LIST OF DOCUMENTS

Set #7:
34. "President Truman's Loyalty Order, 1947."
35. "Whittaker Chambers Heats the Voice of the People, 1952."
38. "Lillian Hellman Defeats HUAC, 1952."
Postwar tensions with the Soviet Union bred a climate of fear and suspicion in the United States, as Americans adjusted to peacetime conditions. The Truman administration's dignity and resilience in foreign policy were matched by the president's commitment to anticomunism at home. Based on mounting evidence of subversive activity, Truman moved to strengthen internal security and to arrest conservative charges of laxity, himself contributing to the rising paranoia. The result was an atmosphere of intolerance, described in your textbook as a scorched earth to find scapegoats for the nation's domestic and foreign problems. Before the hysteria subsided, American political culture became homogenized, while civil liberties suffered their most serious setback since the Great Red Scare of 1919. The documents that follow provide vivid evidence of the link between the Cold War foreign policy and intolerance on the home front.

It was not coincidental that nine days after the declaration of the Truman Doctrine, the president issued a loyalty order intended to root out subversives in government service. As you review this order, focus on Truman's justification for action and the grounds established for a person's removal from government employment.

Your textbook indicates that anticomunism had long been present in Congress, where the House Un-American Activities Committee became the focal point for efforts to explore subversion. No case was more dramatic than that of former New Dealer Alger Hiss, accused of domestic spying. Using the textbook account of the Hiss incident as background, analyze the excerpt from Whitaker Chambers's personal account of the effort. Be attentive to the theme of the Chambers comment and what it reveals about the sources of anticomunism.

Equally dramatic were the 1947 HUAC hearings described in your textbook. Although labor unions and political dissenters drew the committee's fire, its attack on the entertainment industry cost the public imagination as did few others. The first group of documents explores the ramifications of HUAC's interest in the motion picture industry. Review FBI director J. Edgar Hoover's analysis of alleged communist infiltration of the media and its significance. An excerpt from the autobiography of film director Edward Dmytryk, who refused to cooperate with the Committee in 1947, reveals not only the presence of political radicals in Hollywood but also the constitutional issue raised by the Hollywood rewriters, both Dmytryk's recollection and the personal memoir of screenwriter playwright Lillian Hellman document the inauspicious blacklist that was the film industry's response to anticomunist political pressure. Notice what these documents reveal about the personnel, constitutional, and political implications of the anticomunist crusade.

The concluding documents record the climax of the red scare in the unparalleled demagoguery of Wisconsin senator Joseph R. McCarthy. As you review the excerpts from his Whittington speech (1950) and sweeping attack on Secretary of Defense George C. Marshall (1951), identify the forces of the senator's criticism. Be also aware of the close linkage between foreign policy and domestic politics in the age of the Cold War. Try to assess the relationship between anticomunist hysteria and the Democratic party's decline, described in your textbook as the end of an era.

Questions for Analysis

1. What were the sources of anticomunism in the postwar United States? What evidence do the documents provide to explain domestic support for Joseph McCarthy and his predecessors? What was the basis for the anticomunist appeal?
2. What were the similarities and differences between the Red Scare of 1919 and the anticomunism of the Truman years? Consider the instigators, targets, duration, and implications of the two movements.
3. Using the loyalty program and the Hiss case as points of departure, evaluate the Truman administration as a carrier of the liberal social, economic, and political tradition. How did the demands of the Cold War domestic environment influence the prospects for reform? What did "liberalism" mean in the immediate postwar years, and how was it affected by the anticomunist crusade?
4. What did the documents reveal about the significance of presidential leadership at the onset of the postwar anticomunist movement? What was Truman's attitude toward the Soviet Union, and how did it influence the national debate over alleged internal subversion? What light does the evidence shed on the roots of McCarthyism?
5. Why did American opponents of communism focus their attention on the motion-picture industry between 1947 and 1951? In what way did the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings document the charges against Hollywood?
6. What were the constitutional and civil-liberties issues at stake during the second red scare? What evidence of these concerns can be found in the documents? How did the accused respond to the assault against them? With what results?
7. To what extent were class differences and socioeconomic divisions a factor in the clash over alleged internal subversion? What evidence exists that these conflicts played a role in the thinking of the communist-hunters?
Executive Order 9835

Prescribing Procedures for the Administration of an Employees Loyalty Program in the Executive Branch of the Government

Whereas each employee of the government of the United States is endowed with a measure of trustship over the democratic processes which are the heart and soul of the United States; and

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

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

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

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and statutes of the United States, . . . it is hereby, in the interest of the integral management of the government, ordered as follows:

Part I—Investigation of Applicants

1. There shall be a loyalty investigation of every person entering the civilian employment of any department or agency of the executive branch of the federal government. . . .

Part V—Standards

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

2. Activism and associations of an applicants or employee which may be considered in connection with the determination of disloyalty may include one or more of the following:

a. Sabotage, espionage, or attempts or preparations therefor, or knowingly associating with spies or subterfuges;

b. Treason or sedition or advocacy thereof;

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

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

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

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

2. Whittaker Chambers Hears the Voice of the People, 1952

...These were the forces—Thomas Murphy, Richard Nixon, the men of the F.B.I.—who, together with the two grand juries and Tom Dorgan and the two trial juries, finally won the His Case for the nation. It is important to look hard at them for a moment. ... For the contrast between them and the glittering His forces is about the same as between them and the glittering French chivalry and the somewhat tattered English bowmen who won at Agincourt. The inclusive fact about them is that, in contrast to the pro-Hiss rally, most of them, regardless of what they had made of themselves, came from the wrong side of the railroad tracks. ...

No nature of the His Case is more obvious, or more troubling as history, than the jagged fissure, which did not so much open as seethe, between the plain man and woman of the nation, and those who offended to act, think and speak for them. It was, not invariably, but in general, the "best people" who were for Alger His and who were prepared to go to almost any length to protect and defend him. It was the enlightened and the powerful, the dangerous proponents of the open mind and the common man, who snapped their minds shut in a pro-Hiss psychosis, of a kind which, in an individual patient, means the simple failure of the ability to distinguish between reality and unreality, and, in a nation, is a warning of the end ...

...It was the great body of the nation, which, not invariably, but in general, kept open its mind in the His Case, waiting for the returns to come in. It was they who suspected what forces disarrayed to the na-

3. J. Edgar Hoover Notes the Communist Interest in Hollywood, 1947

...The party has departed from depending upon the printed word as its medium of propaganda and has taken to the air. Its members and sympathizers have not only infiltrated the airwaves but they are now persistently seeking radio channels.

The American Communists launched a furor...
attack on Hollywood in 1935 by the issuance of a directive calling for a concentration in Hollywood. The orders called for action on two fronts: (1) an effort to infiltrate the labor unions; (2) infiltrate the so-called intellectual and creative fields.

In movie circles, Communists developed as effective defense a few years ago by meeting criticisms. They would counter with the question, “After all, what is the manner with communism?” It was effective because many persons did not possess adequate knowledge of the subject to give an intelligent answer.

Some producers and studio heads realized the possibility that the entire industry faces serious embarrassment because it could become a springboard for Communist activities. Communist activity in Hollywood is effective and is fostered by Communists and sympathizers using the prestige of prominent persons to serve, often unwittingly, the Communist cause. The party is content highly pleased if it is possible to have inserted in a picture a line, a scene, a sequence conveying the Communist lesson, and, more particularly, if they can keep our anti-Communist lessons.


... Since Crossfire was a worldwide smash, my attack as well as Adrian’s, centered on the committee’s ethnic bias and its attempts to limit freedom of speech in the area of rational self-criticism. But none of our lawyers really expected that we would be heard, and the strategy was say nothing, hide under the possible cover of the First Amendment, and hope for a favorable verdict from the Supreme Court. “Taking the Fifth” was never considered, though it would have kept us out of jail; the implication of guilt was considered too dangerous.

With all the public feeling in our favor, Bart Conner suggested that Adrian and I should testify freely, which we were perfectly willing to do. We felt it might serve to pull the committee’s legs. You’d have thought we were offering to atomize the Kremlin. The unimpeachable rule was invoked, and that was that, from their point of view, they were absolutely right. If we had answered any substantive questions at all, we would have been legally required to give names if we were asked to. If we refused even name party members, as at that time, we certainly would have done, we would still be cited for contempt. If we had given the names, the other members of our group would have been in the soup. Eventually, that’s where we wound up anyway, but at this point the battle had barely begun and our eyes were fixed on a liberal Supreme Court. With no argument, we put our suggestion aside and on the 27th of October, entered the chamber prepared to face the consequences.

The chamber was crowded; the real fun was about to begin. ... Dore Schary sat beside me as we watched John Howard Lawson being sworn in. He was the leader and would set the tone of our attack. Unfortunately, Lawson was tone-deaf.

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. There, on November 27, 1947, the representatives of the motion-picture industry formally decided to fire any accused worker who would not freely answer all questions asked by the Un-American Activities Committee and who would not clear himself of charges that he was or had been a member of the Communist party. The
May 19, 1952

Honorable John S. Wood
Chairman
House Committee on Un-American Activities
Room 226 Old House Office Building
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wood:

As you know, I am under subpoena to appear before your Committee on May 21, 1952.

I am most willing to answer all questions about myself. I have nothing to hide from your Committee and there is nothing in my life of which I am ashamed. I have been advised by counsel that under the Fifth Amendment I have a constitutional privilege to decline to answer any questions about my political opinions, activities, and associations, on the grounds of self-incrimination. I do not wish to claim this privilege. I am ready and willing to testify before the representatives of our Government as to my own opinions and my own actions, regardless of any risks or consequences to myself.

But I am advised by counsel that if I answer the Committee's questions about myself, I must also answer questions about other people and that if I refuse to do so, I can be cited for contempt. My counsel tells me that if I answer questions about myself, I will have waived my rights under the Fifth Amendment and could be forced legally to answer questions about others. This is very difficult for a layman to understand. But there is one principle that I do understand: I am not willing, now or in the future, to bring bad trouble to people who, in my past association with them, were completely innocent of any talk or any action that was delinquent or disloyal. I do not like subversion or disloyalty in any form and if I had ever seen any I would have considered it my duty to have reported it to the proper authorities. But to hurt innocent people whom I knew many years ago in order to save myself is, to me, inhuman and indecent and dishonorable. I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year's fashions, even though I long ago came to the conclusion that I was not a political person and could have no comfortable place in any political group.

I was raised in an old-fashioned American tradition and there were certain honest things that were taught to me: to try to tell the truth, not to bear false witness, not to harm my neighbor, to be loyal to my country, and so on. In general, I respected these ideals of Christian honor and did as well with them as I knew how. It is my belief that you will agree with these simple rules of human decency and will not expect me to violate the good American tradition from which they spring. I would, therefore, like to come before you and speak of myself.

I am prepared to waive the privilege against self-incrimination and to tell you anything you wish to know about my views or actions if your Committee will agree to refrain from asking me to name other people. If the Committee is unwilling to give me this assurance, I will be forced to plead the privilege of the Fifth Amendment at the hearing.

A reply to this letter would be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Hellman

The letter that I sent the Committee on May 19, 1952, had been refused by letter on May 20. It was, therefore, necessary for me to do what I did not want to do, take the Fifth Amendment. The Fifth Amendment is, of course, a wise section of the Constitution: you cannot be forced to incriminate yourself. But the amendment has difficulties that are hard for a layman to understand... .

The opening questions were standard: what was my name, where was I born, what was my occupation, what were the titles of my plays. It didn't take long to get to what really interested them: my time in
Hollywood, which studios had I worked for, what periods of what years, with some mysterious emphasis on 1937. (My time in Spain, I thought, but I was wrong.)

Had I met a writer called Martin Berkely? I had never, still have never, met Martin Berkely, although Hemmert told me later that I had once sat at a kitchen table of sixteen or seventeen people with him in the old Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer commissary.) I said I must refuse to answer that question.

Woa! A member of the Communist Party, had I been, what year had I stopped being? How could I harm such people as Martin Berkely by admitting I had known them, and so on. At times I couldn’t follow the reasoning, at times I understood full well that in refusing to answer questions about membership in the Party I had, of course, trapped myself into a seeming admission that I once had been.

But is the middle of one of the questions about my past, something so remarkable happened that I am to this day convinced that the unknown gentleman who spoke had a great deal to do with the rest of my life. A voice from the press gallery had been for at least three or four minutes louder than the other voices. (By this time, I think, the press had finished reading my letter to the Committee and were discussing it.) The loud voice had been answered by a less loud voice, but no words could be distinguished. Suddenly a clear voice said, “Thank God somebody finally had the guts to do it.” . . .


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 . . . .

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 trainous 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, with a pithy British accent, proclaimed to the American people that Christ on the Mount endorsed communism, high treason, and betrayal of a sacred trust, the blaspheomy was so great that it awakened the dormant indignation of the American people.

When this pompous diplomat in spiced pants, with a pithy British accent, proclaimed to the American people that Christ on the Mount endorsed communism, high treason, and betrayal of a sacred trust, the blaspheomy 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.

7. McCarthy Attacks George C. Marshall, 1951

. . . How can we account for our present situation unless we believe that men high in the Government areconcerting to deliver us to disaster? This must be the product of a great conspiracy, a conspiracy on a
scale so immense as to dwarf any previous such venture in the history of man. A conspiracy of infamy so black that, when it is finally exposed, its principals shall be forever deserving of the maledictions of all honest men.

Who constitutes the highest circles of this conspiracy? About that we cannot be sure. We are convinced that Dean Acheson, who zealously serves the interests of nations other than his own, the friend of Alger Hiss, who supported him in his hour of retribution, who contributed to his defense fund, must be high on the roster. The President! He is their captive. I have wondered, as have you, why he did not dissent with such a liability as Acheson to his own and his party’s interest. It is now clear to me. In the relationship of master and man, did you ever hear of man being master? Truman is a satisfactory front. He is only dimly aware of what is going on.

What can be made of this unbroken series of decisions and acts contributing to the strategy of defeat? They cannot be attributed to incompetence. If Marshall were merely stupid, the laws of probability would dictate that part of his decisions would serve the country’s interest. If Marshall is innocent of guilty incompetence, how could he be trusted to guide the defense of this country further? We have declined so precipitously in relation to the Soviet Union in the last 6 years. How much swifter may be our fall into disaster with Marshall at the helm? Where will all this stop? That is not a rhetorical question: Ours is not a rhetorical danger. Where next will Marshall carry us? It is useless to suppose that his nominal successor will ask him to resign. He cannot even dispense with Acheson.

What is the object of the great conspiracy? I think it is clear from what has occurred and is now occurring: to diminish the United States in world affairs, to weaken us militarily, to confuse our spirit with talk of surrender in the Far East and to impair our will to resist evil. To what end? To the end that we shall be contained, frustrated and finally fall victim to Soviet intrigue from within and Russian military might from without.

The President, is said, in a loyalty American, why does he not lead in this enterprise? I think that I know why he does not. The President is not master in his own house. Those who are master there not only have a desire to protect the suppliers and miners—they could not do otherwise. They themselves are not free. They belong to a larger conspiracy, the world-wide web of which has been spun from Moscow. It was Moscow, for example, which decreed that the United States should execute its loyal friend, the Republic of China. The executions were done with well-identified hands headed by Acheson and George Cadet—Marshall.

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Chapter 27

Document Set 12: References

1. President Truman’s Loyalty Order, 1947
2. Whittaker Chambers Hears the Voice of the People, 1912
3. J. Edgar Hoover Notes the Communist Interest in Hollywood, 1947
5. Lillian Hellman DefiesHUAC, 1952
7. McCarthy Accuses George C. Marshall, 1951