Sigmund. *Compromised Campus: The Collaboration of Universities with the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Gentry, Curt. *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1991.

Hoover, J. Edgar. *Masters of Deceit*. New York: Holt, 1958, Cardinal paperback ed., 1961.

Keller, William W. *The Liberals and J. Edgar Hoover: Rise and Fall of a Domestic Intelligence State*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989.

O'Reilly, Kenneth. *Hoover and the Un-Americans: The FBI, HUAC, and the Red Menace*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983.

Theoharis, Athan, and John Stuart Cox. *The Boss: J. Edgar Hoover and the Great American Inquisition*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Theoharis, Athan, ed. *From the Secret Files of J. Edgar Hoover*. Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1991.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://www.fbi.gov/room> - Official site of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and FBI files.
2. <http://foia.fbi.gov/hover.htm> - Official personnel file of J. Edgar Hoover, from May 10, 1924, until his death on May 2, 1972; 1,662 pages, 10 parts. (Made available by the Freedom of Information Act.)

Lecture 7: Soviet Espionage and Internal Security: The Big Spy Cases and Their Political Impact

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era* by Allen Weinstein and Alexander Vassiliev.

Introduction:

In the fall of 1945, a Vassar graduate named Elizabeth Bentley contacted the FBI and began to spill a story about her undercover work with a Soviet spy ring in Washington, D.C. Though the members of that ring were never charged with espionage, their activities and those of people like Julius Rosenberg, Klaus Fuchs, and Alger Hiss got wide publicity, convincing many Americans that Communism did indeed threaten the United States. These revelations lent support to the Republicans' partisan charges that the Roosevelt and Truman administrations had been lax in weeding out traitors. Recently released KGB telegrams—the so-called VENONA files—have confirmed the allegations of espionage, revealing that at least a hundred Americans were involved with Soviet intelligence during the Second World War.

Consider this . . .

1. Why did members of the Communist Party spy for the Soviet Union?
2. What kind of a threat did Soviet espionage pose to the United States?
3. How did the allegations of espionage and the big spy trials of the late 1940s and 1950s contribute to the growth of McCarthyism?

I. As many as one hundred men and women in or near the Communist Party spied for the Soviet Union in the late 1930s and 1940s.

- A. The highly publicized trials of people like Alger Hiss and Julius Rosenberg reinforced the contention that Communism threatened American security.
- B. The recent declassification of the VENONA telegrams revealed the extent of the espionage, convincing even the most skeptical historians that most of the charges made during the McCarthy period were true.
 1. Not only did VENONA corroborate the testimony of Cold War witnesses whose stories of Soviet espionage had not always been believed, but these documents also revealed the existence of many heretofore unknown Russian agents.
 2. VENONA also showed that the Communist Party was directly involved in recruiting and vetting those agents.

II. Elizabeth Bentley: The defection of Elizabeth Bentley in the fall of 1945 alerted the FBI to Soviet espionage within the federal government.

- A. Bentley described her activities as a courier for a group of federal employees.

-
- B. She named nearly one hundred people, most in the Treasury Department or such wartime agencies as the Office of Strategic Services, the precursor of the CIA.
 - 1. Among the people she fingered were Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Harry Dexter White and Lauchlin Currie, an aide to President Roosevelt.
 - 2. Bentley's most important agents, such as Gregory Silvermaster, supplied political, economic, and military information.
 - C. The FBI questioned these people and put them under surveillance. Though the Bureau found circumstantial evidence that substantiated Bentley's story, it did not catch anyone in the act.
 - D. The Justice Department followed up on the case by calling most of Bentley's people before a grand jury in New York City. But because it had no evidence and none of these people confessed, it was unable to indict them for espionage.
 - E. Bentley's story became public in 1948 when HUAC and another congressional investigating committee questioned her and some of the people she had named.
 - 1. It is likely that Hoover, upset about the Justice Department's unsuccessful attempt to prosecute, informed these committees about the case.
 - 2. Most of the people Bentley named took the Fifth Amendment and refused to answer the committee's questions about whether they were in the Communist Party.

III. Alger Hiss: The Hiss Case hit the headlines when HUAC, anxious to corroborate Bentley's testimony, questioned Whittaker Chambers about his activities in the Soviet underground.

- A. Chambers stated that former State Department employee Alger Hiss had been a Communist.
- B. Chambers had been making these allegations since 1939, but the government had not acted on them and Hiss remained in the State Department until the end of 1947.
- C. The FBI fed information about Hiss to HUAC member Congressman Richard Nixon.
- D. Hiss denied even knowing Chambers until Nixon brought the two together and forced a confrontation. Hiss then sued Chambers for slander.
- E. At that point, Chambers accused Hiss of espionage and produced copies of documents he claimed Hiss had given him.
- F. The Department of Justice then indicted Hiss—but for lying not spying, because the statute of limitations for espionage had run out. After two trials, Hiss was convicted and sent to Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary in the beginning of 1950.
- G. Because Hiss had probably been working with the Soviet military intelligence agency instead of the KGB, there are only passing references to him in the VENONA documents.

IV. The Atomic Spies: Several scientists involved with the Manhattan Project transmitted information about the atomic bomb to the Soviet Union.

- A. Klaus Fuchs, a German refugee who was part of the British contingent at Los Alamos, gave the KGB the information that helped Soviet scientists produce a copy of the American bomb.
 - 1. Fuchs was a Communist whose motives for espionage were ideological.
 - 2. Fuchs' courier, Harry Gold, a Philadelphia chemist, met with him several times in Santa Fe and New York City.
 - 3. After the war, Fuchs returned to England, where he worked on that country's nuclear weapons project while continuing to give information to the Soviet Union.
 - 4. In the fall of 1949, at about the same time as the Soviet Union detonated its first nuclear device, the VENONA decrypts revealed Fuchs' espionage.
 - 5. Arrested at the end of 1949, Fuchs confessed and was sentenced to fourteen years in prison.
- B. Theodore Hall, another Los Alamos physicist, also gave information to the KGB.
 - 1. Involved with Communism while an undergraduate, Hall approached the Soviet Union about sharing information when he joined the Manhattan Project.
 - 2. Hall's college roommate served as his courier.
 - 3. Although the FBI knew about Hall's activities because of VENONA, Hall never confessed and was never prosecuted. His espionage activities have only come to light as a result of the declassification of the VENONA documents.

V. The Rosenberg Case: Although Fuchs and Hall supplied crucial information to the Soviet Union, the arrest and execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg received the most attention.

- A. Rosenberg's link to atomic espionage was through his brother-in-law David Greenglass.
 - 1. Greenglass was a mechanic at Los Alamos who supplied technical information to the KGB by way of Harry Gold, Fuchs' courier.
 - 2. When the FBI arrested Greenglass, he claimed that Rosenberg had recruited him.
- B. Rosenberg had been working with the KGB during World War II and had organized a group of left-wing engineers who were providing the Soviets with military and industrial intelligence.
- C. Though the VENONA decrypts alerted U.S. counterintelligence to Rosenberg's activities, they could not be used in court. Thus, the FBI could not prosecute the other members of Rosenberg's spy ring if he did not name them.

D. In order to force Rosenberg to confess, the government arrested his wife, Ethel, and continued to put pressure on him by imposing the death sentence on the couple. Since Rosenberg refused to confess, both he and his wife were executed in 1953.

VI. VENONA led the government to other espionage agents, but because the documents were so highly classified, the full extent of the KGB's penetration was not known at the time.

A. In the beginning of 1949, the FBI arrested Justice Department employee Judith Coplon just as she was about to hand over a batch of government documents to a Russian engineer.

1. VENONA had alerted the FBI to Coplon.
2. The documents in Coplon's possession did not seriously compromise American security. But, because they showed that the FBI was investigating the actor Frederick March, among others, they greatly embarrassed the Bureau.
3. Because the FBI wiretapped Coplon's attorney, her conviction was thrown out on appeal.

B. There were also Soviet agents within the British government.

1. These agents, Kim Philby, Donald Maclean, Guy Burgess, and others, were recruited during the 1930s.
2. They transmitted fairly high-level political and intelligence information before their identities became known and they fled to the USSR.

C. Though the Russians knew about VENONA, it was considered too sensitive to be revealed until 1995.

1. Even President Truman never knew about the project.
2. A Soviet agent worked on the project.

VII. What kind of damage did the KGB's espionage do?

A. Most of the spying took place during World War II when the United States and the USSR were allies.

B. Most of the men and women who became involved with the KGB did so out of idealism.

C. The information provided by the Manhattan Project spies probably speeded up the Soviet Union's acquisition of the bomb by a year or two.

D. With the exception of the technical information transmitted by Rosenberg's operatives, most of the material passed on to the KGB seems to have been political and economic information.

E. Most of the Soviet agents lost their government jobs after the war.

ETHEL & JULIUS ROSENBERG

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, a young couple from New York City with two children, were the first American civilians ever executed for espionage. Julius Rosenberg was the son of a Polish garment worker. Described as a quiet and serious youth, he demonstrated an early interest in politics and at age sixteen became a doctrinaire member of New York City College's Young Communist League. He met Ethel at a union fund-raising party. In 1939, when Julius graduated with a degree in engineering, the couple married, and in 1940, Julius went to work for the U.S. Army Signal Corps as a civilian employee, where he stayed until 1945.

In February 1950, a British physicist named Klaus Fuchs was arrested and confessed to sharing information about the Manhattan Project—the top-secret project to develop an atomic bomb—with the Soviets. The FBI then identified a Philadelphia chemist named Harry Gold as Fuchs' courier; this connection later proved critical in the case against the Rosenbergs. At the same time as Fuchs' arrest revealed that the Soviet Union had stolen the secrets of the atomic bomb, Senator Joseph McCarthy was making allegations that the State Department employed Communist agents. Ultimately, the FBI's investigations led to the arrest of the Rosenbergs. In 1951, the government indicted them for conspiracy to transmit classified information to the Soviets and charged that in 1944 and 1945, the couple had persuaded Ethel's brother, David Greenglass, to provide them and a third person, Harry Gold, with the top secret information on nuclear weapons. David Greenglass had been stationed at the Los Alamos atomic bomb project during the time in question and had been in contact with Fuchs' courier Gold.

In the trial, the chief evidence used to convict the Rosenbergs came from Ethel's brother, David Greenglass, and his wife, Ruth. Greenglass reported that Julius Rosenberg had spoken of espionage to him in 1943. In that same year, according to Greenglass, the Rosenbergs stopped participating in Communist Party activities, though they had once been heavily involved. Greenglass suggested that the couple left the party to become spies for the Soviets. The Rosenbergs asserted that they had simply wanted more time with their first child, who was born earlier that year.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were found guilty of espionage and received the death penalty by the electric chair on June 18, 1953, despite many court appeals, requests for executive clemency, and a campaign to save them supported by many liberals and religious leaders. Harry Gold and a codefendant, Morton Sobell, received a thirty-year prison sentence. David Greenglass was later sentenced to fifteen years in prison.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. What, if anything, could have prevented the espionage that occurred?
2. Why do historians consider the period of World War II the "Golden Age" of Soviet espionage?
3. How do the VENONA decrypts transform our understanding of the nature of Soviet espionage in the United States?

Suggested Reading

Weinstein, Allen and Alexander Vassiliev. *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era*. New York: Random House, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

Albright, Joseph and Marcia Kunstel. *Bombshell: The Secret Story of America's Unknown Atomic Spy Conspiracy*. New York: Times Books, 1997.

Haynes, John Earl and Harvey Klehr. *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Olmsted, Kathryn S. *The Red Spy Queen: A Biography of Elizabeth Bentley*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Radosh, Ronald, and Joyce Milton. *The Rosenberg File: The Search for the Truth*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1983.

Weinstein, Allen. *Perjury: The Hiss-Chambers Case*. New York: Knopf, 1978, 2nd ed., 1997.

Williams, Robert Chadwell. *Klaus Fuchs, Atom Spy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987.

Websites to Visit

1. www.nsa.gov - The VENONA files are available on the world wide web at the National Security Agency's website.
2. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/venona/dece_bentley.html - PBS site with a short biography of Elizabeth Bentley and links to other pages of the major spy cases in U.S. history.
3. <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/rosenb/ROSENB.HTM> - Rosenberg trial page.
4. <http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/hiss/hiss.html/> - Hiss trial page.
5. <http://www.homepage.nyu.edu/~th15/> - Alger Hiss home page.

Lecture 8: The Committees and Their Witnesses: “Are You Now or Have You Ever Been . . . ?”

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities* by Walter Goodman.

Introduction:

HUAC and the other investigating committees were the quintessential instruments of McCarthyism—exposing, publicizing, and punishing suspected Communists and other dissidents. For the hundreds of screenwriters, union organizers, party leaders, and ordinary housewives hauled before one or another of these investigating bodies, their hearings opened wounds that in many cases have yet to heal. This lecture will examine how the committees operated and what their impact was.

Consider this . . .

1. What role did the committees play within the anticommunist crusade?
2. Why were the committees so powerful?
3. What options did witnesses have?

I. Barrows Dunham takes the Fifth: An unfriendly witness confronts HUAC.

- A. At his hearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee in February 1953, Dunham refused to answer questions about everything but his name and address.
 1. He was indicted for contempt of Congress, but ultimately won his case.
 2. He lost his job as a philosophy professor at Temple University.
- B. Dunham's experience was typical of those of the men and women called before the McCarthy era congressional investigating committees.

II. Congressional committees spearheaded the anticommunist crusade of the late 1940s and 1950s.

- A. Three committees handled most of the investigations. Staff served as key members of the anticommunist network.
 1. HUAC, established in 1938, was the oldest and most influential of the congressional investigating committees. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, under Texas Democrat Martin Dies, it attacked the Roosevelt administration. By the late 1940s, the Hollywood hearings and the Hiss case made HUAC powerful.
 2. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee (SISS) was established in 1951 to oversee the operations of the Internal Security Act.
 - a. Nevada Democrat Pat McCarran chaired the committee.
 - b. The SISS enjoyed a reputation for being more responsible than the other investigating committees.

3. In 1953, Joseph McCarthy became chair of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate's Government Operations Committee.
- B. There were anticommunist investigations at all levels of government.
 1. Other congressional committees sometimes conducted anticommunist probes.
 2. State and local governments also mounted investigations.
 - a. Several states, among them California and Ohio, set up permanent investigating committees modeled on HUAC.
 - b. Ambitious state and local politicians often ran their own investigations.
- C. All the committees had similar political agendas.
 1. Top priority went to investigating Communists in government, not only because the issue attracted attention, but also because it damaged the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.
 2. The Communist Party's front groups and left-wing unions were repeatedly targeted.
 3. Committees also mounted special investigations such as the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's hearings on the "loss of China."
 4. Committee hearings provided opportunities for exposing and punishing people who were otherwise immune to prosecution.
 5. Hearings were often designed to further the political fortunes of committee members.
 - a. The activities of Richard Nixon and Joe McCarthy showed how anticommunist investigations could make someone's career.

THE SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee was yet another key congressional committee on the hunt for Communists during the McCarthy era. Chaired first by Senator Pat McCarran (D-NV), it was formed by the Internal Security Act of 1950, more commonly known as the McCarran Act. The Act required American Communist Party members to register with the Attorney General and made it possible to exclude or deport Communists and members of other organizations considered to be dangerous to public safety. Passage of the act was controversial; President Truman vetoed it, claiming it would weaken internal security measures and mock the Bill of Rights. His veto was overridden by an 89 percent majority vote.

McCarran's subcommittee worked closely with the FBI to conduct its investigations. In the 1950s, it held hearings on the formulation of U.S. policy in the Far East, Soviet activities in the United States, and alleged subversion within the U.S. government, among other issues. In the 1960s, the investigations included civil rights and racial issues, campus disorders, and drug trafficking. Before the subcommittee was abolished in 1977, it produced over 400 volumes of hearings and many reports.

- b. Committees tried to call witnesses who would attract publicity.
- c. During election years, committee members often held hearings in their home states or districts.

III. How did the committees operate?

A. Selecting witnesses involved several steps.

1. Committees and their staffs worked closely with other members of the anticommunist network to identify potential witnesses and assemble evidence against them.
 - a. The FBI supplied information to many committees.
 - b. Though the committees sometimes made mistakes, most of the people they subpoenaed were or had been in or near the Communist Party.
 - c. The committees relied heavily on professional witnesses.
2. Committees had to determine if a witness would cooperate. The test was naming names.
3. Executive sessions were held before public ones. Cooperative or embarrassing witnesses did not always appear in public.

B. The committees could often compel witnesses to testify.

1. Witnesses who did not cooperate with the committees could be cited for contempt of Congress and go to prison.
 - a. An important test case that allowed the committees to question witnesses about their political affiliations was that of the "Hollywood Ten," who, in 1947, refused to answer HUAC's questions on First Amendment grounds.
 - b. The Supreme Court refused to hear the Ten's appeal of their conviction, thus upholding a lower court's ruling in favor of the committee.
2. The only legal way a witness could avoid cooperation was to rely on the Fifth Amendment's provisions against self-incrimination.
 - a. Though reluctant to intervene in anticommunist cases, the Supreme Court did allow witnesses to use the Fifth Amendment.
 - b. According to the Court's "waiver doctrine," however, once witnesses testified about themselves, they had waived the Fifth Amendment's protection and had to answer questions about other people.
 - c. The committees took advantage of the "waiver doctrine" to force people to take the Fifth who might otherwise have been willing to talk about themselves but not about others.
3. Unfriendly witnesses who took the Fifth, though legally immune from contempt charges, usually lost their jobs or were punished in other ways.

IV. The committee's witnesses confronted an agonizing moral dilemma, because most did not want to become informers.

- A. Some people cooperated with the committees and named names.
 - 1. Some of these witnesses were genuinely anticommunist.
 - 2. Fear of blacklisting induced most friendly witnesses to cooperate.
 - 3. Because the committees seemed to know the names already, cooperative witnesses claimed that they were not harming anyone.
 - 4. Since friendly witnesses did not always appear in public, we do not know how many there were.
- B. People who did not want to cooperate with the committees had only a few choices—none of them good.
 - 1. The Communist Party expected its members to take the Fifth Amendment.
 - 2. Like playwright Lillian Hellman, many had left the party and were willing to admit it, but did not want to name names. The committees did not waive the “waiver doctrine.”
 - 3. Some defied the “waiver doctrine,” talked about themselves, but not about others, and escaped prison.
 - 4. Most took the Fifth, often seeing it as a form of political opposition to the committees.
 - 5. A few decided to test the First Amendment, risking contempt charges and a prison term.

**LILLIAN HELLMAN
(1905-1984)**

Lillian Hellman appeared before the HUAC in 1952, having received a subpoena to appear during the investigation of links between Hollywood and Communist organizations. The award-winning playwright asked the committee to allow her to testify about herself, but not about others. When the committee refused, she released the following statement to the press:

“To hurt innocent people whom I knew many years ago in order to save myself is, to me, inhuman and indecent and dishonorable. I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year’s fashions, even though I long ago came to the conclusion that I was not a political person and could have no comfortable place in any political group.”

Hellman’s professional career in Hollywood suffered greatly, as few producers would risk being involved with a blacklisted writer. Her partner, writer Dashiell Hammett, was later sentenced to six months in jail for contempt of court.

Hellman moved to New York where her hit play, *The Children’s Hour*, was revived. This helped her financially, but she never forgot the tribulations she had been forced to suffer.

(Source: Moonstruck Drama Bookstore @ www.imagi-nation.com)

C. Almost every unfriendly witness lost his or her job.

1. The committees claimed that taking the Fifth was the equivalent of confessing to party membership.
2. Blacklists occurred in many fields, as Barrows Dunham found out when he tried to get another academic job after Temple fired him.
3. In some cases, simply being subpoenaed by a committee could result in unemployment.

V. As McCarthyism waned, the committees lost their clout.

- A. Though the committees continued to call up witnesses, the 1954 censure of Joe McCarthy marked a symbolic end to their command over American politics.
- B. By the mid-1950s, the committees had run out of attention-grabbing witnesses.
- C. The Supreme Court finally began to restrict the committees' investigations.
- D. By the 1960s, some witnesses were ridiculing HUAC hearings.

VI. What was the committees' impact on American politics?

- A. The committees gave enormous publicity to the anticommunist network's main charges.
- B. By exposing and punishing the nation's most important radical activists, the committees seriously damaged the American left and chilled political debate.
- C. The committees wreaked considerable suffering on individual witnesses—both friendly and unfriendly.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. Why was exposure before a committee such a devastating experience?
2. What was the significance of the “waiver doctrine”? How did that affect the testimony witnesses gave?
3. How could the power of the committees have been restricted?

Suggested Reading

Goodman, Walter. *The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1968.

Other Books of Interest

Bentley, Eric. *Thirty Years of Treason: Excerpts from Hearings Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938-1968*. New York: Viking, 1971.

Carr, Robert K. *The House Committee on Un-American Activities*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952.

Hellman, Lillian. *Scoundrel Time*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1976.

Navasky, Victor S. *Naming Names*. New York: Viking, 1980.

Taylor, Telford. *Grand Inquisition: The Story of Congressional Investigations*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955.

Websites to Visit

1. http://en2.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_Un-American_Activities_Committee - Wikipedia page on HUAC with links to relevant events and personalities involved in HUAC's investigations.
2. <http://www.english.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/mccarran-act-intro.html> - Short page on the “McCarran Act” or “Internal Security Act of 1950.”

Lecture 9: Joe McCarthy and the Loss of China: Anticommunism as Partisan Politics

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate* by Robert Griffith.

Introduction:

For years, Republican politicians had been charging that the Democrats were soft on Communism. By 1950, when Joe McCarthy burst onto the scene, the Republicans had zeroed in on espionage and on the claim that Communists within the State Department had betrayed China to the Reds. McCarthy's antics, though crude and irresponsible, echoed these charges, thus proving useful to the Republicans—until they took over the White House.

Consider this . . .

1. How did anticommunism become a partisan issue?
2. What role did the loss of China play in the Republicans' campaign against the Truman administration?
3. What made Senator McCarthy so influential?

I. Anticommunism became a major partisan issue in the late 1940s.

- A. Conservatives from both parties had been red-baiting the New Deal since the late 1930s.
- B. After their unexpected electoral defeat in 1948, the Republicans stepped up their attacks on the Truman administration's alleged softness on Communism.
 1. Because they subscribed to bipartisanship with regard to the Cold War, most Republican politicians could not criticize Truman's foreign policy.
 2. Elizabeth Bentley's charges and the Hiss case gave substance to the volatile issue of Communists in government.
- C. Republican leaders transformed the Chinese Revolution into a partisan issue by charging that Communists in the State Department had somehow lost China.
 1. Republicans and a few conservative Democrats had long been strong supporters of the Chinese Nationalist regime of Chiang K'ai-shek.
 2. The Communist victory in China, coming at the same time as the detonation of the Soviet atomic bomb, made it appear as if the United States was losing the Cold War and provided an opening for partisan accusations.
 3. Chiang's supporters developed a scenario that traced Communist influence from an Asian-oriented think tank called the Institute of Pacific Relations to the State Department, where foreign service officers who had been critical of Chiang K'ai-shek came under fire.

II. In February 1950, Joseph McCarthy grabbed the headlines by charging that he had a list of Communists in the government.

- A. Though he was eventually marginalized, McCarthy began his national career as a regular conservative Republican, albeit a slightly disreputable one.
- B. While other people had been making vague statements about treason in high places, McCarthy's innovation was to produce lists, name names, and make specific charges—even if they were wrong.
- C. The Democrats responded immediately by appointing a special subcommittee under Maryland Senator Millard Tydings to investigate McCarthy's charges.
 - 1. The move backfired because it gave McCarthy the publicity he craved.
 - 2. McCarthy recycled many of the standard charges about the so-called "loss of China." His main target was Owen Lattimore, an East Asian specialist at the Johns Hopkins University.
 - 3. At first it was unclear how influential McCarthy would become, but he got considerable support from the leaders of the Republican party as well as from the anticommunist network.
- D. The outbreak of the Korean War just as the Tydings Committee was about to render its report gave credibility to McCarthy's charges.

III. McCarthy's outrageous behavior made him notorious, but there was nothing unique about the content of his allegations.

- A. The anticommunist network collaborated closely with McCarthy.
 - 1. Chiang K'ai-shek's supporters, the so-called "China lobby," rallied to McCarthy's cause and supplied him with material.
 - 2. Until McCarthy went out of control, J. Edgar Hoover fed him information and helped him in other ways.
- B. McCarthy gained so much attention at least in part because of his mastery of the media.
 - 1. He sought publicity by emphasizing the news value of his charges.
 - 2. He understood how reporters needed to meet deadlines and scheduled his revelations accordingly.
 - 3. Though he could be brutal to witnesses who appeared before him, McCarthy had considerable charm outside the committee room.
- C. McCarthy's charges often showed a blatant disregard for the truth.
- D. Reviled in some quarters, McCarthy was beloved in others. He was especially popular among Irish Catholics.

SENATOR JOSEPH R. McCARTHY

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was born in 1908 on a farm near Appleton, Wisconsin. He received his early education at a one-room schoolhouse, and started his own chicken business as a teenager. When the business was wiped out by disease, he became a grocery store clerk and attended high school, finishing the four-year curriculum in just nine months. In the fall of 1930, he entered Marquette University in Milwaukee. He received his law degree in 1935 and opened a practice in Waupaca, Wisconsin. He later joined another firm and became a partner in 1937.

Though he failed in his first attempt at public office, running as a Democrat for District Attorney in 1936, he tried again in 1939 for the nonpartisan post of circuit judge. At age thirty, he became the youngest circuit judge ever elected in Wisconsin. Recognized as hardworking and fair, McCarthy was nevertheless rebuked by the state supreme court for abusing judicial authority by destroying court records. He was also later censured for violating an ethical code prohibiting sitting judges from running for nonjudicial posts.

In 1942, McCarthy took a leave of absence and served in the Pacific theater as a first lieutenant in the Marine Corps. He participated in a few combat bombing missions.

In 1946, McCarthy waged the toughest campaign of his career against Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., and won the Republican nomination for the seat. LaFollette had served in the U.S. Senate for twenty-one years, but had lost support when he rejoined the Republican Party after spending a few years in the Progressive Party. After winning the primary by a small margin, McCarthy won the general election easily and became the youngest member of the new Senate.

Early in his Senate career, McCarthy was relatively unknown. Then, in 1950, in a speech before a Republican women's group in Wheeling, West Virginia, he charged that the State Department had been infiltrated by 205 Communists. This began McCarthy's crusade against Communism. The Senate appointed a committee to open hearings on the matter. A report of the committee's findings, however, stated that McCarthy's charges were unfounded. Undaunted, McCarthy continued to make accusations of Communist infiltration of the U.S. government without providing evidence of his claims.

A Senate panel investigated McCarthy in 1952 and issued the "Hennings Report," which uncovered unethical behavior in McCarthy's campaigns and tax returns, but yielded no grounds for legal action. In 1953, following his reelection in 1952, he became Chairman of the Committee on Government Operations and its Subcommittee on Investigations and began holding hearings. His investigations lasted until the Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954, when he lost his credibility.

Later that year, the Senate censured McCarthy, calling his behavior as committee chairman, "inexcusable," "reprehensible," and "vulgar and insulting." By a vote of 67 to 22, he was condemned for abusing his power.

McCarthy was always a heavy drinker and plagued by poor health. His drinking escalated following his censure by the Senate and eventually led to liver ailments. He was hospitalized in April 1957 and died of acute hepatitis on May 2. He was survived by his wife, Jean, and their daughter, Tierney Elizabeth, whom they had adopted in January 1957.

IV. McCarthy's insistence that the government still harbored Communist sympathizers even after the Republicans took over in 1953 ultimately led to his downfall.

- A. McCarthy became chair of his own investigating committee in 1953.
 - 1. He criticized the Eisenhower administration, focusing especially on diplomatic appointees and agencies like the Voice of America.
 - 2. The committee's staff became controversial, especially after a highly publicized European junket by its chief counsel, Roy Cohn, and an aide, David Schine.
- B. An investigation of alleged Communists within the military led to a major confrontation with the Army.
 - 1. The Eisenhower administration, which had previously remained aloof from McCarthy, turned against him.
 - 2. The Senate held a set of hearings into charges that McCarthy and Cohn had pressured the Army into granting special treatment to Schine.
 - 3. The televised hearings highlighted McCarthy's bullying tactics and undermined his popularity.
- C. A few months after the hearings, the Senate voted to censure McCarthy for his abusive behavior.
- D. McCarthy's censure, followed by his political marginalization and death from alcoholism soon after, marked a diminution in the ferocity of the anticommunist furor.

V. What was McCarthy's impact?

- A. His allegations brought increased attention to the charges that many Republican politicians had already been making.
 - 1. In 1952-53, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee under Nevada Senator Pat McCarran followed up on McCarthy's early accusations by investigating the Institute of Pacific Relations and the loss of China.
 - 2. The McCarran committee hearings led to the politically inspired indictment of Owen Lattimore.
- B. As we shall see, the repercussions of McCarthy's attacks on the State Department had a disastrous effect on American foreign policy.
- C. McCarthy's charges caused considerable damage to individual lives and careers.
- D. The traditional interpretation of McCarthy as an aberration, rather than as a regular politician, distorts our understanding of the phenomenon to which he gave his name.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. Why did the anticommunist crusade get Senator McCarthy's name?
2. What caused McCarthy's downfall?
3. How did Joe McCarthy's career differ from that of other politicians?

Suggested Reading

Griffith, Robert. *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970; 2d ed., Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987.

Other Books of Interest

Newman, Robert. *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Oshinsky, David. *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy*. New York: Free Press, 1983.

Reeves, Thomas C. *The Life and Times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography*. New York: Stein and Day, 1982.

Website to Visit

http://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/McCarthy_Transcripts.htm - A sampling of Senator McCarthy's behavior is available in the recently released transcripts of his committee's executive hearings on this site.

Lecture 10: The Hollywood Blacklist and Beyond: The Entertainment Industry Under Fire

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930-1960* by Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund.

Introduction:

When ten screenwriters and directors vociferously defied HUAC's questions in October 1947, they little suspected that their actions would lead to prison and unemployment. The major film studios, sensitive to bad publicity, responded to the hearings by firing the ten. Within a few years, every branch of the entertainment industry was blacklisting unfriendly witnesses as well as anyone considered politically controversial.

Consider this . . .

1. Why was the entertainment industry so sensitive?
2. Why did the film studios, networks, and advertising agencies impose a blacklist?
3. What was the connection between the blacklist and the anticommunist network?

I. The HUAC hearings in the fall of 1947 precipitated the Hollywood blacklist.

- A. The committee wanted to investigate the film industry.
 1. Hollywood hearings would attract attention.
 2. There were at least three hundred Communists within the film industry.
 - a. They were especially active in the Hollywood unions.
 - b. It is unclear how much, if any, influence they had over the content of the movies they worked on.
 - c. They were among the Communist Party's wealthiest members.
 3. Some conservatives believed that American movies promoted radical ideas and hoped that an investigation would force the studios to change.
- B. Initially, most of the film industry opposed the committee because of its threat to free speech.
- C. The raucous nature of the hearings and the committee's revelations that the Hollywood Ten were Communists destroyed much support for them within the film industry.
 1. When Congress cited the ten for contempt, the major producers announced that they would no longer hire Communists and fired the ten.

2. By the time the ten went to prison in 1950, they could no longer obtain any employment in Hollywood.

II. How did the Hollywood blacklist operate?

When HUAC returned to Hollywood in 1951 and 1952, it was known that all unfriendly witnesses would be automatically fired and blacklisted. The blacklist expanded beyond party members and unfriendly witnesses.

- A. In order to avoid threatened boycotts, the studios secretly cleared the names of potential employees with the American Legion.
 1. Key members of the anticommunist network vetted these names.
 2. People who were not immediately cleared had to exonerate themselves by writing letters to explain their political activities, though they did not usually have to name names.
- B. A few people in Hollywood specialized in helping blacklistees clear themselves.

III. The blacklisting extended to the broadcast industry as well.

- A. As in Hollywood, unfriendly witnesses were automatically blacklisted.
- B. *Red Channels*, a booklet by former FBI agents purporting to list the Communist-front affiliations of 151 entertainment figures, appeared in June 1950.
 1. Many of the entries in *Red Channels* were innocuous.
 2. Anyone whose name was in the book soon found it hard to get work.
- C. The blacklist expanded beyond *Red Channels*.
 1. Some networks, like CBS, hired full-time people to handle their loyalty programs.
 2. Many networks and agencies submitted names of people they wanted to hire to professional blacklisters.
 - a. These blacklisters vetted names for a fee.
 - b. A supermarket owner in Syracuse single-handedly forced advertisers to drop specific performers by threatening to boycott their products.
 3. As the purges spread, even people who opposed the blacklist got blacklisted.
 4. The practices that sustained the blacklist were secret.
- D. The men and women who wanted to get off the blacklist often had to work through the people who had blacklisted them in the first place.

IV. How did people survive on the blacklist?

- A. Blacklisting destroyed the careers (and in a few cases the lives) of some people.
 1. Actors were particularly hard hit.
 2. Some people left the entertainment industry permanently.
- B. Screenwriters and directors could most easily continue their work.

-
1. Many moved to Europe or Mexico.
 2. Writers used pseudonyms or else found “fronts” who would pretend to have written the scripts.
 3. Employers usually knew who they were dealing with and paid them much less than they would have otherwise.
 4. A group of blacklisted Hollywood radicals formed their own independent film company.
 - a. In 1952, they made a film, *Salt of the Earth*, about a New Mexico miners strike.
 - b. The film was blacklisted and was not commercially shown in the United States.
- C. By the late 1950s, the blacklisting subsided.
1. Dalton Trumbo, one of the Hollywood Ten, won an Oscar under a pseudonym.
 2. A few producers began to rehire blacklisted talent.
 3. Some blacklistees sued the studios and the blacklisters.
 - a. Most such suits were unsuccessful.
 - b. John Henry Faulk, a humorist fired from CBS, did win his suit and during the course of the trial revealed how the blacklist operated.
- V. **What was the impact of the entertainment industry blacklist?**
- A. Hollywood stopped making movies about social issues, though, to be fair, this might have happened in any event.
 - B. The broadcast industry's blacklist occurred just at the time that television was becoming a mass medium. It is hard to tell whether commercial or political factors shaped the networks' reluctance to produce controversial programs.
 - C. The blacklist destroyed some people's careers. Again, it is hard to tell how much the banning of someone like Paul Robeson affected American culture.
 - D. Even today, the Hollywood blacklist remains controversial.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. What does the blacklist show us about the makers of American popular culture?
2. Was the blacklist necessary? How could it have been avoided?
3. Why does the entertainment industry still obsess about the blacklist?

Suggested Reading

Ceplair, Larry and Steven Englund. *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930-1960*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.

Other Books of Interest

Buhle, Paul and Patrick McGilligan. *Tender Comrades: A Backstory of the Hollywood Blacklist*. New York: St. Martins, 1997.

Lorence, James J. *The Suppression of "Salt of the Earth": How Hollywood, Big Labor, and Politicians Blacklisted a Movie in Cold War America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://www.moderntimes.com/palace/huac.htm> - Short historical article on the impact of HUAC investigations in the film industry.
2. http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/entertainment/july-dec97/blacklist_10-24.html - PBS site on the blacklist.
3. <http://www.english.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/blacklist.html> - "Hollywood Blacklist" by Dan Georgakas of the University of Pennsylvania.
4. <http://www.historymatters.gmu.edu/d/6441> - Testimony of John Howard Lawson of the Hollywood Ten.

Additional Sources

Many blacklisted entertainers have written memoirs about the McCarthy era. Among the most useful are those by Walter Bernstein, Lester Cole, Ring Lardner, Jr., Madeline Gilford, and Kate Mostel.

Though there are several documentary films about the blacklist, the best treatment by far is Woody Allen's fictionalized feature, *The Front* (1976), produced, written, directed, and acted by blacklist graduates.

Lecture 11: On the Waterfront and in the Schools: Political Tests for Employment

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities*
by Ellen W. Schrecker.

Introduction:

The Hollywood blacklist was not unique. As McCarthyism intensified during the late 1940s and 1950s, suspected Communists in every line of work found themselves increasingly unemployable. From the Ivy League to the docks of San Francisco, Fifth Amendment witnesses and other political undesirables lost their jobs. Employers invoked different justifications, but, as we shall see, most were simply responding to outside pressures to purge their payrolls of reds.

Consider this . . .

1. Why did universities and other institutions feel compelled to fire Communists?
2. Why were the men and women in certain professions and industries particularly vulnerable to political tests for employment?
3. How was the federal government involved with the political dismissals of employees in the private sector?

I. Barrows Dunham lost his job as chair of the Philosophy Department at Temple University after he took the Fifth Amendment before HUAC in February 1953.

His fate was typical of that of unfriendly witnesses within the academic community.

- A. Dunham had been a Communist, but he had also been a successful teacher.
- B. Though he cooperated with a special university hearing, Temple's Board of Trustees fired him.
 1. The FBI helped Temple obtain evidence against Dunham.
 2. Many other academic institutions, both public and private, did the same thing.
 3. Like many schools that fired unfriendly witnesses, the university denied that it was violating academic freedom.

II. Colleges and universities were among the witch hunters' most prominent targets.

- A. Higher education was often under attack.
 1. Public universities were particularly vulnerable to outside political pressures.
 2. Many students and teachers had been Communists.

3. Committees found that investigating professors attracted publicity.
- B. Political firings within the academic community occurred in response to outside pressures. None of the college teachers dismissed during the McCarthy era were charged with indoctrinating their students or distorting their scholarship.
 1. The Rapp-Coudert investigation of the New York City municipal colleges in 1939-40 set a precedent for firing faculty members accused of Communism.
 2. A 1948 anticommunist investigation in the State of Washington precipitated the first Cold War academic freedom cases.
 - a. Three tenured professors at the University of Washington were fired, two because they were Communists.
 - b. The administration overrode a faculty recommendation to keep the two men.
 - c. The case prompted the adoption of an informal policy within the academic community that Communists could not teach.
 - d. The teachers fired by the University of Washington were blacklisted.
 3. Most of the academics publicly dismissed during the McCarthy era were not Communists but people who took the Fifth Amendment before a congressional committee.
 - a. Most were ex-Communists who did not want to name names.
 - b. In the late 1940s, most of the academic Fifth Amendment witnesses were former Manhattan Project scientists called before HUAC.
 - c. The committees did not hold hearings specifically on higher education until 1953.
 - i. By then, many leading educators endorsed the dismissal of unfriendly witnesses on academic grounds.
 - ii. The first major educational hearings looked at Harvard.
 - d. Unfriendly witnesses were usually fired.
 - i. Tenure was no protection.
 - ii. Both public and private universities were affected.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LOYALTY OATH

In 1949, the University of California required that all of its employees sign an oath that they were not members of the Communist Party and did not belong to or support organizations that advocated the overthrow of the U.S. government.

The controversial oath was created in large part to eliminate a perceived Communist influence at the university and out of fear that the university might lose public support and funding if it did not take a strong anti-communist stand.

The following year, thirty-one faculty members and over one hundred other employees were fired after refusing to sign the oath. Two years later, the California Supreme Court ruled against the loyalty oath and ordered that the fired professors be reinstated.

-
- iii. University administrators and trustees sometimes overrode the recommendations of faculty committees.
 - C. Under the “Responsibilities Program,” the FBI tried to get politically suspect college teachers fired.
 - 1. The Bureau gave information about these people to college presidents and state governors.
 - 2. Many institutions hoped to avoid embarrassment by eliminating potential unfriendly witnesses from their faculties.
 - 3. Perhaps a hundred people may have been dismissed, often on some unrelated pretext.
 - 4. Because these purges were secret, we don’t know who they affected—though we can sometimes guess.
 - D. Academics who lost their jobs for political reasons were usually blacklisted.
 - 1. The blacklist was secret, but effective.
 - 2. Some people, like Barrows Dunham, quit academia altogether.
 - 3. Others, especially scientists, emigrated.
 - 4. By the 1960s, as in the entertainment industry, the blacklist began to ease up.

III. Economic sanctions reached into many white collar professions.

- A. Civil servants were particularly affected.
 - 1. Loyalty programs spread from the national to the local level.
 - 2. People involved with left-wing unions were usually targeted.
- B. Teachers were also vulnerable.
 - 1. Because education was a local responsibility, state and local politicians often interfered.
 - 2. Loyalty oaths were common.
 - 3. Communists and union activists, especially in larger cities, were the main targets.
- C. Because lawyers were often self-employed, the impact of McCarthyism on the legal profession affected the right to counsel.
 - 1. Initially, only a few left-wing lawyers and civil libertarians were willing to represent Communists and unfriendly witnesses.
 - a. The practices of such attorneys suffered considerably.
 - b. These lawyers were themselves targeted by the FBI and other agencies.
 - 2. There were a few attempts to impose loyalty oaths on the legal profession and disbar Communist lawyers.

IV. In some sectors, concerns about security led to political dismissals.

- A. Special security programs screened scientists, engineers, and other technical workers.

1. People who worked in defense industries or with classified materials needed security clearances and would lose their jobs if they could not get cleared.
 2. The Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) had its own security program.
 - a. The AEC refused to recognize left-led unions at its installations.
 - b. J. Robert Oppenheimer was the most well-known scientist who lost his security clearance.
 3. Bureaucratic red tape, delays, and passport and visa problems also created difficulties for scientists during the McCarthy period.
- B. During the Korean War, a special port security program screened waterfront workers.
1. The program was really designed to destroy the left-wing maritime unions.
 2. Thousands of sailors and longshoremen lost their jobs.
- C. Many private employers fired and blacklisted Communists and other political undesirables during the McCarthy era.
1. Companies such as General Motors and General Electric automatically fired Fifth Amendment witnesses.
 2. Some corporations, especially in defense industries, developed their own security programs and hired security specialists like ex-FBI agents to staff them.
 3. The FBI and members of the anticommunist network helped private employers screen their workers.
 - a. As the employment difficulties of someone like Clinton Jencks, who was unable to get a job after he left his union position, reveal, there was blacklisting within the private sector.
 - b. The FBI may have been alerting employers to the political backgrounds of people like Jencks.
 - c. Because of the secrecy that surrounded their dismissals, it is hard to assess how many people were fired in the private sector.
- V. **The imposition of political tests for employment made McCarthyism effective.**
- A. People knew that they might lose their jobs if they participated in left-wing causes or defied an anticommunist investigation.
 - B. The men and women involved usually tried to keep these dismissals secret.
 - C. Employers in every field developed rationalizations for dismissing politically unpopular workers.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. How did universities and other employers justify dismissing people for political reasons? Why did they feel the need to justify these actions?
2. To what extent were security considerations a valid reason for imposing political tests for employment?
3. Could universities and other private employers have refused to fire Communists and Fifth Amendment witnesses?

Suggested Reading

Schrecker, Ellen W. *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Other Books of Interest

Caute, David. *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.

Diamond, Sigmund. *Compromised Campus: The Collaboration of Universities with the Intelligence Community, 1945-1955*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Wang, Jessica. *American Science in an Age of Anxiety: Scientists, Anticommunism, and the Cold War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://dept.english.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/raymond-allen.html> - Statement by the President of the University of Washington after he fired three professors for political reasons.
2. http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/uchistory/archives_exhibits/loyaltyoath/ - Materials about the California Loyalty Oath controversy.
3. <http://csf.colorado.edu/bcas/sympos/sycuming.htm> - Site containing information on the impact of McCarthyism on Asian studies.

Lecture 12: The Dog That Didn't Bark: The Collapse of the Liberals

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *Crisis on the Left: Cold War Politics and American Liberals*
by Mary Sperling McAuliffe.

Introduction:

When we consider how McCarthyism spread throughout American society, we must look beyond the individuals and groups that were actively pushing the anticommunist crusade to those that might have been able to prevent or mitigate it, but did not. In this lecture, we will examine the—mainly liberal—institutions whose failure to resist McCarthyism contributed to its success.

Consider this . . .

1. Who opposed McCarthyism?
2. Why did so many liberals fail to mount a vigorous defense of individual rights?

I. Why wasn't there stronger opposition to McCarthyism?

- A. Powerful forces within American society were supporting the anticommunist crusade.
- B. The groups and institutions that might have been expected to defend civil liberties and resist the anticommunist witch hunts were surprisingly silent—in part because they feared marginalization and were anticommunist themselves.
- C. McCarthyism's main opponents were its victims.
- D. Later on, after the worst of McCarthyism was over, many liberals and moderates regretted that they had not opposed it more vigorously.

II. The Supreme Court, which could have cracked down on the early Cold War violations of civil liberties, shrank from opposing anti-communist measures until the mid-1950s.

- A. The Court was often split during this period. The majority of its members were also worried about Communism, willing to subordinate individual rights to national security, concerned about the doctrine of "judicial restraint," and, I think, worried that an unpopular stance on Communism might damage the reception of their important decisions in the area of civil rights.
- B. Decisions in the late 1940s and early 1950s avoided dealing with First Amendment issues. At best, they allowed individuals a few procedural safeguards.
 1. In its 1951 *Dennis v. US* decision, the Court upheld the conviction of the Communist Party's top leaders.

-
- a. The Smith Act, which prohibited “teaching and advocating” the overthrow of the government, probably violated the First Amendment.
 - b. The Korean War intensified the judiciary’s concern with national security.
 - c. The *Dennis* decision legitimized many other aspects of the anti-communist furor.
2. The Supreme Court did not prevent congressional committees from questioning witnesses about their political views and activities.
 - a. Since the Court did not directly take up the issue of the First Amendment, it condoned lower court rulings that favored the committees.
 - b. As we have already seen, the Justices did allow witnesses to avoid contempt charges by taking the Fifth Amendment, but only if they did not “waive” that privilege.
 - c. By 1956, the Court’s majority had changed and it placed more limitations on the committees’ activities.
 3. The Court refused to place constitutional limitations on political tests for employment.
 - a. A split decision allowed the federal government’s loyalty-security program to rely on unidentified informers.
 - b. In the late 1950s, the Court began to provide more protections against political dismissals.
- C. In the mid-’50s, the Court changed course and began to limit the more egregious violations of people’s rights.
1. Though the Justices remained divided, a liberal majority prevailed.
 2. The urgency of the early Cold War receded and the political climate had changed.
 3. The Court recognized that McCarthyism had abused its victims.
 4. The Court’s liberal rulings exposed it to so much hostility that the Justices pulled back and rendered repressive decisions in a few cases—like that of *Junius Scales*—during the late 1950s and early 1960s.
- III. Because of their own anticommunism, liberals failed to take a strong stance against the witch hunt.**
- A. Liberal politicians went along with—and sometimes went beyond—the Truman administration’s repressive policies.
1. Liberals tended to support the FBI.
 2. Liberal senators added detention provisions to the 1950 Internal Security Act.

3. Liberal politicians became hesitant to criticize McCarthyism after the 1950 congressional elections seemed to demonstrate McCarthy's clout.

- B. The main liberal organization, the Americans for Democratic Action, was organized as a specifically anti-communist group that red-baited the left-wing presidential candidate Henry Wallace in 1948.
- C. The "New York Intellectuals" of the late 1940s and 1950s stressed their anticommunism and often supplied intellectual justifications for what happened.

**ASSOCIATE JUSTICE
FELIX FRANKFURTER
(1882-1965)**

Justice Frankfurter, a lifelong "liberal," led a prolific career in which he not only served as a Supreme Court Justice (1939–1962), but was also a Harvard Law School professor, an adviser to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the author of several law books, and a co-founder of the American Civil Liberties Union.

IV. Organized civil liberties groups often failed to combat McCarthyism.

- A. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) was split by the Communist issue and, as a result, did not provide leadership against the witch hunt.
 - 1. Some ACLU leaders and staff members supported the anticommunist crusade and even worked with the FBI.
 - 2. The splits within the organization prevented it from active participation in lawsuits against violations of civil liberties.
 - a. Like many liberal lawyers, the group would not defend Communists.
 - b. At best, the ACLU submitted *amicus* briefs rather than taking cases itself.
 - c. The group refused to intervene in some of the most important cases of the period.
- B. Left-wing civil liberties groups, which did not dissociate themselves from Communists, did try to fight McCarthyism.
 - 1. Liberals often red-baited these groups.
 - 2. The FBI harassed these groups, especially the National Lawyers Guild.
- C. The American Association of University Professors (AAUP), which ordinarily defended academic freedom, remained passive during the McCarthy period.
 - 1. Internal problems unrelated to McCarthyism prevented the group from functioning.
 - 2. Academics who might have taken a strong stand against the political dismissals of the era refrained from doing so because they assumed that the AAUP would intervene.

V. The liberals' failure to resist much of what happened during the McCarthy era may have contributed to the violations of civil liberties that so many of them claimed to oppose.

- A. We will never know how effective a stronger stand would have been.
- B. Whether because of their own anticommunism or their fear of being seen as "soft" on Communism, most liberals drew a line at defending the rights of Communists.
- C. Liberals tended to focus their opposition specifically on Senator McCarthy.
- D. In retrospect, many liberals and their organizations admit that they had erred in not opposing McCarthyism more vigorously.

EDWARD R. MURROW vs. McCARTHY

Among the journalists whose work played a role in McCarthy's downfall was Edward R. Murrow. Murrow had distinguished himself as a respected reporter in World War II when he covered events from the front lines. In 1953, Murrow had a television program on CBS called *See It Now*, and decided to look into the case of Milo Radulovich, a man discharged from the Air Force on the grounds that his sister and father were Communist sympathizers. The show piqued the public's interest in potential injustices of the red scare, and incited Senator McCarthy to prepare an attack on Murrow. Following the success of the Radulovich story, Murrow created a program on McCarthy that aired on March 9, 1954. Using McCarthy's own words and pictures, Murrow's show portrayed the senator as a crazed fanatic. The persuasive nature of the program and its timing helped turn public opinion against Senator McCarthy. Following McCarthy's notorious U.S. Army investigation, he was investigated and then censured for his conduct by the Senate. Once censured, McCarthy's claims of Communist conspiracies received little mention in the press and he faded from the public view.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. What role did the Supreme Court play in facilitating the anticommunist political repression of the early Cold War?
2. How did their own opposition to communism affect liberals' willingness to combat McCarthyism?
3. How could a more vigorous opposition to McCarthyism have contributed to stopping or at least mitigating its violations of individual rights?

Suggested Reading

McAuliffe, Mary Sperling. *Crisis on the Left: Cold War Politics and American Liberals*. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1978.

Other Books of Interest

Bayley, Edwin R. *Joe McCarthy and the Press*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981.

Powe, Lucas A., Jr. *The Warren Court and American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Wald, Alan M. *The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1980s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://dept.english.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/theoharis.html> - Essay on liberals and communism in the 1930s.
2. <http://dept.english.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/douglas-court-years.html> - Reminiscences about the McCarthy era by the Supreme Court's leading liberal.
3. <http://www.english.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/schlesinger-notrightleft.html> - Essay by a leading Cold War liberal, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.
4. <http://www.oyez.com/oyez/frontpage> - Site containing Supreme Court decisions.
5. <http://caselaw.lp.findlaw.com/scripts/getcase.pl?court=US&navby=case&vol=341&invol=494&friend=oyez> - *Dennis* case opinion.

Lecture 13: Collateral Damage: Private Lives During the Red Scare

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *Red Scare: Memories of the American Inquisition* by Griffin Fariello.

Introduction:

HUAC hearings, prison terms, unemployment, blacklisting, and social ostracism all took their toll. In this lecture we will explore the human costs of McCarthyism, examining the way in which the men and women targeted during the witch hunts coped with their experiences.

Consider this . . .

1. What were the main personal and psychological costs of McCarthyism?
2. What were the most serious economic problems facing the men and women affected by McCarthyism?
3. How did blacklisted men and women find work?

I. Coping with McCarthyism: Some Generalizations

- A. My sixth-grade teacher found a different career, but eventually returned to the school that had fired him. Junius Scales went to prison and then moved to a different part of the country and became a printer. Their experiences were typical.
- B. Individuals responded in different ways, depending on their personalities and on the intensity of their political commitment.
- C. The broader Communist movement provided support to some McCarthy-era victims.

II. Criminal prosecutions and deportations imposed hardships.

- A. About two hundred men and women served prison sentences for offenses related to McCarthyism.
 1. Communist Party leaders went to jail under the Smith Act.
 2. Some convicted Communists fled and, like Junius Scales, lived underground.
 3. Other people were imprisoned for perjury or contempt of Congress.
 4. Some people were mistreated in prison. One, William Remington, was killed by another inmate.
- B. Deportation proceedings were another form of punishment.
 1. The government tried to deport and denaturalize well-known Communists and left-wing union leaders.
 2. Immigration authorities detained non-citizens awaiting deportation.
 3. Federal authorities often targeted the foreign-born spouses of leading Communists for deportation.

4. In cases where it turned out to be impossible to deport someone, the Immigration and Naturalization Service imposed onerous parole requirements that could cost people their jobs.

C. Even when criminal defendants and people facing deportations won their cases, the expense and uncertainty that those cases imposed caused considerable suffering.

III. Economic Sanctions: How did people cope with unemployment and blacklisting?

A. Emigration: Some people avoided the McCarthy-era sanctions by leaving the United States.

1. Many Hollywood screenwriters and directors moved to Mexico and Europe.

2. A few scientists also left the United States.

3. An underground Communist network helped some flee to Soviet bloc countries.

4. After 1950, suspected Communists had trouble obtaining passports and thus were unable to travel—except to Canada and Mexico.

B. Blacklisting forced many McCarthy-era victims to find alternative forms of employment.

1. In the entertainment industry, screenwriters could work with aliases or “fronts,” though they usually earned much less money.

2. There were strange niches within the American economy, such as the laundry business in Washington, D.C., or a drug company newsletter in New York City, where people who had been blacklisted could find employment.

3. Eventually, most of the blacklisted individuals were able to resume their original careers, but they had lost many years.

4. Some people entered new occupations as a result of McCarthyism.

IV. The McCarthy era political repression took a toll on the families of the people who were affected by it.

A. The psychological damage varied. Some people were so seriously afflicted they committed suicide. Others found new sources of strength.

1. People who had strong support systems did fairly well.

2. Innocent victims seem to have had a much harder time than more politically committed ones.

B. Spouses responded in many ways.

1. The stress often caused divorces.

2. In some families, the wives took paid jobs to support their blacklisted husbands.

C. Friends, colleagues, and family members sometimes cut off contact with Fifth Amendment witnesses and other political undesirables.

D. "Red Diaper Babies": The children of the McCarthy victims were also affected.

1. Children with parents in prison or in the underground had a difficult time.
2. The stresses within their families blighted many children's lives. Many children of the left feared their parents would be killed like the Rosenbergs.
3. Some families tried to keep what was going on a secret from their children.
4. Some of these "Red Diaper Babies," as the children of Communists were called, became politically active during the 1960s in the New Left.

E. Formal and informal networks within the Communist movement sustained some, though not all, of the McCarthy era victims.

V. What was the impact of the red scare on the political activities of the men and women affected by it?

A. For most of these people, their main political activity was fighting McCarthyism.

1. They viewed such activities as taking the Fifth Amendment as part of a broader political struggle.
2. Some people remained active in other movements, such as the struggle for racial equality.

B. Many of the men and women affected by McCarthyism became much less politically active. Many people left the Communist Party.

1. They were disillusioned with the party.
2. They did not feel it was a useful organization any longer.
3. They were afraid.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. What seemed to be the most successful strategies for handling life on the blacklist?
2. What was the impact of McCarthyism on the families of the people affected by it?
3. How do you think you would have coped with the kinds of problems McCarthy-era victims faced?

Suggested Reading

Fariello, Griffin. *Red Scare: Memories of the American Inquisition*. New York: Norton, 1995.

Other Books of Interest

Belfrage, Sally. *Un-American Activities: A Memoir of the Fifties*. New York: Harper Collins, 1994.

Bernstein, Carl. *Loyalties: A Son's Memoir*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1989.

Chernin, Kim. *In My Mother's House: A Daughter's Story*. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1983.

Kaplan, Judy and Linn Shapiro, eds. *Red Diapers: Growing Up in the Communist Left*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1998.

Kimmage, Ann. *An Un-American Childhood*. Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 1996.

Williams, Selma R. *Red-Listed: Haunted by the Washington Witch Hunt*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1993.

Website to Visit

<http://www.buzzle.co.uk/editorials/text6-7-2003-41382.asp> - Essay on "Red Diaper Babies."

Lecture 14: McCarthyism and American Democracy: What Were the Costs?

Before beginning this lecture you may want to . . .

Read *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America* by Ted Morgan.

Introduction:

If nothing else, the political repression of the McCarthy era destroyed the influence of American Communism. But it did a lot more as well. In this lecture we will explore the impact of the Cold War red scare on American society. We will look in some of the obvious places, including the labor movement and the State Department, but also in some less obvious ones, such as the women's movement and the art world. Finally, we will try to figure out what we can learn from McCarthyism so that we can make sure it never happens again.

Consider this . . .

1. Why did the destruction of the influence of American Communism have such a widespread impact?
2. What was the effect of McCarthyism on the labor movement? The civil rights movement?
3. To what extent was the alleged blandness of American culture in the 1950s a product of McCarthyism?

I. The Impact of McCarthyism on American Society

Though that impact was considerable, we should not over exaggerate it.

- A. In the late 1940s, it might have been possible to expand the American welfare state and create a more democratic society. That did not occur.
- B. Many of the ways in which McCarthyism affected American life consist of things that did not happen.

II. McCarthyism destroyed the influence of Communism in American life.

- A. Because the Communist Party had dominated American radicalism in the 1930s and 1940s, its destruction during the McCarthy era damaged the entire left.
- B. Other factors, including the Cold War and the party's own liabilities, also contributed to the decline of American Communism.
- C. McCarthyism forced the Communist Party to focus primarily on its own defense and abandon many of its other activities.
- D. In the late 1950s, the FBI inaugurated the COINTELPRO program, which was designed to disrupt the Communist Party.

III. The political repression of the McCarthy era was especially damaging to the labor movement.

- A. The left-led unions were weakened, and in some cases destroyed, by a combination of the federal government's onslaught and the labor movement's own internal purges.
- B. Its own anticommunism diverted the mainstream labor movement from other more important tasks, such as fighting the Taft-Hartley Act and organizing unorganized workers.
 - 1. The Communist-led unions had been active in organizing women, people of color, and non-traditional workers.
 - 2. Those unions had also been more concerned about broader social-welfare issues than most of the mainstream unions. Their elimination destroyed the most important organizations that were pressing for an expansion of the welfare state.

IV. Other social movements were also affected by McCarthyism.

- A. The civil rights movement was thrown onto the defensive and became more conservative.
 - 1. Communist-influenced unions in places like Detroit, Michigan, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had fought for the rights of African-Americans. Eliminating those unions transformed the civil rights movement into a middle-class movement that did not press a strong economic agenda.
 - 2. Mainstream civil rights organizations purged their own left-wingers.
 - 3. Segregationists used red-baiting against the civil rights movement.
 - a. Southern politicians used measures developed during the McCarthy era to attack civil rights groups.
 - b. J. Edgar Hoover's stated concern about Communist influence within the civil rights movement allowed him to harass Martin Luther King, Jr.
- B. McCarthyism indirectly affected the women's movement.
 - 1. The Communist Party paid attention to women's issues during a moment when feminism seemed on the wane.
 - 2. Many of the women like Betty Friedan, who were to lead the reborn women's movement, were in or near the Communist Party and so kept a low profile and avoided dealing with economic issues during the 1950s.

V. The McCarthyite attack on the State Department affected American foreign policy.

- A. The purge of the nation's China experts made most Foreign Service Officers very cautious—especially about East Asia.

-
- B. Fearful of being attacked as Truman had been about “the loss of China,” both Kennedy and Johnson refused to recognize China or even consider pulling out of Vietnam.

VI. American culture was seen as bland, conventional, apolitical, and conformist during the 1950s.

Was this the effect of McCarthyism?

- A. It is hard to measure all the things that did not happen—books that were not published, films that were not produced, courses that were not taught.
- B. The blacklist probably affected the entertainment industry, but what exactly that impact was is hard to tell.
1. Hollywood was already facing diminished revenues due to the advent of television and the loss of studio control over movie theaters, so that it is not clear.
 2. Films with social content, which many of the blacklisted artists had tried to make, were not popular anyhow.
 3. Television was just becoming a mass medium during the McCarthy era, but, again, it is hard to tell what kind of impact the anticommunist furor had. Would TV programming have been as bland and non-controversial if there had been no blacklisting?
- C. Within the academic community, the 1950s saw a celebration of consensus and a decline in critical thought in the humanities and social sciences.
- D. Though conservatives attacked the abstract expressionist artists of the 1940s and 1950s, more sophisticated critics viewed their work as a reaction against the explicitly political content of 1930s realism.

VII. The Big Chill: How did McCarthyism affect American politics?

A. This question is still under debate.

1. Many feel that the red scare’s impact was overrated. McCarthyism, they claim, was a momentary aberration that the strong and resilient American system proved able to handle.
 2. Others believe that McCarthyism narrowed the political spectrum and made it impossible to envision realistic alternatives to the American status quo.
- B. It is clear that even for historians, one’s present political position determines one’s interpretation of McCarthyism. Even so, there is a consensus that—aberration or mainstream—it was a deplorable phenomenon.

VIII. McCarthyism, can it happen again?

- A. The history of McCarthyism shows how political repression occurs within a modern democratic society.
 - 1. Individual rights cannot be protected if the nation's elites collaborate with or condone political repression.
 - 2. Political repression is most effective when it is diffuse and administered by different public and private groups and individuals.
 - 3. National security is most commonly invoked to legitimize repressive measures, especially during periods of crisis.
 - 4. Secrecy often accompanies political repression.
- B. The kind of political repression we associate with McCarthyism can return, but it will not necessarily take the same form.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING



Consider

1. How serious was the impact of McCarthyism on American society?
2. What were the long-term effects of the Cold War red scare on the American political system?
3. Could something like McCarthyism happen again?

Suggested Reading

Morgan, Ted. *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Random House, 2003.

Other Books of Interest

Anderson, Carol. *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Brody, David. *Workers in Industrial America: Essays on the Twentieth Century Struggle*. (2d ed.). New York: Oxford, 1993.

Horowitz, Daniel. *The Making of the Feminine Mystique: Betty Friedan, The American Left, the Cold War, and Modern Feminism*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000.

Pells, Richard H. *The Liberal Mind in a Conservative Age: American Intellectuals in the 1940s and 1950s*. New York: Harper and Row, 1985.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://www.weisbroth.com/blacklisted/biblio3final.html> - An overview of the impact of McCarthyism.
2. <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/cold.war/experience/culture/film.essay/index.html> - Site on the films of the Cold War and McCarthy era.
3. <http://www.historymatters.gmu.edu> - Excellent site for obtaining historical materials.
4. <http://www.webcorp.com/mccarthy/> - McCarthy web page.

COURSE MATERIALS

Suggested Readings:

- Bontecou, Eleanor. *The Federal Loyalty-Security Program*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1953.
- Ceplair, Larry and Steven Englund. *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930-1960*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2003.
- Fariello, Griffin. *Red Scare: Memories of the American Inquisition*. New York: Norton, 1995.
- Goodman, Walter. *The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1968.
- Griffith, Robert. *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970; 2d ed., Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987.
- Heale, M.J. *American Anticommunism: Combating the Enemy Within, 1830-1970*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Klehr, Harvey and John Earl Haynes. *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself*. New York: Twayne, 1992.
- McAuliffe, Mary Sperling. *Crisis on the Left: Cold War Politics and American Liberals*. Amherst, MA: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1978.
- Morgan, Ted. *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Random House, 2003.
- Powers, Richard Gid. *Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism*. New York: Free Press, 1995.
- Powers, Richard Gid. *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover*. New York: Free Press, 1987.
- Schrecker, Ellen. *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford Books, 2d ed., 2002.
- Schrecker, Ellen. *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*. Boston: Little Brown, 1998; paper ed., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Schrecker, Ellen W. *No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Weinstein, Allen and Alexander Vassiliev. *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era*. New York: Random House, 1999.

**All books are available on-line through www.modernscholar.com
or by calling Recorded Books at 1-800-638-3399.**