

BATTLING COMMUNISM AT HOME

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

What is it exactly that we do as historians? We search through the primary sources of the past—letters, diaries, newspapers, government documents, business records, and so forth—looking for patterns and trends, trying to give order to a chaotic jumble of events and thoughts. And then we construct stories. We do not write fiction, but neither do we tell the whole truth, for the absolute truth, the capital “T” truth, is unknowable and perhaps even an illusion itself. In an attempt to understand and organize the past, we use broad generalities to denote the temper or preoccupations of an era.

Look at the organization of the earlier chapters of this book. There are separate sections on the eras of Reconstruction, the Progressive Era, World War I, the 1920s, the Great Depression, and World War II. The implication is that, during the Progressive Era, for example, notions of progress and the improvement of life consumed America. But we know that not all people were involved in progressive crusades—perhaps only the smallest minority was—and that for some people, such as African Americans and many immigrants, the very idea of the Progressive Era was a cruel irony. Nevertheless, textbooks and lectures on America in the early twentieth century usually stress progressivism as the grand organizing principle in part because prominent people during that era sought fundamental changes and governments at all levels responded with major new legislation. “Progressivism” captures these changes but if we focus on them alone, we miss much that was going on during these years, including some very unprogressive trends.

The Cold War forms a similar organizing principle for the period after World War II. On one level, the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union—or between West and East or capitalism and communism—was quite real. The foreign policies of both countries emphasized some form of expanded spheres of influence, whether economic or military or both, and the two world powers generally opposed each other on crucial issues. How and why this rivalry developed is still debated by historians. After all, the two countries had been allies between 1941 and 1945 in the war against Nazi Germany. How had allies become opponents within months of the end of World War II without an overtly hostile act by either side?

The answer is complex. The rivalry began with the October 1917 revolution in Russia. Although U.S. officials had favored the liberal revolution earlier that year, a revolution that

had overthrown Czar Nicholas and installed a moderate republican government, they did not support the October revolutionaries led by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, a communist who opposed Russia's participation in World War I. Lenin and his Bolshevik supporters ended Russia's experiment with democracy and republicanism, pulled their country out of the war, and established the Soviet Union. American leaders reacted by briefly sending an invading army to overthrow the Bolsheviks. The U.S. government also supported a propaganda campaign that placed the Soviet Union in the worst possible light, emphasizing the murderousness of the new regime, the hypocrisy of the leaders, and the failure of their ideas.

During the 1920s, the U.S. government tried to ignore the USSR as much as possible. Occasionally a popular novelist would criticize the Soviets, or a left-leaning idealist would praise Lenin and the Russians, but there was little intellectual or financial commerce between the countries. That changed in November of 1933, sixteen years after the establishment of the communist state, when the Franklin Roosevelt administration officially recognized and established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Mired in the Great Depression, Roosevelt in part hoped that the recognition of the USSR would open new markets for American products, especially since the Russian economy seemed to be outperforming the West. The dream of the great Russian market proved largely chimerical. George F. Kennan, America's preeminent authority on the Soviet Union, was skeptical of the relationship from the beginning. He wrote in his memoirs thirty years after Roosevelt renewed diplomatic ties, "Never—neither then nor at any later date—did I consider the Soviet Union a fit ally or associate, actual or potential, for this country."¹

Some Americans, however, began to regard the Soviet Union in a new light during the 1930s. Faced with economic hardships at home and the growing threat of Nazi Germany in Europe, many Americans, especially those on the political left, believed that the Soviet Union offered the best solution for both problems. Communism appeared more humane than capitalism during the Depression, and collective security seemed more effective than isolationism. Yet other Americans, probably most, continued to view the Soviets as an enemy that would subvert Christianity, democracy, and capitalism, all that they believed was decent in the world. They pointed to two events as keys to Soviet behavior. The first was a series of purges conducted by Soviet premier Joseph Stalin. From his first years in office in the mid-1920s, Stalin had demonstrated a deep sense of suspicion, even paranoia; he distrusted his own military leaders and feared betrayal by government officials. His solution was the ruthless elimination of all suspected enemies. The full extent of Stalin's solution was the ruthless elimination of all suspected enemies. The full extent of Stalin's terror has only emerged in recent years, but it has long been clear that millions died. The purges made Americans question Stalin's methods and the morality of his regime. The questioning turned to outright hatred after the announcement of the German-Russian Nonaggression Pact in late August 1939. After opposing the Nazis throughout most of the 1930s, Stalin cynically ignored his own expressed beliefs and entered into an agreement with Hitler. Making matters worse, in early September the Soviet Union joined Germany in invading and dividing Poland. For most Americans, the purges and the Nonaggression Pact stripped the Soviet Union of its thin veneer of idealism and showed it to be a ruthless, cynical totalitarian state.

But morality is often an inconvenient basis for foreign policy, and in 1941, America's official position with the Soviet Union abruptly reversed. First, Hitler violated the Nonaggression Pact and invaded the Soviet Union. Then—after the Japanese attacked American forces at Pearl Harbor—Germany declared war on the United States. Suddenly the United States and the Soviet Union were allies, partners in an odd marriage of convenience in which neither country really liked or trusted the other. But until Germany and Japan were defeated, it was a marriage in which there could be no divorce.

During World War II, American opinion makers gave Joseph Stalin and the Soviet Union a facelift. Reporters dubbed Stalin "Uncle Joe" and portrayed him as a kindly, if stern, father figure, the sort of patriarch who always had the best interests of the family in mind. In the movie *Mission to Moscow*, Hollywood characterized him as a thoughtful, pipe-smoking, and farsighted political leader concerned above all with collective security and the well-being of his people. Other World War II films—*Three Russian Girls*, *Song of Russia*, *Boys from Stalingrad*, *The North Star*, and *Days of Glory*—presented similar views of Stalin. "War has put Hollywood's traditional conception of the Moscovites through the wringer," noted a 1942 *Variety* columnist, "and they have come out shaved, washed, sober, good to their families, Rotarians, brother Elks, and 33rd Degree Masons." In short, popular culture reinforced official political culture. This was no coincidence, of course; Hollywood was closely monitored and advised by the Office of War Information.

After the end of the war, relations between the United States and the Soviet Union chilled rapidly. Disputes over the fates of Poland and Eastern Europe, the partition of Germany, control over atomic weapons, and other issues divided the two countries, leading to a war of rhetoric and a mood of suspicion. In February 1946, Stalin warned Soviet citizens that there could never be a lasting peace with the capitalistic West, suggesting that economic sacrifices, and even war, lay ahead. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas called the speech "the declaration of World War III." And so it went—tough talk on one side resulted in equally strident language on the other, difficult issues assumed insurmountable proportions, and the gulf between the two world superpowers widened.

The result was the Cold War, the central fact of American foreign policy between the end of World War II in 1945 and the fall of the communist government in the Soviet Union in 1991. Through a series of flash points ranging from Greece, Turkey, and Berlin to Korea, Vietnam, and Cuba, the two sides jockeyed for advantage in a deadly, global game of chess. Without actually ever going to war against each other, they were never fully at peace. To each, the other was an implacable enemy bent on world domination. Moreover, each side viewed the other as an ideological enemy—one was the exponent of capitalism, liberal democracy, and religious liberty, and the other of communism, social equality, and freedom from religious dogma.

The Cold War dominated and defined American life. It became the organizing principle of our popular culture, which boiled down to a series of "us" against "them" confrontations. Hollywood parlayed the theme into successful movies, from such "B" films as *I Was a Communist for the FBI*, *My Son John*, and *Big Jim McLain* to acclaimed works like *Fail Safe*, *On the Beach*, and *Dr. Strangelove*. From John Wayne's westerns to James Bond's action

adventures, the Cold War helped to define the plots. Popular writers and television producers also capitalized on the Cold War. John Le Carre, William F. Buckley Jr., and Tom Clancy wrote bestsellers that revolved around the Cold War, and television shows such as *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* and *I Spy* used the Cold War to sell consumer products. Even in international sporting events, the Cold War gave winning and losing monumental importance.

The following documents helped define and portray the Soviet Union for the American people in the earliest years of the Cold War. As you read them consider the authorship and the underlying agenda. How did they contribute to the construction of a Cold War mentality? How did they reinforce or call into question the dominant Cold War paradigm? How did they give shape and meaning to the lives of millions of Americans?

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 1

On March 12, 1947, President Harry Truman addressed a joint session of Congress in an attempt to win approval for a defense aid package for Greece and Turkey, whose governments were embattled against armed dissidents. One Republican Senator told Truman that he would have to "scare the hell out of the American people" to get Congress to appropriate the money. Consider how Truman tried to achieve that end. How did he characterize the Cold War between East and West, communism and capitalism? How did his language enflame the nature of the struggle? The President's ideas articulated here came to be called the "Truman Doctrine." It asserted America's willingness to send armed forces wherever "communist subversion" threatened. Compare the values articulated here by Truman with those of President Roosevelt—his predecessor—in January 1941 (Chapter 11, Document 1). Note that while the earlier speech focused on the threat of fascism, Truman emphasized the threat of communism with equal intensity.

1. THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE (MARCH 12, 1947)

PRESIDENT HARRY TRUMAN

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved.

One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance. . . .

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by communists, who defy the

Government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries. . . .

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. The United States must supply this assistance. We have already extended to Greece certain types of relief and economic aid but these are inadequate. There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn. No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek Government.

The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece. . . .

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention. The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. . . .

As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

I am fully aware of the broad implications involved if the United States extends assistance to Greece and Turkey, and I shall discuss these implications with you at this time.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose on them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank

recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta Agreement, in Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of the minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. . . .

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of this nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events. I am confident that the Congress will face these responsibilities squarely.

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 2

The onset of the Cold War began even before the end of World War II, both inside and outside Washington, D.C. In 1944 conservative members of the film industry—concerned about the influence of communism in Hollywood—formed the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals (MPA). The MPA actively fought what it considered subversive and anti-American messages in screenwriting and film production. Members of the Alliance argued that Hollywood, with the federal government's assistance, dwelled on the dangers of fascism to the exclusion of the communist menace. They worried by the end of World War II that that Hollywood's producers and executives were naïve at best about the threat of communist propaganda. The MPA issued a series of explicit recommendations to shape the content of the American film in 1947. A portion of this "Screen Guide for Americans" is reproduced in Document 2, in which the MPA warns that communists regularly insinuated into movies messages that might easily go unnoticed but that powerfully influenced audiences.

Among the authors of the "Screen Guide" was Ayn Rand, a Russian émigré who as a screenwriter, novelist, and nonfiction writer became a tireless advocate for the free enterprise system against what she saw as the omnipresent threat of collectivism, particularly communism. The "Screen Guide" became a tool in the subsequent House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) investigations of Hollywood, as well as the FBI's work in policing the film industry. As you read the guide, ask yourself what assumptions it makes about American film makers and movie goers, about propaganda, and art. Why do the authors worry so much about the vulnerability of America to communist subversion?

2. THE SCREEN GUIDE FOR AMERICANS (1947)

THE MOTION PICTURE ALLIANCE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF AMERICAN IDEALS

The influence of Communists in Hollywood is due, not to their own power, but to the unthinking carelessness of those who profess to oppose them. Red propaganda has been put over in some films produced by innocent men, often by loyal Americans who deplore the spread of Communism throughout the world and wonder why it is spreading.

If you wish to protect your pictures from being used for Communistic purposes, the first thing to do is to drop the delusion that political propaganda consists only of political slogans.

Politics is not a separate field in itself. Political ideas do not come out of thin air. They are the result of the moral premises which men have accepted.

Whatever people believe to be the good, right and proper human actions—that will determine their political opinions. . . .

The purpose of the Communists in Hollywood is not the production of political movies openly advocating Communism. Their purpose is to corrupt our moral premises by corrupting non-political movies—by introducing small, casual bits of propaganda into innocent stores—thus making people absorb the basic premises of Collectivism by indirection and implication.

. . . We present below a list of the more common devices used to turn non-political pictures into carriers of political propaganda. It is a guide list for all those who do not wish to help advance the cause of Communism.

1. DON'T TAKE POLITICS LIGHTLY
2. DON'T SMEAR THE FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM

... Don't attack individual rights, individual freedom, private action, private initiative, and private property. These things are essential parts of the Free Enterprise System, without which it cannot exist.

Don't preach the superiority of public ownership as such over private ownership. Don't preach or imply that all publicly-owned projects are noble, humanitarian undertakings by grace of the mere fact that they are publicly-owned—while preaching, at the same time, that private property or the defense of private property rights is the expression of some sort of vicious greed, of anti-social selfishness or evil.

3. DON'T SMEAR INDUSTRIALISTS

... all too often industrialists, bankers, and businessmen are presented on the screen as villains, crooks, chiselers or exploiters. . . . A constant stream of such pictures becomes pernicious political propaganda: It creates hatred for all businessmen in the mind of the audience, and makes people receptive to the cause of Communism. . . .

4. DON'T SMEAR WEALTH
5. DON'T SMEAR THE PROFIT MOTIVE
6. DON'T SMEAR SUCCESS
7. DON'T GLORIFY FAILURE
8. DON'T GLORIFY DEPRAVITY
9. DON'T DEIFY "THE COMMON MAN"

"The common man" is one of the worst slogans of Communism—and too many of us have fallen for it, without thinking.

... Communism preaches the reign of mediocrity, the destruction of all individuality and all personal distinction, the turning of men into "masses", which means an undivided, undifferentiated, impersonal, average, common herd. . . .

America is the land of the **uncommon man**. It is the land where man is free to develop his genius—and to get its just rewards. . . . It is not the land where one glories or its taught to glory in one's mediocrity.

10. DON'T GLORIFY THE COLLECTIVE

This point requires your careful and thoughtful attention.

There is a great difference between free co-operation and forced collectivism. It is the difference between

the United States and Soviet Russia. But the Communists are very skillful at hiding the difference and selling you the second under the guise of the first. You might miss it. The audience won't.

Co-operation is the free association of men who work together by voluntary agreement, each deriving from it his own personal benefit.

Collectivism is the forced herding together of men into a group, with the individual having no choice about it, no personal motive, no personal reward, and subordinating himself blindly to the will of others. . . .

11. DON'T SMEAR AN INDEPENDENT MAN . . .
12. DON'T USE CURRENT EVENTS CARELESSLY. . . .

Of all current questions, be most careful about your attitude toward Soviet Russia. . . . Look out for remarks that praise Russia directly or indirectly. . . .

Don't suggest to the audience that the Russian people are free, secure and happy, that life in Russia is just about the same as in any other country—while actually the Russian people live in constant terror under a bloody, monstrous dictatorship . . .

13. DON'T SMEAR AMERICAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Now a word of warning about the question of free speech. The principle of free speech requires that we do not use **police force** to forbid the Communists the expression of their ideas—which means that we do not **pass laws** forbidding them to speak. But the principle of free speech **does not** require that we furnish the Communists with the means to preach their ideas, and **does not** imply that we owe them jobs and support to advocate our own destruction at our own expense. The Constitutional guaranty of free speech reads "Congress shall pass no laws—" It does not require employers to be suckers.

... Let the Communists preach what they wish (so long as it remains mere talking) at the expense of those and in the employ of those who share their ideas. Let them create their own motion picture studios, if they can. But let us put an end to their use of our pictures, our studios and our money for the purpose of preaching our expropriation, enslavement and destruction. Freedom of speech does not imply that it is our duty to provide a knife for the murderer who wants to cut our throat.²

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENTS 3 AND 4

The House Committee on Un-American Activities actively investigated Hollywood. Filmmakers and actors, singers, writers, and university teachers, all came before the Committee. Many of those who cooperated—giving testimony that implicated colleagues for radical activities, often with little evidence—believed they were defending America against an insidious communist enemy. Individuals who refused to testify—and some of these served prison time for contempt of Congress—believed they were defending the rights of citizens against a rogue government. Charges that the former were rats spilling their guts for careerist gain or cowardice while the latter were dupes of the communists poisoned life among intellectuals for decades.

Several so-called friendly witnesses came before the HUAC's "Hearings Regarding the Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry." Their goals in cooperating with the investigations were complex but many hoped to demonstrate that Hollywood was aligned with American values. One such friendly witness was Jack Warner, one of the heads of Warner Brothers Studios, whose testimony is excerpted as Document 3. As you read his statement and the exchange with the Committee, notice that Warner comes under considerable criticism from the Chief Investigator Robert Stripling, for his company's production of *Mission to Moscow*, a 1942 film that had sympathetically portrayed the Soviet Union at the time that it was allied with the United States to defeat Nazi Germany.

Unlike Warner, other members of the Hollywood film industry were deemed "unfriendly" and were subpoenaed by HUAC to answer questions about their political beliefs. Some of these producers, directors, and screenwriters became known as the "Hollywood Ten." They refused to answer HUAC's questions and were jailed for contempt of Congress. On the day after Jack Warner's testimony, a group of writers, actors, and producers who called themselves the "Committee on the First Amendment" took out an ad in the *Hollywood Reporter* to state their opposition to what they considered a clear violation of civil liberties by HUAC. Their statement is reproduced as Document 4. Note that all parties involved in this conflict—MPA, friendly witnesses, HUAC, and opponents of the investigation—consider themselves defenders of American values and freedoms.

3. TESTIMONY OF JACK WARNER TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

OCTOBER 20, 1947

It is a privilege to appear again before this committee to help as much as I can in facilitating its work.

I am happy to speak openly and honestly in an inquiry which has for its purpose the reaffirmation of American ideals and democratic processes. . . . Our

American way of life is under attack from without and from within our national borders. I believe it is the duty of each loyal American to resist those attacks and defeat them.

Freedom is a precious thing. It requires careful nurturing, protection, and encouragement. It has flourished under the guaranties of our American Constitution

and Bill of rights to make this country the ideal of all men who honestly wish to call their souls their own.

... Ideological termites have burrowed into many American industries, organizations, and societies. Wherever they may be, I say let us dig them out and get rid of them. My brothers and I will be happy to subscribe generously to a pest-removal fund. We are willing to establish such a fund to ship to Russia the people who don't like our American system of government and prefer the communistic system to ours.

... If there are Communists in our industry, or any other industry, organization, or society who seek to undermine our free institutions, let's find out about it and know who they are. Let the record be spread clear, for all to read and judge. The public is entitled to know the facts.

... Many charges, including the fantasy of "White House pressure" have been leveled at our wartime production *Mission to Moscow*. ... That picture was made when our country was fighting for its existence, with Russia as one of our allies. It was made to fulfill the same wartime purpose for which we made such other pictures ... If making *Mission to Moscow* in 1942 was a subversive activity, then the American Liberty ships which carried food and guns to Russian allies and the American naval vessels which convoyed them were likewise engaged in subversive activities. The picture was made only to help a desperate war effort and not for posterity.

The Warner Bros. interest in the preservation of the American way of life is no new thing with our company. Ever since we began making motion pictures we have fostered American ideals and done whatever we could to protect them.

... We can't fight dictatorships by borrowing dictatorial methods. Nor can we defend freedom by curtailing liberties, but we can attack with a free press and a free screen.

Subversive germs breed in dark corners. Let's get light into those corners. That, I believe, is the purpose of this hearing and I am happy to have had the opportunity to testify. ...

ROBERT Stripling, HUAC's Chief Investigator: Well, is it your opinion now, Mr. Warner, that *Mission to Moscow* was a factually correct picture, and you made it as such?

W. I can't remember.

S. Would you consider it a propaganda picture?

W. In what sense?

S. In the sense that it portrayed Russia and communism in an entirely different light from what it actually was?

W. I am on record about 40 times or more that I have never been in Russia. I don't know what Russia was like in 1937 or 1944 or 1947, so how can I tell you if it was right or wrong?

S. Don't you think you were on dangerous ground to produce as a factually correct picture one which portrayed Russia—

W. No; we were not on dangerous ground in 1942, when we produced it. There was a war on. The world was at stake.

S. In other words—

W. We made the film to aid in the war effort, which I believe I have already stated.

S. Whether it was true or not?

W. As far as I was concerned, I considered it true to the extent as written in Mr. Davies' book.

S. Well, do you suppose that your picture influenced the people, who saw it in this country, the millions of people who saw it in this country?

W. In my opinion, I can't see how it would influence anyone. We were in a war and when you are in a fight you don't ask who the fellow is who is helping you.

S. Well, due to the present conditions in the international situation, don't you think it was rather dangerous to write about such a disillusionment as was sought in that picture?

W. I can't understand why you ask me that question, as to the present conditions. How did I, you, or anyone else know in 1942 what the conditions were going to be in 1947? I stated in my testimony our reason for making the picture, which was to aid the war effort. ...

4. ADVERTISEMENT FROM THE HOLLYWOOD REPORTER (OCTOBER 21, 1947)

The Committee for the First Amendment

We, the undersigned, as American citizens who believe in constitutional democratic government, are disgusted and outraged by the continuing attempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to smear the Motion Picture Industry.

We hold that these hearings are morally wrong because:

Any investigation into the political beliefs of the individual is contrary to the basic principles of our democracy;

Any attempt to curb freedom of expression and to set arbitrary standards of Americanism is in itself disloyal to both the spirit and the letter of our Constitution.

Committee for the First Amendment

RICHARD BROOKS	PAULETTE GODDARD	BURGESS MEREDITH
EDDIE CANTOR	BENNY GOODMAN	DORIS NOLAN
RICHARD CONTE	VAN HEFLIN	GREGORY PECK
NORMAN CORWIN	PAUL HENREID	VINCENT PRICE
PHILIP DUNNE	*KATHARINE HEPBURN	MILTON SPERLING
JULIUS EPSTEIN	JOHN HOUSEMAN	SHEPPERD STRUDWICK
PHILIP EPSTEIN	MARSHA HUNT	BARRY SULLIVAN
HENRY FONDA	JOHN HUSTON	JERRY WALD
MELVIN FRANK	NORMAN KRASNA	CORNEL WILDE
AVA GARDNER	ANATOLE LITVAK	BILLY WILDER
SHERIDAN GIBNEY	MYRNA LOY	WILLIAM WYLER
	DOROTHY McGUIRE	COLLIER YOUNG

The above statement has been given to the American press. If it expresses your views and you wish to join with us in further action against this affront to our way of life, please wire:

“BILL OF RIGHTS”
CARE OF WESTERN UNION
BEVERLY HILLS

Image 12.1: Statement of the Committee of the First Amendment.

In response to the HUAC investigations of supposed communists in Hollywood, a group of actors and writers responded with this statement. On what grounds did HUAC believe these investigations were constitutional and necessary?

Source: Records of the House of Representatives, Record Group 233, National Archives Identifier 25466014.

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENTS 5 AND 6

The perceived threat of communism extended to all areas of American life, including the nation's universities. Perhaps the earliest and most significant episode occurred at the University of Washington in 1948, beginning just after the investigations of subversion in Hollywood. In Seattle, newly elected Republican State Representative Albert Canwell introduced a bill to investigate communist activities in Washington State. He became chair of his state's Committee on Un-American Activities. The committee quickly focused on radical activity at the University of Washington, and after the hearings were completed the university dismissed three professors for their admitted membership in the Communist Party of the United States. Document 5 is the statement of the University's president, Raymond Allen, who forcefully concurred with Canwell that Communist Party membership was grounds for firing professors. In Document 6, Herbert Phillips—one of the fired professors—responds that such actions violated the university's own grounds for dismissal.

The University of Washington hearings and dismissals were important for being the first of their kind, setting the precedent for loyalty investigations that rippled across American colleges and universities in the late 1940s and 1950s. With heightened scrutiny of any political activity deemed radical, many professors avoided such subjects in their classrooms to protect their jobs. As you read, ask yourself how both Allen and Phillips can claim to be defending democracy. Does Allen substantiate his claim that communists are intellectually unfree? Why does he see communist ideology and the pursuit of truth at odds?

5. COMMUNISTS SHOULD NOT TEACH IN AMERICAN COLLEGES (1948)

PRESIDENT RAYMOND B. ALLEN

A member of the Communist Party should not be permitted to teach in an American college because he is not a free man. If the purpose of education is to seek out and to teach the truth wherever it may lead, as Jefferson taught, then the first duty and obligation of the teacher is that he be a free man. Any restraint upon the teacher's freedom is an obstacle to his performance of his highest scholarly functions. But the teacher's freedom consists of something more than an absence of restraints placed upon him by the institution that employs him. It demands as well an absence of restraints placed upon him by his

political affiliations, by dogmas that stand in the way of a free search for truth, or by rigid adherence to a "party line" that sacrifices dignity, honor and integrity to the accomplishment of political ends. Men, and especially the teacher and the scholar, must be free to think and discover and believe, else there will be no new thought, no discovery, and no progress. But these freedoms are barren if their fruits are to be hidden away and denied. Men must be free, of course, but they must also be free, and willing, to stand up and profess what they believe so that all may hear.

It is obvious that the Communist Party does not allow its members this freedom. As a member of the Party, a man cannot be free; he is a slave to immutable dogma and to a clandestine organization which masquerades as a political party. He has abdicated control over his intellectual life.

The issue between communism and education is the effect that Communist Party membership has upon the freedom of the teacher and upon the morale and professional standards of the profession. It is not an issue of civil liberties. No man has a constitutional right to belong to any profession merely because his political affiliations are legal or illegal.

... the Communist Party, U.S.A., with its concealed aims and objectives, with its secret and

clandestine methods and techniques, with its consistent failure to put its full face forward in the Jeffersonian tradition, reflects upon the integrity of the institution that employs its members and upon a whole educational system that has failed, with rare exceptions, to take the Communist issue seriously.

... Communism is the antithesis of the living, hopeful, positive democracy we as a people have chosen to live by and to live for. Communism is a doctrine of fear, of little faith, of the submergence of the human spirit to the vicious ends of a materialistic tyranny. Free education and its quest for truth cannot gain, indeed must surely lose, if it is entrusted to the keeping of the robot prophets of such a creed.⁴

6. RESPONSE BY HERBERT J. PHILLIPS, ON THE DISMISSAL OF COMMUNIST PROFESSORS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON (1948)

The central issue involved in the Washington dismissals, and the issue that justifies the professors concerned in bringing the matter before the American academic world as sharply as possible, is the issue of whether or not political opinions or affiliations should henceforth constitute a condition for employment in institutions of instruction. The University of Washington operated under a tenure code that explicitly omitted political grounds in specifying a definitive list of causes for dismissal. These causes were:

1. Incompetence
2. Immorality or dishonesty
3. Neglect of duty
4. Physical or mental incapacity
5. Conviction of a felony involving moral turpitude

In the trial before a faculty Tenure Committee which was also provided for by our excellent Tenure

Code, the University Administration deliberately refused to attempt to prove that Mr. Butterworth and myself, who are both admitted present members of the Communist Party, were either of us individually guilty of any of the causes in the Code. The University counsel repeatedly asserted that it was their intention to establish that membership in the Communist Party, in and of itself, constituted grounds for dismissal. They argued that such membership per se entailed guilt of at least three of the causes in the Code—to wit, incompetence, immorality or dishonesty, and neglect of duty. Not only were none of these faults proven against Mr. Butterworth and myself, but in our defense we produced positive evidence which was apparently convincing in the minds of eight of the eleven man committee that we actually were competent, had moral integrity and were conscientious in the performance of our duties. . . .

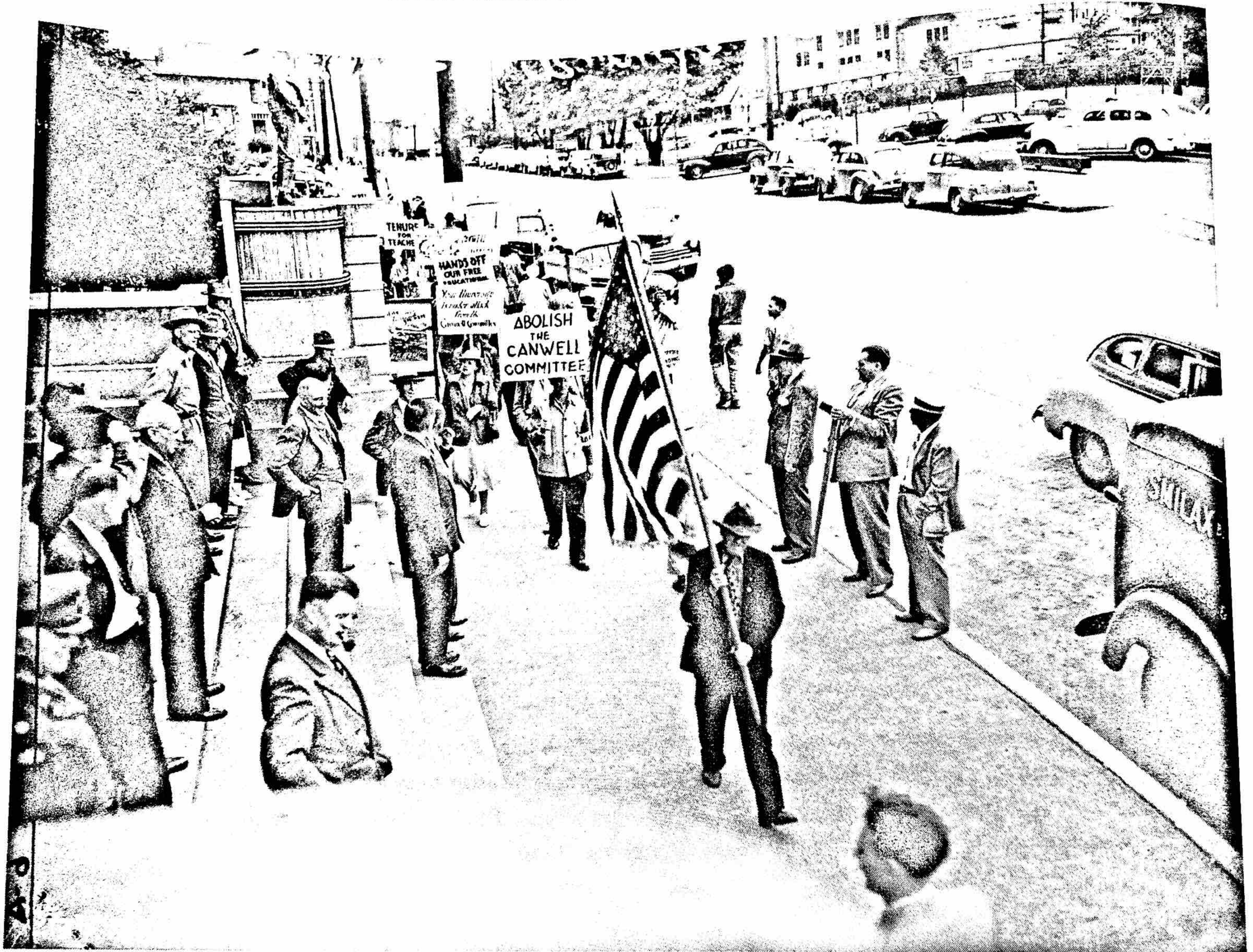


Image 12.2: Protesting the Canwell Committee investigations at the University of Washington, 1948

Source: Courtesy Museum of History and Industry, Seattle.

I believe that the Washington dismissals constitute a grave danger to academic freedom and to our American system of free education. It is true that the American public is not friendly to communism and probably has difficulty being enthusiastic about the defense of the academic freedom and civil rights of Communists. Mr. Butterworth and I believe that this unfriendliness is based upon misconceptions deliberately cultivated by our major sources of information. I personally believe that it is to the credit of the American people that

they are unfriendly toward an organization of the type they think the Communist Party to be. I am in a position to know that their beliefs about our party are false. It will be part of my struggle for reinstatement to help clear up some of these misconceptions. . . . Wherever antidemocratic forces have triumphed, they have begun the attack upon democratic institutions by attacking the Communists. It is thus the duty of all friends of democracy, whether Communist or non-Communist, to help refute the basic lies about communism. . . .⁵

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENTS 7, 8, AND 9

The investigations into subversion in Hollywood and in universities matched an equally vigorous search for communist influence in government, including President Truman's 1947 search for disloyal civil servants. Then, on February 9, 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin upped the ante at a Lincoln birthday speech in Wheeling, West Virginia. After briefly extolling the virtues of the sixteenth American president, McCarthy quickly turned to his real theme, the subversion of the American government by traitors from within. McCarthy declared that he held in his hand a list of fifty-seven traitors undermining America from their positions in the American State Department. McCarthy repeated this claim of enemies working deep within the government, but he never revealed any names. The bombshell speech in Wheeling was inserted into the *Congressional Record*, and is Document 7. Two days after he delivered this speech, Senator McCarthy sent a telegram to President Truman challenging him to act more vigorously against the internal communist threat. For the next few years, McCarthy and his accusations were constantly in the news. Document 8 is McCarthy's telegram to President Truman, and Document 9 is Truman's equally forceful reply, which was never sent.

7. SPEECH IN WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA, FEBRUARY 9, 1950

SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY

... 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 armaments race.

The great difference between our western Christian world and the atheistic Communist world is not political, ladies and gentlemen, it is moral. There are other differences, of course, but those could be reconciled. 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.

Stalin's resolute putting across of these two ideas, of course, did much to divide the world. With only those differences, however, the East and the West could most certainly still live in peace.

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

Ladies and gentlemen, can there be anyone here 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 Communist atheistic world?

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

Six years ago, at the time of the first conference to map out peace—Dumbarton Oaks—there was within the Soviet orbit 180,000,000 people. Lined up on the antitotalitarian side there were in the world at that time roughly 1,625,000,000 people. Today, only 6 years later, there are 800,000,000 people under the absolute domination of Soviet Russia—an increase of over 400 percent. On our side, the figure has shrunk to around 500,000,000. In other words, in less than 6 years the odds have changed from 9 to 1 in our favor to 8 to 5 against us. 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 because of enemies from without, but rather because of enemies from within."

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

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, a shining living proof that civilization was not yet ready to destroy itself. Unfortunately, we have failed miserably and tragically to arise to the opportunity.

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 selling this Nation out, 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.

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 worst. . . . In my opinion the State Department, which is one of the most important

government departments, is thoroughly infested with Communists.

I have in my hand 57 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 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. . . .

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, one of the important reasons for the graft, the corruption, the dishonesty, the disloyalty, the treason in high Government positions—one of the most important reasons why this continues is 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.

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.

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 spark has finally been supplied.

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—of being a traitor to the people who gave him a position of great trust. 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, and the reaction of the American people to this would have made the heart of Abraham Lincoln happy.

When this pompous diplomat in striped pants, with a phony British accent, proclaimed to the American people that Christ on the Mount endorsed communism, high treason, and betrayal of a sacred trust, the blasphemy was so great that it awakened the dormant indignation of the American people.

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 national honesty and decency in Government.⁶

8. TELEGRAM FROM SENATOR MCCARTHY TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN, FEBRUARY 11, 1950

Reno Nev Feb 11, 1950
The President
The White House

In a Lincoln Day Speech at Wheeling Thursday night I stated that the State Department harbors a nest of communists and communist sympathizers who are helping to shape our foreign policy. I further stated that I have in my possession the names of 57 communists who are in the State Department at present. A State Department spokesman . . . denied this and claimed that there is not a single communist in the department. You can convince yourself of the falsity of the State Department claim very easily. You will recall that you personally appointed a board to screen State Department employees for the purpose of weeding out fellow travelers. Your board did a pains-taking job, and named hundreds which it listed as "dangerous to the security of the nation," because of communistic connections.

While the records are not available to me, I know absolutely that of one group of approximately 300 certified to the secretary for discharge, he actually discharged only approximately 80. I understand that this was done after lengthy consultation with Alger Hiss. I would suggest therefore, Mr. President, that you simply pick up your phone and ask Mr. Acheson how many of those whom your board had labeled as dangerous, he failed to discharge. The day the House Un-American Activities Committee exposed Alger Hiss as an important link in an international

communist spy ring, you signed an order forbidding the State Departments, giving the Congress any information in regard to the disloyalty or the communistic connections of anyone in that department, despite this State Department blackout, we have been able to compile a list of 57 communists in the State Department. This list is available to you, but you can get a much longer list by ordering Secretary Acheson to give you a list of these whom your own board listed as being disloyal, and who are still working in the State Department. I believe the following is the minimum which can be expected of you in this case

(1) that you demand that Acheson give you and the proper Congressional Committee the names and a complete report on all of those who were placed in the Department by Alger Hiss, and all of those still working in the State Department who were listed by your Board as bad security risks because of the communistic connections.

(2) that under no circumstances could a Congressional Committee obtain any information or help from the Executive Department in exposing communists.

Failure on your part will label the Democratic Party of being the bed-fellow of intern-national communism. Certainly this label is not deserved by the hundreds of thousands of loyal American Democrats throughout the nation, and by the sizable number of able loyal Democrats in both the Senate and the House.

Joe McCarthy US S[enator] Wis[consin]⁷

9. UNSENT DRAFTED TELEGRAM FROM PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO SENATOR MCCARTHY (FEBRUARY 1950)

My dear Senator:

I read your telegram of February eleventh from Reno, Nevada with a great deal of interest and this is the first time in my experience, and I was ten years in the Senate, that I ever heard of a Senator trying to discredit his own Government before the world. You know that isn't done by honest public officials. Your telegram is not only not true and an insolent

approach to a situation that should have been worked out between man and man but it shows conclusively that you are not even fit to have a hand in the operation of the Government of the United States.

I am very sure that the people of Wisconsin are extremely sorry that they are represented by a person who has as little sense of responsibility as you have. Sincerely yours, HST.⁸

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 10

Joseph McCarthy made the fear of internal subversion palpable, but many Americans, especially those in the arts, responded with strong words of their own. In this document, the poet Thomas McGrath explains to HUAC in 1953 why he refused to cooperate with them. McGrath was born in 1916 to a poor family of Irish farmers in Sheldon, North Dakota. He eventually attended the University of North Dakota, won a Rhodes scholarship, served in World War II, did graduate work at Louisiana State University, and finally landed a position at Los Angeles State University in 1950. His refusal to testify three years later cost him his job. When he gave his explanation, McGrath was not well known, but by the end of his life, many critics considered him a great poet in the tradition of Walt Whitman. Why did McGrath refuse to "name names"? Do you agree or disagree with his decision?

10. STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES (1953)

THOMAS MCGRATH

After a dead serious consideration of the effects of this committee's work and of my relation to it, I find that for the following reasons I must refuse to cooperate with this body.

In the first place, as a teacher, my first responsibility is to my students. To cooperate with this committee would be to set for them an example of

accommodation to forces which can only have, as their end effect, the destruction of education itself. Such accommodation on my part would ruin my value as a teacher, and I am proud to say that a great majority of my students—and I believe this is true of students generally—do not want me to accommodate myself to this committee. In a certain sense, I have no

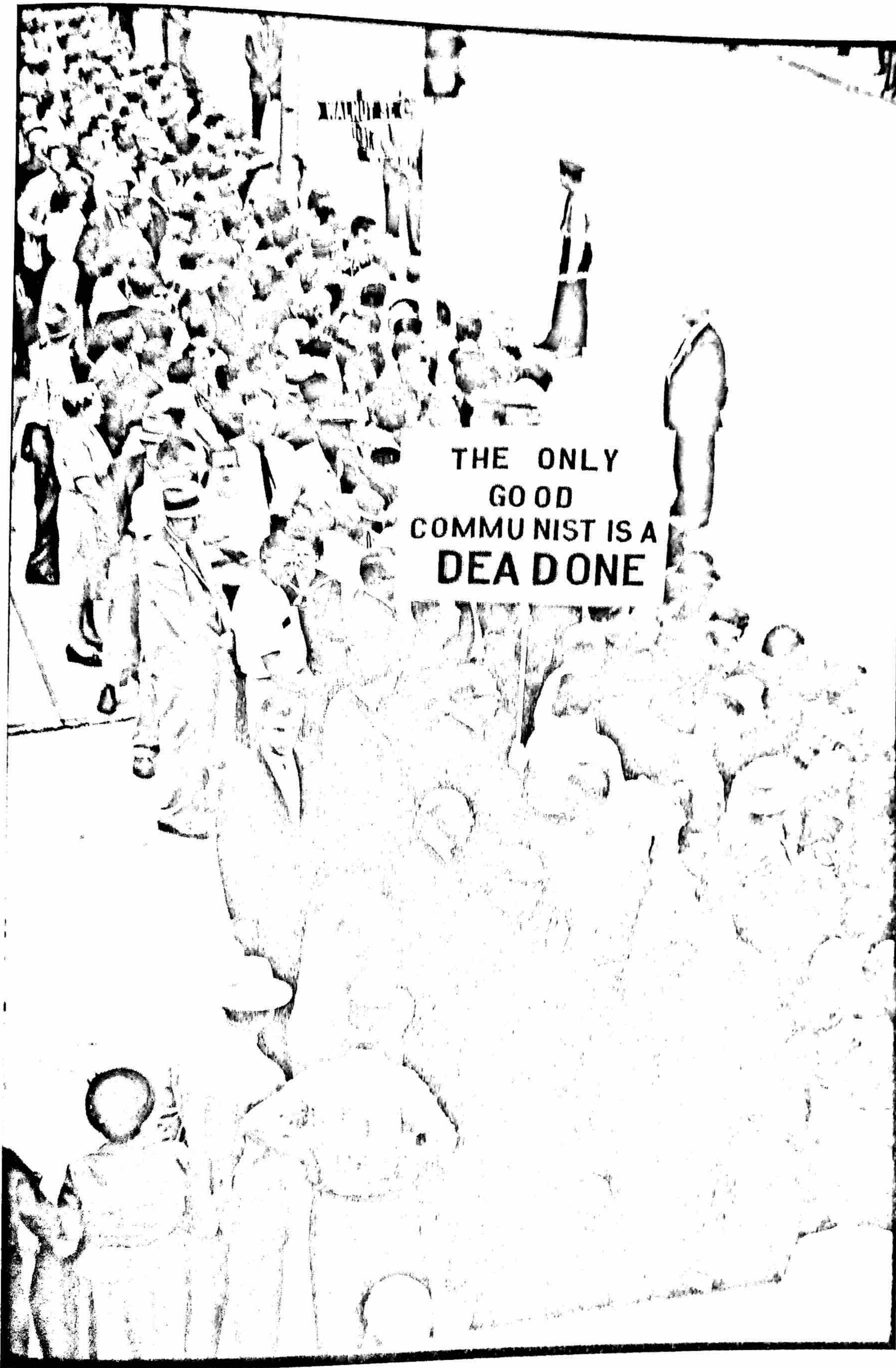


Image 12.3: Thomas O'Halloran photograph of Des Moines, Iowa (1959)
A crowd in Des Moines gathers to catch a glimpse of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, who toured the United States in 1959
and spent time learning about agriculture while in Iowa.
Source: Courtesy Library of Congress.

choice in the matter—the students would not want me back in the classroom if I were to take any course of action other than the one I am pursuing.

Secondly, as a teacher, I have a responsibility to the profession itself. We teachers have no professional oath of the sort that doctors take, but there is a kind of unwritten oath which we follow to teach as honestly, fairly and fully as we can. The effect of the committee is destructive of such an ideal, destructive of academic freedom. As Mr. Justice Douglas has said: "This system of spying and surveillance with its accompanying reports and trials cannot go hand in hand with academic freedom. It produces standardized thought, not the pursuit of truth." A teacher who will tack and turn with every shift of the political wind cannot be a good teacher. . . .

Thirdly, as a poet I must refuse to cooperate with the committee on what I can only call esthetic grounds. The view of life which we receive through the great works of art is a privileged one—it is a view of life according to probability or necessity, not subject to the chance and accident of our real world and therefore in a sense truer than the life we see lived all around us. I believe that one of the things required of us is to try to give life an esthetic ground, to give it some of the pattern and beauty of art. I have tried as best I can to do this with my own life, and while I do not claim any very great success, it would be anticlimactic, destructive of the pattern of my life, if I were to cooperate with the committee.

These, then are reasons for refusing to cooperate, but I am aware that none of them is acceptable to the committee. When I was notified to appear here, my first instinct was simply to refuse to answer committee questions out of personal principle and on the grounds of the rights of man and let it go at that. On further consideration, however, I have come to feel that such a stand would be mere self-indulgence and that it would weaken the fight which other witnesses have made to protect the rights guaranteed under our Constitution. Therefore I further refuse to answer the committee on the grounds of the fourth amendment. I regard this committee as usurpers of illegal powers and my enforced appearance here as in the nature of unreasonable search and seizure.

I further refuse on the grounds of the first amendment, which in guaranteeing free speech also guarantees my right to be silent. Although the first amendment expressly forbids any abridgement of this and other freedoms, the committee is illegally engaged in the establishment of a religion of fear. I cannot cooperate with it in this unconstitutional activity. Lastly, it is my duty to refuse to answer this committee, claiming my rights under the fifth amendment as a whole and in all its parts, and understanding that the fifth amendment was inserted in the Constitution to bulwark the first amendment against the activities of committees such as this one, that no one may be forced to bear witness against himself.

INTRODUCTION TO DOCUMENT 11

Joseph McCarthy became inordinately powerful in the early 1950s, with nearly half the country supporting his crude but effective crusade in the Senate. Newly elected President Eisenhower in fact authorized the FBI to extend its efforts to disrupt the work of the Communist Party in the United States. The president also refused to grant clemency to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, who had been convicted of spying for the Soviet Union. Yet Eisenhower was also disgusted by McCarthy's anti-communist tactics, though he never publicly denounced the latter. When Senator McCarthy began to investigate the U.S. army, the president pushed back by refusing to turn over documents. Eventually these hearings exposed McCarthy's tactics to the public, and soon thereafter the Senate censured him for "conduct unbecoming" a senator. The year before this censure,

Eisenhower spoke to the graduating class at Dartmouth in 1953, pivoting from a straightforward commencement address to a pointed critique of the increasing intolerance of the anti-communist crusade. The president's speech is excerpted as Document 11.

11. COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, JUNE 14, 1953

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

You must have courage to look at all about you with honest eyes—above all, yourself. And we go back to our standards. Have you actually measured up? If you have, it is that courage to look at yourself and say, well, I failed miserably there, I hurt someone's feelings needlessly, I lost my temper—which you must never do except deliberately. You did not measure up to your own standards.

Now, if you have the courage to look at yourself, soon you begin to achieve a code or a pattern that is closer to your own standards. By the same token, look at all that is dear to you: your own family. Of course, your children are going to be the greatest, the most extraordinary that ever lived. But, also, look at them as they are, occasionally.

Look at your country. Here is a country of which we are proud, as you are proud of Dartmouth and all about you, and the families to which you belong. But this country is a long way from perfection—a long way. We have the disgrace of racial discrimination, or we have prejudice against people because of their religion. We have crime on the docks. We have not had the courage to uproot these things, although we know they are wrong. And we with our standards, the standards given us at places like Dartmouth, we know they are wrong.

Now, that courage is not going to be satisfied—your sense of satisfaction is not going to be satisfied, if you haven't the courage to look at these things and do your best to help correct them, because that is the contribution you shall make to this beloved country

in your time. Each of us, as he passes along, should strive to add something.

It is not enough merely to say I love America, and to salute the flag and take off your hat as it goes by, and to help sing the Star Spangled Banner. Wonderful! We love to do them, and our hearts swell with pride, because those who went before you worked to give to us today, standing here, this pride.

And this is a pride in an institution that we think has brought great happiness, and we know has brought great contentment and freedom of soul to many people. But it is not yet done. You must add to it.

Don't join the book burners. Don't think you are going to conceal faults by concealing evidence that they ever existed. Don't be afraid to go in your library and read every book, as long as that document does not offend our own ideas of decency. That should be the only censorship.

How will we defeat communism unless we know what it is, and what it teaches, and why does it have such an appeal for men, why are so many people swearing allegiance to it? It is almost a religion, albeit one of the nether regions.

And we have got to fight it with something better, not try to conceal the thinking of our own people. They are part of America. And even if they think ideas that are contrary to ours, their right to say them, their right to record them, and their right to have them at places where they are accessible to others is unquestioned, or it isn't America.⁹

QUESTIONS

1. Why did anticommunism become such a divisive issue in American life?
2. How did Senator McCarthy become so powerful?
3. Why do you think so much attention was paid to alleged communist activities in Hollywood, in the arts, and on college campuses?
4. Tom McGrath, Herbert Phillips, and Raymond Allen all invoke "freedom," but what does each mean by using the term?
5. How do you explain that both those opposed to and in favor of the HUAC investigations believed they were fighting to protect American freedom?
6. Do you think the Cold War was more about foreign or domestic policy?

ADDITIONAL READING

The origin of the Cold War has been one of the most hotly debated topics in American history. An outstanding overview of the era is provided in Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War* (1985). Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace* (1982) recounts the early years of the Cold War. Gar Alperovitz, *Atomic Diplomacy* (1985) suggests that the Cold War began even before the end of World War II; also see John L. Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment* (1982). Many of the leading American actors of the period have written memoirs. Among the best are Dean Acheson, *Present at Creation: My Years in the State Department* (1969), and George F. Kennan, *Memoirs, 1925–1950* (1967). For more general works, see James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974* (1996), and Melvin Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, The Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (1992). The impact of the Cold War on domestic politics and culture has also been considered in depth. David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joseph McCarthy* (1983) shows how the Cold War worked its way into politics. Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (1996) traces the impact of the Cold War on American life. Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund, *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics of the Film Industry, 1930–1960* (1983) is a detailed study of the relationship between Washington and Hollywood. See also John Sbardellati, *J. Edgar Hoover Goes to the Movies: The FBI and the Origins of Hollywood's Cold War* (2012), and Larry May, *The Big Tomorrow: Hollywood and the Politics of the American Way* (2000). For a broad synthesis of the era, see John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War* (2005). Other books on culture and the Cold War include K. A. Cuordileone, *Manhood and American Political Culture in the Cold War* (2004); Thomas Patrick Doherty, *Cold War, Cool Medium* (2005); and Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights* (2002).

ENDNOTES

1. George F. Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1967), p. 57.
2. "Screen Guide for Americans," issued by the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Values (Beverly Hills, CA, 1947).
3. *Hearings Regarding the Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry*, 80th Congress, First Session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 7–45. This exchange has been edited for length.
4. Raymond B. Allen, in *The American Scholar*, v.18 n.3 (Summer 1949), 326–328.
5. Herbert Phillips, in *The American Scholar*, v.18 n.3 (Summer 1949), 330–331.
6. *Congressional Record*, 81st Congress, 2d Session, pp. 1954–1957.
7. Truman Administration Secretary's Files, Identifier 201514, National Archives.
8. President's Truman's Secretary's Files, identifier 201514, National Archives.
9. Gerhard Peters and John T. Wooley, The American Presidency Project.