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Communism in the United States during the Era of McCarthyism

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To my mother

To My father

To my sisters and brothers

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In the aftermath of the WWII, a great tension between the United States and the Soviet Union developed. In spite of the fact that the United States had sided with the Soviet Union during the Second World War, Stalin's break of the Yalta agreement, the establishment of new Communist regimes in Eastern Europe shortly after the end of the war, the Soviet acquisition of the atomic bomb, and the discoveries of several spy rings in the United States raised serious fears of Domestic Communism and resulted in the emergence of the Second Red Scare.

The United States had to block off all the ways and remove all the tools, including internal ones, which the Soviets might use or exploit to harm the United States. Among these internal tools were the American Communists and their political interface, the Communist Party of the United States of America CPUSA. The ultimate goal of this latter was to subvert and overthrow the American government and establish a Communist one instead. As months and years went on, the United States became convulsed with fear of widespread Communist infiltration. This fear mounted and peaked after discovering many spy cases such the Alger Hiss case, the Amerasia spy case, and more importantly the Ethel and Julius Rosenberg spy case. These cases showed undoubtedly that many American Communists were spying on the United States and working for the best interests of the Soviet Union. Therefore, these events were a great justification for believing in the existence of a Communist subversion, prompting the Americans to be more receptive to the idea of taking drastic measures against anyone suspected of it.

On February 9, 1950, the Republican Senator of Wisconsin, Joe McCarthy (1908-1957), made his famous speech before a Republican Women's Club in Virginia in which he claimed to have a list of fifty-seven cases of federal employees suspected to be either card carrying members or certainly loyal to the American Communist Party, but who nonetheless are still holding their positions in the State Department and thus still affecting the foreign policy of the United States. Soon, within months after that, Senator McCarthy became the personification of the anti-Communist crusade, later termed McCarthyism. So, this work is devoted to study the impact and effects of McCarthyism on domestic Communism, on the State Department, on the political scene, on the security issue, on civil liberties, and its ramifications on the American life as a whole.

A la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, une grande tension entre les États-Unis et l'Union Soviétique s'est développée. En dépit du fait que les États-Unis avaient pris le parti de l'Union Soviétique pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, la rupture de Staline de l'accord de Yalta, la mise en place de nouveaux régimes communistes en Europe de l'Est, peu après la fin de la guerre, l'obtention de la bombe atomique par les Soviétiques, ainsi que la découverte de plusieurs réseaux d'espionnage aux États-Unis ont soulevé des craintes sérieuses du communisme national et ont abouti à l'émergence de la seconde Red Scare.

Les États-Unis devaient suspendre toutes les voies et supprimer tous les outils, y compris ceux qui sont internes et qui pouvaient être exploités par les Soviétiques. Parmi ces outils internes, les Communistes Américains et leur interface politique, le Parti Communiste des États-Unis d'Amérique CPUSA. Le but ultime de ce dernier était de subvertir et renverser le gouvernement Américain et le remplacer par un nouveau gouvernement communiste.

Comme le temps passaient, les États-Unis étaient effrayés par la peur de l'infiltration communiste répandue. Cette crainte a culminé après la découverte de nombreux cas d'espionnage tel que le cas d'Alger Hiss, l'affaire d'espionnage Amerasia, et surtout l'affaire d'espionnage d'Ethel et Julius Rosenberg. Ces cas ont montré sans aucun doute que beaucoup de Communistes Américains espionnaient les États-Unis au profit de l'intérêt supérieur de l'Union soviétique. Par conséquent, ces événements justifiaient l'existence d'un plan de subversion par les communistes, ce qui incite les Américains à être plus réceptifs à l'idée de prendre des mesures drastiques contre toutes les personnes soupçonnées d'être fidèles au parti Communiste.

Le 9 Février 1950, le sénateur républicain du Wisconsin, Joe McCarthy (de 1908 à 1957), a prononcé son célèbre discours devant un club de femmes républicaines en Virginie où il a affirmé d'avoir une liste de cinquante-sept cas d'employés fédéraux soupçonnés d'être fidèles au Parti Communiste Américain, mais qui néanmoins, maintiennent leurs postes dans le Département d'État Américain et donc continuent à avoir de l'influence sur la politique étrangère des États-Unis. Bientôt, le sénateur McCarthy est devenu la personnification de la croisade anticommuniste, plus tard appelé le Maccarthysme. Donc, ce travail est consacré à étudier l'impact et les effets du Maccarthysme sur le Communisme domestique, sur le Département d'État, sur la scène politique, sur la question de la sécurité nationale, sur les libertés civiles, et de ses conséquences sur la vie Américaine dans son ensemble.

في أعقاب الحرب العالمية الثانية، ظهر توتر كبير بين الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية والاتحاد السوفيتي. فبالرغم من خوض الولايات المتحدة للحرب العالمية الثانية جنباً إلى جنب مع الاتحاد السوفيتي، إلا أن تتصل ستالين من اتفاق يالطا، و إنشاءه لأنظمة شيوعية جديدة في أوروبا الشرقية غداة الحرب العالمية الثانية و كذا اكتساب الاتحاد السوفيتي للقبلة الذرية إضافة إلى اكتشاف العديد من شبكات التجسس في الولايات المتحدة التي كانت تعمل لمصلحة الاتحاد السوفيتي، كل هذا أدى إلى إثارة مخاوف الأمريكيين من خطر الشيوعية المحلية و أدت إلى ظهور مايسمى بالخوف الأحمر الثاني.

بالنظر إلى هذه التطورات، كان لزاماً على الولايات المتحدة سد كل المنافذ في وجه الاتحاد السوفيتي و تجريده من كل الوسائل بما في ذلك الداخلية التي قد يستعملها في صراعه مع الولايات المتحدة. من بين هذه الأدوات كان الشيوعيون الأمريكيون وكذا واجهتهم السياسية المتمثلة في الحزب الشيوعي للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية CPUSA. هذا الحزب كان من بين أهدافه الرئيسية إزالة أو إسقاط الحكومة الرأسمالية الأمريكية و تعويضها بحكومة شيوعية. مع مرور الأشهر و السنوات، تملك الولايات المتحدة خوف شديد من اختراق الشيوعيين الأمريكيين للدوائر الحكومية. هذا الخوف بلغ ذروته مع اكتشاف العديد من شبكات التجسس على غرار قضية التجسس المسماة بالأميرازيا، قضية تجسس ألغر هيس، و الأهم من ذلك هو قضية تجسس جوليوس و إثيل روزمبورغ. هذه الحالات بيّنت أن الشيوعيين الأمريكيين كانوا يعملون لفائدة و مصلحة الاتحاد السوفيتي. وبالتالي هذه التطورات جعلت الأمريكيين يعتقدون أكثر بوجود مؤامرة سوفيتية ضد بلدهم مما جعلهم أكثر تقبلاً لإجراءات ردعية و صارمة ضد المشتبه بتورطهم في هذه المؤامرة.

في 9 فبراير 1950، أدلى السيناتور الجمهوري من ولاية ويسكونسن، جوزيف مكارثي (1908-1957)، خطابه الشهير أمام نادي المرأة الجمهوري في ولاية فرجينيا مدعياً أن بحوزته قائمة من سبعة وخمسين حالة لموظفين في الحكومة الأمريكية يشتبه أن يكونوا إما حاملين لبطاقة العضوية في الحزب الشيوعي الأمريكي أو بالتأكيد موالين له ولكن على الرغم من ذلك لا يزالون يشغلون مناصب في وزارة الخارجية، وبالتالي لا يزالون يؤثرون على السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة. وعليه، في غضون أشهر قليلة بعد ذلك، أصبح السناتور مكارثي يقود حملة لطردة الشيوعيين الأمريكيين إلى درجة تسمية هذه الحملة بالمكارثية. لذلك، يخصص هذا العمل لدراسة آثار المكارثية على الشيوعية المحلية، على وزارة الخارجية، على الساحة السياسية، على مسألة الأمن القومي، على الحريات المدنية، وتداعياتها على الحياة الأمريكية ككل.

ACLU: American Civil Liberties Union

AFL: American Federation of Labor

AFL: American Federation of Labor

ALU: American Labor Union

CCA: The Communist Control Act

Comintern: the International Communist

CPUSA: The Communist Party of the United States of America

EO: Executive Order

FSA: Federal Security Agency

HUAC: House Un-American Activities Committee

IPR: Institute Pacific Relations

ISA: Internal Security Act of 1950 or the McCarran Act

IWA: The Industrial Workingmen's Association

KGB: Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti (Committee for state security)

NKVD: Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's commissariat of internal affairs)

OSS: Office of Strategic Service

SDP: Socialist Democratic Party

SLP: The Social Labor Party

SPA: Socialist Party of America

SSIS: Senate International Security Subcommittee

USSR: The Union Soviet of Socialist Republics

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“*A specter is haunting Europe- the specter of Communism*” (Marx and Engels 7). When Karl Marks and Frederick Engels opened the manifesto of the Communist Party of 1848 with this famous statement, they did not have any idea about the spread of Communism it would witness in the twentieth century. It became not only a specter but a living reality, and not just in Europe, but also in places different from those where Karl Marx expected proletarian revolutions to occur. Communism appeared and flourished in Europe and its influence was not limited only to the European countries, but it reached other countries in other continents such as the United States of America.

Communism had been boosted again after the victory of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917. This revolution gave the opportunity to the Bolshevik Party led by Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924) to take control of Saint Petersburg, Russia’s Capital, in an effort to establish and create a new form of government different from what had existed. Lenin was a strong supporter of Communism. He took Marxism one step further and developed his own brand of Communism known as Leninism. Under Lenin’s rule, Russia became socialist, and in 1922, it joined with other republics to form the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics USSR. Ever since, the USSR became the center power of Communism in the world.

Using a new system based on the public ownership of the means of production as well as a social economic system, the USSR started influencing other countries in Asia, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. People in these countries, mainly the working class, were struggling and claiming for their rights and advocated communism that was, according to them, more fair and capable of assuring them their benefits and interests. The working class in the United States was not excluded from being influenced and affected by Communism. Workers in this country suffered from difficult working conditions and were striving for improving them. They embraced Communism as an alternative of Capitalism because this latter, according to them, was unfair and failed as a perfect economic system to the extent that it caused the Great Depression.

After its foundation in 1919, the Communist Party of the United States of America CPUSA gained more enemies than friends, and more opponents than proponents. The US government did not welcome the creation of the CPUSA chiefly because this new party adopted Communism and socialist policies that were against the Capitalist ideology. Also, the CPUSA led many strikes defending working class’ rights and interests that annoyed both

government and industrialists. Moreover, the creation of the CPUSA was under the supervision of the USSR with which it developed and maintained a strong relationship. Therefore, the US government undertook a series of arrests against the American Communists during the years that followed its creation. This had been termed the First Red Scare.

But hostility to the American Communist party worsened in the wake of the WWII. This hostility was ascribed to many reasons including local and international ones. However, after WWII, the Soviet Union became the second pole and the rival superpower of the United States. This new reality gave a new interpretation to Communism as an ideology and to its existence in the United States represented in the CPUSA. Furthermore, the Soviet Union assuaged the fears of American policymakers when it established Communist systems in Eastern European countries. But the United States' fears peaked when the Soviet Union successfully tested its first nuclear atomic bomb announcing its entrance to the nuclear club. Therefore, the United States entered a long war called the "Cold War" against the Soviet Union, its allies and its ideology as well. This war had a drastic impact on the American Communist party and its activists.

The Cold War was characterized by a great tension in the bilateral relationships between the two superpowers. The espionage acts and media were the main weapons of this war. This was manifested in the arrest of many spy rings in the United States which were working for the Soviet Union. The most popular spying question that occupied Media and American public opinion was that of the two spies Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Accordingly, Americans became more aware of the threat of Communism represented in the American Communists and the CPUSA. This situation was considered as a background and a prelude to a fierce anti-Communist movement called "McCarthyism" spearheaded, as its name indicates, by the Wisconsin Republican Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

McCarthyism, in fact, represented the domestic side of the Cold War. It had entered the American political lexicon to refer to the anti-Communist crusade and to the total refusal of the Communists' ideas and agenda. Senator Joseph McCarthy rose as a strong opponent to Communism when he made a public accusation on February 9, 1950, in which he claimed that more than 205 "card-carrying" members of the American Communist Party, later reduced to 57, had infiltrated the United States' government. McCarthy and his fellows regarded American Communists as loyal to the Soviet Union, as traitors of their country, and secret agents of USSR. Accordingly, they must be rooted out from the United States at all levels.

As a matter a fact, the era of McCarthyism was too painful and had a destructive impact on the domestic Communists, the leading board of the CPUSA, individuals' civil rights, and had repercussions for almost all realms of American life. Many innocent people were accused by the anti-Communist crusaders of being Communists or pro-Communists so that their careers and lives were ruined.

This study discusses the impact of McCarthyism on Communism and Communists in the United States, its impact on the political scene and civil rights, and to what extent American Communists were threatening the security of the United States. To achieve this, some guiding questions had been raised which are as follows:

1. How could Communism find its way in the United States of America?
2. What was the agenda or the manifesto of American Communism?
3. What is the relationship between the CPUSA and the international Communism, the Comintern, headquartered in Moscow?
4. Was the CPUSA independent from the soviet one or not?
5. Who was Joseph R. McCarthy? And how could he lead the Anti-Communist crusade that later became known as McCarthyism?
6. What were the reasons, proves, and facts presented by Senator McCarthy that condemned American Communists?
7. To what extent was McCarthyism vindicated? And what was the American official and public position?
8. To what extent American Communism threatened the United States' security?
9. To what extent the role played by McCarthyism weakened the American Communism?
10. For what was McCarthyism criticized?

The importance of this study lies in shedding light on the controversial struggle that characterized the relation between the Communists and anti-Communists in the United States after the WWII. Many books, articles, and magazines had been written in this regard. The anti-Communists saw Communism as a real threat to the American political and economic system. Therefore, McCarthyism aimed at rooting out Communism from the United States. This study will focus on this prominent era from the modern American history that occupied the American public opinion. Also, this study comes as an attempt to point out the proportions of the emergence of American Communism and its impact on USA.

The rise of Communism in the USSR, China, North Korea...etc., and the newly independent countries is easy to understand in view of the nature of the political systems that governed these countries which were generally totalitarian regimes that seized power through violent revolution; however, its emergence in the United States, the home of the world's powerful democracy and capitalism, was very challenging and to some extent, very strange. This somehow strange coincidence attracted my attention and motivated me to tackle this topic. Besides, the choosing of this topic stems from the desire to present a new reading and an analytic view of this crucial era from the US modern history in light of the historical events and circumstances that took place during and after that era. Different perspectives characterized the debate over this question. Moreover, McCarthyism's acts had not achieved consensus among American politicians and human rights activists. Senator McCarthy, on the other hand, was seen as a patriot and a hero who stood against Communism that threatened the US national security and even the existence of America as a superpower country. Furthermore, Anti-Communists regarded Communism as the USSR's tool to destroy USA from inside. Accordingly, Americans were divided between proponents of McCarthyism and proponents of Communism and civil rights. Therefore, this controversial situation is worth to be studied and analyzed.

This research includes a general introduction, three chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter discusses the roots of Communism and its rise in the United States. It provides the basic notions of Marxism, Socialism and Communism. Also, it tackles the shift of Communism from its cradle in Europe to the United States as well as the different stages that characterized the formation of the Communist Party of the United States. In addition, this chapter sheds light on the latter's ties to the international Communist, the Comintern, headquartered in Moscow. The Second chapter is devoted to the Second Red Scare and the rise of McCarthyism. This chapter provides the reasons that raised the Americans' fear of domestic Communism and thus led to the Second Red Scare. It tackles also the emergence of McCarthyism as a product of the Red Scare. The last chapter deals with the anti-Communist crusade that aimed at rooting out the domestic Communists from the federal government at all levels. It provides the different repressive measures taken by both American Administration and Congress adopted in the name of protecting the national security of the United States from the Communists. Besides, it casts light on the repercussions of these measures not only for the Communists, but also for the different realms of the American life. Finally, it tackles the reasons that led to the decline of McCarthyism and its legacy.

Chapter 1:
Roots of Communism
and Its Rise in the
United States

Introduction

The United States of America witnessed many key events during the last century. It participated in the First World War (1914-1918), the Second World War (1939-1945), and the Cold War (1945-1989). This latter was characterized by a great tension between the United States, the leader of western countries and the Capitalist pole, and the USSR, the leader of the Communist pole. This tension was due to the great ideological struggle between the two poles over spreading their own ideologies, capitalism and communism respectively. Mostly, this conflict and ideological struggle was on the verge of being transformed into a nuclear and destructive conflict, like what happened during the Cuban crisis.

But, before dealing with this struggle and its repercussions, we have first to tackle the issue of how could Communism find its way in the United States despite the fact that this latter is the leader nation of Capitalist world? And how could it attract the attention and dominate the minds of a great portion of Americans, especially the working class that was the striking power of the Communists there? As a matter of fact, the idea of Communism was not limited only to the Soviet bloc and its allies, but its influence exceeded the eastern camp to the western one where many Communist parties had emerged in some western countries such as the Communist Party of France, the Labor Party in Great Britain, and the Communist Party of the United States of America CPUSA which is the object of this work.

The emergence of communism in the United States was challenging since this latter is considered up to date the godfather of Capitalism in the whole free world and its symbol as well. As a result, an intense struggle between the Communists and the Capitalists had surfaced. This struggle leads us to question the essence of Communism as an ideology, its objectives, and its principles upon which it is based.

I.1 Karl Marx and Marxism

Communism originated in Germany when the famous German philosopher Karl Marx published the Communist manifesto in 1848 in which he explained and outlined his theory of Communism. Marx is considered as the godfather of Communism in the world. He is probably the most prominent thinker who affected the course of twentieth-century history more than any other philosopher or thinker. This featured in the large amount of books, articles and criticisms written about Marx's theory. In his book *The Teaching of Karl Marx*, Vladimir Lenin (1870-1924), the ex-president of the Soviet Union and one of the twentieth century's revolutionary

thinkers, defined Marxism as “*the system of views and teachings of Marx*”(10). So, who was Karl Marx?

Karl Max was born in a family of scholars on May 5, 1818, in a small town called Prussian town of Trier in Germany. He was the child of Jewish parents. His grandfathers were rabbis. His father was a rich lawyer, and a progressive thinker. Marx’s mother, Henrietta Pressburg, was from Holland. Marx was brought up in a liberal democratic spirit in a family that was rich, cultured, but not revolutionary (Lenin 5). Because adopting Protestantism was a necessary condition of professional and cultural emancipation, Marx’s father changed his first name from Herschel to Heinrich and adopted it (Kolakowski 96). In all, Karl Marx’s family constituted a suitable atmosphere for him which helped a lot in shaping his future as a revolutionary thinker.

After finishing his study in the high school in 1835, Marx enrolled at the University of Bonn as a law student. A year after, he shifted to the Berlin university in which he studied jurisprudence. Although he was a law student, Marx was massively interested in lectures on philosophy and history. After graduating in 1841, he submitted his doctoral dissertation on Epicure’s philosophy (Lenin 5). Its title was: “*The Difference between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophies of Nature*” (Ackermann et al Vol IV: 263).

Meanwhile, Marx was still adherent of Hegel’s idealism that aimed at drawing atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel’s philosophy. He joined a circle of Left Hegelians in Berlin. After graduating from university, Marx returned to the Bonn University hoping to find a job as a lecturer, but the reactionary policy of the government pushed him to abandon the idea of teaching at the University. Instead of that, he decided to become a writer where he joined *Rheinische Zeitung* (Rhineland Times), an opposition paper that was founded in Cologne on January 1, 1842. Soon after that, and in view of his influential and revolutionary writings, Karl Marx became the paper’s editor-in-chief (Lenin 6).

Under Marx’s editorship, the paper’s revolutionary-democratic propensity grew steadily. He seized this golden opportunity to write about people’s basic rights such as the right to free speech and free assembly. Also, Marx’s writings were riddled with much criticism of Prussian censorship and orthodox religion as well. Consequently, the government got very annoyed from Marx’s writings which focused too much on the social problems so that it subjected the paper to a severe censorship before ordering its total closure on April 1, 1843

(Lenin 6). In his attempt to save the paper, Marx presented his resignation as the editor of the paper but his attempt failed. After this bitter and fruitful experience in *Rheinische Zeitung*, Marx moved to Paris to publish a radical Magazine there with his friend Arnold Ruge.⁽¹⁾ Likewise, Marx's writings in this magazine showed his proclivities as a revolutionist.

Marx's career would thrive after the meeting with his best friend, Friedrich Engels. He met him in Paris for the second time in September 1844 after their first meeting in 1842 in the office of *Rheinische Zeitung*. Engels became Marx's closest friend he had ever met during his lifetime with whom he developed his brilliant career. As a matter of fact, Friedrich Engels was the person who turned Marx's attention to the study of economics and provided him with financial, psychological, and intellectual support. Thenceforth, the two friends started a long and a fruitful collaboration which yielded many valuable and interesting works.

In view of his Revolutionary propensities, Karl Marx was forced to give up his Prussian citizenship and banished from Paris at the insistence of the Prussian government. Engels went after him. There, they published their first writings entitled *The German Ideology* (Ackermann et al 264). In Brussels, also, Karl Marx had played a key role in closing the gaps between Communist groups in the West of Europe who were contacting each other with correspondence. These groups of Communists had already formed the *league of the just* consisted of about 300 members (Worsley 26). But in 1847 the name of this organization became *Bund der Kommunisten* or in English the *Communist league* (Lenin 7). This organization was forced to operate secretly in view of the difficult circumstances pervaded the European continent then (Kautsky 13). At its second convention that took place in London, Marx and his friend took a prominent part so that they were commissioned to prepare for the *Communist Manifesto* that would detail its theoretical principals and lay down its platform. Effectively, Marx worked very hard so that he managed to finish the first edition of the *Communist Manifesto* in February 1948. The first edition was written exclusively in German and then was translated to other European languages such as French and English.

(1) Arnold Ruge (1802-1880) was a Left Hegelian. He was prisoned during the period (1825-1830); a political exile after 1843; and a Bismarckian during the period (1866-1870) (Lenin 6).

I.2 The Communist Manifesto

Marx and Engels commenced their manifesto by the famous expression “*a specter is haunting Europe- the specter of Communism*” (Marx and Engels 7). This was a connotation that alluded to the power of Communism that all the European countries started to fear seriously. This fear stemmed from the influence that the Communists were exerting. Being aware of their influence, all the European governments entered into a holy alliance in order to root out their specter. This, according to Marx and Engel, reflected two important things; first, the European powers had already recognized the power of the Communists; second, the time became ripe for the Communists to voice their ideas, views, thoughts, aims, and proclivities. These were the main reasons that pushed the Communists from different countries to participate in the London convention destined to design the platform for all the Communists.

The Communist Manifesto, published in February of 1848, came within few weeks before the French revolution. Europe was boiling and people were seeking an outlet to their social problems. The Industrial Revolution affected massively the European countries. The spread of Factories was increasing year after year. Meanwhile, the growth of industry was accompanied by an increasing need for raw materials, markets, capital, and labor force. But the two essential elements to start and run any industrial activity are the capital of the bourgeois class and labor of the working class or rather the proletariat.

The Bourgeois class was so rich. It owned factories and had the capital in its hands which provides it with the power to influence in economy. It had developed gradually through time since the early years of the Industrial Revolution. Its wealth had also grown rapidly via the expansion of the markets outside the European continent especially in India, East of Asian, Africa and America. The development of the means of transportation overseas had also increased too much the wealth as well as the power of influence of the bourgeois class. The bourgeois class became the powerful and the supreme class. On the other side, the proletariat is propertyless and had only the labor force to sell for the bourgeois. Friedrich Engels defined the proletariat class as follows:

It is that class in society which lives entirely from the sale of its labor and does not draw profit from any kind of capital, whose weal and woe, whose life and death, whose whole existence depends on the demand for labor, hence on the changing states of the business, on the vagaries of unbridled competition. The proletariat or the class proletarians is, in a word, the working class of the nineteenth century. (Engels 5)

As a historian, Karl Marx gave much importance to the history of the previous societies. He viewed that the history of these societies is in fact the history of the class struggles, or more precisely, the struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed. In fact, the class struggle is one of the basic tenets upon which Marxism is based. It is the doctrine that revolves around the idea that all the human societies, except for the primitive one, are divided into several classes engaged in a continuous and irreconcilable conflict. Marx said:

The history of all human society, past and present ... has been the history of class struggle. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, baron and serf, guild-burgess and journeyman – in a word, oppressor and oppressed – stood in sharp opposition each to the other. They carried on warfare, sometimes masked, sometimes open and acknowledged; a warfare that invariably ended either in a revolutionary change in the whole structure of society or else in the common ruin of the contending classes. (Lenin 17)

The class struggle usually resulted from the unfair social arrangement of people in those societies. For instance, in the Roman social arrangement, society was divided into “*patricians, knights, plebeians, and slaves*” (Marx and Engels 8). In the middle ages, societies comprised different classes such as the “*feudal lords, vassals, guild masters, journeymen, apprentices, and serfs*” (8). As for the European society in the mid-nineteenth century, the social arrangement differed from that of the middle ages. This arrangement was brought about by the industrial revolution where the split among the whole society was increasing gradually so that society became shaped of two main hostile classes: the bourgeois class and the proletariat. Therefore, the Communist ideology ascribes the basic reality of anything social to the class struggle.

The bourgeois society is ruled by a capitalist system. This latter, as analyzed by Karl Marx, is premised upon the profit motive. That is, every capitalist is thoroughly obsessed by his greed for profit. His main purpose in life is to strive to earn as much money as possible. But the money that he earns comes from the labor and product of workers in his factories or mines, farms, etc. The capitalist does not work and thus he produces nothing, but he takes all the money. This was quiet unfair for the toiling forces and therefore a transition from capitalism to socialism was necessary to achieve justice for the large masses of workers.

Karl Marx's analysis of the human society resulted in classifying people into different classes according to the relation that links people of each class to the process of production. Lenin also had almost the same notion to the term of class that explained more the Marx's notion. He defined the class as follows:

Classes are large groups of people which differ from each other by the place they occupy in the a historically determined system of social production, by their relation (in most cases fixed and formulated in law) to the means of production, by their role in the social organization of labor, and consequently, by the dimensions and mode of acquiring the share of the social wealth of which they dispose. Classes are groups of people of which can appropriate the labor of another owing to the different places they occupy in a definite system of social economy. (Dutt 150)

Marx claimed that classes into which people were grouped are real social and political forces which can act in history. But they could do so only if they recognized themselves as a united group and are aware that they belong to the same class. That is, they should be aware of their common interests and then strive to defend and improve them. Therefore, according to Karl Marx, people who do not belong to the same class could not act together because they do not share the same ideas and interests (House of Representatives *Facts on 16*). In fact, they could never unite their action for the simple reason that they have different consciousness.

The class-consciousness is so important for the emancipation of the working class. It represents the ideological side that all the workers had to be aware of it. Lenin defined the class-consciousness as follows:

It [the class-consciousness] means the workers' understanding that the only way to improve their conditions and to achieve their emancipation is to conduct a struggle against the capitalist factory-owner class... further, the workers' class consciousness means their understanding that the interests of all the workers of any particular country are identical, that they all constitute one class, separate from all the other classes in society. Finally, the class consciousness of the workers means the workers' understanding that to achieve their aims they have to work to influence affairs of state. (Dutt 166)

The class struggle is in fact a struggle of opposing aspirations. Each class has its own interests which clash directly with the interests of the others. Marx explained that the source of conflict between the two classes is the private property because it is the sole criterion upon which the society had been divided. The Industrial revolution transformed the European society, sprout from the middle ages ruled by feudalism, into a bourgeois state dominated by the bourgeois class that holds in its hands all the means of production as well as the property (Marx and Engels 14). The private property is so important in that it gives people exclusive power that enables them to have impact on other things. Also, the bourgeois class could employ its ownership against the best interests of the other propertyless class. As a result, this would engender feelings of hostility among workers and made them ready to react spontaneously at any moment.

Marx concluded that an inevitable clash between bourgeois class and the propertyless class would happen. It is the revolution that would result in the victory of the working class and bring about the fall of the bourgeois class. Marx and Engels believed that the capitalist system would fall in the same way serfdom had fallen before. This prediction hinges on a deep analysis that capitalism was obviously rendering workers into its gravediggers (A Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B) 9). The class struggle is in fact the process of digging the grave of capitalism. This process, according to Marx and Engels, would end with the death of capitalism and its burial in that grave leaving the place for the emergence and establishment of Socialism as an inevitable outcome of the whole process of class struggle. Marx and Engels summed up this process as follows: “*What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, is its own grave diggers; its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable*” (Marx and Engels 23).

In his pamphlet entitled *the Class Struggle*, Kautsky had expounded the steps and the stages through which the victory of the proletariat would pass before reaching its final stage and defeating the bourgeois class. He particularly pointed to the growing importance of the proletariat as a class via raising its awareness of its interests which would develop into economic and political power. Its influence and power would increase as it became larger and united. At this stage, the proletariat class could revolt against the bourgeois class and win the battle. The whole process as explained by Kautsky is as follows:

while the proletariat is steadily extending itself, while it is growing ever stronger in moral and political power, while it is becoming ever more an economic necessity, while the class struggle is training it more and more into habits of solidarity and discipline, while its horizon is ever broadening, while its organization become ever larger and more compact, while it becomes from day to day the most important, and finally only the working class upon whose industry the whole social body depends, while it undergoes all these important changes and thus progresses steadily, the classes that are hostile to it melt away with equal steadiness and rapidity... in view of this, it cannot be doubtful to which side victory will finally lean (20).

The antagonism between the working class and the bourgeois would develop into a political struggle with the aim of taking the political power. However, the proletariat could not emancipate itself without freeing the whole society at once (Mehring 122). Therefore, the revolution would erase the bourgeois state and establish a new society ruled by the large masses of proletariat. It is a classless society or a society with only one ruling class, the class of the proletariat. It is a social society where the private property is abolished; the society is no longer ruled by few people or rather the elite but is ruled by the proletariat; the means of production are expropriated and put under the control of the whole society; miners, factories, means of transportation and communication, media, banks, medical and educational establishments, big farms, ...etc. are devoted to fulfill and meet people's needs (Bowens et al 73). But each revolution has its leaders who should organize, plan, and direct it so that it achieve its goals. So, who are the leaders of the socialist revolution?

The Communist Revolution must be led by the Communists. They are the elite of the proletariat class who are aware of their class' interests and aspirations. They share a high degree of class-consciousness: *"They are small group of the elite among the working class, those enjoying more favorable conditions than the average worker"* (Kautsky 8). Workers were not able to wage a revolution against the bourgeois state without the valuable leadership of the Communists. This is what reflects the importance of the Communists' role among the working class. They are professional revolutionists. So, to achieve its emancipation and establish a socialist society, the working masses had to collaborate with the professional revolutionists and labor for seizing political power by a forceful revolution.

Karl Marx prescribed the aim of the Communists. According to him, the immediate aim of the Communists comprised three basic steps: “*Formation the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, and the conquest of political power by the proletariat*” (Marx and Engels 24). He distinguished them via two main features: first, they defend the common interests of all workers and do not distinguish between different nationalities of workers in the same country; second, in the different stages of the struggle between the bourgeois and workers, they always place ahead the interests of the movement. Therefore, Marx presented the following definition for the Communists:

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over great masses of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletariat movement. (24)

From this definition, we can deduce the definition of Communism. It is a movement that aims essentially at liberating the proletariat from being exploited and enslaved by the bourgeois class. It also defends the rights of workers and labors to improve their living conditions. Friedrich Engels had presented a precise and concise definition of Communism which is as follows: “*it is the doctrine of the conditions of the liberation of the proletariat*” (Engels 5).

The Communist revolution, as Karl Mark had explained, would make a radical rupture with the previous traditional property. Capital also would become a social property owned by all members of the society. The bourgeois private property generally referred to as the system of producing and appropriating products based on the class antagonism resulted from the exploitation of the all by the few. Therefore, the Communist revolution aimed at abolishing the bourgeois property as traditional way of private property at that time. Accordingly, Karl Mark gave another concise definition of Communism saying that it is the: “*Abolition of the private property*” (Marx and Engels 25). As for the private property of ordinary people such as peasants and petty craftsmen, Karl Marx claimed that there was no need to abolish such private property for the simple reason that the Industrial Revolution had already and is still abolishing it day after day.

Karl Mark set up a Communist program of ten points which represents the blueprint for the establishment of a social society and the enforcement of the public ownership as well as the control of everything by the state. The first point in the program is the abolition of the private property via the expropriation of landed property and turned all the land rents to the public interests. Also, the property of all emigrants should be confiscated; banks and means of transportation should be controlled by the state; extending the public factories and means of production; equal liability of all to labor; the gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country via equal distribution; free education for all children of the society and abolishing the work of children in the factories. These ten points made a radical rupture with the bourgeois state and lay down the foundation of a new fascinating society of one large ruling class that owns everything.

1) Expropriation of landed property, and the application of all land rents to public purposes. 2) A heavily progressive or graduated income tax. 3) Abolition of the right of inheritance. 4) Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels. 5) Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly. 6) Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State. 7) Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan. 8) Equal liability of all to labor; establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture. 9) Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries, gradual abolition of distinction between town and country, by a more equitable distribution of population over the country. 10) Free education for all children in Public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of Education with industrial production, etc. (Marx & Engels 33- 34).

I.3 Dialectic, Materialism and Historical Materialism

Dialectic is a philosophical saying centered on the idea that all things are in continuous flux which happens according to certain laws. The result of this process would bring about change. In other words, things are in a continuous change. This change brings about something new which takes the place of something old, of course, after a long and strong fight. The notion of dialectic is based on the principle of opposites-in-unity (House of

Representatives Facts on 27). That is, change is the fruit of a fight wherein opposites oppose each other but ends in unity. Therefore, change occurs according to a pattern of three main components: thesis, antithesis, and synthesis (Dan 7). Thesis represents things as they are whereas antithesis represents the opposites of these things. The fight between thesis and antithesis will engender a new element called the synthesis. This latter will be involved in another struggle as a thesis and so on. For instance, the class struggle is a long fight between the proletariat which represents the thesis and bourgeois class that represents the antithesis and would bring about the fall of bourgeois and the triumph of proletariat and establishing socialism which is the synthesis.

Materialism is another philosophical idea that explains everything in terms of matter (House of Representatives Facts on 27). Historical materialism, as seen by Karl Marx, is the idea that says that everything occurs has economic reasons. Karl Marx believes that “*history is entirely the result of economic processes*” (Dan7). He also believed that society is controlled by those who owned factories and mines, the bourgeois class. Accordingly, the capitalists had power to affect the society and thus the history of that society via controlling everything and everyone.

I.4 Communism and the Utopian Socialism

Utopian Socialists are people who dream of a perfect society characterized by justice and equality between all individuals. They imagine an ideal socialist society and believe that they could make it real through a willful action. The Communists disagree with the utopians’ point of view and regarded it as a childish one because they disregarded the laws of history in addition to their belief that the proletariat is the only suffering class. Instead, the Communists believed that the proletariat is the most advanced class destined to realize the scheme of history. So, Communism is based on the revolutionary cause which is in itself based on the laws of history whereas the other revolutionary cases were based on ideas of justice and equality. Accordingly, the Scientific Socialist focuses too much on the class struggle and its historical development that would lead to the emancipation of the mankind but not necessary lead to the absolute freedom.

The emancipation of the mankind would be achieved through a socialist revolution. This latter was viewed by Marx’s doctrine of revolution as a necessary event in the process of history rather than a fulfillment of people’s aspirations to achieve the social equality, justice,

and right rule. He also regarded the working class as a historical initiative that would revolt and act according to the requirements of the process of history. Therefore, the Socialist Revolution centers on the idea of what would certainly take place in the future in light of the current prevailing conditions in societies, not on the idea of what people aspire to. Accordingly, workers are asked to revolt for the sake of the cause of the Socialist Revolution without taking into consideration whether their aspirations would be fulfilled by this revolution or not.

Karl Marx considered that the doctrine of the Socialist Revolution is a process based on three essential parts which are: “(a) *an appraisal of the present conditions and trends, together with a precondition of necessary historical developments; (b) a call to a social class to unify for the purpose of seizing power; and (c) a justification for the power wielded by this class or, rather, wielded in the name of this class*” (House of Representatives Facts on 56). The first tenet of this doctrine consists in appraising the prevailing conditions in society and whether the proletariat is mature and strong enough to wage the revolution or not. The second tenet is a call on the proletariat to act and rebel against the bourgeois class via organizing and unifying their efforts. The last tenet contains a justification for wielding power from the bourgeois class of behalf of the revolution as a result of the ruthless exploitation of the proletariat class.

1.5 The Shift of Communism from Europe to the United States

When Karl Marx began the Communist Manifesto with the famous statement “*A specter will hunt Europe- the specter of Communism,*” he and his co-author Friedrich Engels had no inkling of the way in which Communism would develop in the future notably in the twentieth century. It became not only a specter but a living reality. And not just in Europe, but for hundreds of millions of people spread across the world, and in places different from those where Marx expected proletarian revolutions to occur. Communism, however, flourished in Europe and its influence was not limited only to the European countries, but reached other countries in other continents such as the United States of America. Hence, once we come to speak about Communism in the United States, the first question that comes to mind is: How did Communism find its way to the United States?

The United States or rather the New World witnessed waves of immigrants over centuries ever since its discovery by Christopher Columbus in 1492. For these floods of immigrants, the United States was the dream land where they would realize their dreams and secure a better life. The number of immigrants increased rapidly after the independence of the

United States in 1783 and continued during the first half of the nineteenth century. This increase was due to the rapid economic growth of American industry and agriculture. Accordingly, the American people are a mixture of different communities that came from different countries. This characteristic rendered the United States an archetypal nation of immigrants. In this respect, Oscar Handlin published a book entitled *The Uprooted*, in which he studied the origins and the structure of American People, wrote the following statement: “Once I thought to write the history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American History” (Handlin 3). These immigrants constituted the American labor force that boosted the American economy so that it became one of the important industrial countries in the world by the end of the nineteenth century.

The United States witnesses a rapid economic growth during the first half of the nineteenth century. Affected by the European industrial revolution, the American industry had developed rapidly so that the United States reached the fourth place among the world economies. Also, the American industry benefitted a lot from its huge capacities which consisted mainly in the wide fertile lands, the suitable climate and the abundance in raw materials. Accordingly, during the decade that preceded the Civil War, quantities of industrial products doubled; the length of the railroad developed from 9, 000 miles to 31, 000 miles; the annual production of coal increased from 50, 000 tons in 1830s to 14, 000, 000 tons in 1850; in addition to the discovery of gold in California which laid the groundwork for the development of the region (Foster *History* 26).

The Development of the U.S. industry was accompanied by a huge increase in the working masses. The U.S. economy was in need of qualified and hard workers. Accordingly, The United States became the best destination for thousands of European immigrants, notably the Germans. German immigration to the United States increased steadily during the first part of the nineteenth century. Its average, for instance, shifted from 2 200 immigrants during the 1820s to 34 000 in 1830s; it reached 67 000 immigrants in 1945 whereas it exceeded 100 000 after the ill-fated revolution of 1848; But during the 1850s, the average doubled and reached 200 000 immigrants yearly (Obermann 17). As a matter of fact, floods of immigrants came from different European Countries such as France, Italy, Island, etc., but the German immigrants had played the main part in spreading, developing, and educating the American toiling forces about the Marxist thoughts during the second part of the nineteenth century. They were experienced in Marxism, trade unions, and enjoyed a high degree of political consciousness which qualified them to be the forerunners of the modern American Communist Party.

I.6 The Pioneer Marxists in the United States

After their arrival to the United States, the European immigrants, namely the Germans, started to spread Marx's teachings. Joseph Weydemeyer was one of them. He was experienced in Marxism and one of the first immigrants who arrived to the new world after participating in the ill-fated German Revolution of 1848. Arrived in 1851, Weydemeyer did everything in his power to spread and expound the Marxist ideas namely scientific communism. He actively participated in the establishment of the socialist movement along with his co-Marxists, but it soon failed due to the different perspectives of the founding members where each one has its own understanding of Marxist ideas pretending to be the rightful.

Joseph Weydemeyer had more advantages over the other immigrants to be the pioneer of American Marxism. He worked closely with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in Germany; and because of the Prussian terror, he had worked secretly for three years spreading their works. He was a gifted polemist, energetic organizer, and well-informed in Marxism. He was able to purify Marxism from many distortions and capable to apply it on the American conditions. Marx acknowledged Weydemeyer's good qualities and stated that he is "*one of our best men*" (Foster *History* 29). Furthermore, before his immigration to the United States, both Marx and Engels puzzled a lot about the best way Weydemeyer's immigration would serve Communism in view of his splendid abilities. This was expressed explicitly by Marx in his letter to Weydemeyer in which he stated the following: "*I rack my brain with plans as to how you might settle here. For once across the ocean, who will guarantee that you will not lose yourself somewhere in the Far West. We have so few forces, we must be so sparing with our talents*" (Obermann 16). Engels shared the same opinion. He wrote to Marx telling him the following: "*We need a reliable person like Weydemeyer in New York. After all, New York is not out of the world; and we know that if we need him, Weydemeyer can be relied on*" (16). Accordingly, Weydemeyer left Germany to the United States on September 29, 1851, to pursue his life as well as carry out his new mission as a well-grounded Marxist.

I.7 The Proletariat League

In 1852, Weydemeyer and his co-Marxist friend Sorge along with seventeen of the advanced Marxists in New York, established the *Proletariat League*. It was the first Marxist organization in the United States. This organization was based on the *Communist Manifesto* of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Believing in the importance of media as a perfect way to

spread and extend their ideas, Weydemeyer proceeded to establish the first Marxian paper called *Die Revolution* under his editorship. This paper was followed in the next year by another paper called *Die Reform*. It was the second paper established and edited by Weydemeyer which later became the official paper of workers in the United States.

After its creation, members of the *Proletariat league* labored for expounding Marxism for the toiling masses. Also, they ardently participated in workers' struggles. In addition, they called on the small trade unions of German-speaking workers to shape one large and strong trade union. Effectively, their call was responded positively and consequently the American Labor Union ALU was created. This new organization adopted a concise program of immediate demands namely the instant naturalization of all immigrants, enacting federal labor laws, removing onerous taxes, and reducing the working hours to ten hours a day. But this program was soon proved to be ineffective due to its vagueness in addition to its disregard for the problem of slavery. This organization was reorganized in 1857 so that it became known as the General Worker's League, but it soon collapsed in 1860 (Foster *History* 31).

I.8 The Communist Club

In the autumn of 1857, the United States witnessed a grave economic crisis. Its repercussions were painful for the working masses, namely the immigrants, where many lost their jobs. As a result, several struggles were waged by workers in order to defend their rights, claim relief and denounce the capitalists as well as capitalism that brought about that economic crisis. The Marxists participated in these struggles and were in the forefront of them. But to better coordinate their efforts, the Marxists proceeded to organize themselves in a new body called the *Communist Club*. This latter was created in New York on October 25, 1858, under the leadership of Friedrich Kamm. The aims of this organization centered on bringing the best for people via reconciliation their interests, striving for freedom, happiness, and reaching a unified world republic (Foster *History* 32).

I.9 The Marxists and the Negroes Question

An important component of the American labor force was the blacks. This category of workers did not enjoy the same treatment like the whites simply because they were enslaved by the whites. The latter considered their slaves as a property. They could by them, sell them, lend them...etc. Also, black families suffered a lot from the non-humanitarian treatment of their

masters when they separate wives from their husbands, taking children from their parents...etc. In all, the Negroes had no rights (Remini133).

From the standpoint of law, the *declaration of independence* recognized the equality of all people and acknowledged their equal rights when explicitly stipulated: “*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness*” (Patrick 48). Nevertheless, Negroes in the United States did not see anything of these promises and remained slaves at the mercy of their masters. Negroes had been excepted from enjoying full citizenship as if the *Declaration of Independence* stipulated “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men [except for the Negroes] are created equal”. Even Thomas Jefferson, who drafted the *Declaration of Independence*, George Washington, and other freedom fighters, retained slaves in their wide plantations (O’Callaghan 44). For the Negroes, this was absolutely unfair.

After the independence, the problem of slavery in the United States was developing as decades went by. Negroes were concentrated in the South because of the abundance of wide plantations which required lot of hard workers. Therefore the southern states were against the abolition of slavery simply because it would bring about the end of their economic activity. In contrast to the South, farms in the North were small and few so that there was no need for slaves. In addition to that, the North was characterized by the spread of factories which needed qualified workers. Therefore, during the early years of the nineteenth century, several northern states had enacted laws that abolished slavery inside its territories. This encouraged slaves to escape from the South and shift to the North.

As the problem of slavery heated up during the 1850s, the Marxists sided with the Negroes in their fight to abolish slavery. Their position stemmed from the conviction that the abolition of slavery would expand democracy, boost the productivity of the labor force, and most important, help to create a homogenous and powerful working class capable to defend its interests as one block (Foster *History* 38). After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act on May 30, 1854, which many historians considered as the foremost reason behind the Civil War, many demonstrations swept through the country. Furthermore, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which allowed the expansion of slavery in the West, stirred the political scene, badly affected the Democratic Party, and led to the emergence of the Republican Party.

Joseph Weydemeyer viewed the political development over the Negroes question as golden opportunity for the Marxists to broaden their popularity. He regarded that the labour movement had to take an essential part to break down its isolation. He opposed those Marxists who regarded that the Marxists should content themselves with struggling for enhancing the working conditions of the proletariat and defending their interests. In contrast to this view, Weydemeyer strived to take important part in the struggle for the abolition of slavery. According to him, it would be better for the American labor movement to participate vigorously in the abolitionist movement. He therefore added the abolition of slavery to the Marxists' list of the immediate demands.

During the Civil War, the Marxists' played a key role when they responded positively to the President Lincoln's call to join the forces of the Northern Army. As a former German artillery officer, Joseph Weydemeyer was appointed by President Lincoln to be the commander of Saint Louis. He, along with other Marxist leaders, had participated in the war because they viewed the war as the last resort and the inevitable way to solve the struggle between the two struggling systems. Moreover, they joined the Union Army because they regarded the triumph of the North would secure and further a democratic atmosphere necessary for the spread of the Marxist ideas. Accordingly, the Marxists did not hesitate to join the Union Army and fought till the end of the War in 1965 with the victory of Union Army.

I.10 The International Workingmen's Association (IWA)

In accordance with the famous slogan of Karl Marx: "*Workingmen of all countries, unite!*" (Marx and Engels 48), an important organization was founded in London on September 28, 1864, called the International Workingmen's Association IWA, also known as the first international. Given the fact that he was the writer of the *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx was chosen to be the leader of the IWA. In his inaugural speech, Karl Marx stressed on the key idea that "*political movements must be subordinate to economic emancipation of workers*" and devoted the IWA to the thorough emancipation of the proletariat (Mattern 5). Marx had spent the first five years in organizing the trade unions, spurring independent workingmen's parties, promoting the collaboration between trade unions, and funding workers' strikes.

The American Marxists were not isolated from what was happening abroad namely in Europe. Indeed, shortly after the end of the Civil War, they started to build their IWA sections. By 1869, the Social Party of New York was created from an amalgamation of the General

Workingmen's Alliance and the Communist Club of New York. After, this new group or party declared itself as the first section of the IWA in the United States. The native-born Americans, who belonged to the middle class and were activists in the reform movements in 1840s, had also supported the IWA. Victoria Calvin and her sister Tennessee Calvin along with the labor leaders William West and Stephan Pearl Andrews established together a new organization called the New Democracy. By 1871, this latter declared itself as sections 9 and 12 of the IWA. Accordingly, by the end of 1872 there were thirty sections of IWA on the American soil (Foster *History* 50).

The harmony among the supporters of the IWA did not last for a long time and the disagreements started to surface. These disagreements was due to a conflict over power but also reflected the European ideological split. In Europe, orthodox socialist Marxists believed strongly that economic organization must come at the first place before the political action because they viewed that economic organizations pave the way for political activity via providing it with the required basis. On the other side stood the followers of Ferdinand Lassalle. This latter believed strongly in the political action as the only way to make revolution and emancipate the proletariat. He also believed in the iron law of wages. That is, in a system of free competition, workers could not have wages more than the guaranteed minimum of wages. Thus, Lassalle stripped off the trade unions from their basic demand and destroyed one of the main pillars upon which they were based, striving for higher wages (Draper 12). Therefore, the followers of Lassalle refused Marx's analysis of the class struggle in addition to the refusal of the strictness of the party and believed that the political action must come at first because it is the only way to resolve workers' problems and fulfill their aspirations.

But the cause that brought about the dissolution of the IWA or the First International was the deteriorate relationship between Karl Marx and the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin. In the Hague Conference that took place on September 2, 1872, Bakunin's followers expressed their unequivocal dissatisfaction with Marx's tough control of the organization. Marx, for his part, managed to overcome their attack and excluded Bakunin from attending the Conference (House of Representatives *Facts on* 9). The most outcome of this conference was the appointment of Sorge as the general secretary of the IWA in addition to the council's decision to move the IWA's headquarters to New York City because of the unsuitable environment in Europe; however, neither Marx nor Engels moved to New York. Accordingly, the IWA became under the control of the Americans.

The European split had a reflection on the American sections of the IWA. The Germans led by Sorge stuck to Marx's theories, philosophy and analysis whereas Victoria and her fellows chose to follow the philosophy of Lassalle and engaged themselves in political reform activities (Mattern 7). This sharp split weakened the unity among the IWA's sections and continued plaguing it so that its membership decreased considerably year after year. Accordingly, at its conference held in Philadelphia on July 15, 1876, delegates from nineteen sections agreed to dissolve the International Workingmen's Association and launched together a new group called the Workingmen's Party of the United States, later known as the Socialist Labor Party SLP.

The creation of the SLP came to meet the need for a new political organization to pursue the embodiment of Marxism. This manifested in its list of demands and goals which generally revolved around nationalization of means of transportation, railroads, and telephone. In addition to that, the party called for the nationalization of all industrial companies and put them in the service of the whole society. The party derived its principles from the general status of the IWA. Besides, the party adopted the same position taken by the IWA regarding the importance of the trade unionism as well as the political action. That is the SLP would uphold the trade unions and base its parliamentary activities on the considerable backup of trade unions.

The membership in the SLP grew rapidly over years. This appeared in its seventh convention of in 1886 where the party scored the membership of seventy sections whereas it scored only thirty-two two years ago. But in spite of this tremendous increase in its membership, the party was far away from developing a strong Marxist program even though it claimed to follow the writings and philosophy of Marx and Engels. In addition to that, ideological conflicts between members of the party began to surface and sharpen. As a matter of fact, the SLP was divided into three main parts: the rights, lefts, and the direct actionists. The rights dominated the party's leadership since its foundation. They downplayed the importance and the role of trade unions and even the leading role of the party itself. The lefts, for their part, were not motivated to engage largely in the labor and farmer movements and instead contended themselves with small propaganda of revolutionary mottoes. As for the direct actionists, they were reckless syndicalists who almost destroyed the party. In addition to the different trends among the party, the party had disregarded the Negro question.

The Socialist Labor Party suffered from other problems that frustrated its development. One of these problems was the nature of the Party's structure that was made of an absolute majority of the Germans. The native-born Americans were very few. This feature damaged the party's attractiveness for the Americans and felt ignored by the party. This situation was due to the Germans themselves. They did not manage to rid themselves of their German remnants and behaved as though they were in Germany. In addition, they did not make efforts to mingle with the Americans and draw their attention to the importance of the party. They instead isolated themselves and did not make efforts to learn English, the language of the majority and the natives. Accordingly, the membership of the native-born Americans was very small and the party's popularity shrunk. This along with other disagreements among party's members led in 1889 to the split of the party into two small parties, the Social Democratic Federation and the Social Labor Party.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States became the first capitalist and industrial nation in the world and left England behind. This unprecedented economic growth empowered the United States and opened its appetite for new markets to sell its goods and meet its factories' need to raw materials. This need for expanding its territories outside its borders rendered the USA an imperialist country holding the belief that the greatness of a nation hinges on its large territories as well as its strong power. Accordingly, the United States turned the Monroe doctrine as a ground for exploiting Latin America. This, for instance, manifested in the Spanish-American War of 1898 which resulted in the American takeover for the Philippine Islands, Puerto Rico, and Guam (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 749).

The huge growth of American Industry was also accompanied with a considerable increase in size of the working class. But the capitalists' hunger for collecting money without caring about workers' conditions and their capacities as humans pushed them to go beyond in exploiting the working masses. This generally engendered an intense struggle between the arrogant capitalists and workers. Within this atmosphere, the necessity for a strong organization capable to defend workers' rights and stand in front of the imperious desires of the arrogant capitalists became more and more necessary. Also, previous experiences proved the need of the proletariat not only to education about its rights and the final aim of socialism but also to a practical leadership in their everyday struggles with capitalist.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, arrogant capitalist adopted a new policy based on differentiating between workers and dealing with them differently. It is a new strategy which resembles too much the slogan “divide and govern” that hinges on sowing seeds of difference between workers via overpaying the native-born and skilled workers and underpaying the Negro and unskilled workers. The capitalists had the financial power to go beyond in carrying out this labor policy and reached furthest points never reached before even by the British capitalists or other capitalists in any capitalist nation. This policy was helped by the opportunist leaders of the American Federation of Labor AFL through their strike betrayal, anti-socialism, exclusion of Negro and unskilled workers and class-collaborationism (Foster *History* 82).

De Leon, the leader of the Social Labor Party, attacked this policy but at the same time made some fatal mistakes that later brought about the decline of the party. His chief mistake was resulted from his belief that the socialists had better to concern themselves only with developing a strong socialist labor movement and thus must withdraw from the old conservative trade unions. This resulted in the isolation of the SLP from the economic organizations and deprived the party from a significant support. Another point that weakened the SLP under De Leon’s leadership was the incorrect position towards the Negroes question. The Marxists did their best to integrate the Negroes in the trade unions and defend their economic rights like other workers. However, they did not develop a political view about the political demands of the Negroes. The Negroes were still suffering from the white and bourgeois ideology centered on the white supremacy hinges on the false idea that the blacks are inferior to the whites. In this respect, De Leon did not make efforts to clarify the party’s positions regarding the Negroes’ vital political demands and protect them from the persecution they were subjected to by the whites and capitalists.

Under De Leon’s leadership, the Social Labor Party witnessed the decay of the leadership. This manifested in the emergence of socialist and near-socialist tendencies outside the official leadership of De Leon. This situation damaged a lot the unity of the Party and paved the way for the factional dissensions. Also, the party became incapable to confront the problems caused by the growing American imperialism and thus lost the reason for its existence as the vanguard socialist party of the American working class. Accordingly, the Socialist Labor Party fell apart leaving the room for the emergence of a new party called the Socialist Party of America.

The Socialist Party of America SPA was created in 1901. It was created as a result of an amalgamation of the Socialist Democratic Party SDP and the seceded faction of the SLP led by Morris Hillquit. The latter sent a proposal to the convention of SDP held on March 6, 1900, suggesting merging the two groups in one strong body. The delegates of the SDP convention accepted the proposal of Hillquit for fusion. Accordingly, the joint convention was held in Indianapolis on July 29, 1901 where about 10000 attended the proceedings of the convention. The outcome of this convention was a new organization called the Socialist Party of America with Leon Greenbaum as its national secretary, Hillquit and Berger as its political leaders, and worked out a program that generally revolves around one chief and final aim which consists in the creation of a social society via seizing political power, removing the private ownership of means of production and substituting it with the public ownership.

In the course of the joint convention, the debate heated up regarding the point of the immediate demands. The delegates were divided into two opposing groups, 'impossibilists' influenced by De Leon's view points and the possibilists. The impossibilists stressed that the party should focus on working out a perfect propaganda in order to establish Socialism rather than adopting instant demands; however, the possibilists managed to beat down their argument via securing the majority 5358 to 1325. Accordingly, the Socialist Party adopted a set of instant demands such as reducing the hours of work, striving for higher wages, equality between men and women in terms of civil and political rights, and social insurance. With respect to trade unions, the convention recognized the importance of both political and economic activities are crucial and of great importance to achieve the party's final aim (Foster *History* 97).

But the Socialist Party, like the previous Social Labor Party, suffered from internal conflicts between the Rights and the Lefts. The right wing consisted of numerous middle class intellectuals and businessmen such as lawyers, doctors, dentists, preachers, journalists, professors, small employers, and even few priests. For instance, by 1908, the party included 300 preachers in addition to some substantial group of millionaire socialists. Those members were not proletarian in essence but they managed to dominate the party as years went on (Foster *History* 120). Their aim was to transform the party into a middle class party and killing the fighting spirit of the proletarian members. This wide gap between the two opposing wings engendered sharp struggles that would logically impede the correct function of the party and affect its policies. Therefore, it became very clear that the two struggling and opposing groups will not stay in the same political body.

I.11 The Split within the Socialist Party's Convention

During the Socialist Party Convention that took place on August 30th, 1919, the right wingers had a complete control over the party apparatus. They abused their power and refused the seats of the left wingers who presented themselves to that convention as delegates. John Reed along with other left-wingers, who wanted to participate in the convention, tried unsuccessfully to take their seats. The right-wingers went further when they excluded the left-wingers from the convention where the Executive Secretary Germer called on the police to expel them (Foster *History* 171). This act put an end to the final phase of the split within the Socialist Party. It became clear that the cohabitation between the two splitting groups became impossible and thus each side should follow its own path to achieve its appropriate goals.

The left-winger did not wait for a long time to create their new political party. After their exclusion from the convention, they claimed firmly to be the rightful side to represent and speak in the name of the Socialist Party. But in the following day, they proceeded to create their new political body under the name the Communist Labor Party of America. On the other hand, on September, 1st, 1919, the right-wingers held their convention in Chicago and created their own political body which called "the Communist Party" (Committee on Un-American Activities *Organized* 29).

The Communist Party's program outlined its policy and different goals. The party reiterated its loyalty to Marx's ideas and philosophy namely that Communism would put an end to workers' misery and sufferings caused by capitalism. In this regard, the party committed itself to defend the proletariat's interests, develop and organize a revolutionary movement to abolish capitalism and emancipate workers from its oppression. The party also insisted on the importance of the political action inspired by a revolutionary spirit stressing that the class struggle is in essence a political struggle. This manifested in its commitment to seize the political power by the proletariat that is fully inspired by the revolutionary spirit. Accordingly, the party defined itself as follows:

The Communist Party is the conscious expression of the class struggle of the workers against capitalism. Its aim is to direct this struggle to the conquest of political power, the overthrow of capitalism and the destruction of the bourgeois state...[It] prepares itself for the revolution in the measure that it develops a program of immediate action, expressing the mass struggle of the

proletariat. These struggles must be inspired with revolutionary spirit and purposes...[It]is fundamentally a party of action. It brings to the workers a consciousness of their oppression, of the impossibility of improving their conditions under capitalism. [It] directs the workers' struggle against capitalism, developing fuller forms and purposes in this struggle, culminating in the mass action of the revolution. (Committee on Un-American Activities Organized 35)

On the other hand, at the end of its convention, the Communist Labor Party adopted a program and laid down the foundations of its platform. This party defined itself as follows: “*The Communist Labor Party of America declares itself in complete accord with the principles of Communism, as laid down in the manifesto of the Third International-Comintern- formed in Moscow*” (Committee on Un-American Activities *Organized 42*). The policy and the philosophy adopted by this party stands on a set of basic tenets. First, the necessity of overthrowing capitalism and replacing it by the rule of the working class or otherwise the world civilization would collapse; second, the emphasis on the necessity that the working class must organize and train itself for the seizure of the power and thus the establishment of a new working-class government machinery instead of the capitalist one; third, this new government would reorganize the society on the basis of Communism, and then complete the transition from capitalism to Communist Commonwealth; fourth, the abolishment of the private property and replace it by the public property; fifth, the necessity of unifying revolutionary working class movements of all countries; sixth, the emphasis on the important way to seize power that lies in the necessity that workers must act from places they were gathered; seventh, workers could benefit from the machinery as means of propaganda and defense in countries where workers had the possibility to use it; last, the necessity to support all revolutionary groups and proletarian organizations that have the same aims and goals .

Through contemplating the programs of both parties, it becomes clear that both of them were loyal to the Marxist ideas and almost had identical targets as well as identical ways, “the proletariat must overthrow the capitalist system and establish a Communist one instead.” Both parties constructed approximately the same views regarding the state, capitalism, Communism, revolution, the proletarian dictatorship, and Imperialism (Foster *History 172*). So, the existence of two parties with nearly the same objectives and strategies was absolutely pointless. Therefore, many efforts and attempts were made to unify these two parties had took place. The prominent role done in this regard was that played by the Communist International.

So, what is the Communist International? Where was it headquartered? And what was it made for?

I.12 The International Communist

The great success of the Bolshevik revolution led by the elite of communists headed by Lenin was only the first step in a long path. After the violent and forceful seizure of political power in Russia and establishing the Soviet Union as a concrete model for other Communists across the world, Lenin and his fellows turned their attention to the second step which consists in dominating the whole world via exporting the brilliant model of the Bolshevik revolution. They had a belief that a world revolution would happen in the future (Dan 58). According to them, the world revolution would happen in the wake of the Russian one if they strengthened and supplied the revolutionary groups –the Communist parties– in western and central countries of the European Continent with the necessary and the required help (Salvadori 29).

The Russian belief was based on certain facts. These facts consisted mainly in the widespread human suffering that the European countries had witnessed in the Aftermath of the First World War. Economic losses were heavy; most of the infrastructures and institutions that were built during the nineteenth century were destroyed; and almost all the European families were terribly affected by the destructive war. In addition to that, the era was characterized by the collapse of the Turkish Empire, the German Empire, the Russian Empire, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. By the collapse of these empires, the new emerging countries plunged into confusion chaos. This chaotic situation was suitable for the revolutionary groups to take advantage of it and seize the political power in their countries (Salvadori 27).

The Russian Revolution had a great impact on the revolutionary groups. It became an ideal example for them to seize power. They were excited and eager to follow Lenin's example of seizing power. These facts were indicators for the Russian leaders that a world Revolution would occur in the near future and thus they must prepare themselves to direct this revolution so that it serves their agenda. To do so, there must be an organization that could coordinate the acts and the efforts of the revolutionary groups. Therefore, in order to take the main part in this expected revolution and supervise it, the historical Russian thinker and leader, Vladimir Lenin, ordered the creation of what is called the International Communist, better known as the Comintern.

The Comintern was launched at Vladimir Lenin's behest to meet what he viewed as a vital and essential need. Founded in Moscow on March 7, 1919, the Comintern was tasked with one important mission (Salvadori 29); bringing all Communist Movements all over the world under the single leadership of the Soviet Union. However, its implied target was to realize the Russian Government's policies in the countries impressed by the Bolshevik Revolution. It "*Aimed to prepare and organize revolution outside Russia by unifying pro Communists groups and directing the development of the various Communist parties.*" (House of Representatives *Facts* 14). Moreover, the Comintern was considered as a "*worldwide brotherhood of like-minded revolutionaries, and all Communist parties, including the USSR's, were its branches*" (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov 7).

Practically speaking, the Comintern was directly tied to the Russian Government. It was its powerful instrument which, thanks to it, it perfectly dominated all Communist parties throughout the world. As a matter of fact, the Comintern was the Soviets' perfect instrument to pursue its agenda centered on expansionism. Therefore, the Soviet Communist Party had the upper hand in directing the Comintern to fulfill the Soviet Government's strategy. More importantly, the Comintern always favored the Soviet interests over the other Communist parties' ones. In other words, the Comintern had to "*Place the interests of the Soviets Union ahead of the aspirations of any other section of the international Communist movement*" (Brown 82).

The Comintern was dominated by the Soviet Communist Party, its foremost party member (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov7). This feature stemmed from the Soviets' desire to impose their model of violent revolution on all communist movements across the whole world. Therefore, the Comintern was only a despotic organization covered by a democratic interface to be more attractive. The other members of the Comintern could only receive orders and apply the directions of this institution that generally serve the Soviet's interests simply because "*the interests of the Soviet republic were considered paramount for all member communist parties, who were subordinated to the decisions of the centralized, disciplined and ideologically pure Soviet dominated International*" (Sakwa 101).

The membership in the Comintern was given only to Communist parties which abide literally by its political line. There was no space for zigzagging or deciding outside its will. To this end, the Comintern established twenty-one conditions that each Communist party must abide by to win full membership in the Comintern. These twenty-one points clarified clearly

the requirements of the membership in the Comintern which generally revolves around restricting the freedom of party members and render them as executers of its policy in their own countries. For instance, the first condition stipulated that party members' propaganda should be done in accordance with the Comintern's program and resolutions: "*All propaganda and agitation must have a truly communist character, and correspond to the program and resolutions of the Communist International*" (Sakwa 101). Also, all party members should execute literally all decisions taken by the congress of the Comintern: "*all decisions by congresses of the Communist International as well as decisions by its executive Committee are binding on all parties*" (Sakwa 102). So, winning the membership of the Comintern is in fact losing and restricting the freedom of decision, thinking, and acting. In other words, being a member of the Comintern means total agreement to be a slave to its will.

The supremacy of the Soviets over the Comintern manifested in the structure of the leading members of the Comintern who were mainly Russians; and even the most foreign Communists who played prominent role in it were residents in Russia for a long-term. Also, to pursue its mission, achieve its task properly and subsidize the newly created Communist parties, the Comintern was supplied by the Russian Government with a considerable amount of money; most of it was in form of jewels, gold, and silver. So, it is clear that the Comintern was so important for the Soviet Government and meant a lot for it. This proves the holy mission for which it was created and provided with all required and necessary things to achieve it perfectly.

The Comintern expressed the concentrated will of the world revolutionary proletariat. Its mission is to organize the working class of the world in order to overthrow the capitalist system and supersede it by a Communist one. It is in fact a fighting body and assumed the task of combining the revolutionary forces of every country, and represents the single universal Communist Party, of which parties from various countries are only sections. It therefore called the world proletariat to the final struggle against Capitalism, which may last for years. Hence, in order to achieve its main task in the United States, there was a need to a strong Communist party capable to lead the masses of workers to seize power and establish Communist system, of course, subordinate to the Soviets. Accordingly, the Comintern had to interfere to shorten the distance between the two opposing Communist Parties in order to merge them and get one strong and unified American Communist Party.

I.13 The Fusion of the Two Opposing Parties

Since both the Communist Labor Party of America and the Communist Party of America were affiliated to the Comintern, the president of the executive committee of this latter addressed a communication on January 12, 1920, to the central committees of both parties stressing the necessity of immediate unification. Accordingly, a long negotiations between the two parties started in the following February and had lasted for months. As a result of these negotiations, a sharp split occurred within ranks of the Communist Party because some refused unity with the other party. These negotiations led to the first unity convention held in May 1920 at Bridgman, Michigan which resulted in the creation of the United Communist Party of America by unifying seceding groups from the Communist Party of America with the Communist Labor Party.

The creation of the United Communist Party of America did not put an end to the existence of two Communist parties with nearly the same agenda. The Communist Party of America still existed and only the splinter groups joined the United Communist Party of America. That is, the total unity was delayed many times because of the intense personal and organizational rivalries. But under further pressure from the Comintern, a second series of negotiations was launched shortly after the end of the first convention. These negotiations resulted in the joint unity convention that took place in May 1921, at Woodstock, New York (Foster *History* 180). The joint convention worked out the program of the new party and named it the Communist party of America stressing its affiliation to the Comintern as its first article had stipulated: “*the name of this organization shall be the Communist Party of America, section of the Communist International*” (Committee on Un-American Activities *Organized* 62).

The Communist Party of America was established to achieve and fulfill certain aims. The chief aim was the preparation of the proletariat to wage the big battle that would emancipate all workers from the exploitation and oppression of the capitalists through seizing political power, abolishing the capitalist system, abolishing the private property and supersede it by public and collective ownership, and establish a Communist system based on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party of America is the vanguard of the working class, namely its most advanced class conscious, and therefore, its most revolutionary part. Its purpose is to educate, direct, and lead the working class of America for the

conquest of political power; to destroy the bourgeois state machinery; to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the form of the Soviet power; to abolish the capitalist system and to introduce the Communist Society. (Committee on Un-American Activities Organized 62)

These aims were generally derived from the Marxist theory and the Communist Manifesto but the Russian touch was clear. This appeared in the violent words and statements such as “conquest of political power”, “destroy the bourgeois,” establish the “dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Soviet power”. These statements reflected that the Bolshevik revolution became an ideal example for all communist movements all over the world. It showed also the big change in the methods adopted by the Communists to achieve their aims. These methods leaned too much towards the use of violence and force rather than peaceful advocacy of rights and change. So, the Communists no longer believe in the peaceful activity and resorted to violence as a short, direct, and perfect way. Therefore, they chose to reach their aims through the gates of conquering the political power. This strategy was expounded by the Comintern as follows:

The conquest of political power by the proletariat means the annihilation of the political power of the bourgeois... the conquest of the political power means not only a change in ministry personnel, but the annihilation of the enemy's State apparatus, the conquest of real strength, the disarming of the bourgeois, of the counter revolutionary officers, of the white guards, and the arming of the proletariat, of the revolutionary soldiery, of the red worker's guard; the dismissal of all bourgeois judges and the establishment of the proletarian courts, the abolition of the rule of reactionary State officials and the creation of a new proletarian organs of administration. The victory of proletariat lies in shuttering the organization of the enemy power and organizing proletarian power; it consists in the destruction of the bourgeois State machine and the construction of the proletarian State machine. (Degras 19)

I. 14 The First Red Scare and the Palmer Raids

The formation of the Communist Party of America coincided with critical economic and political events in the United States and abroad. The Bolshevik Revolution achieved great victories over the armies of counter-revolutionary interventionists, and all Central and Western

European countries were boiling with the revolutionary groups influenced by the Russian model of seizing power. In the United States, things were almost alike. That is, the historic strikes of the working class that shakes the country still fresh in memory. More importantly, by contemplating very deeply the agenda of the Communist Party of America, it becomes quiet clear that the American government would not stay without taking a sharp reaction against this party. This manifested through the Palmer Raids.

During the period from 1919 and 1921, the federal government launched a wide raids campaign across the whole country to arrest and detain the alleged radical Communists it believed they were plotting to annihilate the US government. As a result of these raids, hundreds of Communists were arrested on the pretext that they advocated a violent revolution (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov 6). For instance, “*On the night of January 2, Palmer raids went off as scheduled in thirty-three cities from coast to coast. A second round-up was staged on January 5. Over 5000 arrests were made*” (Draper 204). Thus, during the period mentioned above, a large number of warrants for deportation were issued and a lot of Communists were indicted throughout the nation so that every Communist saw himself as “*A potential prisoner or a fugitive from Law*” (Draper 204). What is noticeable here is that neither the Communist Party was outlawed nor the party membership was banned. Nevertheless, around a thousand of alien radicals were deported by immigration federal officials during this period.

The campaign against the Communists almost brought the end of all members especially as the majority of them were immigrants. Therefore, in view of the large number of arrests and deportations, the Communist Party of America was forced to work secretly. Consequently, the communist activists were obliged to adopt pseudonyms and change their residences continuously. They were also obliged to reorganize themselves into small cells and met secretly so that it would be difficult to the government to notice their meetings and activities. In addition to that, the party’s papers were printed secretly. These measures were taken not only to protect the alien communists, but also because the Communists were convinced that a revolutionary change would occur and the best way for that was absolutely the Bolshevik Model.

As a reaction to this difficult situation, the third Congress of the Comintern addressed a communication in 1921 to the Communist Party of America, signed by Lenin and other Soviet ranking leaders such as Trotsky, Bukharin, Kamenev, and Zinoviev. This Communication contained orders to the American section’s leaders to escape US government’s persecution via

establishing an overt political party that complies with its laws so that it could carry out its activities and agenda openly. These orders were as follows:

American capital tries to crush and destroy the young Communist movement by means of barbarous persecution, forcing it into illegalized [underground] existence under which it would, according to capitalist expectations, in the absence of any contact with the masses, dwindle into a propagandist sect and lose its vitality. The Communist International draws the attention of the Communist Party of America to the fact that the illegalized organization must not only form the ground for the collection and crystallization of active Communist forces, but it is their duty to try all ways and means to get out of their illegalized condition and into the open among the wide masses; that it is their duty to find the means and forms to unite these masses politically, through public activity, into the struggle against American capitalism.
(Romerstein and Breindel 62)

The leaders of American Communist Party obeyed the instructions and acted in light of it. Accordingly, a convention took place in New York City in December for three days from 24-26. This convention resulted in the formation of the Worker Party of America, to work legally and openly whereas the Communist Party of America remained covert. What is notable to mention here is that the Comintern sent three of its representatives to the United States to force the American Communists to apply its decisions and instructions. These representatives were respectively: a Polish representative called Walecki, a Hungarian representative called Joseph Pogany, and the third one was Boris Reinstein (70).

In view of the persecution the American Communists had faced during the Palmer Raids as well as the possibility of jailing the leading board of the Communist Party, the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, held on the third of December, 1922, decided that its American Section should work openly as a legal party (*U.S. House of Representative organized 79*). In other words, the Comintern recognized that the underground work of its American Section was absolutely a political suicide. Therefore, there was an extreme need for transition from illegality to legality through forming one legal party. This was the main point discussed by the second convention of the workers party held in New York on December 24, 1922. The final outcome of the convention was the election of a Central Committee of 24 members as well as a small Executive Council of 11 members (Draper 389).

The formation of the legal Workers Party did not put an end to the underground Communist Party. This was the point handled in the council of the still underground Communist Party held on December 1922. There was a total agreement to stop and dissolve definitely the underground Communist Party of America. Therefore, on April 7, 1923, the third national Convention of the Communist Party of America voted to dissolve itself and merge with the Workers Party of America. Also, this latter was authorized to adopt the name of the Communist Party of America when desirable. Thus, for the next two years, the Party's name was known as the Workers Party of America. Then, in 1925, it changed to the Workers (Communist) Party of America (Draper 390). This latter, in its turn, recognized the supremacy of the Comintern over it. The first article of its constitution declared that "*The name of this organization shall be the Workers (Communist) Party of America, the American section of the Communist International*" (House Committee on Un-American Activities *Organized* 80).

As it is clear, the Workers (Communist) Party of America was only a section of the Comintern, and thus its leaders accepted the authority of the Russians over them. In other words, what was left for the American Communist leaders was only to apply and execute literally the orders, directions, and the orders they used to receive from the Comintern. They did not have a big marge of freedom to think and decide about what to do in the presence of directions from Moscow. They accepted to be bossed by the Russians so that they lost their freedom of thinking and deciding about their future and about what is suitable for their country. They became as slaves who lost their autonomy so that they could not do anything without returning to their bosses who have the final word about what to do.

I.15 The Communist Party of USA

Among what was left for American Communist leaders of the Workers (Communist) Party of America were the factional struggles over who would lead the American Section of the Comintern. These endless factional struggles of the American Communists disgusted the leading board of the Comintern to the point that the American Section received many rebukes from the Comintern itself. This featured in the letter sent by the Executive Committee of the Comintern to the Workers (Communist) Party of America prior to its convention of 1929. In this letter, the Comintern addressed, in a sharp language, its instructions to both factions ordering them to secede immediately and without preconditions of the factional struggle. An excerpt from this letter is as follows:

The Communist International has several times requested the party in the most decisive manner to put an end to the factional struggles. The sixth plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International demanded from the party a complete and unconditional cessation of the factional struggle... the existing factions must be resolutely and definitely liquidated. The factional struggle must be unconditionally stopped. Without this, no mass Communist Party of the American proletariat can be organized. This is the most urgent task of the Party. The sixth convention of the Workers Party must categorically prohibit any further factional struggle under threat of expulsion from the Party. (House Committee on Un-American Activities Organized 89)

This letter clearly illustrated the internal factional conflicts among the ranks of Workers (Communist) Party. More importantly, it illustrated the supremacy as well as the severe control of the Comintern over its American Section. Furthermore, it showed the awareness of the Comintern of the least things and events used to occur within its American Section. Therefore, and in accordance to the Comintern's instructions, the Workers (Communist) Party's convention held in New York, on March 1-10, 1929, resulted in the formation of the Communist Party of the United States of America CPUSA (90).

I.16 The CPUSA during its Heyday

With the beginning of the Great Depression, the Communist Party of the United States started witnessing its heydays during the 1930s. That is, the Great Depression constituted a golden opportunity during which the CPUSA had thrived. As the economic crisis worsened, in addition to the incapability of the politicians to repair what was wrong, the American people began distrusting the old economic system, capitalism. Many American people, especially those who suffered a lot, blamed the capitalist system and considered it to be the main reason behind the Great Depression.

The repercussions of the Great Depression for the American economy as well as the working class were heavy. Almost half of the American workforce became jobless between 1933 and 1934 (130); the industrial production decreased sharply; many factories closed their gates; thousands of workers lost their jobs; and people could no longer afford to fulfill their basic needs. Consequently, Americans started seeking other alternatives and thinking about radical solutions. For some of them, this meant voting against the Republican Party in favor of

the Democratic Party. In addition, this economic crisis paved the way to the emergence of the CPUSA as an alternative through the solutions stemmed from Communism. As a result, the national membership of the CPUSA increased rapidly during the 1930s. For instance, it shifted from 7500 members to 30000 during the period from 1930 to 1935 (Patenaude 19). Besides, the party won the support of the ‘fellow-travelers’, those people who were ideologically close to the CPUSA and were sympathetic to its political line.

The national membership of the CPUSA continued increasing along the thirties of the last century until the signature of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact on August 23, 1939. That is, as the CPUSA was only a section of the Comintern which was in its turn an apparatus of the Soviet Government, it had to comply with the Soviet policy. Therefore, the party viewed the WWII as an imperialistic war and thus opposed the U.S. support to Great Britain (Klehr, Haynes, and Anderson 258). This act pushed those sympathizers and those who recently joined the ranks of the CPUSA to reconsider their support to the party. Consequently, the party’s national membership decreased sharply.

I.17 The Comintern’s Supremacy over the CPUSA

Since its creation in 1919 until its dissolution in 1943, the Comintern maintained its supremacy over the CPUSA. This was manifested in the several forums allocated by Comintern’s institutions for debating about American Communist Party’s activities, tactics, and problems. Like any member party in the Communist International, the CPUSA used to apply literally the Comintern’s instructions, receive subsidies, and kept firm channels of communication between the two sides. Therefore, the subordination of the CPUSA to the Comintern could be illustrated through three main points: political subordination, financial subordination, and the nature of communication.

a. The Political Subordination

As a member party in the Comintern, the American Communist Party clearly acknowledged the supremacy of the Comintern over it. The first sign of supremacy could be noticed in the name of the party. The party’s name, in fact, was set in accordance with one of the twenty-one conditions required for the admission to the Comintern which stipulated that “*all parties that wish to belong to the Communist International must change their name ... [to] Communist Party of such and such country (section of the Communist International)*” (Sakwa 102). Therefore, the American Communists accorded their political party the name “The

Communist Party of the United States of America, section of the Communist International”. This appeared clearly through all party’s constitutions adopted in their conventions which stipulated that the American Communist Party is a section of the Communist International until 1940 where the statement “section of the Communist International” was removed after the passage of the Voorhis Act.

The Comintern supervised the policies of the American Communist Party. In fact, it drew the policies of the CPUSA and the latter had only to follow, apply, and execute these policies without discussing or even questioning its correctness. As section of the Comintern, the CPUSA could just apply what the Comintern viewed suitable for the American Communism and its cause. This was stipulated among the required condition to join the Comintern:

All decisions by Congresses of the Communist International as well as decisions by its executive Committee are binding on all parties...At the same time, of course, in all their activities the Communist International and its executive Committee must take into account the diverse conditions under which each party has to struggle and work...(Sakwa 102)

Of course, the Comintern must pretend to be democratic and more comprehensive to the environment within which American Communists were working; however, its decisions usually stemmed from the Soviets’ desire to reach their goal and achieve their hostile agenda irrespective of the consent or the refusal of the American Communists. This was clearly expressed by J. Peter, the leader of the CPUSA’s secret apparatus during the 1930s, who said that:

We do not question the theory of the necessity for the forceful overthrow of capitalism. We do not question the correctness of the revolutionary theory of the class struggle laid down by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. We do not question the counter-revolutionary nature of Trotskyism. We do not question the political correctness of the decisions, resolutions, etc., of the Executive Committee of the CI [Communist International] of the convention of the Party, or the Central Committee after they are ratified. (Romerstein Breindel 58)

The CPUSA had totally abided by the big lines drawn by the Soviets. It also reiterated its loyalty to Marxism that called for the preparation of the proletariat to accomplish its historical mission which lies in the emancipation of the toiling masses from the exploitation and oppression of the ruling class of the capitalist system. This would be achieved only by the forceful abolition of capitalism. The use of such violent method reflected the reality that the American Communists were inspired by the Bolshevik Revolution which was the ideal model of revolution to all Communist movements across the entire world to realize their aims. In this respect, William Z. Foster, one of the leaders of the CPUSA and its candidate for American presidency in 1932, wrote in his book entitled *Toward Soviet America* that the Americans would wage their revolution, like the Russians did in their Bolshevik Revolution. He foresaw that because the American capitalism was aching from the Great Depression so that it was on the verge of collapse.

One day, despite the disbelief of the capitalists...the American workers would demonstrate that they, like the Russians, have the intelligence, courage, and organization to carry through the revolution. The American capitalist class, like that of other countries, is living on the brink of a volcano which, sooner than it dreams, is going to explode. (Foster Toward 67)

For their parts, the American Communists did not hide their subversion's intentions. Moreover, they explicitly stated the names of their overwhelming teachers such as Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, in the preamble of the party's constitution of 1938. The party had reiterated its abidance by the American traditions inherited from the most overwhelming American leaders such as Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Pin, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln; Nevertheless, its loyalty to Marx and Engels, the godfathers of Marxism along with the revolutionary leader of the Bolshevik revolution, Vladimir Lenin and his successor Joseph Stalin, retained the party within the distrust circle especially after signing the Nazi-Soviet pact in 1939. The following excerpt is taken from the preamble of the CPUSA's constitution of 1938:

By establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, nation by nation, and race by race, and thereby the abolition of class divisions in society; that is, by the establishment of socialism according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest

teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International.... (Committee on Un-American Activities 99)

The word “abolition” was used in the party’s literature to refer to the forceful overthrow of capitalism by the working class under the leadership of the Communist Party. To achieve this, the proletariat must first direct its force to conquer the political power. The Communists justified their resort to violence by the nature of the bourgeois class which, according to them, would never give up its high position, power, interests, influence, and prestige to the proletariat in peaceful way. This vision stemmed from the inspiring Bolshevik Revolution and the Comintern’s literature which said:

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully capturing the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resort to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and its political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie cannot abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and fanatic struggle. (Foster Towards Soviet 214)

So, the resort to violence, in the eyes of the Communists, was a crucial necessity to overcome the bourgeois class and deprive it from its power. Afterwards, the toiling masses led by the Communists could proceed to establish a socialist society based on the dictatorship of the proletariat by erasing all institutions of the capitalist system and supersede them by Communist ones. It is a classless society with one single ruling class, the proletariat; that does not recognize pluralism and therefore all other political parties would be dissolved except one ruling political party, the CPUSA. In all, it is a society wherein everything is run by the government.

Under the dictatorship [of the proletariat] all the capitalist parties—Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc.—will be liquidated, the Communist party functioning alone as the party of the toiling masses. Likewise, will be dissolved all other organizations that are political props of the bourgeois rule.... (Foster Towards Soviet 275)

b. The Financial Subordination

The American Communists did not look at the Soviets only for the political subvention but also for the financial one. Since the early years of its foundation, American Communism received considerable amounts of money from Moscow to help them to carry out their activities and secret agenda. For instance, John Reed, a well-known journalist and one of the founders of the American Communism, received on 22 January 1920 a sum of 1,800,000 rubles from the Comintern (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov 22). Also, in 1923, the Comintern's Budget Committee allotted a sum of \$75,000 to the American Communism and clarified how it should be spent. It maintained that two third of the sum must be spent on the legal activities of the party whereas the rest of the sum must be spent on the illegal work. These big amounts of money allotted to the American Communism showed the great importance of the United States in the Soviet's secret agenda. It also showed to what extent the American Communists were subordinated to their bosses in Moscow.

c. Ways of Communication

The contact between the American Communists and their supervisors in the Comintern took different forms. American Communists used to send delegates to Moscow to report the leaders of the Comintern about its activities and also to consult with it about its strategies, tactics and decisions. Also, the Comintern's intervention manifested via the party's everlasting factionalism that characterized the party during the 1920s where several meetings were held to settle the disagreements between the two rival factions. Thus, whenever there were problems especially feuds within the ranks of the American Communist Party, the Comintern was the last arbiter that solved them (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov 7). This continued during the 1930s where Earl Browder, CPUSA's general secretary during the period from 1932 to 1945, traveled yearly to Moscow to report the Comintern about the party's activities until the outbreak of the World War II that squelched this going and froing between USA and Moscow.

American and Soviet Communists used to communicate in different ways. As a matter of fact, in the course of 1920s and 1930s, there was a constant stream of Americans who were flowing forth and back between USA and USSR. Some were attached to the Soviet Union by family and ethnic ties; others found the Soviet Union as a safe refuge to escape unemployment as well as the bad living condition caused by the Great Depression. The Comintern and the CPUSA exploited this stream and tried to benefit from it. In addition to that, the CPUSA had

representatives in Moscow. Also, many American Communists could be found there working in the stuff of the Comintern or attending schools delivered by this latter. For its turn, the Comintern retained representatives in the United States up to the midst of 1930s. This illustrated clearly the firm relationship between the CPUSA and the Comintern that was close to the relationship between a master and his slave.

Documents were circulating between the two sides in different forms, too. Some of them were in simple text, others were encrypted, and some went to secret mail drops made by the American Communist Party. Moreover, the Comintern ordered Earl Browder to “*Obtain a short-wave radio set and instructed him on the times and frequencies to use. Meanwhile, couriers, often sailors, carried such materials as microfilms of the minutes of important party meetings to the Soviet Union*” (Klehr, Haynes, and Anderson 10). These covert ways of communication was endorsed by the creation of secret organizations. As a matter of fact, the Comintern had a special department which was responsible for the secret communications, money transfers, and foreign travel. This department was called The Department of Foreign Relations (10).

The supremacy of the Comintern over the American Communists was manifested also in the interference of the Soviet Leaders in the CPUSA’s internal affairs. After the death of the Soviet Leader Vladimir Lenin in 1924 and the rise of his successor Joseph Stalin, a series of purge in the ranks of the Soviet and American Communists was waged by this latter. The leadership of CPUSA undertook a campaign to purge the party’s ranks of those Communists who were classified as real and potential ideological enemies, especially the Trotskyists and Lovestoneists. Stalin regarded the Trotskyists as a potential threat to its regime. According to him, they infiltrated the Communist parties everywhere and plotted to overthrow the Soviet state. Therefore, the CPUSA was purged of the Lovestoneists at Stalin’s instructions on the pretext that they were suspected of kinship with Bukharin, another purged Soviet leader and Stalin’s rival to succeed Lenin after his death in 1924. These acts illustrate very clearly the supremacy of the Soviets Leaders over the American Communist Party or in other words their American Section.

I.18 The Secret Apparatus of the CPUSA

In the aftermath of the Bolshevik revolution, the Russian leaders did not content themselves with dominating Russia and establish the Soviet Union, but they had a big project broader than the Soviet Union; it is the domination of the world through expending Communism outside their territories as much as possible. To this end, the Russians relied on the revolutionary Communist movements in different countries which were too much attracted and impressed by the Bolshevik Revolution. The Soviets capitalized on the Bolshevik Revolution's attractiveness to dominate the revolutionary groups and organized them through the Comintern. They exploited their needs for help and support to appear as the inspiring ally who cares a lot about their future. Therefore, the Soviets encouraged and supported these groups ostensibly to get their independence from the oppression of the ruling class; however, their real aim was freeing them to annex them later.

Waging revolution and getting independence is a long process that requires lot of things to secure its success. The foremost thing among them was amassing secret information that is very necessary for making right and decisive decisions. The Soviets were fully aware of the great importance of the secret information in identifying the fate of any revolution. This appeared clearly in one of the twenty-one conditions required for winning membership of the Comintern which required that each party wishing to belong to the Comintern should establish "*an illegal organizational apparatus which, at the decisive moment, can assist the party to do its duty to the revolution*" (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov 21). In this respect, the CPUSA, as a prominent member of the Comintern, received orders to establish its own underground apparatus to spy on both the government as well as its political opponents (Romerstein and Breindel 67). This secret apparatus laid foundations for espionage activities that would be later one of the direct reasons for the emergence of the Second Red Scare in the wake of the WWII.

In 1926, the American Communist Party received orders from the Comintern to create an industrial espionage system called "workers correspondents". This system was designed to make workers in factories participate in gathering information and reporting the Communist party about everything in their factories such as goods produced, the size of the labor force,...etc. The purpose behind establishing such organization was to assure that everything is happening under their eyes according to principle "*in every shop, every local union, there should be a person to collect the information*" (Romerstein and Breindel 69). Afterwards, the

secret apparatus would filter the collected information and send the most significant to the Comintern.

The underground work was so crucial for the Soviets to achieve their agenda. Therefore, the Comintern insisted on its member parties to accompany their legal activities with other illegal activities carried out by an illegal apparatus. To this end, the CPUSA received in 1930 a letter from the Comintern stressing on the immediate necessity to develop a strong secret apparatus. It insisted that *“all legal parties are now under the greater responsibility in respect to the creation and strengthening of an illegal apparatus. All of them must immediately undertake measures to have within the legal existing party committees an illegal directing core”* (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov 71).

During the 1920s, the CPUSA had created its secret apparatus but it was not strong enough to undertake its task. This failure was due to the factional rivalries that weakened and badly affected the secret apparatus. But in 1930s, under the Comintern’s insistence, the CPUSA revived its secret apparatus and hired J. Peter to accomplish this mission. Effectively, the secret apparatus of the American Communist Party thrived and witnessed its heydays under the guidance of J. Peter. It managed to infiltrate crucial institutions of the federal government and enlisted high officers such as Alger Hiss (82). Accordingly, the Soviets received vital secrets about their enemy, the United States.

I.19 The CPUSA and the Second World War

In the course of the 1930s, the CPUSA benefited a lot from the Great Depression. The party capitalized on the bad living conditions, the spread of unemployment, and the eagerness of Americans to find quick solutions to the crisis, to enlarge and double its national membership. Also, the party was a great supporter for the New Deal⁽¹⁾ program launched by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. This new profitable situation enabled the party to change his policy that shifted from a party strategy into a popular front against fascism (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov 9). This change of the CPUSA’s strategy came as a compliance with the Comintern’s order in 1935 because the Soviets felt the growing threat of Nazism.

(1) The New Deal was a series of administrative and legislative programs initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in order to promote economic recovery, introduce social reform, provide relief to citizens, and combat the effects of the Great Depression (1929-1941). This program was initially effective, but in 1937, the economy experienced another recession and Roosevelt moved to introduce more legislations. This is sometimes called the Second New Deal (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 130, 1128).

But, with the emergence of the early signs of the WWII, the great nations began concluding alliances. The most important one was that known as the Nazi-Soviet pact concluded between the Soviet Union under the leadership of Joseph Stalin and Hitler. This pact illustrated a complete shift in the Soviet policy from pole to pole where the Soviets were seeking only their own interest that was characterized in the mutual collaboration with Hitler. Therefore, in accordance to this pact, and since the CPUSA's policy was always directed by the Soviets, the party was obliged to relinquish its support for the anti-Nazi foreign policy. More importantly, the party was instructed to attack the President Roosevelt's for his continued support for the European surrounded countries. Moreover, the CPUSA went further when it did its best to stop the American aids to those who were fighting against Nazism (Klehr, Haynes, and Anderson 87). This change in policy and the subjugation of the CPUSA to the Comintern's control cost the party a heavy price. Its membership sharply decreased; the federal government reacted sharply by attacking it legally; the FBI extended its surveillance of the party activities; and the imprisonment of Earl Browder in the 1941 for using a false passport (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov 11).

When the WWII heated up, the American government passed the Voorhis Act on October 17, 1940. This Act required registration with the Attorney General of all organizations engaged in political activity and subjugated to a foreign control (Committee on Un-American Activities *Organized Communism* 108). Also, the Act obliged such organizations to provide detailed information about their officers, contributors, and activities (Klehr, Haynes, and Anderson 7). Therefore, in its convention held in November 16-17, 1940, the CPUSA took the decision to cut officially its ties to the Comintern. This manifested in removing the recurring statement of affiliation to the Third International from the first article of its program adopted in this convention: "*The name of this organization shall be the Communist Party of the United States of America*" (Committee on Un-American Activities *Organized Communism* 108).

This disaffiliation was only on papers; however, practically, it continued underground. This manifested through a report sent by the CPUSA's referent, Nat Ross, the head of the CPUSA's activities in the Deep South in the early 1930s, to the Comintern's presidium assuring them that the American Communist Party saw the disaffiliation as a sham. He expressed that feeling as follows: "*In essence and in fact the entire party membership...will be drawn still more closely under the banner of the Communist International*" (Klehr, Haynes, and Anderson 87-88).

When Hitler broke the Nazi-Soviet pact and attacked the Soviet Union, this latter waked up from its foolishness and reconsidered its relationship with the United States. The American Communist Party, for its part, asked for the intervention of the United States in the WWII to help the Soviet Union against Germany. Effectively, following the Pearl-Harbor attack on December 7, 1941, the American Communist Party supported President Roosevelt's war policies and called for an urgent intervention in Europe to alleviate pressure on the Soviets. This change in the CPUSA's policies saved the American Communists and helped them to restore many of the front relationships annihilated during the Nazi-Pact. Also, the heroic resistant of the Soviets to the German Army alleviated the widespread anti-Communist sense of the Americans (Klehr, Haynes, and Firsov 11). Furthermore, Stalin dismantled the Comintern in 1943 in his attempt to show the United States and Great Britain his good intentions and win their support as allies. All this did little to change the Communists' image as revolutionists among the American people.

In this chapter, we have seen the deep relationship between the American Communism and that of the Soviet one. The American Communists were totally tied to the Comintern. They were hostage to the Soviets desire and could not do anything without consulting with the Comintern. The CPUSA witnessed its heydays during the decade characterized by the Great Depression. The party supported the New Deal Programs launched by President Roosevelt and adopted a popular front to eradicate fascism. As a result, its national membership increased massively. Then, the party suffered a lot after the signature of the Nazi-Soviet pact in 1939 and paid heavy for that. This sufferance appeased after the German attack on the Soviets in 1941 and the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii where the United States entered the WWII and allied itself with Great Britain and the Soviet Union. So, the relationship between the American government and the American Communists was in most of time described as a bitter relationship. The question here is how this relation would be after the end of the WWII?

Chapter 2:

The Second Red Scare and the Rise of McCarthyism

“We have agents at the very center of government.”

Boris Bykov.

Introduction

During the Second World War, the three allied countries, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union fought side by side against the axis powers. The alliance between the two democratic nations, the United States and Great Britain, and the totalitarian Soviet Union was convenient for all of them since they had the same enemies, the axis powers. Therefore, the utility of the alliance expired as soon as the war finished in 1945. Effectively, when the war ended, each nation pursued its agenda according to its own interests. But as these countries had opposing interests especially that related to the ideological expansion after the war, the early features and signs of a new war surfaced. So, what was this war? What were their reasons and tools? And what were their repercussions for the American Communists?

II.1 The Background of the Cold War

In the aftermath of the WWII, a big split between the West, under the leadership of the United States, and the Soviet Union developed rapidly into an international clash of wills, strategies, and ideologies. This ideological war was soon termed the "Cold War". It was a war that lasted for forty five years and became the center of the world politics. It also shaped the domestic and foreign policies of almost all countries across the world. Therefore, the Cold War was really a big issue of the foreign policy after the end of WWII and created a great debate among historians. But the notable question here that poses itself firmly is how did the allied countries become enemies in the wake of the war? And what was the essence of their conflict?

The disagreement between the two emerging superpower, the United States and the Soviet Union, goes back to several years ago. It is notable here to notice that the relationship between the two poles was always characterized by the lack of trust and ideological rivalry. Moreover, all American Presidents before President Franklin D. Roosevelt refused to recognize the existence of the Soviet Union until the coming of Roosevelt who recognized the USSR in 1933. Besides, even the alliance between Stalin and Roosevelt was clearly unusual since it came as response to a common need and aim which was defeating Hitler and his allies. Therefore, as soon as the axis powers were defeated, the victors returned back to pursue their own agenda.

President Roosevelt expressed his hope that after the defeat of the axis powers, the allied countries would give the liberated countries that had fallen under the control of the axis powers the opportunity to determine their future and chose democratically their own governments. This hope clashed with Stalin's plans. The latter wanted to create a secure zone in the Central and Eastern Europe in order to repel any possible aggression from the Western Europe after the end of the war (McNeese 16). In addition to that, Stalin and his fellows were massively interested in extending Communism outside the Soviet territory and enlarging the Communist camp.

As the war was very close to its end, where the defeat of the axis powers became certain, the leaders of the allied countries, President Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and the Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin, met at Yalta, located within the Soviet Union, in the black sea, to discuss the expected surrender of Germany as well as the future of the world after the war (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 1739). The three allied countries along with France agreed to divide Germany into four parts and that each country would be responsible of one of them. Stalin wanted to punish Germany for its deeds via adopting harsh policy against it. This severe policy aimed at disabling Germany from waging any war again.

Stalin seized the occasion of the Yalta convention to insist that the Soviets should take as much as they could from the German economy as compensation for the big damage caused by them. On the other hand, he "*put forward a figure of 20 billion dollars and demanded that the Soviet Union should receive priority in allocations of German capital equipment in kind for a period of ten years*" (Dockrill 18). Also, during the Yalta conference, the allied nations committed themselves to help the liberated European Countries to hold free elections to choose freely their own governments that would express the will of these populations (Dimitrov 97); however, Stalin pointed out that it is up to the Soviet Union to decide whether the elections are democratic or not.

The Yalta conference resulted in three main points. First, the allies decided that land, railroads, and ports of the Chinese land in Manchuria would be divided between both China and the Soviets. Second, the Soviets would keep the land in Eastern Poland that they occupied when fighting Germany. Third, the Soviets would organize free elections in the freed lands of Eastern Europe to establish their governments (McNeese 24). When having an attentive look at these three points, it seems clear that the Soviets were given advantages to become a superpower and play a prominent role in shaping the postwar world. Therefore, Roosevelt was

massively criticized for compromising too much with Stalin. Roosevelt, according to his opponents, had no right to think and believe that Stalin would keep his word about organizing free elections in the countries liberated by the Soviets. Moreover, by giving the Russians the eastern of Poland as well as their presence in Manchuria, Roosevelt seemed to encourage the expansion of Communism. This criticism increased especially after the fall of China in the hands of the Communists in 1949.

The Yalta Conference showed undoubtedly the big disagreement between the three leaders because of their opposing purposes as well as personalities. This conference showed almost clearly that Stalin would not establish free elections in the Eastern European countries freed from the German Colonization. Effectively, in the wake of the war, Stalin renounced his promises and instead of holding free elections, he established pro-Communists governments in different Eastern countries that could be backed up later by the presence of the Soviets. All these non-welcomed steps made by Stalin pushed Roosevelt to reach a clear conclusion about Stalin's real intentions. This conclusion lied essentially in the reality that Stalin had no intention to keep his promises and that he had "*broken every one of his promises he made at Yalta*" (McNeese 19).

Since the day he succeeded Vladimir Lenin, Stalin labored to lay down the foundation for his despotism. He toughened his grip on everything in the internal front, eliminated all his political rivals in the purges that took place during the thirties, and strengthened his domination over international Communism via the Comintern. He developed his own political trend termed as "Stalinism" which is a "*style of politics, political thoughts, and cultural actions related to the needs of the party*" (Kimmage 268). This political trend rose to the international scene in the aftermath of the WWII to express itself clearly when Stalin broke the agreements signed at Yalta Conference.

Stalin, in fact, was a dictator who craved too much for extending his power as much as possible. He was a despot who could not keep his promises if they impede and frustrate his expansionist ambitions. He acted only in accordance to the requirements of his aims. Therefore, the alliance concluded with the United States and Great Britain during the WWII was required at least to maintain what was in his hands and delay his expansionist agenda after vanquishing the axis powers. Effectively, as soon as the war ended, Stalin resumed his expansionist agenda. But his agenda would clash with the Western countries namely the United States. He therefore regarded the "*West as foreign and hostile*" (Kimmage 268).

After more than 12 years as president of the United States, the longest-serving President in the American history died of brain hemorrhage on April 12, 1945, at age of 63 years old (Allport 75). Accordingly, his vice president, Harry S. Truman rose as new president of the United States. President Truman, suddenly found himself occupying the hottest seat during a critical period of both American and world history. His mission to succeed such a great president in such critical moments was not easy at all. As a vice president of Roosevelt, Harry Truman had almost no familiarity with the international questions laid on President Roosevelt's table. Moreover, Roosevelt did little to make Truman fully informed of the nation's deals and challenges. Hence, as vice president, Truman "*did not attend any significant war discussions and scarcely knew of the major operations*" (Foley 26). He did not speak too much with Roosevelt during the period between his election and his death. Most important, Harry Truman did not know about the Manhattan project of the nuclear bomb except vague information about scientific research on nuclear weapons (McNeese 19; Foley 26).

In view of all his challenges, President Harry Truman spent long hours in Roosevelt's Map Room reading many diplomatic documents that Roosevelt had never shown him before. Soon, he felt that he understood Stalin and thus he is up to act. Truman deduced that he could not believe in Stalin's promises he might make to him in the future because he distrusted him and regarded him "*with suspicion and personal dislike*" (McNeese 20). Ten days after Roosevelt's death were enough for Truman to understand the big deals and challenges to the point that he confided to his advisors that it is time to withstand the Soviets.

After the surrender of Germany on May 8, another conference was organized at Potsdam during the period from July 17 to August 2, to discuss the future of Europe as well as the continuing war in the East (Foley 29). But this time, President Truman could sit and negotiate comfortably with Stalin after the successful test of the first American atomic bomb in New Mexico on July 16, 1945 (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 113). In this conference, Truman managed to convince Stalin that the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-Shek was the rightful ruler of China. Moreover, Truman succeeded to prove his upper hand in this conference when he prevented the Soviets from taking reparations from the zones controlled by the United States, Great Britain, and France. This big clash of wills of the big three resulted in the division of Germany into two parts; the first one is that formed of the three unified sectors under the occupation of the United States, Great Britain, and France, whereas the other was controlled by the Soviets (McNeese 21).

As for the war in the East, President Truman's advisors advised him that a mass invasion of Japan to end the war would cost 500,000 American Lives. Truman was persuaded that the bomb would be the most effective solution to end the war very quickly. Also, the use of the nuclear bomb would prevent the Soviets from controlling and having the upper hand in Asia when the war is over. Moreover, Truman was convinced that it is time to test the new destructive weapon on which the United States had spent a lot of money over many years (Poolos 88). Effectively, Truman's administration started the selection of the favorable Japanese zones to drop the A-bomb. At the end of this process, Truman decided to drop the bomb on Hiroshima for a notable reason that lies in the fact that the Americans wanted to convey a clear message to the Japanese leaders without killing many people (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 1578).

As a matter of fact, Truman was aware of the horrific damage the bomb would cause. Many thousands of Japanese civilians would die as a result of the bomb. Truman concluded that such casualties would be understandable by the American people in view of the Japanese crimes committed in China where thousands of civilians were killed as well as the horrific torture the prisoners of war were subjected to. More importantly and above all, the Americans did not forget the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and were determined to make them pay heavily for daring to attack and kill 2,403 Americans (Poolos 92; Benson, Brannen and Valentine 1207). Consequently, on August 6, 1945, Truman gave his order to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima where around 75,000 were killed and 100,000 were injured or declared missing. Likewise, three days after, another bomb was dropped on Nagasaki and 80,000 people were killed or injured. As a result, Japan declared its surrender on August 14, 1945 (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 1578).

II.2 The Containment Policy

Soon after the end of World War II, tension began to mount between the United States and the Soviet Union. This tension was due to the Stalin's breaking down of the agreement and promises he made in Yalta to organize free elections in the Soviet-occupied countries. But when the war was over, Stalin renounced his promises and installed pro-Communist governments in several Eastern European countries, including Poland. In addition to that, the Soviets stationed troops in Iran during the war in order to protect the Iranian oil fields from the Germans. After the war, the Soviets balked at withdrawing their troops until a considerable pressure from the United Nations UN was made. These acts revealed clearly the expansionist

intentions of the Soviets and raised the anxiety of the United States and its Western allies. This was really a great alarm to the Soviets' partners during the war and marked the beginning of the Cold War.

President Truman along with other policymakers in Washington became fully convinced that the Soviets are untrustworthy. He expressed his understanding of the Soviets and the priorities of his administration's foreign policy as follows:

I do not think we should play compromise any longer. We should refuse to recognize Rumania and Bulgaria until they comply with our requirements; we should let our position on Iran be known and we should continue to insist on the internationalization of the Kiel Canal, the Rhine-Danube waterway and the Black Sea Straits and we maintain complete control of Japan and the pacific. We should rehabilitate China and create a strong government there. We should do the same for Korea. Then we should insist on the return of our ships from Russia and force the settlement of the lend-Lease debt of Russia. I'm tired babying the Soviets. (Spalding 30)

Meanwhile, the rhetoric of the Cold War was heating up. In February 1946, Joseph Stalin gave a speech in Moscow in which he tried to account for the conflict between the West and the East. He predicated his explanation upon criticizing Capitalism and praising Communism. He argued that "*the conflict arose in reality as the inevitable result of the development of the world economic and political forces on the basis of monopoly capitalism... capitalism failed to avert war, because it was against the redistribution of wealth*" (Spalding 31-32). This speech illustrated very clearly that the Soviets still adhered to the Marxism-Leninism and they just concealed their beliefs during the WWII.

As a response to Stalin's speech, Winston Churchill delivered his famous speech in March 1946, in Fulton, Missouri. In his speech, Churchill painted a vivid verbal picture of millions of people trapped behind an "Iron Curtain". He maintained that "*from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent*" (Tucker 20). The *Iron Curtain* separates the free and democratic Western European countries from the Eastern ones under the totalitarian rule. According to Churchill, the Soviets wanted to monopolize the fruits of WWII and spread their ideology in the countries under their control. He said that "*the Soviets desired the fruits of the War and the indefinite expansion of their*

power and doctrine, without recourse necessarily to war” (Spalding 39). On the other hand, he saw that the previous ways of dealing with the Communist threat were no longer effective. He, therefore, refused a balance of power policy:

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptation to a trial of strength. (Spalding 39)

II.3 The Kennan Telegram and the Clifford Memorandum

As the relations between the Soviets and their Western allies worsened, the US State Department commissioned its embassy in Moscow to present an exhaustive study and assessment of the Soviet policies and tactics. The American embassy in Moscow was also asked to provide the State Department with recommendations on the future policy and strategy the United States should adopt towards the Soviet Union. Indeed, George F. Kennan, one of the State Department’s expert diplomats on the Russian and the Soviet policies, drafted a long telegram of 8000 words and send it to the State Department in Washington (Tucker 2364).

In his Telegram, Kennan urged the policymakers in Washington to realize the seriousness of the Communist Threat. He argued that the ultimate goal of the Soviet foreign policy was the Russian Domination of a Communist World (Melvyn 26). The Soviets were laboring to undermine the strong western governments and overthrow all governments that refuse to comply with their desires (Karvounarakis 1). Therefore, George F. Kennan recommended that the United States should adopt a policy known as "a containment policy" that chiefly aims at keeping the Soviets within their borders (Nash IX: 63). Kennan backed up his attitude with a plenty of arguments and examples that illustrated the Soviets aims. These examples are as follows:

The Soviet consolidation of a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe; Soviet violation of the agreement to withdraw troops from Iran; Soviet relinquishment of Japanese arms to the Chinese Communists; the Soviet mode of extracting reparations from the Russian zones in Germany; Soviet diplomatic overtures

for bases in the Dardanelles, Tripolitania, and the Dodecanese; Soviet request for a role in the occupation of Japan; and the Kremlin's renewed emphasis on Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the vulnerability of the capitalist economies, and the inevitability of conflict. (Melvyn 26)

Another important report that assured the content of the Kennan Telegram and recommended a containment policy is that known as the Clifford memorandum. This latter was written by President's advisors, Clifford Clark McAdams and George M. Elsey, who reported President Truman on the Soviet-American relations. This memorandum recommended a Western alliance in order to curb and prevent further expansion of the Soviets and thus Communism (Tucker 447). The Clifford memorandum came as response to the President Truman's request to provide him with an exhaustive assessment of the Soviets upon which he will build his future response to the Soviets or rather the American policy towards the Soviet Union. In a meeting held on July 12, 1946, Truman announced to his advisors the real reasons that pushed him to ask for the memorandum. These reasons are as follows:

(1) Now was the time to take a stand on Russia; (2) America was tired of being pushed around; (3) the Soviets were chiseling away at the free world, little by little; (4) the Paris conference would likely "bust up," because the Kremlin would want too much and America would not back down; and (5) given the probability of diplomatic failure, a thorough analysis of Soviet violations of international agreements and its aggressive actions toward the world was needed. (Spalding 54)

The Clifford memorandum qualified the American relations with the Soviet Union as the gravest issue the United States had to face. The reporters went further when they explicitly stated that the soviets were "*running a course of aggrandizement leading to world domination*" (Spalding 54). Besides, Clifford and Elsey emphasized the idea that both the aim and policies of the Soviets are against the American ideals. Furthermore, they stressed on the Soviets chief target which essentially consisted in doing their best for stretching their control as much as they could. They argued that:

The key to an understanding of current Soviet foreign policy, in summary, is the realization that the Soviet leaders adhere to Marxian theory of ultimate destruction of capitalist states by Communist states, while at the same time

they strive to postpone the inevitable conflict in order to strengthen and prepare the Soviets for its clash with the western democracies. (Spalding 55).

Clifford and Elsey gathered considerable facts and information to back up their arguments as well as to give President Truman a clear image about the Soviets policies and intentions. The report depicted the maturing tactics of Marxism-Leninism that was manifested in the Soviets' form of merging Germany they strived to achieve. It also pointed to the Soviet support to the French and Italian Communist Parties to abate their rivals. As for Asia, the reporters pointed to the Soviets' desire to maintain the internal feuds in China, Korea, and Japan until a suitable time where they could impose their desire on these countries (Spalding 56). Finally, the report closed with a call for collaboration and alliance between the United States, Great Britain and other western countries to face the Soviet expansion.

II.4 The Truman Doctrine

The Clifford memorandum gave President Harry Truman a clear image about the Soviets postwar policies and intentions. As a matter of fact, the American-Soviet relations returned back to the first square. That is, the rivalry and antagonism between the capitalism and communism was restored. The Soviet alliance with the United States and Great Britain during the WWII was just a necessity that was dictated by the circumstances of the period that required the delay of their differences and disagreements until they defeat their common enemies. Therefore, once the war was over, the Soviets pursued their agenda and tactics to spread their ideology, Communism.

Capitalized on People's bad living conditions in the aftermath of the war, the Soviets strived to spread Communism as an alternative for capitalism. The European countries suffered from severe economic problems that had bad effects on politics. Most factories were destructed; unemployment reached its highest levels; and the majority of people were homeless. All these facts were effective tools in the Soviets hands to propagate and convince people to embrace Communism. Things worsened when Great Britain announced its incapability to keep its financial and military commitment towards Greece and Turkey (Fousek127). This announcement came at a critical time where the Greek government was confronting an insurrection by Communist-led rebels whereas Turkey was under great pressure from the Soviet Union for free access through Turkish waters to the Mediterranean. Hence, the possibility that both countries fall in the communists hands was quiet imminent.

In front of all these facts and evidence about the Soviet tactics and intentions that all revolve around one main idea that the Soviet's eagerness for expansion had no limits, it became clear that the Truman' foreign policy would be obsessed about one single issue, bridling the Soviets. That is, striving to do its best to keep the Russians within their boundaries. The American policymakers finally arrived at a conclusion that "*the Soviet Union was a hostile power committed to a program of worldwide expansion that only the United States was strong enough to resist*" (Schrecker *The Age* 17). Accordingly, as leader of the free world, President Harry Truman had to take action and clarify the position of the United States towards the Soviet agenda as well as the priorities of the future American foreign policies.

On the other hand, as a victorious country and the strongest emerging superpower, the Americans felt and believed that they were the natural and the destined leader of the world. They boasted their values, institutions, and mainly their way of life to which the rest of world aspire to. Therefore, there was a moral commitment that the United States must lead and help people who wanted to be like the Americans. The US secretary of State Dean Acheson expressed well this idea saying that "*we are willing to help people who believe the way we do, to continue live the way they want to live*" (Fousek 8). For his part, President Truman recognized the heavy responsibilities and burdens placed upon the United States when he stated the following:

The free people of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedom. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation. Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.
(Fousek 8)

Indeed, Truman's reaction against the Soviet agenda came in his speech before the members of Congress on March 12, 1947, when he petitioned Congress for financial aids to Greece and Turkey (Nash IX: 321). This speech provided for the basic feature of the US foreign policy known as the "the containment policy" or the "Truman doctrine". This latter was based upon a principle of global anticommunism which required providing support to those countries that were fighting Communism or threatened by a Communist takeover so as to curb the spread and influence of Communism.

There are no better words than those of President Truman to express the exact meaning of his policy and doctrine. He stated that “*it is America’s job... to support free people who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure*” (McNeese 23). He went further when he declared “*Wherever aggression, direct or indirect, threatened the peace, the security of the United States was involved*” (22). Thus, the Truman Doctrine redefined the America National Security by enlarging it to include regions across the entire world; not only those closest to the United States such as Latin America but also their allies in other continents.

The practical side of Truman’s doctrine appeared via the Marshal Plan in June 1947. President Truman petitioned the Congress to allot \$400 million to both Turkey and Greece in order to help the governments of these two countries to boost their economies as well as their armed forces (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 1580). In doing so, the United States aimed at countering the Soviets in Turkey and Greece so as to prevent other countries from falling in Communism in accordance to what is known as the *domino theory*.

The Truman Doctrine based on the containment policy marked the beginning of a new era of world history characterized by a great tension and hostility between the Western world under the leadership of the United States, and Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, as it was mentioned in the Kennan telegram, aimed at undermining the Western strong governments as well as toppling those governments that refused to yield to its desires. But, the essence of this conflict lies essentially in the severe clash between the two ideologies, Capitalism and Communism. Communism, as it was depicted in the previous chapter, is a totalitarian system where the government has extensive control over economy; all means of production belong to the state; and all property and wealth are equally shared by all community. This system is thoroughly in contrast with capitalism that is based on free competition and the law of supply and demand. Hence, it was obviously that the Americans would sharply resist Communism.

As a leader of the capitalist world, the United States was among the circle of the Soviet targets. The Soviets, through their section in the United States, the CPUSA, aimed at overthrowing the capitalist government and establishing a communist one instead. Hence, the American Communist Party was an effective tool in the Soviet’s hands to achieve its tactics and agenda. So, what was the role played by the CPUSA in the clash between the United States and the Soviets? To what extent was the CPUSA loyal to the Soviets? And what was the reaction of the American Government?

II.5 The Second Red Scare

As the tension between USA and USSR was increasingly developing during the early years of the Cold War, and in the light of both Kennan Telegram and the Clifford Memorandum, the conflict with the Soviets obsessed Truman's Administration and dominated the US foreign policy. Within this struggle, Americans reconsidered the domestic Communists and perceived them as a serious threat to their national security. They regarded them as part of the worldwide Soviet conspiracy. According to them, domestic Communists were working in favor of the Soviets and aimed at toppling their government or at least weakening its policies. Americans, also, perceived that the domestic Communists' loyalty was purely dedicated to the Russians rather than the United States; therefore, they would easily spy for them. Furthermore, in case of a probable war between the two struggling superpowers, the American Communists would side with the Soviets through their attempt to undermine the American defense industry as well as other facilities (Schrecker *Many* 154). Consequently, the previous disagreement with the Communists that was based on political and ideological differences soon became an issue of national security.

The Americans' fear for their national security led to the rise of what is historically termed as *the Second Red Scare*. It was called second, because it came after the First Red Scare that took place in the aftermath of the First World War, and Red because historically, the Americans used to refer to the Soviets as the *Reds*, alluding to its red flag. In addition to that, Americans had usually used the term *Reds* instead of the term *Communists*.

The growing fear and belief that the American Communists were part of a worldwide Soviet conspiracy was not baseless. For the anti-Communists, American Communists were disciples of Stalin and were ready to do whatever he would order them. Many employees in different positions in the US government had ties with the CPUSA. They were obliged to maintain their ties secret after the enactment of the Hatch Act in 1939 that banned federal employees to belong to any revolutionary group (Nash VIII: 71). A large number of them, around eleven hundred, were on the lists of the FBI after an investigation made in 1941 (Schrecker *The Age* 26). But as the United States sided with Soviet Union during the WWII, President Roosevelt's administration became soft on the Communists and did not take this evidence so seriously that he did not fire them from their jobs as the Hatch Act stipulated. As a result of the lack of seriousness in dealing with the Communist employees in the federal

government during the WWII, several spy cases were discovered in the wake of the war and many vital secrets were passed on to the Soviets.

II.6 The Soviet Espionage in the United States

II.6.1 The Amerasia Spy Case

The first astonishing conspiratorial affair that shook the American public opinion is that known as the *Amerasia spy Case*. This affair surfaced on February 1945 when an official of the Office of Strategic Service OSS, the precursor of the Central Intelligence Agency CIA, called Kenneth Wells, found himself reading an article entitled *British Imperial Policy in Asia* in the *Amerasia* issue of January, 26, 1945, where it seemed to him that it was based on one of his agency's secret reports (Klehr and Radosh 3). Kenneth Wells was quite surprised because he found almost exactly the same words he had written in his highly classified report on the British-American relations in the Southeast Asia that had been circulated only among highly experts of the State Department as well as the military intelligence agencies. The editor of the article modified Wells' original words in some places as well as rearranged the fifteen points wells' enumerated in his secret report, but plagiarism was easy to be detected by anyone familiar with it.

After being alarmed by Kenneth Wells, a five-man team of investigators under the leadership of OSS director of investigations Frank Bielaski raided the *Amerasia* offices. The surprise was incredible and what they saw and found was extremely unbelievable. Hundreds of highly classified documents that could easily endanger the US national security. They found the following:

Photographed pages from perhaps twenty different government documents, several of them were stamped Top Secret... documents from government sources: army and navy intelligence, British intelligence, the State Department, the office of Censorship, and the OSS...six typed copies of Top Secret documents. One of the documents, dated October 1944, set forth the location of the ships of the Japanese fleet. Another described American plans for the bombardment of the Japanese mainland. (Klehr and Radosh 5-6)

These documents were really of high importance to the extent that it could jeopardize the US interests in China as well as its plan and efforts to vanquish Japan. Therefore, the Federal Bureau of Investigation FBI took over the investigation in order to determine the way these documents had been leaked to the magazine as well as the persons responsible of this disclosure. The investigation resulted in the arrest of six suspects; three of them were employees in sensitive positions in the American federal government. The six apprehended were as follows: the magazine's publisher, Philip Jaffe, and his assistant editor Kate Mitchell; the State Department employees, John Stewart Service and Emmanuel Larson; the Office of Naval Intelligence employee, Andrew Roth; and the Journalist Mark Gayn (Robbie 16).

Philip Jaffe, the Amerasia's publisher, was a close friend of Earl Browder, the leader of the CPUSA (Schrecker *The Age* 27). As a sympathizer with the Soviets, he exploited his job as a journalist as well as the easy access to information in the United States so that he became actively interested in amassing important documents in order to pass them on to the Soviet officials (U. S. Department of State 73).

The *Amerasia spy case* was followed by a public uproar for two main reasons. First, news about espionage was few during the WWII because the FBI desisted from publicizing spy case to avoid public hysteria. Second, the *Amerasia spy case* was related to the Soviet Union, an ally of the United States during the war. This affair was dropped by the Justice Department because of the lack of a concrete and clear evidence for the indictment of John Stewart Service along with the two other government employees; also, it was dropped because of the warrantless FBI and OSS searches of Amerasia's offices, the unauthorized wiretaps used by the FBI, and the illegal entering of Emmanuel Larson's apartment (Robbie 18).

In his attempt to justify his deeds, John Stewart Service maintained that he had passed information to the magazine "*in accordance to the department policy of maintaining good relations with the press*" (Schrecker *the Age* 27). As a result, the trial never took place and the chief prosecutor was extremely convinced that the defendants were only guilty of "*an excess of journalistic zeal*" (Klehr and Radosh 7). Accordingly, Jaffe, Larson, and Roth "*were indicted on a reduce charge of conspiracy to embezzle, steal, and purloin government documents*" (Robbie 18). As a result, Jaffe was let off with a fine of \$2500, Larson with a fine of \$500, whereas the tree government employees along with Andrew Roth were cleared (Buckley and Bozell 8).

The *Amerasia spy case* revealed a shining truth; it is the vulnerability of the federal institutions to the infiltration and the leak of top secret information. It also proved the existence of weaknesses and fatal loopholes in the system of protecting top secret information and highly classified reports made by top experts of different agencies of the American government. This vulnerability was ascribed mainly to the softness of Roosevelt's Administration on the Communists during the WWII in order to avoid annoying his Soviet ally. Accordingly, Communist agents seized the opportunity to penetrate deeply into the government agencies as employees but with the intention to spy for the Soviets since there was no practical effective program or measure that banned them from reaching sensitive positions or responsibilities. That's why the most discovered cases during the war failed not only to provoke actions but also to attract even the attention of those in high responsibilities.

The FBI, under the leadership of John Edgar Hoover, was actively concerned with the loyalty matter within the ranks of the federal government. Hoover was too obsessed about discovering Communist agents in the government. According to him, they were endangering the American national security and thus he regarded them as a great evil that he must root it out. To this end, the FBI was continuously reporting the government agencies on the results of its inquests into the affiliation of some federal employees with conspiratorial activities in favor of the Soviets (Buckley and Bozell 8). Though the important evidence these reports had contained, they were not taken with high emergency and thus did not produce any serious action. For instance, on March 7, 1942, the FBI reported to the Federal Security Agency FSA a 57-page report containing evidence that clearly proved that one of its employees, called Doxey Wilkerson, had been and probably still a Communist (8); nonetheless, the FSA did not expel Wilkerson.

As a matter of fact, the revealed documents of the venona project in 1944, gave plenty of evidence which clearly proved that Moscow had used the CPUSA as rear base to recruit spies. The Venona project was a secret program set down by the US Army Signal Intelligence Service on February 1, 1943. Its aim was to examine and exploit encrypted Soviet diplomatic communications. But after decoding and analyzing of the intercepted communications, the analyzers discovered that these communications was not about only diplomatic affairs but also with espionage matters (Benson *the Venona* 1). Discoveries about the Soviet network of espionage in the United States were really shocking and stunning. For instance:

In 1944, the venona project of U.S. army intelligence began decoding some 2500 intelligence telegrams from the Soviet spies in America to their controllers in Moscow. In some of them, Browder [the Leader of CPUSA] reported the progress of several spies he had recruited from the party and mentioned several party members he would try to enlist. These agents penetrated almost every agency of the U.S. government. (Robbie 61-62)

II.6.2 Whittaker Chambers Spy Case

Among the most important spies whose name was mentioned by venona project was Whittaker Chambers. This latter was one of the prominent Communist agents who infiltrated the American government. In 1925, he joined the American Communist Party wherein he spent almost thirteen years within its ranks writing and editing its periodicals (Tucker 389). In accordance with the espionage activities the CPUSA was involved in to fulfill the Comintern's or Moscow's directions, Whittaker Chambers was recruited as a spy in 1932. He worked in the party's underground apparatus using different aliases as a courier for the Soviet intelligence network within the American government.

At the very beginning, Chambers started working in New York. Then, he moved to Washington DC. In 1936, he was assigned to work under the leadership of Boris Bykov, the head of the Soviet Military Intelligence stationed in the United States (Romerstein and Breindel 31). The arrival of Boris Bykov doubled and boosted the productivity and the efficiency of the undercover apparatus. He adopted a new strategy to spur and motivate the spies, especially those who occupied high positions in the US federal government, to steal and betray large amounts of secret documents. He believed that infiltrators would betray secrets readily if he incites them by money. Chambers disagreed and saw that as an insult to the set of spies simply because the latter strongly believed in Communism and thus were loyal Communists not mercenaries. Therefore, Bykov proceeded to give them expensive gifts in return for the valuable and the risky work they used to do. Chambers approved. As a result, four spies, Alger Hiss, George Silverman, Harry Dexter White, and Julian Wadleigh, received four Bokhara rugs (Romerstein and Breindel 117).

Chambers became the main member in the *Ware Group* that joined only the brilliant young men recruited in the secret apparatus under the supervision of a top expert in this field, called Hale Ware (Hastedt 150). As for the aim of the *Ware Group* and other caucuses of the

CPUSA, Chambers stated before the House Committee on Un-American Activities HCUA in 1948 that: *“the purpose of this group at that time was not primarily espionage. Its original purpose was the Communist infiltration of the American government. But espionage was certainly one of its eventual objectives”* (Hynes and Klehr 95).

By 1938, Whittaker Chambers became obsessed about the notorious political purges that swept the Soviet Union. These purges were the result of Stalin’s fear for his leadership from plots that he saw everywhere. Accordingly, many old Bolsheviks were tried in 1936. Most important, in the course of the next two years, maybe *“more than one million Soviet Communists—including military leaders, most high party officials, and many intelligence agents—were exiled to labor camps or put to death”* (Olmsted 30). Furthermore, Stalin’s purges were not limited only to the Soviet territories, but it reached his opponents in Western Europe as well as the United States. For instance, Ignatz Reiss, a veteran Soviet spy in Switzerland who severed his ties with Stalin, was kidnapped and killed in 1937.

Consumed by these harsh purges and fear for himself and his family, Chambers seceded from the CPUSA in April, 1938. But before completely severing his ties to the party, he managed to save many copies of original documents as well as microfilms for insurance to use them when necessary. He hid these documents in a large manila in Baltimore (Olmsted 30). Later, he sent back a warning word to the Soviet Intelligence via a member of his espionage network that he would pass on these documents to the US government in case he or his family was harmed, but he would keep them unused if they left him and his family safe (Hynes and Klehr 107).

During his undercover career as a spy in the secret apparatus of the CPUSA, Chambers used to deliver messages and receive secret documents from the infiltrators in the American government. He used to photograph them or deliver them to the Soviet officers to photograph them and then return original copies back to the agents who in their turn would bring them back to their offices before nobody would feel that they were missed. Moreover, during the period from 1935 to 1938, he dealt with another infiltrator called Harry Dexter White, an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Department, who used to provide him with secret information of his department to pass them on to the Soviets (Romerstein and Breindel 32). Not only this, but he also delivered rolls of microfilmed documents from Washington to the Soviet officers.

After his defection from the CPUSA, Chambers joined the staff of *Time* magazine. He thoroughly veered to the right and became an ardent anticommunist. Being aware of the dangerous underground activities and tactics of the Communist agents under the supervision of the Russians, Chambers attempted to warn the American government about the existence of a whole espionage network. He first sought to meet President Roosevelt himself, but he could only secure an appointment with Adolf A. Berle, the Assistant Secretary of State. In his interview with Adolf Berle, chambers revealed names of eighteen current and former spies in the US government. The big surprise for Berle came when Chambers named two officials of his own department, Alger Hiss and the Brothers Donald (Olmsted 31). But in contrast to his hopes, Chambers' warnings went unheeded and produced no results.

By the late of 1930s and during the war, the Communist espionage network penetrated almost the sensitive American agencies. This was revealed by Boris Bykov, a KGB agent stationed in the USA, in a friendly discussion with Whittaker Chambers; of course, before his defection from the CPUSA and its underground apparatus. Proud of the Soviet's infiltration into the American government, Boris Bykov bragged to Whittaker Chambers to the point that he said: "*We have agents at the very center of government*" (Robbie 62). This revelation refers to the fact that the Communists spies and Soviets' eyes pervaded the very sensitive agencies of the American government.

II.6.3 The Alger Hiss Spy Case

Chambers never despaired of unveiling the Soviet espionage network in the United States and continued his attempts to unmask the Russian hostile conspiracy. With the mounting tension between USA and USSR, Whittaker Chambers returned to occupy the public scene in one of the most important episodes of the espionage discoveries in the United States. It is the case of Alger Hiss. This latter followed a very impressive career and occupied several sensitive positions in the American government during the 1930s and 1940s.

Hiss was first accused of having been an undercover member of the CPUSA by Chambers during his meeting in 1939 with Adolf Berle. Chambers renewed his accusation against Hiss in his two interviews with the FBI in May 1942 and May 1945 respectively (Hastedt 364). These accusations produced nothing because it was uncorroborated. But the Alger Hiss case was sparked off on August 3, 1948, when Whittaker Chambers appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee HUAC and attested that Alger Hiss had

been a member of the American Communist Party during the 1930s and having passed on vital secrets of the State Department to the Soviets (Tucker 912). This time, Chambers corroborated his charges by presenting well-documented evidence against Alger Hiss (Robbie 155).

Chambers revealed to the FBI that, in the spring of 1937, he took Alger Hiss to meet Boris Bykov when this latter asked to meet personally some of the prominent infiltrators. In this meeting in a restaurant in Manhattan's Chinatown, Bykov made a long speech arguing against fascism and for the help of the Soviet Union by betraying secret information. Hiss, said Chambers, responded positively and approved to betray more State Department documents to be copied and photographed. Chambers testified before the FBI that:

Later after this New York meeting between Bykov and Alger Hiss, the latter began producing material. At this time, Alger Hiss was employed in the State Department as assistant to Francis Sayre, the then Assistant Secretary of State. The method of transmitting this material was as follows:

Alger Hiss would bring home original documents from the State Department over night as "a matter of custom." On an agreed night, I would go to the 30th street house and Alger would then turn over to me a zipper case containing these documents. I might state that it is also entirely possible that I brought a zipper case and placed the documents by train to an apartment which was located on the corner of Calvert and East Madison Streets in Baltimore, Maryland...

I have previously brought a Leica camera and other photographic equipment, given me by Bykov, to this apartment....I used the apartment for photographing documents. (Romerstein and Breindel 118)

During his testimony before HUAC on August 3, 1948, Whittaker Chambers revealed the names of the government employees of his underground group. Alger Hiss was one of the mentioned names. These names are as follows:

Harold Ware (deceased), Department of Agriculture; John J. Abt, Department of Agriculture, Works Progress Administration, Senate Committee on Education and Labor, Justice Department; Nathan Witt, Department of Agriculture, National Labor Relations Board; Lee Pressman, Department of Agriculture, Works Progress Administration; Alger Hiss, Department of Agriculture, Special

Senate Committee Investigation the Munitions Industry, Justice Department, State Department; Donald Hiss, State Department, Labor Department; Henry H. Collins, National Recovery Administration, Department of Agriculture; Charles Cramer (Krevitsky), National Labor Relations Board, Office of Price Administration; Senate Subcommittee on War Mobilization; Victor Perlo, Office of Price Administration, War Production Board, Treasury Department (Romerstein and Breindel 127-128)

For his part, Alger Hiss insisted on replaying to Chambers' allegation before the House Committee on Un-American Activities HUAC where he denied all Chambers' allegations. He went further when he denied his friendship with Chambers. He claimed that he had never met Chambers neither during the 1930s nor after. He also denied any sympathy whatsoever for Communism and any contact with the Communists (Hynes and Klehr 98). This excerpt from testimony before the HUAC on August 17, 1948 illustrated the Alger Hiss denial of any previous familiarity to Chambers:

***Chambers:** As I have testified before, I came to Washington as a Communist functionary, a functionary of the American Communist Party. I was connected with the underground group of which Mr. Hiss was a member. Mr. Hiss and I became friends. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Hiss himself suggested that I go there, and I accepted gratefully...*

***Hiss:** Mr. Chairman, I don't need to ask Mr. Whittaker Chambers any more questions. I am now perfectly prepared to identify this man as George Crosley... (Schrecker *The Age* 131)*

The HUAC continued hearing the testimony of both Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers in several times. Both of them continued contradicting each other. In each of his testimonies, Hiss remained insisting that he had never met and known Chambers, whereas the latter continued providing the Committee with corroborating proves that only a close friend to Alger Hiss could know. As a result, the committee members became more convinced with Chambers' testimony and evidence he presented. Thereafter, speaking to the press outside the committee room, Hiss defied Chambers to repeat the same charges publicly outside the immunity of Congressional committee that protects witnesses from suits for slander and libel and encourages candor testimony. He stated: "*if Chambers were to repeat his charges without the immunity of the conferred by testimony before a congressional committee, he would sue*"

(Romerstein and Breindel 129). Afterwards, Chambers was invited to attend a CBS radio program called *Meet the Press* where he repeated his charges publicly. He had the following interview with Edward Folliard, a journalist of *Washington Post* and *Tom Reynolds* of the *Chicago Sun-Times*:

Folliard: *Mr. Chambers, in the hearing on Capitol Hill you said over and over again that you served in the Communist Party with Alger Hiss. Your remarks down there were privileged; that is to say, you were protected from lawsuits. Hiss has now challenged you to make the same charge publicly. He says if you do he will test your veracity by filing a suit for slander or libel. Are you willing to say now that Alger Hiss is or ever was a Communist?*

Chambers: *Alger Hiss was a Communist and may be now.*

Folliard: *Mr. Chambers, to go back to that opening question, you accepted Alger Hiss's challenge and publicly said that he had been at least a member of the Communist Party. Does that mean that you are now prepared to go into court and answer to a suit for slander or libel?*

Chambers: *I do not think Mr. Hiss will sue me for slander or libel.*

Tom Reynolds of the Chicago Sun-Times: *Would you charge Alger Hiss with an overt act as a Communist, as you said he was? Did you Alger Hiss at any time, to your knowledge, do anything that was treasonable or beyond the law of the United States? That, I believed, brings you the opportunity to accept the Hiss challenge.*

Chambers: *Whether or not it brings me the opportunity to accept the Hiss challenge, I am quite unprepared to say whether he did or did not. I am not familiar with the laws of treason. (Romerstein and Breindel 129-130)*

Accordingly, on September 27, 1948, Alger Hiss responded by suing Chambers for slander and demanded \$50,000 as a compensation for the harm Chambers had caused to him by what he considered as unfounded charges. In the course of his previous testimony, chambers did not even allude to the fact that he possessed copies of secret documents which could corroborate his allegations. Afraid of financial ruin of his family if he lost the suit, chambers found himself obliged to back up his charges with documents. Moreover, according to the trial procedures, he was obliged to respond to Hiss' lawyer's demands. Hence, on November 17, 1948, Chambers retrieved a set of crucial documents from his nephew's

apartment in Baltimore and passed them on to Hiss' attorney. These documents were: "four sheets of paper in Alger Hiss's handwriting, sixty-five typed documents from 1938, and four yellow sheets of paper in Hurry Dexter White's hand-writing" (Hynes and Klehr 103).

After browsing and recognizing the important evidence borne by the Baltimore documents, both lawyers of Chambers and Hiss decided to turn them over to the Justice Department. These documents hinted at Alger Hiss' sympathy with the Communist Party but pointed explicitly to his involvement in espionage activities. In his previous testimonies, Chambers sought to prove Hiss' membership and sympathy with the Communist party, but he did not point at his involvement in espionage activities. He did so because he regarded Hiss as genuine man and thus did not want to harm him. Therefore, during several weeks, federal prosecutors seemed to urge the jurors to indict Chambers for perjury (Hynes and Klehr 107).

Proves that condemn Alger Hiss for espionage activities were abound. Chambers informed the FBI about Hiss' attempt to recruit Noel Field but he failed simply because this latter was working for another apparatus led by Hedda Gompertz, an alias for Hede Massing, a former Soviet Spy in the United States. In her testimony before the FBI in an interview on December 7, 1948, Massing revealed that Noel Field, a State Department colleague of Hiss, had worked for her and thus provided her with prominent information and passed them on to the Soviet officers. Massing repeated her testimony in the second trial of Alger Hiss. This story told by Chambers and Massing was confirmed later after the fall of the Soviet Union and the opening of the Eastern European archive (Romerstein and Breindel 132). As a result of all these revealed evidence that explicitly condemn Alger Hiss, the second trial, from November 1949 to January 1950, ended in a conviction. All Hiss' appeals failed and thus he was imprisoned in March 1951 (Hastedt 365).

II.6.4 Elizabeth Bentley Spy Case

Another iconic figure of the Soviet espionage in the United States was Elizabeth Bentley. She was a blond beautiful American woman who plunged deeply into espionage activities in favor of the Soviets during the period from 1938 to 1945 (Hastedt 80). Her story was publicized on July 20, 1948, when a bold Headline, *Red Ring Bared by Spy Queen*, on the *New York world Telegram*' Front page attracted Americans' attention and shocked them. This feeling sprang from the sensitive and astounding information Elizabeth Bentley had revealed to the FBI. She confided names of more than thirty Soviet spies.

Elizabeth Terrill Bentley was born on January 1, 1908, in New Milford, Connecticut (Hastedt 80). As a brilliant girl, she managed to win a scholarship to study at one of the most important colleges in the United States dedicated to women's elite called *Vassar College*. In 1930, she graduated in languages, Italian and French. In 1934, she joined the American league against the War and fascism. In the same year, she joined the ranks of CPUSA. In 1938, she got a job and joined the Italian Library of Information in Columbia University. Immediately after that, she headed to meet her superiors in the CPUSA and offered to spy for the party, but she was directed to a senior party officer called Jacob Golos (Hynes and Klehr 61). Attracted by her appealing enthusiasm and intelligence, Golos recruited Elizabeth Bentley in his spy ring.

Jacob Golos, for his part, was one of the most senior agents of the NKVD stationed in the United States. He was born in 1890 in Russia; worked for an underground Bolshevik organization till 1907 or 1908; arrested and sentenced to prison for two years; escaped to the United States in 1910; joined the Socialist Party in 1915; one of the founders of the American Communist Party in 1919; lived in the Soviet Union from 1926 to 1929; and last, he returned to the United States in 1930 and undertook his work for NKVD, Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del (People's commissariat of internal affairs), predecessor to the KGB (Romerstein and Breindel 146).

As a matter of fact, Golos played a key role on the American Ground. He was directing an agency called World Tourists, the Soviet official travel agency in the United States. This agency had been used by both NKVD and CPUSA for securing clandestine trips between USA and USSR (Romerstein and Breindel 146). Golos' first covert job was securing passport for other soviet spies in order to enter the United States without the possibility of being detected. He managed to do so through bribing the government workers as well as officials of the foreign consulates in return for forged passports and birth certificates (Olmsted 21).

On the other hand, in the course of the 1930s, Golos used to travel to the Soviet Union using false passports. For instance, he presided a delegation that went to Moscow to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution (Romerstein and Breindel 146). During his visit, he was honored by giving him an opportunity to meet A. Slutsky, the head of the OGPU, Obedinennoe Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie (United Political Directorate of the State). As an outcome of this meeting, Slutsky granted Golos \$100 to \$150 a month to cover the expenses of his underground activities in World Tourists (146).

As she was smart, Bentley became the right arm of Golos. Elizabeth Bentley became Golos' pet female student. He was so overwhelmed by her intelligence that he nicknamed her "Umnista," the Russian word for an intelligent girl (Romerstein and Breindel 150). The two had developed a close relationship which blossomed into a love story in 1940 (Hynes and Klehr 63). Golos employed Bentley as an intermediate between him and the Soviet spies where she used to collect documents and microfilms and deliver instructions and requests.

After the death of Jacob Golos in 1943, Elizabeth Bentley replaced him and became the link between the different sources and the KGB. Bentley also was dealing with two main network of espionage in the United States. They were the Silvermaster group and the Perlo group. George Silvermaster was a rich source of information and the leader of a large group of spies. By August 1941, Bentley met Helen Silvermaster, George Silvermaster's wife, in Washington where she got secret documents of the US government and was introduced to Lud Ullman. George Silvermaster was an active source who managed to gather lot of vital secrets for the Soviet Intelligence. He amassed some information by himself, but he got the most intelligence from his agents such as: Lod Ullman, Harry Dexter White, and Lauchlin Curries. For instance, in May 1942, under the alias *Pel*, he sent some messages to Moscow providing his superiors with vital intelligence about the American military industry notably related to the airplane as well as artillery (Romerstein and Breindel 153).

George Silvermaster managed to collect and turn over many vital secrets to the Soviet intelligence because of the high ranking agents who were providing him with top secret documents of the American government. One of those agents was Lauchlin Currie, a prominent White House official and served the Soviets as an agent of influence within Roosevelt's administration. He occupied a high position in President Roosevelt's staff as the White House aid and was assigned during the war to help in administering the Board of the economic warfare and its successor, the foreign Economic Administration (Hynes and Klehr 66).

In her testimony to the FBI in 1945, Bentley revealed that Silvermaster and George Silverman, another agent in the spy ring, confided her that Currie supplied them with secret information. As a matter of fact, Currie was so important and valuable source of information for the Soviets that the NKVD ordered Iskhak Akhmerov to set up a direct contact with Currie rather than the mediation of Silvermaster. For instance, Currie passed secret information to the Silvermaster group that "*the United States was on the verge of breaking the Soviet code*"

(Romerstein and Breindel 154). This was confirmed by a Venona message on August 10, 1943 which revealed that:

Currie provided Silverman with a sensitive memorandum on U.S. policy that had gone from the White House to the State Department. In June 1944, Currie reported to the NKVD that President Roosevelt was reluctant to recognize the Government of Charles De Gaulle until the French were willing to take a more liberal position with respect to the colonies” (Romerstein and Breindel 183).

Currie’s role as an agent from within was pretty dangerous for the safety of the United States and very useful for the Soviets. This was manifested in his statement when he maintained that “*he would try to influence the non-Communist Poles to acquiesce to Soviet territorial demands”* (183). Most important, Lauchlin Currie’ help to the Soviets was not limited only to betraying top secret information to them, but it exceeded to use his position and political fixer power to intervene in favor of John Stewart Service, who betrayed classified documents to the *Amerasia* magazine. His intervention aimed at exonerating Service from his charges and thus burying the truth about further highest infiltrators in the US government. He therefore called Thomas Corcoran, the Washington wheeler-dealer and fixer, and asked him to drop all charges against Service. After a short reluctance and many contacts between Curries and Corcoran, this latter finally yielded to Currie’s wish so that Service’s name was cleared from the *Amerasia* case (Romerstein and Breindel 168). When he spoke to the Justice Department officials, including Attorney General Tom Clark, Corcoran maintained that he did so in favor of someone – Currie – without mentioning his name. The FBI, for its part, was watching the case attentively and aware about every single movement Corcoran was making simply because they had wiretap on him which allowed FBI officials to hear all conversations he had with Currie, Service, and Justice Department officials.

Both Bentley and Whittaker Chambers accused Currie of having willingly passed on top secret information to the Soviet agents. Accordingly, Currie appeared before the HUAC, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, where he denied all charges against him except for “*possible indiscretions with classified information”* (Hastedt 220). Thereafter, he left the United States to Colombia following his acceptance of an appointment to head the World Bank survey of Colombia. He worked there as an economic advisor to the Colombian

government and obtained the Colombian citizenship in 1956. He stayed there until his death in 1993.

II.6.5 Harry Dexter White Spy Case

Another prominent and highest ranking official of the American government was Harry Dexter White. Likewise, he occupied a high and sensitive position in Roosevelt's administration and was the assistant secretary of the Treasury so that he was able to access the highest sources of information. White, who had a PhD in economics from Harvard University, was so close to President Roosevelt and played a key role in drafting the Bretton Woods agreements on post war economy. This agreement included the victorious leaders of the allied countries who proceeded to provide for a worldwide trade agreement based on cooperation between these countries rather than competition and protectionism (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 1711).

White's anti-fascist political views were caught by Harold Ware who recruited him as a member of group of government employees aiming at endorsing socialism or socialist tendencies in the US economic policies and helping the Soviet Union. In other words, white was chosen to play the highest role that an infiltrator could play which is an agent of influence. This role is too risky and thus could be played only by a veteran and a senior agent placed in the highest position of affection where he could influence the decision related to the shaping up of the American economic policies in accordance to the instructions and views of his superiors in Moscow so that they would maximize their benefit (Romerstein and Breindel 29).

White had never been a formal member of the CPUSA, but his sympathy for the Soviets made him shift from just influencing the US government economic policies to spying for the Soviets. He not only turned over vital documents to the Soviet officials on the American monetary policy as well as the US plans about the future of Germany following the war, but also did his best to promote the careers of the Soviet agents within the American government (Hastedt 810). Furthermore, when the FBI inquired about the possibility that Silvermaster was a member of the Communist Party, both White Dexter and Lauchlin Currie intervened to obstruct the inquiry. Currie, for instance, told the FBI that "*he did not believe that Silvermaster was a Communist*" (Romerstein and Breindel 153). For many years, White Dexter was considered as an innocent victim of the anti-Communist crusade, but the revealed

documents of the venona project proved his involvement in espionage activities for the Soviets under the pseudonym *Jurist* which appeared in many intercepted messages (Hastedt 810).

In addition to White Dexter and Lauchlin Currie, the Silvermaster spy ring included other prominent infiltrators who played a key role in spying for the Soviets such as George Silverman, Lud Ullman, Frank Coe, and Solomon Adler. Franc Coe was the director of the Division of the Monetary Research in the Treasury Department while Solomon Adler was the representative of the Treasury Department in China (Hynes and Klehr 66). Both of them were advisors to the Treasury secretary Henry Morgenthau and were also secret Communists who had betrayed top secret information to the Soviet officials on the US treasury policy. Elizabeth Bentley had never met them but she knew about them from her two closest friends, George Silvermaster and Lud Ullmann, who confided to her that Coe and Solomon helped them (Olmsted 47). Elizabeth Bentley was also told about Sonia Gold, an employee in the Treasury and her husband, Bela, an employee for the Foreign Economic Service, who also betrayed secret documents to George Silvermaster. Furthermore, Silvermaster confided to Bentley that William Taylor, a Treasury economist, had also passed on some secret information about China to him (48).

George Silverman was an important figure in the Silvermaster spy ring. Since the mid-1930s, Silverman became involved in the Communist underground apparatus. But his role deepened and became more important after he joined the Pentagon by 1942. Along with Lud Ullmann, the two managed to steal and betray secret information to the Soviets about “*aircraft production, tank production, airplane deployment, and technological improvements to military hardware*” (Olmsted 48). In all, here are the names of spies mentioned by Elizabeth Bentley in her testimony to the FBI, which was confirmed later by the Venona decryptions:

Silvermaster Group

Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, director of Labor Division, Farm security Administration, detailed at one time to Board of Economic Warfare. Solomon Adler, Treasury Department, agent in China; Norman Bursler, Department of Justice; Frank Coe, Assistant director, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury; special assistant to United States ambassador in London; assistant to the executive director, Board of economic Warfare and successor agencies; assistant administrator, Foreign Economic Administration; Lauchlin Currie, administrative assistant to the President; deputy administrator of Foreign

Economic Administration; Bela Gold (known to Miss Bentley as William Gold), assistant head of Division of Programs in Foreign Economic Administration; Mrs. Bela (Sonia) Gold, research assistant, House Select Committee on Interstate Migration; labor-market analyst, Bureau of Employment Security, Division of Monetary Research, treasury; Abraham George Silverman, director, Bureau of Research and Information Services, United States Railroad Retirement Board; economic advisor and chief of analysis and plans; assistant chief of Air Staff, Materiel and Services, Air Forces; William Tylor, Treasury Department; William Ludwig Ullmann, Division of Monetary Research, Treasury; Matériel and Service Division, Air Corps Headquarters, Pentagon;

Perlo Group

Victor Perlo, head of branch in Research Section, Office of Price Administration, War Production Board, Monetary Research, Treasury; Edward J. Fitzgerald, War production Board; Harold Glasser, Treasury Department, loaned to government of Ecuador, loaned to War Production Board, advisor on North African Affairs Committee in Algiers, North Africa; Charles Kramer (Krevitsky), National Labor Relations Board, Office of Price Administration, economist with Senate Subcommittee on War Mobilization; Solomon Leshinsky, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; Harry Magdoff, statistical Division of War Production Board and office of Emergency Management, Bureau of Research and Statistics, WBP; Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Allan Rosenberg, Foreign Economic Administration. Donald Niven Wheeler, Office of Strategic Services. (Romerstein and Breindel 184-185)

Apparently, Boris Bykov was right and he really meant what he said when he revealed to Whittaker Chambers that “*We have agents at the very center of government*” (Robbie 62). Almost all US government entities were infiltrated by Communist agents or employees who were spying for the Soviet Union and betraying top secret documents. The testimony of Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers to the FBI unveiled the truth of the illegal activities the Soviets were practicing on the American ground. Besides, these valuable revelations of the most prominent former spies at the time, increased American fear of the Soviet threat.

II.6.6 The Rosenbergs Spy Case

Perhaps the most shocking news that rushed Americans' fear was that announced by President Harry S. Truman on September 23, 1949, that the Soviets managed to acquire the atomic bomb. The Soviets had successfully tested their first A-bomb on August 29, 1949 (McNeese 31). This date marked the end of a short period of time during which the United States had been the only nation that acquired this devastating weapon. This date also marked the United States' loss of its military supremacy over the Soviets and thus the loss of its striking and deterring power to obstruct the Soviets' expansion outside their territories. Therefore, being aware of the repercussions of this event, the Americans were shocked. This was reflected by the *Los Angeles Times* when it asserted that "*the Soviets' development of the bomb placed the very existence of the Western World*" (Kobrick 1).

The Soviet acquisition of the A-bomb stunned the Western world mainly America. Americans were shocked simply because they knew, according to a prediction of the CIA, that the Soviets need at least one decade to develop their atomic bomb, but they managed to test their first A-bomb several years before what the CIA had predicted (Holloway 4). Immediately, a set of questions was raised and swept the United States from coast to coast: How did the Soviets manage to build their A-bomb so rapidly? Did they really have the capability to build the atomic bomb alone? Or did they steal its secrets from the United States?

The Soviets' successful test of their first A-bomb coincided with series of discoveries of Soviet spy rings, one after another, within the US government. Each case intensified Americans' anxiety and fear for their national security and reveals further facts and proves on the Soviet unfriendly intentions towards the United States. Investigations with Whittaker Chambers, Bentley, the Amerasia spy case, Alger Hiss, along with other former spies, confirmed the nature of the CPUSA as being a Soviet rear base dedicated for recruiting high ranking spies and infiltrators in order to steal and turn over classified documents and top secret information to the Soviets. This was confirmed by the Venona project which proved that "*the Communist Party USA was a fertile recruiting ground for Soviet Intelligence*" (Alwood 9). On this base, a deep investigation and probe had been conducted by the FBI.

The first signal that confirmed the supposition of espionage plot to steal the American A-bomb secrets came from London when the British authorities arrested Klaus Fuchs in February, 3, 1950. This latter was a brilliant physicist who obtained his PhD degree from

Bristol University in 1936. Thereafter, he joined Marx Born, another brilliant physicist at Edinburgh University. But with the outbreak of the WWII as well as the hostilities between Great Britain and Nazi Germany, Fuchs was arrested and prisoned in Quebec, in Canada, in May 1940 as a preventive measure since he was regarded along others as alien enemies (Sibley 163). As he was so brilliant and smart physicist, the scientists who were working on the British atomic bomb project expressed their extreme need of his assistance so that he was soon released after several months in prison (Hynes and Klehr 139). He returned to England in response to Rudolf Peierls, a brilliant physicist, to assist him in his research work for the British government.

Klaus Fuchs was an ardent believer in Communism ever since he was a student in Germany. In his confession to William Skardon on January 27, 1950, Klaus Fuchs confessed:

*I had already joined the Communist Party because I felt I had to be in some organization...I was in the underground until I left Germany. I was sent out by the Party, because they said that I must finish my studies because after the revolution in Germany people would be required with technical knowledge to take part in the building up of the Communist Germany. I went first to France and then to England, where I studied and at the same time I tried to make a serious study of the bases of Marxist theory. (Schrecker *The Age* 140)*

As soon as he discovered the nature of the British government project he was working on, he immediately decided to inform the Russians about it via a German Communist in London called Jurgen Kuczynski (Sibley 164). He maintained that: “*When I learned about the purpose of the work [an atomic bomb] I decided to inform Russia and I established contact through a member of the Communist party*” (Romerstein and Breindel 225). After establishing contact with the soviet agents, Fuchs started leaking information to the Soviets about the atomic bomb maintaining that: “*At this time, I had a complete confidence in Russian policy and I had no hesitation in giving all the information I had. I believed the Western allies deliberately allowed the Germany and Russia to fight each other to death. I tried to concentrate on giving information on the result of my own work*” (Romerstein and Breindel 225).

When the British informed Fuchs that he is going to be sent to the United States, the KGB provided him with a courier he would meet in New York. This courier was later identified by the FBI as Hurry Gold, an NKVD agent in the United States. Therefore, following

his arrest in England, Fuchs's confession in the presence of the FBI special agent, Robert Lamphere, that he had betrayed secret information to the Soviets, led the FBI to identify the courier Hurry Gold employed by the NKVD and later apprehended him in May 1950 (Trahair and Miller 360). This latter was soon arrested by the FBI and confessed everything he knew about the atomic espionage. His testimony before the FBI led the investigators to apprehend the famous couple of spies, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

The Rosenbergs spy case fueled the Americans' fear for their national security. This case really epitomizes the vulnerability of almost all American agencies, including the top secret ones, to the Soviet espionage. The Manhattan project was a top secret project under the supervision of high American authorities. Few knew about it to the extent that the vice president Harry S. Truman was not informed about it till when he took office following the death of President Roosevelt in April, 1945.

As a matter of fact, the A-bomb project was made in collaboration between USA and Great Britain since the latter was unable to build the bomb lonely because it could not afford its high costs during the WWII. Roosevelt and Churchill raised the level of collaboration and coordination between their two nations to the highest possible level via sharing atomic information. They decided to keep atomic information top secret so that no other country would reach it. President Roosevelt considered the secrecy of the atomic information not only necessary and essential but also so vital to assure the military supremacy of USA over its enemies. He therefore told the director of the Manhattan Project, J. Robert Oppenheimer, that *"The fact that the outcome of your labors is of such great significance to the nation requires that this program be even more drastically guarded than other highly secret war developments"* (Sibley133). But contrary to Roosevelt's hope, the Manhattan project had been infiltrated and top secret information had been leaked to Moscow. In fact, the Soviet spies and agents were active and strived to steal information about the development of the A-bomb from Los Alamos in New Mexico. So, how did that happen?

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were American Communists. As he was studying electronic engineering, Julius became a leading member of the Communist league at City College of New York. Julius first met Ethel in December 1936 whom he married on June 1939 (Hynes and Klehr 143). After graduating in 1940, he worked for the Army Signal Corps as inspector reviewing production. But he nearly lost his job as soon as evidence about having connections with the Communist party was raised by the FBI in 1941. After his Denial of having ties to the

Communists, he pursued his work until February 9, 1945, where other evidence about his past membership of the Communist Party surfaced (Hastedt 667).

Julius' membership in the CPUSA was secret. He was unable to attend the party's activities because he feared that many of his comrades would know him which might spoil his job as a spy for the Soviets. He, therefore, maintained his membership in the CPUSA via a person called Bernard Schuster, also known as Bernie Chester, the link with the Soviet intelligence as well as the head of the New York State Control Commission which was the CPUSA's internal security apparatus. Julius secret membership along with his work in the secret apparatus was the theme of a venona message sent to Moscow in 1944. The message was as follows:

In the Communist Party line "Liberal" [Julius Rosenberg] was in touch with Chester. They meet once a month for the payment of the dues. Chester was interested in whether there are not any misunderstandings. He does not inquire about specific items of [Soviet Intelligence] work. Inasmuch as Chester knows about the role of "Liberal" about leads from among people who are working on "enormous" and in other technical fields. (Romerstein and Breindel 233)

Bernard Schuster had recruited Julius Rosenberg in the underground apparatus. In the Labor Day in 1942, Schuster introduced Julius to Semyon Semyonov; an NKVD officer specialized in technology (Trahair and Miller 360). The latter tasked Julius with providing his case officers with scientific and military information including information about the development of the atomic bomb. When Semyonov was put under a very tight surveillance by the FBI, he ceded most of his agents, including Julius Rosenberg, to other case officers. Accordingly, during the period from 1943 to 1946, Julius Rosenberg was overseen by Alexander Feklisov, whose encrypted name was *Kalistrat*.

As an ardent supporter of Communism as well as a fervent admirer of the Soviet Union, Julius started providing the Soviets with classified information. Not only this, but he proceeded to recruit some of his friends to spy for Moscow. Thus, within one year, Julius managed to form an extended network of spies; most of them were his former classmates in the City College of New York who were working in classified military technology research (Hynes and Klehr 143).

Julius' eagerness to recruit high ranking spies who could easily reach top secret information led him to recruit David Greenglass, Ethel's brother. This latter was designed by the US Army to join an engineering unit as a military machinist. Then, by 1944, he was chosen to work as machinist on the army-run Manhattan Project; he worked first at Oak Ridge and later was dispatched to Los Alamos. Given his job, David Greenglass was so close to the source of information about the development of the A-bomb. In this respect, Greenglass offered to Julius to be part of the Communist project maintaining that "*I most recently will be glad to be part of the Communist project that Julius and friends have in mind*" (143). Julius informed his superior, Alexander Feklisov, about Greenglass' desire and his readiness to serve them with classified information on nuclear project.

Feklisov, for his part, consulted with his superiors in Moscow about the recruitment of David Greenglass. In view of their eagerness to amass as much important information on the A-bomb as they could along with their wish to exploit David Greenglass as a prominent source of information given his important job as machinist in Los Alamos, the Soviets approved of recruiting Greenglass. The following intercepted venona message sent to Moscow from the New York *Rezidentura* expressed clearly the readiness of David Greenglass to be in the disposal of the Russians:

"Osa" [Ruth Greenglass] has returned from a trip to see "Kalibr" [David Greenglass]. "Kalibr" expressed his readiness to help in throwing light on the work being carried on at Camp-2 [Los Alamos] and stated that he had already given thought to this question earlier. "Kalibr" said that the authorities of the Camp were openly taking all precautionary measures to prevent information about "Enormous" [the atomic bomb project] falling into Russian hands. This is causing serious discontent among the progressive workers... [In] in the middle of January "Kalibr" will be in "Tyre" [New York City]. "Liberal" [Julius Rosenberg], referring to his ignorance of the problem, expresses the wish that our man should meet "Kalibr" personally. He asserts that "Kalibr" would be very glad of such a meeting. Do you consider such a meeting advisable? If not, I shall be obliged to draw up a questionnaire and pass it "Liberal." Report whether you have any questions of priority interest to us. (Romerstein and Breindel 235)

Julius Rosenberg had provided the Soviets not only with atomic secret information but also with information on other prominent military technology. For instance, by 1944, he betrayed vital information to the Soviets about a robot bomb that would be placed on aircraft carriers to be used against Japan. But the most important information Julius had passed to the Soviets was “*a handwritten notes and drawing of a high-explosive lens mold being developed for the implosion plutonium bomb*” (Hynes and Klehr 144). Julius obtained this vital information from David Greenglass and passed them on in response to an exact demand from a Russian intelligence officer with scientific knowledge whom Julius had introduced to him in a meeting in New York.

Likewise, David Greenglass was also introduced to Ann Sidorovich, a friend of the Rosenbergs designed to serve as courier to the Greenglasses in New Mexico. Julius planned to the meeting by giving Ruth Greenglass, David Greenglass’ wife, a part of a panel form Jell-O box informing her that the right courier would be the person who carries the other matching part of the Jell-O and say this statement “*I come from Julius*” (Sibley 166). The man who came to Greenglass’s apartment and presented the other matching part of Jell-O was Harry Gold. In the Rosenbergs trial, the latter confessed that he had received secret information about the development of the A-bomb from David Greenglass (Romerstein and Breindel 236). As a matter of fact, Gold was active and played key role in supplying the soviets with secret information.

When Gold came to Santa Fe in June, Fuchs gave him materials including a plutonium sketch with important dimensions indicated, as well as information about the bomb’s imploding and ignition, calculations of the weapons efficiency, comparisons of its power with TNT, and information about the plans to use it against Japan. Afterwards, Gold traveled to Albuquerque to see Greenglass, who provided him with sketches and several pages of handwritten notes on the lens mold. (Sibley 168).

After his return to New York in June 1945, Gold handed these valuable materials and information to Anatoli Yakovlev, an NKVD officer. After two weeks, Yakovlev told Gold about how valuable and sensitive were the information and materials he gave him saying that they were “extremely excellent” (168). David Greenglass enthusiasm and zeal to serve the Soviets led him even to think about recruiting other people to spy for the Soviets, but Gold advised him to abandon the idea simply because it is dangerous for him.

On the other hand, David Greenglass testified that his readiness to betray secret information was due to years of indoctrinating with Communist beliefs by Julius Rosenberg who used to visit him in his apartment. He also confessed that his wife Ruth was involved in this espionage affair. Having no other choices, both David and Ruth agreed to cooperate with FBI hoping that their cooperation would abate the sentence. In this regard, they blamed the Rosenbergs for recruiting them in their spy ring. Following David Greenglass's confession, the FBI arrested Julius Rosenberg on July 17. When Julius refused to reveal names of spies of his spy ring, Edgar Hoover, the FBI director, suggested to the Attorney General J. Howard McGrath to proceed against Julius' wife, Ruth Rosenberg, hoping that that would change his attitude and force him to cooperate with the FBI.

After a month of presenting the espionage case to a grand jury in New York City, Julius Rosenbergs, Ethel Rosenberg, and Anatoli Yakovlev, were indicted for conspiring together to spy against the United States and passing on vital information to the Soviets related to the national defense of the United States. J. Edgar Hoover's public statement precised that the government prosecutors believed that Julius and Ethel Rosenbergs conspired to betray secret information to the Soviets about the building of the A-bomb (Kobrick 3). The following statements were made by Judge Irving R. Kaufman when sentencing the Rosenbergs on April 5, 1951:

I consider your crime worse than murder... I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50.000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal you undoubtedly have altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country. No one can say that we do not live in a constant state of tension. We have evidence of your treachery all around us every day for the civilian defense activities throughout the nation are aimed at preparing us for an atom bomb attack.

(Romerstein and Breindel 248)

Judge Kaufman's description of the Rosenbergs' spy case as worse than murder reflected the gravity of their crime. Therefore, Ethel and Julius Rosenbergs were sentenced to death penalty whereas Hurry Gold was sentenced to thirty years in prison; David Greenglass

was sentenced to fifteen years in prison; Morton Sobell, a classmate and friend of Julius Rosenberg, was sentenced to eighteen and a half years in prison.

II.7 The Relation between the White House and the FBI

After contemplating these facts about infiltrating the US government's agencies, a set of questions might be raised here: how could the Soviet agents reach the sensitive sources of secret information in the American agencies? What were the reasons behind the vulnerability of American agencies to infiltration? Why did not the US government take serious steps and measures to protect their vital information and enforce the immunity of their institutions against such infiltration especially after the important confessions and revelations of former spies such as Whittaker Chambers, and Elizabeth Bentley? What obstructed the FBI to arrest the spies whose names came in different testimonies of former ranking spies?

The vulnerability of the American agencies to the Soviet infiltrators became the cornerstone of the debate during the congressional election held in November 1946 between the Republicans and the Democrats to the point that one congressman described that election as "*a choice basically between the Communism and Republicanism*" (Olmsted 114). The republicans accused the administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to be soft on the Communists especially after the alliance concluded with the Soviets during the war on the pretext of keeping firm the alliance and not annoying the Soviets. This appeared through the ignorance of the evidence collected by the FBI and the confessions of certain former spies such as Whittaker Chambers about the domestic espionage. This softness allowed many of pro-Communists employees to infiltrate the US Government.

In his attempt to withdraw the issue of the loyalty within the federal employees from the Republicans and counter their criticism, President Harry Truman proceeded to issue an executive order EO 9835 on March 21, 1947, destined to test the loyalty of the federal employees (Robbie 132). This program aimed also at rooting out those federal employees who were suspected of being pro-Communists and thus were considered as security risks. Furthermore, it came to prevent further infiltrators and fortify the immunity of the federal agencies and departments against the domestic espionage or rather the enemy from within.

The EO 9835 not only required investigation of federal employees' loyalty, but also contained a set of measures and procedures to investigate and examine the applicants' one. The EO listed the different agencies as well as institutions concerned with deep investigation within

its files about any applicant. This program went further to the point that it required investigation or rather a probe into the applicant's past relative to schools and colleges he had attended, and previous employers of the applicant. In all, with regard to the applicant's loyalty test, the Truman's EO 9835 stipulated the following:

There shall be a loyalty investigation of every person entering the civilian employment of any department or agency of the executive branch of the federal government... An investigation shall be made of all applicants at all available pertinent sources of information and shall include reference to:

*(a) Federal Bureau of Investigation files; (b) Civil Service Commission files; (c) Military and naval intelligence files; (d) The files of any other appropriate government investigative or intelligence agency; (e) House Committee on Un-American Activities files; (f) Local law-enforcement files at the place of residence and employment of the applicant, including municipal, county, and State law-enforcement files; (g) Schools and colleges attended by applicant; (h) Former employers of applicant; (i) References given by applicant; (j) Any other appropriate source. (Schrecker *The Age* 151)*

The EO set up the different cases and criteria on which base any suspect federal employee must be removed from his job. To this end, the EO required reasonable grounds for believing that a federal employee or an applicant concerned with investigation is disloyal to the US government. Therefore, the EO clarified and precised deeds or activities that would prove the disloyalty of an applicant or a federal employee to the government of the United States, and thus should be kicked out of his job. Accordingly, any applicant or federal employee who was involved in espionage, sabotage, treason, advocating violence to alter the American government, having been member in or affiliated with associations that aim at changing the constitutional form of the American government, must be disloyal to the government of the United States. In all, as for the investigation of an applicant, the EO stipulated the following:

(1) The standard for the refusal of employment or the removal from employment in an executive department or agency on grounds relating to loyalty shall be that, on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exist for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the government of the United States. (2) Activities and associations of an applicant or employee which may be considered in connection of disloyalty may include one or more of the following: (a) Sabotage,

espionage, or attempts or preparations therefor, or knowingly associating with spies or saboteurs;(b) Treason or sedition or advocacy thereof;(c) Advocacy of revolution or force or violence to alter the constitutional form of government of the United States;(d) Intentional, unauthorized disclosure to any person, under circumstances which may indicate disloyalty to the United States, of documents or information of a confidential or nonpublic character obtained by the person making the disclosure as a result of his employment by the person making the disclosure as a result of his employment by the government of the United States;(e) Performing or attempting to perform his duties, or otherwise acting so as to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interests of the United States;(f) Membership in, affiliation with or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.
(Schrecker *The Age* 153-154)

The proponents of this program argued that it protects loyal employees from partisan which-hunts. As a matter of fact, prior to this program, the loyalty investigations had prevented examining the political beliefs and tendencies of individuals simply because firing an employee from his job on that basis was purely improper in a free country such as the United States.

After contemplating the severe measures that Truman's EO 9835 included, it becomes clear that most of it were similar to the measures the FBI used to follow to find out evidence about domestic spies. Therefore, Truman's EO 9835 reflected in many aspects the point of view of the FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover. This was due to a notable reason that the chair of the commission designed by President Truman to shape the loyalty program was carefully chosen by Edgar Hoover (Schrecker *The Age* 37); therefore, the FBI director's touches were clearly noticeable. Thus, by passing this program, Truman had indirectly vindicated measures usually adopted by FBI agents in their investigations they used to make.

The application of the EO 9835 was dramatic. Despite that Truman's Loyalty program stipulated that the Civil Service Commission is the rightful commission that would be responsible of the execution of the EO, the FBI managed to dominate the process. The EO stipulated that "*there shall be established in the Civil Service Commission a Loyalty Review Board of not less than three impartial persons, the members of which shall be officers or employees of the Commissions*" (Schrecker *The Age* 152). Furthermore, the vague definition of sympathetic association opened the door for suspecting a wide range of activities and beliefs. Moreover, suspected employees were not able to confront and face the informants who accused them of being disloyal on the ground that the FBI should veil and protect its sources of information. These bad conditions of applying the EO pushed almost twelve thousands of persons concerned with the program of loyalty test to leave their jobs.

Another obstacle that weakened the process of detecting infiltrators among the federal government was the bad relationship between President Harry Truman and his director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover. On contrary to President Roosevelt, President Truman did not cultivate a good relationship with Edgar Hoover. Most important, sometimes, Truman described the FBI as "*a potential Gestapo*" (Olmsted 115). For his part, Edgar Hoover's hatred of President Truman knew no bounds. This hatred stemmed from two main reasons. First, Edgar Hoover distrusted Truman's vow to rid the federal government of the domestic espionage. This conviction resulted from the fact that the FBI had bombarded the White House with reports on treasons made by federal employees, but Truman's administration did not react against them. Second, Hoover could not forgive President Truman for his decision to give jurisdiction over foreign intelligence to the newly created body, the CIA, rather than the FBI (115).

As he was determined to win his battle against the domestic espionage as well as overcome all the obstacles that might impede his work, Edgar Hoover proceeded to politicize the loyalty issue by providing some members of the Congress with top secret information. He passed on top secret files, suggested witnesses, and even provided them with a list of pertinent questions to ask (Olmsted 117). In Hoover's view, as he was unable to prosecute the infiltrators and protect the national security of the country from them, he would at least help congressmen to expose their alleged crimes, cause them troubles, spoil their careers, and most important embarrass the Democrats who were, according to him, lax, sloppy, and soft on the Communists. In doing so, Hoover aimed at exposing the issue of domestic espionage and

showing the American public the black reality of the Communists and what they had been doing in the US government for many years.

As the battle over the loyalty of employees within the federal government had intensified, President Truman proceeded to pass another executive order of a critical importance on March 13, 1948. This executive order required all the federal officials to withhold personal loyalty as well as evidence on national security from congressmen. In doing so, President Truman aimed at targeting two aims. First, he wanted to pass a message to Congressmen consisted in contenting themselves with other issues rather than the loyalty of the federal employees. Second, Truman wanted to convey a clear message to the legislative branch that the Executive branch would assume the task alone without any outside help. Here is an excerpt from Truman's executive order of March 13, 1948:

... all reports, records, and files relative to the loyalty of employees or prospective employees... shall be maintained in confidence, and shall not be transmitted or disclosed except as required in the efficient conduct of business. Any subpoena or demand or request for information, reports or files of the nature described, received from sources other than those persons in the executive branch of the government who are entitled thereto by reason of their official duties, shall be respectfully declined ... there shall be no relaxation of the provisions of this directive except with my express authority... (Buckley and Bozell 20)

By passing his executive order, President Truman aimed at depriving congress, dominated by the Republicans, from the valuable sources of information on the issue of the loyalty of federal employees. Congressmen, thenceforth, were devoid of evidence that was necessary for them to build up their decisions and, of course, in light of which, they might legislate. Thus, President Truman's executive order was considered as a barrier that blocked information and intelligence in one side and prevented it from shifting to the other side.

But this situation would not remain for a long time especially with the shocking events and confessions of former spies that characterized the public scene. As it was depicted above, the year 1948 was considered as watershed that completely changed the American attitude towards the Communist issue. During this year, exactly on July 31, Elizabeth Bentley appeared before the HUAC where she revealed to the members of this Committee her long story about

how she had served the Soviets as a spy for over five years. Most important, she gave the members of the HUAC names of thirty persons who were former government employees accusing them of having been or still members of the secret apparatus. Thereafter, the HUAC received Whittaker Chambers who in his turn accused nine former government officials of having been members of CPUSA. The most important figure was Alger Hiss.

As depicted above, both charges made by Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers were not new. But what gave them a new political taste was changes that political scene had witnessed especially after the Republican Party managed to secure majority in Congress. These charges would be the fatal weapon in Republicans hands in their battle against the Democrats. Moreover, these charges would give credibility to the Republicans' suspicions and allegations about domestic espionage.

Another event that helped in shaping American public attitude about Communism and the Soviet hidden conspiratorial agenda was the conviction of eleven leaders from the leading board of the CPUSA, on October 14, 1949, of conspiring to advocate a forceful overthrow of the US government. Also, on March 1949, Judith Coplon, the US Justice Department aid and Valentine Gubitchev, a Russian undercover employee, who worked in the UN in the Architectural Department, were arrested and tried on charges of spying for the Soviet Union (Hastedt 203). Likewise, on February 3, 1950, Klaus Fuchs, the British physicist who worked on the A-bomb in Britain and then in Los Alamos in New Mexico, was also arrested on charges of betraying top secret information on the development of nuclear bomb. A deep enquiry with the latter led also to the arrest of Harry Gold, David Greenglass, Morton Sobel, and finally Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

II.8 The Republicans and the Domestic Espionage Issue

The flow of evidence that condemned and proved allegations and suspicions that the Communists were conspiring against the United States continued flowing one after another. Meanwhile, the public fear for the US national security was mounting and growing from one day to another. The Republicans found these facts as a powerful lever for coming back to the white house. This appeared via the big pressure on Truman's administration following the conviction of Alger Hiss on January 20, 1950. For them, such conviction confirmed the Republicans' allegations and suspicions which allowed key figures of the Republican Party such as Karl E. Mundt and Richard Nixon to raise their voices and criticize the performance of

the Democratic administration regarding the domestic espionage. For instance, Karl E. Mundt asked Truman to ferret out the federal employees “*whose Soviets leanings have contributed so greatly to the deplorable mess of our foreign policy*” (Griffith 47). Likewise, Harold H. Velde of Illinois sharply criticized the Democratic administration maintaining that the Russian spies were moving freely across the nation.

The Republicans intensified their campaign against the Democrats via criticizing them firmly for being soft on the Communists in each occasion they had. On February, 6, 1950, they adopted a platform in which they strongly disapproved and denounced “*the dangerous degree to which Communists and their fellow travelers have been employed in important Government Posts*” (47); they also criticized the laxity of the Democratic administration towards federal employees who had Communist tendencies and leanings. For instance, some Republican congressmen seized the opportunity of Lincoln day speeches all over the nation to deliver speeches telling the public the shocking truth about Communists in the federal government. For example, in his speech, Congressman William S. Hill of Colorado stated that “*we found them [the Communists] heavily infiltrated into high policy-making position...we were fully vindicated*” (Griffith 48). Likewise, Richard Nixon (served as president of the United States during the period 1969-1974) went beyond stating that the Alger Hiss case “*was only a small part of the whole shocking story of Communist espionage in the United States*” (48).

All these facts along with the bombardment of the American public opinion with series of confessions and trials of former spies and the discoveries of many spy rings contributed together to flame feelings of hostility towards the Communists and all those who sympathize with them. Furthermore, the American public opinion became fully aware of the Communists hidden agenda and more sensitive to their existence on the American ground. Most important, these shocking facts resulted in raising the Americans’ fear for their national security and led them to conclude that the American national security was in danger and that they must react against this danger to rescue their great nation. Consequently, the Americans became seriously afraid of the Soviets’ agenda or rather the Reds’ hidden agenda against the United States. This fear was soon termed *the Second Red Scare*.

II.9 The Wheeling speech and the Rise of the Senator Joseph R. McCarthy

The Republicans continued heightening their campaign against the Communists within the federal government by seizing each occasion to dramatize the issue. Meanwhile, the pressure against Truman's administration was mounting day after day. But the pressure reached its highest level with the famous speech made by the Republican senator of Wisconsin, Joseph Raymond McCarthy. The latter took the issue of domestic espionage or rather the concealed enemy within the federal government to its farthest point.

On February 9, 1950, Senator McCarthy delivered his famous speech in a small town, West Virginia, before the Women's Republican Club. The speech was delivered in occasion of celebrating the birthday of the US famous president Abraham Lincoln. Ladies in the Republican Party expected that the unknown senator would tackle issues related to the visiting salon such as farming or housing problems or at the very worst a speech on Abraham Lincoln's life and deeds. However, McCarthy's speech was on something else they never expected. Before an audience of 275 listeners, Senator Joseph McCarthy delivered his shocking speech drawing a black image about the Communist threat (Evans 179). He warned against the dangerous Communist infiltration of the State Department and firmly criticized the way it was dealt with stressing the need for more severe measures to handle the situation.

In his speech, Joseph McCarthy tried to account for the reasons that made the United States unable to stand in front of the growing power and influence of the Soviet Union. To this end, Senator McCarthy listed several facts that contributed to weaken the position of the United States in favor of its enemy, the USSR. But the most important part of the speech was when the Senator held up a paper in his hand claiming that he had a list of 205 federal employees who were Communist members and still holding their jobs in the American government. He stated the following:

I have here in my hand a list of 205 [men] that were known to the secretary of state as being members of the Communist Party and who, nevertheless, are still working and shaping the policy of the state department. (Fitzgerald 10).

McCarthy's Wheeling speech was one in a series of speeches the senator had arranged to deliver during February of that year. But what characterized the following speeches was the change in the number of the Communists who infiltrated the State Department. This appeared clearly in his speech delivered in Salt Lake City on the 10th of February in which he stated that he has a list of "57 card-carrying members of Communist Party" who are working in the US government, whereas the number changed again and became 81 on the 20th of February in his speech on the Senate floor where he maintained that "81 loyalty risks" were in the State Department and thus were jeopardizing the American national Security (Bureau of Diplomatic Security 122).

This fluctuation in the number of the Communists within the State Department is the source of a wrangle between historians which manifested in each book that tackles the McCarthyism era. The best explanation for this fluctuation of the Communists' number within the State Department is that given by Senator McCarthy himself. As for the 57, he said that "they were either Communist or at least completely loyal to the Communist Party" (McCarthy 10), whereas the 81 included some marginal cases which a careful investigation might prove their loyalty to the United States. He therefore called for a careful investigation conducted by the proper senate committees to detect the disloyal cases so as to remove them from the federal Government. He also accounted for the number 205 maintaining that the number was derived from a letter of Secretary of States James Byrnes. This number referred to the federal employees who were declared unfit to serve in the federal Government by the President's board; nevertheless, none of them was discharged.

The Wheeling speech was so important that it boosted McCarthy's political career and inaugurated a new era characterized by a harsh crusade against domestic Communists. It was the turning point in the unknown senator's life as well as his political career. It brought him from shadow to fame and from a simple politician barely known by a few people to the most political figure that would occupy the American public scene for the few coming years. But the question that poses itself here is: why did McCarthy's speech captivate Americans' attention? And what were the facts he presented in his speech so that it received such attention?

The answer to this question is quiet simple. McCarthy's Wheeling speech caught the attention of the American public opinion simply because it openly expressed the Americans' fear for their national security. McCarthy rubbed salt into the Americans' wound where the Red Scare became the core issue of all Americans all over the nation. At that time, Americans

believed that they live in the most powerful country in the world. They glorified too much their way of life, freedom and mainly the set of civil liberties guaranteed by the American Constitution. Therefore, they were so afraid about their national security threatened by the Soviets. For them, it was a horrific nightmare that the Communists would seize power and thus overthrow their constitutional Government to establish instead a totalitarian Communist one.

The Americans' fear of the Communist threat was quiet reasonable. In addition to all the facts that fanned the public hostility towards the Communists, the CPUSA new leader's sworn statement came to confirm and fuel the anti-Communists concerns. He sworn that, in case of winning the election, he would overthrow the current capitalist government and establish a Communist government instead that would be endorsed by the Red Army. The sworn statement of the CPUSA's leader, William Z. Foster, is as follows:

No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could even if he would, become President of the present government. When a Communist heads the Government of the United States – and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises – the government will not be a Capitalist Government but a Soviet Government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the Dictatorship of the proletariat. (House Un-American Activities Committee 100 Things 4)

The Americans feared too much the Soviet form of government. In that form, all means of media such newspapers, radio, and TV stations are dominated and controlled by the central government. Everything revolves around the directions and the views of the government's leading power. There was no space for individual liberties or freedom and all must act in accordance to the directions of the central government. Therefore, anti-Communists did their best to unveil the hidden truth of Communism and the Communists as well. For them, Communism is a system in which few people aim at ruling the world. They do not give much importance to the way they get control, whether legally or illegally, but they care only about their aim, seizing power. Their excellent way they follow to seize power in the target countries is conspiracy whereas the iron force is the way they adopt to rule the countries they already dominated (6).

The anti-Communists went further when they assured that if the Communists manage to seize power in the United States, nation's capital would move from Washington to Moscow. It is an allusion to the idea that the United States would receive orders and directions or rather completely directed from the Soviet Union. It would be only an adjunct to the Soviet Union. As for civil and individual liberties, anti-Communists maintained that the Communist system does not recognize such things and values. Under Communist regime, the right to acquire lands, farms, estates, homes...etc. is absolutely denied because everything belongs to the state. Moreover, the religious freedom does not exist under such system simply because one cannot be a Communist and believe in God. Further, it would be better for people to choose Communism rather than church, otherwise they would be persecuted. (House Un-American Activities Committee. 100 Things 35); they saw Communism as the rightful thing to believe in whereas all other religions are bad and do not worth to believe in. Earl Browder, a key figure and the former leader of the CPUSA during the period 1932-1945, stated that "*we Communists do not distinguish between good and bad religions, because we think they are all bad*" (34).

Senator McCarthy rose to fame as an outcome of the Second Red Scare. The latter became the core concern of the American public. But what did McCarthy do is just voicing the fear of Communism. He expressed openly the feelings and the worries of the Americans via repackaging facts and evidence on Communists and their agenda in the United States as well as abroad that characterized the post-World War II era. Accordingly, the senator became, overnight, the famous and the major player in the American political scene and caught the public attention. So, who is the Senator Joseph McCarthy?

Joseph Raymond McCarthy was born on November 14, 1908, on a small farm in northeastern Wisconsin. He was a son of hardworking Irish American called Timothy and Bridget, a farm woman. By 1935, Joseph McCarthy graduated in law from Marquette University. He was accepted to the bar of Wisconsin. This apprenticeship allowed him to acquire lot of knowledge and paved the way for his future political career. Thereafter, he got a position with Mike G. Eberlein, a prominent lawyer, which allowed him to secure a place among the community. But as Eberlein was severe with a domineering personality, Joseph McCarthy sought another outlet to his great energy and passion. Indeed, in August 1936, Joseph McCarthy was elected as president of the district's Young Democratic Clubs (Griffith 4).

By 1939, he won the election to a Wisconsin circuit judgeship. With the outbreak of the World War II, McCarthy was serving as a judge. But when the United States got involved in the War after the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, Joseph McCarthy was enlisted in the Marine Corps in the Pacific. When the war ended, he returned to his country with a distinguished flying medal as well as an air medal. Afterwards, he changed his political trend; he seceded from the Democratic Party and joined its rival, the Republican Party. He did so because his state, Wisconsin, was always a Republican State par excellence. In this regard, McCarthy revealed that “*it was an advantage being a Republican with a Democratic name*” (Griffith 6). Then, he ran for the Republican senatorial nomination in 1944 against Alexander Wiley even though he was still serving in the Marine Corps. As a matter of fact, McCarthy secured a leave and returned to Wisconsin to pursue his electoral campaign. But his strange fashion and look, the military uniform that the constitution of the state forbade servicemen from speaking about political affairs, baffled the audience. He also infringed the law of Wisconsin which forbade a judiciary from occupying a simultaneous job during his term. Consequently, McCarthy lost the nomination for his competitor Wiley, but he managed to win a good experience that would help him in the next election (7).

Effectively, McCarthy never lost his determination to enter the Senate. He therefore ran again for the election of 1946 relying on his previous experience. This time, his Democratic rival was Howard McMurray. McCarthy based his electoral campaign mainly on criticizing Truman’s administration, the New Deals adopted by President Roosevelt during the decade of the Great Depression, and by attacking his competitor of being communistically inclined. Another decisive factor that played key role in the success of his senatorial campaign was obviously the valuable support of Robert R. McCormick, the Chicago Tribune publisher. Consequently, Joseph McCarthy achieved a sweeping victory and took his seat in the Senate in 1947. (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 980).

During his first years as a senator, McCarthy voted for the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. But what characterized him during his early beginning was his continuous flouting of procedures, measures, and customs under which the Senate operates (Griffith 13). As a young beginner senator, McCarthy had to be modest and observe deeply the measures, procedures, and senatorial traditions upon which the Senate operates so as to master his job as a Senator. On contrary, proud of his victory, McCarthy felt no need for such things and instead felt that he brought to the Senate vigor,

energy, enthusiasm, and lust for power. This caused him many troubles and he therefore earned a reputation as the Senate's remarkable upstart (14).

II.10 Analyzing McCarthy's Wheeling Speech

The Wheeling speech reflected McCarthy's lust for public notice. His speech really stole the show. McCarthy did not seek to placate the Truman's Administration or moderate the facts, but rather he repackaged all the previous facts and events that took place in the aftermath of WWII which characterized the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. He presented his personal shocking and painful account for the threat of the spread of Communism all over the world as well as the domestic Communists' threat.

McCarthy started his Wheeling speech by giving an account for the widespread influence of Communism comparing to the shrinking influence of the United State and the capitalist camp following the end of the W WII. In this regard McCarthy said that population under the Soviet rule doubled within the last five years. The Soviet population was around 180,000,000 people by the end of the war whereas it increased massively and reached 800,000,000 people within five years after the war, an increase of over 400 percent. This, according to the Senator Joseph McCarthy, reflected the fast tempo of the Communist victories and the American defeats in the cold war. Also, in McCarthy's view, this clearly reflected the bad and the weak performance of the Democratic government under Truman's leadership.

*Six years ago...there was within the Soviet orbit 180,000,000 people
...Today, only six years later, there are 800,000,000 people under the
absolute domination of the Soviet Russia— an increase of over 400
percent...this indicates the swiftness of the tempo of Communist victories of
the tempo of Communist victories and American defeats in the Cold War.
(Schrecker *the Age* 211)*

McCarthy went further in criticizing Truman's Administration when he ascribed the shrinking influence of the United States to its laxity as well as the concealed enemy within. In this regard, he quoted the saying of an outstanding historical figure who said that "*When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be because of enemies from without, but rather because of enemies from within*" (211). He argued that the main reason that lied behind the

U.S. impotency is chiefly the traitorous actions of those who had been treated well by the United States, alluding to the softness of the Democrats on the domestic Communists.

But the most important part of McCarthy's Wheeling speech was that wherein he proclaimed that he has 57 cases of employees in the federal government who were Communists or their loyalty certainly was devoted to the Communist Party; nonetheless, they still holding their jobs in the American government. He stated:

I have in my hand fifty-seven cases of individuals who would appear to be either card carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy. One thing to remember in discussing the Communists in our Government is that we are not dealing with spies who get thirty pieces of silver to steal the blueprint of a new weapon. We are dealing with a far more sinister type of activity because it permits the enemy to guide and shape our policy. (Schrecker the Age 212).

To back up his analysis, Joseph McCarthy cited the example of John Stewart Service, the US Foreign Service officer, who accused him of betraying secret information of the State Department to the Communists; however, he was not prosecuted yet. Another example cited by McCarthy was Julian H. Wadleigh, an economist in the Trade Agreement Section of the State Department for eleven years and the representative of the United States in Turkey, Italy, and other countries. McCarthy accused Wadleigh of stealing important documents while he was working in the State Department and passed them on to the Russian spy ring to which he belonged.

Likewise, it was obvious that McCarthy would not ignore the Alger Hiss spy case. He reminded the audience of his treason to the country that gave him a position of great trust. McCarthy insisted too much on the risk of such ranking diplomats and federal employees who really jeopardized the security of the United States. He blamed Under Secretary of State Berle who did nothing after he was briefed about the Hiss connection with international Communist spy ring. This was because Berle contacted Acheson who helped to drop the case. Then, the FBI had submitted a report in 1943 contained the results of a deep investigation into Hiss' connection with a Russian spy ring; nevertheless, nothing had happened. Afterwards, McCarthy moved on to a very sensitive fact about Alger Hiss as he was the Chief advisor of President Roosevelt in Yalta conference. The Senator alluded that Alger Hiss exploited

Roosevelt's bad health situation that was deteriorated physically and mentally to draft the report of the conference that showed surrender to Stalin. As a result, McCarthy continued, Arthur Bliss Lane of the State Department was astonished as he saw the report saying that: "*As I glanced over the document, I could not believe my eyes. To me, almost every line spoke of a surrender to Stalin*" (Schrecker *the Age* 213).

In his Wheeling speech, Senator McCarthy tried to play on the patriotic feelings and sensations as well as the religious aspect of the Americans hoping to make them react against the domestic Communism. He maintained that the Alger Hiss' treason was absolutely the most appalling crime simply because he had betrayed the Great country on the earth whose people had trusted him and gave him a high position in its government. Not only this, but McCarthy went beyond when he stressed that by committing such abominable crime, Alger Hiss had sold out the Christian world to the atheistic one. Hence, McCarthy hoped that the reaction of the Americans to that crime would make Abraham Lincoln's heart happy.

Joseph McCarthy concluded his famous speech by warning that when Alger Hiss justified his crime proclaiming to the Americans that "*Christ on the mount endorsed Communism, high treason, and betrayal of sacred trust, the blasphemy*" was so dangerous that would sooner or later awaken the Americans to react sharply against such crimes. But apparently, McCarthy had settled the question immediately when he assured to the audience that Alger Hiss had really lighted the spark for a new era characterized by great hostility towards Communists that would stop only by rooting out those federal employees from the American scene so that a new honesty and decency in government would be created.

He [Alger Hiss] lighted the spark which is resulting in a moral uprising and will end only when the whole sorry mess of twisted, warped thinkers are swept from the national scene so that we may have a new birth of national honesty and decency in Government. (Schrecker *the Age* 214)

In all, McCarthy blamed the Democrats for the impotent position that the most powerful country in the world had witnessed in the wake of the war. This was accompanied by a swift growth in the influence of the Soviets who did their best to spread Communism all over the world in their effort to dominate the whole world. They perfectly exploited the American Communists to achieve their hostile agenda against the USA which was their tough enemy and the most difficult obstacle and handicap in their way. As the soviet obviously knew that it was

quiet impossible for them to defeat the United States military, they proceeded to defeat it from within via infiltrating its sensitive agencies, departments, and entities. To do so, the Soviets enlisted domestic Communists as spies who were basically employees in different entities of the federal government. The task, of course, was easy for them by capitalizing on the fertile ground secured by the CPUSA. Those spies, such as the Rosenbergs, Elizabeth Bentley, Hiss...etc. managed to steal a lot of vital top secrets as well as high classified documents that endangered the safety of the United States. All these facts would make the ground upon which Senator Joseph McCarthy would lead his campaign against domestic Communists in the federal government.

II.11 Events that Gave Credibility to McCarthy's Allegations

McCarthy's charges gained the attention of a great portion of the American people. His allegations about infiltrators within the American federal government ignited a huge hysteria about domestic Communists that resulted in series of charges, investigations, and trials that many Americans had been subjected to. By putting McCarthy's charges into its historical context that surrounded the era, it became apparent that the international context at that time had a great impact on the American People so that most of the Americans assumed easily McCarthy's charges as well as his point of view about the reasons that led to the US impotent position and his way to settle the problem. In short, there were two major international events that gave much credibility to McCarthy's allegations. They were: the fall of China into the Communists' hands and the Korean War.

As a matter of fact, the second prominent victory that the Communist world had achieved after the Bolshevik Revolution was without any doubt the takeover of China. By 1949, the Civil war in china between the Communists under the leadership of Mao Zedong and the Nationalist forces led by Jiang Jieshi backed up by the United States ended with a great victory of the Communists (Nash IX:295). The sweeping victory of the Mao Zedong obliged Jiang Jieshi along with his supporters to flee to the island of Taiwan. Consequently, Mao Zedong became the leader of the People's Republic of China until 1976 (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 367).

This event was of great significance for both the United States and the Soviet Union. As for the Soviets, it doubled and extended the territories under the Communist control. Also, it strengthened the Communists all over the world because China was the great nation that has the largest number of population. Therefore, by the fall of China in the Communists' hands, the Communist world joined the two greatest nations in the world, the largest nation, Russia, and the most populated nation, China. As for the Americans, mainly the anti-Communists, this was a clear indicator which proved the misreading of the whole situation by Truman's administration that led to a bad and weak performance on the ground which resulted in such great loss. Most important, the takeover of China by the Communists revealed and confirmed the Soviets' agenda that consisted chiefly in extending their power as well as territories outside the Soviet Union's borders as George F. Kennan had explained in his famous telegram.

To account for the loss of China, Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote a document to President Harry Truman telling him about the reasons that led to such great loss. He wrote "*nothing that this country [the United States] did or could have done within the reasonable limits of its capacities could have changed the result*" (Nash IX: 21). But Senator McCarthy had completely a different explanation to the facts and reasons that led to the loss of China. He therefore charged John Stewart Service, one of the State Department's foreign service officer, of having Communist leanings and thus favored the victory of the Communists led by Mao Zedong in their fight against the American ally, Jiang Jieshi, who, according to Joseph McCarthy, was fighting American war. McCarthy stated that:

When Chiang Kai-shek [Jiang Jieshi] was fighting our war, the State Department had in China a young man named John S. Service. His task, obviously, was not to work for the communization of China. Strangely, however, he sent official reports back to the State Department urging that we torpedo our ally Chiang Kai-shek and stating, in effect, that Communism was the best hope of China. (Schrecker the Age 212)

It is notable here to point that John Stewart Service was the main accused in the *Amerasia* spy case. He was accused of leaking top secret information and high classified files.

After the loss of China in favor of the Communists, the United States found itself in front of another critical event; it was the Korean civil war. As a former Japanese colony, Korea was subdivided into two splitting zones of occupation. The opposing zones turned later into two states with the 38th parallel of latitude as the boundary line: the Republic of Korea endorsed by the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea endorsed by the Soviet Union. Both parts claimed to be the rightful representative of the whole Korea.

The United States had a controversial policy towards the East Asia. President Truman along with his Secretary of State Acheson planned for a more pragmatic policy in the East Asia. This attitude became more operative after the failure of Congress to pass an appropriation bill for continuing the economic assistance to the South Korea. This resulted in the withdrawal of the US military forces from South Korea in 1949 which was under its occupation from September 1945. It also showed that the United States was no longer interested in sponsoring Korea. Dean Acheson described the American position towards Korea maintaining that "*the damage had been done. Without question, the government and the people of the United States wished to end their responsibility for the government and the future of Korea*" (Findling and Thackeray vol4:191). But Acheson did a great damage when he delivered a speech on January 12, 1950 in which he announced that "*Korea and Taiwan were outside the US defensive perimeter in East Asia*" implying that the United States would not fight over Korea (192).

The North Koreans understood Acheson's declaration as a green light to invade South Korea. Effectively, they did not take too much time to take the decision and invaded the Southern Korean part on June 25, 1950 (Benson, Brannen, and valentine 880). This North Korean act sparked may be the dangerous war during the Cold War. Consequently, President Truman reacted sharply by sending military forces to the battlefields in Korea so that the United States became directly involved in the Korean Conflict against the Communists. This involvement cost it heavily. Over three years of fighting, the United States lost more than 140,000 American casualties along with \$22billion (Benson, Brannen, and valentine 882). This war flamed and heightened the feelings of hostility towards the domestic Communists. It also gave much credibility to McCarthy's point of view and helped him to gain a large portion of supporters and sympathizers.

II.12 The Era Found its Name

McCarthy's wheeling speech marked the peak of an era characterized by a great hostility towards the domestic Communists because of all the reasons tackled above. McCarthy took the Red Scare to its peak by launching and leading a harsh crusade against the Communists. As a godfather of this crusade, McCarthy rose to fame as the symbol of the witch hunt for the Communists so that the word 'McCarthyism', derived from his name, became the suitable term for the era that expressed well the hysteria that pervaded the first decade following the WWII. McCarthyism surfaced as a sharp reaction to the mounting threat of the domestic and international Communism that threatened capitalism, the US national security, the American way of life, and even the existence of the United States. Not only this, but also McCarthyism came to express the refusal and dissatisfaction of the rightward at the Democrats policies such as the New Deal Social programs as well as the laxity that characterized the Democratic Administrations of both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman towards the issue of domestic Communists or as the anti-Communists labeled *the concealed enemy*.

Chapter 3:

The Anti-Communist Crusade and the Decline of McCarthyism

“Unless people in control of the industry [Hollywood] are willing to clean house of Communists, Congress will have to do it for them.”

Congressman John Rankin

Introduction

After his Wheeling speech in which he dramatized the Communist threat to the US national Security, capitalism, and the American way of life in Whole, Senator Joseph McCarthy tasked himself with exposing the Communists in the federal government and their deeds to the American public. According to him, publicizing Communist cases in media and Congress was the best way to root them out at all levels of the American government. This way did not please the majority of the Americans simply because they believed that there were other methods to deal with such issue. In his attempt to argue for his method, Senator McCarthy maintained that he tried unsuccessfully to follow other methods such as presenting the facts on each case to the President or to the proper Senate Committee. He said that:

I have followed the method of publicly exposing the truth about men who, because of incompetence or treason, were betraying this nation. Another method would be to take the evidence to the President and ask him to discharge those who were serving the Communist cause. A third method would be to give the facts to the proper Senate Committee which had the power to hire investigators and subpoena witnesses and records. The second and third methods listed above were tried without success. The President apparently consider any attempt to expose Communists in the government as a cheap political trick to embarrass him and would not even answer a letter offering him evidence of Communists infiltration. The result of my attempt to give the evidence to a Senate Committee (the Tydings Committee) is well known. Every person I named was whitewashed and given a clean bill of health...The only method left to me was to present the truth to the American People. (McCarthy 7)

McCarthy's crusade against the Communists pervaded the American political scene and became the main issue that obsessed all the American people. Americans' fear of the serious threat of the Communists reached its peak so that they became receptive to the severe measure and procedures that would remove the Communist threat. No matter how severe these measures and procedures would be, but what mattered were the national security, the prosperity, and the safety of public interests of the United States. Therefore, McCarthyism is generally referred to as the era that is characterized by severe measures and laws destined to uproot the communist threat and protect the national security of the USA. It is also associated with the violation and the limitation of the civil liberties guaranteed by the US constitution and cherished by all the Americans.

III.1 The indictment of the Communist Party

The early outcome of the Red Scare and McCarthyism was the assault on the American Communist Party. There was a consensus among the anti-Communists that the Communist Party must be destroyed. To this end, a lot of proceedings were set up in order to punish and root out the Communists at all levels. These proceedings included the attempt to criminalize the party as well as marginalize it through propagating the belief that Communism is a serious threat to the nation as a whole.

The federal government did not want to thoroughly outlaw the Communist Party at once. This idea was abandoned because there was no consensus about that. In addition, such measure would be against the American values and probably not consistent with the Constitution. Most important, the FBI, under the leadership of Edgar Hoover, refused the measure simply because it would make the party illegal and then push it to work secretly so that it would be extremely difficult for the FBI to watch its activities (Schrecker *The Age* 41). Therefore, Edgar Hoover did his best in order to find an alternative solution to outlaw the activities of the party.

The way to prosecute the Communist party was too hard to find; nevertheless, Edgar Hoover never despaired. He finally admitted that the prosecution of the Communist Party must be based on unmasking the immoral aspects of the Party's ideas, beliefs, and teachings. Therefore, a big campaign to blacken the party in Americans' eyes was waged. For example, this campaign pointed that the party is dangerous, advocates the violent and the forceful overthrow of the American government, and mainly that the party's loyalty is devoted to the Soviet Union, the bitter enemy of the United States, rather than the United States.

Effectively, this campaign yielded a great pressure on the Communist Party and its leading board. Also, this campaign took different shapes. Among them, publishing books focusing on blackening the Communists. For instance, the House Committee on Un-American Activities HUAC published a series of books in this regard. One of these books which epitomized this campaign was *100 Things You Should Know about Communism*. This book was a set of questions and answers that used tactics of the anti-Communists to convince the American public of the looming danger of the Communists. Here is an excerpt from the book:

What is Communism?

A system by which one small group seeks to rule the world.

Has any nation ever gone Communist in a free election?

No.

Then how do the Communists try to get control?

*Legally or illegally, any way then can. Communism's first big victory was through bloody revolution. Every one since has been by military conquest, or internal corruption, or the threat of these. **Conspiracy** is the basic method of Communism in countries it is trying to capture. **Iron Force** is the basic method of Communism in countries it had already captured. (Committee on Un-American Activities 5-6)*

After a deep search in the statute books for the appropriate way to indict the Communist party, the Justice Department's attorneys finally found the suitable statute according to which the Communist Party would be indicted; it was the Alien registration Act better known as the Smith Act. This Act was proposed by the representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia and approved by Congress in 1940. It originally aimed at limiting individuals' free speech aiming at criticizing the American foreign policy that was increasingly heading towards involvement in the WWII. It also required that all noncitizen adults to register with the government. In case of infringing the Act, a severe punishment was set up which consisted in fines up to \$10,000 and an imprisonment for up to twenty years (Robbie 53).

The Alien Registration Act came within a critical period for the American government. The Act came to contain the subversive activities of the Communists especially during the Nazi Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, where the domestic Communists were urging Roosevelt's administration not to get involved in the war. Therefore, being aware of their influence on the labor organizations as well as the toiling forces that might frustrate the American defense industry, the US government anticipated the events in an attempt to avoid any unpleasant surprise from the domestic Communists. Accordingly, the Smith Act made it illegal all kinds of subversive activities such as advocating and teaching the necessity of overthrowing the current constitutional Government. Also, the Act went on to prohibit the publication and distribution of books, pamphlets, and documents that call for revolution. The Smith Act stipulated that:

(a) It shall be unlawful for any person: (1) To knowingly or willfully advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence , or by the assassination of any officer of such government; (2)With intent to cause the overthrow or destruction of any government in the United States, to print, publish, edit, issue, circulate, sell, distribute, or publicly display any written or printed matter advocating, advising, or teaching the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence; (3) To organize or help to organize or any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any government in the United States by force or violence; or to be or become a member of, or affiliate with, any such society, group, or assembly of persons, knowing the purpose thereof. (United States Statutes at Large Vol 54: Part1: 671)

The Smith Act aimed also at shielding the military forces from any unpleasant influence. Due to the fact that United States is a nation of immigrants as well as the proceedings of the recent World War, Congress found it necessary to enforce provisions to safeguard the unity of the US forces especially with the possibility of getting involved directly in the War. Hence, in order to protect the military forces from being infiltrated and protect its unity from any unpleasant influence, the Smith Act proceeded to prohibit any member of the US military forces from influencing the morale or the discipline of the US naval military forces. Besides, such persons were banned from writing and printing any material that spurs or incites disloyalty and disobedience among members of the American navy and military forces.

It shall be unlawful for any person, with intent to interfere with, impair, or influence the loyalty, moral, or discipline of the military or naval forces of the United States (1) To advise, counsel, urge, or in any manner cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the United States. (2) to distribute any written or printed matter which advises , counsels, or urges insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty by any member of the military or naval forces of the United States.(United States Statutes at Large Vol 54: Part1: 670)

In respect of protecting the United States from unpleasant individuals who wanted to enter the nation, the Smith Act included severe measures to filter out them. Therefore, any applicant for the visa should be registered and fingerprinted in duplicate. The first copy of the record would be detained in the consul whereas the second one should be attached with the immigrant's visa so as to be verified by the immigrant inspector at the alien arrival port in the United States and then passed on to the Department of Justice, at Washington, District of Columbia. Additionally, the Act required the registration of any alien with the Attorney General.

It shall be the duty of every alien now or hereafter in the United States, who, (1) is fourteen years of age or older, (2) has not been registered and fingerprinted under section 30, (3) remained in the United States for thirty days or longer, to apply for registration and to be fingerprinted before the expiration of such thirty days. (United States Statutes at Large Vol 54: Part1: 673-674)

In order to fulfill the requirements of the registration and fingerprinting, the bill determined the set of pieces of information that the forms designed for that purpose should contain. Thus, aliens must provide information about the date and the place from which he entered the United States, activities he had been doing and intends to engage in, the period of time for which he intends to remain in the United States, his criminal record, and other additional information the commissioner may ask for prescribed by the Commissioner himself with the consent of the Attorney General.

The Smith Act got little attention during the early years of its passage. But when it was employed again against the leading board of the CPUSA, the Act caused a great debate. On July 20, 1948, twelve members of the national committee of the party were arrested under the Smith Act. The Defendants were:

William Z. Foster, the national chairman; Eugene Dennis, general secretary; Henry Winston, organization secretary; John B. Williamson, labor secretary; Jacob Stachel, education secretary; Robert G. Thompson, chairman of New York District; Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., New York City councilman; John Gates, editor of the Daily Worker; Irvin Potash, manager of the Joint Council, Fur Workers Union; Gilbert Green, chairman of the Illinois District; Carl Winter, chairman of the Michigan District; and Gus Hall, chairman of the Ohio District. (Foster History 509)

Given his deteriorated health situation, William Z. Foster was later separated from other defendants on the pretext that a long trial would endanger his health situation.

The Smith Act caused a great debate among the defenders of the civil liberties over its constitutionality. The American Civil Liberties Union ACLU was in the forefront of the opponents of the Smith Act which believed that the Smith Act infringed upon the Civil Liberties guaranteed by the American Constitution. According to this organization, the Smith Act was unwise legislation that came to restrict the individuals' personal rights to free speech, to free express, and to free assemble. In short, as far as the ACLU and the defenders of the civil liberties are concerned, the Smith Act was inconsistent with the Bill of Rights. Therefore, the ACLU did everything in its power to overrule or repeal the Smith Act.

The Smith Act was criticized for being based on fear rather than on confidence in people's ability to discuss and debate rationally what is suitable for them and for their future. But the main criticism resides in the limitation of fundamental rights such as the free to assemble and speech which are the basic tenets of Democracy. Also, the restriction of the civil liberties made under the fear of the subversive activities of the Communists came as if to mark the government's retreat from the tenets and the pillars upon which the democratic life is built up. Furthermore, the Act may be taken as a pretext and encouragement for other judges, legislators, and officers of the Government alongside people in general to ban the free speech of the other people in addition to the Communists leaders. With regard to this concern, the *New York Times* wrote:

It is for us, the American people, to keep alive the habit of free and full discussion, to tolerate differences of opinion, no matter how distasteful they may be to the great majority, and to leave to the police and the courts the task of suppressing conspiracies intended to use liberty as a weapon for destroying liberty. (American Civil Liberties Union 15)

This indictment of the leading board of the CPUSA surprised President Harry Truman as well as his counsels because it could be used against him in the presidential campaign of that year on the ground that his administration was severe against the Communists (Schrecker the Age 42). This prosecution sought to find a link between those twelve defendants and the activities prohibited by the Smith Act so that it would be very easy to indict them in court. But apparently, this was quiet impossible since no one of the defendants had ever been caught

calling for violence or such things. There was no tangible proof against them. Therefore, the eleven defendants were charged on the basis that they represented the leading board of the Communist Party and thus they completely assume the responsibility of the set of beliefs, ideas, goals, strategies, and principles upon which the party was built up. Hence, the eleven defendants were charged by the federal Grand Jury with the following long charge:

It was a part of the conspiracy that these defendants would assume leadership of the Communist Party of the United States of America;... that the defendants would organize clubs, districts, and state units of their party; that they would recruit new members of their party; and that they...would publish books, magazines, and newspapers; that they would organize schools and classes, in all of which it was planned that there would be taught and advocate the Marxist-Leninist principles of the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence. (Schrecker The Age 174)

In his opening statement on behalf the Government, John F. X. McGohey presented to the court a description of the Communist Party and its basic tenets upon which it was built up. According to him, the CPUSA was based on one ground; it is Marxism-Leninism. He therefore he asked the attendants of the trial to remember very well the term ‘Marxism-Leninism’ because it would be mentioned several times during the trial alluding to its Russian background: “*I ask you ladies and gentlemen to remember that phrase Marxism-Leninism*” (Schrecker the Age 175). Then, he proceeded to expound Socialism, upon which the party had based itself, maintaining that the latter could not be established peacefully unless the party uses the force of the proletariat, under its control, to smash the current form of government so as to establish their desirable form based on the dictatorship of proletariat.

John F. X. McGohey asserted that revolutionary doctrines of the party’s theorists, Karl Mark, Vladimir Lenin, and Joseph Stalin, had been repeated so many times in the lectures, discussions and the thinking of both teachers and students in the schools of the party. Moreover, he stressed that Marxism that is taught in the party’s school is exactly a way to action rather than a doctrine. He went further in his explanation of the Communist Party’s strategy maintaining that the party’s members were taught to pervade all influencing positions and responsibilities in the most important trade unions of the American key industries. The aim was quiet simple and lies in the desire to seize power in case of a crisis or a disorder that

may take place as a result of a war or a severe depression. Their strategy is based upon waiting for bad upheavals or crisis to take place and then seize the opportunity to lead and direct the violent revolution of the proletariat led by trade unions under the control of the party. The forceful revolution stems from the belief that the Marxian Socialism could never be established unless all forms of the bourgeois state and class must be thoroughly destroyed.

John F. X. McGohey moved to another important point to blacken the image of the Communist Party by doubting some parts that came in its constitution in which the party promised to champion the American democracy and defend the American Constitution as well as the Bill of Rights. The following passage is an excerpt from the Communist party's Constitution adopted in its convention of 1945:

The Communists party upholds the achievements of the American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties... in the struggle for democracy, peace, and social progress, the Communist Party carries forward the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, and Frederick Douglass. (House Committee on Un-American Activities Organized 122)

McGohey asserted to the audience in the trial that these parts and phrases were written on purpose in order to be so attractive to a wider range of the American people. According to him, these phrases were empty and inconsistent with the dogmatic belief of Marxism-Leninism that the emancipation of the proletariat and the establishment of socialism could be realized only through the forceful overthrow of the current constitutional government and annihilate all its institutions.

In its attempt to associate the defendants with the set of charges mentioned above, the Court subpoenaed former Communists and informants to appear in the court to witness against the defendants on the basis of what they experienced during the years when they were members in the party. Such witnesses would back up the government's charges regarding the party's tactics, orders and instructions they received as well as the books and magazines they had read in the party. Therefore, the court subpoenaed Louis Budenz, the most important ex-Communist who seceded from the Communist Party following the WWII and a former manager of the *Daily Worker* (Schrecker *Many are 197*). Given his crucial experience as a former Communist and a

well expert on Marxism-Leninism alongside his position in the party as one of its main figures who played key role within its decision-making mechanism, all this made his testimony so important to the future of the trial and theoretically was of high credibility.

After his defection from the party by the fall of 1945, Budenz became the most ubiquitous witness given his readiness to tailor his testimony about the evils of Communism to meet the desire and the need of the Government. Therefore, Budenz's readiness to embroider his testimonies so that it fits the will of his bosses poses a big question about the authenticity and the truthfulness of his testimony especially in such crucial national issue. It also questions the fairness of the final verdict built up upon such untruthful testimony.

During his testimony before the court, Budenz committed himself to demonstrate to the court the real meaning and aim of Marxism-Leninism arguing that its chief target was nothing but destroying and overthrowing the Government of the United States. He maintained that "*Marxism-Leninism meant that the Communist Party of the United States is basically committed to the overthrow of the Government of the United States*" (Schrecker *Many are* 197). Therefore, in his explanation of the meaning of the first sentence in the preamble of the Communist Party's Constitution adopted in 1945 which says: "*The Communist Party of the United States is the political party of the American working class basing itself upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism*" (House Committee on Un-American Activities Organized 122), Budenz asserted to the court that socialism could be established only through a violent and forceful revolution led by the proletariat. He expounded that this sentence clearly demonstrates that the CPUSA had committed itself to the uprooting of the American government to replace it by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Budenz confirmed to the court that the portions in the CPUSA's constitutions wherein the party expressed its commitment to defend and carry forward the democracy of Jefferson...etc. are totally in conflict with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. He went beyond when he asserted that this portion in the Communist Party's constitution was written on purpose for protective purposes to facilitate working in the United States without being afraid of interception. According to him, this was just a democratic cover which hid the real intentions and aims of the party. Budenz told the court that this technic is called "*the Aesopian language*" of Vladimir Lenin (Schrecker *The Age* 180). It is a protective language that aims at writing in a careful, indirect, and roundabout way using hints and well-chosen words so that one could diffuse his ideas without the possibility to be censored. He therefore asserted that

only those expressions which explicitly called for revolution are true, authentic and exactly expressed Marxism-Leninism. Accordingly, when he was asked to explain the way he and defendants had understood the sixth paragraph from the preamble of the CPUSA's Constitution adopted in 1945 which says:

The Communist party, therefore, educates the working class, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of Socialism. Socialism, the highest form of democracy, will guarantee the full realization of the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and will turn the achievements of labor, science, and culture to the use and enjoyment of all men and women. (House Committee on Un-American Activities Organized 122)

Budenz confirmed that it meant explicitly that the historical mission of the proletariat is the establishment of socialism by a violent removal of the capitalist government along with its institutions. He added that this statement is well known among the Communists as Lenin's and Stalin's statement (Schrecker *The Age* 181).

Another prominent witness in the trial of the eleven defendants was Herbert Philbrick, a former member of the Communist Party and a Boston advertising executive who used to report Communists activities to the FBI. Despite the fact that Philbrick was not a high ranking member in the Communist Party, his shocking appearance as witness in the court reflected to them to what extent their party was penetrated by the FBI. Philbrick testified before the court about the instructions he and his fellows used to receive from the party's leaders focusing on its forceful and violent aspect. Likewise, five other FBI informers witnessed in the court and enforced the main theme of the prosecution.

For their part, the eleven defendants did their best to defend themselves and the party's beliefs and principles. In his opening statement on behalf of the American Communist Party, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the CPUSA, denied all the charges that came in the opening statement of the prosecution. Moreover, he strongly denounced the phrase 'the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence' that came five times in the opening statement of the prosecution. He asserted to the jury that none of the eleven defendants had ever committed any single overt act of violence or force against the Government of the United States.

Eugene refused the charge that the Communist leaders exploited the inalienable rights granted by the American Constitution to all Americans to advocate and teach the duty of forceful overthrow of the Government of the United States. He instead reminded the jury of the party's support to the American government during the war against the Axis powers. Most important, Eugene reminded the jury of the sacrifices of American Communists when 15,000 party members defended their nation and served in the different forces of the American Army during the World War II. He also reminded the jury of the party's attitudes and positions towards different international issues when the party had peacefully opposed the official attitude of the Government of the United States.

With regard to the basic dogma the Communist Party rests upon, Eugene expounded and defined *Marxism-Leninism* as “*an evolving doctrine that will enable people to make better and happier life for themselves*” (Schrecker *The Age* 177). He asserted to the Jury that the party's constitution called for the education and organization of the proletariat and also for the establishment of the Scientific Socialism democratically by the free choice of the majority of the Americans, not by force as they were charged. Moreover, Eugene promised to disprove the charge that the American Communist Party aimed at overthrowing capitalism by plots, conspiracies, or forceful revolutions. He instead insisted that change, according to him and what had been taught in the schools of the party, could take place only when two conditions are fulfilled. First, when capitalism is no longer useful for the Americans; second, when the majority of the American people decides to choose another alternative to secure better life for themselves.

As for the Constitution of Communist Party, Eugene criticized the focus of the opening statement of the prosecution on the idea that the party's teachings, aims, principles, and strategies, all of them were taken from the theories of Karl Marks and Vladimir Lenin. He therefore, intended to correct the idea by turning the attention of the jury to an important point that the Communist Party's constitution pointed that the Communists not only learn from Karl Marx and Lenin but also from Jefferson, Pain, Lincoln, and Frederick Douglass. Therefore, it is unfair to focus only on Marks and Lenin and overlook the other icons of freedom, liberty, and prosperity such as Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Frederick Douglass. Finally, Eugene concluded his opening statement by appealing the jury to reconsider the charges of the prosecution in view of the proof the defendants would present to the court. He stated:

*I ask the jury to weigh the prosecution's case against the proof we defendants will offer to establish that we have taught and advocated the duty and necessity to prevent the force and violence of Fascism, imperialists of war and lynching and anti-Semitism. I ask you to weigh carefully our sincere offer of proof which demonstrates that we Communists are second to none in our devotion to our people and to our country, and that we teach and advocate and practice a program of peace, of democracy, equality, economic security, and social progress. (Schrecker *The Age* 178)*

For their part, the defense attorneys of the eleven defendants did their best to exonerate their clients. They questioned for many times the Communist books that Budenz, Philbrick, and the other witnesses had presented to the court as evidence to condemn the Party's thinking and thus the eleven defendants. For instance, McGohey showed Budenz a book entitled "*Foundation of Leninism*" asking him whether it is the same edition he yesterday—March 23, 1949—testified that the defendant Mr. Stachel⁽¹⁾ gave it to him when he joined the party in the fall of 1935. Budenz confirmed that maintaining that he relayed on it in his writings and work as editor of the party's paper, the *Daily worker*. George Crockett, one of the defense lawyers, objected to the admission of that book for many reasons: first, the edition was copyrighted in 1932 and so it was published several years before the enactment of the Smith Act; second, this old edition barely represented the current thoughts of the Communist Party; and third, the content of that edition bolstered the main theme of the prosecution that the eleven defendants conspired to overthrow the US government by force during the period 1945- 1948. But the Judge Harold Medina overruled the objection of the defense.

The Judge Harold Medina was hardly impartial towards the defendants as well as the defense attorneys. He was recently appointed to pursue the trial after the death of the previous Judge who died in the middle of the proceedings of trial. Actually, Judge Medina was so obsessed about the seen death of the previous judge that he thought that the Communist Party was preparing the same thing for him. He therefore regarded the defendants and their attorneys as "*potential assassins*" and treated them accordingly (Schrecker *Many are* 198).

(1) Jack Stachel (1900, 1965) was one of the CPUSA's active figures from the mid-1920s to the late 1950s. He played an important role in the party's trade union work during the 1930s. He was a member of the party's national leadership throughout the 1930s and the early 1940s (Klehr, Haynes, and Anderson xxx).

The prosecutors varied their tactics in their attempt to condemn the defendants. The most effective one was directing questions to some of the defendants asking them information about other people. In doing so, the prosecutors intended to lead the defendants to jail because they already knew that the defendants would decline to answer the questions about other people. Therefore, according to the prosecutors, refusing to answer such question was a quiet clear evidence for them to jail the defendants; and also to show the American public to what extent the Communists were dangerous giving them a black image about the danger they might cause to the United States.

As for the defendants, the trial was nothing but a political onslaught on their party made by the government with the help of the Court. The proceedings, according to them, had the form of a trial; however, it was only a thin democratic cover to give the public the impression that the trial was fair and thus convince them about its outcome that was already known, jailing the leading board of the CPUSA. Actually, the defendants felt great grievance against them. Furthermore, they believed in the unconstitutionality of the Smith Act under which they were indicted because, according to them, it was inconsistent with the American Constitution which guaranteed all Americans the free speech, free press, and free assembly; and more importantly, it banned the Congress to legislate on any of these. The first amendment of the Bill of Right, ratified on December 15, 1791, stipulated that:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. (Fallon 288)

The national chairman of the Communist Party of America, William Z. Foster, expressed the attitude of the party towards this unfair trial. He believed that the trial was absolutely an onslaught on the party overseen by the government. The trial, according to him, was only a play directed by the government in which the party is the sole victim. He viewed the trial as the perfect way for the government to arrest and imprison the party's leaders. Also, Foster firmly believed in the unconstitutionality of the Smith Act because it was inconsistent with the personal liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. Therefore, the trial was unfair and there was no justice in it. The following is an excerpt from his comment on the trial:

The trial of eleven Communists leaders was not a trial in a civil or criminal sense. It was a political attack by the government upon the Communist Party, aided by the Court. The whole proceeding was organized upon this basis. There was neither law neither justice in it, in the accepted meaning of these terms. The affair had the form of the trial, but this was only a thin façade to provide a sort of democratic cover to facilitate the railroading of the Communist leaders to jail and the breaking up of their Party. It was only a mockery of trial. (Foster History 510)

Apparently, the eleven defendants were unlucky. Their trial was surrounded by different domestic and international events that helped to direct the process of the trial towards one direction. The trial took place in period where the Red Scare reached its peak. Internationally speaking, the trial coincided with the Soviet successful test of the atomic bomb as well as the takeover of China by the Communists. Domestically speaking, the trial of the defendants coincided with the trial of Alger Hiss, the arrest of Judith Coplon, the Rosenbergs spy case...etc. This surrounding atmosphere helped to dramatize the Trial of the eleven leaders of the Communist Party.

The persecution of the individual Communists took different forms. Among these were the deportation procedures. Many foreign-born individual communists were arrested and sent back to Moscow and their native countries. These procedures crippled too much the image of the Communists in that it gave the American public the impression that Communism as well as the Communists were linked and attached to an alien conspiracy against the United States. It helped to shape an American point of view in the sense that the proponents of Communism were essentially the foreign-born individuals and the immigrants from Russia and the Eastern European countries who were well indoctrinated with the Marxist-Leninist thoughts.

As it was expected, the jury pronounced its verdict on October 14, 1949, and the Communist party was found guilty. The party appealed against the verdict at both the appellate and Supreme Court but it lost. The party's reputation was badly damaged. Along the trial process, the press had played a key role in reinforcing the government's charges. The defendants were treated as traitors of their nation by almost the media whereas the latter was so sympathetic with the Judge Medina who became a national hero and thus was praised a lot for defending the US freedom (Schrecker Many are 199). The trial made the Communists as betrayers of their nation and thus reinforced the party's conspiratorial agenda, especially with

the outbreak of the Korean War wherein lot of American casualties had fallen in the fight against the North Korean Communists. Most important, the trial of the leading board of the Communist Party helped to reshape the way the Americans, mainly the intellectuals and educators, they would regard Communism.

III.2 The Internal Security Act

As usual at wars, Congress started discussing the best way to prevent subversive activities of domestic Communists following the outbreak of the Korean War. The outcome of this debate was the enactment of another sever act called the Internal Security Act ISA also known as the McCarran Act. Congressmen, both Democrats and Republicans, were fully aware of the serious threat of the domestic Communists especially with the outcome of the Alger Hiss trial and the indictment of the eleven leading members of the CPUSA. Therefore, on the pretext of the looming threat of the Communists, Congressmen believed that Americans should champion any anticommunist legislation aiming at protecting the security of the nation from the subversive activities. More importantly, they considered the opponents of such legislations as being un-Americans (Nash XI: 157).

The ISA was proposed by the Senator Patrick J. McCarran of Nevada. The latter had a long past in opposing Roosevelt's administration and its social policies better known as the New Deal programs in order to pull out the united States from the big calamity caused by the Great Depression. Though the latter was elected to the Senate in 1932 as a Democrat, he was a strong opponent of Roosevelt's New Deal program. McCarran saw that Roosevelt's administration expanded its power over the legislative branch via many New Deal programs which completely conflicted with principle of total separation between the three powers, legislative, judicial, and executive.

Shortly after his election to the Senate, McCarran's position towards Communism increasingly sharpened. His opposition to Communism was first on the foreign affairs but later shifted to the domestic realm. McCarran's anticommunist opposition stemmed from his belief that President Roosevelt had surrounded himself with dangerous Communists so that the different departments of the American administration became centers for the Communists to recite their revolutionary teachings. He also believed that Communism had never been an American political trend but had been imported to the United States through floods of immigrants who used to come to the country each year.

McCarran strongly believed that the United States was seriously facing a clear danger of being attacked by either the domestic Communists or the Soviets. This belief strengthened following the attack of the North Korean Communists on the South Korea. This event, according to the anti-Communists in the United States, marked a turning point in the tactics of the International Communism. It marked the shift from propagating political ideas to embodying it practically via offensive actions. The anti-Communists as well as the Truman's Administration understood and caught ten on ten this shift. This appeared clearly in Truman's quick reaction by sending troops of American soldiers to the battlefields in the Korea. Truman's reaction stemmed from the following conclusion:

The attack upon the Republic of Korea makes it plain beyond all doubts that the international communist movement is prepared to use armed invasion to conquer independent nations. We must therefore recognize the possibility that armed aggression may take place in other areas. (Patenaude 29)

Therefore, as usual during wars especially when the United States is directly involved, severe legislations, no matter how rigid it might be, must be enacted to maintain the security of the nation. Accordingly, both Truman's administration and Congress took the many intercepted spies as well as their revelations as a conclusive pretext upon which they raced to pass restrictive measures and legislations. In this regard, President Harry S. Truman submitted to the Congress a motion destined to deal severely with espionage and aliens. But his motion was outdone by the proposal of Senator Patrick J. McCarran who managed to draft a very severe act called the Internal Security Act.

The McCarran Act passed on September 23, 1950, was actually the combination of two bills. The first one dealt with alien Communists whereas the second one dealt with the registration of the Communists (Nash IX: 157). Hence, the McCarran Act revolved around two axes: first, to prevent subversive Communists from reaching sensitive positions in the federal government; second, to restrict immigration laws to ban undesirable people from entering the United States. Accordingly, the McCarran Act came under two titles. The first title is the Subversive Activities Control whereas the second title is the Emergency Detention. The second section of the Subversive Activities Control provided a set of Arguments and facts that proved the hostile agenda of the international and domestic Communists against the United States. These facts, according to the shapers of the Act, expressed the need for curtailing the Communist threat and dealing severely with it via the passage of this act.

The Shapers of the ISA recognized the existence of a world-wide Communist movement and its serious danger to the United States. They regarded it as movement that was originally created to achieve one holly mission; it is the spread of Communism all over the world and the establishment of totalitarian dictatorship in all the countries under its domination. No matter the ways followed to achieve that aim, whether were legal or not, what matters for the Communists is seizing power and uprooting any opposing power to the Communist party.

There exists a world Communist movement which in its origins, its development, and its present practice, is a world-wide revolutionary movement whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups (governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world through the medium of a world-wide Communist organization. (United States Statutes at Large Vol 64: Part1: 987)

As soon as the Communists take control of any country, they establish an authoritarian regime. People are deprived of their basic liberties and rights such as the right to free speech, to free assemble, to free press, as well as the religious freedom. Under such brutal system, people are governed by fear, violence, and terrorism. Such kind of regime which is based on the dictatorship of the proletariat does not accept pluralism. As for the directing center of the world Communist movement, the Act alluded that all the Communist Parties across the world are directed by the Soviet Union. Thus, the Communist organizations established throughout the world are only instruments in the Soviets' hands who direct them in accordance to their proper conspiratorial aims.

Ostensibly, the Communist Parties throughout the world pretend to be political parties like others; however, practically are devoted only to overthrow the existing constitutional governments by means of any available way, even by force or violence if necessary. Unlike other political parties, the Communist ones are not free to set up and debate their own policies and programs; on the contrary, they make part of a world conspiracy and thus are just agencies that could only receive directives and instructions from their superiors in Moscow to execute them literally in a slavish way. They are dependent political parties and do not represent an alternative for the public because they do not express people's needs and passions that could be achieved through free election within a free system.

Although such organizations usually designate themselves as political parties, they are in fact constituent elements of the world-Communist movement and promote the objectives of such movement by conspiratorial and coercive tactics, instead of through the democratic processes of a free elective system or through the freedom-preserving means employed by a political party which operates as an agency by which people govern themselves. (United States Statutes at Large Vol 64: Part1: 988)

Given its conspiratorial targets, the Communist Parties usually tend to hide their agenda and operate secretly. Additionally, they try to embody their goals via creating and dominating organizations that form what is called the *Communist Front*. These organizations were intentionally created to conceal the real face of these Communist parties so that it would be very easy for them to deceive people and trick them into support the Communist Parties' ostensible agenda and also into supply them with the financial support they do need.

Communist organizations had managed to develop and carry out ruthless spying and sabotage tactics within all the targeted countries so that they cleverly succeed in evading the existing laws (988). The Communist network in the United States made no exception. As a matter of fact, this network is subordinated to the Soviet Union from which it receives directives and the tactics to be adopted. To this end, super agents from Moscow were sent periodically to the United States ostensibly to accomplish different jobs such as diplomats in the UN or affiliated to other international organizations, but practically used their ostensible occupations to escape laws and carry out their dangerous activities that jeopardize the national security of the United States.

To facilitate their work in the United States, members of the Communist network proceeded to obtain the American nationality. These members were carrying their peril activities and at the same time were waiting for a golden opportunity where the United States might get in a financial and economic crisis like the Great Depression, or get deeply involved in a foreign war or engagements to seize it and overthrow the Government. So, due to its activities, purposes, ruthless tactics and methods as well as its subordination to a foreign hostile power, the existence of the Communist Organization in the United States constitutes “*a clear and present danger to the security of the United States and to the existence of free American institutions*” (United States Statutes at Large Vol 64: Part1:989). Therefore, the conclusion was quite expectable; Congress was compelled to react against the looming danger of the Communists and curtail them through the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

The Communist Organization in the United States, pursuing its stated objectives, the recent success of Communist methods in other countries, and the nature and control of the world Communist movement itself, present a clear and present danger to the security of the United States and to the existence of free American institutions, and make it necessary that Congress, in order to provide for the common defense, to preserve the sovereignty of the United States as an independent nation, and to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, enact appropriate legislation recognizing the existence of such world-wide conspiracy and designed to prevent it from accomplishing its purposes in the United States. (989)

Afterwards, the framers of the ISA moved on to give a concise and precise definition to the term Communist Organization maintaining that it “*means a Communist-action organization or a Communist-front organization*” (United States Statutes at Large Vol 64: Part1: 990). As for the definition of the term *Communist-action organization*, the Act defined it as follows:

(3)The term Communist-action organization means (a) any organization in the United States (other than the diplomatic representative or mission of a foreign government accredited as such by the Department of State) which (i) is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by the foreign government or foreign organization controlling the world Communist movement referred to in section 2 of this title and (ii) operates primarily to advance the objectives of such world Communist movement as referred in section 2 of this title, and (b) any section, branch, fraction, or cell of any organization defined in subparagraph (a) of this paragraph which has not complied with the registration requirements of this title. (United States Statutes at Large Vol 64: Part1: 989)

As for the definition of the term *Communist-front organization*, the Act defined it as follows:

(4) The term Communist-front organization means any organization in the United States (other than a Communist-action organization as defined in paragraph (3) of this section) which (A) is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by a Communist-action organization and (B) is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to a communist-action

organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement referred to in section 2 of this title. (United States Statutes at Large Vol 64: Part1: 989-990)

After a careful reading of the two definitions, it becomes clear that the legislators of the McCarran Act directly targeted the CPUSA and all the organizations under its control such as the trade unions. Also, in order to depict the world-wide communist conspiracy, the first definition pointed to the international dimension of the world Communist movement to which the CPUSA is affiliated. It alluded to the subordination of the CPUSA to the Soviet Union which rendered it as an agency committed to advancing its purposes. Stressing such linkage would give much credibility to the tough measures included in this Act and also to gain the support of the largest portion of the American people. Therefore, under the first title of the McCarran Act, both of the Communist-action organizations and the Communist-front organizations were required to register with the Attorney General and provide him with all the lists that contain the whole membership. Also, the act made it illegal the establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship.

(a) Each Communist-action organization (including any organization required, by a final order of the Board, to register as Communist-action organization) shall...register with the attorney general, on a form prescribed by regulations, as a communist-action organization. (b) Each Communist-front organization (including any organization required, by a final order of the Board, to register as Communist-front organization) shall...register with the attorney general, on a form prescribed by him by regulations, as a communist-front organization. (United States Statutes at Large Vol 64: Part1:993)

Also, the Act deprived members of any registered Communist organization from the right to apply for a passport or even to renew it for those who had already obtained one. In addition, the Act banned them from using or attempting to use such passports. Furthermore, the Act went beyond when made it illegal for any federal employee or officer to issue a passport to, or renew a passport of any person if he – the federal employee – knows or has a reason to believe that such person is a member of any Communist organization. Besides, if any Communist organization is registered or there is a final order of the Board to register under section 7 of the Act, it would be automatically deprived from the right of exemption from taxation (997).

As for mails and broadcasting programs, it became illegal, under the tenth section of the Act, for any organization registered under section 7 or any individual who act on behalf of such organization, to transmit or cause to transmit mails across the United States. Publications, wrappers, envelopes, and containers were also banned to circulate within the country unless they bear the following statement prescribed by the Attorney General: “Disseminated by _____, a Communist organization” (996). The Same thing with a Communist broadcast through the radio or the television station of the United States unless the program to be broadcasted bears the following statement prescribed by the Attorney General: “The following program is sponsored by _____, a Communist organization” (996).

In the realm of fighting espionage and protecting information of different departments, agencies and entities of the federal government, the Act proceeded to set up a heavy punishment for any agent of a foreign organization or any member or officer of a Communist organization who attempts to obtain information from any officer or federal employee or from a corporation the stock of which is completely or in major part owned by the United States which might harm its national security unless with a special authorization from the head of the concerned department, agency, or corporation who is responsible of it. Therefore, someone who infringes these provisions would be fined no more than \$10,000 or jailed for no more than ten years or both of punishments. Furthermore, such person would be thereafter “*ineligible to hold any office, or place honor, profit, or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States*” (United States Statutes at Large Vol 64: Part1: 991-992).

With regard to the sensitive industrial sectors, the Act banned the Communists from working in the defense factories or plants for fear of stealing and leaking vital information to the Soviets. Also, the Communists or people who might be dangerous to the safety of the United States would be either detained or deported. That is, the naturalized citizens who are regarded as a loyalty risks might be denaturalized and then expelled to their native countries (Tucker 995). Finally, the bill established the Subversive Activities Control Board consisted of five members, designed by the President to support the Attorney General and empower him to investigate and expose any subversive person or organization.

The second title of the bill was the Emergency Detention. It stipulated, among other things, that in case the President declares the state of emergency, the Attorney General had the power to arrest and detain, in camps made up for that purpose, those people who are likely to harm the national security of the nation or conspire to undermine the Government via

engaging in subversive activities (Levy and Karst 1385). Also, under this title, aliens were banned from entering the United States if they were members of any Communist organization or were advocates of any other form of a totalitarian system.

The McCarran Act was backed up by the Congressional testimony of Edgar Hoover, the director of the FBI, who revealed that “*While there are only 54,174 members of the party, the fact remains that the party leaders themselves boast that for every party member there are 10 others who follow the party line and who are ready, willing, and able to do the party’s work* (Patenaude 29-30). This testimony reflected the fear of the fifth column⁽¹⁾ of the Communist disciples who were ready to attack and harm the interests of the United States if they receive orders from Communist leaders to act accordingly. This testimony endorsed the belief in the existence of a Russian conspiratorial plot against the United States and thus pushed forward Congressmen to enact such severe law to shield the federal government from being infiltrated by the Communists. Holding similar view to that of Edgar Hoover, Senator McCarran viewed the CPUSA and its members as a serious threat to US government as well as to the democratic life enforced by democratic institutions that the Americans cherish a lot.

The idea that the Communists were posing a serious threat to the national security of the United States was quite spread among many congressmen. Senator Karl Mundt of Dakota went beyond when he considered the Communists as a great danger to the American way of life so that such repressive act was required and necessary to protect the nation. He regarded the domestic Communists as part of the international Communist conspiracy plotted by the Soviet Union. As many signs and aspects of this worldwide conspiracy had been discovered during the previous five years along with the outbreak of the Korean War, it became clear to Senator Mundt, and those who shared the same view with him, that this conspiracy chiefly aimed at destroying the American living style and annexing the United States to the Soviet Union. He therefore expressed his personal point of view towards international Communism or rather his own definition to the Communism as follows:

⁽¹⁾ The Idea of the “fifth column” originated in the Spanish Civil War during the General Francisco’s march on Madrid. As four columns of Franco’s forces were approaching Madrid, one of his officers, General Emilio Mola, made a radio broadcast announcing that a fifth column of supporters from within Madrid would rise up and fight for Franco. Since 1940, the term has been used to symbolize any clandestine group of potential traitors who work secretly to undermine the government or a large group to which they are supposed to be loyal.

Communism is a godless way of life which holds that all the means of productions, all the means of distributions, and the flow of capital shall be controlled ...in the central city of the land by a selected group of individuals who permit no opposition, and who subscribe to a world doctrine that there shall be a Soviet dictatorship of the world, directed by the Communists in Moscow...that means that every Communist in America is a part of the international conspiracy to subjugate our freedom and to destroy our way of life. (Patenaude 30)

So, this was the context that surrounded the enactment of the McCarran Act and constituted the source of its severity. All their arguments revolve around the hostile agenda and conspiracy of the Soviets against the United States which enabled them, according to their point of views, total right to pass laws, no matter how severe they were, to protect their nation and root out the Communists from all departments and agencies of the federal government.

As any legislation, the McCarran Act had its proponents, but also had opponents. Its passage triggered a great polemical debate over its constitutionality as well as its repercussions for the civil liberties. It was therefore opposed by a large portion of the American people mainly defenders of the Civil Liberties granted by the Bill of Right. Their opposition stemmed from their fear for people's personal rights which are the basic pillars of the democratic life and system. As a matter of fact, the first and main opponent of the Internal Security Act was the President Harry S. Truman himself. The Act, in fact, was passed over his veto. He disapproved of the measures included in the Act but he could not do anything to stop its enactment because it came under the sponsorship of Senator Patrick McCarran, the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

In contrast with its stated purposes, President Truman believed that the McCarran Act would undermine the anti-Communist cause. According to him, the current internal security measures would be weakened by the ISA; and the work of the FBI as well as other security agencies would be frustrated by the measures included in the Act. Truman also pointed out that the Communist Propagandists abroad would take the ISA as a tangible prove to discredit the American efforts on behalf of freedom. On the other hand, Truman criticized several measures in the Act in his attempt to prove its impracticality. For instance, he proved impractical the measure that required the Communist organizations to reveal information about themselves. He likened the measure to the idea of asking thieves to reveal information

about themselves to the sheriff. He therefore insisted that the CPUSA would never register willfully alluding to the necessity for force to oblige such organization to comply with such Act. He maintained:

The idea of requiring Communist organization to divulge information about themselves is a simple and attractive one. But it is about as practical as requiring thieves to register with the sheriff. Obviously, no such organization as the Communist party is likely to register voluntarily. (Schrecker The Age 193)

President Truman also pointed out the impracticality of the measure related to the enforcement of the Communist organizations to register with the Attorney General in case it refused to register willingly. He argued that before the Attorney General proceeded to request a five-man Subversive Activities Control Board to enforce the registration of the Communist organization in question, he must explicitly prove that the organization in question was actually a Communist one. To do so, the Attorney General must provide the required evidence necessary to condemn the organization. To this end, a long process should be waged which requires a long time. Besides, the Attorney General would be obliged to disclosure some confidential resources of the FBI which might damage the US national Security. In short, the whole process would cost a lot of efforts as well as too much time to arrive to take the right decision about whether the organization in question was a Communist or a pro-Communist one. Truman stated:

All these proceedings would require great efforts and much time. It is almost certain that from two to four years would elapse between the Attorney General's decision to go before the board with the case, and the final disposition of the matter by the courts. And when all this time and effort had been spent, it is still most likely that no organization would actually register. (Schrecker The Age 194)

Truman considered that the bill would encroach upon people's basic rights such as the right for free speech, free assemble, and free press. He therefore saw it as the greatest threat to the civil rights since the passage of the famous Alien and Sedition Acts in 1798. The threat stems from the standards applied in the proceedings to be followed in order to decide about whether an organization is a Communist or not. On the other hand, Truman pointed to the confusion that came up in the ISA regarding the possibility "to classify as a Communist-front organization any organization which is advocating a single policy or objective which is also

being urged by the Communist Party” (Schrecker *The Age* 195). In doing so, the government would stifle people’s free expression of their opinions which certainly leads to a certain form of totalitarianism. He argued that the subversive activities could be prevented one way or another, but the nation’s democratic traditions would be weakened if the government followed these proceedings. Therefore, no matter how bitter this choice might be for the absolute majority of the American People, such measures should be avoided for the sake of preserving the American finest traditions. Unless the government acts in accordance with the Constitution, the Communists would seize on the ISA to mock the Bill of Rights as well as the American great efforts in support of freedom overseas (195).

Truman stressed that such confusing measures which came up in the ISA should be avoided. Unless doing so, the strength of American political life would be weakened and shrunk. This absolutely would delight the Communists but surely would upset liberals who extremely dislike it. According to him, to overcome the Communist threat and root it out, the nation is in extreme need to the unification of all efforts of its different resources as well as the moral strength of its free system. Finally, he stressed that the success could be achieved only by respecting people’s basic rights that the government must to preserve in every way.

II.3 The McCarran-Walter Act

Two years after the passage of the Internal Security Act, Congress upheld the anti-Communist laws by enacting another severe act in 1952 called the McCarran-Walter Act. Sponsored by both Democratic Senator Patrick McCarran and Democratic Representative Francis Walter, the Act was chiefly designed to reform the statutes of Immigration and Naturalization so that it became so tough on the expatriates and immigrants. The Act, also known as the Immigration and Nationality Act, authorized the government to deport expatriates and ban immigrants to enter the United States if it considers them as dangerous for the national security.

The Act required the registration and the fingerprinting of aliens desiring to enter the United States as a precondition for issuing the visa except for those exempted; the same proceedings was required for aliens who already entered the United States. But if any alien did not comply with this provision, he would be fined not more than \$1,000, jailed for not more than six months, or would be punished by both of them.

The McCarran-Walter Act had also outlined a set of actions and things that if an expatriate had done, the government would be obliged to expel him. These actions consisted in:

Obtaining naturalization in a foreign state, taking an oath of allegiance to a foreign state, serving in a foreign army, voting in a foreign election, desertion from the armed forces, treason against the United States, assuming public office under the government of a foreign state for which only nationals of that state are eligible, formal renunciation of citizenship either in the United States or abroad, and leaving or remaining outside the United States during either a war or a national emergency for the purpose of evading the military service.
(Levy and Karst 957)

III.4 The Communist Control Act

The hostility against the Communists continued mounting year after year so that the attack on the Communist party never abated but rather it was steadily toughened. After the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, Congress passed another severe Act called The Communist Control Act CCA in 1954. As the problem of loyalty among the federal employees intensified where worries about national security peaked, legislative process had accompanied people concerns via passing this Act in order to ban Communist members or individuals with subversive tendencies from serving in the federal government. Therefore, the CCA was designed chiefly to outlaw the CPUSA as well as preventing its members from reaching sensitive governmental positions.

The passage of the Communist Control Act was clearly attached to the congressional elections of 1954. Conservative Senators were extremely zealous for overthrowing the Communist Party from the leadership of the union. To this end, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey submitted the bill to the Congress where it was passed with the absolute majority in both chambers. As a matter of fact, before it was put to be voted on, the bill was altered at the criticism of the President Dwight D. Eisenhower who pointed out that if the bill criminalizes the membership in the American Communist Party, it would make the McCarran Act of 1950 inconsistent with the Constitution. Therefore, in response to President's comment, the clause that banned the membership in the Communist Party was completely dropped.

By 1954, the Red Scare was still pervading the American Political scene. A large portion of the American people believed that the Communists were still endangering their nation. Explicitly expressing this fear, the Act pointed to the ostensible nature of the organization which is a political party, but, in reality, is just a striking tool in the Soviets hands designed to achieve their hostile agenda in the United States. Accordingly, the Communist party is nothing but an authoritarian dictatorship within the most democratic nation in the world. Most important, the CCA alluded to the hypocrisy of the Party when it claims the rights and privileges granted to political parties by the American Constitution whereas it denies them to the others.

The Congress hereby finds and declares that the Communist Party of the United States, although purportedly a political party, is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States. It constitutes an authoritarian dictatorship within a republic, demanding for itself the rights and privileges accorded to political parties, but denying to all others the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.
(United States Statutes at Large Vol 68: Part 1: 775)

As for the Communist Party's policies and programs, the CCA referred to its slavish adherence to the orders and instructions that came from their bosses in Russia. Accordingly, the party's programs are not original but were set up for it by the Soviets. In addition, unlike their fellows in other political parties, members of the American Communist Party are like robots. They did not have the right to review or discuss or even to oppose the party's agenda. They were only means to execute orders of their superiors.

Its members [members of the American Communist Party] have no part in determining its goals, and are not permitted to voice their dissent to party objectives. Unlike members of the political parties, members of the Communist Party are recruited for indoctrination with respect to its objectives and methods, and are organized, instructed, and disciplined to carry into action slavishly the assignments given them by their hierarchical chieftains. (United States Statutes at Large Vol 68: Part 1: 775)

As for the CPUSA's hostile agenda in the United States, the shapers of the CCA believed that it was designed to it by the Soviets. With respect to this point, the Act confirmed that the chief goal to which the party was dedicated is the complete overthrow of the constitutional Government of the United States. Irrespective of the way to be followed or the means to be used, what matters for the Communist Party was the uprooting of the capitalist government so as to establish a Communist one based on the dictatorship of the proletariat. All these arguments led to the assumption that the Communist Party's role in the United States is typically an agency of a hostile outsider enemy. Therefore, in view of all facts presented above, and according to its shapers, the Act came to protect the nation from the evils of the Communist Party and so from the plot of the Soviets who stand behind it. Thus, the Communist Party was regarded as a serious and potential threat to the national security of the United States. Accordingly, the main theme of the Act was the definite outlawing the Communist Party.

Holding that doctrine, its role as the agency of a hostile foreign power renders its existence a clear present and continuing danger to the security of the United States. It is the mean whereby individuals are seduced into the service of the world Communist movement, trained to do its bidding, and directed and controlled in a conspiratorial performance of their revolutionary services. Therefore, the Communist Party should be outlawed.

(United States Statutes at Large Vol 68: Part 1: 775-776)

The Communist Control Act of 1954 brought several restrictive measures aiming at curtailing the activities of the CPUSA or any similar organization. Hence, the Act proceeded to deprive the Communist Party or any other organization that holds similar beliefs, mainly the advocacy of the violent and forceful removal of the constitutional Government of the United States or any state, from all the rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed by the Constitution to all Americans.

The Communist Party of the United States, or any successor of such party regardless of the assumed name, whose object or purpose is to overthrow the Government of the United States, or the government of any State, Territory, District, or oppression thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein by force or violence, are not entitled to any of the rights, privileges, and immunities attendant upon legal bodies created under the jurisdiction of

the laws of the United States or any political subdivision thereof; and whatever rights, privileges, and immunities which have heretofore been granted to said party or any subsidiary organization by reason of the laws of the United States or any political subdivision thereof, are hereby terminated.

(United States Statutes at Large Vol 68: Part 1:776)

The CCA also stipulated that any person who becomes a member of the Communist party or any other organization that advocates the forceful and violent overthrow of the Government would be subjected to all provisions and penalties of the McCarran Act of 1950. Besides, the Act prescribed the actions and activities that would be considered as clear evidence by the jury if someone, who appears before him in the court, had committed one of them. For instance, anyone would be found guilty if he had written documents, pamphlet, books, or any other type of publication to propagate the Communist Party's ideas and purposes.

The jury, under instructions from the court, shall consider evidence, if presented, as to whether the accused person: (4) has executed orders, plans, or directives of any kind of the organization; (5) has acted as an agent, courier, messenger, correspondent, organizer, or in any other capacity on behalf of the organization; (6) has conferred with officers or other members of the organization in behalf of any plan or enterprise of the organization; ... (8) has written, spoken or any other way communicated by signal, semaphore, sign, or in any other form of communication orders, directives, or plans of the organization; ... (10) had mailed, shipped, circulated, delivered, or in any other way sent or delivered to other material or propaganda of any kind in behalf of the organization; ... (12) had indicated by word, action, conduct, writing or in any other way a willingness to carry out in any manner and to any degree the plans, designs, objectives, or purposes of the organization. (United States Statutes at Large Vol 68: Part 1:776-777)

The CCA depicted the official position of the Government and its policy to be followed in order to weep out the Communist Party. But at the same time, the restrictive measures included in the Act, designed to curtail the domestic Communism, had brought about a great debate over its constitutionality mainly its consistency with the First Amendment of the Bill of Rights. The First Amendment guaranteed to all Americans the right to free speech, to free

assemble, and to free press. Most important, it requires that Congress shall make no law to restrict people's civil liberties. However, the CCA restricted people's civil liberties on behalf of protecting the national security of the nation via containing the Communist Party's activities. It therefore deprived the party from its rights, privileges, and immunities as a legitimate political body. Furthermore, it isolated the party and kept it away via depriving its members from running for political responsibilities.

III.5 The Hollywood Ten

Each war has its appropriate tools, means, ways and methods. However, the fight against domestic and world Communist movement was quite different from the traditional fights that need weapons and armies...etc. It was a hidden enemy from within backed up from without. Such war required the United States to adapt its methods and means to secure its success. Accordingly, the legislative branch, represented in Congress, took a decisive part in this fight through the establishment of several Committees designed to investigate subversive activities in addition to the passage of the aforementioned Acts.

Undoubtedly, the foremost House Committee that played a key role during the era of McCarthyism was the House Un-American Activities Committee HUAC. Created in 1938 by Martin Dies, a Democrat Representative from Texas, the HUAC, also known as the Dies committee, was designed to investigate the Un-American Activities (Levy and Karst 780). As for its chief aim for which it was made up, the HUAC aimed mainly at investigating and finding out subversives in both federal agencies and labour organizations and then expose them publicly as a way of punishment. It was devised on the basis that the public exposure of such individuals and organizations is the best way to fight the domestic Communism: "*Its raison d'être was to educate the public by holding subversives and subversive organizations up to the light of pitiless publicity*" (Alwood 24).

The public exposure strategy was a perfect way for the witch-hunters as well as raising people's awareness about the looming danger of Communism and its adherents. Focusing on the dark sides of Communism and crystalizing the Communists' concealed diabolic agenda along with stressing the idea of strangeness of Communism that came from a hostile foreign enemy, helped to damage the picture of the Communists so that their influence sharply diminished. In doing so, Dies and the Committee members believed that people could easily discover the evils of Communism. This strategy was so effective that pleased Edgar Hoover

who appreciated the work and efforts of the HUAC stating that “*the committee rendered a distinct service when it publicly reveals the diabolic machinations of sinister figures engaged in Un-American Activities*” (Alwood 46).

As a matter of fact, though Martin Dies was a Democrat Representative, he opposed the New Deal programs of President Roosevelt. He differently saw the utility of New Deal programs. For him, the New Deal legislatives were not primarily designed to alleviate the painful impact of the Great Depression and reanimate the US economy so as to improve the social living conditions of the American People. On the contrary, Dies was firmly convinced that the New Deal Programs were facilitating the way for the Communists to cripple the American capitalist system. Besides, he raised his worries about the increasing power of the executive branch over the two other branches (Ackermann et al Vol 5: 156).

The creation of the HUAC came as response to the need for combatting the Un-American activities related to the fascism and Communism. But the Committee had primarily focused on the Un-American Activities or rather the Communists within the federal government. During the late of the 1930s, the United States witnessed several painful strikes touched the industrial factories led by radical labor organizations. These radical labor organizations had threatened to seize any crisis the United States might undergo to disable and paralyze the industrial factories. This featured in the series of sit-down strikes that characterized the year 1936. For instance, the auto industry witnessed more than one hundred strikes. Therefore, the Committee started focusing on the Communist impact on the labor organizations and summoned John Frey, the vice president of the American Federation of Labor AFL. The latter confirmed to the Committee members that “*The sit-down strikes and mass picketing had been used by the Communists as front line trenches in which to train members for the day when the signal for revolution is given*” (Alwood 25).

Such facts about the Communist plots to sabotage the American industry and thus crippling the American economy raised the Committee members’ worries about the escalating threat of the Communists from within and without so that it thenceforth committed itself massively to detect and investigate the Un-American Activities. The HUAC’s investigations were similar to fishing expeditions; whenever an investigation did not turn up the expected results, the Committee discards the investigation and re-launches a new one (Ackermann et al Vol 5: 156). The role of the HUAC shrunk following the alliance between USSR and USA during the WWII. But in the aftermath of the WWII and the heating up of the Cold War, the

role of the HUAC considerably thrived. In effect, the HUAC took its part in hunting domestic Communists and investigating different groups, organizations, and individuals from different fields, labor, government, and arts, for subversive activities. But the HUAC's foremost event that marked its history was that related to the Hollywood Blacklisting. The HUAC, in effect, turned again its attention to Hollywood to investigate the motion-picture industry for being interfered with the Communists.

Before the 1934, the movie industry used to tackle and address some political issues. But this was limited by a production code introduced by the motion picture in 1934. This code massively restricted tackling the controversial political issues in movies so that it became so difficult for the Communists to influence, dictate, or orientate the political position of Hollywood. Having been concerned with subversives in Hollywood, Congress via its proper committee, the Dies Committee, undertook an investigation in California where many Hollywood figures had been investigated for their outspoken political beliefs. But the investigation turned up no valuable results and ended without conclusive results (Robbie 160).

During the early years of 1930s, Hollywood had just started to become politicized. Further, Screen writers managed to form their own guild in 1933. But the Communist influence remarkably appeared during the struggles with the studios in earnest that began in 1935. In effect, the Communist-sponsored popular front started to attract the public attention on the West Coast where the labor force constituted of white-collar professionals, blue-collar workers, and artists whose political stance leaned towards leftist thinking. Because of their failure to come back to their studios, leftist in the Screen Guild Writers gave their support to progressive causes later called the Communist fronts. Thus, the Communists found their way to the motion-picture in Hollywood.

On the other side, the anti-Communists in Hollywood such as Walt Disney formed the conservative motion picture alliance in 1944. Being concerned with growing Communist influence in Hollywood, members of this alliance sent a letter to the Democrat Senator Robert Rice Reynolds from North Carolina and the FBI's outspoken ally, telling him that "*the motion-picture industrialists of Hollywood have been coddling Communists and cooperating with so-called intellectual superiors they have helped import from Europe and Asia*" (Alwood 46). William Wheeler, a HUAC's West Coast investigator had soon caught the message so that he re-launched again the investigation in Hollywood. Accordingly, in October 1947, the Committee commenced to summon professionals of the Hollywood motion-picture to testify about their alleged communist beliefs, leanings, or affiliations.

Began on the twentieth October of 1947, in Washington D.C, the Hollywood hearings received a great coverage by different means of media. Around seventy-five reporters, thirty newspaper photographers, six newsreels cameras along with nearly four hundred spectators attended the hearings in its first day. The hearings came as a response to the worries of the anti-Communists who were afraid that the Communists had infiltrated the motion picture in Hollywood so as to poison the American screen via injecting their propaganda in the produced movies. Consequently, there was widespread belief among the witch-hunters that purging Hollywood from the Communists and their propaganda became an urgent necessity to protect the American screen (Schrecker *Many Are* 318). In this context, conservative Congressman, John Rankin, was clear about the Communists' attempts to infuse movies' scripts with Communist propaganda maintaining that "*Unless people in control of the industry[Hollywood] are willing to clean house of Communists, Congress will have to do it for them*" (Nash IX: 147). Therefore, the HUAC's inquiry aimed primarily at finding out evidence that the moviemakers were inserting Communist messages, ideas, and beliefs into their films as a way to propagate Communism in the United States.

The hearings started with listening to the testimonies of those called the friendly witnesses or the friendlies. The latter were pragmatic and favored to cooperate with the investigators so as to save their careers rather than resisting and losing their careers. Accordingly, they manifested their cowardice in the face of the committee's investigators and attacked the Communist interference with the movie industry. For instance, the ex-Communist director, Elia Kazan, was one of those friendlies who benefited a lot from his cowardice in front of the HUAC's investigators (Tucker 917).

After the friendlies witnesses had finished their testimony before the HUAC, the investigations got more suspense when a group of unfriendly witnesses who already decided to be uncooperative with HUAC's investigators. Unlike the friendlies, the unfriendly witnesses did not manifest cowardice before the HUAC. On the contrary, they defied the investigators and preferred to go to the stake for their political beliefs and affiliations.

The foremost question that the unfriendly witnesses had to answer is about their political tendencies and affiliations. The question was: "*are you now, or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party of the United States*" (Alwood 47). When he was asked this question, the screenwriter, John Howard Lawson, refused firmly to answer the question because he considered the political belief and affiliation as a matter of personal freedom. For him, this

investigation had no relation with Communism but it essentially aimed at getting control over the screen and violating people's basic rights. Furthermore, they argued that the HUAC had violated their rights guaranteed by the First Amendment via forcing them into speaking while their conscience deterred them. On that account, the unfriendly witnesses, later called the Hollywood Ten, challenged the HUAC's authority to question their political tendencies and declined to answer questions in that regard.

The Hollywood Ten were comprised of seven screenwriters, two directors and one producer. Their names are respectively as follows: Alvah Bessie, Lester Cole, Ring Lardner Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, Dalton Trumbo, Herbert Biberman, Edward Dmytryk, and Adrian Scott (Nash IX: 147). The Hollywood Ten were expected to deliver information about their political beliefs and reveal names of other Hollywood figures suspected of having involved in Communist activities. But on contrary, they refused to cooperate with the inquiry. Instead, they claimed their right to be protected by the First Amendment of the Bill of Right which guaranteed people the right to free speech and assemble. Yet, HUAC's investigators refused to recognize their right and the Hollywood Ten were charged with contempt of Congress. This decision was not taken only by the HUAC but also by the majority of the House of Representatives. In doing so, the Representatives conveyed a message that "*The Constitution was never intended to cloak or shield those who would destroy it*" (Alwood 48). Therefore, after several refused appeals of the ten before the Supreme Court, the Hollywood Ten were sentenced to jail.

Fearing the public protest in the aftermath of the hearings and in an attempt to show their patriotism, Hollywood studios executives issued a blacklist that contained names of people working in the movie industry who were suspected of being Communists or close to them. Anyone whose name was mentioned in the list was automatically banned from working in the motion-picture industry. This measure was described by the New York Times as "*Unprecedented in the American industrial field*" (Alwood 48). At the meeting held in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel concluded by industry executives, the latter proclaimed that they would not be swayed by the hysteria or intimidation from any source; however, they vowed at the same time that it would not "*knowingly employ Communists and would take positive action on disloyal elements*" (Robbie 161). Additionally, they promised to purge the Communists from Hollywood and produce anti-Communist films.

As a result of these radical measures, careers of hundreds of employees in the motion-picture industry were ruined. For instance, according to the estimation of Adrian Scott, one of the Hollywood Ten and a blacklisted producer, “*some 214 motion picture craftsmen and professionals were barred from employment, including 106 writers, 36 actors, 3 dancers, 11 directors, 4 producers, and 44 other professionals*” (Robbie 161). Consequently, the blacklisted employees greatly suffered. Only few who could reconstruct their careers. Others were compelled to work under other names. On the social realm, the blacklisting process had bad effects on the social life of the blacklisted employees. Some families were collapsed and even friendships were severed with those blacklisted for fear of being suspected. Thus, blacklisting those people was not just a simple measure, but in fact was a destructive measure that generated bad repercussions for every aspect of their lives. It was really quite unfair to deprive people from their right to work and survive peacefully just because of their political beliefs are alike to the others. It is also unjust to judge people and blacklisting them on the ground that they are suspected of being Communists or close to Communists without having clear and conclusive evidence that prove such dangerous charges.

III.6 Blacklisting of the Organizations

Following the blacklisting of the Hollywood employees, the blacklisting process took other dimensions and was broaden to comprise other organizations in different fields. As concerns about the growing threat of the Communists within the federal government were heightening day after day, President Harry Truman authorized the Attorney General to issue a list that comprises names of the organizations regarded as prejudice to the national security of the United States. This measure aimed essentially at facilitating the process of detecting infiltrators within the Government and to ease for the administration the application of the loyalty-security program. Accordingly, in November 1947, the Attorney General instituted a list that contained names of ninety-three organizations and forwarded it to the Loyalty Security Board. But the number of the Blacklisted organizations increased massively in the second version of the list issued in November 1950. In effect, within the three years that followed the issuance of the first list, many organizations joined the blacklisted list so that their number doubled quickly and reached a hundred and ninety-seven organizations (Schrecker *the Age* 167). Yet, what characterized the second version of the blacklisted organizations is that it was out of date. Many of the listed organizations were defunct.

III.7 McCarthyism and the Homosexuals

The wheeling speech of Senator Joseph McCarthy had a great impact on the State Department. The Senator ascribed the loss of China as well as the Soviet acquisition of the atomic bomb to the bad performance and weaknesses of the State Department. Such Charges uncovered the weak and lax measures adopted at the time to protect the top secret information and high classified documents from being disclosed. These charges really rocked the State Department and put its reputation at stake. As a result, the State Department reacted very quickly and undertook several investigations in order to detect the weaknesses and set up the suitable measures to protect the vital information from being leaked.

The first reaction came against McCarthy's charges came from Congress. In effect, on February 22, 1950, Congress created a subcommittee tasked with conducting a full and exhaustive investigation regarding the disloyal employees and check if they served in the States Department or not. On the other hand, principals of the State Department moved to the Capitol Hill in order to refute McCarthy's charges. They elucidated the process followed to detect and remove individuals deemed to be disloyal to the United States. In this regard, they maintained that 202 employees had been dismissed since 1947 because they were regarded as loyalty risks (Bureau of Diplomatic Security 124).

But the foremost effect of McCarthy's charges on the State Department was that related to purging it of the homosexuals. Indeed, John Peurifoy, the Deputy under Secretary for Administration, testified before the Senate special Investigation Committee that ninety-one employees had been removed since January 1, 1947. Peurifoy dubbed them the "*shady category*" hinting at their moral weaknesses (Bureau of Diplomatic Security 128). Purging the homosexuals from the State Department stemmed from the belief that their existence among the workforce of such sensitive Department was too risky for the safety of its information. In his account for considering the homosexuals as security risks, Senator McCarthy expounded that these employees were being subjected to blackmails. Blackmailing the homosexuals was a perfect tactic used by spies who threatened them to reveal their abnormal habits if they do not capitulate to their desires and pass them on vital information from State Department (McCarthy 14).

To uphold his arguments, Senator McCarthy adduced the example of Captain Raedl who was the chief of the Austrian Counter-Intelligence during the beginning of the WWI. Captain Raedl managed to establish a good intelligence net within Russia so that it caused a great damage to the Russians' spying-net they had built in Austria. But when the Russians knew that he was a gay, and caught him later, they threatened him to expose his abnormal habits if he did not provide them with the wanted secrets. Indeed, under their threat, Captain Raedl yielded to the Russians' desire and betrayed to them secrets of the Austrian military secrets. Not only this, but he proceeded to destroy all the facts and evidence he received from his agents. Therefore, he committed suicide as soon as his government knew about his traitorous acts. This example illustrated how a homosexual could hurt the safety of his nation if his abnormal habits were discovered by the enemies. Accordingly, they were regarded as a high security risk and thus must be purged from such sensitive department as a protective measure.

McCarthy's attitude towards the homosexuals was in accord with that of the Senate's Special Investigation Committee. The latter provided a psychological analysis to the personality of the homosexual person and his tendencies according to which he reacts. This analysis came to strengthen the idea that the existence of homosexuals among the workforce of the State Department really jeopardize the security of the secret information and thus the national security of the United State. The committee reported the following regarding the homosexual's personality and tendencies:

[The homosexual has a] tendency to gather other perverts about him. Eminent psychiatrists have informed the subcommittee that the homosexual is likely to seek his own kind because the pressures of society are such that he feels uncomfortable unless he is with his own kind. Due to this situation the homosexual tends to surround himself with other homosexuals, not only in his social but in his business life. Under these circumstances, if a homosexual attains a position in government where he can influence the hiring of personal, it is almost inevitable that he will attempt to place other homosexuals in government jobs. (McCarthy 15)

In view of the mounting fear of the Red Scare characterized with the discoveries of a series of spy rings during the era of McCarthyism, the homosexuals were regarded as a serious security risk especially in the sensitive positions in different departments and agencies of the federal Government. In fact, even the Communist Party's leaders were fully aware of the

damage that gay members as well as lesbians might cause to the party because this was among their tactics they used to use to get information. Therefore, they were not so naïf to direct their pistols to themselves. Accordingly, the CPUSA acted in the same way and purged its perverts from its ranks for merely the same concerns (Schrecker *Many Are* 149).

The gravity of the risk caused by the homosexuals lies in the nature of their activities that were purposely hidden and “*their powerful influence over young and impressionable people*” to the point that “*one homosexual can pollute a government office*” (Schrecker *Many are* 149). Therefore, gay and lesbian employees of the State Department were regarded as a looming threat to the safety of Department’s activities and its valuable information. Besides, disclosures of the homosexuals in the State Department strengthened the idea that the State Department’ employees became viewed as “*cookie pushers in striped pants*” (Bureau of Diplomatic Security 128). As a result, the State Department resumed the process of purging homosexuals from its ranks. Accordingly, 54 homosexuals were dismissed in 1950, 119 in 1951, and 134 in 1952 (128).

To defend its decision to weep out homosexuals from its workforce, the State Department assured that the decision was completely made apart from any moral judgment. The decision, according to the Department’s officials, was taken because the homosexuals were “*susceptible to blackmail and expose to other pressure because of the highly unconventional character of their personal relationship*” (129). But the problem of the homosexuals took broad dimension and had repercussions for almost all the staff of the State Department when the Office of Personal viewed that the feature of homosexuality could exist in any person’s personality as latent tendencies at the very beginning and stays dormant for a long period but would surface later without prior warning. This belief worried too much the whole workforce of the State Department and made them suspected of being possible future homosexuals.

Such belief characterized the high degree of doubt that pervaded the State Department. It was an exaggeration that endangered careers of many employees. This exaggeration featured in the necessity to a deep review of the State Department’s workforce on the pretext of the wide tolerance towards the perverts during the WWII along with the inadequate investigation that took place in that regard. Consequently, employees started to doubt each other’s behaviors and habits to the point that they started accusing each other of being lesbians or gays for the simplest reasons. For instance, one female employee accused her supervisor of having lesbian

tendencies just because she suspected her physical appearance in addition to the fact that she was accompanied with a woman with a mannish voice and another strange woman. But when the female employee, the accuser, was asked to provide corroboration to back up her allegation, she brought no factual proof except that her accusation was based upon suspicion (129). Thus, within such doubtful climate, no employee could remain safe and shielded from accusations of his colleagues so that careers of a considerable number of State Department's employees became at stake.

The issue of the homosexuals within the federal government continued during the Republican Administration led by President Dwight Eisenhower. The latter issued an executive order 10450 on April 27, 1953, in which it was determined that the future of an employee depends on the security requirements. Therefore, any employee would be fired if his continued employment within the federal workforce is inconsistent with the best interests of the national security. Accordingly, employees with abnormal habits such as the homosexuals would be suspected for being vulnerable to blackmails and thus would be dismissed on that basis (Schrecker *Many are* 291).

III.8 The FBI's Significant Contribution to the Witch-Hunt for the Communists

The Federal Bureau of Investigation FBI led by his famous and historical leader, Edgar J. Hoover, took a significant part in the crusade against the Communists. Its role lies essentially in the countless numbers of investigations, files, and reports amassed about suspected Communists forwarded to HUAC and other appropriate Congressional committees. For instance, by 1952, the Bureau had managed to examine around “*two million federal employees and conducted 20,000 full-field investigations*” (Schrecker *Many are* 211). Also, the FBI agents had monitored activities of suspected subversive individuals and organizations. Furthermore, the Bureau managed to infiltrate the Communist Party so as to get pertinent information from inside sources.

Among the voluminous collections of such data are the once-secret records of the FBI. These files are a treasure house of information on Communist penetration of American life and institutions, suspects tracked down by the Bureau, countermeasures taken and related topics. To its credit, the FBI was watching these matters pretty closely while others allegedly standing guard were dozing, or in the throes of deep denial. The material in the Bureau files is both revealing and extensive. (Evans 6)

In Edgar Hoover's eyes, the Communists were a serious threat not only to the national security but also to the whole style of the American life he cherished a lot. He believed that the Communists had penetrated the federal government and thus it lies with him to weep them out of the government agencies at all levels. Therefore, under his leadership, the FBI made incredible efforts to find out the Communists and rid the Government of them by any possible means, no matter whether it was legal or not (Robbie 174). Accordingly, to cope with this big mission, the Bureau witnessed a great development during the era of McCarthyism so that its workforce doubled in 1952 and reached 7,029 whereas it was only 3, 559 in 1946 (Schrecker *Many are* 211).

The long presidency of the FBI by Edgar Hoover that lasted from 1924 up to 1972, made Hoover one of the iconic and eminent figures of the modern American history. Therefore, reading about the FBI's history automatically leads to the reading about Edgar Hoover. This featured in the McCarthy's definition of the FBI when he stated "*the FBI is J. Edgar Hoover*" (Schrecker *Many are* 204). The prominent role of FBI during McCarthyism became clear following the passage of the Freedom of Information Act of 1970 which enabled access to its files. These countless files illustrated the Bureau's great efforts to detect the Communists. It also reflected Edgar Hoover's obsession with purifying the federal government from the evils of the Communists and root them out at all levels. In this regard, Ellen Schrecker, a professor of history at Yeshiva University, had an expressive comment about Hoover's deeds and considerable contribution to the crusade against the Communists maintaining that the era of McCarthyism had better termed *Hooverism* rather than *McCarthyism*. She wrote:

When the Freedom of Information Act [passed in 1970] opened the Bureau's files, "McCarthyism" would probably be called "Hooverism." For the FBI was the bureaucratic of the McCarthy era. It designed and ran much of the machinery of political repression, shaping the loyalty programs, criminal prosecutions, and undercover operations that pushed the Communist issue to the center of the American politics during the early years of the Cold War. (Schrecker Many are... 203)

Such statement that came after a long and deep research reflected how harsh was the era and how crucial and decisive was the role of FBI and Edgar Hoover. As a matter of fact, during his tenure as a leader of the FBI, Hoover had extended his agency's power and boosted the crusade against the subversive Communists. Moreover, McCarthy could not pursue his crusade without the valuable help and support of Edgar Hoover. This support featured mainly in providing McCarthy with names of alleged Communists he needed to substantiate his allegations (Culleton and Leick 141). In addition, this collaboration between them enabled them to cultivate a close relationship that lasted for several years until the collapse of McCarthy.

III.9 The Decline of McCarthyism

After his wheeling speech which enflamed Americans' anti-communist feelings and fuelled the witch hunt for the Communists, Senator Joseph McCarthy became the personification of anti-Communism to the point that the latter's name had been derived from the Senator's name, McCarthy. Accordingly, *McCarthyism* became the doctrine that calls for fighting Communism and laboring ardently to root out the Communists at all levels of the federal government. McCarthy's allegations were inconsistent with each other. His charges changed from one speech to another and the number of accused individuals fluctuated from one number to another. For example, in his wheeling speech, he claimed that he has in his hands names of 205 card-carrying members of the American Communist Party among the workforce of the State Department. The following day, the number decreased to 57 and thereafter shifted to 81 in his declaration which he made on the senate floor. When the irritated Democrats forced him to either corroborate his allegations or shut up, Joe McCarthy declined to reveal his source but instead read excerpts from what was supposed to be case histories taken from State Department's security files. Also, in order to keep suspense and keep himself in the center of events, McCarthy alluded to three cases, number 1, 2 and 81, from his secret list labeling them as bombshells (Klehr and Radosh164).

This fluctuation in the number of the accused individuals posed a lot of questions about the authenticity of McCarthy's charges. Nevertheless, the Americans believed McCarthy's allegations because of the surrounding atmosphere characterized by the mounting tension between the United States and the Soviet Union and the Red Scare which resulted in a widespread belief among the Americans that the Communists were jeopardizing the national security of their nation (Bureau of Diplomatic Security 123). So, McCarthy capitalized on that

suitable atmosphere which served his allegations and launched his crusade against the Communists.

McCarthy's allegations were heavy and shook Truman's administration. The latter, instead of disregarding McCarthy's allegations, it amplified them and helped to bring McCarthy to light via taking them seriously even though its questioned authenticity. This manifested through the creation of a special subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relation Committee under the Chairmanship of the Conservative Democrat senator of Maryland, Millard E. Tydings. This subcommittee aimed essentially at checking the accuracy of McCarthy's charges and most important deflate them (Schrecker *Many are* 247).

Ostensibly, the creation of the Tydings Committee came to defuse McCarthy's charges; however, its creation came also as an attempt to counter the mounting criticism of the Truman Administration. Therefore, disproving such allegations would whitewash the Democrats and embarrass McCarthy and his fellows especially the Republicans who made the Communist issue as their best tool to attack and defeat their rivals. To assure the neutrality of his committee, Tydings declared that his committee would be impartial in its work; nevertheless, he along with other Democratic members of the Committee were almost sure that investigating McCarthy's charges would expose the inaccuracy of his charges which might finish his political career. For his part, Joe McCarthy was aware that he became the target of the Tydings Committee. In this respect, he kept in his mind an imprinted statement of Senator Tydings in which he vowed to refute McCarthy's allegations within three days of hearings and embarrass him so that McCarthy would never appear in the Senate. Tydings said: "*Let me have McCarthy for three days in public hearings and he will never show his face in the senate again*" (McCarthy 1). So, regardless whether it was neutral or not, the Tydings Committee came to finish one of the rounds of the political clash between the Democrats and the Republicans.

The mission of the Tydings Committee was not easy and faced lot of difficulties. The Committee had the authority to obtain all the files that might contain information about those individuals named by Senator McCarthy including State Department files, Civil Service files Naval Intelligence files, Army Intelligence files, Secret Service files, FBI files, and CIA files; however, it actually managed to obtain only the loose leaf State Department files. The reason behind this incapability was ascribed by Senator McCarthy to the President Truman who defied the Senate's right to obtain these files and withheld the requested files of other agencies from the Tydings Committee. President Truman, according to McCarthy, asserted that he was

ready to make available only files that could help to refute McCarthy's allegations (McCarthy 71). But McCarthy went beyond when he accused Truman's Administration of stripping State Department's files that would corroborate his charges of all information on Communist activities before they become available for the Tydings committee but Tydings completely disagreed with him. With regard to this point, McCarthy stated the following:

I gave to the Senate and to the Tydings Committee the written statements of four of the State Department employees –one of whom is now an FBI agent– who did the actual job of removing from the State Department files all evidence of Communist Activities... but Tydings denied that the files had been tempered in spite of those signed statements. (McCarthy 71)

As Tydings and his Democrat fellows had expected, McCarthy's secret list he was bragging about all the time was nothing more than an outdated summary of the proceedings of the State Department Loyalty-Security Board that was delivered to Robert E. Lee in 1948. The latter was the House Appropriations Committee investigator. This list, also dubbed the Lee list, included people charged with alcohol abuse, promiscuity, etc. which were charges that had nothing to do with the Communist issue. In addition, these charges were long ago investigated and disproved. Moreover, seventy-nine of those people had already quit the State Department by 1946 (Klehr and Radosh 165). So, it was clear that McCarthy's charges were baseless.

McCarthy's charges gained more credibility following the outbreak of the Korean War which strengthened his charges and empowered his position. As a matter of fact, the Korean War reminded the Americans their bitter loss of China and triggered their fear of losing another country in the East of Asia. Most important, this war made it easier for the Americans to believe McCarthy's allegations about treason in high positions of responsibility.

Politically speaking, the Korean War fanned and broadened the partisan disagreements over the communist issue. It was an event that helped to change the American political scene and had a great influence on the attitude of the American voters. Indeed, the war's early impacts featured in the Senator Tydings' failure to be reelected. Joseph McCarthy played a key role in his failure when he campaigned against him. Most important, McCarthy campaigned for Tydings' competitor and financed his campaign (Robbie 99). But Senator McCarthy went beyond honesty and enabled himself to use dishonest ways to defeat Tydings.

He immorally doctored a photo in which Tydings appeared in a tête-à-tête with Earl Browder, the ex-leader of the Communist Party of the United States (Schrecker *Many are* 249). This photo damaged a lot the campaign of Senator Tydings and caused his defeat and Senator McCarthy appeared more powerful (Schrecker *The age* 64). Such fact and sleazy way showed some aspects from McCarty's personality and gives us some signals and hints about the extent to which he could go just for the sake of his goals.

McCarthy's anti-Communist crusade was not largely accepted by the American political elite. His method based on exposing publicly the Communists or the fellow travelers of the Communist Party began to gain opponents. Those opponents agreed with McCarthy's aim to root out the Communists at all levels of the federal government because they recognized the serious danger they were posing to the national security of the nation. But McCarthy's opponents did not agree with his vulgar and harsh method. Their disagreement was generally expressed as follows: "*I agree with his goals, but not his methods*" (Schrecker *Many are* 250). Hence, in the view of many Americans of the political elite, Joe McCarthy was bad but was not wrong, at least before the Army-McCarthy hearings.

McCarthy continued leveling his charges against the iconic figures of Truman's Administration. Indeed, with respect to the loss of China, McCarthy recycled his charges related to agents in the State Department dubbed as the *China hands* who were accused of causing the fall of China in the Communist hands and accused Owen Lattimore, an East Asian specialist and an eminent advisor in US State Department, of being "*the top espionage agent in the United States, the boss of Alger Hiss*" (Bureau of Diplomatic Security 126). As McCarthy delivered his charges about Lattimore, the latter was abroad on mission of the UN in Afghanistan, but he returned immediately to the United States to defend himself and refute these charge.

McCarthy was so determined to win the case against Lattimore. To do so, he resorted to Louis Budenz. The latter was known as the most ubiquitous witness given his readiness to tailor his testimony about the evils of Communism (Schrecker *Many are* 197). Fully aware about his readiness to embroider his testimonies so that it fits the will of his bosses, McCarthy hoped that Budenz could present a testimony before the Tydings committee in which he connects Lattimore with the Communist Party. Effectively, he expressed his idea to the Senate saying in his own words: "*I told the Senate that Budenz could testify that Lattimore was a member of the Communist Party and could give the committee part of the story of the important tasks assigned to Lattimore by the Communist Party*" (McCarthy 3).

Indeed, Budenz accepted to perform the role and tagged Lattimore as the Communist Party's eminent figure that influenced US policy towards China. Most important, Budenz testified that Jack Stachel, one of the party's superiors, told him that Lattimore was considered as one of the party's members who was working secretly for the Communist party under the name "X" or "KL" (Schrecker *Many are* 248). In addition, he claimed that John Stewart Service was identified within the Communist Party as the Lattimore's pupil. Furthermore, he connected Lattimore to the fixing of the *Amerasia* affair where fear and anxiety pervaded party's headquarters to the point that there was talk among party leaders to "*denounce him as pro-Japanese or pro-Nazi infiltrator*" (Klehr and Radosh 169).

The testimony of Budenz was shocking and particularly was unbelievable and contradicted previous testimonies presented in the same case. As a matter of fact, Budenz did not mention Lattimore at all in his talks to the FBI and local law enforcement agencies during the previous five years. In addition, in 1949, he wrote a magazine article on the *Amerasia spy case* for Collier's, where he provided another version totally different from the one he had presented before investigators of the Tydings Committee. Contrary to his testimony before the committee, in his Collier's version, Budenz revealed that it was Alger Hiss, not Lattimore who was asked by the Communist Party to fix the *Amerasia Case* (169).

The case against Lattimore showed more clearly the immoral ways used by McCarthy and his fellow crusaders against the Communists. When he identifies a Communist target, he does his best in order to condemn it, no matter the means he might use. For instance, he along his staff had "*employed false documents, a fraudulent affidavit, and false witnesses. McCarthy even leaked one witness' testimony to the press before the man gave it, so that the claims would appear in the newspapers before they were easily disproved*" (Bureau of Diplomatic Security 126). Such sleazy ways to condemn and charge people without substantiating charges with the necessary corroborations reflected the harshness of McCarthyism that derailed from the right path and became a devastating tool in the unconscious man's hands.

In its final report, Senator Tydings along with the committee's Democrats denounced McCarthy's allegations describing them as "*a fraud and a hoax*"; However, the Republican members of the Tydings committee did not agree with the content of the report and declined to sign it (Schrecker *Many are* 249). This refusal, stemmed from the belief that the investigation conducted by the Tydings committee was only an attempt to whitewash the Democrat Administration rather than investigating leaks, problems, and weaknesses of the State

Department. Also, this refusal reflected the partisan conflicts between the Democrats and the Republicans over this issue. Thus, instead of deflating McCarthy's charges and disprove them, the Tydings committee boosted McCarthyism.

In the mid-1951, McCarthy benefited a lot when Senator Pat McCarran resumed investigation of the Institute Pacific Relations IPR. Senator Pat McCarran was one of the eminent figures of McCarthyism and a tough crusader against the Communists in the United States. Most important, if the word "*McCarthyism*" was derived from Senator McCarthy's name to reflect the movement's harshness and its broad lines aiming at rooting out Communists from the United States, Senator McCarran's role in this movement was not less important than the one played by Senator McCarthy. Indeed, Senator McCarran had a special imprint on the witch-hunt against the Communists and dominated the legislative side of the movement via senatorial committees he had presided such as the Senate Judiciary Committee along with his key role in passing anti-Communist Acts namely the McCarran Act of 1950 and the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952.

Through the newly created committee dubbed the Senate International Security Subcommittee SSIS, Senator McCarran opened a deep investigation and probed into files of the Institute Pacific Relations IPR. The investigation was substantiated with valuable IPR's documents seized from its barn in Massachusetts by McCarran's investigators. These documents proved the membership of many figures of the IPR in the Communist party such as its head Frederick Vanderbilt. Furthermore, most of people who were responsible of shaping the American policy towards China, such as Philip Jessup, were connected to the IPR. In addition to that, most of them supported the unsuccessful attempt of the US government to reach an agreement that would defuse a civil war between the two conflicting sides of China. Thus, these documents allowed the SSIS to highlight linkages between the IPR, the US policymakers, and the way they dealt with Chiang Kai-shek.

To uphold the outcome of the investigation, the SSIS's investigators subpoenaed former Communists such as Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley to present their testimony about the people of the IPR regarding their ties to the Communist Party. At the end of the investigation, Louis Budenz revealed names of forty-three figures from the IPR who were, according to him, Communists. During the hearings, most of these people declined to answer questions about their political beliefs and invoked the Fifth Amendment. This behavior was considered by Joe McCarthy as a clear sign and proof that those people were really Communists; otherwise, they should talk about their politics if they do not have anything to fear for.

The SSIS was so tough on the State Department's China hands such as John Stewart Service, John Carter Vincent, and John Paton Davies; but the Committee was toughest on Lattimore. The latter spent twelve bitter days on the stand wrangling with McCarran over his beliefs. He ardently defended his political ideas and reputation; nevertheless, he became an outcast where his reputation was gravely damaged and his public appearances were canceled. But the worst came in the final report of the SSIS. This latter ascribed the loss of China to the State of Department and concluded that Lattimore was "*a conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet Conspiracy*" (Bureau of Diplomatic Security 126). In addition, the final report of the SSIS concluded that Lattimore and John Carter Vincent had massively influenced the US policy in 1945 in the way that helped and favored the victory of Mao and the Chinese Communists. As a result, Lattimore was indicted for perjury. Even though he was watched by the FBI for a long time, there was no enough evidence to prosecute him as such (Schrecker *Many are* 252). As for Vincent, he was dismissed from State Department. Likewise, John Stewart Service was forced out of the State Department after being determined as a security risk by the Loyalty Review Board.

As months went up, the Communist issue became the cornerstone of the political debate between the Democrats and the Republicans. Accusations were delivered from both sides. For instance, Joe McCarthy had accused Truman's Administration of being soft on Communism and went beyond when he accused it of doing everything in its power to whitewash its iconic figures such as Acheson. He said:

From the day Truman announced on February 23, 1950, that he would do everything in his power to disprove McCarthy's charges, the Administration has used all of its power—all of its publicity agents paid for by the taxpayers—to clear men like Lattimore, Davies, Vincent and Acheson, and to attempt to discredit and smear McCarthy. (McCarthy 88)

For his part, President Truman along with his fellow Democrats were so irritated by McCarthy's charges and did their best to rebut them. To do so, they unsuccessfully waged a strong campaign to disprove McCarthy's allegations and counter the right-wingers' criticisms. Truman abhorred too much McCarthy and his tactics to the extent that he considered him as "*the greatest assets that the Kremlin has*" (Robbie 94).

Senator McCarthy did not stop at this level and directed his fire to another iconic and eminent military leading figure and a historical figure that marked the modern American and world history; it was the famous George C. Marshall. Joe McCarthy accused Marshall of being involved in the conspiracy made by the Democratic Administration to betray the Eastern Europe and China to the Communists (Schrecker *Many are* 255). McCarthy had a great respect for Marshall as he said in his own words: “*Right or wrong, brilliant or stupid, patriot or traitor, Marshall is one of the most important figures, if not the most important, in the last 10 years. If the history of that 10-years period is to be understood, Marshall’s record must be understood*” (McCarthy 69); nevertheless, he wrote a very long indicting speech of about 70,000 words delivered to the Senate on the 14th June of 1951 (Evans 411). In doing so, McCarthy opened the hell’s doors on himself and many of his Republican fellows as well as the Democrats got the impression that the senator had went beyond limits.

As the Korean War was heating up day after day and month after month, it became the fuel of McCarthyism. News of this war had greatly influenced the Americans and intensified criticisms about the way the Truman’s Administration dealt with the Korean War. These criticisms damaged the Democrats’ presidential campaign while McCarthy and McCarthyism had played a decisive role in helping Dwight D. Eisenhower to become the president of the United States in 1952 and thus retake the office for the first time from nearly nineteen years of Democrat domination.

After the victory of the Republican candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower, it was expected that McCarthy would moderate his charges. But, apparently, winning the White House did not pacify him and continued leveling his charges against federal employees and made a lot of troubles to the new Republican Administration. When President Eisenhower nominated the president of Harvard, James B. Conant to be the high commissioner to Germany, Senator McCarthy objected because the latter had refused Congressional investigation into subversive activities on his campus (Mayer X). In addition, in McCarthy’s eyes as well as his red-baiting fellows, choosing Conant to hold such important responsibility confirmed the continuity with the policies of the previous Democratic Administration rather than making a rupture as Eisenhower promised during his campaign. Accordingly, Joe McCarthy planned to deliver an objecting speech to the nomination of Conant but he was deterred from doing so at the behest of Taft for the sake of maintaining the Republican Party’s unity (Evans 480).

Senator Joe McCarthy continued his objections to the Eisenhower's nominees. This time, he objected the nomination of Walter Bedell Smith, the Eisenhower's chief of staff during the WWII, to be the undersecretary of state. He objected to his nomination because Walter had defended John Paton Davies whom McCarthy considered as a Communist. But McCarthy made his strong objection regarding the nomination of Charles E. Bohlen to become the US ambassador to the Soviet Union. Bohlen was an eminent figure who earned a career as a brilliant diplomat as well as a long experience as an expert in the Russian affair. He was also known by his tendency to the Harry Hopkins appeasement policy towards the Soviet Unions. Besides, Bohlen participated in the conferences that took place during the WWII namely in Yalta and Potsdam. In addition, he served in 1947 as the personal advisor of George C. Marshall, the Secretary of State, and played a prominent role in the development of the Marshall plan (Mayer 53). Most important, he cultivated a good relationship with Dean Acheson, the Secretary of State, so that he became his closest friend. In view of this career mainly established during Roosevelt's Administration, Senator McCarthy objected firmly the nomination of Bohlen because he considered Bohlen as one of those figures involved in what is known "*as President Roosevelt's sell-out of Eastern Europe at Yalta*" (Mayer X).

President Dwight Eisenhower was so clever and did not respond publicly to McCarthy's objections. This featured in his refusal to yield to his advisors' advice to retaliate publicly against McCarthy. According to him, if he responds or attacks McCarthy directly, he would only serve McCarthy via giving him more publicity. Instead, Eisenhower favored to maneuver behind the scene to win confirmation for his nominees and overcome McCarthy's objections. To this end, he sent his vice President Richard M. Nixon to speak to him in order to win confirmation for Conant. As a result, McCarthy difficultly accepted just not to make a floor fight though he did not change his position and voted against his nomination. With regard to the nomination of Bedell, Eisenhower called Taft, the majority leader in the Senate, telling him to put an end to the McCarthy's attacks on his nominee. Indeed, Bedell won the nomination after Taft had acted according to Eisenhower's demands. In doing so, Eisenhower started to deprive McCarthy from his power in the Senate and win confirmation for his nominees peacefully without giving McCarthy an opportunity to gain more publicity.

As for the nomination of Bohlen, Senator McCarthy got raw FBI documents that contained uncorroborated rumors about Bohlen's private life. On that basis, McCarthy requested that the Senate should have the right to access the entire FBI files, not just the FBI reports but President Eisenhower declined. The report came in three parts. The first one

tackled the loyalty issues; the second was on security; and the last one was on his fitness for the new important job in Moscow. No objection was made regarding the first and the second parts of the report but some reservation were made regarding the last part. The essence of these reservations revolves around the idea that Bohlen was not suitable for the job because there was some doubt that he might be a pervert or a homosexual. In respect of this issue, there was no fact or testimony that condemns Bohlen except some reports that linked him with Charles Thayer, his closest friend and brother in-law, who was reputed as homosexual and was fired from the State Department on that account (Evans 484).

To win the confirmation for Bohlen, President Eisenhower sent again his Vice President Nixon to McCarthy who could only persuade him to moderate his charges somewhat (Mayer X). Therefore, Eisenhower proceeded to defend his nominee publicly in the Senate and worked behind the scenes to gain the required support for Bohlen's nomination. Indeed, Taft managed to rally a number of conservative Republicans behind Bohlen's nomination so that it was confirmed. This strategy proved to be effective to overcome McCarthy's opposition in the Senate but did not end the disagreement between him and the New Republican Administration which would aggravate as months went on.

As a chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations as well as its subcommittee on Investigations during 1953-1954, Senator McCarthy waged a large number of investigations and hearings regarding charges on communist subversion and spying within different parts of the executive branch. These investigations touched mainly "*the State Department, the voice of America, the US Information Libraries, the Government Printing Office,*" and ended with Army Signal Corps (Tucker 1305). During these investigations, the Senator usually frightened his victims to charge them with contempt of Congress if they do not cooperate with the inquiry and refrain from invoking the Fifth Amendment. Consequently, many had lost their careers and their lives had been ruined as they declined to respond to the subcommittee's questions.

During his tenure as a chairman of the subcommittee on Investigations, Joe McCarthy propagated indirectly to his outrageous and harmful ways he used to use to prosecute people suspected to be Communists. In addition, McCarthy went beyond rules of good politics and threatened even to subpoena the Former President, Harry S. Truman, to question him about nominations he made in the State Department during his presidency (Robbie 124). Moreover, Senator McCarthy got more in trouble when Joseph Brown Matthews, best known as J. B.

Matthews, appointed by McCarthy as subcommittee staff director, made his notorious charges in his written article for the conservative journal at that time called "*The American Mercury*" entitled "*Reds in Our Churches*" in which he accused the protestant clergymen of being the largest single group that supports Communism. He stated the following in his own words: "*the largest single group supporting Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of the Protestant clergymen*" (Evans 492). This Charge brought a lot of trouble to McCarthy and was considered as a godson for his enemies and opponents. As a result, the subcommittee's Democrat members reacted sharply via leaving their membership and McCarthy was pressured by the Senate leadership into dismissing Matthews.

This struggle between Eisenhower's Administration and Senator McCarthy marked the starting point of the countdown to the Downfall of Joe McCarthy. McCarthy exaggerated too much in delivering unsubstantiated charges which were generally suspicions and hypothesis. He kept raising the level of his charges, but this time he turned his attention away from the State Department to the US Army. In fact, these charges would bring about his quick downfall. Senator Joe McCarthy, in effect, launched a deep probe into the Army Signal Corps Laboratory at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. This probe was launched because McCarthy suspected that the Army was hiding Communists within its ranks (Schrecker *The Age* 64).

McCarthy's determination to continue his quest for the Communists within the executive branch, led by the Republican Party to which he belongs, made a lot of embarrassment to the Eisenhower's Administration and even to his right-winger fellows. Eisenhower was quiet aware that he would just make free publicity for McCarthy if he react publicly to his accusations. Furthermore, he feared that struggling and jousting with McCarthy might divide and weaken the Congressional delegation of the Republican Party and demean the presidency. Therefore, President Eisenhower reiterated to his advisers that he would not get involved in a direct confrontation with the demagogue Senator. Accordingly, in order to avoid the mistake of Truman's Administration which overreacted against McCarthy's allegations and gave him a free publicity which amplified him, Eisenhower resorted to another smart way to defeat McCarthy called "*the hidden-hand style of leadership*" (Schrecker *Many are* 259). This style based on two basic tenets; deny him the publicity for which he was longing too much and do what could bring about his self-destruction. Indeed, this style proved to be effective and soon brought about the Senator's end.

The Army-McCarthy hearings were the final episode that caused his decline. Indeed, McCarthy was unaware of the mounting opposition to his anti-Communist crusade when he started investigating the alleged subversives within the ranks of the US Army. Furthermore, his failure to corroborate the countless number of unsubstantiated charges reduced his usefulness for the Republican Party. Therefore, there was a need to put an end to his outrageous allegations via exploiting his faults. Effectively, when the hearings started in April 1954, President Dwight Eisenhower requested that the hearings should be televised. In doing so, Eisenhower aimed at exposing McCarthy's tactics and his vicious onslaughts against victims of his charges.

In the course of the hearings, McCarthy prosecuted Captain Irving Peress, an Army dentist, of being involved in Communist Activity. But Peress refused to respond to McCarthy's charge and invoked the Fifth Amendment. Thereafter, Peress was discharged honorably from the Army, but McCarthy disagreed and immediately subpoenaed General Ralph Zwicker to question him about that discharge. McCarthy treated Zwicker in brutal way especially when the latter could not respond to his questions accusing him of skirting around the truth. But McCarthy allowed himself to go beyond the limits of tact and diplomacy and obviously enabled himself to express his rudeness to the General when he accused "*him of being unfit to wear his uniform charging that he had the brain of a five year old*" (Robbie 125). This tactless and rude behavior from the McCarthy shocked the public and unveiled his cruelty so that the support for the anti-Communist question decreased sharply. This pushed McCarthy's supporters to reconsider their support for him. This dissatisfaction was explicitly expressed by an editorial in *Chicago Tribune* as follows: "*We do not believe that McCarthy's behavior toward General Zwicker was justified and we expect it has injured his cause in driving the disloyalty from Government service*" (Robbie 126).

The hearings continued and McCarthy continued his ruthless determination to harass witnesses and of course making fatal mistakes. Indeed, McCarthy apparently was acting as if he lost his marbles when he accused one of the assistants of Joseph Welch, the Army's lawyer, of being Communist. McCarthy, in fact, was ready to accuse anyone of being Communist if he opposes him. Upon this important point, Senator Margaret Chase Smith commented and said: "*Demagogues who shout the loudest about communism and who smear anyone who disagrees with them by calling them Communists*" (Ford 71). This was really the turning point of the hearings and was considered as the showdown that ended or at least led to the abatement of McCarthyism. In reaction to his unconsciousness, Welch responded: "*Until this moment,*

Senator...I think I really never gauged your cruelty or your recklessness...Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator. You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?" (Nash IX:18). Following this statement, all the attendants in the hearing room applauded as a sign for the end of McCarthy who looked astonished and confused. It is really the downfall of the demagogue Senator.

Over the course of the hearings which lasted for approximately two months, the Americans for the first time were able to see and hear McCarthy on television as he was attacking his victims. They discovered his ruthlessness and cruelty in delivering charges at random without being able to prove them via tangible and conclusive proofs. Most important, the televised hearings unveiled McCarthy's rude methods and tactics who was frequently impeding the proceedings via "*calling for a point-order in order to bully witnesses, deliver lectures, and make crude and insulting remarks*" (Schrecker Many are 263). As a result, the hearing massively damaged McCarthy's popularity which reached its lowest levels and never recovered. In addition, these hearings proved that McCarthy was all the time lying to the Americans about his charges and crusade against the Communists. In this respect, M. Stanton Evans wrote the following conclusion in his book entitled *Blacklisted by History: The Untold Story of Senator Joe McCarthy and his fight against America's Enemies*:

McCarthy's charges proved to be completely baseless. The relevant data as conveyed by Tydings and since reprised by countless others showed not only that McCarthy's charges of subversion were false but that he lied about everything else from start to finish. He did not have any lists of Communists or loyalty suspects, had constantly changed his numbers and other aspects of his story, did not have inside information sources as he claimed, and otherwise deceived the Senate and the country. The whole thing was a "fraud and a hoax," and the American people could rest assured that charges of massive Communist penetration of the State Department were fearmongering nonsense. (17)

In view of McCarthy's harshness and recklessness that demeaned Congress, the Senate passed a resolution to condemn McCarthy for his abuse of the Senatorial power and immunity, his contemptuous behaviors and bringing disrepute and disrespect for the Congress. The resolution was approved in December 1954, by a vote of 67-22 (Benson, Brannen and Valentine 983). Accordingly, McCarthy was deprived of his power most notably his

committee assignments. Thus, the notorious Senator lost his case but continued serving in the Senate without being under the spotlight. He was totally ignored. As he was a heavy drinker, he died from “*alcoholic-related liver disease*” in 1957 at the age of forty-nine (Tucker 1306).

III.10 The legacy of McCarthyism

When McCarthyism finally abated after the Army-McCarthy hearings, the American people discovered the absolute truth behind Senator McCarthy’s wild charges and his domination of the political scene for several years. The Americans were extremely shocked as they discovered that McCarthy was fooling them all the time. They knew that the charges he made were just big lies, and at its best were baseless and hypothetical. The hearings proved also that the Senator was a demagogue who exaggerated too much in accusing innocent people without being able to prove his charges by presenting tangible evidence. Accordingly, McCarthy’s recklessness and harshness ruined careers and lives of thousands of innocent people just because they were suspected by the demagogue Senator.

McCarthyism caused a lot of damage for not only individuals, but also for the United States and its institutions as a whole. McCarthy essentially demeaned Congress via abusing the Senate and violating the traditions upon which the senatorial procedures ought to work. His untactful manners, uncorroborated charges, and continuous violation of the Senate rules brought disrespect and contempt for this prominent institution. Abroad, the image of the United States was somehow damaged. In this respect, the Governor of New Jersey, Robert B. Mayor, delivered a speech on July 1954 before the sixth annual Conference on American Foreign Policy in which he stated that McCarthy “*had done more than any individual of our time to damage America in the eyes of the world...this is the man whose performance had caused our friends and allies abroad to wonder how American foreign policy is made. Some of them think McCarthy is on his way to the white house*” (Ford 32). This declaration reflected the strength and the power that Senator McCarthy had reached. Also, it illustrated the degree of the long-term damage that McCarthy’s irresponsible and wild charges had inflicted on the American Government, most notably on the State Department. This was manifested in American’s too late recognition of People’s Republic of China that came in 1971 when President Nixon took the Office (Schrecker *The Age* 93).

After his famous Wheeling speech, Senator Joe McCarthy became the personification of the anti-Communist crusade so that this crusade soon became termed McCarthyism. This movement was harsh and unconscious so that people became afraid of being attacked by McCarthy and his fellow red-baiting. McCarthyism, in fact, exploited the reasonable fear of the Americans for their national security to advance the anti-Communist issue to its furthest edge and labored to sow distrust and hysterical fear among the Americans to the point that people were, as Governor Mayor maintained, “*looking to under the bed for reds and permitting ourselves to question the motives and loyalties of one another*” (Ford 32). This hysteria affected badly the free expression of ideas and thoughts where people of liberal opinions feared voicing their views lest they accused of being reds or leftists.

The harshness of McCarthyism was so destructive. This manifested in the blacklisting process which resulted in devastating careers of nearly 10,000 individuals (Schrecker *The Age* 92). But the great portion of damage fell on the American left. As a matter of fact, the trial of the leading board caused a great damage to the Communist Party so that its membership diminished sharply and lost more than a half during the years of their trial (Robbie 100). Besides, the Smith Act under which they were tried came to counter the subversives during the WWII not after. Furthermore, most of the repressive measures included in the Smith Act raised great debate over its constitutionality where civil rights defenders regarded them as inconsistent with the American Constitution which guaranteed people their civil rights such as the freedom of speech, free press, and free assemble and required that Congress should not legislate against people’s basic rights. According to them, this was thoroughly inconsistent with the First Amendment which stipulates:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. (Fallon 288)

Instead of Muzzling people’s mouths and repress them, the government had to check each case alone without building its judgments upon suspicion and feelings. Most McCarthy’s charges had been proved to be an exaggeration in suspecting innocent people. For instance, when he first made his charges in Wheeling speech, McCarthy was not sure of the involvement of those 57 suspected individuals. He said in his own words: “*While I strongly felt that the 57 were either Communists or at least completely loyal to the Communist Party, the 81 included*

cases which were marginal” (McCarthy 10). So, McCarthy’s charges were in fact based on his feelings and senses. This completely inconsistent with the principles of the greatest country presumed to be a country of Law and institutions. It is absolutely illogical and unacceptable in Democratic country to judge people according to someone’s feelings rather than clear and conclusive evidence resulted from a deep investigation conducted by the appropriate institutions.

McCarthy himself recognized indirectly that such serious charges must be proclaimed after conducting a deep investigation by the appropriate Congressional committees or the specialized agencies such as the FBI. He states: “*I have no committee or agency to pass upon the approximately 28, 000 State Department employees. I have no power to subpoena witnesses or records. I have a very limited staff of investigation*” (McCarthy 10). This proved clearly that Senator McCarthy was contradicting himself when he was prosecuting people without being able to prove his charges. But, apparently, charging innocent people was like a hobby or a game for Senator McCarthy. He was thoroughly irresponsible as he was distributing charges recklessly to the innocent people. As state man, McCarthy ought to be certain and careful as to whether those people were a hundred per cent guilty of being Communists or a fellow-travelers, of doing or having done something harmful to the safety of the United States or against its interests.

The chief outcome of McCarthyism was distrust and fear as a result of the great repression that characterized the era. It affected lives of thousands of people and even spoiled the political culture of the United States. McCarthyism, in fact, affected people’s lives and careers differently according to their positions towards the Communist issue; some thrived; other ruined; and most managed to remain safe. The damage and pain of McCarthyism sometimes exceeded limits and what could a human bear. This was manifested in behaviors of some people who committed suicide simply because their lives were thoroughly blighted to the point that they could not survive. For instance, William Sherwood, a biologist at Stanford University, committed suicide before his appearance before the HUAC committee in June 1957. He could not stand being humiliated publicly (Schrecker *Many are* 361).

The stress caused by investigating proceedings and blacklisting process was deadly in some cases. This was the case of Harry Dexter White. He was suffering from a heart attack when he appeared before the HUAC investigators. His doctor asked the investigating board of the committee to be soft on him but his request went in vein. As a result, Harry White Dexter died in August 16, 1948, few days following his testimony before the HUAC.

Jailing the defendants was another black side of the anti-Communist Crusade. Though it made part of the legal proceedings designed to punish the Communists, it helped a lot to humiliate the defendants stressing their criminal nature. Therefore, prosecutors strived to jail the Communists whenever it is possible whereas bailing was hard to get especially for aliens threatened to be deported. Accordingly, during the 1940s and 1950s, around two hundred political prisoner spent time in jails or centers of the Immigration and Naturalization Service INS (Schrecker *Many are* 361).

Victims of McCarthyism suffered a lot and were extremely tormented by the anti-Communists. They used to receive strange calls, hate mail, and other annoying ways namely in cities where their names and addresses were printed in local newspapers. The crank callers used to threaten their victims only via breathing deeply and heavily, but sometimes went beyond. This happened to a teacher from New York who received threatening calls as well as a letter containing a picture depicting his death scene. Another teacher found his house smeared with red paint whereas another blacklisted writer found a burning cross in his front yard. All these harassing manners were quite spread during the anti-Communist crusade with people whose cases became publicized which made them easy targets for the extremist crusaders.

But the main punishment that damaged lives of McCarthyism's victims was losing the job. Stripping off any individual from his job, in fact, was regarded as an economic disastrous for any victim. In its overall meaning, such punishment meant losing the right to life because it would be very difficult for any to find a new job if he was kick out of his previous job for reasons connected to his ties with the Communists. Individuals who lost their jobs were numerous; their number was considerable and estimated to be around ten or twelve thousands or may be more. Blacklisting an individual was also a devastating procedure which, at its best, harms badly the income of the economic activity. For instance, Joseph Julian, a Hollywood blacklisted actor, used to earn lot of money during the 1940s, before his blacklisting. He used to earn \$18,236 in 1947, \$14,453 in 1948, \$18,071 in 1949, and \$17,394 in 1950. However, after being blacklisted, Joseph Julian's annual income shrunk and plummeted. His income reached \$11,858 in 1951, \$6,710 in 1952, and only \$1,630 in 1952 (Schrecker *Many are* 363). Accordingly, despite the fact that many blacklisted managed to sell their product away from the eyes of the state, the small income was no longer enough to meet their previous fees. This affected badly their living standards and forced them to change their habits.

For some Hollywood Blacklisted and scientists, immigration was their favorite solution to escape the misery of the punishment and continuing their work abroad. They immigrated especially to Europe and Mexico. This measure, in fact, doubled their sufferance because most of them could not take all their family members to live with them abroad. Therefore, from time to time, they were obliged to return to the United States to see them, but this was difficult since giving a passport for a political dissenter was quite impossible during that days.

The blacklisting process continued up to mid-sixties where it started to abate. As for Hollywood, the process started to abate in 1959 when the screenwriter Dalton Trumbo, one of the Hollywood Ten, had won the Oscar for writing the *Brave One* under another name Robert Rich. He used to write under this name until 1960 where he returned to write under his real name. As for other Hollywood entertainers, the process of rehabilitation went slowly and took long time. Accordingly, only ten per cent of individuals fired from Hollywood ever returned to resume their work in Hollywood. The realm of education almost witnessed the same thing. Most of the teachers and professors kicked out of their schools and universities had returned back to resume their work; however, those fired from the public schools never returned (364).

Employees of the State Department suffered too. Even those who kept their jobs such as Owen Lattimore, the famous victim of McCarthyism, lost their careers which never restored. Likewise, those who escaped purges of Government's loyalty security program were not safe and remained all the time afraid of being called to a new investigation. As for the China hands, they were banned from dealing with issues of East Asia because of their political liability. Accordingly, within this climate full of fear and distrust, many federal employees desired to resign and quit the government to escape suspicion. However, such decision was not so easy to be accepted by the government until it was sure a hundred per cent that those people do not constitute any risk to the national security.

The impact of McCarthyism inflicted on the policymakers and the American foreign policy was quite sensitive. Robert McNamara, one of the Vietnam War architects, acknowledged that it was possible to avoid the Vietnam War if senior policymakers such as John Stewart Service and John Paton Davies remained in the State Department. In view of their great and long experience in the area along with their heavy weight within the States Department, they were able to advice against the war. But these officers were not consulted because of the everlasting fear of repeating the McCarthy era. This was manifested in the early years of the conflict when a group of younger China specialists, cleared of suspicion, were sent

to Vietnam and began listing similarities between the regime of the South Vietnamese and that of Chiang Kai-shek in China, but their superior declined to send their report to Washington.

The resident specter of the loss of China affected the policymakers' decision and limited their options about the war in Vietnam. American Administrations of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson still remember the specter of the great damage caused by Senator McCarthy and his fellows to the Truman Administration and considered that the loss of China to be the direct reason that brought Senator McCarthy to fame. Therefore, loosing another country in the East of Asia would bring about the collapse of the current Administration. In this regard, Lyndon B. Johnson expressed his fear confiding to Doris Kearns the following:

An endless national debate- a mean and destructive debate- that would shatter my Presidency, kill my administration, and damage our democracy. I knew that Harry Truman and Dean Acheson had lost their effectiveness from the day that the Communist took over in China. I believed that the loss of China had played a large role in the rise of Joe McCarthy. (Schrecker Many are 373)

Consequently, fearing for his presidency, President Johnson waged the Vietnam War to prevent its fall in the hands of Communist camp; however, contrary to his belief, this war was his trap that shattered his presidency.

Psychologically speaking, McCarthyism had bad impact on the defendants' psyche. For those victims, it was hard to admit such suspicion or charges that turned them into political and social outcasts overnight. Therefore, charges of disloyalty to their nation caused a trauma for many victims and shattered them into pieces. Children also had their share of fear during the era of McCarthyism. They were affected by their parents fear and anxieties. In view of their naivety, they were usually cautioned to be careful in talking to other people and avoiding talking to strangers lest they leak their families' secrets to the FBI.

The struggle against segregation was also affected by McCarthyism. The struggle for equality between blacks and the whites was among the basic concerns of the American Communist Party. For their part, the black Communists considered the CPUSA as a civil right group. Therefore, the great pressure on the Communist Party and its adherents affected and crippled the fight for eliminating the discrimination between the blacks and the whites.

Socially speaking, McCarthyism had great impact on the social policies adopted by the federal government. Its painful pressure on the government via sharp criticism of the New Deal policies adopted by President Roosevelt and continued during the presidency of Harry S. Truman pushed the government to abandon the incomplete New Deal programs. Hence, social programs such as national health insurance and other social projects were completely shattered under the big pressure exercised by the anti-Communists.

The Cultural real was also badly affected by the era of McCarthyism. Many writers could not publish their works because of their Communist tendencies. In fact, Communist authors were absolutely undesirable. For instance, Howard Fast found himself compelled to publish his novel on his own because he did not find a publisher. Sometimes, what mattered was the subject or the topic tackled by authors. Therefore, writers were not able to write about undesirable issues (Schrecker *Many are* 397). They instead turned their attention to other topics that had nothing to do with politics such as science fiction or stop writing until the day they restore their total freedom of writing. Likewise, the content of both TV and the motion picture industry was influenced and shaped according to requirement of the era McCarthyism. Above all, they were targeted by the FBI, the HUAC, and the right wingers of the motion picture. There was a great determination to detect and exorcize all subversive messages infused in the movies and TV programs.

But the big pressure underwent by producers in the motion picture came from the sponsors. When Hollywood became suspected of being penetrated by the Communists, sponsors feared for their interests and exercised a great pressure on the producers of programs. Most important, they censored both the content and the personal. Their interference was considerable to the point that they proceeded to remove anything that does not comply with their views or suspected of causing trouble. In all, they wanted to keep their interests untouched by the anti-Communist issue via adopting the following slogan “*why buy yourself a headache*” (Schrecker *Many are* 399). Hence, they pressed on the networks to yield to the campaign of the anti-Communists aiming at removing all the Communists or those suspected of being Communists. Accordingly, hundreds, maybe thousands, of actors, screenwriters, and technicians were removed from the motion picture industry in Hollywood. This measure affected a lot the productivity of Hollywood due to the loss of talented actors, writers...etc.

Even Journalists had their share of sufferance. Many had lost their jobs and were humiliated before the committees of investigation. As a matter of fact, “*Between the mid-1940s and the late 1950s thousands of suspected Communists, including journalists, were humiliated before the committees, hounded by the FBI, fired from their jobs, and forced to abandon their careers*” (Alwood 6).

The educational field was no exception. Though their supposed protection accorded to them by academic freedom, teachers at universities were subject of investigation conducted by the HUAC, the FBI and Senator McCarthy.

About one in five of those called before investigating committees were educators. Most of these who claimed the Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination and refused to name names were fired. This created a conundrum for university administrators and trustees because of the conflict between the concept of academic freedom and the removal of faculty dissenters”. (Wax 26)

Consequently, around one hundred college teachers lost their jobs during 1940s and 1950s and never found new ones. Most of those teachers were former members of the CPUSA who refused to reveal names or cooperate with investigators. They were ousted from their jobs despite the fact that the faculty committees and university administrators were aware that those teacher never tried to sabotage their laboratories or spoil their students. Their crime was having been former Communists and having born communist ideas.

During McCarthyism, professors at universities were deprived from their political freedom. But the pressure upon professors differed from one field to another. In this respect, teachers specialized in controversial domains such as the East Asian studies had the lion share of the pressure caused by the anti-Communist crusaders. Nonetheless, almost all fields were influenced by McCarthyism. Even those disciplines such as English had to cope with the era of McCarthyism. This was manifested in the disengagement of the American English departments from history and focused only on the texts under the influence of *New Criticism*, a literary theory that dominated the field at that time. In doing so, critics embraced “*art for art’s sake*” (Schrecker *Many are* 405).

Even libraries were dramatically affected by the anti-Communist crusade. They were often criticized and rebuked by pressure groups or vocal individuals for the absence of books they regarded so important because it shows brilliantly the American patriotism. Moreover, as the Red Scare pervaded the whole country, libraries could not swim against the tide and display in their shelves books, movies, periodicals, or magazines considered by the anti-Communists to be sympathetic towards the Russians (Francoeur 8). For instance, it was extremely risky to have on the shelves a copy of the famous Communist Manifesto of Karl Marks.

As a matter of fact, libraries witnessed pressure at different levels: national, international, Federal State, city and country. As for the international level, the pressure featured essentially in prohibiting the entry of unpleasant books and periodicals that came from the Soviet Union. At the national level, the pressure could be seen, for instance, via the Congressional proposal, made in 1952 by Representative Harold Velde, for a bill “*to provide that the librarian of Congress shall mark all subversive matters in the Library of Congress and compile a list thereof for the guidance of other libraries in the United States*” (Francoeur 10). In addition, the pressure was exercised by organizations such as the American Legion which used to publish monthly articles that contains names of authors regarded as subversives. At the State level, libraries suffered a lot from laws passed in order to restrict the content or the authorship of textbooks in the schools or school libraries. With regard to the city and country pressure, the latter could be found in different forms. The most frequent one was that came from anti-Communist people who usually order the removal from shelves books deemed to be sympathetic to Communism.

The era of McCarthyism was a controversial era that characterized the American modern history during the early years of the Cold War. As the WWII ended, each one of the allied countries pursued its own agenda. But each one's agenda completely clashes with the other's one if not threatened the existence of the other side. The Soviets aimed at propagate and expand their territories outside the Soviet Union through laboring at establishing pro-Communist system in the newly liberated countries in Eastern Europe. This was regarded by the United States and its allies as a genuine threat for their vital interests. Accordingly, this conflict triggered the Cold War that lingered during the second half of the last century.

In the United States, the repercussions of Cold War began to pervade and affect every aspect of the American life. The fear of Communism mounted steadily as years went on. News of espionage, the *Amerasia* spy case, the fall of China in the Communist hands, the Soviet successful test of the Atomic bomb, and the Korean War all were the major events that characterized the first five years following the WWII. These events made the Americans to have a common sense of fear of the reds known as the Red Scare. This fear led to reconsider the existence of the American Communist Party as a Russian striking instrument and its perilous activities that endangered the national security of the United States.

The CPUSA was created under the supervision of the Soviet Union. Also, it joined the Communist International and this was clearly mentioned in its constitutions adopted before the Voorhis Act of 1940. Joining the Communist International could be done only after a total compliance with the twenty-one points set up by the Comintern as preconditions to join it. That is, joining the Comintern required a total obedience and subordination to its directives and instructions so that any member party becomes only an executive agency to the orders received from Moscow. For its part, the Comintern was established and directed by the Soviet government in a way that serves its expansionist agenda. Accordingly, it is not difficult to figure out that all member parties of the Comintern were in fact directed and instructed to execute the Soviet agenda in the targeted counties.

The subordination of the CPUSA to the Comintern and thus to the Soviets was manifested through the party's literature and constitution. The CPUSA reiterated its commitment to apply Marxism-Leninism. This latter revolves around one central aim which is the forceful overthrow of the capitalist government and all its institutions so as to replace them by a Communist government led by the dictatorship of the proletariat and establish socialism. To achieve this historical mission, the CPUSA recruited any party's member capable of spying

to join its underground apparatus designed to steal and amass top secret information from different federal agencies and then pass them to the Soviet officers.

On the other hand, it is quite easy to demonstrate the CPUSA's subversive intentions. Party's constitution, literature, teachings, oratory, all of them spoke about the ultimate aim aforementioned. Besides, party's leaders and iconic figures showed in many times their disrespect to the American democratic system and life praising in the same time the ideal Soviet model. This was manifested, for instance, in the party's candidate for the American presidency in 1932, William Z. Foster, who wrote a book entitled *Toward Soviet America* in which he argued for a Soviet model of government and criticized a lot the current democratic model. All these facts proved undoubtedly that the CPUSA's loyalty was devoted to the Soviet Union, not to the United States.

Pluralism and dissent is guaranteed under the American Constitution; however, loyalty to a foreign hostile power is quite different thing, it is betrayal. Leaders of the party rejected to be branded as traitors of their nation. During the early years of the Cold War, many spies were intercepted such as Elizabeth Bentley, Chambers Whittaker, and others, had confessed that they used to steal top secret information and pass them on to the Soviet officers. Moreover, documents of the venona project in addition to the opened Soviet archives following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 which dealt with the relation between the Soviets and the American Communists condemned the American Communists and proved that the CPUSA had devoted much of its energy to infiltrate almost all the sensitive federal government's agencies and entities to steal vital information and betray them to the Soviets.

McCarthyism in fact represented the domestic side of the Cold War. Senator McCarthy was brought to light thanks to his Wheeling speech where he made his famous charges that the State Department was riddled with the Pro-Communist employees. McCarthy and his fellows believed that the United States could not be defeated by the Soviet Union without the crucial help of the domestic Communists which McCarthy labeled them *the enemy from within*. Therefore, through his speech, McCarthy presented an explanation for the failure of the United States to have the upper hand in solving the international conflicts in the way that serves its interests. This American retreat from victory, as McCarthy called, was accompanied by victories achieved by the Soviet Union.

McCarthy's charges, on the other hand, embodied the political disagreement between the Democrats and the Republicans. In fact, in view of the long period during which the democrats had spent in the office, which lasted for almost nineteen years, the Republicans blamed the Democrats for their softness on the Communists so that they penetrated almost all agencies and departments of the executive branch. The Republicans viewed that "*America was under worldwide attack and that the Democratic Party and many of its New Deal institutions were infiltrated by the Communists and their sympathizers*" (Wax 26).

Over years, historians wrangled as to how to interpret McCarthyism. Some regarded it as a rational response to a serious threat posed by the Soviet Union via its strategy of expansionism and focused on its perfect weapon which was, of course, the espionage. Others viewed McCarthyism as irrational response to a largely imagined danger. As the Red Scare peaked, people had the impression that McCarthyism came as logical response to the genuine threat that the Soviets and their domestic Communists were posing to the safety of the United States. People, at that time, believed McCarthy's charges because of the surrounding context full of discoveries of spy rings and the expansionist agenda of the Soviet Union. Therefore, no matter the ways to be followed to root out the domestic Communists, whether were legal or not, whether they were consistent with the constitution or not, whether they respect the civil liberties or not, what mattered at that particular and crucial time was protecting and saving the United States. This idea stemmed from the belief that the safety of the nation came before people's rights simply because if the nation is lost, its people's rights would be lost automatically. Therefore, there would be no rights if there was no nation that grants these rights.

But as months went on, especially after the outbreak of the Korean War, McCarthyism's harshness was increasing month after month. This harshness resulted in the destruction of careers of thousands of employees. Many had lost their jobs and their life had been ruined just because they were suspected of being Communists or fellow travelers. Charging innocent people recklessly became a habit and the favorite hobby for Senator McCarthy. This pushed many former proponents of McCarthyism to reconsider their position towards McCarthy's methods and ways. They expressed their reservations maintaining that they agree with his goal to root out the Communists from the federal Government but they disagree with his methods to achieve so.

McCarthy's charges were expected to abate after the victory of the Republican candidate, Dwight Eisenhower, in the presidential race. But contrary to these expectations, McCarthy continued leveling his wild charges against the supposed Communists. Holding the white House by a Republican President apparently did not pacify Senator McCarthy. Most important, McCarthy started making handicaps for the Republican administration via refusing to vote for the President's nominees. Such behavior annoyed too much the Administration of Eisenhower and threatened the unity of the Republican Party. Therefore, there was a need to put an end to the demagogue Senator but by using a clever way called the *hidden-hand style of leadership*. This style was based on the idea of helping McCarthy to destruct himself via exploiting his faults.

The senator's exaggeration in distributing accusations left and right without having proofs or evidence to back up his charges would soon cost him his career. Effectively, McCarthy's recklessness led him to charge the Army of harboring Communists within its ranks. But as President Dwight Eisenhower was so clever, he avoided dealing with McCarthy in the same way of Harry S. Truman. He refused to get involve in a direct clash with the demagogue saying "*I will not ... get in the gutter with that guy*" (Schrecker *Many are* 258). His refusal stemmed from his belief that if he does so he would only propagandize McCarthyism and make a free publicity for McCarthy for which he craved massively.

McCarthy's charges to the Army reflected McCarthyism in its harshest and reckless stage. There was no consideration for the civil liberties, no honest investigations, and no concrete evidence that prove the authenticity of his accusations.

McCarthyism ... became the practice of leveling accusations of disloyalty, subversions, or treason publicly with little regard for the niceties of providing evidence or protecting civil liberties. Moreover, anti-Communists typically relied on devious methods of investigation and interrogation that were designed to legitimize their tactics and suppress the opposition. (Alwood 5)

Therefore, such dangerous charges against the Army required a deep investigation in order to decide about its truthfulness. Accordingly, marathon hearings which lasted for almost two months were organized by the Congressional appropriate committee. But what distinguished these hearings from the previous ones was the decision of President Eisenhower to televise them so that they became a public spectacle. In doing so, Eisenhower wanted to make the

hearings a big trap for McCarthy so that it would bring about his collapse. Effectively, over two months, people were able to watch McCarthy as he was abusing his senatorial power and accusing innocent people without being able to corroborate his charges.

By the end of the hearings, it became clear for the American people that McCarthy was fooling them all the time. He exploited their fear to come on the stage and accusing people in order to keep himself under the spotlight. In this respect, the former commander-in-chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Charles C. Ralls, had expressed his opinion as to McCarthy's bad methods when he said: *"I am for any congressman or senator who is carrying on a fight against Communism, but I want that fight to be sensible. McCarthy should forget about the publicity. He has hurt the work of those who are fighting Communists by making unfounded charges..."* (Ford 71). As a result, McCarthy was censured for the abuse of the senatorial power and bringing disrespect for Congress.

After examining deeply the era of McCarthyism, it becomes clear that McCarthy exaggerated too much in making prosecutions. He ruined careers and lives of thousands of innocent people through his irresponsible wild charges without any evidence and sometimes he used even faked evidence concocted for his political interests. He recklessly mixed those innocent people with those certainly guilty when it served his aims. Also, McCarthy degraded people's basic constitutional rights and freedoms and coarsened the political discourse. He misused the anti-Communist issue and turned it into a partisan weapon to attack and harm his opponents including liberals and Democrats.

McCarthy's deeds embarrassed the Republican Party to which he belonged. In this respect, Arthur Eisenhower, the President's brother, had expressed the shame and embarrassment that McCarthy caused to the Republican Party when he said: *"It is a horrible shame that McCarthy is a Republican for he has done the party no credit. He is the most dangerous menace to America. When I think of McCarthy, I automatically think of Hitler. I would believe anything about him"* (Ford 67). When he was asked about McCarthy's ultimate aim he strived to achieve behind exploiting this hysteria and turning it into devastating weapon in his hands, Arthur responded as follows:

Of course he has. He wants to keep his name in the papers at all costs. He follows the old political game which is 'whose name is mentioned the most in politics is often selected for the highest office'. McCarthy is a throwback to the Spanish inquisition. He calls in people and proceeds to make fools of them by twisting their answers. What chance do they have? They have no rebuttal because they have no recourse to the press, radio, and magazines. It is Nazi-like and what makes it all so much more of a fiasco is that he has never been responsible for the conviction of one Communist. (Ford 69)

McCarthyism derailed from the right path and became a devastating tool to harm innocent people on behalf of protecting the national security of the United States. It became a black spot and the most hated era in the modern American history. Lives, careers, jobs of many innocent people had ruined just because they were suspected by the anti-Communists. Civil liberties were also restricted in the name of saving the nation. These deeds contributed considerably to spread fear and distrust among Americans and thus made the era of McCarthyism the most notorious episode in the American history. On the other hand, many of those people purged during the era of McCarthyism, such as Alger Hiss, the Rosenbergs, Greenglass...etc. were found guilty and were involved with Communist Party of the United States. This was proved by the venona project which intercepted countless number of messages between American Communists and their Russian bosses.

After the end of the Red Scare, McCarthyism became associated essentially with restricting people's Civil liberties. Whenever the basic rights of individuals are threatened by any legislation, people remember McCarthyism. This occurred in the United States following the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001. As a response to these attacks, Congress passed a severe Act called the Patriot Act which empowered the administration of George Walker Bush and provided it with different protective measures and wide jurisdictions at the expense of the individual rights in the name of protecting the national security. This Act reminded the Americans the severe Acts passed on behalf of fighting the Communists and saving the nation. It was the return of McCarthyism.

Appendix1: Joseph McCarthy, "Speech at Wheeling, West Virginia," (February 9, 1950)

[1] Ladies and gentlemen, tonight as we celebrate the one hundred forty-first birthday of one of the greatest men in American history, I would like to be able to talk about what a glorious day today is in the history of the world. As we celebrate the birth of this man who with his whole heart and soul hated war, I would like to be able to speak of peace in our time--of war being outlawed--and of world-wide disarmament. These would be truly appropriate things to be able to mention as we celebrate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

[2] Five years after a world war has been won, men's hearts should anticipate a long peace--and men's minds should be free from the heavy weight that comes with war. But this is not such a period--for this is not a period of peace. This is a time of "the cold war." This is a time when all the world is split into two vast, increasingly hostile, armed camps--a time of a great armament race.

[3] Today we can almost physically hear the mutterings and rumblings of an invigorated god of war. You can see it, feel it, and hear it all the way from the Indochina hills, from the shores of Formosa, right over into the very heart of Europe itself.

[4] The one encouraging thing is that the "mad moment" has not yet arrived for the firing of the gun or the exploding of the bomb which will set civilization about the final task of destroying itself. There is still a hope for peace if we finally decide that no longer can we safely blind our eyes and close our ears to those facts which are shaping up more and more clearly--and that is that we are now engaged in a show-down fight--not the usual war between nations for land areas or other material gains, but a war between two diametrically opposed ideologies.

[5] The great difference between our western Christian world and the atheistic Communist world is not political, gentlemen, it is moral. For instance, the Marxian idea of confiscating the land and factories and running the entire economy as a single enterprise is momentous. Likewise, Lenin's invention of the one-party police state as a way to make Marx's idea work is hardly less momentous.

[6] Stalin's resolute putting across of these two ideas, of course, did much to divide the world. With only these differences, however, the east and the west could most certainly still live in peace.

[7] The real, basic difference, however, lies in the religion of immoralism--invented by Marx, preached feverishly by Lenin, and carried to unimaginable extremes by Stalin. This religion of immoralism, if the Red half of the world triumphs--and well it may, gentlemen--this religion of immoralism will more deeply wound and damage mankind than any conceivable economic or political system.

[8] Karl Marx dismissed God as a hoax, and Lenin and Stalin have added in clear-cut, unmistakable language their resolve that no nation, no people who believe in a god, can exist side by side with their communistic state.

[9] Karl Marx, for example, expelled people from his Communist Party for mentioning such things as love, justice, humanity or morality. He called this "soulful ravings" and "sloppy sentimentality."

[10] While Lincoln was a relatively young man in his late thirties, Karl Marx boasted that the Communist specter was haunting Europe. Since that time, hundreds of millions of people and vast areas of the world have come under Communist domination. Today, less than 100 years after Lincoln's death, Stalin brags that this Communist specter is not only haunting the world, but is about to completely subjugate it.

[11] Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity. The modern champions of communism have selected this as the time, and ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down--they are truly down.

[12] Lest there be any doubt that the time has been chosen, let us go directly to the leader of communism today--Joseph Stalin. Here is what he said--not back in 1928, not before the war, not during the war--but 2 years after the last war was ended: "To think that the Communist revolution can be carried out peacefully, within the framework of a Christian democracy, means one has either gone out of one's mind and lost all normal understanding, or has grossly and openly repudiated the Communist revolution."

[13] This is what was said by Lenin in 1919--and quoted with approval by Stalin in 1947:"We are living," says Lenin, "not merely in a state, but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with Christian states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable."

[14] Ladies and gentlemen, can there be anyone tonight who is so blind as to say that the war is not on? Can there be anyone who fails to realize that the Communist world has said the time is now?--that this is the time for the show-down between the democratic Christian world and the communistic atheistic world?

[15] Unless we face this fact, we shall pay the price that must be paid by those who wait too long.

[16] Six years ago, at the time of the first conference to map out the peace, there was within the Soviet orbit, 180,000,000 people. Lined up on the anti-totalitarian side there were in the world at that time, roughly 1,625,000,000 people. Today, only 6 years later, there are 80,000,000,000 people under the absolute domination of Soviet Russia--an increase of over 400 percent. On our side, the figure has shrunk to around 500,000. In other words, in less than 6 years, the odds have changed from 9 to 1 in our favor to 8 to 1 against us.

[17] This indicates the swiftness of the tempo of Communist victories and American defeats in the cold war. As one of our outstanding historical figures once said, "When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be from enemies from without, but rather because of enemies from within."

[18] The truth of this statement is becoming terrifyingly clear as we see this country each day losing on every front.

[19] At war's end we were physically the strongest nation on earth and at least potentially the most powerful intellectually and morally. Ours could have been the honor of being a beacon in the desert of destruction--shining proof that civilization was not yet ready to destroy itself. Unfortunately, we have failed miserably and tragically to arise to the opportunity.

[20] The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is not because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores--but rather because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fortunate, or members of minority groups who have been traitorous to this Nation--but rather those who have had all the benefits that the wealthiest Nation on earth has had to offer--the finest homes, the finest college education and the finest jobs in government we can give.

[21] This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are the ones who have been most traitorous.

[22] Now I know it is very easy for anyone to condemn a particular bureau or department in general terms. Therefore, I would like to cite some specific cases.

[23] When Chiang Kai-shek was fighting our war, the State Department had in China a young man named John Service. His task, obviously, was not to work for communization of China. However, strangely, he sent official reports back to the State Department urging that we torpedo our ally Chiang Kai-shek--and stating in unqualified terms (and I quote) that "communism was the only hope of China."

[24] Later, this man--John Service--and please remember that name, ladies and gentlemen, was picked up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for turning over to the Communists secret State Department information. Strangely, however, he was never prosecuted. However, John Grew, the Under Secretary of State, who insisted on his prosecution, was forced to resign. Two days after, his successor, Dean Acheson, took over as Under Secretary of State. This man, John Service, who had been picked up by the FBI and who had previously urged that communism was the only hope of China, was not only reinstated in the State Department, but promoted--and finally, under Acheson, placed in charge of all placements and promotions. Today, ladies and gentlemen, this man Service is on his way to represent the State Department and Acheson in Calcutta, by far and away the most important listening post in the Far East.

[25] That's one case. Let's go to another--Gustavo Duran, who was labeled as (I quote) "a notorious international Communist," was made assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Latin American affairs. He was taken into the State Department from his job as a lieutenant colonel in the Communist International Brigade. Finally, after intense congressional pressure and criticism, he resigned in 1946 from the State Department. And, ladies and gentlemen, where do you think he is now? He took over a high-salaried job, as Chief of Cultural Activities Section in the office of the Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations.

[26] Then there was a Mrs. Mary Jane Kenney, from the Board of Economic Warfare in the State Department, who was named in a FBI report and in a House committee report as a courier for the Communist Party while working for the Government. And where do you think Mrs. Mary Jane is--she is now an editor in the United Nations Document Bureau.

[27] Then there was Julian H. Wadleigh, economist in the Trade Agreements Section of the State Department for 11 years. And who was sent to Turkey and Italy and other countries as

United States representative. After the statute of limitations had run so he could not be prosecuted for treason, he openly and brazenly not only admitted but proclaimed that he had been a member of the Communist Party--that while working for the State Department he stole a vast number of secret documents--and furnished these documents to the Russian spy ring of which he was a part.

[28] And, ladies and gentlemen, while I cannot take the time to name all the men in the State Department who have been named as active members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring. I have here in my hand a list of 205--a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in that State Department.

[29] One thing to remember in discussing the Communists in our Government is that we are not dealing with spies who get 30 pieces of silver to steal the blueprints of a new weapon. We are dealing with a far more sinister type of activity because it permits the enemy to guide and shape our policy.

[30] In that connection I would like to read to you very briefly from the testimony of Larry E. Kerley, a man who was with the Counterespionage Section of the FBI for 8 years. And keep in mind as I read this to you that at the time he is speaking there was in the State Department Alger Hiss (the convicted traitor), John Service (the man whom the FBI picked up for espionage), Julian Wadleigh (who brazenly admitted he was a spy and wrote newspaper articles in regard thereto).

[31] Here is what the FBI man said: "In accordance with instructions of the State Department to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the FBI was not even permitted to open an espionage case against any Russian suspect without State Department approval."

[32] And some further questions: Mr. Arens. "Did the State Department ever withhold from the Justice Department the right to intern suspects?" Kerley. "They withheld the right to get out process for them which, in effect, kept them from being arrested, as in the case of Schevchenko and others." Arens. "In how many instances did the State Department decline to permit process to be served on Soviet agents?" Kerley. "Do you mean how many Soviet agents were affected?" Arens. "Yes." Kerley. "That would be difficult to say because there were so many people connected in one espionage ring, whether or not they were directly conspiring with the ring." Arens. "Was that order applicable to all persons?" Kerley. "Yes, all persons in the Soviet espionage organization." Arens. "What did you say the order was as you understood it or

as it came to you?" Kerley. "That no arrests of any suspects in the Russian espionage activities in the United States were to be made without the prior approval of the State Department."

[33] Now the reason for the State Department's opposition to arresting any of this spy ring is made rather clear in the next question and answer. Senator O'Connor. "Did you understand that that was to include also American participants?" Kerly. "Yes, because if they were arrested that would disclose the whole apparatus, you see."

[34] In other words they could not afford to let the whole ring which extended to the State Department, be shown.

[35] This brings us down to the case of one Alger Hiss who is important not as an individual any more, but rather because he is so representative of a group in the State Department. It is unnecessary to go over the sordid events showing how he sold out the Nation which had given him so much. Those are rather fresh in all of our minds.

[36] However, it should be remembered that the facts in regard to his connection with this international Communist spy ring were made known to the then Under Secretary of State Berle 3 days after Hitler and Stalin signed the Russo German Alliance Pact. At that time one Wittaker Chambers--who was also part of the spy ring--apparently decided that with Russia on Hitler's side he could no longer betray our Nation. He gave Under Secretary of State Berle--and this is all a matter of record--practically all, if not more, of the facts upon which Hiss' conviction was based.

[37] Under Secretary Berle promptly contacted Dean Acheson and received word in return that Acheson (and I quote) "could vouch for Hiss absolutely"--at which time the matter was dropped. And this, you understand, was at a time when Russia was an ally of Germany. This condition existed while Russia and Germany were invading and dismembering Poland, and while the Communist groups here were screaming "warmonger" at the United States for their support of the Allied nations.

[38] Again in 1943 the FBI had occasion to investigate the facts surrounding Hiss. But even after that FBI report was submitted, nothing was done.

[39] Then late in 1948--on August 5--when the Un-American Activities Committee called Alger Hiss to give an accounting, President Truman and the left-wing press commenced a systematic program of vilification of that committee. On the day that Truman labeled the Hiss investigation a "red herring," on that same day (and listen to this, ladies and gentlemen)

President Truman also issued a Presidential directive ordering all Government agencies to refuse to turn over any information whatsoever in regard to the Communist activities of any Government employee to a congressional committee.

[40] Incidentally, even after Hiss was convicted it is interesting to note that the President still labeled the exposé of Hiss as a "red herring."

[41] If time permitted, it might be well to go into detail about the fact that Hiss was Roosevelt's chief advisor at Yalta when Roosevelt was admittedly in ill health and tired physically and mentally--and when, according to the Secretary of State, Hiss and Gromiko drafted the report on the conference.

[42] According to the then Secretary of State, here are some of the things that Hiss helped to decide at Yalta. (1) The establishment of a European High Commission; (2) the treatment of Germany--this you will recall was the conference at which it was decided that we would occupy Berlin with Russia occupying an area completely circling the city, which, as you know, resulted in the Berlin air lift which cost 31 American lives; (3) the Polish question; (4) the relationship between UNRRA and the Soviet; (5) the rights of Americans on control commissions of Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary; (6) Iran; (7) China--here's where we gave away Manchuria; (8) Turkish Straits question; (9) international trusteeship; (10) Korea.

[43] Of the results of this conference, Arthur Bliss Lane of the State Department had this to say: "As I glanced over the document, I could not believe my eyes. To me, almost every line spoke of a surrender to Stalin."

[44] As you hear this story of high treason, I know that you are saying to yourself--well, why doesn't the Congress do something about it. Actually, ladies and gentlemen, the reason for the graft, the corruption, the dishonesty, the disloyalty, the treason in high government positions--the reason this continues is because of a lack of moral uprising on the part of the 140,000,000 American people. In the light of history, however, this is not hard to explain.

[45] It is the result of an emotional hang-over and a temporary moral lapse which follows every war. It is the apathy to evil which people who have been subjected to the tremendous evils of war feel. As the people of the world see mass murder, the destruction of defenseless and innocent people, and all of the crime and lack of morals which go with war, they become numb and apathetic. It has always been thus after war.

[46] However, the morals of our people have not been destroyed. They still exist. This cloak of numbness and apathy has only needed a spark to rekindle them. Happily, this has finally been supplied.

[47] As you know, very recently the Secretary of State proclaimed his loyalty to a man guilty of what has always been considered as the most abominable of all crimes--being a traitor to the people who gave him a position of trust--high treason. The Secretary of State in attempting to justify his continued devotion to the man who sold out the Christian world to the atheistic world, referred to Christ's Sermon on the Mount as a justification and reason therefor.

[48] And the reaction of the American people to this would have made the heart of Abraham Lincoln happy.

[49] Thus this pompous diplomat in striped pants, with a phony British accent, tells the American people that Christ on the Mount endorsed communism, high treason, and betrayal of a sacred trust, this blasphemy was just great enough to awaken the dormant, inherent decency indignation of the American people.

[50] He has lighted the spark which is resulting in a moral uprising and will end only when the whole sorry mess of twisted, warped thinkers are swept from the national scene so that we may have a new birth of honesty and decency in government.

Source : <http://www.advances.umd.edu/LincolnBirthday/mccarthy1950.xml>

Checked on August 29,2015

**Appendix 2: Prescribing Procedures for the Administration of Employee Loyalty
Program, the Executive Branch of the Government**

Truman Executive Order 9835

March 21, 1947

WHEREAS each employee of the Government of the United States is endowed with a measure of trusteeship over the democratic processes which are at the heart and sinew of the United States; and

WHEREAS it is of vital importance that persons employed in the Federal service be of complete and unswerving loyalty to the United States; and

WHEREAS, although the loyalty of by far the overwhelming majority of all Government employees is beyond question, the presence within the Government service of any disloyal or subversive person constitutes a threat to our democratic processes; and

WHEREAS maximum protection must be afforded the United States against infiltration of disloyal persons into the ranks of its employees, and equal protection from unfounded accusations of disloyalty must be afforded the loyal employees of the Government:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, including the Civil Service Act of 1883 (22 Stat. 403), as amended, and section 9A of the act approved August 2, 1939 (18 U. S. C. 61i), and as President and Chief Executive of the United States, it is hereby, in the interest of the internal management of the Government, ordered as follows:

Part I - INVESTIGATION OF APPLICANTS

1. There shall be a loyalty investigation of every person entering the civilian employment of any department or agency of the executive branch of the Federal Government.
 - a. Investigations of persons entering the competitive service shall be conducted by the Civil Service Commission, except in such cases as are covered by a special agreement between the Commission and any given department or agency.

b. Investigations of persons other than those entering the competitive service shall be conducted by the employing department or agency. Departments and agencies without investigative organizations shall utilize the investigative facilities of the Civil Service Commission.

2. The investigations of person entering the employ of the executive branch may be conducted after any such person enters upon actual employment therein, but in any such case the appointment of such person shall be conditioned upon a favorable determination with respect to his loyalty.

a. Investigations of persons entering the competitive service shall be conducted as expeditiously as possible; provided, however, that if any such investigation is not completed within 18 months from the date on which a persons enters actual employment, the condition that his employment is subject to investigation shall expire, except in a case in which the Civil Service Commission has made an initial adjudication of disloyalty and the case continues to be active by reason of an appeal, and it shall then be the responsibility of the employing department or agency to conclude such investigation and make a final determination concerning the loyalty of such person.

3. An investigation shall be made of all applicants at all available pertinent sources of information and shall include reference to:

- a. Federal Bureau of Investigation files.
- b. Civil Service Commission files.
- c. Military and naval intelligence files.
- d. The files of any other appropriate government investigative or intelligence agency.
- e. House Committee on un-American Activities files.
- f. Local law-enforcement files at the place of residence and employment of the applicant, including municipal, county and state law-enforcement files.
- g. Schools and colleges attended by applicant.
- h. Former employers of applicant.
- i. References given by applicant.
- j. Any other appropriate source.

4. Whenever derogatory information with respect to loyalty of an applicant is revealed full field investigation shall be conducted. A full field investigation shall also be conducted of those applicants, or of applicants for particular positions, as may be designated by the head

of the employing department or agency, such designations to be based on the determination by any such head of the best interests of national security.

PART II - INVESTIGATION OF EMPLOYEES

1. The head of each department and agency in the executive branch of the Government shall be personally responsible for an effective program to assure that disloyal civilian officers or employees are not retained in employment in his department or agency.

a. He shall be responsible for prescribing and supervising the loyalty determination procedures of his department or agency, in accordance with the provisions of this order, which shall be considered as providing minimum requirements.

b. The head of a department or agency which does not have an investigative organization shall utilize the investigative facilities of the Civil Service Commission.

2. The head of each department or agency shall appoint one or more loyalty boards, each composed of not less than three representatives of the department or agency concerned, for the purpose of hearing loyalty cases arising within such department or agency and making recommendations with respect to the removal of any officer or employee of such department or agency on grounds relating to loyalty, and he shall prescribe regulations for the conduct of the proceedings before such boards.

a. An officer or employee who is charged with being disloyal shall have a right to an administrative hearing before a loyalty board in the employing department or agency. He may appear before such board personally, accompanied by counsel or representative of his own choosing, and present evidence on his own behalf, through witnesses or by affidavit.

b. The officer or employee shall be served with a written notice of such hearing in sufficient time, and shall be informed therein of the nature of the charges against him in sufficient detail, so that he will be enabled to prepare his defense. The charges shall be stated as specifically and completely as, in the discretion of the employing department or agency, security considerations permit, and for the officer or employee shall be informed in the notice (1) of his right to reply to such charges in writing within a specified reasonable period of time, (2) of his right to an administrative hearing on such charges before a loyalty board, and (3) of his right to appear before such board personally, to be accompanied by counsel or representative of his own choosing, and to present evidence on his behalf, through witnesses or by affidavit.

3. A recommendation of removal by a loyalty board shall be subject to appeal by the officer or employee affected, prior to his removal, to the head of the employing department or agency or to such person or persons as may be designated by such head, under such regulations as may be prescribed by him, and the decision of the department or agency concerned shall be subject to appeal to the Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board, hereinafter provided for, for an advisory recommendation.

4. The rights of hearing, notice thereof, and appeal therefrom shall be accorded to every officer or employee prior to his removal on grounds of disloyalty, irrespective of tenure, or of manner, method, or nature of appointment, but the head of the employing department or agency may suspend any officer or employee at any time pending a determination with respect to loyalty.

5. The loyalty boards of the various departments and agencies shall furnish to the Loyalty Review Board, hereinafter provided for, such reports as may be requested concerning the operation of the loyalty program in any such department or agency.

PARTY III - RESPONSIBILITIES OF CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

1. There shall be established in the Civil Service Commission a Loyalty Review Board of not less than three impartial persons, the members of which shall be officers or employees of the Commission.

a. The Board shall have authority to review cases involving persons recommended for dismissal on grounds relating to loyalty by the loyalty board of any department or agency and to make advisory recommendations thereon to the head of the employing department or agency. Such cases may be referred to the Board either by the employing department or agency, or by the officer or employee concerned.

b. The Board shall make rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the provisions of this order, deemed necessary to implement statutes and Executive orders relating to employee loyalty.

c. The Loyalty Review Board shall also:

(1) Advise all departments and agencies on all problems relating to employee loyalty.

(2) Disseminate information pertinent to employee loyalty programs.

(3) Coordinate the employee loyalty policies and procedures of the several departments and agencies.

(4) Make reports and submit recommendations to the Civil Service Commission for transmission to the President from time to time as may be necessary to the maintenance of the employee loyalty program.

2. There shall also be established and maintained in the Civil Service Commission and central master index covering all persons on whom loyalty investigations have been may by any department or agency since September 1, 1939. Such master index shall contain the name of each person investigated, adequate identifying information concerning each such person, and a reference to each department and agency which has conducted a loyalty investigation concerning the person involved.

a. All executive departments and agencies are directed to furnish to the Civil Service Commission all information appropriate for the establishment and maintenance of the central master index.

b. The reports and other investigative material and information developed by the investigating department or agency shall be retained by such department or agency in each case.

3. The Loyalty Review Board shall currently be furnished by the Department of Justice the name of each foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons which the Attorney General, after appropriate investigation and determination, designates as totalitarian, fascist, communist or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny others their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

a. The loyalty Review Board shall disseminate such information to all departments and agencies.

PART IV - SECURITY MEASURES IN INVESTIGATIONS

1. At the request of the head of any department or agency of the executive branch an investigative agency shall make available to such head, personally, all investigative material and information collected by the investigative agency concerning any employee of the requesting department or agency, or shall make such material and information available to any officer or officers designated by such head and approved by the investigative agency.

2. Notwithstanding the foregoing requirement, however, the investigative agency may refuse to disclose the names of confidential informants, provided it furnishes sufficient information about such informants on the basis of which the requesting department or agency can make an adequate evaluation of the information furnished by them, and provided it advises the requesting department or agency in writing that it is essential to the protection of the informants or to the investigation of other cases that the identity of the informants not be revealed. Investigative agencies shall not use this discretion to decline to reveal sources of information where such action is not essential.

3. Each department or agency of the executive branch should develop and maintain, for the collection and analysis of information relating to the loyalty of its employees and prospective employees, a staff specifically trained in security techniques, and an effective security control system for protecting such information generally and for protecting confidential sources of such information particularly.

PART V – STANDARDS

1. The standard for the refusal of employment or the removal from employment in an executive department or agency on grounds relating to loyalty shall be that, on all the evidence, reasonable grounds exists for belief that the person involved is disloyal to the Government of the United States.

2. Activities and associations of an applicant or employees which may be considered in connection with the determination of disloyalty may include one or more of the follow:

a. Sabotage, espionage, or attempts or preparations therefore, or knowingly associations with spies or saboteurs;

b. Treason or sedition or advocacy thereof;

c. Advocacy of revolution or force or violence to alter the constitutional form of government of the United States;

d. Intentional, unauthorized disclosure to any person, under circumstances which may indicate disloyalty to the United States, or documents or information of a confidential or non-public character obtained by the person making the disclosure as a result of his employment by the Government of the United States.

e. Performing or attempting to perform his duties, or otherwise acting, so as to serve the interests of another government in preference to the interests of the United States.

f. Membership in, affiliation with or sympathetic association with any foreign or domestic organization, association, movement, group or combination of persons, designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, fascist, communist, or subversive, or as having adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

PART VI – MISCELLANEOUS

1. Each department and agency of the executive branch, to the extent that it has not already done so, shall submit, to the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, either directly or through the Civil Service Commission, the names (and such other necessary identifying material as the Federal Bureau of Investigation may require) of all of its incumbent employees.

a. The Federal Bureau of Investigation shall check such names against its records of persons concerning whom there is substantial evidence of being within the purview of paragraph 2 of Part V hereof, and shall notify each department and agency of such information.

b. Upon receipt of the above-mentioned information from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, each department and agency shall make, or cause to be made by the Civil Service Commission, such investigation of those employees as the head of the department or agency shall deem advisable.

2. The Security Advisory Board of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee shall draft rules applicable to the handling and transmission of confidential documents and other documents and information which should not be publicly disclosed, and upon approval by the President such rules shall constitute the minimum standards for the handling and transmission of such documents and information, and shall be applicable to all departments and agencies of the executive branch.

3. The provisions of this order shall not be applicable to persons summarily removed under the provisions of section 3 of the act of December 17, 1942, 53 Stat. 1043, of the act of July 5, 1946, 60 Stat. 453, or of any other statute conferring the power of summary removal.

4. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Treasury with respect to the Coast Guard, are hereby directed to continue to enforce and maintain the highest

standards of loyalty within the armed services, pursuant to the applicable statutes, the Articles of War, and the Articles of the Government of the Navy.

5. This order shall be effective immediately, but compliance with such of its provisions as require expenditure of funds shall be deferred pending the appropriation of such funds.

6. Executive Order No. 9300 of February 5, 1943, 1 is hereby revoked.

HARRY S. TRUMAN, THE WHITE HOUSE, March 21, 1947
13 CFR Cum. Supp.

Source: <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/executiveorders/index.php?pid=502&st=&st1=>
Checked on August 29, 2015

Appendix3:

DOCUMENT 2: DIRECTIVES FROM THE COMINTERN TO THE CPUSA

From the ECCI "To All Members of the Communist Party of America: After Hearing the Claim of Comrade Moore . . .," RTsKhIDNI 495-1-26. Undated, but context puts it in March or April 1922. Original in English; it is a typed draft with editing changes in ink. "Moore" is John A. Ballam, "Henry" is George Ashkenudzi, and "Dow" is Charles Dirba, all leaders of the United Toilers faction. "Lewis" is William Weinstone, "Marshall" is Max Bedacht, and "Carr" is Ludwig E. Katterfeld, all leaders of the Workers Party faction. Charles Ruthenberg was the head of the latter faction but at this time was serving a prison sentence for criminal anarchy in New York. Weinstone served as the party's executive secretary during Ruthenberg's absence.

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

After hearing the claim of comrade Moore, that his group should be recognized as the Communist Party of America, the Executive Committee of the Communist International, decides as follows:

I. The Executive Committee of the Communist International recognizes as its American Section, only the Communist Party of America of which Lewis is at present Secretary, Marshall-returning delegate, and Carr-representative in the E.C. of the C.I.

2. The E.C. of the C.I. approves the action of the Majority of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America in forming a legal Party in harmony with the Theses of the Third Congress and the Theses on this subject, adopted by the E.C. of the C.I. last November, and sent to the American Party as an instruction.

3. The E.C. of the C.I. repudiates, the actions of the Minority Group, headed by Moore, Henry, and Dow, and severely reprimands them for their refusal to abide by the decisions of the C.I. and their destructive breach of Communist discipline.

4. The E.C. of the C.I. specifically prohibits this group, or any of its followers, from using the name of the C.P. of A., section of the C.I., or the Communist emblem, and prohibits them from issuing any further literature purporting to represent the C.I.

5. Regarding the threat of appeal to the Fourth Congress, the E.C. of the C.I. states that only members of a recognized section of the C.I., who obey its decisions, have a right to appeal. Those that place themselves outside the organization cannot appeal to the International Congress.

6. The E.C. of the C.I. instructs all members of the faction led by Moore, Dow, and Henry, who desire to remain members of the Communist International, to put themselves in good standing in the regular C.P. of A. organization, at once. This means, that every member must pay dues through the regular Party channels, and must comply with the decisions of the C.E.C. of the C.P. of A., and the Theses of the C.I. in regard to joining also the Legal Party.

7. All members that comply with this instruction within thirty days from the time that this is sent out by the C.E.C. of the C.P. of A. are to be accepted as members with full membership rights immediately, including the right to participate in the election of delegates to the C.P. of A. Convention this spring.

8. The C.P. of A. Convention must be held on such a date, that the members and branches, which comply with the above, can participate within their Sections in the choice of electors for picking the Convention delegates.

9. Any members of this "minority" that do not place themselves in good standing in the regular C.P. of A. within the time specified, are expelled from the Communist International, and cannot be readmitted to any section of the Third International, except as new members.

10. Moore is instructed to return to A. at once and do his best to help carry out these decisions.

Source: The Soviet World of American Communism, Pages19- 21.

Appendix 3:**Document 7: Directions from the Comintern to the CPUSA that reflected the subordination of this latter to Russia**

"Decision of the Secretariat of the ECCI," 2 February 1938, RTsKhIDNI 495-20-509. Original in English, with partially illegible handwritten German annotation.

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Trans. Russ. Lev.

Confidential.

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2.2.38

DECISION OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE ECCI.

Considering the political line of the CPUSA in the main correct and placing on record the successes achieved by the Party in its work both in the trade union movement as well as in the development of a wide political front of all democratic and progressive forces against reaction and fascism, the Secretariat of the ECCI resolves:

1) To approve in the main the following drafts submitted by the delegation of the CPUSA: (a) On Building the Democratic Front against the Danger of Fascism; (b) On Congressional Elections of 1938; (c) On Building a Mass Party of the CPUSA with the condition that these drafts will be made the basis for the decisions of the coming CC Plenum. On this basis the Party must with all its energy continue to carry out the line of the VIIth Congress of the CI, at the same time carefully watching all changes and events which may arise in connection with the development of the economic crisis and the sharpening of the international situation.

2) To call the Party's attention to the necessity of avoiding a one-sided evaluation of Roosevelt's policy in the sense of representing his home and foreign policy as being consistently progressive and genuinely democratic. The Party must clearly and openly point to the difference between Roosevelt's progressive and democratic statements which he repeatedly made in the recent period, and the actual policy of his administration. While boldly supporting the really progressive and democratic slogans advanced by Roosevelt, the Party must simultaneously come out with business-like criticism of every step of his administration which contradicts these slogans and must call upon the masses of people to demand from the Government and from Congress that the demands of the democratic anti-fascist front program be carried out in life and by means of joint mass struggle of all progressive forces and

organizations to ensure the carrying out of such a program both in the home and foreign policy of the USA.

3) To consider it necessary in the interests of unity and collective work of the CC CPUSA to fully liquidate all political differences which have recently cropped up between Comrade Foster on the one hand, and Comrade Browder and the majority of the PolBureau on the other. In these differences Comrade Foster gave expression, in the opinion of the Secretariat of the ECCI, to certain remnants of sectarianism, i.e., to a certain fear of involving the Party in a broad joint movement with the petty-bourgeois, progressive and democratic forces, a fear that the Party will lose its independence and purity in questions of principle; at the same time these differences were sharpened and deepened by Comrade Browder having displayed a certain inclination towards a one-sided and exaggerated evaluation of Roosevelt's political role and of the democratic character of his policy. Comrade Foster was not correct in accusing the Party leadership of tailism in respect to movements and organizations adhering to Roosevelt, but the danger of tailism undoubtedly exists in connection with the Party's mass policy and the Central Committee in its documents must warn the Party of this. The main danger in the present stage does not however consist in this, but in a possible isolation of the Party because of remnants of sectarianism. The danger consists also in that all sorts of "leftist" and Trotskyite elements in the American labor movement try to utilize the remnants of sectarianism among members of the Communist Party for their own splitting and counter-revolutionary aims.

4) To call the attention of the Party leadership to the necessity of a fully critical attitude towards the weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of the Party and the Central Committee. Although the Party has recently achieved considerable success in comparison to the past, not for a moment should it forget that the tasks confronting it as well as the possibilities for the movement in the USA are so enormous and complicated, that they require the overcoming of even the smallest manifestations of self-satisfaction, require constant improvement in the Party's work and the systematic mobilization of all its forces for making the most energetic efforts in carrying out the tasks confronting the Communist movement of the USA.

5) The Secretariat of the ECCI considers the proposal of Comrade Browder and others to call a Convention of the Party for the first half of 1938 advisable and recommends that the CC conduct the most thorough-going preparations for this Convention, as a Convention which in the name of the entire working class should show the way and means of establishing the broadest democratic front against reaction and fascism and ensure the further rapid

development of the Party and the consolidation of its positions in the ranks of the mass working people's movement of the USA.

Source: The Soviet World of American Communism. Page 37- 39.

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