

Contents

1. Two Eras and Some Victims, 3
 2. Trojan Horses and Fifth Columns, 37
 3. "What Do You Think of Female Chastity?"
Disloyalty in American Politics, 59
 4. The Rise of the Communist Issue, 87
 5. The Age Finds Its Name, 120
 6. "Bitter Days":
The Heyday of Anti-Communism, 144
 7. "In Calmer Times. . . .," 171
- Epilogue. Where We Came Out, 193

Notes, 203

Bibliographical Essay, 223

Index, 231

Index

- Abstract expressionism, 30–32
Acheson, Sec'y of State Dean G., 93, 148, 167
Adams, John G., 138, 139
Addams, Jane, 44
Advertising Council, 98
Agricultural Adjustment Administration,
18, 45
Albertson, William, 190
Alford, Rep. Dale, 178
Allen, Raymond B., 101
Allen, Woody, 157, 197
Alsop, Joseph, 183, 198
Amerasia case, 60–61, 147
American Association of University Profes-
sors, 103
American Business Consultants, 157
American Artists Professional League
(AAPL), 30, 31, 33
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU),
52, 66, 106, 163, 200
American Federation of Labor (AFL): Com-
munists and, 12; and Seattle general
strike, 39; anti-communism of, 44, 45,
48; and Bucyrus-Erie strike, 96; CIO re-
joins, 153
American Federation of State, County, and
Municipal Employees, 110
American Federation of Teachers, 103
American Labor Party, 66
American League for Peace and Democ-
racy, 14
American Legion: and baseball, 34, 79;
and Americanism movement, 41; Hamil-
ton Fish and, 45; miscellaneous anti-
Communist efforts of, 78, 84, 98, 161,
162; and Peekskill, 97; and education,
100; and state-level anti-Communism,
106, 108, 110; and Tule Lake camp, 118;
and blacklist, 156, 158
Americans for Democratic Action, 65, 82
Anderson, Sen. Clinton P., 180
Anti-communism: socioeconomic basis of,
8; cultural basis of, 9, 29–35; political
elites and, 16; public opinion and, 16,
49, 59–60, 87–88; “functional” aspects
of, 35–36; consensus on, 36; rise of,
38ff.; in 1920s, 43–44; in localities, 95–
97; and CIO, 99–100; and education,
100–103, 162–63; in states, 104–14,
175; and foundations, 158–61; and lib-

Index

Anti-communism (*continued*)

- eral causes, 161, 163–64; impact on culture, 161–63, 166; and civil-rights movement, 164–66, 174–78; and feminism, 166; and gays and lesbians, 167–68; and peace movement, 168–69; and Indian policy, 169; and zoning, 169; and Hawaiian statehood, 194–95
- Anti-radicalism, 37–39, 42. *See also* Anti-communism
- Army, Department of, 137–39
- Atomic bomb, 6, 19
- Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), 25, 80, 90, 179–80
- Attorney General's list, 55, 68, 70–71, 97, 108, 112, 125, 159, 160
- Aware, Inc., 157, 197
- Bailey, Dorothy, 71
- Bakewell, Rep. Claude, 64
- Ball, Sen. Joseph, 28
- Ball, Lucille, 166
- Barkley, Sen. Alben, 64
- Baseball, and anti-communism, 34–35, 79
- Beck, Dave, 110
- Bender, Rep. George H., 140
- Benet, Stephen Vincent, 50
- Bentley, Elizabeth, 19, 81, 62
- Bentley, Eric, 195
- Benton, William B., 32, 79, 140
- Berkeley, Martin, 154
- Berle, Adolph A., 18
- Berlin airlift, 7, 84
- Bessie, Alvah, 76
- Biberman, Herbert, 76
- Biddle, Att'y Gen. Francis, 51, 56
- Bingham, Hiram, 133, 147
- Black, Justice Hugo, 114, 187
- Blacklist, 77–78, 156–58, 196–98
- Black Panther Party, 191
- Blau v. U.S.*, 154
- Bobrowicz, Edmund V., 64
- Bogart, Humphrey, 57, 77, 158
- Bolshevik Revolution, 11, 39–40
- Borden, William L., 179
- Bowron, Mayor Fletcher, 79
- Bozell, L. Brent, 28, 163
- Braden, Anne, 174
- Braden, Carl, 174–75, 176
- Brennan, Justice William, 184
- Brewer, Roy, 75, 158
- Bricker, Gov. John W., 57
- Bridges, Harry Renton: efforts to deport, 35, 152; attacks on, 48, 56, 195; and Teamsters, 110; bail revoked, 113, 115; and Port Security Program, 182
- Bridges, Sen. Styles, 89, 121, 125
- Browder, Earl, 12; and united front, 13, 15; mentioned, 22, 61, 121; jailed, 54; as campaign issue, 57
- Brown, Ralph S., Jr., 182
- Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kan.*, 174–76, 185
- Brownell, Att'y Gen. Herbert, Jr., 149, 179
- Broyles, State Sen. Paul, 106–7, 112
- Broyles Commission, 106–7, 111, 112
- Brunauer, Esther C., 23–29, 125
- Brunauer, Stephen, 23–28, 125
- Buckley, William F., Jr., 28, 163, 194
- Budenz, Louis, 15, 94, 126, 146, 148, 183
- Bureau of Immigration (U.S. Dept. of Labor), 38–39, 42
- Bureau of Investigation, 41, 43. *See also* Federal Bureau of Investigation
- Bureau of Prisons (U.S.), 118
- Busbey, Rep. Fred, 25, 132
- Bush, Pres. George H., 222 *n.* 10
- Butler, Sen. John M., 151
- Byrnes, James F., 19, 62, 63, 65, 123
- Cagney, Jimmy, 57
- California, anti-communism in, 105–6, 110, 112
- California Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, 105–6, 110, 111
- Cannon, James, 11
- Canwell, Albert, 101, 107–8, 111, 112
- Canwell Committee, 101, 107–8, 112
- Capote, Truman, 198
- Carey, James C., 66, 151–52

Index

- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 19, 158
- Castro, Fidel, 194
- Catholic Church, 16, 97
- Catholic War Veterans, 162
- Catholics, and McCarthyism, 8
- Celler, Rep. Emanuel, 53, 116
- Central Intelligence Agency, 31, 134, 191
- Ceplair, Larry, 74
- Chambers Whittaker: and Hiss case, 18–21, 62, 81, 92, 112; books purged by IIA, 136; on McCarthy, 143
- Chaplin, Charles, 197
- Chicago Tribune*, 25
- Childs, Marquis, 130
- China Hands, 61, 89, 146–50, 197
- China Lobby, 89, 125, 126, 147, 148
- Chinese Nationalists, 61, 147
- China policy: and *Amerasia* case, 61–62; as political issue, 88–89, 145–50, 197; McCarthy on, 121, 125
- Cincinnati Reds, 34–35
- CIO-PAC (CIO Political Action Committee), 57, 63–64
- City College of New York, 104
- Civil defense, 89–90, 99
- Civil liberties: public opinion on, 9–10, 36; in World War I era, 38–42
- Civil rights, anti-communism's impact on, 164–66, 175–78
- Civil Service Commission (U.S.), 55, 70
- Clark, Att'y Gen. Tom C.: and *Amerasia* case, 61; and loyalty program, 67, 69; anti-Communist rhetoric of, 82–83; and *Dennis* case, 83–84; and Freedom Train, 97–98; on *Yates*, 186
- Cleaver, June, 166
- Cogley, John, 160
- Cohn, Roy M., 134, 136, 137, 139
- COINTELPRO, 189–92
- Cold War: and origins of McCarthyism, 3, 8, 9; anxieties raised by, 6; origins of, 7–8; and Communist issue, 19, 59; and U.S. liberalism, 64–65; and civil-rights movement, 165–66
- Cole, Lester, 76, 77
- Cole v. Young*, 184–85
- Collier, Peter, 198
- Colorado College, 173
- Conant, James B., 103
- Comintern, 15, 39
- Commission on Government Security (U.S.), 183–84
- Committee for the First Amendment, 77, 78
- Communism (domestic): fears of, 3, 7; during 1930s, 10–14; issue in 1944 election, 56–58; in 1946 election, 63–64; in 1948 election, 81–84; in 1950 election, 129–30; and labor unions, 151–53; in 1954–60 campaigns, 193–94
- Communism (foreign), threat of, 7–8
- Communist Control Act (1954), 171–72
- Communist Labor Party, 40, 42
- Communist Party (CP, CPUSA): early years, 11–12, 40, 42; in 1930s, 12–14; and Popular Front, 13–14; and Nazi-Soviet Pact, 14; in World War II, 14–15; and Hiss, 19; public opinion of, 60; and Hollywood, 73–74; and *Dennis* case, 93–95; goes underground, 95; vigilantism against, 95–96; and McCarran Act, 118; and civil rights, 164, 165; and de-Stalinization, 174, 190; and *Yates*, 185; and deportations, 188–89; FBI programs against, 189–92
- Communist Political Association, 15, 94
- Communists (American): and New Deal, 45; FBI and, 51; early restrictions on, 52–54; and World War II, 54
- Condon, Edward U., 80
- Conference of Small Business Organizations, 100
- Conference of Studio Unions, 75
- Congress (U.S.): and loyalty issue, 63, 69–70; investigates communism, 73
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO): and Communists, 12–13, 66, 73, 86, 99–100, 151–52; anti-Communist charges against, 47, 57; conflict in, 95–96; and civil rights, 164
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 165
- Conservatives, and threat of subversion, 47

Index

- Cooper, Gary, 76
 Copland, Aaron, 132
 Coplon, Judith, 91-92
 Corcoran, Thomas, 61
 Costigan, Howard, 64
 Coudert, Frederick R., 104
Counterattack, 78, 173
 Cox, Rep. Eugene, 158
 Craig, Gov. George N., 140
 Cronin, Father John, 19, 85
 Crouch, Paul, 177-78, 183
 Cullen, Hugh Roy, 169
 Custodial Detention Index (FBI), 51
 Czechoslovakia, 8, 13, 84
- Daily Worker*, 14, 15, 54, 154
 Dallas, art controversy in, 33
 Daughters of the American Revolution, 162
 Daughters of Bilitis, 168
 Davies, John Paton, Jr., 148, 197
 Davies, Joseph E., 15
 Davis, Elmer, 29, 130, 144
 Defense, Department of, 181
 DeLacy, Rep. Hugh, 64
 "Democracy Beats Communism Week"
 (Kansas City, Mo.), 98
 Democratic Party: Communist charges
 against, 7; blamed for rise of McCarthy-
 ism, 8-9, 84; in 1944 campaign, 56-57;
 in 1948 campaign: 82-84; and Hiss case,
 92-93; and McCarthy, 123-24, 127-29,
 130, 133, 141; and loyalty issue, 134; and
 Korea, 144; and security program, 178-
 79, 182
 Dennis, Eugene, 93
Dennis v. U.S., 93-94, 113, 114, 187
 Denton, Sen. Jeremiah, 199-200
 Detroit, anti-communism in, 32, 109-10
 Dewey, Gov. Thomas E., 57, 82, 194
 Diamond, Sigmund, 103
 Dickstein, Rep. Samuel, 46, 47
 Dies, Rep. Martin: anti-Communist probes
 of, 47-49, 50, 52, 56; and Hollywood,
 73; and Communist Control Act, 172;
 and nativism, 188
 Dies Committee, 47-49, 52, 55, 56, 105
 Dirksen, Sen. Everett M., 116
 Dmytryk, Edward, 76
 Dodd, Bella, 153
 Dondero, Rep. George, 31, 35
 Douglas, Rep. Helen Gahagan, 129
 Douglas, Melvyn, 77
 Douglas, Sen. Paul, 93, 196
 Douglas, Justice William O., 163
 Du Bois, W. E. B., 165
 Dulles, Foster Rhea, 34
 Dulles, Sec'y of State John Foster, 148
 Duran, Gustavo, 125
 Durante, Jimmy, 57
 Durr, Clifford and Virginia, 177-78
- Easley, Ralph, 45
 Eastland, Sen. James O., 145, 176-78, 185
 Education, and Communist issue, 100-
 103, 153, 162-63, 172-73
 Eisenhower, Dwight D.: era of, 5, 6; and
 Nixon, 22; on Communists in schools,
 103; and McCarthy, 132-36, 138, 141-
 42, 145; and Oppenheimer, 179-80; and
 Supreme Court, 185, 186, 187-88; and
 COINTELPRO, 189
 Eisenhower Administration: and McCarthy,
 132, 133-36, 138; and security program,
 133-34
 Eisler, Gerhart, 80, 158
 Eisler, Hanns, 80, 158
 Elections, and Communist issue: in 1948,
 8, 19, 20, 81-84; in 1938, 48; in 1944,
 56-58; in 1946, 63-64, 107; in 1950,
 129-30; in 1954 and subsequent years,
 193
 Englund, Steven, 74
 Espionage (Soviet), 18, 62, 90, 115
 Evans, Dr. Ward, 180
- Farm Equipment Workers Union, 99
 Faubus, Gov. Orval, 178
 Faulk, John Henry, 196-97
 Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI): and
 Hiss case, 19, 21, 62, 81; "dirty tricks" of,
 23; investigates Communists, 50-52, 55,

Index

- 56; Custodial Detention Index, 51; and *Amerasia* case, 60–61; and loyalty program, 67; and Smith Act case, 83; “educational” program of, 85; and Coplon case, 91–92; files of, 92; and National Lawyers Guild, 92; and Philbrick, 94; and universities, 103; and Rosenbergs 115; and second-string Smith Act cases, 115; and Lattimore, 148; and blacklists, 156; and gays and lesbians, 167, 168; COINTELPROs, 189–92; monitors Left, 200
- Federal employee loyalty program: adopted, 7, 66–69; as cause of McCarthyism, 9, 59; “reasonable grounds” standard, 68; impact of, 70–73, 84; replaced, 133; and China Hands, 147
- Federal Theatre Project, 48
- Feminism: and anti-Communists, 43–44, 166
- Ferguson, Sen. Homer E., 145
- Fiedler, Leslie, 93
- Field, Noel, 26
- Fieldites, 11
- Fifth Amendment, 151, 154–55, 165, 172–73, 185, 187
- “Fifth column” threat, 49, 50, 52
- First Amendment, and Hollywood Ten, 77, 154
- Fish, Rep. Hamilton, 45, 188
- Fisher, Fred, 139, 216 *n.*17
- Fisk University, 165
- Flanders, Sen. Ralph E., 139–40
- Flynn, William J., 41, 43
- Fonda, Jane, 33
- Football, 79
- Ford, Henry, II, 159
- Ford Foundation, 159, 160
- Foreign Agents Registration Act, 52
- Forrester, Rep. E. L., 176
- Foster, William Z., 12, 41, 93
- Foundations, and Communist issue, 158–61
- Frankfurter, Justice Felix, 115
- Freedom of Information Act, 23, 200
- Freedom Train, 98
- Freeland, Richard M., 68
- Fuchs, Klaus, 62, 115, 120
- Fulbright, Sen. J. William, 195
- Fund for the Republic, 159–60, 181
- Fur and Leather Workers Union, 152
- Gallup poll, 60, 131, 138
- Garfield, John, 157, 158
- Garland, Judy, 57
- Geer, Will, 154
- Gellhorn, Walter, 112
- General Electric, 5, 152
- General Intelligence Division (FBI), 41, 51
- German-American Bund, 47, 51
- German-Americans, and McCarthyism, 8
- Girl Scouts of America, 161
- Gitlow, Benjamin, 112
- Goldwater, Sen. Barry M., 193
- Gorbachev, Michail, 200
- Goslin, Willard, 100–101
- Gouzenko, Igor, 62
- Graham, Rev. Billy, 5
- Graham, Sen. Frank P., 129
- Gray, Gordon, 180
- Great Depression, and radicalism, 10–13, 44ff
- Green, Sen. Theodore F., 125
- Greene, Graham, 163
- Greenglass, David, 115
- Griffith, Robert, 8
- Groves, Gen. Leslie, 90
- Gubitchev, Valentin, 91
- Hammett, Dashiell, 34
- Hand, Judge Learned, 114, 115
- Hannegan, Robert, 64
- Hanson, Haldore, 125
- Hanson, Mayor Ole, 39–40
- Harding, Pres. Warren G., 43
- Harriman, Averell, 150
- Hartnett, Vincent, 196–97
- Harvard University, 103, 173
- Hatch Act (Sec. 9C), 52, 55
- Hawaii, and anti-communism, 112, 194–95
- Hearst, Patty, 198

Index

- Hearst press, 85, 97
 Heikkila, William 189
 Hellman, Lillian, 14, 155, 197-98
 Hendrickson, Sen. Robert C., 140
 Hennings, Sen. Thomas C., 136, 182
 Hepburn, Katharine, 78
 Herblock [Herbert Block], 134, 180
 Heritage Foundation, 199
 Hewitt, George, 112
 Hickenlooper, Sen. Bourke B., 125, 127
 Highlander Folk School, 177
 Hillman, Sidney, 57
 Hiss, Alger: case of, 17-23; and New Deal, 17-18; mentioned, 25, 29, 112, 121, 125, 176, 183; FBI and, 62; and 1948 campaign, 81, 82; significance of case, 92-93; and Carnegie Endowment, 158; as campaign issue, 193, 194
 Hiss, Priscilla, 18
 Hoey, Sen. Clyde, 167
 Hoffman, Abbie, 195
 Hoffman, Paul, 159, 160
 Hollywood (movie industry): and anti-Communism, 30; investigations of, 73-78, 153-56; and blacklist, 77-78, 156-58; anti-Communist films of, 78
 Hollywood Ten, 76-78, 153, 154
 Homosexuality, and Communist issue, 167-68
 Hood, Robin. *See* Robin Hood
 Hook, Sidney, 102
 Hoover, Pres. Herbert C., 44-45
 Hoover, J. Edgar: mentioned, 15, 45, 111; and Hiss case, 17, 19, 21; and first Red Scare, 41; heads FBI, 43; monitors subversives, 57; and PTCEL, 67, 70; power of, 83; "educational" program of, 85, 97; files of, 92; and McCarthy, 121; and Fund for the Republic, 160; and Oppenheimer, 179; and *Jencks*, 185; surveillance and infiltration programs of, 189-91; and Martin Luther King, Jr., 191
 Hopkins, Harry, 90
 Horowitz, David, 198
 House Civil Service Committee, 63, 69
 House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC): mentioned, 3, 144; and Hiss case, 19-20, 22, 81; and Brunauers, 25; and 1959 art show, 33; and loyalty program, 69; and Hollywood, 73-77, 153-56; and Jackie Robinson, 79; 1948 activities of, 80-81; and atomic spying, 90; and schools, 100, 172-73; and anti-communism in states, 112; miscellaneous investigations of, 150-51, 172-73; and Fifth Amendment, 154-55; and foundations, 160-61; and clergy, 173; and civil-rights movement, 174, 176; Supreme Court and, 184, 185; and Hawaii, 194-95; decline of, 195-96, 198
 House Education and Labor Committee, 96
 House Internal Security Committee, 196, 198-99
 Hughes, H. Stuart, 192
 Humphrey, Sen. Hubert H.: in 1968, 22; and Minnesota politics, 66; and McCarran Act, 117; and McCarthy, 133; labor investigation of, 151; and Communist Control Act, 171-72; and security program, 182, 183
 Hurley, Gen. Patrick, 61
 Hutchins, Robert M., 107-8, 159
 Hydrogen bomb, 6, 7, 89, 120, 179, 180
 Ichord, Rep. Richard, 198
 Ickes, Sec'y of the Interior Harold, 57
 Illinois, anti-communism in, 106-7, 110, 111
 Immigration and Naturalization Service, 85, 188-89
 Indian rights, 169
 Indiana, anti-communism in, 4, 34, 111, 114
 Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), 38-39
 Institute of Pacific Relations, 126, 145-49
 Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations, 55
 Interdepartmental Committee on Investigations, 55
 International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees, 75

Index

- International Information Agency (IIA), 34, 136
- International Longshore Workers Union (ILWU), 110, 112, 152
- International United Electrical Workers Union (IUE), 151–52
- International Workers Order, 70
- Iowa, anti-communism in, 111
- Irish-Americans, and McCarthyism, 8
- Isolationism (also “neo-isolationism”), 8, 56, 58, 73
- Jackson, Att’y Gen. Robert H., 51
- Jaffe, Philip, 60, 61
- Jencks, Clinton, 183, 185
- Jencks v. U.S.*, 185, 186
- Jenner, Sen. William, 22, 128, 134, 145
- Jessup, Philip C., 125
- Jiang Jieshi: mentioned, 34, 146–47; and *Amerasia* case, 61; fall of, 88–89; Lattimore and, 126
- John Birch Society, 195
- Johnson, Laurence, 196
- Johnson, Lyndon B.: and McCarthy, 133; and the Durrs, 178; and security program, 182; and anti-Court bill, 186; and domestic intelligence, 190, 191; and Vietnam, 197
- Johnson, Manning, 112, 175
- Johnston, Sen. Olin D., 182
- Jonkman, Rep. Bartel, 62–63
- Jordan, George Racey, 90
- Judd, Rep. Walter, 88, 89
- Justice Department (U.S.): and IWW, 38; and first Red Scare, 41–42; jurisdiction of, 45; investigates federal employees, 55; and *Dennis*, 83, 115; and Rosenbergs, 115; and anti-Communist measures, 116; and Matusow, 182; and aliens, 188–89
- Kanin, Garson, 162
- Kaufman, Judge Irving, 115–16
- Kaye, Danny, 77
- Kazan, Elia, 156
- Kennan, George F., 147
- Kennedy, John Fitzgerald: in 1960, 22, 193–94; dating under surveillance, 51; and Vietnam, 150, 197
- Kennedy, Joseph P., 51
- Kennedy, Joseph P., Jr., 51
- Kent, Rockwell, 187
- Kenyon, Dorothy, 125
- Kerr, Sen. Robert S., 166–67
- Kersten, Rep. Charles, 69
- Khrushchev, Nikita, 174, 190
- Kilgore, Sen. Harley, 117
- King, Rev. Martin Luther, Jr., 177, 191
- Kinsey, Alfred, 166–67
- Kinsey reports, 163, 166–67
- Knights of Columbus, 97
- Knowland, Sen. William, 64, 89, 141, 148
- Knowles, Mary, 159–60
- Kohlberg, Alfred, 89
- Korean War: impact on McCarthy(ism), 26, 128–30, 142; and anti-communism, 102, 113–19, 144, 182; and civil-rights movement, 166
- Labor, Department of, 42, 48
- Labor unions, 16, 86, 110, 150–53
- Ladejinsky, Wolf, 180–81, 183
- La Follette, Sen. Robert M., Jr., 122–23
- Lampell, Millard, 156, 157
- Langer, Sen. William, 117
- Lardner, Ring, Jr., 76, 77, 197
- Larsen, Emmanuel, 61
- Latham, Earl, 146
- Lattimore, Owen: and McCarthy, 125, 126–27; and SISS, 146, 148–49, 216 *n.* 4; grant to, 158; Budenz and, 183
- Lawrence, David, 186
- Lawson, John Howard, 76, 77
- Lee, Robert E., 124
- Lenin, N., 39–41, 43
- Lens, Sidney, 10
- Levitt, William, 5, 192
- Levittown, 4, 5
- Lewis, Fulton, Jr., 160
- Lewis, John L., 13
- Liberal Party (N.Y.), 66

Index

- Liberals: and Hiss case, 23, 92–93; and anti-communism, 28–29, 64–66, 144, 169–70; and subversive threat, 47, 52, 55–56; and Vital Center, 65–66; and McCarthy, 133; and Lattimore, 150; and “McCarthyism,” 163–64; assailed in 1980s, 201
- Libraries, under attack, 34, 106, 162
- Lilienthal, David E., 80, 90
- Lindsay, Mayor John V., 198
- Lippmann, Walter, 132
- Lipset, Seymour Martin, 9
- Lodge, Sen. Henry Cabot, Jr., 125, 127
- Loeb, Philip, 156
- Los Angeles, anti-communism in, 32, 109
- Louis, Joe, 79–80
- Loyalty Review Board, 68, 118, 131, 133, 147, 184
- Lucas, Sen. Scott M., 116–17, 130
- Luce, Henry R., 88, 89
- Lyons, Eugene, 163
- MacArthur, Gen. Douglas, 14, 44–45, 113, 131
- McCarran, Sen. Patrick: as anti-Communist, 3; and China Lobby, 89; and McCarran Act, 116–17; death of, 142; and China inquest, 145–50; and unions, 151; and aliens, 188
- McCarran Act (Internal Security Act of 1950): 116–18, 129, 171–72, 187, 189, 196
- McCarran rider, 62
- McCarran-Walter Act, 188, 200
- McCarthy, Joseph R.: mentioned, 3, 6, 34, 47, 62, 150, 166–67, 184; and McCarthyism, 9, 145; on Hiss case, 22; and Esther Brunauer, 25–26, 29; noneconomic focus of, 35–36; discovers Communist issue, 120–21, 123; early years, 122–23; national rise of, 123–29; in election campaigns, 130, 131; and Eisenhower, 132–36, 141–42; chairs subcommittee, 134–38; and Army, 138–40; decline of, 138–42; censured, 140–41; death of, 142; opponents’ weakness, 144; and SISS, 145, 148; accuses Service, 147; and unions, 151, 152; and Paul Hoffman, 159, 160; and Truman, 163; National Women’s Party and, 166; significance of censure, 171, 172; and Supreme Court, 175–76, 185; and Oppenheimer, 180, and security program, 182; JFK and, 193; Nixon and, 194
- McCarthy era, 3, 4, 187
- McCarthyism, 131, 133, 179; explanations of, 3, 8–10, 201; effects of, 4; as more than McCarthy’s activities, 9, 145; and courts, 150; exaggerated views of, 163–64; “public” McCarthyism declines, 188; impact on Left, 192; meaning debated, 198
- McCormack, Rep. John, 46, 52
- McCormick, Anne O’Hare, 87
- McCormick newspapers, 85
- McDowell, Rep. John, 211 *n.* 5
- McGohey, John F. X., 83
- McGranery, Att’y Gen. James P., 149
- McGrath, Earl, 102
- McMahon, Sen. Brien, 125, 127, 128
- Madison Capital-Times*, 163
- Maltz, Albert, 76
- Mao Zedong, 61, 88, 146
- Marable, Manning, 165
- March on Washington Movement, 14, 66
- Marshall, Gen. George C., 131
- Marshall Plan, 7, 8
- Martin, Gov. Edward, 64
- Martin, Rep. Joe, 63
- Marx, Karl, 10
- Marxism (and Marxist-Leninism), 11, 15
- Maryland, anti-communism in, 109, 110, 111, 112
- Marzani, Carl, 63
- Massachusetts, anti-communism in, 114
- Mattachine Society, 168
- Matthews, Herbert, 194
- Matthews, J. B., 24, 107, 112, 136–37
- Matusow, Harvey, 148, 182–83, 185
- Mayer, Louis B., 75
- Media, and McCarthy(ism), 123–24, 132, 135, 200

Index

- Medina, Judge Harold, 93-94, 97
 Menjou, Adolph, 76
 Michigan, anti-communism in, 108-9, 110, 114
 Military Intelligence (Dept. of the Army), 43-44
 Military Personnel Security Program, 181
 Miller, Arthur, 155-56, 162
 Milton, Joyce, 115
Milwaukee Journal, 64
 Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, 13, 152
 Minnesota Democratic Farmer-Labor Party, 66
 Mississippi, anti-communism in, 109, 111
 Modern art, and anti-Communism, 30-33, 35
 Morgenthau, Sec'y of the Treasury Henry, 55
 Morse, Sen. Wayne, 116, 118, 132
 Mosinee, Wisc., 98-99
 Mostel, Zero, 157, 197
 Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals, 75
 Mumford, Lewis, 50
 Mundt, Sen. Karl E.: and Hiss case, 22, 81, 92; and anti-Communist legislation, 73, 109, 116
 Mundt-Nixon bill, 109, 116
 Murphy, Frank (Gov., Att'y Gen.), 48, 49, 52
 Murray, Philip, 66, 86, 99
 Murrow, Edward R., 139, 178
 Musmanno, Judge Michael, 152
 Myrdal, Gunnar, 176

 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 165, 175
 National Association of Manufacturers, 15
 National Association Opposed to Women Suffrage, 43
 National Civic Federation, 44, 45
 National Committee for American Education, 100
 National Education Association, 103
 National Labor Relations Board, 45, 49
 National Lawyers Guild, 92

 National Security Agency, 191
 National Women's Party, 166
 Nativism, 37, 43, 47, 52-53, 188-89
 Navasky, Victor, 198
 Nazi-Soviet Pact, 13-14, 18, 49, 50, 54
 Nelson, Steve, 115, 185
 New Deal: conservative opposition to, 8; and Alger Hiss, 17-18, 21-22, 92-93; and Communist issue, 17, 19, 84; arts programs of, 30; charged with pro-communism, 45-49, 58; and HUAC, 80
 New Hampshire, anti-communism in, 109, 114
 New Left, interpretations of McCarthyism, 28-29, 68, 84, 97
 New Rochelle, N.Y., registration law in, 114, 182
 New York (state), anti-communism in, 104-5, 110, 111, 112
 New York City: anti-communism in, 110; Board of Education, 153
New York Times, 15, 198
 Niebuhr, Reinhold, 65
 Nixon, Richard M.: as anti-Communist, 3; and Hiss case, 17, 19-20, 22-23, 81; later career, 22-23; and 1946 election, 63-64; on executive privilege, 81; and McCarthy, 121, 137, 142; in 1950 campaign, 129; "dirty tricks" of, 191; in 1954 campaign, 193; in 1960, 193-94; and SACB, 196; and China, 197

 Ober, Frank B. (and Ober Act), 109, 112
 Oehler, Hugo, 11
 Office of Civil Defense, 89
 Office of Naval Intelligence, 43
 Office of Strategic Services, 60, 63
 Ohio, anti-communism in, 109, 114
 Oklahoma, anti-communism in, 108, 110
 Oklahoma University, 108
 Olson, Governor Culbert, 105
 O'Mahoney, Sen. Joseph C., 198
 Oppenheimer, Frank, 90
 Oppenheimer, J. Robert, 90, 179-80, 197
 "Organization Man," 4-5, 6
 Ornitz, Samuel, 76

Index

- Orozco, José Clemente, 30
Oswald, Lee Harvey, 196
Oxnam, Bishop G. Bromley, 173
- Palmer, Att'y. Gen. A. Mitchell, 41–42
Parks, Larry, 154
Pasadena, education controversy in, 100–101
Paul, Alice, 166
Peace movement, 49, 168–69
Peale, Dr. Norman Vincent, 5, 6
Peek, George, 18
Peekskill riot, 97
Pennsylvania, anti-communism in, 109
Pennsylvania v. Nelson, 185
Pepper, Sen. Claude D., 129
Peress, Irving, 137–38, 172
Perkins, Sec'y of Labor Frances, 48
Peters, J., 82
Peurifoy, John, 126
Philbrick, Herbert, 94
Pillion, Rep. John, 195
Pledge of Allegiance, 5
Popular Front, 12–13; and liberalism, 65–66, 86, 93
Post, Louis F., 42
Potter, Sen. Charles, 137
President's Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty (PTCEL), 67–69
Progressive Party, 9, 82, 65
Public opinion: on communism, 16, 59–60, 85; on McCarthy, 127, 138; and civil liberties, 201
- Quill, Mike, 99
- Raab, Earl, 9
Rader, Melvin, 108
Radosh, Ronald, 115
Radulovich, Milo, 178
Rand, Ayn, 75
Randolph, A. Philip, 14, 66, 164, 165
Randolph, Rep. Jennings, 64, 69
Rankin, Rep. John, 31, 77
Rapp-Coudert Committee, 104–5, 153
Rayburn, Rep. Sam, 49
- Reagan, Ronald, 75–76, 199, 200, 202
Red Channels, 157
Red Scare of 1919–20, 39–43
Red Squads, 44
Reece, Rep. B. Carroll, 63, 159, 167
Reed College, 173
Rees, Rep. Edward, 69
Refregier, Anton, 32–33
Religion, in 1950s, 5–6
Remington, William, 81
Republican National Committee, 64
Republican Party: and bipartisan foreign policy, 7; divisions in, 8; and origins of McCarthyism, 8, 9; and Hiss case, 21–22, 92–93; and loyalty issue, 67, 69, 72–73; and 1948 defeat, 85; and China, 88–89; and McCarthy, 124–26, 132–42; in 1980s, 200–201
Reuther, Walter, 66, 99
Richardson, Seth, 118
Richmond, Al, 10
Rivera, Diego, 30, 32
Robeson, Paul, 79, 95, 97, 113, 165, 187
Robin Hood, attacked as Communist, 34
Robinson, Jackie, 79
Robsion, Rep. John, 53
Rock and roll, 161
Rockefeller Foundation, 158, 167
Rogers, Jane, 155
Rogers v. U.S., 155
Rogin, Michael, 166
Roosevelt, Eleanor, 80, 194
Roosevelt, Franklin D.: on USSR, 15–16; and Hiss case, 17, 18, 21, recognizes USSR, 45; and Communist issue, 46, 48; and Dies Committee, 48–49; and “fifth column,” 50–51; and civil liberties, 51–52; and FBI, 51–52
Roosevelt, Rep. James, 196
Rosenberg, Ethel, 62, 115
Rosenberg, Julius, 62, 115, 137
Rubin, Jerry, 195
Rushmore, Howard, 112
Russell, Bertrand, 104
Russell, Jane, 5
Rutgers University, 173–74

Index

- Sabath, Rep. Adolph, 69
Salk, Jonas, 5
SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy), 168–69
Saltzman, Benny, 189
Scales, Junius, 186
Schactman, Max, 11
Schine, G. David, 136, 137, 138
Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., 58, 65
Schneiderman, William, 54
Schrecker, Ellen, 172
Schulberg, Budd, 154
Schuman, Frederick, 125
Scott, Adrian, 76
Screen Actors Guild, 154
Screen Directors Guild, 154
Screen Writers Guild, 74
Scudder, Rep. Herbert, 33
Seattle, 1919 general strike, 39–40
Seberg, Jean, 191
Security program (federal), 72, 133–34, 147; criticized, 178–84
Seeger, Pete, 33, 173–74, 197
Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS): mentioned, 3, 145, 197; probes China Hands, 127, 145–49; and civil rights, 175–78; and Matusow, 183; and Hawaii, 195; abolished, 196
Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, 134ff., 172
Senate Republican Policy Committee, 139
Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, 199–200
Service, John Stewart, 61–62, 125, 147–48, 186, 197
Shapley, Harlow, 125
Sheil, Bishop Bernard, 139
Shivers, Gov. Allen, 152
Sinatra, Frank, 77
Smith, Rep. Howard W., 186. *See also* Smith Act
Smith, Sen. Margaret Chase, 128–29
Smith, Sen. Willis, 145
Smith Act (Alien Registration Act): passed, 53–54; wartime use of, 54; 1948 indictments, 83–84; 1949 trial, 93–95; mentioned, 109, 152, 171; second-string indictments, 115; and Supreme Court, 184, 185–86; use ends, 196
Socialist Party of America, 11, 12, 40
Socialist Workers Party, 190
Socialists, 38, 42
Sokolsky, George, 89, 131
Sondergaard, Gail, 153
Sons of the American Revolution, 100
Sorrell, Herbert, 75
Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 190–91
Southern Conference Education Fund, 176–77
Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 176
Soviet Union (USSR): postwar policies of, 8; and Spanish Civil War, 13; in World War II, 14–15
Spanish Civil War, 13, 49
Special House Committee on Un-American Activities. *See* Dies Committee
Stalin, Josef V., 8, 15, 142
Stalinism, 13, 50
Stander, Lionel, 74
Stamm, Tom, 11
Stanky, Eddie, 35
State Department: and Alger Hiss, 18–20; cultural programs of, 31–32; and loyalty issue, 62–63; Loyalty-Security Board (and security program), 72, 147, 148; investigated in Eightieth Congress, 73; and China, 89; and McCarthy, 123, 126–27, 134, 136; impact of purges on, 150; homosexuals fired, 167; and passports, 187
Steinbeck, John, 30
Stevens, Sec'y of Army Robert T., 138
Stevenson, Adlai E., 22, 107, 134, 193
Stratton, Gov. William, 107
Strauss, Admiral Lewis, 179, 180
Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB), 117–18, 187, 196
Summary dismissal statute: 52, 55. *See also* Security program
Supreme Court (U.S.): and Hollywood Ten, 77; and Coplon case, 91; and Oklahoma

Index

- Supreme Court (U.S.) (*continued*)
oath, 108; and Korean crisis, 114–15;
and McCarran Act, 118; opposition to
civil rights decisions of, 174, 175–76; and
anti-communist programs, 184–88; and
flag, 222 *n.*10
Sweezy v. New Hampshire, 186
- Taber, Rep. John, 69
Taft, Sen. Robert A., 125–26, 134
Taft-Hartley Act, 73, 96, 102, 184, 185
Talmadge, Sen. Herman, 176
Taylor, Sen. Glen, 129
Taylor, Harold, 34, 102
Television, in American life, 4, 5
Teller, Edward, 179
Tenney, Jack, 105–6, 111, 112
Terrorism, 198–200
Texas: oilmen and McCarthyism, 8; anti-
communism in, 109, 152
Texas v. Johnson, 222 *n.*10
Thomas, Rep. J. Parnell, 69, 76, 77
Thompson, Dorothy, 132
Thompson, Robert, 95
Thurmond, Sen. J. Strom, 176
Time magazine, 18, 92
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 71
Trotsky, Leon, 41
Trotskyites (and Trotskyism), 10, 11, 95
Truman, Harry S.: anti-Communist policies
of, 7, 16; 1948 election of, 8; blamed for
McCarthyism, 8–9; and Hiss case, 17–
19, 193; and McCarthy, 26, 123, 124,
127–28, 131; and loyalty program, 59,
66–70; and Wallace, 65, 82; Supreme
Court appointments, 77; and Lilienthal,
80; and loyalty files, 80–81; and Smith
Act case, 83–84; and H-bomb, 89; and
anti-Communist legislation, 113, 116–
18; executive order cited, 137; and civil
liberties, 144, 163; new loyalty standard
of, 147; and Lattimore, 149; and civil-
rights issue, 165; Velde subpoenas, 179
Truman Administration: and *Amerasia*, 61;
and *Dennis* case, 93; and Freedom Train,
97–98; and IUE, 151
Truman Doctrine: and anti-Communist
rhetoric, 9; and loyalty program, 59, 68–69
Trumbo, Dalton, 76, 77, 196
Tydings, Sen. Millard E., 25, 28, 125,
127–29, 130, 167
Tydings Subcommittee, 25–26, 29, 124–
29, 147, 149
- Union of Russian Workers, 42
United Auto Workers (UAW), 13, 66, 99,
100
United Electrical Workers (UE): and Com-
munists, 13, 66, 96, 100, 151–52
United Mine Workers of America, 13, 15
United Public Workers of America, 110–
11, 152
United States Chamber of Commerce, 16,
85, 97
United States Information Agency, 33
University of California, 102, 106
University of Chicago, 101
University of Kansas, 101
University of Michigan, 173
University of Washington, 101–2, 107–8
University of Wisconsin, 101, 111, 173
Urban League, 164
- Vail, Rep. Richard, 97
Vanech, A.D., 67
Velde, Rep. Harold, 173, 179
Veterans of Foreign Wars, 32, 79
Vietnam War, 22, 23, 33, 150, 181, 191,
197, 200
Vincent, John Carter, 146, 148
Vinson, Chief Justice Fred, 184
Vital Center liberalism, 65–66, 86, 93
Voice of America, 136
Voorhis, Rep. Jerry, 52, 63–64
Voorhis Act, 52
Vorys, Rep. John, 89
- Walgreen, Charles R., 101
Wallace, Henry A.: redbaited, 9, 82, 84;
and Alger Hiss, 18; and Cold War, 65;
and Edward Condon, 80; mob action
against, 95; Lattimore and, 126

Index

- Walter, Rep. Francis A., 33, 154, 173, 183, 188
Warner, Jack, 75
Warren, Chief Justice Earl, 175, 184-86, 188
Washington (state), anti-communism in, 107-8, 109
Washington Bookshop Association, 70
Watergate, 22-23, 81
Watkins, Sen. Arthur V., 140-41
Watkins v. U.S., 185, 186
Watt, Sec'y of the Interior James, 199
Weinstein, Allen, 18, 21
Welch, Joseph N., 139, 216 *n.* 17
Welker, Sen. Herman, 79, 151, 193
Welles, Orson, 57
Wherry, Sen. Kenneth, 89
White, Harry Dexter, 81, 179
White, Walter, 165
Whyte, William F., Jr., 6
Wicker, Tom, 200
Williams, Aubrey, 177-78
Williams, Gov. G. Mennen, 114
Willkie, Wendell, 54
Wilson, Sec'y of Labor William B., 39, 42
Wirt, Dr. William, 45-46
Wisconsin, anti-communism in, 111
Women, in McCarthy era, 27-28
Wood, Sam, 75
Wright, Loyd G., 183
Wright, Richard, 11
Wyman, Louis, 186

Yalta Conference, 18, 21
Yates v. U.S., 185-86
Yorty, Sam, 105, 111
Youngdahl, Judge Luther, 149-50

Zeidler, Mayor Frank, 111
Zoll, Allen, 100
Zoning, 169
Zwicker, Gen. Ralph W., 137-38, 140