ARE YOU NOW OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN…

By Carlyle Brown

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Langston Hughes

A Chronology

Born February 1, 1902. Joplin, Missouri

Hughes' rich, multi-racial ancestry, included African Americans, Native Americans, and whites. His maternal grandmother, Mary Patterson, was one of the first African American women to attend Oberlin College. Her first husband, Lewis Sheridan Leary, joined John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry in 1859 and died from his wounds. She later married Charles Henry Langston, brother of Oberlin graduate and prominent abolitionist John Mercer Langston, the first African American elected to the U.S. Congress from Virginia (1888) and later Dean of Howard University Law School. Mary Patterson Langston would raise Hughes for most of his childhood, in Lawrence, Kansas, after his parents, Carrie Mercer Langston and James Nathaniel Hughes, divorced. Frustrated by racism in the U.S., his father lived in Cuba and Mexico for a time. Hughes' own youth included considerable moving around, particularly after his grandmother died. His travels included joining his father in Mexico after graduating from high school in 1920. It had been in high school, in Cleveland, Ohio, that Hughes had begun to write poetry, short stories, and plays.

Young adulthood

Hughes attended Columbia University in 1921-1922, where he earned good grades but was distressed by the racism he faced. He also became particularly interested in the Harlem community surrounding Columbia. After dropping out of college, he became a seaman, shipping out to West Africa and Europe. In England, he became involved with the black expatriate community. In November 1924 he returned to the U.S., joining his mother in Washington, D.C. There, he became a personal assistant to historian Carter G. Woodson, founder of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History and editor of *The Journal of Negro History*. Hughes enrolled in Lincoln University, a historically black university in Pennsylvania, and graduated with a B.A. in 1929. He then moved to Harlem, which became his primary home for the remainder of his life.

His career

Although not in New York City for much of the 1920s, Hughes participated in the vibrant cultural movement based there, called the "Harlem Renaissance." In 1921, he published his poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," in the NAACP's journal *The Crisis*, which was edited by W.E.B. DuBois. In 1926, he published his first book of poetry, *The Weary Blues*. Hughes was an active participant in the political and aesthetic arguments which roiled the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s and early 1930s, and his essay, "The Negro and the Racial Mountain," published in *The Nation* in 1926 became a manifesto for the younger group of writers. In 1930, his first novel, *Not Without Laughter*, won the Harmon Gold Medal for literature, and in 1934 he published his first collection of short stories, *The Ways of White Folks*. A year later, he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, while his play, *Mulatto*, opened on Broadway, where it would run for three years. Over the next decades, Hughes would continue to write and publish in multiple genres, while his public presence grew through his newspaper columns (in the Chicago *Defender* and then syndicated), children's books, and radio programs. He would teach and lecture around the U.S. and around the world, influencing generations of African American and African writers, including the creators of the "negritude" movement.

His political views and activities

Hughes' commitment to the positive representation of African Americans, particularly working-class African Americans, was a strong thread running through all his work, as was his critique of racism. Often, he placed the narratives of racism and working-class African Americans within a transnational or global context. He was also a passionate advocate of the arts as a vehicle for self-expression and self-representation. These ideas led him to a variety of relationships with "the left" in the U.S. and around the world, including Communist organizations and movements. In 1932, he traveled to the Soviet Union to make a film about the struggles of African Americans in the Great Depression. Although the film was never made, Hughes made the most of the opportunity to travel throughout the U.S.S.R., Europe, and Asia. In the mid-1930s, Hughes used his literary talents to support the defense of the nine young African Americans who became known as "the Scottsboro Boys," and he later traveled to Spain and wrote in the African American press about the struggles for democracy and economic justice there. During World War II he added his voice to the calls for democracy at home (i.e., equal rights for African Americans) as part and parcel of the struggle against fascism in Europe and Asia. In 1953, he was subpoenaed to testify before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations chaired by Joseph McCarthy. Following his appearance, he would continue to write and speak against racism and on behalf of working class African Americans, until his death on May 22, 1967.

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Hughes. "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain"
1 message

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Sat, Apr 7, 2012 at 2:57 PM

MODERN AMERICAN POETRY

Hughes's "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" (1926)

One of the most promising of the young Negro poets said to me once, "I want to be a poet--not a Negro poet," meaning, I believe, "I want to write like a white poet"; meaning subconsciously, "I would like to be a white poet"; meaning behind that, "I would like to be white." And I was sorry the young man said that, for no great poet has ever been afraid of being himself. And I doubted then that, with his desire to run away spiritually from his race, this boy would ever be a great poet. But this is the mountain standing in the way of any true Negro art in America--this urge within the race toward whiteness, the desire to pour racial individuality into the mold of American standardization, and to be as little Negro and as much American as possible.

But let us look at the immediate background of this young poet. His family is of what I suppose one would call the Negro middle class: people who are by no means rich yet never uncomfortable nor hungry--smug, contented, respectable folk, members of the Baptist church. The father goes to work every morning. He is a chief steward at a large white club. The mother sometimes does fancy sewing or supervises parties for the rich families of the town. The children go to a mixed school. In the home they read white papers and magazines. And the mother often says "Don't be like niggers" when the children are bad. A frequent phrase from the father is, "Look how well a white man does things." And so the word white comes to be unconsciously a symbol of all virtues. It holds for the children beauty, morality, and money. The whisper of "I want to be white" runs silently through their minds. This young poet's home is, I believe, a fairly typical home of the colored middle class. One sees immediately how difficult it would be for an artist born in such a home to interest himself in interpreting the beauty of his own people. He is never taught to see that beauty. He is taught rather not to see it, or if he does, to be ashamed of it when it is not according to Caucasian patterns.

For racial culture the home of a self-styled "high-class" Negro has nothing better to offer. Instead

there will perhaps be more aping of things white than in a less cultured or less wealthy home. The father is perhaps a doctor, lawyer, landowner, or politician. The mother may be a social worker, or a teacher, or she may do nothing and have a maid. Father is often dark but he has usually married the lightest woman he could find. The family attend a fashionable church where few really colored faces are to be found. And they themselves draw a color line. In the North they go to white theaters and white movies. And in the South they have at least two cars and house "like white folks." Nordic manners, Nordic faces, Nordic hair, Nordic art (if any), and an Episcopal heaven. A very high mountain indeed for the would-be racial artist to climb in order to discover himself and his people.

But then there are the low-down folks, the so-called common element, and they are the majority---may the Lord be praised! The people who have their hip of gin on Saturday nights and are not too important to themselves or the community, or too well fed, or too learned to watch the lazy world go round. They live on Seventh Street in Washington or State Street in Chicago and they do not particularly care whether they are like white folks or anybody else. Their joy runs, bang! into ecstasy. Their religion soars to a shout. Work maybe a little today, rest a little tomorrow. Play awhile. Sing awhile. O, let's dance! These common people are not afraid of spirituals, as for a long time their more intellectual brethren were, and jazz is their child. They furnish a wealth of colorful, distinctive material for any artist because they still hold their own individuality in the face of American standardizations. And perhaps these common people will give to the world its truly great Negro artist, the one who is not afraid to be himself. Whereas the better-class Negro would tell the artist what to do, the people at least let him alone when he does appear. And they are not ashamed of him--if they know he exists at all. And they accept what beauty is their own without question.

Certainly there is, for the American Negro artist who can escape the restrictions the more advanced among his own group would put upon him, a great field of unused material ready for his art. Without going outside his race, and even among the better classes with their "white" culture and conscious American manners, but still Negro enough to be different, there is sufficient matter to furnish a black artist with a lifetime of creative work. And when he chooses to touch on the relations between Negroes and whites in this country, with their innumerable overtones and undertones surely, and especially for literature and the drama, there is an inexhaustible supply of themes at hand. To these the Negro artist can give his racial individuality, his heritage of rhythm and warmth, and his incongruous humor that so often, as in the Blues, becomes ironic laughter mixed with tears. But let us look again at the mountain.

A prominent Negro clubwoman in Philadelphia paid eleven dollars to hear Raquel Meller sing Andalusian popular songs. But she told me a few weeks before she would not think of going to hear "that woman," Clara Smith, a great black artist, sing Negro folksongs. And many an upper -class Negro church, even now, would not dream of employing a spiritual in its services. The drab melodies in white folks' hymnbooks are much to be preferred. "We want to worship the Lord correctly and quietly. We don't believe in 'shouting.' Let's be dull like the Nordics," they say, in effect.

The road for the serious black artist, then, who would produce a racial art is most certainly rocky

and the mountain is high. Until recently he received almost no encouragement for his work from either white or colored people. The fine novels of
Chesnutt' go out of print with neither race noticing their passing. The quaint charm and humor of Dunbar's' dialect verse
brought to him, in his day, largely the same kind of encouragement one would give a sideshow freak (A colored man writing
poetry! How odd!) or a clown (How amusing!).

The present vogue in things Negro, although it may do as much harm as good for the budding artist, has at least done this: it has brought him forcibly to the attention of his own people among whom for so long, unless the other race had noticed him beforehand, he was a prophet with little honor.

The Negro artist works against an undertow of sharp criticism and misunderstanding from his own group and unintentional bribes from the whites. "Oh, be respectable, write about nice people, show how good we are," say the Negroes. "Be stereotyped, don't go too far, don't shatter our illusions about you, don't amuse us too seriously. We will pay you," say the whites. Both would have told Jean Toomer not to write *Cane*. The colored people did not praise it. The white people did not buy it. Most of the colored people who did read *Cane* hate it. They are afraid of it. Although the critics gave it good reviews the public remained indifferent. Yet (excepting the work of Du Bois) *Cane* contains the finest prose written by a Negro in America. And like the singing of Robeson, it is truly racial.

But in spite of the Nordicized Negro intelligentsia and the desires of some white editors we have an honest American Negro literature already with us. Now I await the rise of the Negro theater. Our folk music, having achieved world-wide fame, offers itself to the genius of the great individual American composer who is to come. And within the next decade I expect to see the work of a growing school of colored artists who paint and model the beauty of dark faces and create with new technique the expressions of their own soul-world. And the Negro dancers who will dance like flame and the singers who will continue to carry our songs to all who listen-they will be with us in even greater numbers tomorrow.

Most of my own poems are racial in theme and treatment, derived from the life I know. In many of them I try to grasp and hold some of the meanings and rhythms of jazz. I am as sincere as I know how to be in these poems and yet after every reading I answer questions like these from my own people: Do you think Negroes should always write about Negroes? I wish you wouldn't read some of your poems to white folks. How do you find anything interesting in a place like a cabaret? Why do you write about black people? You aren't black. What makes you do so many jazz poems?

But jazz to me is one of the inherent expressions of Negro life in America; the eternal tom-tom beating in the Negro soul--the tom-tom of revolt against weariness in a white world, a world of subway trains, and work, work, work; the tom-tom of joy and laughter, and pain swallowed in a smile. Yet the Philadelphia clubwoman is ashamed to say that her race created it and she does not like me to write about it, The old subconscious "white is best" runs through her mind. Years of study under white teachers, a lifetime of white books, pictures, and papers, and white manners, morals, and Puritan standards made her dislike the spirituals. And now she turns up her nose at jazz and all its manifestations--likewise almost everything else distinctly racial. She doesn't care

for the Winold Reiss' portraits of Negroes because they are "too Negro." She does not want a true picture of herself from anybody. She wants the artist to flatter her, to make the white world believe that all negroes are as smug and as near white in soul as she wants to be. But, to my mind, it is the duty of the younger Negro artist, if he accepts any duties at all from outsiders, to change through the force of his art that old whispering "I want to be white," hidden in the aspirations of his people, to "Why should I want to be white? I am a Negro--and beautiful"?

So I am ashamed for the black poet who says, "I want to be a poet, not a Negro poet," as though his own racial world were not as interesting as any other world. I am ashamed, too, for the colored artist who runs from the painting of Negro faces to the painting of sunsets after the manner of the academicians because he fears the strange unwhiteness of his own features. An artist must be free to choose what he does, certainly, but he must also never be afraid to do what he must choose.

Let the blare of Negro jazz bands and the bellowing voice of Bessie Smith singing the Blues penetrate the closed ears of the colored near intellectuals until they listen and perhaps understand. Let Paul Robeson singing "Water Boy," and Rudolph Fisher
writing about the streets of Harlem, and Jean Toomer holding the heart of Georgia in his hands, and Aaron Douglas's drawing
strange black fantasies cause the smug Negro middle class to turn from their white, respectable, ordinary books and papers to
catch a glimmer of their own beauty. We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly too. The tom-tom cries and the tom-tom laughs. If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn't matter either. We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves.

THE NATION, 1926

Return to Langston Hughes

Langston Hughes, my father, Joseph Stalin and Jesus

23 Dec

I don't yet know what my father thought of Langston Hughes' work in general, or whether their circles crossed in Harlem. But just after Christmas Day in 1940, Ebenezer had some choice words for one of Hughes' most controversial poems, titled *Goodbye Christ*. Here's the poem:

Listen, Christ,
You did alright in your day, I reckon—
But that day's gone now.
They ghosted you up a swell story, too,
Called it Bible—
But it's dead now,
The popes and the preachers've
Made too much money from it.
They've sold you to too many

Kings, generals, robbers, and killers—
Even to the Tzar and the Cossacks,
Even to Rockefeller's Church,
Even to THE SATURDAY EVENING POST.
You ain't no good no more.
They've pawned you
Till you've done wore out.

Goodbye,
Christ Jesus Lord God Jeheva,
Beat it on away from here now.
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—
A real guy named
Marx Communist Lenin Peasant Stalin Worker ME—
I said, ME!

Go ahead on now,
You're getting in the way of things, Lord.
And please take Saint Gandhi with you when you go,
And Saint Pope Pius,
And Saint Aimee McPherson,
And big black Saint Becton
Of the Consecrated Dime,
And stop on the gas, Christ!
Move!

Don't be so slow about movin
The world is mine from now on—
And nobody's gonna sell ME
To a king, or a general,
Or a millionaire.

In an article in *Poetry* magazine, Hughes biographer Arnold Rampersad noted that during the most difficult days of the Great Depression, Hughes "had composed some of the harshest political verse ever penned by an American. Those pieces include *Good Morning Revolution* and *Columbia*, but above all, *Goodbye Christ*. Here the speaker of the poem ridicules the legend of Jesus in favor of the radical reality of Marx, Lenin, 'worker,' 'peasant,' 'me.'"

Langston Hughes is interrogated by members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1953.

The poem was not so much anti-Christian; its intention was to call out those who would use religion to oppress or maintain what he considered the status quo. The poem garnered criticism over the years, but gained prominence in 1940 when a group of fundamentalist Christians protested a November 1940 author luncheon Hughes was attending in Pasadena, Calif.

"Sent from the temple of evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson, the picketers distributed copies of the poem while a sound truck played 'God Bless America.'" wrote author Faith Berry in *Langston Hughes: Before and Beyond Harlem*. (Lawrence Hill & Company, 1983.) "They then marched into the luncheon, waving a poster of *Goodbye Christ*, to denounce Hughes and the presiding host, George Palmer Putnam, in front of over five hundred guests. The stunt was arranged by Aimee's publicity man, who was quickly arrested. Meanwhile, to avoid further embarrassment to the hotel management and luncheon officials, Hughes politely withdrew from the program. Outside the hotel, where a few well-wishers tried to shake his hand as he entered a waiting car, one of Aimee's Four Square Gospel supporters shouted, 'Down where I come from, we don't shake hands with niggers.' Blaring in the background, the sound truck continued with 'God Bless America,'" Berry added.

Hughes must have thought that the protesters were a prime example of hypocrites among the faithful to whom the poem referred.

In December of that year, the *Saturday Evening Post* published the poem, reportedly without Hughes' permission. That fact seems lost on my father, whose use of the word "contributes," suggests that Hughes actively participated in its publication there. And, according to Berry, Hughes spent his Christmas holiday crafting a press statement to respond to the public outcry. (I feel his pain!)

In a column published in the *New York Age* dated Dec. 28, 1940 my father got into the act:

> "Just at the season of the year when Christians throughout the world are about to celebrate the birth of the lowly Nazarene, Jesus Christ, whom some persons prefer to call the Son of God and others the second person of the Trinity, Langston Hughes, Negro poet, contributes a 'poem' to the *Saturday Evening Post* which runs the gamut of cynicism and absurdity. The bit of verse is captioned *Goodbye Christ*.
>
> One cannot criticize Mr. Hughes too strongly for his disbelief in the story of the birth of Jesus Christ. He is not the least alone in such. Disbelief in the 'immaculate conception is heard from the mouths of comparative youngsters who maintain the right to free thinking on the possible facts. Men of the Cloth occasionally, off the record, refuse to endorse all the theories advanced and Men of Letters have been outspoken in refuting the story of Jesus Christ."

The real bone of contention for my father, at least according to his column, was the fact that Hughes held up Joseph Stalin as a "logical successor to Christ."

> "Mr. Hughes proves his impotence as a Communist when at a time when in the face of certain exposures and activities thousands of his Comrades have traveled away from the group, Stalin may appear as a logical successor to Christ in the eyes of the poet, but to millions of others he is just a Super-Barabas. Stalin obviously has no religion at all, but he obviously has a creed: that of murdering his enemies – justified and unjustified and even innocents who think in terms other than he does. At this point he is playing tag with Adolph Hitler, despot of all despots, despite their contempt for each other; because out of a self-emaciated world, Stalin, Langston Hughes' Savior, hopes to rise Ruler Number One, his methods notwithstanding.
>
> When Langston Hughes his gem of cynicism and absurdity and his Joseph Stalin will have passed to the limbo of the forgotten, the life of Jesus Christ will still be alive in the hearts of Christians everywhere. The lowly Nazarene left with the world not a religion to destroy but to love and to cherish. The world is the better off for his coming; when it suffers it is not because of his teachings but because it fails to follow such simple but far-fetched exhortations as 'Be ye kind to one another' and 'Love thy neighbor as thyself.'
>
> If the life of Christ had come to the world only to bring the Christmas season with the spirit of making others happy and of goodwill towards men, it would have justified its coming. But it has done much more: it suggests a way of life for which a better substitute has yet to be found."

While my father makes a valid point about Stalin and his ilk, I can't help but wonder why he is so exorcised about *Goodbye Christ*. After all, my father was pretty harsh in his criticism of racism in his own Episcopal Church, and one of his favorite verbal targets was Father Divine. Was it that Hughes dared express irreverence toward Jesus Christ or was it the other Big C— Communism, that got under his skin?

According to Rampersad, the saga of *Goodbye Christ* did not end in the 1940s. The poem appeared again by subpoena, before Sen. Joseph McCarthy's House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1953.

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"My Idol Was Langston Hughes"

The Poet, the Renaissance, and Their Enduring Influence

from a talk delivered by Margaret Walker Alexander
edited and introduced by William R. Ferris

"As a small child in the 1920s, I was very much affected by the Harlem Renaissance. As early as age eleven, I had read poetry by Langston Hughes." Margaret Walker Alexander at Square Books in Oxford, Mississippi, courtesy of the William R. Ferris Collection, Southern Folklife Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

I met Margaret Walker Alexander in the fall of 1970 when I taught my first class at Jackson State University. She and I both taught in the English Department, and I will never forget a lecture that Margaret gave to my students on Zora Neale Hurston. She and Zora had traveled similar roads as southern black women writers, and she recalled how she met Zora, Richard Wright, Langston Hughes, and other figures in the Harlem Renaissance. Her memories of Richard Wright were especially powerful, and I later reminded my students that Wright had lived on Lynch Street—the street that runs through the Jackson State campus—before he moved to Chicago.

Margaret also directed the Institute for the Study of History, Life, and Culture of Black People (now the Margaret Walker Alexander National Research Center). The Center featured visiting writers, such as Nikki Giovanni, and included a memorable program in which Fannie Lou Hamer both spoke and sang about her struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi.

While teaching at Jackson State, my former wife Josette Rossi and I rented a home on Guynes Street—now named Margaret Walker Alexander Street—in one of the first black middle class neighborhoods in Jackson. Margaret lived several doors to the east of our home, and two doors to the west was the home where Medgar Evers lived when he was assassinated by Byron De La Beckwith as he returned home to his family on the evening of June 12, 1963. Our neighbors told us about that tragic night and how it was forever etched in their memory.

Margaret was one of three distinguished women writers who lived in Jackson at that time, the other two being Alice Walker and Eudora Welty. Alice was an aspiring young writer who had just finished her novel *The Third Life of Grange Copeland*, and Margaret encouraged her to pursue her literary career.

Margaret and Eudora often appeared together at literary events in Jackson, and they enjoyed a special friendship for many years as the First Ladies of Jackson's literary world. They each had a circle of close friends in Jackson with whom they created literary salons where conversation and food were shared. Margaret loved to cook, and her journals are filled with references to food.

Included among her close friends and admirers were poets and literary scholars Virgie Brock-Shedd and Jerry Ward, librarians Ernestine Lipscomb and Bernice Bell, Jackson's president of the National Council of Negro Women Jesse B. Mosely, historic preservationist Alferdteen Harrison, literary scholars Jean Clayton and Maryemma Graham, and Alleane Currie, Margaret's devoted friend and administrative assistant. Jesse Mosely later directed the Smith Robertson Museum and Cultural Center, where Richard Wright graduated from high school. For many years, Alferdteen Harrison directed the Margaret Walker Alexander National Research Center at Jackson State and continued Margaret's important work with the

current generation. Maryemma Graham teaches in the Department of English at the University of Kansas and is writing an important, long-awaited biography of Margaret.

As a nationally acclaimed writer, Margaret was a celebrity on campus and an important role model for young African American women. Many students at Jackson State were the first in their family to attend college, and they were inspired by Margaret's stature as a distinguished poet and novelist. Her first book of poetry, *For My People*, was selected by Stephen Vincent Benét for the Yale Series of Younger Poets Competition award in 1942. Margaret's novel, *Jubilee* (1966), was based on her grandmother's life as a slave and was often referred to as the black response to *Gone with the Wind*.

When I taught at Yale from 1972 to 1979, I brought Alice Walker, Margaret Walker Alexander, and Eudora Welty to read and speak to my students. Margaret was an old friend of Charles Davis, chair of the Afro-American Studies Program, who also served as Master of Calhoun College, where I lived as a resident fellow. He hosted Margaret's visit, and the text that follows was part of her presentation to Yale students at a Master's Tea in Calhoun College in 1978. During her visit at Yale, she also reread letters she had written Richard Wright that are in Yale's Beineke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Donald Gallup, then curator of the Yale Collection of American Literature, met with Margaret and personally showed her materials in their Richard Wright Archives.

While directing the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi from 1979 to 1995, I worked with Margaret on a number of projects. Her poetry and fiction was featured in a series of anthologies of Mississippi writers that Dorothy Abbott edited while working at the Center. We also sponsored a lecture by Margaret when she signed copies of her book *Richard Wright: Daemonic Genius: A Portrait of the Man / A Critical Look at His Work* at Square Books in Oxford in 1988.

Throughout her life Margaret struggled with her own demons as she negotiated her roles as a mother, a teacher, a poet, a novelist, and a fearless voice for the history and culture of African Americans. From our first meeting in 1970 to her death in 1998, we shared a special friendship that I will always treasure.

FROM MARGARET WALKER ALEXANDER'S TALK AND THE SUBSEQUENT Q & A

As a small child in the 1920s, I was very much affected by the Harlem Renaissance. As early as age eleven, I had read poetry by Langston Hughes. The president of New Orleans College, where my parents were teaching at that time, gave them a little booklet called "Four Lincoln Poets." They brought it home and gave

"I caught a glimpse of Zora, though I had no idea then who she was nor how significant she was. I remember her because she had on a knee-length, sleeveless, flapper dress and wore bobbed hair. I was impressed with how short her dress was, because my mother's dress was still well below her knees and didn't come to her kneecap until much later." Zora Neale Hurston, ca. 1938, courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.

it to me. Langston Hughes first impressed me then. And when I was twelve, my parents brought home a copy of Countee Cullen's *Copper Son*. My sister and I memorized both Countee Cullen's and Langston Hughes's verses.

Before I left home for Northwestern University, in that early period between age ten and seventeen, I saw and heard in lecture recitals Langston Hughes and James Weldon Johnson [the novelist, critic, and poet who penned the Harlem Renaissance's seminal *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse*], and Marian Anderson and Roland Hayes [who were both accomplished African American concert singers of the era]. These were significant events in my life. Also, Zora Neale Hurston [folklorist and Renaissance author of several works, including the highly influential novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*] came out to the college in order to talk to my mother about folk materials in New Orleans, but my mother said she couldn't help her—she studied under what they call the two-headed doctors of *voodoo* and *hoodoo* in New Orleans. Those of us who live there and have people ask us all the time about it always don't know what they're talking about. Either we feign ignorance or we are completely ignorant.

I caught a glimpse of Zora, though I had no idea then who she was nor how

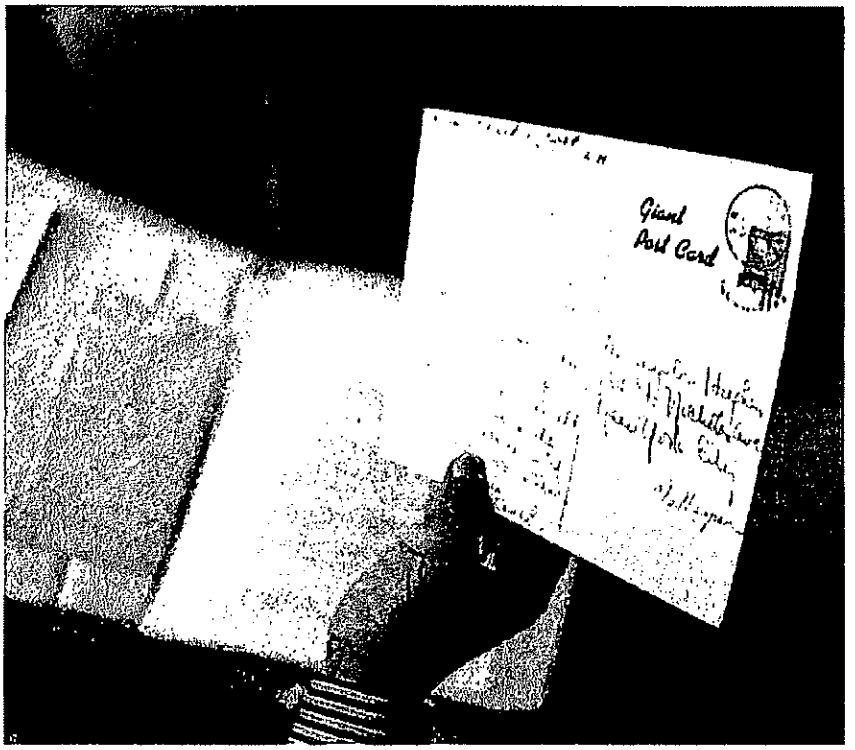
"Langston Hughes's appearance was a most exciting occasion. I felt partly responsible for his coming to New Orleans, because I'd told my parents they had to get him there. I had never seen a real live poet before. He urged my parents to send me out of the South. And the next year, they did just that." Langston Hughes, 1936, photographed by Carl Van Vechten, his patron and friend, courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.

significant she was. I remember her because she had on a knee-length, sleeveless flapper dress and wore bobbed hair. I was impressed with how short her dress was, because my mother's dress was still well below her knees and didn't come to her kneecap until much later.

Langston Hughes's appearance was a most exciting occasion. I felt partly responsible for his coming to New Orleans, because I'd told my parents they had to get him there. I had never seen a real live poet before. He came in February, shortly after his thirtieth birthday, and the college couldn't promise to guarantee the $100 fee. But he made more than the $100, because he sold his books. He had already published then *The Weary Blues*, *Fine Clothes to the Jew*, and *Not Without Laughter*.

He and his manager-companion, who disappeared as soon as Langston arrived, were traveling through the South in what he termed "a beat up old Ford car." But then Langston has given a description of that trip in his own autobiography, *The Big Sea*. He also remarks about seeing me and reading my poetry on that first visit.

He urged my parents to send me out of the South. And the next year, they did



"Of all the figures in the Renaissance, I'm sure my idol was Langston Hughes. Our friendship dated from that first night in February 1936 until the day he died in May, 1967." Margaret Walker Alexander, holding a 1943 postcard she sent to Langston Hughes, courtesy of the William R. Ferris Collection, Southern Folklife Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

just that. On the advice of my freshman English teacher and on the basis of their own experience, they decided to send me to Northwestern.

I think it made all the difference in my life.

In February of 1936 I saw Langston Hughes again. This time in Chicago at the National Negro Congress. I had finished Northwestern by this time, and that day I saw Richard Wright [award-winning author of *Native Son* and several other books]. For the next three years, I saw Langston at least once a year when he came to visit in Chicago or just passed through. I also had the rare pleasure of seeing James Weldon Johnson in Chicago in the 1930s and shaking his hand at that time. Soon after that, in 1938, he was killed in a car accident.

On the Federal Writers' Project, Richard Wright suggested that we go to see Arna Bontemps [a leading Renaissance poet and author of several books, including *Black Thunder*]. In New York, Wright also took me to meet Sterling Brown, who was then director of Negro Affairs for the New York Project [and a noted poet, author, and critic in his own right]. Later, in New York, when I was living there, and when it served as my lecture headquarters, I met and became acquainted with a very vivacious Gwendolyn Bennett [author of "The Ebony Flute," a literary column in the magazine *Opportunity*]. When *For My People* was published [in 1942], I received letters of interest from two more notable figures in the Harlem Renaissance: Alain Locke [the writer and educator who mentored Zora Neale Hurston]

"Of all the Renaissance writers, Langston seems to me to be the paragon and paramount. Next to W.E.B. DuBois [here], he has left the largest literary legacy." Photograph courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.

and Countee Cullen [a prominent Renaissance poetry and prose writer of over twenty books]. Sometime early in the 1940s I visited friends in Lynchburg, Virginia, and there I met Anne Spencer [the first African American to have her work included in the *Norton Anthology of American Poetry*] and saw her in her garden.

I did not see the great sociologist, who was godfather to the Renaissance and also my benefactor through the Rosenwald Fund, until I was invited to Fisk University for the first time in the 1950s. There, Dr. Charles S. Johnson was the president. I went to dinner at his home and had the seat of the guest of honor at his right. I was too excited to speak anything but my inanities; but I was grateful for the opportunity, because the next year he was dead of a heart attack. He died in a train station, between trains, and on his way to fight against segregation and for school integration.

But of all the figures in the Renaissance, I'm sure my idol was Langston Hughes.

Our friendship dated from that first night in February 1936 until the day he died in May, 1967. I saw him last in New York in 1966 in October and remember until now his big bear hug at that meeting. Through the years I had seen Langston in

sundry places. In Texas. In Boston or in Cambridge. High Point, North Carolina. Jackson, Mississippi. As well as in New York and Chicago. We spent six weeks one summer in a group of writers at Yaddo [an artists' community in Saratoga Springs, New York]. But almost as wonderful were the cards and letters that came from all over the world: Carmel, California, the War in Spain, Mexico, London, and Nigeria. Almost everywhere he went, he wrote cards and letters and sent me his books for Christmas presents. I think I have about sixteen autographed copies of Langston's books.

I saw him in the apartment he shared with Toy and Emerson Harper [close family friends], first on St. Nicholas Place and again in the house on East 127th Street. He visited us in New Orleans, took me out to lunch in Chicago at the Grand Hotel where I used to live, and came to dinner in Chicago and at Bedford Street in the Village. When both [my books] *For My People* and *Jubilee* were announced, he wrote glowing letters of commendation and congratulations. When Wright died in Paris, Langston wrote me a note on his Christmas card, describing his last visit to him: "Imagine my surprise to get to London and see in the papers that he was dead."

As I look back over those years, I remember Langston with genuine affection, and during these years since his passing, not only miss him but feel an acute sense of loss of his wonderful friendship. His easy carefree manner and even disposition belied his discipline and serious dedication to the art of writing and the theater. He claimed that he belonged to the cult of the simple and that he was like Jesse B. Semple [also known as "Simple," a fictional Harlem Renaissance man Hughes created for his column in the *Chicago Defender*], but that was not entirely so. Jesse B. Semple gives you just a little bit of Langston Hughes. He was a complex, sophisticated, cosmopolitan man, the humanist par excellence and always in love with life and people. Of all the Renaissance writers, Langston seems to me to be the paragon and paramount. Next to W.E.B. DuBois, he has left the largest literary legacy. In his poetry he made an unusual contribution to the blues idiom and the jazz rhythms. In Jesse B. Semple he has created an unforgettable folk character whom we all love, and to whom we feel closely related. Langston loved Harlem, and he has immortalized the street culture of that community as no one else has.

I believe most of the Renaissance poets considered Langston their leader and their catalytic agent. Certainly Arna Bontemps did. I sometimes think that as fine a poet and novelist as Arna Bontemps was, he stood in Langston's shadow for most of his career. But I know they genuinely loved each other, and there was never any jealousy between them. They collaborated on many books, and Arna knew how fond they were of each other.

Whenever I think of Langston now I see a great collage and montage of all the places we were together and all the books he wrote and his reading poetry in so

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many different places, or sending flowers when my first child was born, or playing a game of poker at a party and keeping an absolutely poker face, or walking back to Yaddo from the town of Saratoga Springs; a night in Orange, Texas, spilling a drink on my dress or saying you look like something straight out of *Vogue* magazine, and then seeing my little son barefoot on the floor in High Point [North Carolina] and red pot-bellied stove nearby, or writing to me when I went out to Iowa—"Don't get too many degrees, or you'll be smarter than I am," pulling my leg you see. I heard his death announced on the radio and the shock stunned me so I could not bear to talk about it. How would it be to come to New York and not see Langston? Perhaps what he said on an autographed picture he gave me once is also my fitting epitaph for him: "To Margaret, who is such fun to be with." I would like to say for Langston, who was always such great fun, that all of us who knew him best miss him very much.

One night in 1939 or early in the 1940s, Langston treated me to a ride on top of a double-decker Manhattan bus up Fifth Avenue from the Village to 150th Street. After the ride, which I found quite exciting, because Langston pointed out all the sights and landmarks, we went to the opening of a new bar called Fat Man. I like to think that that was one of the nights when Jesse B. Semple was born. The place was crowded, and we could scarcely elbow our way through the throng of black

"One night in 1939 or early in the 1940s, Langston treated me to a ride on top of a double-decker Manhattan bus up Fifth Avenue from the village to 150th Street. After the ride, we went to the opening of a new bar called 'Fat Man.' I like to think that that was one of the nights when Jesse B. Semple was born. Everybody seemed to know Langston, and he was laughing, smiling, cracking jokes as usual, and he was slapping the shoulder, shaking hands, and being greeted in turn." Langston Hughes, 1942, courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.

people celebrating the opening of a new black business in Harlem. Everybody seemed to know Langston, and he was laughing, smiling, cracking jokes as usual, and he was slapping the shoulder, shaking hands, and being greeted in turn.

Langston considered Harlem his home for forty-five years. He first went to New York when he was still a teenager to study at Columbia University. He quit or failed or ran out of money or all three—I'm not sure which—because his father stopped sending money, and then he went to sea. He sailed around the world, but particularly he went adventuring to the West Coast of Africa, and to the streets of Paris, where he had a doorman's job in a night club for awhile, and where he met Bricktop [Ada "Bricktop" Smith, an American singer and performer who owned the Chez Bricktop in Paris], and where he was also once a beachcomber.

In his early twenties, however, he returned to Harlem, and there in the middle and late 1920s he became the accepted leader of the new black literary school of literature, the Harlem Renaissance. I prefer to limit the Renaissance to the decade of the '20s. We need to remember the two decades preceding the '20s as the flowering of Afro-American culture leading up to the Renaissance. [By the turn of the cen-

"Langston sailed around the world, but particularly he went adventuring to the West Coast of Africa and the streets of Paris, where he had a doorman's job in a night club for awhile, where he met Bricktop, and where he was also once a beachcomber." Ada "Bricktop" Smith, an American singer and performer who owned the Chez Bricktop in Paris, 1934, photographed by Carl Van Vechten, courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.

tury and soon thereafter] we've seen the published works of James Weldon Johnson and of Claude Mackay [a Jamaican by birth whose *Songs of Jamaica* appeared in 1912], even Francis Ellis Watkins Harper, who is the author of the first novel [*Iola Leroy*, or *Shadows Uplifted*] by a black woman. [And other artists also are the] immediate precursors of the Renaissance, actually a bridge between the turn of the century and the '20s. Many mark the beginning of the Renaissance with Claude Mackay and others with James Weldon Johnson.

I consider Langston perhaps the greatest success story in the Renaissance, and I think it is because of his special literary contributions in poetry, prose, and drama. Langston was unique, and all his work is touched with the magic of his personality: his ingenious manner of expressing himself, his genial disposition, his serious discipline, his dedication, and his remarkable versatility. Arna Bontemps told me just before he died that Langston had left us this legacy of eighty-six published works, and in addition that he left 200 pages of a third volume of his autobiography in manuscript and such a voluminous set of papers that two years of work by his devoted friend and executor weren't sufficient time to collate and organize all those papers.

Langston's use of jazz rhythms and blues was the first black idiom in poetry since Paul Lawrence Dunbar [the first African American poet to gain widespread

"Arna Bontemps told me just before he died that Langston had left us this legacy of eighty-six published works, and in addition that he left 200 pages of a third volume of his autobiography in manuscript and such a voluminous set of papers that two years of work by his devoted friend and executor weren't sufficient time to collate and organize all those papers." Margaret Walker Alexander at Square Books in Oxford, Mississippi, courtesy of the William R. Ferris Collection, Southern Folklife Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

recognition in African American and white circles]. James Weldon Johnson's black preacher in *God's Trombones* came later, at least it was published later. Because Langston's *The Weary Blues* came out in '26 and James Weldon Johnston's *God's Trombones* in '27, they must have been working about the same time.

I also regard Langston as a master craftsman in prose-fiction, whether in the short story or his longer fiction. This can best be illustrated in the five books of *Simple* tales [of Jesse B. Semple] largely collected from the columns which first appeared in the *Defender*. Many of us read Semple first in those columns, and they were always delightful. You could almost see Langston's tongue in his cheek or hear him laughing. I see him pulling a leg in those stories. I still do. There are some very important facts of craft and art in those tales, which I daresay have never been fully explored, discussed, or expounded.

There is a use of folk material to accomplish several different tasks. To delineate character, to deal with racial issues, to combine human and pathos in book philosophy, and thus comment critically on life and contemporary society. From the section on Congress passing laws, Semple said that one thing he wished that Congress would do would be to set up game preserves for negroes down South,

the way you had preserves for animals; you know, you don't let people kill deer just indiscriminately, but you can lynch black people in Mississippi anytime you get ready. He said, now why don't they just set up some preserves? With signs that say "Posted," and you can't kill negroes.

At midnight Langston went home and sat down at his typewriter to write. Between four and five o'clock in the morning, he went to bed, hence his rising at noon, and that was the way his day went. He rarely revised his poems; all his prose, however, was painstakingly written and carefully revised. He was methodical, organized, and always a serious writer. For many years and until quite recently, he was the only black writer living who made his living solely from his writing.

Langston wrote across forty-odd years. I say that his writing changed with each decade: that in the '30s he was the writer of social protest; in the '40s, the war was the eminent thing; and in the Cold War of the '50s it was different; that in the '60s he joined the revolutionary black writers.

Langston and Arna both talked about Zora Neale Hurston disgracefully. She and Langston had a feud, a real falling out of friendship after an ill-fated collaboration. I think it's very interesting to read her side of the story, and Langston's side, and then to read what her biographer has to say, because the three give a fairly rounded picture of that big fracas.

Zora Neale Hurston is a bright and colorful figure of the Harlem Renaissance, and no one should forget it. There were at least a baker's dozen of these women in the Renaissance, overlapping in the '20s, some younger, some older. None of the men could eclipse Zora Neale Hurston, even though they tried. She was a natural born storyteller. She has written enough books to meet the taste or acceptance of anyone or everyone. Zora could not tell a poor story nor write a bad book. *Jonah's Gourd Vine*, her first book, based almost entirely on folklore, may not measure up to the excellent novel *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, but it is a book well worth reading, as so are her other books: *Mules and Men; Moses, Man of the Mountain; Tell My Horse*; *Seraph on the Suwanee*; *Dust Tracks on a Road*. Most of these are not novels, but they read as smoothly as if they were.

She is a gal after my own heart. Arna told me once that I reminded them of Zora, and then when I bristled and got my hackles up, remembering how they talked about her, he backed off by saying she was exuberant and brilliant. But I know he was also saying she was contentious and extremely ambitious. I don't think he intended to include me in her reputation for vulgarity. I don't see how he could have. But I'm sure Zora and I have much in common: for unwittingly getting into scrapes and controversial issues. She didn't take cover because she was a woman, she put up her dukes and stood her ground with the best of them.

Because she was a woman, black, and poor, it was impossible for her to take her Ph.D. in anthropology at Columbia in the 1920s. She came up from Florida, and

"Zora Neale Hurston is a bright and colorful figure of the Harlem Renaissance. None of the men could eclipse Zora Neale Hurston, even though they tried. I'm sure Zora and I have much in common: for unwittingly getting into scrapes and controversial issues. She didn't take cover because she was a woman." Zora Neale Hurston (left), 1938, photographed by Carl Van Vechten, courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress; Margaret Walker Alexander (right) at Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, courtesy of the William R. Ferris Collection, Southern Folklife Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

she went to school for a while both at Morgan and at Howard. And then she went to New York, just as all the rest of them did, seeking her literary fortune, and she really hoped to get her degrees at Columbia. If Columbia was bad in the '60s, when it had to be completely revolutionized, imagine what it was like in the '20s. It was impossible. Even though she was an excellent student, there was no hope for Zora.

Her marriage lasted very briefly, and I've been married thirty-five years to the same man. Everything has been changing this whole century, and one of the things that has changed most has been marriage and the family and the home, women and men. I have been a very lucky person in my marriage. My husband has always shied away from the world that was most familiar to me, but he always was a complete partner sharing in that home.

Zora must have died a frustrated woman, and there again we are not similar.

"I've been married thirty-five years to the same man. My husband has always shied away from the world that was most familiar to me, but he always was a complete partner sharing in that home." Margaret Walker Alexander at Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, courtesy of the William R. Ferris Collection, Southern Folklife Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

She was accused of sodomy with a child. She died a pauper, after having worked as a domestic for a pittance, but she remains one of the brightest stars in the Renaissance.

Sleep well, Zora. We love you.

Carl Van Vechten [writer, photographer, Langston Hughes's patron and friend] is not nearly as important an influence on the Harlem Renaissance as one has been lead to believe. His *Nigger Heaven* comes in that period, and what he's saying is that Harlem *is* Nigger Heaven—that there was a period of prosperity in America, and everyone was on a hayride. And after World War I, America was making all kinds of money. You had these famous parties that began on Park Avenue and ended in Florida, and black people were the entertainers. They played the music, they sang the blues, and they read poetry at these parties. From the white critics' point of view, this was an example of the exotic, unusual, primitive, child-like black person.

Nigger Heaven becomes very minor in the picture. He was a wonderful person in that he was like all the other white angels. There was no such thing as a person getting published without some assistance from somewhitebody, and that continued right straight through the '40s and into the '50s.

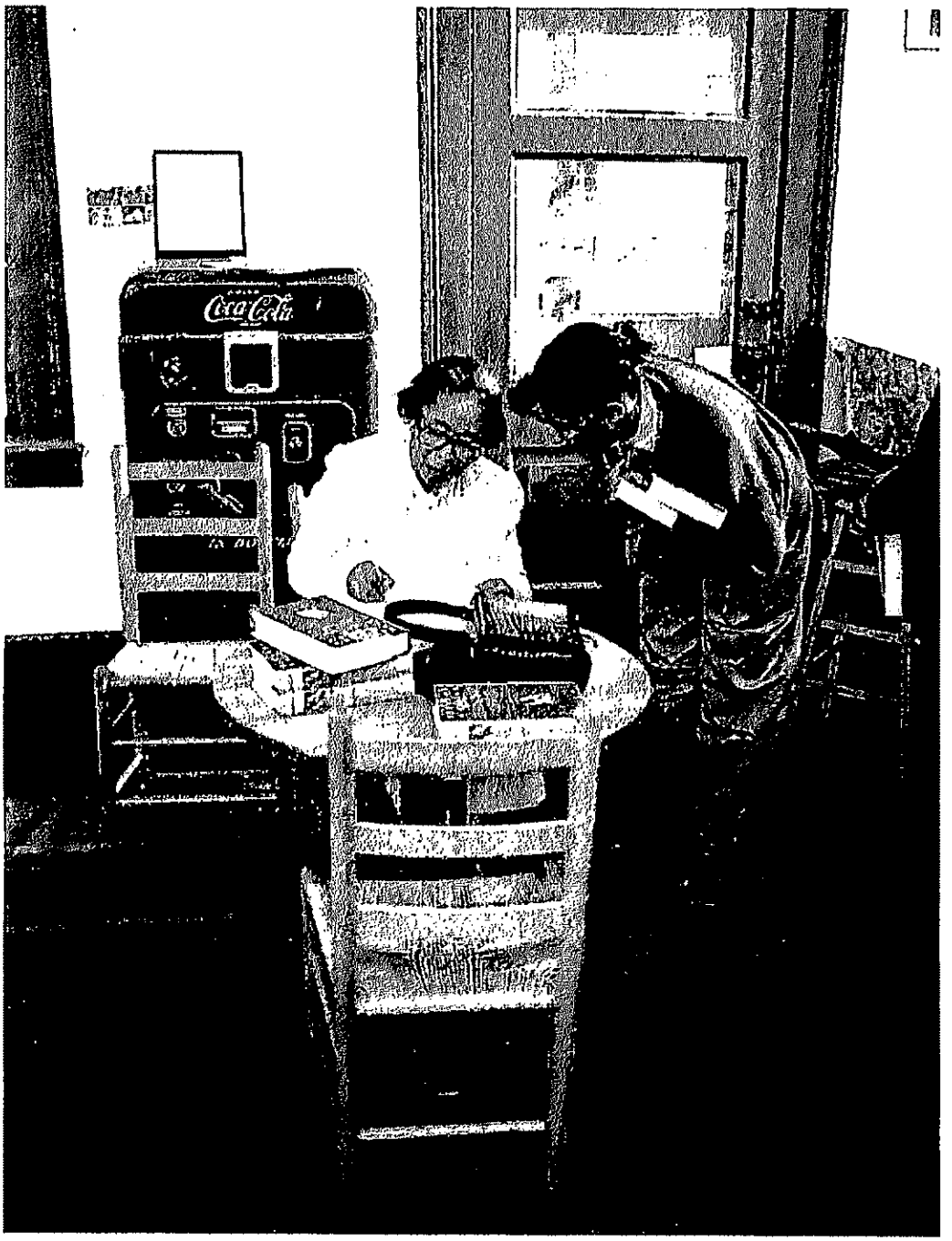
"What the black writer was saying—and Langston says it better in that essay that first appeared on the racial malady ["The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" in The Nation, *1926]—is that we black writers are going to express ourselves as we feel we want to express ourselves. Boy, you should have heard Richard Wright. Wright said, now why do we have to beg the question of our humanity to anybody?" Richard Wright, 1943, courtesy of the Collections of the Library of Congress.*

I knew Carl Van Vechten, and today I will look at the portfolio of pictures that he made of me in the '40s. I never was invited to those famous parties that he and his wife had—but they did invite me to their apartment—and I remember that I had my hair in an upsweep. I didn't have much hair, and he said, "Do you always wear your hair that short?"

I said, "Yes, I was born with it that short." Didn't have any more hair than that.

What the black writer was saying—and Langston says it better in that essay that first appeared on the racial malady ["The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain" in *The Nation*, 1926]—is that we black writers are going to express ourselves as we feel we want to express ourselves. And if white people like us, that's fine, and if they don't like us, that's fine. And if black people like us, it's fine, and if they don't like us, it's fine. We're going to do what we want to do. When company comes, you send me to the kitchen, but I eat and grow fat. And I'm beautiful and strong. And one day you'll see how beautiful I am, and you won't send me to the kitchen anymore.

Wright—boy, you should have heard Richard Wright. He said everything he could against Langston. Wright said, now why do we have to beg the question of our humanity to anybody? We look in the mirror every day, we see what color we are, and we know we're not dogs. So we don't have to go along with that Shakespearean business, "If you prick me, do I not bleed?"



"The image of the black woman in American Literature has been such a negative, derogatory image. That black woman was always seen either as the beast of burden, the menial, the domestic, the buffoon and the clown, or the sex object, the amoral prostitute, Scarlet Sister, Mary, or Mamba's daughters and Mamba, or you had no humanity whatsoever. Or you have that black woman bearing the burden of color, and her role in literature was the same as her role in life, in society." Margaret Walker Alexander and a young admirer at Square Books in Oxford, Mississippi, courtesy of the William R. Ferris Collection, the Southern Folklife Collection, Wilson Library, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

"It's late in the day. It's not morning; it's not noon. It doesn't seem to be just early afternoon. I'm looking at a setting sun. And all of the things inside of me: I would hate to die with them inside of me. I'd like to get them down. I've got to get this stuff finished before the parade passes by." Margaret Walker Alexander at Square Books in Oxford, Mississippi, courtesy of the William R. Ferris Collection, Southern Folklife Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

If you look at Wright, or if you look at me, we are not begging the question of black humanity. We accept it.

The image of the black woman in American Literature has been such a negative, derogatory image. That black woman was always seen either as the beast of burden, the menial, the domestic, the buffoon and the clown, or the sex object, the amoral prostitute, Scarlet Sister, Mary, or Mamba's daughters and Mamba, or you had no humanity whatsoever. Or you have the black woman bearing the burden of color, the business of whether she was black, or whether she looked black or whether she looked white. And her role in literature was the same as her role in life, in society. There was no job too low for her to do, whether it was work in the field or work on the railroad or as the domestic servant. She would carry the clothes on her head. And then, what did we do? We built up that matriarchal myth—"she's so strong, she's the matriarch of the race." We did away completely with the black male as a strong figure by building up a myth of strong black women.

We are coming up against two things in the American novel, the traditions of the sentimental and the gothic. Zora Neale Hurston's *Jonah's Gourd Vine* and *Their Eyes Were Watching God* follow a folk pattern and a sentimental tradition. Modern black women novelists, like Alice Walker and Toni Morrison, are marvelous writers of the gothic. Toni Morrison is much better in *The Bluest Eye* and *Sula* than

in the book that won [the National Book Circle Award], *The Song of Solomon*. What she's doing with those black women is a very strong treatment to exorcise that demon, and she does it in *Sula*, even more so than in *The Bluest Eye*.

She's a marvelous craftswoman, and so is Alice. Toni is older than Alice—Alice is around my children's age—but I don't think there's a lot of difference between Toni and me. She understood that the welter of folk material in the black race is inexhaustible, that you can't ever get through with that, that you can't ever deal with all the strains of folk materials.

Nobody treats me finer these days than the people in Mississippi—all over the state. You should look at the statistics: people are coming back South.

I can take the heat; I can't take the cold.

It's late in the day for me. It's not morning; it's not noon. It doesn't seem to be just early afternoon. I'm looking at a setting sun. And all of the things inside of me, I would hate to die with them inside of me. I want to get them down. I always meant to be a writer, ended up not much of a writer, because I should have done a dozen books by now. I have down almost 200 pages of autobiography, 100 pages of one novel, blocked out another novel, and have ideas for more. It takes a lot of energy to write, and you have to have more than physical energy; you need psychic energy.

I've got to get this stuff finished before the parade passes by.

NOTE

This essay is edited from transcripts housed in the William R. Ferris Collection in Wilson Library's Southern Folklife Collection at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Documents of American History II

M2010

1950s: Internal Security Act of 1950 (EXCERPT)

U.S. Statutes at Large, 81st Cong., II Sess., Chp. 1024, p. 987-1031

AN ACT

To protect the United States against certain un-American and subversive activities by requiring registration of Communist organizations, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Internal Security Act of 1950".

TITLE I-SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL

Section 1. (a) This title may be cited as the "Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950".

(b) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to authorize, require, or establish military or civilian censorship or in any way to limit or infringe upon freedom of the press or of speech as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and no regulation shall be promulgated hereunder having that effect.

Necessity for Legislation

Sec. 2. As a result of evidence adduced before various committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, the Congress hereby finds that-

(1) There exists a world Communist movement which, in its origins, its development, and its present practice, is a world-wide revolutionary movement whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups

(governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world through the medium of a world-wide Communist organization.

(2) The establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in any country results in the suppression of all opposition to the party in power, the subordination of the rights of individuals to the state, the denial of fundamental rights and liberties which are characteristic of a representative form of government, such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of religious worship, and results in the maintenance of control over the people through fear, terrorism, and brutality.

(3) The system of government known as a totalitarian dictatorship is characterized by the existence of a single political party, organized on a dictatorial basis, and by substantial identity between such party and its policies and the government and governmental policies of the country in which it exists.

(4) The direction and control of the world Communist movement is vested in and exercised by the Communist dictatorship of a foreign country.

(5) The Communist dictatorship of such foreign country, in exercising such direction and control and in furthering the purposes of the world Communist movement, establishes or causes the establishment of, and utilizes, in various countries, action organizations which are not free and independent organizations, but are sections of a world-wide Communist organization and are controlled, directed, and subject to the discipline of the Communist dictatorship of such foreign country.

(6) The Communist action organizations so established and utilized in various countries, acting under such control, direction, and discipline, endeavor to carry out the objectives of the world Communist movement by bringing about the overthrow of existing governments by any available means, including force if necessary, and setting up Communist totalitarian dictatorships which will be subservient to the most powerful existing Communist totalitarian dictatorship. Although such organizations usually designate themselves as political parties, they are in fact constituent elements of the world-wide Communist movement and promote the objectives of such movement by conspiratorial and coercive tactics, instead of through the democratic processes of a free elective system or through the freedom-preserving means employed by a political party which operates as an agency by which people govern themselves.

(7) In carrying on the activities referred to in paragraph (6), such Communist organizations in various countries are organized on a secret, conspiratorial basis and operate to a substantial extent through organizations, commonly known as "Communist fronts", which in most instances are created and maintained, or used, in such manner as to conceal the facts as to their true character and purposes and their membership. One result

of this method of operation is that such affiliated organizations are able to obtain financial and other support from persons who would not extend such support if they knew the true purposes of, and the actual nature of the control and influence exerted upon, such "Communist fronts".

(8) Due to the nature and scope of the world Communist movement, with the existence of affiliated constituent elements working toward common objectives in various countries of the world, travel of Communist members, representatives, and agents from country to country facilitates communication and is prerequisite for the carrying on of activities to further the purposes of the Communist movement.

(9) In the United States those individuals who knowingly and willfully participate in the world Communist movement, when they so participate, in effect repudiate their allegiance to the United States, and in effect transfer their allegiance to the foreign country in which is vested the direction and control of the world Communist movement.

(10) In pursuance of communism's stated objectives, the most powerful existing Communist dictatorship has, by the methods referred to above, already caused the establishment in numerous foreign countries of Communist totalitarian dictatorships, and threatens to establish similar dictatorships in still other countries.

(11) The agents of communism have devised clever and ruthless espionage and sabotage tactics which are carried out in many instances in form or manner successfully evasive of existing law.

(12) The Communist network in the United States is inspired and controlled in large part by foreign agents who are sent into the United States ostensibly as attaches of foreign legations, affiliates of international organizations, members of trading commissions, and in similar capacities, but who use their diplomatic or semidiplomatic status as a shield behind which to engage in activities prejudicial to the public security.

(13) There are, under our present immigration laws, numerous aliens who have been found to be deportable, many of whom are in the subversive, criminal, or immoral classes who are free to roam the country at will without supervision or control.

(14) One device for infiltration by Communists is by procuring naturalization for disloyal aliens who use their citizenship as a badge for admission into the fabric of our society.

(15) The Communist movement in the United States is an organization numbering thousands of adherents, rigidly and ruthlessly disciplined. Awaiting and seeking to advance a moment when the United States may be so far extended by foreign engagements, so far divided in counsel, or so far in industrial or financial straits, that overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence may seem possible of achievement, it seeks converts far and wide by an extensive system of schooling and indoctrination. Such preparations by Communist organizations in other countries have aided in supplanting existing governments.

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

Definitions

Sec. 3. For the purposes of this title-

(1) The term "person" means an individual or an organization.

(2) The term "organization" means an organization, corporation, company, partnership, association, trust, foundation, or fund; and includes a group of persons, whether or not incorporated, permanently or temporarily associated together for joint action on any subject or subjects.

(3) The term "Communist-action organization" means-

(a) any organization in the United States (other than a diplomatic representative or mission of a foreign government accredited as such by the Department of State) which (i) is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by the foreign government or foreign organization controlling the world Communist movement referred to in section 2 of this title, and (ii) operates primarily to advance the objectives of such world Communist movement as referred to in section 2 of this title; and

(b) any section, branch, fraction, or cell of any organization defined in subparagraph (a) of this paragraph which has not complied with the registration requirements of this title.

(4) The term "Communist-front organization" means any organization in the United States (other than a Communist-action organization as defined in paragraph (3) of this section) which (A) is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by a Communist-action organization, and (B) is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to a Communist-action organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement referred to in section 2 of this title.

(5) The term "Communist organization" means a Communist-action organization or a Communist-front organization.

(6) The term "to contribute funds or services" includes the rendering of any personal service and the making of any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit, of money or of anything of value, and also the making of any contract, promise, or agreement to contribute funds or services, whether or not legally enforcible.

(7) The term "facility" means any plant, factory or other manufacturing, producing or service establishment, airport, airport facility, vessel, pier, water-front facility, mine, railroad, public utility, laboratory, station, or other establishment or facility, or any part, division, or department of any of the foregoing. The term "defense facility" means any facility designated and proclaimed by the Secretary of Defense pursuant to section 5(b) of this title and included on the list published and currently in effect under such subsection, and which is in compliance with the provisions of such subsection respecting the posting of notice of such designation.

(8) The term "publication" means any circular, newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, book, letter, post card, leaflet, or other publication.

(9) The term "United States", when used in a geographical sense, includes the several States, Territories, and possessions of the United States, the District of Columbia, and the Canal Zone.

(10) The term "interstate or foreign commerce" means trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, or communication (A) between any State, Territory, or possession of the United States (including the Canal Zone), or the District of Columbia, and any place outside thereof, or (B) within any Territory or possession of the United States (including the Canal Zone), or within the District of Columbia.

(11) The term "Board" means the Subversive Activities Control Board created by section 12 of this title.

(12) The term "final order of the Board" means an order issued by the Board under section 13 of this title, which has become final as provided in section 14 of this title.

(13) The term "advocates" includes advises, recommends, furthers by overt act, and admits belief in; and the giving, loaning, or promising of support or of money or anything of value to be used for advocating any doctrine shall be deemed to constitute the advocating of such doctrine.

(14) The term "world communism" means a revolutionary movement, the purpose of which is to establish eventually a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in any or all the countries of the world through the medium of an internationally coordinated Communist movement.

(15) The terms "totalitarian dictatorship" and "totalitarianism" mean and refer to systems of government not representative in fact, characterized by (A) the existence of a single political party, organized on a dictatorial basis, with so close an identity between such party and its policies and the governmental policies of the country in which it exists, that the party and the government constitute an indistinguishable unit, and (B) the forcible suppression of opposition to such party.

(16) The term "doctrine" includes, but is not limited to, policies, practices, purposes, aims, or procedures.

(17) The giving, loaning, or promising of support or of money or any other thing of value for any purpose to any organization shall be conclusively presumed to constitute affiliation therewith; but nothing in this

paragraph shall be construed as an exclusive definition of affiliation.

(18) "Advocating the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world communism" means advocating the establishment of a totalitarian Communist dictatorship in any or all of the countries of the world through the medium of an internationally coordinated Communist movement.

(19) "Advocating the economic and governmental doctrines of any other form of totalitarianism" means advocating the establishment of totalitarianism (other than world communism) and includes, but is not limited to, advocating the economic and governmental doctrines of fascism and nazism.

Certain Prohibited Acts

Sec. 4. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to combine, conspire, or agree, with any other person to perform any act which would substantially contribute to the establishment within the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship, as defined in paragraph (15) of section 3 of this title, the direction and control of which is to be vested in, or exercised by or under the domination or control of, any foreign government, foreign organization, or foreign individual: Provided, however, That this subsection shall not apply to the proposal of a constitutional amendment.

(b) It shall be unlawful for any officer or employee of the United States or of any department or agency thereof, or of any corporation the stock of which is owned in whole or in major part by the United States or any department or agency thereof, to communicate in any manner or by any means, to any other person whom such officer or employee knows or has reason to believe to be an agent or representative of any foreign government or any officer or member of any Communist organization as defined in paragraph (5) of section 3 of this title, any information of a kind which shall have been classified by the President (or by the head of any such department, agency, or corporation with the approval of the President) as affecting the security of the United States, knowing or having reason to know that such information has been so classified, unless such officer or employees shall have been specifically authorized by the President, or by the head of the department, agency, or corporation by which this officer or employee is employed, to make such disclosure of such information.

(c) It shall be unlawful for any agent or representative of any foreign government, or any officer or member of any Communist organization as defined in paragraph (5) of section 3 of this title, knowingly to obtain or receive, or attempt to obtain or receive, directly or indirectly, from any officer or employee of the United States or of any department or agency thereof or of any corporation the stock of which is owned in whole or in major part by the United States or any department or agency thereof, any information of a kind which shall have been classified by the President (or by the head of any such department, agency, or corporation with the

approval of the President) as affecting the security of the United States, unless special authorization for such communication shall first have been obtained from the head of the department, agency, or corporation having custody of or control over such information.

(d) Any person who violates any provision of this section shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000, or imprisonment for not more than ten years, or by both such fine and such imprisonment, and shall, moreover, be thereafter ineligible to hold any office, or place of honor, profit, or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States.

(e) Any person may be prosecuted, tried, and punishad for any violation of this section at any time within ten years after the commission of such offence, notwithstanding the provisions of any other statute of limitations: Provided, That if at the time of the commission of the offense such person is an officer or employee of the United States or of any department or agency thereof, or of any corporation the stock of which is owned in whole or in major part by the United States or any department or agency thereof, such person may be prosecuted, tried, and punished for any violation of this section at any time within ten years after such person has ceased to be employed as such officer or employee.

(f) Neither the holding of office nor membership in any Communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation of subsection (a) or subsection (c) of this section or of any other criminal statute. The fact of the registration of any person under section 7 or section 8 of this title as an officer or member of any Communist organization shall not be received in evidence against such person in any prosecution for any alleged violation of subsection (a) or subsection (c) of this section or for any alleged violation of any other criminal statute.

Employment of Members of Communist Organizations

Sec. 5. (a) When a Communist organization, as defined in paragraph (5) of section 3 of this title, is registered or there is in effect a final order of the Board requiring such organization to register, it shall be unlawful-

(1) For any member of such organization, with knowledge or notice that such organization is so registered or that such order has become final-

(A) in seeking, accepting, or holding any nonelective office or employment under the United States, to conceal or fail to disclose the fact that he is a member of such organization; or

(B) to hold any nonelective office or employment under the United States; or

(C) in seeking, accepting, or holding employment in any defense facility, to conceal or fail to disclose the fact that he is a member of such organization; or

(D) if such organization is a Communist-action organization, to engage in any employment in any defense

facility.

(2) For any officer or employee of the United States or of any defense facility, with knowledge or notice that such organization is so registered or that such order has become final-

(A) to contribute funds or services to such organization; or

(B) to advise, counsel or urge any person, with knowledge or notice that such person is a member of such organization, to perform, or to omit to perform, any act if such act or omission would constitute a violation of any provision of subparagraph (1) of this subsection.

(b) The Secretary of Defense is authorized and directed to designate and proclaim, and from time to time revise, a list of facilities, as defined in paragraph (7) of section 3 of this title, with respect to the operation of which he finds and determines that the security of the United States requires the application of the provisions of subsection (a) of this section. The Secretary shall cause such list as designated end proclaimed, or any revision thereof, to be promptly published in the Federal Register, and shall promptly notify the management of any facility so listed; whereupon such management shall immediately post conspicuously, and thereafter while so listed keep posted, notice of such designation in such form and in such place or places as to give reasonable notice thereof to all employees of, and to all applicants for employment in, such facility.

(c) As used in this section, the term "member" shall not include any individual whose name has not been made public because of the prohibition contained in section 9(b) of this title.

Denial of Passports to Members of Communist Organizations

Sec. 6. (a) When a Communist organization as defined in paragraph (5) of section 3 of this title is registered, or there is in effect a final order of the Board requiring such organization to register, it shall be unlawful for any member of such organization, with knowledge or notice that such organization is so registered or that such order has become final-

(1) to make application for a passport, or the renewal of a passport, to be issued or renewed by or under the authority of the United States; or

(2) to use or attempt to use any such passport.

(b) When an organization is registered, or there is in effect a final order of the Board requiring an organization to register, as a Communist-action organization, it shall be unlawful for any officer or employee of the United States to issue a passport to, or renew the passport of, any individual knowing or having reason to believe that such individual is a member of such organization.

(c) As used in this section, the term "member" shall not include any individual whose name has not been made public because of the prohibition contained in section 9(b) of this title.

S. Prt. 107-84

EXECUTIVE SESSIONS OF THE SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

VOLUME 1

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1953

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[1]The Democratic members were absent from the subcommittee from July 10, 1953 to January 25, 1954.

INTRODUCTION

The executive sessions of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations for the Eighty-third Congress, from 1953 to 1954, make sobering reading. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy assumed the chairmanship of the Government Operations Committee in January 1953 and exercised prerogative, under then existing rules, to chair the subcommittee as well. For the three previous years, Senator McCarthy had dominated the national news with his charges of subversion and espionage at the highest levels of the federal government, and the chairmanship provided him with a vehicle for attempting to prove and perhaps expand those allegations.

Elected as a Wisconsin Republican in 1946, Senator McCarthy had burst into national headlines in February 1950, when he delivered a Lincoln Day address in Wheeling, West Virginia, that blamed failures in American foreign policy on Communist infiltration of the United States government. He held in his hand, the senator asserted, a list of known Communists still working in the Department of State. When a special subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee investigated these charges and rejected them as "a fraud and a hoax," the issue might have died, but the outbreak of the Korean War, along with the conviction of Alger Hiss and arrest of Julius Rosenberg in 1950, lent new credibility to McCarthy's charges. He continued to make accusations that such prominent officials as General George C. Marshall had been part of an immense Communist conspiracy. In 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower's election as president carried Republican majorities in both houses of Congress, and seniority elevated McCarthy to chairman of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

Jurisdictional lines of the Senate assigned loyalty issues to the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, but Senator McCarthy interpreted his subcommittee's mandate broadly enough to cover any government-related activity, including subversion and espionage. Under his chairmanship, the subcommittee shifted from searching out waste and corruption in the executive branch to focusing almost exclusively on Communist infiltration. The subcommittee vastly accelerated the pace of its hearings. By comparison to the six executive sessions held by his predecessor in 1952, McCarthy held 117 in 1953. The subcommittee also conducted numerous public hearings, which were often televised, but it did the largest share of its work behind closed doors. During McCarthy's first year as chairman, the subcommittee took testimony from 395 witnesses in executive sessions and staff interrogatories (by comparison to 214 witnesses in the public sessions), and compiled 8,969 pages of executive session testimony (compared to 5,671 pages of public hearings). Transcripts of public hearings were

published within months, while those of executive sessions were sealed and deposited in the National Archives and Records Administration. Under the provisions of S. Res. 474, records involving Senate investigations may be sealed for fifty years. With the approach of the hearings' fiftieth anniversary, the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations authorized the Senate Historical Office to prepare the executive session transcripts for publication.

Professional stenographers worked independently under contract to the Senate to produce the original transcripts of the closed hearings. The transcripts are as accurate as the stenographers were able to make them, but since neither senators nor witnesses reviewed their remarks, as they would have for published hearings, they could correct neither misspelled names nor misheard words. Several different stenographers operating in Washington, New York, and Massachusetts prepared the transcripts, accounting for occasional variations in style. The current editing has sought to reproduce the transcripts as closely to their original form as possible, deleting no content but correcting apparent errors—such as the stenographer's turning the town of Bethpage, New York, into a person's name, Beth Page. Transcribers also employed inconsistent capitalization and punctuation, which have been corrected in this printed version.

The executive sessions have been given the same titles as the related public hearings, and all hearings on the same subject matter have been grouped together chronologically. If witnesses in executive session later testified in public, the spelling of their names that appeared in the printed hearing has been adopted. If the subcommittee ordered that the executive session testimony be published, those portions have not been reprinted, but editorial notes indicate where the testimony occurred and provide a citation. No transcripts were made of "off the record" discussions, which are noted within the hearings. Senator McCarthy is identified consistently as "The Chairman." Senators who occasionally chaired hearings in his absence, or chaired special subcommittees, are identified by name. Brief editorial notes appear at the top of each hearing to place the subject matter into historical context and to indicate whether the witnesses later testified in public session. Wherever possible, the witnesses' birth and death dates are noted. A few explanatory footnotes have been added, although editorial intrusion has been kept to a minimum. The subcommittee deposited all of the original transcripts at the Center for Legislative Archives at the National Archives and Records Administration, where they are now open for research.

THE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS

Following the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program (popularly known as the Truman committee, for its chairman, Harry S. Truman) merged with the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments to become the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. In 1953 the Committee on Executive Expenditures was renamed the Committee on Government Operations, and Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (1908–1957), who had joined the committee in 1947, became chairman of both the committee and its

permanent subcommittee. Republicans won a narrow majority during the Eighty-third Congress, and held only a one-seat advantage over Democrats in the committee ratios. The influx of new senators since World War II also meant that except for the subcommittee's chairman and ranking member, all other members were serving in their first terms. Senator McCarthy had just been elected to his second term in 1952, while the ranking Democrat, Arkansas Senator John L. McClellan (1896–1977), had first been elected in 1942, and had chaired the Government Operations Committee during the Eighty-first and Eighty-second Congresses. The other members of the subcommittee included Republicans Karl Mundt (1900–1974), Everett McKinley Dirksen (1896–1969), and Charles E. Potter (1916–1979), and Democrats Henry M. Jackson (1912–1983) and Stuart Symington (1901–1988)[1]

With senators serving multiple committee assignments, only on rare occasions would the entire membership of any committee or subcommittee attend a hearing. Normally, Senate committees operated with a few senators present, with members coming and going through a hearing depending on their conflicting commitments. Unique circumstances developed in 1953 to allow Senator McCarthy to be the sole senator present at many of the subcommittee's hearings, particularly those held away from Washington. In July 1953, a dispute over the chairman's ability to hire staff without consultation caused the three Democrats on the subcommittee to resign. They did not return until January 1954. McCarthy and his staff also called hearings on short notice, and often outside of Washington, which prevented the other Republican senators from attending. Senators Everett Dirksen and Charles Potter occasionally sent staff members to represent them (and at times to interrogate witnesses). By operating so often as a "one-man committee," Senator McCarthy gave witnesses the impression, as Harvard law school dean Erwin Griswold observed, that they were facing a "judge, jury, prosecutor, castigator, and press agent, all in one."[2]

The Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 had created a nonpartisan professional staff for each Senate committee. Originally, staff worked for the committee as a whole and were not divided by majority and minority. Chairman McCarthy inherited a small staff from his predecessor, Clyde Hoey, a Democrat from North Carolina, but a significant boost in appropriations enabled him to add many of his own appointees. For chief counsel, McCarthy considered candidates that included Robert Morris, counsel of the Internal Security Subcommittee, Robert F. Kennedy, and John J. Sirica, but he offered the job to Roy M. Cohn (1927–1986). The son of a New York State appellate division judge, Cohn had been too young to take the bar exam when he graduated from Columbia University Law School. A year later he became assistant United States attorney on the day he was admitted to the bar. In the U.S. attorney's office he took part in the prosecution of William Remington, a former Commerce Department employee convicted of perjury relating to his Communist party membership. Cohn also participated in the

[1] See Committee on Government Operations, *50th Anniversary History*, 1921–1971, 92nd Cong., 1st sess., S. Doc. 31 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971).

[2] Erwin N. Griswold, *The 5th Amendment Today* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 67.

prosecution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and in the trial of the top Communist party leaders in the United States. He earned a reputation as a relentless questioner with a sharp mind and retentive memory. In 1952, Cohn briefly served as special assistant to Truman's attorney general, James McGranery, and prepared an indictment for perjury against Owen Lattimore, the Johns Hopkins University professor whom Senator McCarthy had accused of being a top Soviet agent. Cohn's appointment also helped counteract the charges of prejudice leveled against the anti-Communist investigations. (Indeed, when he was informed that the B'nai B'rith was providing lawyers to assist the predominantly Jewish engineers suspended from Fort Monmouth, on the assumption of anti-Semitism, Cohn responded: "Well, that is an outrageous assumption. I am a member and an officer of B'nai B'rith.") In December 1952, McCarthy invited Cohn to become subcommittee counsel. "You know, I'm going to be the chairman of the investigating committee in the Senate. They're all trying to push me off the Communist issue . . . ," Cohn recalled the senator telling him. "The sensible thing for me to do, they say, is start investigating the agriculture program or find out how many books they've got bound upside down at the Library of Congress. They want me to play it safe. I fought this Red issue. I won the primary on it. I won the election on it, and don't see anyone else around who intends to take it on. You can be sure that as chairman of this committee this is going to be my work. And I want you to help me."[3]

At twenty-six, Roy Cohn lacked any previous legislative experience and tended to run hearings more like a prosecutor before a grand jury, collecting evidence to make his case in open session rather than to offer witnesses a full and fair hearing. Republican Senator Karl Mundt, a veteran investigator who had previously served on the House Un-American Activities Committee, urged Cohn to call administrative officials who could explain the policies and rationale of the government agencies under investigation, and to keep the hearings balanced, but Cohn felt disinclined to conduct an open forum. Arrogant and brash, he alienated others on the staff, until even Senator McCarthy admitted that putting "a young man in charge of other young men doesn't work out too well." Cohn's youth further distanced him from most of the witnesses he interrogated. Having reached maturity during the Cold War rather than the Depression, he could not fathom a legitimate reason for anyone having attended a meeting, signed a petition, or contributed to an organization with any Communist affiliation. In his memoirs, Cohn later recounted how a retired university professor once told him "that had I been born twelve or fifteen years earlier my world-view and therefore my character would have been very different."[4]

An indifferent administrator, Senator McCarthy gave his counsel free rein to conduct investigations. In fact, he appointed Cohn without having first removed the subcommittee's previous chief counsel, Francis "Frip" Flanagan. To remedy this discrepancy, McCarthy

[3] *Washington Star*, July 20, 1954; Roy Cohn, *McCarthy* (New York: New American Library, 1968), 46.

[4] Ibid., 22; David F. Krugler, *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945–1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 191.

changed Flanagan's title to general counsel, although he never delineated any differences in authority. When a reporter asked what these titles meant, McCarthy confessed that he did not know. The subcommittee's chief clerk, Ruth Young Watt, found that whenever a decision needed to be made, Cohn would say, "Ask Frip," and Flanagan would reply, "Ask Roy." "In other words," she explained, "I'd just end up doing what I thought was right."[5]

The subcommittee held most of its hearings in room 357 of the Senate Office Building (now named the Russell Senate Office Building). Whenever it anticipated larger crowds for public hearings, it would shift to room 318, the spacious Caucus Room (now room 325), which better accommodated radio and television coverage. In 1953 the subcommittee also held extensive hearings in New York City, working out of the federal courthouse at Foley Square and the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, while other executive sessions took place at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, and in Boston. Roy Cohn had recruited his close friend, G. David Schine (1927–1996), as the subcommittee's unpaid "chief consultant." The two men declined to work out of the subcommittee's crowded office—Cohn did not even have a desk there. ("I don't have an office as such," Cohn later testified. "We have room 101 with 1 desk and 1 chair. That is used jointly by Mr. Carr and myself. The person who gets there first occupies the chair."[6]) Instead, Cohn and Schine rented more spacious quarters for themselves in a nearby private office building. When the subcommittee met in New York, Schine made his family's limousine and suite at the Waldorf-Astoria available for its use. As the subcommittee's only unpaid staff member, he was not reimbursed for travel and other expenses, including his much-publicized April 1953 tour with Cohn of U.S. information libraries in Europe. In executive sessions, Schine occasionally questioned witnesses and even presided in Senator McCarthy's absence, with the chief counsel addressing him as "Mr. Chairman." Others on the staff, including James Juliana and Daniel G. Buckley, similarly conducted hearing-like interrogatories of witnesses. Schine continued his associations with the subcommittee even after his induction into the army that November—an event that triggered the chairman's epic confrontation with the army the following year.[7]

The hectic pace and controversial nature of the subcommittee hearings during the Eighty-third Congress placed great burdens on the staff and contributed to frequent departures. Of the twelve staff members that McCarthy inherited, only four remained by the end of the year—an investigator and three clerks. Of the twenty-one new staff added during 1953, six did not last the year. Research director Howard Rushmore (1914–1958) resigned after four months, and assistant counsel Robert Kennedy (1925–1968), after literally coming to blows with Roy Cohn, resigned in August, telling the chairman that the subcommittee was "headed for disaster." (The following year, Kennedy returned as minority counsel.) When Francis Flanagan left in June 1953, Senator McCarthy named J.

[5] Ruth Young Watt oral history, 109, Senate Historical Office.
[6] Special Subcommittee on Investigations, *Special Senate Investigation on Charges and Countercharges Involving: Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens, John G. Adams, H. Struve Hensel and Senator Joe McCarthy, Roy M. Cohn, and Francis P. Carr*, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., part 47 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954), 1803.
[7] Ruth Young Watt oral history, 107–108; 130; *Washington Star*, January 1, 1953.

B. Matthews (1894–1966) as executive director, hoping that the seasoned investigator would impose some order on the staff. Matthews boasted of having joined more Communist-front organizations than any other American, although he had never joined the Communist party. When he fell out of favor with radical groups in the mid-1930s, he converted into an outspoken anti-Communist and served as chief investigator for the House Un-American Activities Committee from 1939 to 1945. An ordained Methodist minister, he was referred to as "Doctor Matthews," although he held no doctoral degree. Just as McCarthy announced his appointment to head the subcommittee staff in June 1953, Matthews's article on "Reds in Our Churches" appeared in the *American Mercury* magazine. His portrayal of Communist sympathy among the nation's Protestant clergy caused a public uproar, and Republican Senator Charles Potter joined the three Democrats on the subcommittee in calling for Matthews's dismissal. Although Matthews resigned voluntarily, it was Senator McCarthy's insistence on maintaining the sole power to hire and fire staff that caused the three Democratic senators to resign from the subcommittee, while retaining their membership in the full Government Operations Committee. Senator McCarthy then appointed Francis P. Carr, Jr. (1925–1994) as executive director, with Roy Cohn continuing as chief counsel to direct the investigation.[8]

THE RIGHTS OF WITNESSES

In their hunt for subversion and espionage, Senator McCarthy and chief counsel Cohn conducted hearings on the State Department, the Voice of America, the U.S. overseas libraries, the Government Printing Office, and the Army Signal Corps. Believing any method justifiable in combating an international conspiracy, they grilled witnesses intensely. Senator McCarthy showed little patience for due process and defined witnesses' constitutional rights narrowly. His hectoring style inspired the term "McCarthyism," which came to mean "any investigation that flouts the rights of individuals," usually involving character assassination, smears, mudslinging, sensationalism, and guilt by association. "McCarthyism"—coined by the *Washington Post* cartoonist Herblock, in 1950—grew so universally accepted that even Senator McCarthy employed it, redefining it as "the fight for America." Subsequently, the term has been applied collectively to all congressional investigations of suspected Communists, including those by the House Un-American Activities Committee and Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, which bore no direct relation to the permanent subcommittee.[9]

In these closed executive sessions, Senator McCarthy's treatment of witnesses ranged from abrasive to solicitous. The term "executive sessions" derives from the Senate's division of its business between legislative (bills and resolutions) and executive (treaties and

[8] G. F. Goodwin, "Joseph Brown Matthews," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Supplement 8 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), 424–27; Lawrence B. Glickman, "The Strike in the Temple of Consumption: Consumer Activitism and Twentieth-Century American Political Culture," *Journal of American History*, 88 (June 2001), 99–128; Robert F. Kennedy, *The Enemy Within* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 176.

[9] William Safire, *Safire's New Political Dictionary: The Definitive Guide to the New Language of Politics* (New York: Random House, 1993), 441; Senator Joe McCarthy, *McCarthyism: The Fight for America* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1952).

nominations). Until 1929 the Senate debated all executive business in closed session, clearing the public and press galleries, and locking the doors. "Executive" thereby became synonymous with "closed." Committees held closed sessions to conduct preliminary inquiries, to mark up bills before reporting them to the floor, and to handle routine committee housekeeping. By hearing witnesses privately, the permanent subcommittee could avoid incidents of misidentification and could determine how forthcoming witnesses were likely to be in public. In the case of McCarthy, however, "executive session" took a different meaning. John G. Adams, who attended many of these hearings as the army's counsel from 1953 to 1954, observed that the chairman used the term "executive session" rather loosely. "It didn't really mean a closed session, since McCarthy allowed in various friends, hangers-on, and favored newspaper reporters," wrote Adams. "Nor did it mean secret, because afterwards McCarthy would tell the reporters waiting outside whatever he pleased. Basically, 'executive' meant that Joe could do anything he wanted." Adams recalled that the subcommittee's Fort Monmouth hearings were held in a "windowless storage room in the bowels of the courthouse, unventilated and oppressively hot," into which crowded the senator, his staff, witnesses, and observers who at various times included trusted newspaper reporters, the governor of Wisconsin, the chairman's wife, mother-in-law and friends. "The 'secret' hearings were, after all, quite a show," Adams commented, adding that the transcripts were rarely released to the public. This ostensibly protected the privacy of those interrogated, but also gave the chairman an opportunity to give to the press his version of what had transpired behind closed doors, with little chance of rebuttal.[10]

Roy Cohn insisted that the subcommittee gave "suspects" rights that they would not get in a court of law. Unlike a witness before a grand jury, or testifying on the stand, those facing the subcommittee could have their attorney sit beside them for consultation. The executive sessions further protected the witnesses, Cohn pointed out, by excluding the press and the public. But Gen. Telford Taylor, an American prosecutor at Nuremberg, charged McCarthy with conducting "a new and indefensible kind of hearing, which is neither a public hearing nor an executive session." In Taylor's view, the closed sessions were a device that enabled the chairman to tell newspapers whatever he saw fit about what happened, without giving witnesses a chance to defend themselves or reporters a chance to check the accuracy of the accusations. Characteristically, Senator McCarthy responded to this criticism with an executive session inquiry into Gen. Taylor's loyalty. The chairman used other hearings to settle personal scores with men such as Edward Barrett, State Department press spokesman under Dean Acheson, and Edward Morgan, staff director of the Tydings subcommittee that had investigated his Wheeling speech.[11]

Inclusion as a witness in these volumes in no way suggests a measure of guilt. Some of the witnesses who came before the per-

[10] John G. Adams, *Without Precedent: The Story of the Death of McCarthyism* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), 53, 60, 66.

[11] Cohn, *McCarthy*, 51; C. Dickerman Williams, "The Duty to Investigate," *The Freeman*, 3 (September 21, 1953), 919; *New York Times*, November 28, 1953.

manent subcommittee in 1953 had been Communists; others had not. Some witnesses cooperated by providing names and other information; others did not. Some testified on subjects entirely unrelated to communism, subversion or espionage. The names of many of these witnesses appeared in contemporary newspaper accounts, even when they did not testify in public. About a third of the witnesses called in executive session did not appear at any public hearing, and Senator McCarthy often defined such witnesses as having been "cleared." Some were called as witnesses out of mistaken identity. Others defended themselves so resolutely or had so little evidence against them that the chairman and counsel chose not to pursue them. For those witnesses who did appear in public, the closed hearings served as dress rehearsals. The subcommittee also heard many witnesses in public session who had not previously appeared at a closed hearing, usually committee staff or government officials for whom a preliminary hearing was not deemed necessary. Given the rapid pace of the hearings, the subcommittee staff had little time for preparation. "No real research was ever done," Robert Kennedy complained. "Most of the investigations were instituted on the basis of some preconceived notion by the chief counsel or his staff members and not on the basis of any information that had been developed." [12]

After July 1953, when the Democratic senators resigned from the subcommittee, other Republican senators also stopped attending the subcommittee's closed hearings, in part because so many of the hearings were held away from the District of Columbia and called on short notice. Witnesses also received subpoenas on such short notice that they found it hard to prepare themselves or consult with counsel. Theoretically the committee, rather than the chairman, issued subpoenas, Army Counsel John G. Adams noted. "But McCarthy ignored the Senate rule that required a vote of the other members every time he wanted to haul someone in. He signed scores of blank subpoenas which his staff members carried in their inside pockets, and issued as regularly as traffic tickets." Witnesses repeatedly complained that subpoenas to appear were served on them just before the hearings, either the night before or the morning of, making it hard for them to obtain legal representation. Even if they obtained a lawyer, the senator would not permit attorneys to raise objections or to talk for the witness. Normally, a quorum of at least one-third of the committee or subcommittee members was needed to take sworn testimony, although a single senator could hold hearings if authorized by the committee. The rules did not bar "one-man hearings," because senators often came and went during a committee hearing and committee business could come to a halt if a minimum number of senators were required to hold a hearing.[13]

When the chairman acted as a one-man committee, the tone of the hearings more closely resembled an inquisition. Witnesses who swore that they had never joined the Communist party or engaged in espionage or sabotage were held accountable for long-forgotten petitions they had signed a decade earlier or for having joined orga-

[12] Kennedy, *The Enemy Within*, 307.
[13] Adams, *Without Precedent*, 67, 69.

nizations that the attorney general later cited as Communist fronts. Seeking any sign of political unorthodoxy, the chairman and the subcommittee staff scrutinized the witnesses' lives and grilled them about the political beliefs of colleagues, neighbors and family members. In the case of Stanley Berinsky, he was suspended from the Army Signal Corps at Fort Monmouth after security officers discovered that his mother had once been a member of the Communist party:

The CHAIRMAN. Let's get this straight. I know it is unusual to appear before a committee. So many witnesses get nervous. You just got through telling us you did not know she was a Communist; now you tell us she resigned from the Communist party? As of when?

Mr. BERINSKY. I didn't know this until the security suspension came up at Fort Monmouth.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. BERINSKY. That was in 1952.

The CHAIRMAN. Then did your mother come over and tell you she had resigned?

Mr. BERINSKY. I told her what happened. At that time she told me she had been out for several years.

The CHAIRMAN. . . . Well, did you ever ask her if she was a Communist?

Mr. BERINSKY. No, sir. . . .

The CHAIRMAN. When you went to see her, weren't you curious? If somebody told me my mother was a Communist, I'd get on the phone and say, "Mother is this true"? . . .

Did she tell you why she resigned?

Mr. BERINSKY. If seems to me she probably did it because I held a government job and she didn't want to jeopardize my position.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, it wasn't because she felt differently about the Communist party, but because she didn't want to jeopardize your position?

Mr. BERINSKY. Probably.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she still a Communist at heart in 1952?

Mr. BERINSKY. Well, I don't know how you define that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think she was a Communist, using your own definition of communism?

Mr. BERINSKY. I guess my own definition is one who is a member of the party. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's say one who was a member and dropped out and is still loyal to the party. Taking that as a definition, would you say she is still a Communist?

Mr. BERINSKY. Do you mean in an active sense?

The CHAIRMAN. Loyal in her mind.

Mr. BERINSKY. That is hard to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Is she still living?

Mr. BERINSKY. Yes.[14]

Perhaps the most recurring phrase in these executive session hearings was not the familiar "Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist party?" That was the mantra of the public hearings. Instead, in the closed hearings it was "In other words," which prefaced the chairman's relentless rephrasing of witnesses' testimony into something with more sinister implications than they intended. Given Senator McCarthy's tendency toward hyperbole, witnesses objected to his use of inappropriate or inflammatory words to characterize their testimony. He took their objections as a sign they were covering up something:

The CHAIRMAN. Did you live with him when the apartment was raided by army security?

Mr. OKUN. Senator, the apartment was not raided. He had been called and asked whether he would let them search it. . . .

[14] Executive session transcript, November 5, 1953.

The CHAIRMAN. You seem to shy off at the word "raided." When the army security men go over and make a complete search of the apartment and find forty-three classified documents, to me that means "raided." You seem, both today and the other day to be going out of your way trying to cover up for this man Coleman.
Mr. OKUN. No, sir. I do not want to cover up anything.[15]

A few of those who appeared before the subcommittee later commented that the chairman was less intimidating in private than his public behavior had led them to expect. "Many of us have formed an impression of McCarthy from the now familiar Herblock caricatures. He is by no means grotesque," recalled Martin Merson, who clashed with the senator over the Voice of America. "McCarthy, the relaxed dinner guest, is a charming man with the friendliest of smiles." McCarthy's sometimes benign treatment of witnesses in executive session may have been a tactic intended to lull them into false complacency before his more relentless questioning in front of the television cameras, which certainly seemed to bring out the worst in him. Ruth Young Watt (1910–1996), the subcommittee's chief clerk from 1948 until her retirement in 1979, regarded the chairman as "a very kind man, very thoughtful of people working with him," but a person who would "get off on a tirade sometimes" in public hearings.[16]

Senator McCarthy regularly informed witnesses of their right to decline to answer if they felt an answer might incriminate them, but he interpreted their refusal to answer a question as an admission of guilt. He also encouraged government agencies and private corporations to fire anyone who took the Fifth Amendment before a congressional committee. When witnesses also attempted to cite their First Amendment rights, the chairman warned that they would be cited for contempt of Congress. Although the chairman pointed out that membership in the Communist party was not a crime, many witnesses declined to admit their past connections to the party to avoid having to name others with whom they were associated. Some witnesses wanted to argue that the subcommittee had no right to question their political beliefs, but their attorneys advised them that it would be more prudent to decline to answer. During 1953, some seventy witnesses before the subcommittee invoked the Fifth Amendment and declined to answer questions concerning Communist activities. Five refused to answer on the basis of the First Amendment, two claimed marital privileges, and Harvard Professor Wendell Furry invoked no constitutional grounds for his failure to answer questions.[17]

Some witnesses invoked the Fifth Amendment to avoid implicating those they knew to be Communists. Other invoked the Fifth Amendment as a blanket response to any questions about the Communist party, after being warned by their attorneys that if they answered questions about themselves they could be compelled to name their associates. In the case of *Rogers* v. *U.S.* (1951) the Supreme Court had ruled that a witness could not refuse to answer questions simply out of a "desire to protect others from punish-

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[15] Executive session transcript, October 23, 1953.
[16] Martin Merson, *The Private Diary of a Public Servant* (New York: Macmillan, 1955), 83; Ruth Watt oral history, 140.
[17] *Annual Report of the Committee on Government Operations Made by its Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations*, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess., S. Rept. 881 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954), 10–14; see also Griswold, *The 5th Amendment Today*, and Victor S. Navasky, *Naming Names* (New York: Viking Press, 1980).

ment, much less to protect another from interrogation by a grand jury." The Justice Department applied the same reasoning to witnesses who refused to identify others to a congressional committee. Since the questions were relevant to the operation of the government, the department assured Senator McCarthy that it was his right as a congressional investigator to order witnesses to answer questions about whether they know any Communists who might be working in the government or in defense plants.[18]

Senator McCarthy explained to witnesses that they could take the Fifth Amendment only if they were concerned that telling the truth would incriminate them, a reasoning that redefined the right against self-incrimination as incriminating in itself. Calling them "Fifth-Amendment Communists," he insisted that "an innocent man does not need the Fifth Amendment." At a public hearing, the chairman pressed one witness: "Are you declining, among other reasons, for the reason that you are relying upon that section of the Fifth Amendment which provides that no person may be a witness against himself if he feels that his testimony might tend to incriminate him? If you are relying upon that, you can tell me. If not, of course, you are ordered to answer. A Communist and espionage agent has the right to refuse on that ground, but not on any of the other grounds you cited."[19]

Federal court rulings had given congressional investigators considerable leeway to operate. In the aftermath of the Teapot Dome investigation, the Supreme Court ruled in *McGrain* v. *Daugherty* (1927) that a committee could subpoena anyone to testify, including private citizens who were neither government officials nor employees. In *Sinclair* v. *U.S.* (1929), the Supreme Court recognized the right of Congress to investigate anything remotely related to its legislative and oversight functions. The court also upheld the Smith Act of 1940, which made it illegal to advocate overthrowing the U.S. government by force or violence. In 1948 the Justice Department prosecuted twelve Communist leaders for having conspired to organize "as a society, group and assembly of persons who teach and advocate the overthrow and destruction of the Government of the United States by force and violence." Upholding their convictions, in *Dennis* v. *U.S.* (1951), the Supreme Court denied that their prosecution had violated the First Amendment, on the grounds that the government's power to prevent an armed rebellion subordinated free speech. During the next six years 126 individuals were indicted solely for being members of the Communist party. The Mundt-Nixon Act of 1950 further barred Communist party members from employment in defense installations, denied them passports, and required them to register with the Subversive Activities Control Board. In *Rogers* v. *U.S.* (1951) the Supreme Court declared that a witness who had testified that she was treasurer of a local Communist party and had possession of its records could not claim the Fifth Amendment when asked to whom she gave those records. Her initial admission had waived her right to invoke her privilege and she was guilty of contempt for failing to answer.

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[18] Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney, III to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, July 7, 1954, full text in the executive session transcript for July 16, 1954.

[19] Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, *Army Signal Corps—Subversion and Espionage*, 83rd Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1954), 153, 299–300.

Not until after Senator McCarthy's investigations had ceased did the Supreme Court change direction on the rights of congressional witnesses, in three sweeping decisions handed down on June 17, 1957. In *Yates* v. *U.S.* the court overturned the convictions of fourteen Communist party members under the Smith Act, finding that organizing a Communist party was not synonymous with advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. As a result, the Justice Department stopped seeking further indictments under the Smith Act. In *Watkins* v. *U.S.*, the court specified that an investigating committee must demonstrate a legislative purpose to justify probing into private affairs, and ruled that public education was an insufficient reason to force witnesses to answer questions under the penalty of being held in contempt. These rulings confirmed that the Bill of Rights applied to anyone subpoenaed by a congressional committee.[20]

If witnesses refused to cooperate, the chairman threatened them with indictment and incarceration. At the end of his first year as chairman, he advised one witness: "During the course of these hearings, I think up to this time we have some—this is just a rough guess—twenty cases we submitted to the grand jury, either for perjury or for contempt before this committee. Do not just assume that your name was pulled out of a hat. Before you were brought here, we make a fairly thorough and complete investigation. So I would like to strongly advise you to either tell the truth or, if you think the truth will incriminate you, then you are entitled to refuse to answer. I cannot urge that upon you too strongly. I have given that advice to other people here before the committee. They thought they were smarter than our investigators. They will end up in jail. This is not a threat; this is just friendly advice I am giving you. Do you understand that?" In the end, however, no witness who appeared before the subcommittee during his chairmanship was imprisoned for perjury, contempt, espionage, or subversion. Several witnesses were tried for contempt, and some were convicted, but each case was overturned on appeal.[21]

AREA OF INVESTIGATION

Following the tradition of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, the first executive session hearings in 1953 dealt with influence peddling, an outgrowth of an investigation begun in the previous Congress. Senator McCarthy absented himself from most of the influence-peddling hearings and left Senator Karl Mundt or Senator John McClellan, the ranking Republican and Democrat on the Government Operations Committee, to preside in his place. But the chairman made subversion and espionage his sole mission. On the day that the subcommittee launched a new set of hearings on influence peddling, it began hearings on the State Department's filing system, whose byzantine complexity Senator McCarthy attributed to either Communist infiltration of gross incompetence.

With the State Department investigation, Senator McCarthy returned to familiar territory. His Wheeling speech in 1950 had accused the department of harboring known Communists. The sen-

[20] Arthur J. Sabin, *In Calmer Times: The Supreme Court and Red Monday* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 11, 39, 55–57, 154–55, 167–68.
[21] Executive session transcript, December 15, 1953.

ator demanded that the State Department open its "loyalty files," and then complained that it provided only "skinny-ribbed bones of the files," "skeleton files," "purged files," and "phony files." The chairman's interest was naturally piqued in 1953 when State Department security officer John E. Matson reported irregularities in the department's filing system, and charged that personnel files had been "looted" of derogatory information in order to protect disloyal individuals. Although State Department testimony suggested that its system had been designed to protect the rights of employees in matters of career evaluation and promotion, Senator McCarthy contended that there had been a conspiracy to manipulate the files.[22]

A brief investigation of homosexuals as security risks also grew out of previous inquiries. In 1950, Senator McCarthy denounced "those Communists and queers who have sold 400 million Asiatic people into atheistic slavery and have American people in a hypnotic trance, headed blindly toward the same precipice." He often laced his speeches with references to "powder puff diplomacy," and accused his opponents of "softness" toward communism. "Why is it that wherever it is in the world that our State Department touches the red-hot aggression of Soviet communism there is heard a sharp cry of pain—a whimper of confusion and fear? . . . Why must we be forced to cringe in the face of communism?" By contrast, he portrayed himself in masculine terms: in rooting out communism he "had to do a bare-knuckle job or suffer the same defeat that a vast number of well-meaning men have suffered over past years. It has been a bare-knuckle job. As long as I remain in the Senate it will continue as a bare-knuckle job." The subcommittee had earlier responded to Senator McCarthy's complaint that the State Department had reinstated homosexuals suspended for moral turpitude with an investigation in 1950 that produced a report on the *Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in Government.* The report had concluded that homosexuals' vulnerability to blackmail made them security risks and therefore "not suitable for Government positions."[23]

The closed hearings shifted to two subsidiaries of the State Department, the Voice of America and the U.S. information libraries, which had come under the department's jurisdiction following World War II. Dubious about mixing foreign policy and propaganda, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles viewed the Voice of America as an unwanted appendage and was not unsympathetic to some housecleaning. It was not long, however, before the Eisenhower administration began to worry that McCarthy's effort to clean out the "left-wing debris" was disrupting its own efforts to reorganize the government. Senator McCarthy also looked into allegations of Communist literature on the shelves of the U.S. Information Agency libraries abroad. Rather than call the officials who administered the libraries, the subcommittee subpoenaed the authors

[22] Robert Griffith, *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 90–93; "The Raided Files," *Newsweek* (February 16, 1953), 28–29.

[23] *New York Times*, April 21, 1950; *Congressional Record*, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., A7249, A3426–28; Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, Subcommittee on Investigations, *Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in Government*, 81st Cong., 2nd sess (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950), 4–5, 19.

of the books in question, along with scholars and artists who traveled abroad on Fulbright scholarships. These witnesses became innocent bystanders in the cross-fire between the subcommittee and the administration as the senator expanded his inquiry from examinations of files and books to issues of espionage and sabotage, warning audiences: "This is the era of the Armageddon—that final all-out battle between light and darkness foretold in the Bible." Zealousness in the search for subversives made the senator unwilling to accept bureaucratic explanations on such matters as personnel files and loyalty board procedures in the State Department, the Government Printing Office, and the U.S. Army.[24]

Many of McCarthy's investigations began with a flurry of publicity and then faded away. Richard Rovere, who covered the subcommittee's hearings for the *New Yorker*, observed that investigation of the Voice of America was never completed. "It just stopped—its largest possibilities for tumult had been exhausted, and it trailed off into nothingness."[25] Before completing one investigation, the subcommittee would have launched another. The hectic pace of hearings and the large number of witnesses it called strained the subcommittee's staff resources. Counsels coped by essentially asking the same questions of all witnesses. "For the most part you wouldn't have time to do all your homework on that, we didn't have a big staff," commented chief clerk Ruth Watt. As a result, the subcommittee occasionally subpoenaed the wrong individuals, and used the closed hearings to winnow out cases of mistaken identity. Some of those who were subpoenaed failed to appear. As Roy Cohn complained of the authors whose books had appeared in overseas libraries, "we subpoena maybe fifty and five show up."[26]

When Senator McCarthy was preoccupied or uninterested in the subject matter, other senators would occasionally chair the hearings. Senator Charles Potter, for example, chaired a series of hearings on Korean War atrocities whose style, demeanor, and treatment of witnesses contrasted sharply with those that Senator McCarthy conducted; they are included in these volumes as a point of reference. Other hearings that stood apart in tone and substance concerned the illegal trade with the People's Republic of China, an investigation staffed by assistant counsel Robert F. Kennedy.[27]

The subcommittee's investigations exposed examples of lax security in government agencies and defense contractors, but they failed to substantiate the chairman's accusations of subversion and espionage. Critics accused Senator McCarthy of gross exaggerations, of conducting "show trials" rather than fact-finding inquiries, of being careless and indifferent about evidence, of treating witnesses cavalierly and of employing irresponsible tactics. Indeed, the chairman showed no qualms about using raw investigative files as evidence. His willingness to break the established rules encouraged some security officers and federal investigators to leak investigative files to the subcommittee that they were constrained by agency

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[24] "Battle Unjoined," *Newsweek* (March 23, 1953), 28; *Newsweek* (April 27, 1953), 34; Address to the Sons of the American Revolution, May 15, 1950, *Congressional Record*, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., A3787.

[25] Richard Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), 169.

[26] Ruth Young Watt oral history, 128.

[27] Gerald J. Bryan, "Joseph McCarthy, Robert Kennedy, and the Greek Shipping Crisis: A Study of Foreign Policy Rhetoric," *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 24 (Winter 1994), 93–104.

policy from revealing. Rather than lead to the high-level officials he had expected to find, the leaked security files shifted his attention to lower-level civil servants. Since these civil servants lacked the freedom to fight back in the political arena, they became "easier targets to bully."[28] Even Roy Cohn conceded that McCarthy invited much of the criticism "with his penchant for the dramatic," and "by making statements that could be construed as promising too much."[29]

Having predicted to the press that his inquiry into conditions at Fort Monmouth would uncover espionage, Senator McCarthy willingly accepted circumstantial evidence as grounds for the dismissal of an employee from government-related service. The subcommittee's dragnet included a number of perplexed witnesses who had signed a nominating petition years earliers, belonged to a union whose leadership included alleged Communists, bought an insurance policy through an organization later designated a Communist front organization, belonged to a Great Books club that read Karl Marx among other authors, had once dated a Communist, had relatives who were Communists, or simply had the same name as a Communist. Those witnesses against whom strong evidence of Communist activities existed tended to be involved in labor organizing—hardly news since the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) had already expelled such unions as the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians and the United Electrical Workers, whom McCarthy investigated. Those witnesses who named names of Communists with whom they had associated invariably described union activities, and none corroborated any claims of subversion and espionage.

Critics questioned Senator McCarthy's sincerity as a Communist hunter, citing his penchant for privately embracing those whom he publicly attacked; others considered him a classic conspiracy theorist. Once he became convinced of the existence of a conspiracy, nothing could dissuade him. He exhibited impatience with those who saw things differently, interpreted mistakes as deliberate actions, and suspected his opponents of being part of the larger conspiracy. He would not entertain alternative explanations and stood contemptuous of doubters. A lack of evidence rarely deterred him or undermined his convictions. If witnesses disagreed on the facts, someone had to be lying. The Fort Monmouth investigation, for instance, had been spurred by reports of information from the Army Signal Corps laboratories turning up in Eastern Europe. Since Julius Rosenberg had worked at Fort Monmouth, McCarthy and Cohn were convinced that ether Communist sympathizers were still supplying secrets to the enemy. But the Soviet Union had been an ally during the Second World War, and during that time had openly designated representatives at the laboratories, making espionage there superfluous. Nevertheless, McCarthy's pursuit of a spy ring caused officials at Fort Monmouth to suspend forty-two civilian em-

[28] Earl Latham, *The Communist Controversy in Washington, From the New Deal to McCarthy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 323, 349–64; John Earl Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace? American Communism and Anticommunism in the Cold War Era* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), 147, 154.

[29] Cohn, *McCarthy*, 94–95.

ployees. After the investigations, all but two were reinstated in their former jobs.

Not until January 1954, did the remaining subcommittee members adopt rules changes that Democrats had demanded, and Senators McClellan, Jackson and Symington resumed their membership on the subcommittee. These rules changes removed the chairman's exclusive authority over staffing, and gave the minority members the right to hire their own counsel. Whenever the minority was unanimously opposed to holding a public hearing, the issue would go to the full committee to determine by majority vote. Also in 1954, the Republican Policy Committee proposed rules changes that would require a quorum to be present to hold hearings, and would prohibit holding hearings outside of the District of Columbia or taking confidential testimony unless authorized by a majority of committee members. In 1955 the Permanent Subcommittee adopted rules similar to those the Policy Committee recommended.[30]

Following the Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954, the Senate censured Senator McCarthy in December 1954 for conduct unbecoming of a senator. Court rulings in subsequent years had a significant impact on later congressional investigations by strengthening the rights of witnesses. Later in the 1950s, members and staff of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations joined with the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee to form a special committee to investigate labor racketeering, with Robert F. Kennedy as chief counsel. Conducted in a more bipartisan manner and respectful of the rights of witnesses, their successes helped to reverse the negative image of congressional investigations fostered by Senator McCarthy's freewheeling investigatory style.

DONALD A. RITCHIE,
Senate Historical Office.

[30] *New York Times*, July 11, 19, 1953, January 24, 26, 27, 1954; *Congressional Record*, 83rd Cong., 2nd sess, 2970.

"Enemies from Within": Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's Accusations of Disloyalty

Wisconsin Republican Joseph R. McCarthy first won election to the Senate in 1946 during a campaign marked by much anticommunist Red-baiting. Partially in response to Republican Party victories, President Harry S. Truman tried to demonstrate his own concern about the threat of Communism by setting up a loyalty program for federal employees. He also asked the Justice Department to compile an official list of 78 subversive organizations. As the midterm election year got underway, former State Department official Alger Hiss, suspected of espionage, was convicted of perjury. McCarthy, in a speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, mounted an attack on Truman's foreign policy agenda by charging that the State Department and its Secretary, Dean Acheson, harbored "traitorous" Communists. There is some dispute about the number of Communists McCarthy claimed to have known about. Though advance copies of this speech distributed to the press record the number as 205, McCarthy quickly revised this claim. Both in a letter he wrote to President Truman the next day and in an "official" transcript of the speech that McCarthy submitted to the *Congressional Record* ten days later he uses the number 57. Although McCarthy displayed this list of names both in Wheeling and then later on the Senate floor, he never made the list public.

Speech of Joseph McCarthy, Wheeling, West Virginia, February 9, 1950

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

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

Today we can almost physically hear the mutterings and rumblings of an invigorated god of war. You

can see it, feel it, and hear it all the way from the Indochina hills, from the shores of Formosa, right over into the very heart of Europe itself.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

traitor, 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 Communists 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 Department's giving any information in regard to the disloyalty or the communistic connections of anyone in that Department to the Congress.

Despite this State Department black-out, 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 those 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 their communistic connections.

2. That you promptly revoke the order in which you provided under no circumstances could a congressional committee obtain any information or help in exposing Communists.

Failure on your part will label the Democratic Party of being the bedfellow of international 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.

Source: U.S. Senate, State Department Loyalty Investigation Committee on Foreign Relations, 81st Congress; Joseph McCarthy to President Harry Truman February 11, 1950, *Congressional Record*, 81st Congress

Six years ago, . . . 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 six 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 six 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 from enemies from without, but rather because of enemies from within." . . .

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

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

I have here in my hand a list of 205 . . . a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department. . . .

As you know, very recently the Secretary of State proclaimed his loyalty to a man guilty of what has always been considered as the most abominable of all crimes—being a traitor to the people who gave him a position of great trust—high treason. . . .

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

Joseph McCarthy to President Harry Truman, February 11, 1950

In the 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 promptly denied this, claiming 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—men whom the board considered dangerous to the security of this Nation. Your board did a painstaking job, and named hundreds which had been listed as dangerous to the security of the Nation, because of communistic connections.

While the records are not available to me, I know absolutely of one group of approximately 300 certified to the Secretary for discharge because of communism. He actually only discharged approximately 80. I understand that this was done after lengthy consultation with the now-convicted

MODERN AMERICAN POETRY

"The Hollywood Blacklist"--by Dan Georgakas

from: Buhle, Buhle, and Georgakas, ed., *Encyclopedia of the American Left* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992)

The investigation of Hollywood radicals by the House on Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1947 and 1951 was a continuation of pressures first exerted in the late 1930s and early 1940s by the Dies Committee and State Senator Jack Tenney's California Joint Fact-finding Committee on Un-American Activities. HUAC charged that Communists had established a significant base in the dominant medium of mass culture. Communists were said to be placing subversive messages into Hollywood films and discriminating against unsympathetic colleagues. A further concern was that Communists were in a position to place negative images of the United States in films that would have wide international distribution. Totally ignored in the hysteria generated by HUAC were the realities of the Hollywood studio system of the 1930s and 1940s. That system's outstanding characteristic was the hands-on control by studio bosses who ran their business as a strictly entertainment industry and shared Sam Goldwyn's often quoted sentiment that, "If you want to send a message, use Western Union." When films did have a political edge, studio bosses were personally involved in every phase of production, including the vital final cut. This was decidedly the case with the most notoriously pro-Russian film ever made in Hollywood, *Mission to Moscow* (1943). The film, undertaken by Jack Warner at the request of the Roosevelt administration, combined an all-out assault on American isolationists with a complete acceptance of the Stalinist account of the purges. Warner considered his film to be a patriotic service to the New Deal in the war against fascism.

Evidence of leftist images and dialog Hollywood films was extremely slim. HUAC had to resort to citing the smiling children in *Song of Russia* (1944) and noting that Russian workers shouted "tovarich" (comrade) as American merchant ships that had run the Nazi submarine blockade entered a Soviet port in *Action in the North Atlantic* (1943). Even committee members struggled to keep a straight face when Ginger Rogers complained that her daughter "had been forced" to speak the subversive line "share alike, that's democracy" in a 1943 film scripted by Dalton Trumbo. Contrary to the HUAC contentions, Communist Party policy in Hollywood had been largely defensive. Film workers were instructed that their primary responsibility was to keep anti-Soviet and anti-Left sentiment out of films, a kind of esthetic Hippocratic Oath to First, Do No Harm. On the positive side of the ledger, radicals were urged to advance a democratic and populist ethos that was totally in accord with the New Deal popular culture. Melvyn Douglas, a leading Hollywood liberal, commented years

later that the Communists had been followers of the liberals and not vice versa. Liberalism, not Communism, may, in fact, have been the true target of the HUAC investigators. The Right wished to discourage any Hollywood impulse to make films advocating social change at home or critical of foreign policy. The task of intimidation was focused on the role Communists played as screenwriters. Nearly 60 percent of all individuals called to testify and an equal percent of all those blacklisted were screenwriters. Only 20 percent of those called and 25 percent of those blacklisted were actors.

When the first subpoenas were issued the Hollywood impulse was to fight back. Defense committees were formed and efforts to purge various guilds defeated. Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, pledged that he would "never be party to anything as un-American as a blacklist. The will to resist was put to the test when some of the first writers called refused to cooperate and tried to read statements condemning the committee in sessions that often turned into shouting matches. The result was bad press for Hollywood and a feeling by producers that their radical writers were vying with the committee for sensational headlines at the industry's expense. On November 24, Congress cited ten screenwriters for contempt. Produces meeting at the Waldorf Astoria hotel days later signaled their capitulation to the investigators by announcing that "no Communists or other subversives will be employed by Hollywood." An appeal by the "Hollywood Ten" was turned down and by mid-1950 most of them had begun to serve one-year terms in prison.

HUAC returned for a second Hollywood round in 1951 but the proceedings were not true investigations. The political views of already known and those called were already known and the people they were asked to name as comrades were also known. The hearings amounted to a kind of ideological exorcism. Witnesses were expected to state that they had been misled or confused in the past and were now regretful. They could prove their sincerity by naming other who had been with them in Communist organizations or at Communist functions.

Response to the hearings took many forms. Many members and sympathizers had never hidden their views but did not accept the right of the HUAC to question their right of political association. Civil libertarians could easily back this view on the basis of the First and Fifth amendments. Others like actor Zero Mostel said they would gladly discuss their own conduct but were prohibited by religious convictions from naming others. Individuals who had only been involved with antifascist groups or had left the Party for ideological reasons did not wish to martyr themselves for a cause they had never embraced or had renounced, but naming names seemed morally wrong. Other ex-Communists such as Budd Schulberg and Elia Kazan felt there was a Communist conspiracy and that it was proper, if not patriotic, to expose it.

Whatever one's convictions, there was little room for maneuvering once called, yet two out of three who testified were unfriendly or uncooperative. A few, like Lucille Ball, were allowed to pass with garbled and meaningless testimony, but most were pinned down. Fame was no protection. A lifelong non-Communist progressive like Sam Jaffe was blacklisted for refusal to cooperate. Jaffe, who had been nominated for an Oscar for *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950) and was famous for roles in *Lost Horizon* (1937) and *Gunga Din* (1939), was reduced to teaching high school math and living with his sisters. He would eventually make a comeback as Dr. Zorba on the successful *Ben Casey* television series. Lee Grant, nominated for an Oscar for her role in *Detective Story* (1951), was blacklisted for refusing to testify against her first husband, screenwriter Arnold Manoff. Grant would eventually return to Hollywood and win two Oscars, one for acting and another for directing a documentary.

The most defiant Hollywood actor was gravel-voiced Lionel Stander, who had been in comedies directed by Ben Hecht, Frank Capra, and Preston Sturgis. Active in the Salinas Valley lettuce strike, the Tom Mooney case, the Scottsboro defense, guild campaigns, antifascist work, and other left-wing causes, Stander said he had not joined the CP because he was to the left of it. He said he had been blackballed for his politics for over twenty years and that the only "un-Americans" active in Hollywood that he knew of were members of the committee. Blacklisted anew, Stander became a successful Wall Street broker, later starred in European films, and still later returned to American prominence as the chauffeur in *Hart-to-Hart*, one of television's top ten programs during the early 1980s.

Few of those blacklisted would prove as resilient as Stander, Grant, Jaffee, and Mostel. No more than 10 percent would be able to return to careers in Hollywood. Even the biggest names were vulnerable. Larry Parks, fresh from triumphs in two films about Al Johnson, was banned for his brief membership in the CP and did not appear on-screen again until getting a small role in *Freud* (1962). Charles Chaplin, the most famous face in the world, had remained a British citizen and a firm believer in the Popular Front. Although he had never been in the CP, Chaplin was not allowed to reenter the United States following a trip to Europe. He did not return to the United States until 1972, when an apologetic Hollywood honored him with a life achievement award during the Oscar ceremonies. His *A King in New York* (1957) satirizes HUAC. In like manner, Bertolt Brecht, one of many anti-Nazi refugees working in Hollywood, had such a bad taste from his HUAC appearance that he repatriated to East Berlin to become an in-house critic of socialism.

Performers who had already established some kind of name might survive through work on the stage, but those at the beginning of their careers had few options. Technical workers faced an even more difficult time, as there was no alternative industry for them to turn to, and Roy Brewer, head of the Hollywood craft unions, remained fiercely anticommunist. Ronald Reagan, then head of the Screen Actors Guild, kept in touch with the FBI about "disloyal" actors. Dozens of blacklistees lost spouses due to the hearings and even more suffered irreparable financial loss. Mental and physical distress was common. Clifford Odets never again wrote effectively and the deaths of John Garfield, J. Edward Bromberg, Canada Lee, and half a dozen others are linked to their committee appearances.

The group that came to exemplify resistance was the Hollywood Ten and their writing colleagues, many of whom had been in the Party. The Ten consisted of Alvah Bessie, Herbert Biberman, Lester Cole, Edward Dmytryk, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Sam Ornitz, Robert Adrian Scott, and Dalton Trumbo. They had scripted or directed hundreds of Hollywood films. Trumbo was one of the highest paid Hollywood writers and Lawson had been the first president of the Screen Writers Guild. Most of the Ten's best films had dealt with antifascist themes. These included *Hotel Berlin* (1945), *The Master Race* (1941), *Crossfire* (1947), *Sahara* (1943), *Pride of the Marines* (1945), *Destination Tokyo* (1944), and *Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo* (1944). Lardner had scripted the Academy Award-winning *Woman of the Year* (1942), Maltz the well-received *This Gun for Hire* (1942), and Trumbo the Academy Award nominee *Kitty Foyle* (1940). The Ten also worked on genre film such as Lester Cole's script for *The Invisible Man Returns* (1940)

Scriptwriters had the most options to continue working during the blacklist period. Performers could not change their faces nor could directors wear masks, but writers could use pseudonyms. This proved a profitable strategy for many. Abraham Polonsky, Walter Bernstein, and Arnold Manoff wrote most of the *You Are There* segments, a series of historical events re-created for television with a strong

focus on cultural martyrs such as Socrates, Galilee, Joan of Arc, and the Salem witches. Ring Lardner, Jr., and Ian McLellan Hunter wrote *The Adventures of Robin Hood* series. The phenomenon of using phony names and surrogates became the basis of *The Front* (1976), which starred Woody Allen. The film was written by blacklistee Walter Bernstein, produced and directed by blacklistee Martin Ritt, and featured blacklisted actors Zero Mostel, John Randolph, Lloyd Gough, Joshua Shelley, and Herschel Bernardi.

Other blacklisted writers found work in Mexico and Europe. Notable among these are Hugo Butler, who wrote scripts for Luis Bunuel in Mexico City, and Jules Dassin, who scored box-office hits with his French-made *Rififi* (1954) and the Greek-made *Never on Sunday* (1960). A few writers worked behind the scenes in Hollywood in an effort to wear down the blacklist. One of Trumbo's pseudonyms, Robert Rich, won an Academy Award for *The Brave One* (1956), and as the decade drew to an end Hollywood insiders became aware that Nathan E. Douglas, the Academy Award writer of *The Defiant Ones* (1958), really blacklisted Nedrick Young. In 1960 Otto Preminger officially broke the blacklist by crediting Trumbo for scripting Exodus. It was then revealed that Michael Wilson had written the blockbuster *The Bridge on River Kwai* (1957) and had completed a script that would become *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962).

Another consequence of the investigations was a series of anticommunist films: *The Red Menace* (1949), *I Married a Communist* (1950), *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951), *Walk East on Beacon* (1952), *My Son John* (1952), *Big Jim McClain* (1952), and *Trial* (1955). A labor leader modeled on Harry Bridges was the main villain in *I Married a Communist*, Hawaiian Communists were exposed by a two-fisted John Wayne in *Big Jim McClain*, and Communist defense efforts for a Mexican American were depicted as insincere political and mercenary opportunism in Trial. All of the films took it as a given that Communists were de facto agents of the USSR. *On the Waterfront* (1954) had no Communist characters but its emphasis on the need to testify before federal investigating committees was widely interpreted as a reference to HUAC. Scriptwriter Budd Schulberg has repeatedly denied that connection but director Elia Kazan has stated that for him the parallel was explicit. Kazan also directed *Viva Zapata!* (1952), in which the visionary revolutionary anarchist Zapata is favorably contrasted with a Communist-style bureaucratic revolutionary. [There were few explicitly anti-anticommunist films in this period; one was *Storm Center*.]

The Hollywood Left began to revive in the late-1960s and, unlike the student New Left, the new Hollywood rebels, although not connected with the CP, felt warmly toward their predecessors and occasionally worked with them on joint projects. Films with radical bite began to appear with some regularity in the 1970s and 1980s. Ring Lardner, Jr., scripted *M*A*S*H** (1970), a satire on the Korean War that became the basis for one of the most popular of all television series. Labor themes were addressed in *The Molly Maguires* (1970), *Norma Rae* (1979), *Silkwood* (1983), and *Matewan* (1987). The Rosenberg case was reviewed in Daniel (1983) and John Reed celebrated in *Reds* (1982), a film that incorporated interviews with real-life radicals such as Scott Nearing. Nuclear power was attacked in *The China Syndrome* (1979) and the Vietnam War critiqued in *Go Tell the Spartacus* (1978), *Coming Home* (1978), *Apocalypse Now* (1979), and *Full Metal Jacket* (1987). Capitalism itself was indicted in *Wall Street* (1987) and Latin American intervention assailed in *Missing* (1982), *Under Fire* (1983), *El Salvador* (1986), and *Latitio* (1986). The blacklist itself was the subject of *The Way We Were* (1973), which starred Barbra Streisand as a totally sympathetic Communist married to a liberal screenwriter.

The new Hollywood activists were not immune from career threats. Jane Fonda, famous for her opposition to the Vietnam War, was forced from some shooting locations by irate Vietnam veterans. Ed Asner, president of the Screen Actors Guild and a supporter of medical aid to left-wing rebels in El Salvador, had his *Lou Grant* television show canceled after an active protest campaign by right-wing groups. Vanessa Redgrave, a member of a Trotskyist group in England and a vocal opponent of Israel, had contracts aborted and projects threatened with boycotts by Zionist groups. Liberals Robert Redford, Jack Lemmon, and Gregory Peck were criticized for participation in film festivals held in Cuba. While such pressures were not nearly as destabilizing as the blacklist-period tensions had been, awareness of the dangers associated with political activism had its effect on how filmmakers addressed political issues, the kind of film projects undertaken for production, and the particular personnel chosen for given projects.

What the blacklist entailed and its effect on Hollywood has generated a large body of writing by those directly involved. Lillian Hellman's *Scoundrel Time* (1976) and Dalton Trumbo's *The Time of the Toad* (1949) are classics of this genre. Hellman and writers such as Lester Cole and Walter Bernstein have been unforgiving of those who cooperated. In similar fashion, Elia Kazan insists in his autobiography, *A Life* (1988), that he did no wrong in being a friendly witness even though he writes movingly about the traumatic effect the testimony had on his life and that of others who were called before HUAC. Individuals such as Albert Maltz and Jules Dassin have commented on the terrible cost of broken relationships and upended careers with varying degrees of forgiveness for the "friendlies." Dalton Trumbo has been the most generous in this regard by rendering his final judgment that "we were all victims."

Return to About McCarthyism

Brecht HUAC hearing (1947-10-30) transcript

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Brecht HUAC hearing (1947-10-30) transcript

This is a transcript of some excerpts of the HUAC hearing of Bertolt Brecht on Oct 30, 1947. It is taken from an audio recording posted at wikimedia commons. Please see Brecht HUAC hearing (1947-10-30).ogg at Wikimedia Commons for more information.

The speakers are as follows:

Brecht - Bertolt Brecht

Thomas - HUAC Chairman J. Parnell Thomas (Republican, New Jersey)

Stripling - HUAC Chief Investigator Robert E. Stripling

Baumgardt - Translator David Baumgardt [1]

Other HUAC members present were US Congress members John McDowell, Richard Vail, John Wood, and probably Richard Nixon [2]

Stripling - How long have you known Johannes Eisler?

Brecht - I think since uh, middle of the twenties. Uh, twent, twenty years or so.

Stripling - Have you collaborated with him on a number of works?

Brecht - Yeah

Stripling - Uh, Mr. Brecht are you a member of the Communist party or have you ever been a member of the Communist party?

Brecht - May I read my statement?

(Audience murmur)

Brecht - I'll answer his question, may I read, but may I read my statement?

Stripling - Uh, would you submit your statement to the chairman please.

(Apparent Cut. 0:39)

Thomas - Mr. Brecht, the committee has carefully gone over this statement. It's a very interesting story of uh, German life, but it's not at all pertinent to this inquiry. Therefore we do not care to have you read the statement.

Stripling - Now I'll I'll repeat the original question. Uh, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist party of -any- country.

Brecht - Mr. Chairman I have heard uh my colleagues uh, uhh, and they consider this question not as proper, but, I am a guest in this country and do not want to enter in any legal argument, so I will answer your question fully, as well I can. I was not a member, or am not a member, of any Communist party.

Stripling - You..

Unidentified voice (interrupting) - Your answer then is that you have never been a member of the Communist party

Brecht - That is correct

Stripling - You, you were not a member of the Communist party for Germany?

Brecht - No I was not

(Pause)

Stripling - Uh, Mr. Brecht... is it true that you have written a number of very revolutionary poems, plays, and other writings?

Brecht - I am uh written a number of poems, songs, and plays, in the fight against Hitler, and, of course, they can be considered, therefore, as revolutionary, cause, I, of course, was for the overthrow, of that government.

Unidentified voice - Mr. Stripling, we're not interested in

Stripling - Yeah

Unidentified voice - any works that he might of written, uh, going for the overthrow of Germany,

Stripling - Yes, I,

Unidentified voice - the government there

Stripling - Uh well, from the examination of the works which Mr. Brecht has written, particularly in collaboration with Mr. Hanns Eisler, uh he seems to be a person of international importance to the, Communist revolutionary movement. Now Mr. Brecht, uh, is it true, do you know whether or not you have written articles, for

(Gavel bangs three times)

Thomas - There's gonna be another fall here pretty soon so will you boys just, sit down quietly please, while we're ... (murmur from audience)... Go ahead

Stripling - Have you written articles, uh which have appeared in, uh, publications in the Soviet zone, of Germany?

Brecht - I.. do..

Stripling (interrupting) - in the past few months?

Brecht - I have, no, I do not remember to have written such articles, I have not seen any of them printed, I have not written such articles, just now. I write very few articles, if any.

Stripling - I have here Mr. Chairman a document which I'll hand to the translator and ask him to, uh, to uh identify for the committee, and to refer to an article which appears on page 72.

Unidentified voice - When did he write that? You want me to...

Brecht - Oh, may I speak to that, to that uh publication?

Stripling - Beg pardon?

Brecht - My I explain this uh

Stripling - Yes we, we will identify the publication

Brecht - Oh yes, that uh is not an article, that is a scene out of a play I wrote, in, I think 19.. 30... 7, or 1938, in Denmark. The play is uh called, Private Life of the Master Race [3], and this scene is one of the scenes out of this play about the Jewish, woman, in Berlin, the year of 36 or 37. It uh was I see printed in this magazine Ost und West.

Stripling - Uh Mr. Translator would you uh translate the frontpiece of the, magazine please.

Baumgardt - East and West; Contributions to Cultural and Political Questions of the time. Edited by Alfred Kantorowicz

Unidentified voice - How do you spell it

Translator - K a n t o r o w i c z. Berlin, July, 19 hundred 47, First uh year of publication and price.

Stripling - Uh Mr. Brecht, do you know the gentleman who is the, editor of the publication whose name was just read?

Brecht - Yes, I know him from Berlin, and I met him in New York again.

Stripling - Do you know him to be a member of the Communist party of Germany?

Brecht - Uh when I met him in Germany I, think a, he was a journalist in the Ullstein Press, that is a, not a, not a Communist, uh, was not, Communist, there were no Communist art, uh, papers, though I do not know exactly, whether he was a member of the Communist party of Germany.

Stripling - You don't know whether he was a member of the Communist party or not.

Brecht - I don't know, no, have no... I don't know.

(Apparent Cut. 7:05)

Stripling - Uh Mr. Brecht, uh, could you tell the committee how many times you've been to Moscow?

Brecht - Yeah. I was in, was invited to Moscow, uh, two times.

Stripling - Who invited you.

Brecht - Uh, was uh, the first time I, was invited, uh, by, by WOKS, that is name a cultural, it's an organization for cul, cultural exchange uh.. Uh, I was invited to show a, a picture, a documentary picture, I had, had to have made in Berlin.

Stripling - What was the name of that picture.

Brecht - Uh, the name is uh, uh the name of a suburb of Berlin, Kuhle Wampe. [4]

Unidentified voice - Can you spell that please

Brecht - K U H L E ... W A M P E

Stripling - Uh, while you in Berlin, did you meet, I mean, pardon me, while in Moscow did you meet Sergei T r e t y a k o v. T r e t y a k o v. Tretyakov.

Brecht - Uhh uhh Tretyakov, yeah, that is, yeah, that is a, a, Russian playwrite. Yes

Stripling - Right

Brecht - Yes. He translated, uh, some of my, poems, and I think one play.

Stripling - Uh, Mr. Chairman, International Literature number 5, 1937, uh, published by the State Literary Art Publishing house in Moscow, had an article by Sergei Tretyakov, leading Soviet writer, an interview he had with Mr. Brecht. On page 6 it states, quote, I was a member of the, this is, he's quoting Mr. Brecht,

I was a member of the Augsburg revolutionary committee, Brecht continues, Nearby in Munich, Levine raised the banner of Soviet power. Augsburg lived in the reflected glow of Munich. The hospital was the only militant unit in the town. It elected me to the revolutionary committee, end quote.

Tretyakov continues, He wrote Drum at Night. This work contains echoes of the revolution. The work was a scathing satire on those who had deserted the revolution. His play, Das Manahme [5], the first of Brecht's plays on a communist theme, is arranged like a court, where the characters try to justify themselves for having killed a comrade.

When he visited Moscow in 1932, Brecht told me his plan to organize a theater in Berlin, which would re-enact the most interesting trials in the history of mankind, for example, the trial of Karl Marx. The story of economics brought Brecht to Marx and Lenin, whose works became an indispensable part of his library. Brecht studies and quotes Lenin, Lenin as a great thinker and as a great master of prose. According to Brecht, the theater should act on the spectator's intellect. The traditional drama portrays a struggle of class inst. . instincts. Brecht demands that the struggle of class instincts be replaced by the struggle of social consciousness, of social conviction. He maintains that the situation must not only be felt, but explained, crystallized into the idea which will overturn the world.

Brecht the artist has an extremely broad and varied range. He has composed many ballads, songs, and choruses on the subject of revolutionary ruthlessness. His book shelf however contains books of science and action and Lenin.

Do you recall that interview Mr Brecht?

Brecht - No.

(Pause)

(Audience laughter)

Brecht - Must have been written twenty years ago or so I ...

Stripling - I'll show you the magazine Mr. Brecht

Brecht - Yeah. I do not doubt I was, was at that interview. I do not recall, Mr. Stripling I do not recall the interview in itself, I think it is a, more or less, uh, journalistic, uh.. (aside to translator),

Baumgardt - Summary make-up.

Brecht - A summary of, of uh, of talks or discussions about many things

Stripling (interrupting) - Have

Brecht - made by Tretyakov

Stripling - Have many of your writings been based on the philosophy of Lenin, Marx?

Brecht - No, I don't think that is quite correct. And uh, but of course, uh I studied, uh had to study as a playwrite, I think, who wrote historical plays, I of course had to study to study uh, uh Marx's ideas about history. I do not think that, uh, intelligent plays toda. . today can be written without uh that study. Also history, now, is uh, written now, is widely influenced by this, by the studies of Marx about history

(Apparent Cut. 13:06)

Stripling - Uh Mr. Brecht uh since you have been in the United States have you met with any officials of the Soviet government?

Brecht - Yes... yes, in uh, in uh, Hollywood I was invited, sometimes, three or four times, there uh to the, Soviet Consulate, with of course with many other w

Stripling (interrupting) - Who others, what others

Brecht - What?

Stripling - What others

Brecht - With other writers, and artists, and uh, and uh, actors, to uh, they gave, uh, some uh receptions, uh, at uh special Soviet (aside to translator)

Baumgardt - festivities

Brecht - Yeah festivities

Stripling - Did any uh officials of the Soviet government ever come and visit you?

Brecht - I don't think so

Stripling - Uh didn't Gregory Kheifets visit you on April the 14th 1943? Vice consulate of the Soviet government? You know Gregory Kheifets don't you?

Brecht - Uh...

Unidentified voice - Watch out on this one

Brecht - I dont remember that name but I might have known him, yes.

Stripling - (raised voice) Did he come and visit you... on April the 14th, 1943

Brecht - It is quite possible

Stripling (raised voice) - And again on April the 27th, and again on June 16 1944

Brecht - That is quite possible, yes. That somebody.. I do not know uh uh, I do not remember the name but uh, but uh, somebody of the, uh of the, some of the cultural attaches, or uh, or uh,

Stripling (interrupting) - Cultural attaches

Unidentified voice - Spell the name for him

Brecht - or Vice Consul

Stripling - G r e g o r i , capital K h e i f e t s. Cap.. I'll spell the last name again. K h e i f e t s.

Brecht - Kheifets

Stripling - Yes. Do you remember Mr. Kheifets?

Brecht - I do not remember the name, but uh but it is quite poss... uh but I remember in this, in, I remember that uh, that uh, that from the... I think from the, yes, from the consulate, from the Russian consulate, uh... some people visited me, not but not only this man, only also I think Consul once, but I do not remember his name either.

Stripling - What was the nature of his business?

Brecht - He uh, it must have been, uh about, about uh, uh my literary connections with uh, with uh, German writers, uh, some of them are friends of mine.

Stripling - German writers

Brecht - Yeah in Moscow

Stripling - In Moscow

Brecht - Yeah. And uh there appeared in the Staats Verlag in Soviet Union translations of my plays for instance uh this uh Private Life of the Master Race, and Galileo, and a novel, the Penny for the Poor, and poems and so.

Stripling - Did uh Gerhart Eisler, Gerhart Eisler ever visit you. Not Hanns, but Gerhart.

Brecht - Yeah I met Gerhart Eisler too. He is the brother of Hanns, and he visited me with Hanns,

and then three or four times with uhh without Hanns.

Stripling - Uh could you tell us in what year he visited you? Wasn't it

Brecht - uh

Stripling - the same year that Mr. Kheifets visited you?

Brecht - I don't, I di - do not know, but uh there is no connection, I ca..

Stripling (interrupting) - Do you recall him visiting you on January the 17th, 1944?

Brecht - No I do not reca, call this date. But he might have visit me, visited me on this date.

Stripling - Uh where did he visit you?

Brecht - Now, uh, he, used to ask for his brother, who, as I told you is a old friend of mine, and we, played some games of chess too, and we spoke about politics.

Stripling - About politics

Brecht - Yeah

Unidentified voice - What was that last answer I didn't get the last answer

Stripling - They spoke about politics.

Stripling - In any of your, conversations with Gerhart Eisler, uh did you discuss, the German Communist movement?

Brecht - Yeah

Stripling - in Germany?

Brecht - Yeah we spoke about, uh, of course, about uh German politics. He, he is a specialist in that. He is a politician.

Stripling - He is a politician.

Brecht - So he, yeah. He knew, he of course knew very much more than I knew about the situation in Germany

(Apparent Cut. 18:40)

Stripling - Mr. Brecht since you have been in the United States have you contributed articles to

the, to any Communist publications in the United States?

Brecht - I don't think so, no

Stripling - Uh are you familiar with the magazine New Masses[6]?

Brecht - No

Stripling - You never heard of it?

Brecht - Yes, of course.

Stripling - Did you ever contribute anything to it?

Brecht - No.

Stripling - Did they ever publish any of your works?

Brecht - That I do not know. They m, might have published some po, uh some translation of a poem. But uh I had no uh direct connections,

Stripling - Did you...

Brecht - not in the sense you meant.

Stripling - Did you collaborate with Hanns Eisler in song uh In Praise of Learning?

Brecht - Yeah, uh collaborate, I wrote that song, he only wrote the music.

Stripling - You wrote, you wrote the song.

Brecht - I wrote the song.

Stripling - Would you uh, would you recite to the committee the words of that song?

Brecht - Yeah I would. May I point out that that song is, is a, is... comes from, an, an adaptation I made of uh Gorky's novel The Mother, and in, in this song a Russian worker woman

Stripling (interrupting) - What

Brecht - advises other poor people

Stripling - Uh, it was produced in this country wasn't it

Brecht - Yes,

Stripling - uh

Brecht - 35, New York

Stripling - Yes. Now I'll read the words, ans ask you if this is true

Brecht - Please

Stripling -

Learn now the simple truth
You for whom the time has come at last
It is not too late
Learn now the ABC
It is not enough but learn it still
Fear not, be not downhearted
Again, you must learn the lesson
You must be ready to take over
You must -

Brecht (interrupting) - No, uh, excuse me that is the wrong translation

(Audience laughter)

Brecht - Uh, uh, that is not the right, just one second I give you the correct text.

Stripling - That's not a correct translation?

Brecht - That is not correct, no. As to the meaning it is not correct as to the meaning. It is not very beautiful but I am not speaking about that.

(crosstalk)

Stripling - Well what does it mean

Brecht - No

Stripling - Well here is the uh, I have here the uh, Songs of the People, uh which was issued by the Communist party of the United States, published by the Worker's Library Publishers. Page 24 says In Praise of Learning

Brecht - Yeah

Stripling - by Bert Brecht, Music by Hanns Eisler. And it says here, uh, "You must be ready to take over. Learn it, men on the dole, learn it, men in the prisons, learn it women in the kitchens, learn it men of 65. . . you must be ready to take over"

Brecht (interrupting) - Here, may I, may I speak, the translator...

Stripling - And, uh, goes right on through. That's the, that's the chorus of it...

Brecht (interrupting) - Mr Strip... yeah...

Stripling - "You must be ready to take over."

Brecht - Mr Stripling maybe the translator might...

Baumgardt - The correct translation would be "you must take the lead".

Unidentified voice - "You must take the lead"

Baumgardt - The lead. It definitely says lead. It's the same word as the leader Hitler or something like that. It is not "take over". (crosstalk, unintelligible) The translation is not a literal translation of the German text I see here.

Stripling - Well Mr Brecht, uh, as it has been published in these uh, publications of the Communist party, then is that incorrect? What did you mean?

Brecht - I do not remember to have, uh, I do, I never got that book, myself. I must not have been in the country when it was published - I think it was published as a song, of uh, one of the songs Eisler has written the music to. I did not give any permission to, to publish it. I did not see, I think I never saw the translation, uh

Stripling - Well do you, do you have, do you have the words

(crosstalk, unintelligible)

Brecht - In German, yes

Stripling - Of the song as it appears

Brecht - Oh yes, it's in the book

Stripling - not as it was originally written

(crosstalk, unintelligible)

Stripling - Ah, it goes on, "you must be ready to take over, you must be ready to take over, don't hesitate to ask"

Brecht - Y..

Stripling - "questions, comrade"

Brecht - y..

Stripling - Is that, is that in there? "Don't hesitate to ask questions comrade"?

(aside to translator)

Brecht - Why not, uh why not let the tra, uh, uh.. uh, why not let, let uh him, uh translate from the German word for word?

(unintelligible)

Baumgardt - I am mainly interested in translation of this refrain which comes back and back, which is the end...

Thomas - I can't understand the interpreter any more than I can understand (unintelligible)

(Audience laughter)

Baumgardt - Mr Chairman I apologize (crosstalk)

Thomas - If you just speak in that microphone maybe we can make out a little bit better.

Baumgardt - The last line, of our three verses, is uh correctly to be translated, "you must take over the lead", and not "you must" uh "take over". "You must take the lead", would be the best, uh correct, most accurate translation.

(Apparent Cut. 24:00)

Thomas - Some people did ask you to join the Communist party, didn't they?

Brecht - uhh..

Unidentified voice - Was it in Germany or (unintelligble)

Brecht - In Germany, you mean in Germany?

Thomas - No I mean in the United States.

Brecht - No no no no.

Thomas - Now you let, you let him, he's doing allright. He's doing much better than the other witnesses that you brought here.

(Audience Laughter)

Thomas - You don't ever recall anyone in the United States ever asking you to join the Communist party?

Brecht - No I don't recall any body having asked me.

Thomas - Mr. McDowell do you have any questions

McDowell - No, I have no questions.

Thomas - Mr. Vail

Vail - No questions.

Thomas - Mr. Stripling do you have any more questions?

Stripling - I would like to ask uh Mr. Brecht whether or not he wrote, a poem, a song rather entitled "Forward, We've Not Forgotten".

Unidentified voice - Forward we've what?

Stripling - Forward, we've not forgotten.

Brecht - Uh, I do not uh, recognize the English title maybe. Can I see?

Stripling - Would you translate it for him into German?

Brecht - Oh now I re- , yes, I know, yes (crosstalk)

Stripling - You wrote that. Are you familiar with the words to that?

Brecht - That is, yes, that is, yeah.

Stripling - Uh would the committee like me to read that?

Thomas - There is no objection, so ordered.

Stripling -

Forward, we've not forgotten
Our strength in the fights we have won
No matter what may threaten
Forward, not forgotten
How strong we are as one
Only these our hands now aching
Built the roads, the walls, the towers
All the world is of our making
What of it-- What, of it can we call ours

The refrain

Forward, march on to power

Through the city, the land, the world
Forward, advance the hour
Just whose city is the city?
Just whose world is the world?

Forward, we've not forgotten
Our union, in hunger and pain
No matter what may threaten
Forward, not forgotten
We have a world to gain

We shall free the world of shadow
Every shop and every room
Every road and every meadow
All the world will be our own

Did you write that Mr. Brecht?

Brecht - No, uh I wrote a German poem, but that is very different

(Audience Laughter)

Brecht - from this thing.

(Audience Laughter)

Stripling - Uh... that's all the questions I have Mr. Chairman.

(End. 26:14)

"I Cannot and Will Not Cut My Conscience to Fit This Year's Fashions": Lillian Hellman Refuses to Name Names

The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) held hearings in 1947 on Communist activity in Hollywood. Ten writers and directors were held in contempt when they refused to answer questions regarding their political affiliations or beliefs. They later served prison terms after the Supreme Court in April 1950 turned down their appeal that such questioning violated their First Amendment rights. Hearings began again in March 1951, While almost half of those testifying from the entertainment industry informed on their colleagues, others like playwright and screenwriter Lillian Hellman invoked the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination. This route insured that they would not be hired for future work in the industry. In the following letter to HUAC's chairman, Hellman offered to testify as to her own activities if she would not be forced to inform on others. When the Committee refused her request, she took the Fifth and was blacklisted.

Lillian Hellman, Letter to HUAC, May 19, 1952

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 disloyal or subversive. 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 homely 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 everything 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

Source: Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of the Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry*, 82d Congress, May 21, 1952, in Ellen Schrecker, *The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1994), 201–2.

"I Have Sung in Hobo Jungles, and I Have Sung for the Rockefellers": Pete Seeger Refuses to "Sing" for HUAC

During the Cold War era, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) interrogated more than 3,000 government officials, labor union leaders, teachers, journalists, entertainers, and others. They wanted to purge Communists, former Communists, and "fellow travelers" who refused to renounce their past and inform on associates from positions of influence within American society. Among the Committee's targets were performers at events held in support of suspect organizations. Pete Seeger acquired a love of American folk music while traveling through the South in the 1930s with his father, a musicologist and classical composer, and as an employee in the Library of Congress' Archive of American Folk Song. As a folksinger motivated by concerns for social justice, cross-cultural communication, and international peace, Seeger performed songs from diverse sources to many kinds of audiences, and in 1948 campaigned for Progressive Party candidate Henry Wallace as part of the folk music organization People's Songs. In the following testimony before HUAC, Seeger refused to invoke the Fifth Amendment, protecting citizens from self-incrimination. Instead he insisted that the Committee had no right to question him regarding his political beliefs or associations. This strategy resulted in prison terms for contempt of Congress for the Hollywood Ten in 1947. Seeger himself was sentenced to a year in prison for contempt, but the verdict was reversed in 1962. Nevertheless, Seeger remained on a network television blacklist until the late 1960s.

Testimony of Pete Seeger before the House Un-American Activities Committee, August 18, 1955

. . . Mr. TAVENNER: The Committee has information obtained in part from the *Daily Worker* indicating that, over a period of time, especially since December of 1945, you took part in numerous entertainment features. I have before me a photostatic copy of the June 20, 1947, issue of the *Daily Worker*. In a column entitled "What's On" appears this advertisement: "Tonight—Bronx, hear Peter Seeger and his guitar, at Allerton Section housewarming." May I ask you whether or not the Allerton Section was a section of the Communist Party?

Mr. SEEGER: Sir, I refuse to answer that question whether it was a quote from the *New York Times* or the *Vegetarian Journal*.

Mr. TAVENNER: I don't believe there is any more authoritative document in regard to the Communist

Party than its official organ, the *Daily Worker*.

Mr. SCHERER: He hasn't answered the question, and he merely said he wouldn't answer whether the article appeared in the *New York Times* or some other magazine. I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

Chairman WALTER: I direct you to answer.

Mr. SEEGER: Sir, the whole line of questioning—

Chairman WALTER: You have only been asked one question, so far.

Mr. SEEGER: I am not going to answer any questions as to my association, my philosophical or religious beliefs or my political beliefs, or how I voted in any election, or any of these private affairs. I think these are very improper questions for any American to be asked, especially under such compulsion as this. I would be very glad to tell you my life if you want to hear of it.

Mr. TAVENNER: Has the witness declined to answer this specific question?

Chairman WALTER: He said that he is not going to answer any questions, any names or things.

Mr. SCHERER: He was directed to answer the question.

Mr. TAVENNER: I have before me a photostatic copy of the April 30, 1948, issue of the *Daily Worker* which carries under the same title of "What's On," an advertisement of a "May Day Rally: For Peace, Security and Democracy." The advertisement states: "Are you in a fighting mood? Then attend the May Day rally." Expert speakers are stated to be slated for the program, and then follows a statement, "Entertainment by Pete Seeger." At the bottom appears this: "Auspices Essex County Communist Party," and at the top, "Tonight, Newark, N.J." Did you lend your talent to the Essex County Communist Party on the occasion indicated by this article from the *Daily Worker*?

Mr. SEEGER: Mr. Walter, I believe I have already answered this question, and the same answer.

Chairman WALTER: The same answer. In other words, you mean that you decline to answer because of the reasons stated before?

Mr. SEEGER: I gave my answer, sir.

Chairman WALTER: What is your answer?

Mr. SEEGER: You see, sir, I feel—

Chairman WALTER: What is your answer?

Mr. SEEGER: I will tell you what my answer is.

I feel that in my whole life I have never done anything of any conspiratorial nature and I resent very much and very deeply the implication of being called before this Committee that in some way because my opinions may be different from yours, or yours, Mr. Willis, or yours, Mr. Scherer, that I am any

less of an American than anybody else. I love my country very deeply, sir.

Chairman WALTER: Why don't you make a little contribution toward preserving its institutions?

Mr. SEEGER: I feel that my whole life is a contribution. That is why I would like to tell you about it.

Chairman WALTER: I don't want to hear about it.

Mr. SCHERER: I think that there must be a direction to answer.

Chairman WALTER: I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. SEEGER: I have already given you my answer, sir.

Mr. SCHERER: Let me understand. You are not relying on the Fifth Amendment, are you?

Mr. SEEGER: No, sir, although I do not want to in any way discredit or depreciate or depredate the witnesses that have used the Fifth Amendment, and I simply feel it is improper for this committee to ask such questions.

Mr. SCHERER: And then in answering the rest of the questions, or in refusing to answer the rest of the questions, I understand that you are not relying on the Fifth Amendment as a basis for your refusal to answer?

Mr. SEEGER: No, I am not, sir. . . .

Mr. TAVENNER: You said that you would tell us about the songs. Did you participate in a program at Wingdale Lodge in the State of New York, which is a summer camp for adults and children, on the weekend of July Fourth of this year?

(*Witness consulted with counsel.*)

Mr. SEEGER: Again, I say I will be glad to tell what songs I have ever sung, because singing is my business.

Mr. TAVENNER: I am going to ask you.

Mr. SEEGER: But I decline to say who has ever listened to them, who has written them, or other people who have sung them.

Mr. TAVENNER: Did you sing this song, to which we have referred, "Now Is the Time," at Wingdale Lodge on the weekend of July Fourth?

Mr. SEEGER: I don't know any song by that name, and I know a song with a similar name. It is called "Wasn't That a Time." Is that the song?

Chairman WALTER: Did you sing that song?

Mr. SEEGER: I can sing it. I don't know how well I can do it without my banjo.

Chairman WALTER: I said, Did you sing it on that occasion?

Mr. SEEGER: I have sung that song. I am not going to go into where I have sung it. I have sung it many places.

Chairman WALTER: Did you sing it on this particular occasion? That is what you are being asked.

Mr. SEEGER: Again my answer is the same.

Chairman WALTER: You said that you would tell us about it.

Mr. SEEGER: I will tell you about the songs, but I am not going to tell you or try to explain—

Chairman WALTER: I direct you to answer the question. Did you sing this particular song on the Fourth of July at Wingdale Lodge in New York?

Mr. SEEGER: I have already given you my answer to that question, and all questions such as that. I feel that is improper: to ask about my associations and opinions. I have said that I would be voluntarily glad to tell you any song, or what I have done in my life.

Chairman WALTER: I think it is my duty to inform you that we don't accept this answer and the others, and I give you an opportunity now to answer these questions, particularly the last one.

Mr. SEEGER: Sir, my answer is always the same.

Chairman WALTER: All right, go ahead, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER: Were you chosen by Mr. Elliott Sullivan to take part in the program on the weekend of July Fourth at Wingdale Lodge?

Mr. SEEGER: The answer is the same, sir.

Mr. WILLIS: Was that the occasion of the satire on the Constitution and the Bill of Rights?

Mr. TAVENNER: The same occasion, yes, sir. I have before me a photostatic copy of a page from the June 1, 1949, issue of the *Daily Worker*, and in a column entitled "Town Talk" there is found this statement:

The first performance of a new song, "If I Had a Hammer," on the theme of the Foley Square trial of the Communist leaders, will be given at a testimonial dinner for the 12 on Friday night at St. Nicholas Arena. . . .Among those on hand for the singing will be . . . Pete Seeger, and Lee Hays—

and others whose names are mentioned. Did you take part in that performance?

Mr. SEEGER: I shall be glad to answer about the song, sir, and I am not interested in carrying on the line of questioning about where I have sung any songs.

Mr. TAVENNER: I ask a direction.

Chairman WALTER: You may not be interested, but we are, however. I direct you to answer. You can

answer that question.

Mr. SEEGER: I feel these questions are improper, sir, and I feel they are immoral to ask any American this kind of question.

Mr. TAVENNER: Have you finished your answer?

Mr. SEEGER: Yes, sir. . . .

Mr. TAVENNER: Did you hear Mr. George Hall's testimony yesterday in which he stated that, as an actor, the special contribution that he was expected to make to the Communist Party was to use his talents by entertaining at Communist Party functions? Did you hear that testimony?

Mr. SEEGER: I didn't hear it, no.

Mr. TAVENNER: It is a fact that he so testified. I want to know whether or not you were engaged in a similar type of service to the Communist Party in entertaining at these features.

(*Witness consulted with counsel.*)

Mr. SEEGER: I have sung for Americans of every political persuasion, and I am proud that I never refuse to sing to an audience, no matter what religion or color of their skin, or situation in life. I have sung in hobo jungles, and I have sung for the Rockefellers, and I am proud that I have never refused to sing for anybody. That is the only answer I can give along that line.

Chairman WALTER: Mr. Tavenner, are you getting around to that letter? There was a letter introduced yesterday that I think was of greater importance than any bit of evidence adduced at these hearings, concerning the attempt made to influence people in this professional performers' guild and union to assist a purely Communist cause which had no relation whatsoever to the arts and the theater. Is that what you are leading up to?

Mr. TAVENNER: Yes, it is. That was the letter of Peter Lawrence, which I questioned him about yesterday. That related to the trial of the Smith Act defendants here at Foley Square. I am trying to inquire now whether this witness was party to the same type of propaganda effort by the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER: There has been no answer to your last question.

Mr. TAVENNER: That is right; may I have a direction?

Mr. SEEGER: Would you repeat the question? I don't even know what the last question was, *and I* thought I have answered all of them up to now.

Mr. TAVENNER: What you stated was not in response to the question.

Chairman WALTER: Proceed with the questioning, Mr. Tavenner.

Mr. TAVENNER: I believe, Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I will have the question read to him. I think it should be put in exactly the same form.

(*Whereupon the reporter read the pending question as above recorded.*)

Mr. SEEGER: "These features": what do you mean? Except for the answer I have already given you, I have no answer. The answer I gave you you have, don't you? That is, that I am proud that I have sung for Americans of every political persuasion, and I have never refused to sing for anybody because I disagreed with their political opinion, and I am proud of the fact that my songs seem to cut across and find perhaps a unifying thing, basic humanity, and that is why I would love to be able to tell you about these songs, because I feel that you would agree with me more, sir. I know many beautiful songs from your home county, Carbon, and Monroe, and I hitchhiked through there and stayed in the homes of miners.

Mr. TAVENNER: My question was whether or not you sang at these functions of the Communist Party. You have answered it inferentially, and if I understand your answer, you are saying you did.

Mr. SEEGER: Except for that answer, I decline to answer further. . . .

Mr. SCHERER: Do you understand it is the feeling of the Committee that you are in contempt as a result of the position you take?

Mr. SEEGER: I can't say.

Mr. SCHERER: I am telling you that that is the position of the Committee. . . .

Mr. SEEGER: I decline to discuss, under compulsion, where I have sung, and who has sung my songs, and who else has sung with me, and the people I have known. I love my country very dearly, and I greatly resent this implication that some of the places that I have sung and some of the people that I have known, and some of my opinions, whether they are religious or philosophical, or I might be a vegetarian, make me any less of an American. I will tell you about my songs, but I am not interested in telling you who wrote them, and I will tell you about my songs, and I am not interested in who listened to them. . . .

Source: Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of Communist Activities, New York Area (Entertainment): Hearings*, 84th Congress, August 18, 1955

Albert Einstein to schoolteacher William Frauenglass, published in *New York Times*, June 12, 1953

The problem with which the intellectuals of this country are confronted is very serious. Reactionary politicians have managed to instill suspicion of all intellectual efforts into the public by dangling before their eyes a danger from without. Having succeeded so far, they are now proceeding to suppress the freedom of teaching and to deprive of their positions all those who do not prove submissive, i.e., to starve them out.

What ought the minority of intellectuals to do against this evil? Frankly, I can only see the revolutionary way of noncooperation in the sense of Gandhi's. Every intellectual who is called before one of these committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e., he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country.

However, this refusal to testify must not be based on the well-known subterfuge of invoking the Fifth Amendment against possible self-incrimination, but on the assertion that it is shameful for a blameless citizen to submit to such an inquisition and that this kind of inquisition violates the spirit of the Constitution.

If enough people are ready to take this grave step they will be successful. If not, then the intellectuals of this country deserve nothing better than the slavery which is intended for them.

P.S. This letter need not be considered "confidential."

STATE DEPARTMENT TEACHER-STUDENT EXCHANGE PROGRAM

[EDITOR'S NOTE.—The composer Aaron Copland (1900–1990), whose works included *Billy the Kid, Lincoln Portrait, Rodeo,* and *Appalachian Spring,* won a Pulitzer Prize in 1944 and an Academy Award in 1950. Because he had gone to Italy on a Fulbright scholarship in 1951, the subcommittee questioned him about his past political associations. His oral history, published as Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland, 1900 through 1942* (New York: St. Martin's, 1984), and *Copland Since 1943* (New York: St. Martin's, 1989) acknowledged that he had been a "fellow traveler" in the 1930s because "it seemed the thing to do at the time," but stated that he had never joined a political party.

Following the closed hearing, Copland issued a public statement: "On late Friday afternoon, I received a telegram from the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations to appear as a witness. I did. I answered to the best of my ability all of the questions which were asked me. I testified under oath that I have never supported, and am now opposed to, the limitations put on freedom by the Soviet Union. . . . My relationships with the United States Government were originally with the Music Advisory Committee to the Coordinator of Inter American Affairs and later as a lecturer in music in South America and as a Fulbright Professor. In these capacities my work was limited to the technical aspects of music." The subcommittee never called him to testify in public. Aaron Copland received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964 and a Congressional Gold Medal in 1986.]

TUESDAY, MAY 26, 1953

U.S. SENATE,
SENATE PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to Senate Resolution 40, agreed to January 30, 1953, at 2:30 p.m. in the Office of the District Committee, the Capitol, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy presiding.

Present: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, Wisconsin; Senator Karl E. Mundt, Republican, South Dakota; Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat, Arkansas.

Present also: Roy M. Cohn, chief counsel; Donald A. Surine, assistant counsel; Ruth Young Watt, chief clerk; Mason Drury, Senate liaison officer, State Department.

TESTIMONY OF AARON COPLAND (ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, CHARLES GLOVER)

The CHAIRMAN. Will you stand and raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COPLAND. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. And your counsel's name?

Mr. COPLAND. Charles Glover. G-l-o-v-e-r.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Glover, I think this is the first time you have appeared as counsel before this committee, so I will tell you the

rules of the committee. You can advise as freely as you care to with your client. You can discuss any matter he cares to during the testimony. If at any time you feel you want a private conference, we will arrange a room. Counsel is not allowed to take any part in the proceedings other than to consult with his client.

Mr. Copland, you are residing at——

Mr. COPLAND. Shady Lane Farm, Ossining, New York.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are a musician, composer and lecturer?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever had any connection with the exchange program?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes, I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you tell us what that connection has been?

Mr. COPLAND. I was connected with the program on three different occasions, I believe. The first occasion I was a member of the Music Advisory Board of the State Department, and on the second occasion I was sent by Grant-in-Aid to Latin America to give lectures and concerts about American music, and on the third occasion I was a Fulbright professor in Italy for the same purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you a lecturer in Italy?

Mr. COPLAND. 1951.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Copland, have you ever been a Communist?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I have not been a Communist in the past and I am not now a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been a Communist sympathizer?

Mr. COPLAND. I am not sure that I would be able to say what you mean by the word "sympathizer." From my impression of it I have never thought of myself as a Communist sympathizer.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not.

Mr. COPLAND. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever attend any Communist meetings?

Mr. COPLAND. I never attended any specific Communist party function of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever attend a Communist meeting?

Mr. COPLAND. I am afraid I don't know how you define a Communist meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. A meeting you knew then or now had been called by the Communist party and sponsored by the Communist party.

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I would know of. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever attend a meeting of which a major or sizable number of those in attendance were Communists?

Mr. COPLAND. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever solicited to join the Communist party?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone ever discuss with you the possibility of your joining the Communist party?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that every man has a different type of memory, so we can't ask you to evaluate your memory. Would it seem logical that were you asked to join the Communist party, you would remember?

Mr. COPLAND. If I had been asked to? Not unless it had some significance in my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. So your answer at this time is that you can't say definitely whether you have been asked to join the Communist party or not?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any of your close friends Communists?

Mr. COPLAND. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know any members of the Communist party who are Communists?

Mr. COPLAND. I don't know any member of the Communist party, as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. I may say one of the reasons you are here today is because of the part you played in the exchange program lecturing, etc., and you have a public record of association with organizations officially listed by the attorney general. As the Communist party record is extremely long, I think counsel will want to ask you some questions on that.

May I give you some advice. You have a lawyer here. There are witnesses who come before this committee and often indulge in the assumption that they can avoid giving us the facts. Those who underestimate the work the staff has done in the past end up occasionally before a grand jury for perjury, so I suggest when counsel questions you about these matters that you tell the truth or take advantage of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. COPLAND. Senator McCarthy, I would like to say now, I received a telegram to be here Friday. The telegram gave me no hint as to why I was coming. If I am to be questioned on affiliations over a period of many years it is practically impossible without some kind of preparation to be able to answer definitely one way or another when I was and what I was connected with. This comes as a complete surprise.

The CHAIRMAN. May I say that during the hearing if you feel you need more time for preparation, we will adjourn and give you that time. We have no desire whatsoever to have the witness commit perjury because of lack of preparation. If you feel you can't answer these questions concerning your Communist affiliations, Communist connections, if you need more time, we will give you more time.

Mr. COPLAND. May I say one more word. I came here with the intention of answering honestly all the questions put to me. If I am unable to do that, it is the fact that memory slips in different ways over a long period of time.

Mr. COHN. The record states that you signed a letter to the president urging the United States declare war on Finland. This statement was sponsored by the Council of American-Soviet Relations.

Mr. COPLAND. Is that a fact. Do you know when that was?

Mr. COHN. Do you know if you signed such a statement?

Mr. COPLAND. I have no memory of that. I can't say positively.

Mr. COHN. This was during the trouble between the Soviet Union and Finland. That would be in the late thirties.

Mr. COPLAND. I am sorry but I couldn't say positively. It seems highly unlikely.

Mr. COHN. What was your view on the trouble between the Soviet Union and Finland?

The CHAIRMAN. May I rephrase that, Roy. Did you feel at that time we should declare war on Finland?

Mr. COPLAND. Senator McCarthy, I am in no position—I spend my days writing symphonies, concertos, ballads, and I am not a political thinker. My relation has been extremely tangent.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to know whether you signed this letter to the president urging that we declare war on Finland—whether you are a musician or not. We now find that you are lecturing with the stamp of approval of the United States government and we would like to check on these things. This is one small item. There is a long record of apparent Communist activities. Now you say you don't remember signing the letter.

Just to refresh your memory, may I ask, did you feel at the time the letter was signed by you that we should declare war on Finland?

Mr. COPLAND. I would say the thought would be extremely uncharacteristic of me. I have never thought that the declaration of war would solve, in my opinion, serious problems. I would say I was a man of hope for a peaceful solution.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think someone forged your name?

Mr. COPLAND. I wouldn't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you heard before that you signed such a letter?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. This is the first time it has been brought to your attention?

Mr. COPLAND. As far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no recollection of such a letter to the president?

Mr. COPLAND. I have no recollection of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever attend any meetings at which this matter was the subject of conversation?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I remember.

Mr. COHN. What was your view of the Hitler-Stalin Pact—1939 to 1941?

Mr. COPLAND. I don't remember any specific view of it.

Mr. COHN. You are listed as a sponsor of the Schappes Defense Committee. Morris Schappes, as you might recall, is a teacher at City College, New York, and has been a witness before this committee in the last couple of months. He denied Communist party membership, was convicted of perjury and sentenced to jail. The Schappes committee was organized to secure his release from jail. You are listed as a sponsor of that committee. Do you recall that?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I do not recall that. I know they use the names of well-known men to support their cause without authorization.

Mr. COHN. Do you recall the Schappes case?

Mr. COPLAND. Vaguely.

Mr. COHN. Have you ever met Professor Schappes?

Mr. COPLAND. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. COHN. Do you think they used your name without your authorization?

Mr. COPLAND. I think it very possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you authorize the use of your name by any organization that has been listed by the attorney general or the House Un-American Activities Committee?

Mr. COPLAND. As far as I know, I lent my name to organizations which were subsequently listed. I don't know now that I lent it in any cases after it was listed.

Mr. COHN. Of course, a listing of the date does not signify the date it became subversive. A listing is made on the basis of past activities of the organization. If the attorney general lists an organization in September 1948, it doesn't mean that was when it was found subversive. It means that on that date a review of the activities of the organization was completed and found to be subversive.

Mr. COPLAND. I didn't necessarily know about that.

Mr. COHN. What organization did you sponsor, allow to use your name, contribute to or help in any way who were then or were subsequently listed by the attorney general as Communist fronts?

Mr. COPLAND. I would have to refer to my papers. May I say that I have never been shown by any official committee of any eort or questioned about this list. I heard about it through an inadvertent source. I haven't had the time or possibility of knowing whether it is complete. I did it rather hastily since Friday. I can't say positively.

The CHAIRMAN. Give us what you have and you can complete it later on.

I may say that I can understand a man who has got to depend upon the government for part of his income to have accepted a job with the government, perhaps knowing he had joined these front organizations, but it seems you have none of these qualifications and have been rather active in a number of these fronts.

Do you care to give us the list?

Mr. COPLAND. I think, Senator McCarthy, in fairness to me and my activity in relation to the Department of State, it was not primarily a financial relationship. I think that I was chosen because I had a unique position in American symphonic and serious music and I had a reputation as a lecturer on that subject. I, at any rate, was under the impression that I was chosen for that purpose. The payment was not the primary consideration. I was trying to help spread in other countries what we American composers were doing.

Senator MCCLELLAN. Were you employed by the federal government—by the State Department?

Mr. COPLAND. I believe it was in the program of interchange of persons. I don't know if that is an employee——

Senator MCCLELLAN. Were you paid by the government?

Mr. COPLAND. I was paid by the Department of State interchange of persons.

Senator MCCLELLAN. Over what period of time?

Mr. COPLAND. Are you referring now to the non-paid advisory capacity?

Senator MCCLELLAN. Give us both. I want to get both in the record.

Mr. COPLAND. I was a member of the Advisory Committee on Music, Department of State between July 1, 1950 and June 30, 1951.

Senator MCCLELLAN. Did you receive any pay for that?

Mr. COPLAND. No. Except the per diem expenses.

Senator MCCLELLAN. How much was the per diem?

Mr. COPLAND. My memory may not be right. I think it was about $10.00 a day.

I was also a member of the same advisory committee from September 8, 1941 to June 30, 1942. I was also a music advisor to Nelson Rockefeller's committee when he was coordinator of Inter-American Affairs and that music advisory post was renewed to June 1943. As far as I know, that was the end of the music advisory capacity.

Senator MCCLELLAN. Did you receive a salary?

Mr. COPLAND. No. That was not a government job.

I was appointed visiting lecturer on music in Brazil, Argentina, etc., by the Grant-In-Aid at a salary of $500.00 a month over a period of three months around August or September of 1947.

Senator MCCLELLAN. Was that plus expenses?

Mr. COPLAND. I can't quite remember. It may have been per diem expenses when traveling.

Senator MUNDT. You did secure traveling expenses for that?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes, sir.

Senator MUNDT. And per diem also?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes.

Senator MUNDT. What was the per diem?

Mr. COPLAND. It may have been eight or ten dollars a day. My compensation was $500.00 a month.

I was given a Fulbright professorship for six months to Italy from January to June of 1951 at a salary of $3,000 for six months, plus transportation to and from.

Senator MUNDT. Did you get $3,000 from the State Department or the difference between what the Italian University paid you and what you received over here.

Mr. COPLAND. I was paid by the embassy in Rome. I wasn't attached to the university. I was attached to the American Academy in Rome and they housed me, but I was paid at the embassy itself.

Mr. COHN. Did you have a security clearance before you undertook this?

Mr. COPLAND. One that I knew about, no.

Mr. COHN. Did you have to fill out a form prior to receiving this appointment?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

Mr. COHN. None at all.

Mr. COPLAND. I am not sure there were none at all.

Mr. COHN. Did you go under Public Law 402, the Smith-Mundt Bill?

Mr. COPLAND. No. I knew of the bill, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Could I ask you now about some of your activities. As I said, according to the records, you have what appears to be one of the longest Communist-front records of any one we have had here.

Is it correct that you signed some statement to President Roosevelt defending the Communist party?

Mr. COPLAND. I have no memory of that but I may have.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that your feeling at that time? Did you feel the Communist party should be defended?

Mr. COPLAND. Well, it would certainly depend on what basis. For example, if someone wanted to have them outlawed to go underground, I might have. I don't think they should be outlawed to go underground, but left above board.

The CHAIRMAN. This is not outlawing the Communist party. This is a statement defending the Communist party.

Mr. COPLAND. I would certainly have to have further time to study the letter, the nature of the letter and what I remember about it.

May I say the list I got from the *Congressional Record,* almost all of these affiliations have to do with sponsoring of something, the signing of protests, or the signing of a statement in favor or against something, and that in this connection, if I had them or didn't have them, I say in my mind they are very superficial things. They consisted of my receiving in the mail in the morning a request of some kind or a list of names, which I judged solely on its merits quite aside from my being able to judge whether that was a Communist front. I must say that when I first saw this list I was amazed that I was connected with this many things. I consider this list gives a false idea of my activities as a musician. It was a very small part of my existence. It consisted of my signing my name to a protest or statement, which I thought I had a right to do as an American citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a right to defend communism or the Communist party—Hanns Eisler or anything else. You have a perfect right to do it, but the question is why were you selected as a lecturer when you exercised that right so often.

Let me ask you this question. Before you were hired as a lecturer to tour South America, did anyone ask you to explain your membership in or sponsorship of these various Communist front movements?

Mr. COPLAND. No, and I think the reason was that they were too superficial. No one took them seriously, and I think they were justified in not taking them seriously. In view of my position in the musical world and a teacher in the musical world, most people would think they would know whether or not I was a Communist. The question never came up.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you give us that list?

Mr. COPLAND. May I first, Senator, amend a prior answer I gave in regard to a petition to declare war on Finland. It occurred to me that I did have knowledge of that. I read it in the *Congressional Record.* It had no date as to when it was signed or any particular information as to what went into the petition, therefore, I am afraid I just ignored that I had seen it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, give us that list.

Mr. COPLAND. In order to help matters, could I have the list read from there so I could give you my list.

The CHAIRMAN. You give us your list first.

Mr. COPLAND. This is only a summary.

The CHAIRMAN. You won't be cut off. You can take all the time you want.

Mr. COPLAND. I can only definitely say that I was a member of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship during the years that the Soviet Union was an ally in the war and for some years thereafter, I don't have the precise date. I joined the Music Committee of that Council of American-Soviet Friendship in order to help an understanding between the two countries through musical interchange. It was in no way, as far as I was concerned, a political move. At that time I had no knowledge that the National Council of American Soviet Friendship was a Communist front. I do know that subsequently it was solicited by the attorney general, and on the basis of that I formally resigned.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you resign?

Mr. COPLAND. By letter.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a copy?

Mr. COPLAND. I may have.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have a copy with you?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

Senator MUNDT. What date was that?

Mr. COPLAND. That was, I believe, June 1950.

The CHAIRMAN. It was cited long before that.

Mr. COPLAND. Was it? I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when it was cited? I gather you resigned because you found it was cited. Is that correct?

Mr. COPLAND. That is my recollection of events, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you resign as soon as you heard it was cited?

Mr. COPLAND. Well, there was some question in my mind as to whether or not I was still a member because the Music Committee resigned as a body—at any rate they left and set up their own organization—the American-Soviet Music Society.

The CHAIRMAN. When was this set up?

Mr. COPLAND. The exact date escapes me. It was probably 1945 or 1946.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us the next front?

Mr. COPLAND. May I emphasize again——

The CHAIRMAN. Will you read them and then you can explain your participation in each one, the source also and the date. Give us the names of the organizations and then you can give us any explanations you care to. If you care to have me read them, I will. Hand me the list of fronts. [reading:]

1. The American League of War and Fascism
2. Advisory Board of Frontier Films
3. Entertainer at the American Music Alliance of Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade
4. Entertainer of *New Masses* Benefit
5. Sponsor New York Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born
6. Signer, Petition American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom
7. Signed Statement to FDR Defending the Communist party
8. Signer of appeal for Sam Darcy, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties
9. Sponsor, Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges
10. Sponsor, Artists Front to Win the War

11. Sponsor, letter for Harry Bridges by the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties
12. Dinner Sponsor of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee
13. Sponsor, Called Conference of American-Soviet Friendship, National Council American Soviet Friendship
14. Signer, Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee
15. Signed petition for Hanns Eisler
16. Eisler Concert sponsor
17. Member, National Committee, National Defense of Political Prisoners
18. Member, Committee of Professional Group for Browder Fund
19. Member, National Committee of People's Rights
20. Vice-Chairman and Member of the Music Committee, Council of American-Soviet Friendship
21. Peoples Songs
22. Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, Professions
23. Win the Peace Conference
24. American-Soviet Music Society
25. *New Masses* contributor
26. National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
27. Supporter, Communist Bookstore

Senator MUNDT. Was that list prepared by you?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I did not prepare that list. I copied that list from Red Channels and the *Congressional Record* in an attempt to have some kind of preparation in coming to this committee so as to know what possible organizations my name had been connected with.

Senator MUNDT. It is not your testimony that this list is your list of fronts which you belonged to——

Mr. COPLAND. Definitely not.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not?

Mr. COPLAND. No. Any secretary could have done it for me.

Mr. COHN. I would like to state, Mr. Copland, we have checked the guide for subversive organizations and found that the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was cited as subversive December 4, 1947.

Mr. COPLAND. May I say, December 4, 1947, to the best of my knowledge I was in Latin America on a lecture tour. It would be very unlikely that I would know.

Mr. COHN. When did you return?

Mr. COPLAND. I returned in December 1947.

Mr. COHN. You say it took you these three years to discover——

Mr. COPLAND. Well, Mr. Cohn, I don't keep track of all political points like that.

Mr. COHN. If I label your testimony correctly, you were trying to give the committee the impression that when you found this was cited as a subversive organization you resigned.

Mr. COPLAND. No. I was about to explain that the American Music Society was an off-shoot, so to speak, of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and I was not sure whether I was still a member.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you go through this list now and tell us which Communist front organizations you were a member of or in whose activities you took any part?

Mr. COPLAND. Senator McCarthy, to my knowledge I have never knowingly sponsored any Communist front organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a list before you, which list you say was copied from other sources. Will you go down that list and first give us the name of the organizations to which you had some affiliation and then you can come back and make any explanations you care to to your own knowledge.

Mr. COPLAND. To my own knowledge the only organization to which I, as a member, belonged was the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the American-Soviet Music Society.

The CHAIRMAN. You used the word "belonged."

Mr. COPLAND. As far as I know at this time, taking the briefness of time—I may have to amend that later.

The CHAIRMAN. You say organizations to which you belonged. Let's broaden that a bit and say organizations in which you were in any way affiliated, either a sponsor of their activities or in any other fashion.

Mr. COPLAND. There is a great distinction in my mind in being a member and signing a paper.

The CHAIRMAN. There might be a distinction. I want you to answer the question. I have asked you to list the organizations—those named as Communist fronts—with which you were in any way affiliated. Then you can explain your affiliations as much as you want to.

I just want to know the names now.

Mr. COPLAND. I could not under oath with any certainty say that I was a member.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not what I asked you.

Mr. COPLAND. Then I haven't understood the question.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is very simple. I said any organizations in which you were in any way affiliated.

Mr. COPLAND. As far as I can remember, without further study, I am not prepared to say that I was affiliated with any but the ones mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. You said with certainty. Do you have any reason to believe that you were affiliated with any of the others?

Mr. COPLAND. I have reason to believe that I was a sponsor of a concert devoted to Hanns Eisler's music in 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1948.

Mr. COPLAND. 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else?

Mr. COPLAND. Nothing else that I with certainty can——

The CHAIRMAN. Not certainty now—that you have any reason to believe you were affiliated with any of these other organizations?

Mr. COPLAND. No. In view of the shortness of time and the seriousness of this question I am afraid I would have to ask for further time to study and investigate and refresh my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Then at this time you have no recollection of any affiliation with any of the other organizations listed upon the two sheets which I just read into the record.

Mr. COPLAND. No recollection other than the fact that some of these organizations are names that I have seen on occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you sign a petition to the attorney general in behalf of Hanns Eisler?

Mr. COPLAND. I may have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall whether you did or not?

Mr. COPLAND. Not positively, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know Hanns Eisler had been named as a Communist agent at that time?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first learn that Hanns Eisler had been named as a Communist agent?

Mr. COPLAND. I never heard that he had been named as a Communist agent. I never heard that he had been named. I knew that he had a reputation in Germany in the twenties of having been a Communist, but I understood that was in the past and since his arrival in America and the Rockefeller grant of $20,000, it was my impression that the Communist element in him was in the past.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you feel that you knew enough about the Hanns Eisler case to petition the attorney general in his behalf?

Mr. COPLAND. I would have to study what the petition was and think about the problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you well-acquainted with Hanns Eisler?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Who asked you to sign the petition?

Mr. COPLAND. I have no memory if I did sign it.

The CHAIRMAN. This was not too long ago. It was reported in the Daily Worker, December 17, 1947. You say you can't remember whether you signed it or not or who asked you to sign it in 1947?

Mr. COPLAND. Well, that was six years ago. I might have been asked to sign it. I can't be certain.

The CHAIRMAN. In any event, your testimony is that you did not know enough about the case to advise the attorney general as to what he should do?

Mr. COPLAND. That is my impression at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. So that if you signed it you were either signing it out of sympathy for Eisler, the Communist, or you were duped into doing it?

Mr. COPLAND. I don't think that is a fair summary of my feeling. I have never sympathized with Communists as such. My interest in Eisler was purely as a musician. I think he is, in spite of his political ideas, a great musician and my signing of the concert sponsorship was in relation to that feeling.

The CHAIRMAN. Concert sponsorship? It is the petition I am talking about. Do you use the same term so many witnesses use? Do you refer to political beliefs—do you consider the Communist party as a political party in the American sense?

Mr. COPLAND. In the American sense? Not since the designation of the Supreme Court.

The CHAIRMAN. Was this a benefit for Eisler at which you appeared on February 28th, 1948?

Mr. COPLAND. I don't remember.

Pardon me. Will you repeat the question?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you appear at an Eisler program at Town Hall, New York, on February 28, 1948?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I did not. That was purely sponsorship.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you sponsor that?

Mr. COPLAND. I was one of the sponsors.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know at that time he was in difficulty with the law enforcement agencies of this country for underground or espionage activities?

Mr. COPLAND. I may have known that, but my sponsorship was in terms of music only and him as a musician.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you feel today if you knew an outstanding musician who was also a member of the Communist espionage ring would you sponsor a benefit for him?

Mr. COPLAND. Certainly not.

The CHAIRMAN. Then do you think it was improper to do it in 1948?

Mr. COPLAND. 1948? I had no such knowledge in 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if you signed a petition to the attorney general in 1947——

Mr. COPLAND. Senator McCarthy, I didn't say I signed it.

Mr. COHN. Do you think your signature was forged on all these things?

Mr. COPLAND. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you feel a man using common sense, Mr. Copland, apparently signing the petition to the attorney general advising him what he should do in the Eisler case—who was accused of espionage then—do you think the following February—this was in December that the petition was signed and this was about two months later that you sponsored a benefit for this man—you certainly knew of his alleged espionage activities.

Mr. COPLAND. The concert was not a benefit as far as I know, and I took no part in the concert other than just sponsor it. I didn't deny or affirm signing the petition. I said that in relation to all these organizations I must have more time to give consideration to them. I have had three days since receiving the telegram and finding myself here. I am trying to do my best to remember things. I am under oath and want to be cautious.

The CHAIRMAN. We will give you a chance to refresh your recollection.

Do you know whether you were affiliated with the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever take part in any organization activities concerning the defense of Communist teachers?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I remember.

Mr. COHN. Were you in sympathy with Communist teachers?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I was never in sympathy with Communist teachers.

Mr. COHN. Do you feel Communists should be allowed to teach in our schools?

Mr. COPLAND. I haven't given the matter such thought as to come up with an answer.

Mr. COHN. In other words, as of today you don't have any firm thought?

Mr. COPLAND. I would be inclined to allow the faculty of the university to decide that.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's say you are on the faculty and are making a designation, would you feel Communists should be allowed to teach?

Mr. COPLAND. I couldn't give you a blanket decision on that without knowing the case.

The CHAIRMAN. Let's say the teacher is a Communist, period. Would you feel that is sufficient to bar that teacher from a job as a teacher?

Mr. COPLAND. I certainly think it would be sufficient if he were using his Communist membership to angle his teaching to further the purposes of the Communist party.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been a lecturer representing the United States in other nations. One of the reasons why we appropriate the money to pay lecturers is to enlighten people as to the American way of life and do something towards combating communism. Is it your testimony that you know nothing about the Communist movement or are you fairly well acquainted with the Communist movement?

Mr. COPLAND. It was my understanding that my lectureship was purely a musical assignment.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer my question. Do you know anything about the Communist movement?

Mr. COPLAND. I know what I read in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a sponsor of the National Conference of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any connection with the Fifth National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born, held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, in March 1941?

Mr. COPLAND. Not at this time, I don't recall that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any connection with that conference?

Mr. COPLAND. Not at this time I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. As far as you know you had no connection with it at all?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Just for your information, the record shows that as far back as 1941 the program of the Fifth National Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born named you as a sponsor. Later, a letterhead of the New York Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born on January 2, 1941 showed you as a sponsor, and later in 1943 you were again listed as a sponsor.

I might say that this organization has been cited by the Attorney General and by the House Un-American Activities Committee as one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist party in the United States. Does that refresh your recollection?

Mr. COPLAND. May I point out that there is a notation here that it was cited in 1948, which is, I believe, seven years after the dates you just quoted.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Copland, the date of citation is not important. It is no more important than the date a man was convicted of robbing a bank. The question that is important is whether or not

you participated in robbing the bank, not whether another man participated in robbing the bank and was convicted. Any man with normal intelligence knows it is wrong to rob a bank. Even before the citations it is sometimes known that the organization is a Communist front—a front for the Communist party.

Mr. COPLAND. As far as I know——

The CHAIRMAN. I am not criticizing you for joining these organizations. You may have been so naive that you didn't know they were Communist controlled or you may have done it purposely, but I can't believe that this very long list used your name time after time as a sponsor of all these outstanding fronts. I can't believe that they forged your name to these petitions, borrowed your name unlawfully time after time. However, I am only interested in knowing why they selected you as a lecturer when we have many other people available as lecturers.

May I say to you there is nothing illegal, as far as I know, about belonging to Communist fronts and there is nothing illegal about accepting employment no matter how sympathetic you were—I am not saying you were—There is nothing illegal about accepting employment in the information program, but we must find out why a man of this tremendous activity in Communist fronts would be selected.

Mr. COPLAND. May I reply on two points? I think I was selected because of the fact that my employment as a lecturer had nothing to do with anything but music.

The CHAIRMAN. If you were a member of the Communist party, let's assume you were, and you were selected to lecture you would be bound to try wherever you could to sell the Communist idea, wouldn't you?

Mr. COPLAND. No doubt.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. So that, I believe you and I would agree that in selecting a lecturer, even though they are an outstanding musician, before we put our stamp of approval on them we should find out whether they are a Communist or sympathetic to the Communist cause. Is that right?

Mr. COPLAND. Well, I would certainly hesitate to send abroad a man who is a Communist sympathizer or a Communist in order to lecture. My impression was that my political opinions, no matter how vague they may have been, were not in question as far as the Department of State was concerned. I assume if they had been in question I would have had some kind of going over. The reason I am so vague about these various organizations is because my relationship, if any, was so vague. It was not a question of my going to meetings or being active in any way. I am active in many ways—music organizations. They are things which my whole life has been devoted to and these organizations, such as they are, when I see the word sponsor, entertainer, supporter or protestor, to me that means that I got a penny postcard and sent it in, and that is why my memory of it is so vague. That is why I think this list, even if I were what this list said I was connected with as a sponsor, it would give a false impression of the situation—of myself as a man and as a citizen, and that is why I think the State Department wasn't worried.

The CHAIRMAN. You were never asked about any of these Communist-front activities?

Mr. COPLAND. Not to my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. I may say, for your information, you did get security clearance.

Mr. COPLAND. Did I really? How does one get security clearance?

The CHAIRMAN. You knew the *New Masses* was a Communist paper, I suppose.

Mr. COPLAND. I knew Communists wrote for it.

The CHAIRMAN. And Communist controlled?

Mr. COPLAND. I didn't know it was Communist controlled.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know there were a lot of Communists in it?

Mr. COPLAND. I knew there was a considerable number.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know now that it is Communist controlled?

Mr. COPLAND. I would suspect it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you judge contests for the *New Masses*?

Mr. COPLAND. Well, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall judging any contest for the *New Masses*?

Mr. COPLAND. I may have.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't remember?

Mr. COPLAND. Not precisely. I have a vague recollection. I see here the date is 1937. That is sixteen years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever belong to the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. COPLAND. Not to my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a committee member or sponsor of the Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges?

Mr. COPLAND. I may have been.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall whether you were or not?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no recollection whatsoever of such a committee?

Mr. COPLAND. I may have seen the name before, yes.

Mr. COHN. You say you may have been. What do you base that on? You must have some recollection.

Were you on that committee? Do you know?

Mr. COPLAND. I don't know.

Mr. COHN. Do you recall the Bridges case?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes, I recall it.

Mr. COHN. Were you in sympathy with Bridges at the time?

Mr. COPLAND. I may have thought he was being pushed around. I would have to do some heavy thinking to go back to 1941 and remember what I think about Harry Bridges. He played no more part in my life than over the breakfast table——

The CHAIRMAN. Did you belong to a committee for Browder and Ford?

Mr. COPLAND. It is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. If you were a member of such a committee, you, of course, knew at the time that Browder was one of the leading Communists?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes, I knew that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you say it was possible that you belonged to that committee?

Mr. COPLAND. I would say it is in the realm of possibility since it was 1936. I can't recall what the committee was about—what it was for—or what connection it had with Browder.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Embargo in Spain?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall that?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you take any part in any activities having to do with the Spanish Civil War?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I recall now.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you belong to the American Music Alliance of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. COPLAND. The fact that it is a musical committee puts it into the realm of possibility, but I have no definite memory of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether you entertained the American Music Alliance of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. COPLAND. In what capacity?

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to tell me that.

Mr. COPLAND. I don't know exactly how I could entertain them, but I have no memory of entertaining them.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the advisory board of Frontier Films?

Mr. COPLAND. I can't remember it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall any connection with Frontier Films?

Mr. COPLAND. I believe it is the organization that produced documentaries. What date was that?

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to tell me. I don't know.

Mr. COPLAND. I don't know either—unless it is in the *Congressional Record*.

The CHAIRMAN. If you were on the advisory board of a film company, wouldn't you remember it unless you read it in the *Congressional Record*?

Mr. COPLAND. I am on the advisory committee of many organizations where my name is simply listed and no use made of advice. As far as I know I never met with Frontier Films in order to advise them about anything.

The CHAIRMAN. It might be of some benefit if you supply us the anti-Communist organizations that you were affiliated with.

Mr. COPLAND. I can't off-hand give you the name of such things without further study, but I can tell you that since the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, I have not been associated with any organization which has been cited in any way. I have deliberately taken the stand that in the present situation I do not wish to be associated in any way with an organization that would leave people to think that I had Communist sympathies, which I do not have.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Edward K. Barsky?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I did not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. You never met him?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I remember.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you testified that you have never been a member of the Communist party.

Mr. COPLAND. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you testified that you have never engaged in espionage or sabotage—let me ask you. Have you ever engaged in espionage?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Sabotage?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member of the National Committee for People's Rights?

Mr. COPLAND. I couldn't say. I have no recollection of that. May I say again, in relation to specific questions, I must have more time. It is extremely short time.

The CHAIRMAN. Unless I ask the questions you won't know what to think about. You will have an opportunity to go over the record and supply memory gaps if you find any.

Were you a member or sponsor of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners?

Mr. COPLAND. I have no memory of that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't remember that at all?

Mr. COPLAND. No. May I say also in fairness to myself, my interest in connection with any organizations was in no way my interest in their political slant, except that I never knowingly signed my name to anything which I thought was controlled by Communists. I had no fear of sitting down at a table with a known Communist because I was so sure of my position as a loyal American.

The CHAIRMAN. With what known Communists have you sat down at a table?

Mr. COPLAND. That question is absolutely impossible to answer because as far as I know no one has told me that they are a Communist. I may have suspected it.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you don't recall sitting down at a table with any known Communists?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes, aside from Russian Communists. I assume they are Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever sat down at a table with Earl Browder?

Mr. COPLAND. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you sign an open letter to the mayor of Stalingrad?

Mr. COPLAND. I can't remember that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you sign a statement in support of Henry Wallace, which statement was issued by the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions?

Mr. COPLAND. What would be the date?

The CHAIRMAN. 1948.

Mr. COPLAND. It is possible I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you active in the Progressive movement?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you connected with the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions?

Mr. COPLAND. I may have been on their music committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any recollection?

Mr. COPLAND. No precise recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it mean anything to you? You say you may have been.

Mr. COPLAND. Well, I know that I probably received some of their literature and was aware of some of their musical activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a sponsor and speaker at the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes, I was.

The CHAIRMAN. That was held at the Waldorf-Astoria?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel should not coach the witness unless he asks for coaching.

What year was this?

Mr. COPLAND. March 1949.

Mr. COHN. Now, Mr. Copland, that conference was widely publicized in advance as a completely Communist dominated thing, but nevertheless you sponsored and attended it.

Mr. COPLAND. I sponsored it and attended it because I was very anxious to give the impression that by sitting down with Russian composers one could encourage the thought that since cultural relations were possible that perhaps diplomatic relations were possible. I did not go there to advance the Communist line or in any way encourage their operations. I went there in order to take part in a cultural panel, which included——

The CHAIRMAN. You knew that it had been widely labeled as a completely Communist movement, didn't you?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I didn't know it was a complete Communist movement at that time. I became convinced of it subsequently. I am very glad I went to that conference because it gave me first-hand knowledge in what ways the Communists were able to use such movements for their own ends. After that I refused to sign the sponsorship of any further peace conference.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet any Communists at that meeting other than Russian Communists?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the FBI or any other government intelligence agency ever interviewed you as to who you met at that conference?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you prepare a list of the people who attended the conference for us?

Mr. COPLAND. You mean present on the panel?

The CHAIRMAN. Those who you recognized. I am not speaking of the Russians. I am speaking of Americans.

Will you prepare a list of those Americans who were present at that conference?

Mr. COPLAND. That I remember having personally seen there?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. COPLAND. As far as I can, I will, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will appreciate that. It may not be of any benefit to the committee but I assume it might be of interest to the FBI.

Mr. COHN. And you still did not resign from the Council of American-Soviet Friendship?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I didn't.

Mr. COHN. In spite of the listing two years prior to that?

Mr. COPLAND. I am not certain I knew about the listing.

Mr. COHN. You said after this conference in 1949 you signed no more petitions—had nothing to do with any Communist fronts after that?

Mr. COPLAND. To the best of my memory.

The CHAIRMAN. To refresh your recollection, in December of 1949 did you not sign a petition or an appeal sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, which appeal asked for the immediate dismissal of charges against Sam Adams Darcy, well-known Communist leader?

Mr. COPLAND. I have no memory of that at all.

The CHAIRMAN. If your name is on the petition, would you say it was forged?

Mr. COPLAND. You mean a hand-written signature on the petition?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you couldn't sign it except by hand.

Mr. COPLAND. I would have to see it. I would certainly suspect it was forged.

The CHAIRMAN. You tell the committee today that you have no knowledge of signing a petition having to do with Sam Adams Darcy?

Mr. COPLAND. As far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew nothing about Sam Darcy?

Mr. COPLAND. Nothing that I know of now.

The CHAIRMAN. And you had no reason to sign a petition for Sam Darcy?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't remember anyone discussing the Darcy case with you?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. I think I questioned you about this.

Did you sponsor an open letter to the president of the United States asking him to reconsider the order for the deportation of Harry Bridges?

Mr. COPLAND. When was that?

The CHAIRMAN. At any time.

Mr. COPLAND. I have no memory of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you interested in the Bridges case?

Mr. COPLAND. In the way that one is interested in any case he reads about in the papers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you sign a letter to the president in which it stated: "it is equally essential that the attorney general's ill-advised, arbitrary, and unwarranted findings relative to the Communist party be rescinded."

Mr. COPLAND. I have no memory of such.

Mr. COHN. I wonder if we could ask Mr. Copland to sign his name for comparative reasons as all these signatures look the same.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Copland, you referred to signing penny postcards. You don't think that all of these alleged Communist connec-

tions or use of your name, forged or otherwise signed by you on petitions, was the result of signing penny postcards, do you?

Mr. COPLAND. It is my impression that that was the principal way in which sponsorship and such signing of petitions was furthered, and since I did not attend meetings of these organizations, it is my impression that this is the only way I might have sponsored them—through signature of some petition they sent me through the mail, either on a penny postcard saying, "Will you sign this petition" or a letter itself.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall having signed any of these petitions?

Mr. COPLAND. I wouldn't say that. I would say this at this time having been given three days notice, I would ask for an adjournment to refresh my memory.

Mr. COHN. Have you ever given money to any of these organizations we have been talking about?

Mr. COPLAND. Certainly no money of any substantial amount.

Mr. COHN. Have you ever given any?

Mr. COPLAND. I couldn't say.

Mr. COHN. Did you ever give any money to the Communist party?

Mr. COPLAND. Not that I know of.

Mr. COHN. That is an unusual answer. I imagine if you gave money to the Communist party you would know it.

Mr. COPLAND. I am trying to be extra careful, so to speak.

That is why I am making it so tentatively.

The CHAIRMAN. I recognize that and we don't blame you for being careful.

Mr. COPLAND. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you an entertainer at a *New Masses* benefit?

Mr. COPLAND. I seem to have some memory of that. What date was that?

The CHAIRMAN. February 1, 1936 or 1939. I don't know which.

Mr. COPLAND. That, I believe, was an anti-Fascist drive of some sort. I may be wrong about that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know that Vito Marcantonio was a member of the Communist party?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you belong to a committee supporting Marcantonio?

Mr. COPLAND. I have no memory of belonging to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you active in supporting Marcantonio?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I certainly wasn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know him?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated, I believe, that you don't recall having signed a letter in defense of Harry Bridges.

Mr. COPLAND. At this time I don't recall it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know Georgi Dimitrov?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear about the Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee?

Mr. COPLAND. I can't at this time remember whether I have or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall?

Mr. COPLAND. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall ever having been affiliated with it?

Mr. COPELAND. No, not at this time I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a sponsor of the Schappes Defense Committee?

Mr. COPLAND. As far as I know I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear of Schappes?

Mr. COPLAND. I may have vaguely heard of him.

Mr. COHN. You said before you had?

Mr. COPLAND. You see, I am uncertain whether I do or vaguely do. Without further opportunity to refresh my memory——

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt. I may say, going through all of these and where you feel that your memory is not sufficiently sharp so you can adequately answer, you will have opportunity to go over the record and supply the material which you were able to supply after your memory is refreshed.

Mr. COPLAND. Could I ask you to tell me again what you said about my having been connected with Sam Adams Darcy after the peace conference?

The CHAIRMAN. What date was that?

Mr. COPLAND. I believe the peace conference was March 1949 and you quoted the Darcy connection, if there was one, at a later date. I gather that your thought is that the Darcy petition may have been signed before that.

The CHAIRMAN. Here we are. We have it here. It appears from the report we have that you were a sponsor and speaker at the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace which was held March 25–27, 1945 inclusive.

Mr. COPLAND. The other matter was considerably before that, the petition.

The CHAIRMAN. I beg your pardon.

May I amplify the record. I had previously indicated in the questioning that the Sam Darcy petition had been signed after the New York conference. I misread it. I thought it was December 1949. Actually it was December 1940. You are correct.

Mr. COPLAND. I was going to explain why I didn't resign until 1950. The music committee was organized to further relations on a musical plane with the Soviet Union. It was an off-shoot of a committee, I believe, that had to do with the State Department. At any rate, that committee itself left the National Council and set itself up as the National Soviet Music Society and since I went with the music committee, I was under the impression that I was no longer a member of the National Council. In order to be sure I had severed connections I wrote a letter in 1950.

Mr. COHN. By the way, Mr. Copland, you are awfully well prepared. I am just wondering. Let me ask you this: Prior to the phone call Friday, you had never known of any reference to you in the *Congressional Record* concerning your Communist fronts?

Mr. COPLAND. That is not my testimony.

Mr. COHN. Then, Mr. Copland, you stated this had not just come to your attention on Friday?

Mr. COPLAND. May I say that I heard through a letter that there had been a printing in the *Congressional Record* of remarks of the Honorable Fred E. Busby concerning myself.

Mr. COHN. When was that?

Mr. COPLAND. When was the *Congressional Record* of Busby's statement? It is in here for Friday, January 16, 1953, and my memory of that is that happened sometime in March or April. Subsequently a friend supplied me with a copy.

Mr. COHN. When was that?

Mr. COPLAND. I would say sometime in April.

I will also add that I was absolutely amazed at the number of entries in connection with my name.

Mr. COHN. So were we.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you feel now that your name was misused by various organizations or do you want further time to check into it?

Mr. COPLAND. I would like further time to check into it.

It is also well known that if they got your name in connection with one thing, they didn't hesitate to use it in connection with another. I would also like to say that my connection, insofar as it would show, was the direct outcome of the feelings of a musician. I was not moved by the Communist element, whatever it may have been. I was moved by specific causes to which I lent my name.

Musicians make music out of feelings aroused out of public events.

Senator MUNDT. I can't follow this line of argument. I don't see how that line of reasoning makes sense with a hatchet man like Bridges.

Mr. COPLAND. A musician, when he writes his notes he makes his music out of emotions and you can't make your music unless you are moved by events. If I sponsored a committee in relation to Bridges, I may have been misled, not through Communist leanings. If I had them, there was something about his situation that moved me.

Senator MUNDT. That would be true of anybody—any human beings, I think, not only musicians. Emotions are part of everyone's personality. That certainly stretches a point. We are all governed by the same rules of caution. When you get to Browder and Bridges, I think musicians have to go by the same code as governs other citizens.

Mr. COPLAND. We are assuming—I would like to see what it was I was supposed to have signed. I would have to know the circumstances to make any kind of sensible case.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you say now that your activities as a musician had to do with your connection with Bridges and Browder?

Mr. COPLAND. I would say that anything I signed was because of the human cause behind it that interested me——

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a good friend of Hanns Eisler?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I knew him slightly. I was not a good friend of his.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you meet him socially?

Mr. COPLAND. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Roughly, how many times?

Mr. COPLAND. Roughly, this is a guess, two or three times.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you last see him?

Mr. COPLAND. My impression is I last saw him in California.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you agree with the statement by Eisler that "Revolutionary music is now more powerful than ever. Its political and artistic importance is growing daily."

Mr. COPLAND. That is a vague statement. I don't know what he means by "revolutionary music."

The CHAIRMAN. Do you agree with him that there is a political importance in music?

Mr. COPLAND. I certainly would not. What the Soviet government has been trying to do in forcing their composers to write along lines favorable to themselves is absolutely wrong. It is one of the basic reasons why I could have no sympathy with such an attitude.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say a good musician who is a Communist could be important in influencing people in favor of the Communist cause?

Mr. COPLAND. Perhaps in some indirect way.

The CHAIRMAN. One final question.

Quoting Hanns Eisler, is this a correct description of you by Eisler:

> I am extremely pleased to report a considerable shift to the left among the American artistic intelligentsia. I don't think it would be an exaggeration to state that the best people in the musical world of America (with very few exceptions) share at present extremely progressive ideas.
> Their names? They are Aaron Copland.

Would you say that is a correct description of you?

Mr. COPLAND. No, I would not. I would say he is using knowledge of my liberal feelings in the arts and in general to typify me as a help to his own cause.

The CHAIRMAN. Just for the record, this quotation from Eisler appears in the House Un-American Activities Committee Hearing, September 24, 25, 26, 1947, pages 36, 38, 39.

I have no further questions. How about you Mr. Cohn?

Mr. COHN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Mundt?

Senator MUNDT. No.

Mr. COHN. You are reminded that you are still under subpoena and will be called again within the next week, I would assume.

[Whereupon the hearing adjourned.]

"You Are the Un-Americans, and You Ought to be Ashamed of Yourselves": Paul Robeson Appears Before HUAC

Many African-American witnesses subpoenaed to testify at the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) hearings in the 1950s were asked to denounce Paul Robeson (1888–1976) in order to obtain future employment. Robeson, an All-American football player and recipient of a Phi Beta Kappa key at Rutgers, received a law degree at Columbia. He became an internationally acclaimed concert performer and actor as well as a persuasive political speaker. In 1949, Robeson was the subject of controversy after newspapers reports of public statements that African Americans would not fight in "an imperialist war." In 1950, his passport was revoked. Several years later, Robeson refused to sign an affidavit stating that he was not a Communist and initiated an unsuccessful lawsuit. In the following testimony to a HUAC hearing, ostensibly convened to gain information regarding his passport suit, Robeson refused to answer questions concerning his political activities and lectured bigoted Committee members Gordon H. Scherer and Chairman Francis E.Walter about African-American history and civil rights. In 1958, the Supreme Court ruled that a citizen's right to travel could not be taken away without due process and Robeson' passport was returned.

Testimony of Paul Robeson before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, June 12, 1956

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will be in order. This morning the Committee resumes its series of hearings on the vital issue of the use of American passports as travel documents in furtherance of the objectives of the Communist conspiracy. . . .

Mr. ARENS: Now, during the course of the process in which you were applying for this passport, in July of 1954, were you requested to submit a non-Communist affidavit?

Mr. ROBESON: We had a long discussion—with my counsel, who is in the room, Mr. [Leonard B.] Boudin—with the State Department, about just such an affidavit and I was very precise not only in the application but with the State Department, headed by Mr. Henderson and Mr. McLeod, that under no conditions would I think of signing any such affidavit, that it is a complete contradiction of the rights of American citizens.

Mr. ARENS: Did you comply with the requests?

Mr. ROBESON: I certainly did not and I will not.

Mr. ARENS: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROBESON: Oh please, please, please.

Mr. SCHERER: Please answer, will you, Mr. Robeson?

Mr. ROBESON: What is the Communist Party? What do you mean by that?

Mr. SCHERER: I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. ROBESON: What do you mean by the Communist Party? As far as I know it is a legal party like the Republican Party and the Democratic Party. Do you mean a party of people who have sacrificed for my people, and for all Americans and workers, that they can live in dignity? Do you mean that party?

Mr. ARENS: Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. ROBESON: Would you like to come to the ballot box when I vote and take out the ballot and see?

Mr. ARENS: Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that the witness be ordered and directed to answer that question.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are directed to answer the question.

(*The witness consulted with his counsel.*)

Mr. ROBESON: I stand upon the Fifth Amendment of the American Constitution.

Mr. ARENS: Do you mean you invoke the Fifth Amendment?

Mr. ROBESON: I invoke the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. ARENS: Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this Committee truthfully—

Mr. ROBESON: I have no desire to consider anything. I invoke the Fifth Amendment, and it is none of your business what I would like to do, and I invoke the Fifth Amendment. And forget it.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are directed to answer that question.

MR, ROBESON: I invoke the Fifth Amendment, and so I am answering it, am I not?

Mr. ARENS: I respectfully suggest the witness be ordered and directed to answer the question as to whether or not he honestly apprehends, that if he gave us a truthful answer to this last principal question, he would be supplying information which might be used against him in a criminal proceeding.

(*The witness consulted with his counsel.*)

THE CHAIRMAN: You are directed to answer that question, Mr. Robeson.

Mr. ROBESON: Gentlemen, in the first place, wherever I have been in the world, Scandinavia, England, and many places, the first to die in the struggle against Fascism were the Communists and I laid many wreaths upon graves of Communists. It is not criminal, and the Fifth Amendment has nothing to do with criminality. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Warren, has been very clear on that in many speeches, that the Fifth Amendment does not have anything to do with the inference of criminality. I invoke the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. ARENS: Have you ever been known under the name of "John Thomas"?

Mr. ROBESON: Oh, please, does somebody here want—are you suggesting—do you want me to be put up for perjury some place? "John Thomas"! My name is Paul Robeson, and anything I have to say, or stand for, I have said in public all over the world, and that is why I am here today.

Mr. SCHERER: I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question. He is making a speech.

Mr. FRIEDMAN: Excuse me, Mr. Arens, may we have the photographers take their pictures, and then desist, because it is rather nerve-racking for them to be there.

THE CHAIRMAN: They will take the pictures.

Mr. ROBESON: I am used to it and I have been in moving pictures. Do you want me to pose for it good? Do you want me to smile? I cannot smile when I am talking to him.

Mr. ARENS: I put it to you as a fact, and ask you to affirm or deny the fact, that your Communist Party name was "John Thomas."

Mr. ROBESON: I invoke the Fifth Amendment. This is really ridiculous.

Mr. ARENS: Now, tell this Committee whether or not you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster.

Mr. SCHERER: Mr. Chairman, this is not a laughing matter.

Mr. ROBESON: It is a laughing matter to me, this is really complete nonsense.

Mr. ARENS: Have you ever known Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?

(*The witness consulted with his counsel.*)

Mr. ROBESON: I invoke the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. ARENS: Do you honestly apprehend that if you told whether you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster you would be supplying information that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. ROBESON: I have not the slightest idea what you are talking about. I invoke the Fifth—

Mr. ARENS: I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be directed to answer that question.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. ROBESON: I invoke the Fifth.

Mr. SCHERER: The witness talks very loud when he makes a speech, but when he invokes the Fifth Amendment I cannot hear him.

Mr. ROBESON: I invoked the Fifth Amendment very loudly. You know I am an actor, and I have medals for diction.

. . . .

Mr. ROBESON: Oh, gentlemen, I thought I was here about some passports.

Mr. ARENS: We will get into that in just a few moments.

Mr. ROBESON: This is complete nonsense.

. . . .

THE CHAIRMAN: This is legal. This is not only legal but usual. By a unanimous vote, this Committee has been instructed to perform this very distasteful task.

Mr. ROBESON: To whom am I talking?

THE CHAIRMAN: You are speaking to the Chairman of this Committee.

Mr. ROBESON: Mr. Walter?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

Mr. ROBESON: The Pennsylvania Walter?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

Mr. ROBESON: Representative of the steelworkers?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

Mr. ROBESON: Of the coal-mining workers and not United States Steel, by any chance? A great patriot.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

Mr. ROBESON: You are the author of all of the bills that are going to keep all kinds of decent people out of the country.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, only your kind.

Mr. ROBESON: Colored people like myself, from the West Indies and all kinds. And just the Teutonic Anglo-Saxon stock that you would let come in.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are trying to make it easier to get rid of your kind, too.

Mr. ROBESON: You do not want any colored people to come in?

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed. . . .

Mr. ROBESON: Could I say that the reason that I am here today, you know, from the mouth of the State Department itself, is: I should not be allowed to travel because I have struggled for years for the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa. For many years I have so labored and I can say modestly that my name is very much honored all over Africa, in my struggles for their independence. That is the kind of independence like Sukarno got in Indonesia. Unless we are double-talking, then these efforts in the interest of Africa would be in the same context. The other reason that I am here today, again from the State Department and from the court record of the court of appeals, is that when I am abroad I speak out against the injustices against the Negro people of this land. I sent a message to the Bandung Conference and so forth. That is why I am here. This is the basis, and I am not being tried for whether I am a Communist, I am being tried for fighting for the rights of my people, who are still second-class citizens in this United States of America. My mother was born in your state, Mr. Walter, and my mother was a Quaker, and my ancestors in the time of Washington baked bread for George Washington's troops when they crossed the Delaware, and my own father was a slave. I stand here struggling for the rights of my people to be full citizens in this country. And they are not. They are not in Mississippi. And they are not in Montgomery, Alabama. And they are not in Washington. They are nowhere, and that is why I am here today. You want to shut up every Negro who has the courage to stand up and fight for the rights of his people, for the rights of workers, and I have been on many a picket line for the steelworkers too. And that is why I am here today. . . .

Mr. ARENS: Did you make a trip to Europe in 1949 and to the Soviet Union?

Mr. ROBESON: Yes, I made a trip. To England. And I sang.

Mr. ARENS: Where did you go?

Mr. ROBESON: I went first to England, where I was with the Philadelphia Orchestra, one of two American groups which was invited to England. I did a long concert tour in England and Denmark and Sweden, and I also sang for the Soviet people, one of the finest musical audiences in the world. Will you read what the *Porgy and Bess* people said? They never heard such applause in their lives. One of the most musical peoples in the world, and the great composers and great musicians, very cultured people, and Tolstoy, and—

THE CHAIRMAN: We know all of that.

Mr. ROBESON: They have helped our culture and we can learn a lot.

Mr. ARENS: Did you go to Paris on that trip?

Mr. ROBESON: I went to Paris.

Mr. ARENS: And while you were in Paris, did you tell an audience there that the American Negro would never go to war against the Soviet government?

Mr. ROBESON: May I say that is slightly out of context? May I explain to you what I did say? I remember the speech very well, and the night before, in London, and do not take the newspaper, take me: I made the speech, gentlemen, Mr. So-and-So. It happened that the night before, in London, before I went to Paris . . . and will you please listen?

Mr. ARENS: We are listening.

Mr. ROBESON: Two thousand students from various parts of the colonial world, students who since then have become very important in their governments, in places like Indonesia and India, and in many parts of Africa, two thousand students asked me and Mr. [Dr. Y. M.] Dadoo, a leader of the Indian people in South Africa, when we addressed this conference, and remember I was speaking to a peace conference, they asked me and Mr. Dadoo to say there that they were struggling for peace, that they did not want war against anybody. Two thousand students who came from populations that would range to six or seven hundred million people.

Mr. KEARNEY: Do you know anybody who wants war?

Mr. ROBESON: They asked me to say in their name that they did not want war. That is what I said. No part of my speech made in Paris says fifteen million American Negroes would do anything. I said it was my feeling that the American people would struggle for peace, and that has since been underscored by the President of these United States. Now, in passing, I said—

Mr. KEARNEY: Do you know of any people who want war?

Mr. ROBESON: Listen to me. I said it was unthinkable to me that any people would take up arms, in the name of an Eastland, to go against anybody. Gentlemen, I still say that. This United States Government should go down to Mississippi and protect my people. That is what should happen.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did you say what was attributed to you?

Mr. ROBESON: I did not say it in that context.

Mr. ARENS: I lay before you a document containing an article, "I Am Looking for Full Freedom," by Paul Robeson, in a publication called the *Worker*, dated July 3, 1949.

At the Paris Conference I said it was unthinkable that the Negro people of America or elsewhere in the world could be drawn into war with the Soviet Union.

Mr. ROBESON: Is that saying the Negro people would *do* anything? I said it is unthinkable. I did not say that there [in Paris]: I said that in the *Worker*.

Mr. ARENS:

I repeat it with hundredfold emphasis: they will not.

Did you say that?

Mr. ROBESON: I did not say that in Paris, I said that in America. And, gentlemen, they have not yet done so, and it is quite clear that no Americans, no people in the world probably, are going to war with the Soviet Union. So I was rather prophetic, was I not?

Mr. ARENS: On that trip to Europe, did you go to Stockholm?

Mr. ROBESON: I certainly did, and I understand that some people in the American Embassy tried to break up my concert. They were not successful.

Mr. ARENS: While you were in Stockholm, did you make a little speech?

Mr. ROBESON: I made all kinds of speeches, yes.

Mr. ARENS: Let me read you a quotation.

Mr. ROBESON: Let me listen.

Mr. ARENS: Do so, please.

Mr. ROBESON: I am a lawyer.

Mr. KEARNEY: It would be a revelation if you would listen to counsel.

Mr. ROBESON: In good company, I usually listen, but you know people wander around in such fancy places. Would you please let me read my statement at some point?

THE CHAIRMAN: We will consider your statement.

Mr. ARENS:

I do not hesitate one second to state clearly and unmistakably: I belong to the American resistance movement which fights against American imperialism, just as the resistance movement fought against Hitler.

Mr. ROBESON: Just like Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman were underground railroaders, and fighting for our freedom, you bet your life.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am going to have to insist that you listen to these questions.

MR, ROBESON: I am listening.

Mr. ARENS:

If the American warmongers fancy that they could win America's millions of Negroes for a war against those countries (i.e., the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies) then they ought to understand that this will never be the case. Why should the Negroes ever fight against the only nations of the world where racial discrimination is prohibited, and where the people can live freely? Never! I can assure you, they will never fight against either the Soviet Union or the peoples' democracies.

Did you make that statement?

Mr. ROBESON: I do not remember that. But what is perfectly clear today is that nine hundred million other colored people have told you that *they* will not. Four hundred million in India, and millions everywhere, have told you, precisely, that the colored people are not going to die for anybody: they are going to die for their independence. We are dealing not with fifteen million colored people, we are dealing with hundreds of millions.

Mr. KEARNEY: The witness has answered the question and he does not have to make a speech. . . .

Mr. ROBESON: In Russia I felt for the first time like a full human being. No color prejudice like in Mississippi, no color prejudice like in Washington. It was the first time I felt like a human being. Where I did not feel the pressure of color as I feel [it] in this Committee today.

Mr. SCHERER: Why do you not stay in Russia?

Mr. ROBESON: Because my father was a slave, and my people died to build this country, and I am going to stay here, and have a part of it just like you. And no Fascist-minded people will drive me from it. Is that clear? I am for peace with the Soviet Union, and I am for peace with China, and I am not for peace or friendship with the Fascist Franco, and I am not for peace with Fascist Nazi Germans. I am for peace with decent people.

Mr. SCHERER: You are here because you are promoting the Communist cause.

Mr. ROBESON: I am here because I am opposing the neo-Fascist cause which I see arising in these committees. You are like the Alien [and] Sedition Act, and Jefferson could be sitting here, and Frederick Douglass could be sitting here, and Eugene Debs could be here.

. . . .

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, what prejudice are you talking about? You were graduated from Rutgers and you were graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. I remember seeing you play football at Lehigh.

Mr. ROBESON: We beat Lehigh.

THE CHAIRMAN: And we had a lot of trouble with you.

Mr. ROBESON: That is right. DeWysocki was playing in my team.

THE CHAIRMAN: There was no prejudice against you. Why did you not send your son to Rutgers?

Mr. ROBESON: Just a moment. This is something that I challenge very deeply, and very sincerely: that the success of a few Negroes, including myself or Jackie Robinson can make up—and here is a study from Columbia University—for seven hundred dollars a year for thousands of Negro families in the South. My father was a slave, and I have cousins who are sharecroppers, and I do not see my success in terms of myself. That is the reason my own success has not meant what it should mean: I have sacrificed literally hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of dollars for what I believe in.

Mr. ARENS: While you were in Moscow, did you make a speech lauding Stalin?

Mr. ROBESON: I do not know.

Mr. ARENS: Did you say, in effect, that Stalin was a great man, and Stalin had done much for the Russian people, for all of the nations of the world, for all working people of the earth? Did you say something to that effect about Stalin when you were in Moscow?

Mr. ROBESON: I cannot remember.

Mr. ARENS: Do you have a recollection of praising Stalin?

Mr. ROBESON: I said a lot about Soviet people, fighting for the peoples of the earth.

Mr. ARENS: Did you praise Stalin?

Mr. ROBESON: I do not remember.

Mr. ARENS: Have you recently changed your mind about Stalin?

Mr. ROBESON: Whatever has happened to Stalin, gentlemen, is a question for the Soviet Union, and I would not argue with a representative of the people who, in building America, wasted sixty to a hundred million lives of my people, black people drawn from Africa on the plantations. You are responsible, and your forebears, for sixty million to one hundred million black people dying in the slave ships and on the plantations, and don't ask me about anybody, please.

Mr. ARENS: I am glad you called our attention to that slave problem. While you were in Soviet Russia, did you ask them there to show you the slave labor camps?

THE CHAIRMAN: You have been so greatly interested in slaves, I should think that you would want to see that.

Mr. ROBESON: The slaves I see are still in a kind of semiserfdom. I am interested in the place I am, and in the country that can do something about it. As far as I know, about the slave camps, they were Fascist prisoners who had murdered millions of the Jewish people, and who would have wiped out millions of the Negro people, could they have gotten a hold of them. That is all I know about that.

Mr. ARENS: Tell us whether or not you have changed your opinion in the recent past about Stalin.

Mr. ROBESON: I have told you, mister, that I would not discuss anything with the people who have murdered sixty million of my people, and I will not discuss Stalin with you.

Mr. ARENS: You would not, of course, discuss with us the slave labor camps in Soviet Russia.

Mr. ROBESON: I will discuss Stalin when I may be among the Russian people some day, singing for them, I will discuss it there. It is their problem.

. . . .

Mr. ARENS: Now I would invite your attention, if you please, to the *Daily Worker* of June 29, 1949, with reference to a get-together with you and Ben Davis. Do you know Ben Davis?

Mr. ROBESON: One of my dearest friends, one of the finest Americans you can imagine, born of a fine family, who went to Amherst and was a great man.

THE CHAIRMAN: The answer is yes?

Mr. ROBESON: Nothing could make me prouder than to know him.

THE CHAIRMAN: That answers the question.

Mr. ARENS: Did I understand you to laud his patriotism?

Mr. ROBESON: I say that he is as patriotic an American as there can be, and you gentlemen belong with the Alien and Sedition Acts, and you are the nonpatriots, and you are the un-Americans, and you ought to be ashamed of yourselves.

THE CHAIRMAN: Just a minute, the hearing is now adjourned.

Mr. ROBESON: I should think it would be.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have endured all of this that I can.

Mr. ROBESON: Can I read my statement?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, you cannot read it. The meeting is adjourned.

Mr. ROBESON: I think it should be, and you should adjourn this forever, that is what I would say. . . .

Source: Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, *Investigation of the Unauthorized Use of U.S. Passports*, 84th Congress, Part 3, June 12, 1956; in *Thirty Years of Treason: Excerpts from Hearings Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, 1938–1968*, Eric Bentley, ed. (New York: Viking Press, 1971), 770.

Arthur Miller, "Are You Now Or Were You Ever?"
from *The Guardian/The Observer* (on line), Saturday, June 17, 2000

Are you now or were you ever...? The McCarthy era's anti-communist trials destroyed lives and friendships. Arthur Miller describes the paranoia that swept America - and the moment his then wife Marilyn Monroe became a bargaining chip in his own prosecution

Saturday June 17, 2000

It would probably never have occurred to me to write a play about the Salem witch trials of 1692 had I not seen some astonishing correspondences with that calamity in the America of the late 40s and early 50s. My basic need was to respond to a phenomenon which, with only small exaggeration, one could say paralysed a whole generation and in a short time dried up the habits of trust and toleration in public discourse.

I refer to the anti-communist rage that threatened to reach hysterical proportions and sometimes did. I can't remember anyone calling it an ideological war, but I think now that that is what it amounted to. I suppose we rapidly passed over anything like a discussion or debate, and into something quite different, a hunt not just for subversive people, but for ideas and even a suspect language. The object was to destroy the least credibility of any and all ideas associated with socialism and communism, whose proponents were assumed to be either knowing or unwitting agents of Soviet subversion.

An ideological war is like guerrilla war, since the enemy is an idea whose proponents are not in uniform but are disguised as ordinary citizens, a situation that can scare a lot of people to death. To call the atmosphere paranoid is not to say that there was nothing real in the American-Soviet stand-off. But if there was one element that lent the conflict a tone of the inauthentic and the invented, it was the swiftness with which all values were forced in months to reverse themselves.

Death of a Salesman opened in February 1949 and was hailed by nearly every newspaper and magazine. Several movie studios wanted it and finally Columbia Pictures bought it, and engaged a great actor, Frederick March, to play Willy [the central character].

In two years or less, with the picture finished, I was asked by a terrified Columbia to sign an anti-communist declaration to ward off picket lines which the rightwing American Legion was threatening to throw across the entrances of theatres showing the film. In the phone calls that followed, the air of panic was heavy. It was the first intimation of what would soon follow. I declined to make any such statement, which I found demeaning; what right

had any organisation to demand anyone's pledge of loyalty? I was sure the whole thing would soon go away; it was just too outrageous.

But instead of the problem disappearing, the studio actually made another film, a short to be shown with Salesman. This was called The Life of a Salesman and consisted of several lectures by City College School of Business professors - which boiled down to selling was a joy, one of the most gratifying and useful professions, and that Willy was simply a nut. Never in show-business history has a studio spent so much good money to prove that its feature film was pointless. In less than two years Death of a Salesman had gone from being a masterpiece to being a heresy, and a fraudulent one at that.

In 1948-51, I had the sensation of being trapped inside a perverse work of art, one of those Escher constructs in which it is impossible to make out whether a stairway is going up or down. Practically everyone I knew stood within the conventions of the political left of centre; one or two were Communist party members, some were fellow-travellers, and most had had a brush with Marxist ideas or organisations. I have never been able to believe in the reality of these people being actual or putative traitors any more than I could be, yet others like them were being fired from teaching or jobs in government or large corporations. The surreality of it all never left me. We were living in an art form, a metaphor that had suddenly, incredibly, gripped the country.

In today's terms, the country had been delivered into the hands of the radical right, a ministry of free-floating apprehension toward anything that never happens in the middle of Missouri. It is always with us, this anxiety, sometimes directed towards foreigners, Jews, Catholics, fluoridated water, aliens in space, masturbation, homosexuality, or the Internal Revenue Department. But in the 50s any of these could be validated as real threats by rolling out a map of China. And if this seems crazy now, it seemed just as crazy then, but openly doubting it could cost you.

So in one sense The Crucible was an attempt to make life real again, palpable and structured. One hoped that a work of art might illuminate the tragic absurdities of an anterior work of art that was called reality, but was not. It was the very swiftness of the change that lent it this surreality. Only three or four years earlier an American movie audience, on seeing a newsreel of Stalin saluting the Red Army, would have applauded, for that army had taken the brunt of the Nazi onslaught, as most people were aware. Now they would look on with fear or at least bewilderment, for the Russians had become the enemy of mankind, a menace to all that was good. It was the Germans who, with amazing rapidity, were turning good. Could this be real?

In the unions, communists and their allies, known as intrepid organisers, were to be shorn of membership and turned out as seditious. Harry Bridges, the idol of west coast longshoremen, whom he had all but single-handedly organised, was subjected to trial after trial to drive him back to his native

Australia as an unadmitted communist. Academics, some prominent in their fields, were especially targeted, many forced to retire or fired for disloyalty. Some were communists, some were fellow travellers and, inevitably, a certain number were unaffiliated liberals refusing to sign one of the dozens of humiliating anti-communist pledges being required by terrified college administrations.

But it is impossible to convey properly the fears that marked that period. Nobody was shot, to be sure, although some were going to jail, where at least one, William Remington, was murdered by an inmate hoping to shorten his sentence by having killed a communist. Rather than physical fear, it was the sense of impotence, which seemed to deepen with each week, of being unable to speak accurately of the very recent past when being leftwing in America, and for that matter in Europe, was to be alive to the dilemmas of the day.

As for the idea of willingly subjecting my work not only to some party's discipline but to anyone's control, my repugnance was such that, as a young and indigent writer, I had turned down lucrative offers to work for Hollywood studios because of a revulsion at the thought of someone owning the paper I was typing on. It was not long, perhaps four or five years, before the fraudulence of Soviet cultural claims was as clear to me as it should have been earlier. But I would never have found it believable, in the 50s or later, that with its thuggish self-righteousness and callous contempt for artists' freedoms, that the Soviet way of controlling culture could be successfully exported to America.

Some greatly talented people were driven out of the US to work in England: screenwriters like Carl Foreman and Donald Ogden Stewart, actors like Charlie Chaplin and Sam Wanamaker. I no longer recall the number of our political exiles, but it was more than too many and disgraceful for a nation prideful of its democracy.

Writing now, almost half a century later, with the Soviet Union in ruins, China rhetorically fending off capitalism even as in reality it adopts a market economy, Cuba wallowing helplessly in the Caribbean, it is not easy to convey the American fear of a masterful communism. The quickness with which Soviet-style regimes had taken over eastern Europe and China was breathtaking, and I believe it stirred up a fear in Americans of our own ineptitudes, our mystifying inability, despite our military victories, to control the world whose liberties we had so recently won back from the Axis powers.

In 1956, the House Un-American Activities Committee (Huac) subpoenaed me - I was cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to identify writers I had met at one of the two communist writers' meetings I had attended many years before. By then, the tide was going out for Huac and it was finding it more difficult to make front pages. However, the news of my forthcoming marriage to Marilyn Monroe was too tempting to be passed. That our

marriage had some connection with my being subpoenaed was confirmed when Chairman Walters of the Huac sent word to Joseph Rauh, my lawyer, that he would be inclined to cancel my hearing if Miss Monroe would consent to have a picture taken with him.

The offer having been declined, the good chairman, as my hearing came to an end, entreated me to write less tragically about our country. This lecture cost me $40,000 in lawyer's fees, a year's suspended sentence for contempt of Congress, and a $500 fine. Not to mention about a year of inanition in my creative life.

My fictional view of the period, my sense of its unreality had been, like any impotence, a psychologically painful experience. A similar paralysis descended on Salem. In both places, to keep social unity intact, the authority of leaders had to be hardened and words of scepticism toward them constricted. A new cautionary diction, an uncustomary prudence inflected our way of talking to one another. The word socialism was all but taboo. Words had gotten fearsome. As I learned directly in Ann Arbor on a 1953 visit, university students were avoiding renting rooms in houses run by the housing cooperative for fear of being labelled communist, so darkly suggestive was the word cooperative. The head of orientation at the university told me, in a rather cool, uninvolved manner, that the FBI was enlisting professors to report on students voicing leftwing opinions, and - more comedy - that they had also engaged students to report on professors with the same views.

In the early 50s, along with Elia Kazan, who had directed All My Sons and Death of a Salesman, I submitted a script to Harry Cohn, head of Columbia Pictures. It described the murderous corruption in the gangster-ridden Brooklyn longshoremen's union. Cohn read the script and called us to Hollywood, where he casually informed us that he had had the script vetted by the FBI, and that they had seen nothing subversive in it. But the head of the AFL motion picture unions in Hollywood, Roy Brewer, had condemned it as untrue communist propaganda, since there were no gangsters on the Brooklyn waterfront. Cohn, no stranger to gangsterism, having survived an upbringing in the tough Five Points area of Manhattan, opined that Brewer was only trying to protect Joe Ryan, head of the Brooklyn longshoremen (who, incidentally, would go to Sing Sing prison for gangsterism).

Brewer threatened to call a strike of projectionists in any theatre daring to show the film. Cohn offered his solution to the problem: he would produce the film if I would make one change - the gangsters in the union were to be changed to communists. This would not be easy; I knew all the communists on the waterfront- there were two of them (both of whom in the following decade became millionaire businessmen). So I had to withdraw the script, which prompted an indignant telegram from Cohn: "As soon as we try to make the script pro-American you pull out." One understood not only the threat but also the cynicism: he knew the mafia controlled waterfront labour.

Had I been a movie writer, my career would have ended. But the theatre had no such complications, no blacklist - not yet - and I longed to respond to this climate of fear, if only to protect my sanity. But where to find a transcendent concept?

The heart of the darkness was the belief that a massive, profoundly organised conspiracy was in place and carried forward mainly by a concealed phalanx of intellectuals, including labour activists, teachers, professionals, sworn to undermine the American government. And it was precisely the invisibility of ideas that was frightening so many people. How could a play deal with this mirage world?

Paranoia breeds paranoia, but below paranoia there lies a bristling, unwelcome truth, so repugnant as to produce fantasies of persecution to conceal its existence. The unwelcome truth denied by the right was that the Hollywood writers accused of subversion were not a menace to the country, or even bearers of meaningful change. They wrote not propaganda but entertainment, some of it of a mildly liberal cast, but most of it mindless, or when it was political, as with Preston Sturges or Frank Capra, entirely and exuberantly un-Marxist.

As for the left, its unacknowledged truth was more important for me. If nobody was being shot in our ideological war but merely vivisected by a headline, it struck me as odd, if understandable , that the accused were unable to cry out passionately their faith in the ideals of socialism. There were attacks on the Huac's right to demand that a citizen reveal his political beliefs; but on the idealistic canon of their own convictions, the defendants were mute. The rare exception, like Paul Robeson's declaration of faith in socialism as a cure for racism, was a rocket that lit up the sky.

On a lucky afternoon I happened upon The Devil in Massachusetts, by Marion Starkey, a narrative of the Salem witch-hunt of 1692. I knew this story from my college reading, but in this darkened America it turned a completely new aspect toward me: the poetry of the hunt. Poetry may seem an odd word for a witch-hunt but I saw there was something of the marvellous in the spectacle of a whole village, if not an entire province, whose imagination was captured by a vision of something that wasn't there.

In time to come, the notion of equating the red-hunt with the witch-hunt would be condemned as a deception. There were communists and there never were witches. The deeper I moved into the 1690s, the further away drifted the America of the 50s, and, rather than the appeal of analogy, I found something different to draw my curiosity and excitement.

Anyone standing up in the Salem of 1692 and denying that witches existed would have faced immediate arrest, the hardest interrogation and possibly the rope. Every authority not only confirmed the existence of witches but never

questioned the necessity of executing them. It became obvious that to dismiss witchcraft was to forgo any understanding of how it came to pass that tens of thousands had been murdered as witches in Europe. To dismiss any relation between that episode and the hunt for subversives was to shut down an insight into not only the similar emotions but also the identical practices of both officials and victims.

There were witches, if not to most of us then certainly to everyone in Salem; and there were communists, but what was the content of their menace? That to me became the issue. Having been deeply influenced as a student by a Marxist approach to society, and having known Marxists and sympathisers, I could simply not accept that these people were spies or even prepared to do the will of the Soviets in some future crisis. That such people had thought to find hope of a higher ethic in the Soviet was not simply an American, but a worldwide, irony of catastrophic moral proportions, for their like could be found all over the world.

But as the 50s dawned, they were stuck with the past. Part of the surreality of the anti-left sweep was that it picked up people for disgrace who had already turned away from a pro-Soviet past but had no stomach for naming others who had merely shared their illusions. But the hunt had captured some significant part of the American imagination and its power demanded respect.

Turning to Salem was like looking into a petri dish, an embalmed stasis with its principal moving forces caught in stillness. One had to wonder what the human imagination fed on that could inspire neighbours and old friends to emerge overnight as furies secretly bent on the torture and destruction of Christians. More than a political metaphor, more than a moral tale, The Crucible, as it developed over more than a year, became the awesome evidence of the power of human imagination inflamed, the poetry of suggestion, and the tragedy of heroic resistance to a society possessed to the point of ruin.

In the stillness of the Salem courthouse, surrounded by the images of the 1950s but with my head in 1692, what the two eras had in common gradually gained definition. Both had the menace of concealed plots, but most startling were the similarities in the rituals of defence, the investigative routines; 300 years apart, both prosecutions alleged membership of a secret, disloyal group. Should the accused confess, his honesty could only be proved by naming former confederates. The informer became the axle of the plot's existence and the investigation's necessity.

The witch-hunt in 1692 had a not dissimilar problem, but a far more poetic solution. Most suspected people named by others as members of the Devil's conspiracy had not been shown to have done anything, neither poisoning wells, setting barns on fire, sickening cattle, aborting babies, nor undermining the virtue of wives (the Devil having two phenomenally active

penises, one above the other).

To the rescue came a piece of poetry, smacking of both legalistic and religious validity, called Spectral Evidence. All the prosecution need do was produce a witness who claimed to have seen, not an accused person, but his familiar spirit - his living ghost - in the act of throwing a burning brand into a barn full of hay. You could be at home asleep in your bed, but your spirit could be crawling through your neighbour's window to feel up his wife. The owner of the wandering spirit was obliged to account to the court for his crime. With Spectral Evidence, the air filled with the malign spirits of those identified by good Christians as confederates of theBeast, and the Devil himself danced happily into Salem village and took the place apart.

I spent 10 days in Salem courthouse reading the crudely recorded trials of the 1692 outbreak, and it was striking how totally absent was any sense of irony, let alone humour. I can't recall if it was the provincial governor's nephew or son who, with a college friend, came from Boston to watch the strange proceedings. Both boys burst out laughing at some absurd testimony: they were promptly jailed, and faced possible hanging.

Irony and humour were not conspicuous in the 1950s either. I was in my lawyer's office to sign some contract and a lawyer in the next office was asked to come in and notarise my signature. While he was stamping pages, I continued a discussion with my lawyer about the Broadway theatre, which I said was corrupt; the art of theatre had been totally displaced by the bottom line, all that mattered any more. Looking up at me, the notarising lawyer said, "That's a communist position, you know." I started to laugh until I saw the constraint in my lawyer's face, and I quickly sobered up.

I am glad that I managed to write The Crucible, but looking back I have often wished I'd had the temperament to do an absurd comedy, which is what the situation deserved. Now, after more than three-quarters of a century of fascination with the great snake of political and social developments, I can see more than a few occasions when we were confronted by the same sensation of having stepped into another age.

A young film producer asked me to write a script about what was then called juvenile delinquency. A mystifying, unprecedented outbreak of gang violence had exploded all over New York. The city, in return for a good percentage of profits, had contracted with this producer to open police stations and schools to his camera. I spent the summer of 1955 in Brooklyn streets with two gangs and wrote an outline. I was ready to proceed with the script when an attack on me as a disloyal lefty opened in the New York World Telegram. The cry went up that the city must cancel its contract with the producer so long as I was the screenwriter. A hearing was arranged, attended by 22 city commissioners, including the police, fire, welfare and sanitation departments, as well as two judges.

At the conference table there also sat a lady who produced a thick folder of petitions and statements I had signed, going back to my college years, provided to her by the Huac. I defended myself; I thought I was making sense when the lady began screaming that I was killing the boys in Korea [this was during the Korean war]. She meant me personally, as I could tell from the froth at the corners of her mouth, the fury in her eyes, and her finger pointing straight into my face.

The vote was taken and came up one short of continuing the city's collaboration, and the film was killed that afternoon. I always wondered whether the crucial vote against me came from the sanitation department. But it was not a total loss; the suffocating sensation of helplessness before the spectacle of the impossible coming to pass would soon help in writing The Crucible.

That impossible coming to pass was not an observation made at a comfortable distance but a blade cutting directly into my life. This was especially the case with Elia Kazan's decision to cooperate with the Huac. The surrounding fears felt even by those with the most fleeting of contacts with any communist-supported organisation were enough to break through long associations and friendships.

Kazan had been a member of the Communist party only a matter of months, and even that link had ended years before. And the party had never been illegal, nor was membership in it. Yet this great director, left undefended by 20th Century Fox executives, his longtime employers, was told that if he refused to name people whom he had known in the party - actors, directors and writers - he would never be allowed to direct another picture in Hollywood, meaning the end of his career.

These names were already known to the committee through other testifiers and FBI informants, but exactly as in Salem - or Russia under the Czar and the Chairman, and Inquisition Spain, Revolutionary France or any other place of revolution or counter-revolution - conspiracy was the name for all opposition. And the reformation of the accused could only be believed when he gave up the names of his co-conspirators. Only this ritual of humiliation, the breaking of pride and independence, could win the accused readmission into the community. The process inevitably did produce in the accused a new set of political, social and even moral convictions more acceptable to the state whose fist had been shoved into his face, with his utter ruin promised should he resist.

I had stopped by Kazan's house in the country in 1952 after he had called me to come and talk, an unusual invitation - he had never been inclined to indulge in talk unless it concerned work. I had suspected from his dark tone that it must have to do with the Huac, which was rampaging through the Hollywood ranks .

Since I was on my way up to Salem for research on a play that I was still unsure I would write, I called at his house, which was on my route. As he laid out his dilemma and his decision to comply with the Huac (which he had already done) it was impossible not to feel his anguish, old friends that we were. But the crunch came when I felt fear, that great teacher, that cruel revealer. For it swept over me that, had I been one of his comrades, he would have spent my name as part of the guarantee of his reform. Even so, oddly enough, I was not filling up with hatred or contempt for him; his suffering was too palpable. The whole hateful procedure had brought him to this, and I believe made the writing of The Crucible all but inevitable. Even if one could grant Kazan sincerity in his new-found anti-communism, the concept of an America where such self-discoveries were pressed out of people was outrageous, and a contradiction of any concept of personal liberty.

Is all this of some objective importance in our history, this destruction of bonds between people? I think it may be, however personal it may appear. Kazan's testimony created a far greater shock than anyone else's. Lee J Cobb's similar testimony and Jerome Robbins's cooperation seemed hardly to matter. It may be that Kazan had been loved more than any other, that he had attracted far greater affection from writers and actors with whom he had worked, and so what was overtly a political act was sensed as a betrayal of love.

It is very significant that in the uproar set off by last year's award to Kazan of an Oscar for life achievement, one heard no mention of the name of any member of the Huac. One doubted whether the thought occurred to many people that the studio heads had ignominiously collapsed before the Huac's insistence that they institute a blacklist of artists, something they had once insisted was dishonourable and a violation of democratic norms. Half a century had passed since his testimony, but Kazan bore very nearly the whole onus of the era, as though he had manufactured its horrors - when he was

surely its victim. The trial record in Salem courthouse had been written by ministers in a primitive shorthand. This condensation gave emphasis to a gnarled, densely packed language which suggested the country accents of a hard people. To lose oneself day after day in that record of human delusion was to know a fear, not for one's safety, but of the spectacle of intelligent people giving themselves over to a rapture of murderous credulity. It was as though the absence of real evidence was itself a release from the burdens of this world; in love with the invisible, they moved behind their priests, closer to that mystical communion which is anarchy and is called God.

Evidence, in contrast, is effort; leaping to conclusions is a wonderful pleasure, and for a while there was a highly charged joy in Salem, for now that they could see through everything to the frightful plot that was daily being laid bare in court sessions, their days, formerly so eventless and long, were swallowed up in hourly revelations, news, surprises. The Crucible is

less a polemic than it might have been had it not been filled with wonder at the protean imagination of man.

The Crucible straddles two different worlds to make them one, but it is not history in the usual sense of the word, but a moral, political and psychological construct that floats on the fluid emotions of both eras. As a commercial entertainment the play failed [it opened in 1953]. To start with there was the title: nobody knew what a crucible was. Most of the critics, as sometimes does happen, never caught on to the play's ironical substructure, and the ones who did were nervous about validating a work that was so unkind to the same sanctified procedural principles as underlay the hunt for reds. Some old acquaintances gave me distant nods in the theatre lobby on opening night, and even without air-conditioning the house was cool. There was also a problem with the temperature of the production.

The director, Jed Harris, a great name in the theatre of the 20s, 30s and 40s, had decided that the play, which he believed a classic, should be staged like a Dutch painting. In Dutch paintings of groups, everyone is always looking front. Unfortunately, on a stage such rigidity can only lead an audience to the exits. Several years after, a gang of young actors, setting up chairs in the ballroom of the McAlpin Hotel, fired up the audience, convinced the critics, and the play at last took off and soon found its place. There were cheering reviews but by then Senator McCarthy was dead. The public fever on whose heatwaves he had spread his wings had subsided.

The Crucible is my most-produced play. It seems to be one of the few surviving shards of the so-called McCarthy period. And it is part of the play's history that, to people in so many parts of the world, its story seems to be their own. I used to think, half seriously, that you could tell when a dictator was about to take power, or had been overthrown, in a Latin American country, if The Crucible was suddenly being produced in that country.

The result of it all is that I have come, rather reluctantly, to respect delusion, not least of all my own. There are no passions quite as hot and pleasurable as those of the deluded. Compared to the bliss of delusion, its vivid colours, blazing lights, explosions, whistles and liberating joys, the search for evidence is a deadly bore. My heart was with the left. if only because the right hated me enough to want to kill me, as the Germans amply proved. And now, the most blatant and most foul anti-semitism is in Russia, leaving people like me filled not so much with surprise as a kind of wonder at the incredible amount of hope there once was, and how it disappeared and whether in time it will ever come again, attached, no doubt, to some new illusion.

There is hardly a week that passes when I don't ask the unanswerable question: what am I now convinced of that will turn out to be ridiculous? And yet one can't forever stand on the shore; at some point, filled with

indecision, scepticism, reservation and doubt, you either jump in or concede that life is forever elsewhere. Which, I dare say, was one of the major impulses behind the decision to attempt The Crucible.

Salem village, that pious, devout settlement at the edge of white civilisation, had displayed - three centuries before the Russo-American rivalry and the issues it raised - what can only be called a built-in pestilence in the human mind; a fatality forever awaiting the right conditions for its always unique, forever unprecedented outbreak of distrust, alarm, suspicion and murder. And for people wherever the play is performed on any of the five continents, there is always a certain amazement that the same terror that is happening to them or that is threatening them, has happened before to others. It is all very strange. But then, the Devil is known to lure people into forgetting what it is vital for them to remember - how else could his endless reappearances always come as such a marvellous surprise?

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1958: Arthur Miller cleared of contempt

Washington's Court of Appeals has quashed playwright Arthur Miller's conviction for contempt of Congress after a two-year legal battle.

In May last year, a judge convicted Mr Miller for refusing to tell the House of Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) the names of alleged Communist writers with whom he attended five or six meetings in New York in 1947.

He had been questioned by the HUAC in 1956 over a supposed Communist conspiracy to misuse American passports and willingly answered all questions about himself.

But the playwright, married to actress Marilyn Monroe, refused to name names on a point of principle saying: "I could not use the name of another person and bring trouble on him."

Exposure

Today his lawyer, Joseph Rauh, argued that the committee simply wanted to expose the playwright and that "exposure for exposure's sake" was illegal.

Mr Rauh added that the timing of the hearing - just before his marriage to Marilyn Monroe - would ensure maximum publicity and humiliation for the writer.

He also said the questions he would not answer were not relevant to the passports issue.

However the appeal court ignored this argument finding instead that the way the questions were put to Mr Miller by the HUAC made contempt charges untenable.

Mr Miller had asked the committee

Good news for Arthur Miller and his wife, actress Marilyn Monroe

In Context

The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) was set up in 1938 to investigate fascists as well as communists within federal government.

In 1947 it turned its attention to the arts. A group of writers, directors and actors known as the Hollywood Ten were subsequently convicted of contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions about their political beliefs.

They were blacklisted by Hollywood and over the course of the next 10 years some 320 people were barred from work in the film studios over their alleged membership of the Communist party.

As more convictions of contempt were quashed by the courts of appeal, the committee's influence declined and it was abolished in 1975.

Arthur Miller later said his trial only went ahead because he had refused one of the members of the HUAC permission to be photographed with Marilyn Monroe. The couple divorced in 1961.

Arthur Miller died in 2005, aged 89.

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On This Day

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not to ask him to name names and the chairman had agreed to defer the question.

The court today ruled that at the time Mr Miller was led to believe this line of questioning had been suspended or even abandoned altogether.

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"Have You No Sense of Decency": The Army-McCarthy Hearings

Anticommunist crusader Senator Joseph R. McCarthy stepped into national prominence on February 9, 1950, when he mounted an attack on President Truman's foreign policy agenda. McCarthy charged that the State Department and its Secretary, Dean Acheson, harbored "traitorous" Communists. McCarthy's apocalyptic rhetoric made critics hesitate before challenging him. Those accused by McCarthy faced loss of employment, damaged careers, and in many cases, broken lives. After the 1952 election, in which the Republican Party won control of Congress, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and its Subcommittee on Investigations. McCarthy then extended his targets to include numerous government agencies, in addition to the broadcasting and defense industries, universities, and the United Nations. After Secretary of the Army, Robert T. Stevens, refused to intercede to halt an overseas assignment for McCarthy's chief consultant, G. David Schine, who had been drafted, McCarthy's committee began a two-month investigation of the Army. Viewers saw the following dramatic encounters televised live as they occurred between McCarthy, Special Counsel for the Army Joseph N. Welch, Counselor for the Army John G. Adams, and the subcommittee's chief counsel, Roy Cohn. Although McCarthy's power declined sharply following the hearings and the Senate voted to condemn him a few months later, scholars disagree on whether McCarthy's appearance before a mass television audience caused his fall. Historians do, however, credit ABC-TV's decision to broadcast the hearings live, the only one to do so, with the network's rise to prominence.

Secretary STEVENS. Gentlemen of the committee, I am here today at the request of this committee. You have my assurance of the fullest cooperation.

In order that we may all be quite clear as to just why this hearing has come about, it is necessary for me to refer at the outset to Pvt. G. David Schine, a former consultant of this committee. David Schine was eligible for the draft. Efforts were made by the chairman of this committee, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, and the subcommittee's chief counsel, Mr. Roy M. Cohn, to secure a commission for him. Mr. Schine was not qualified, and he was not commissioned. Selective service then drafted him. Subsequent efforts were made to seek preferential treatment for him after he was inducted.

Before getting into the Schine story I want to make two general comments.

First, it is my responsibility to speak for the Army. The Army is about a million and a half men and women, in posts across this country and around the world, on active duty and in the National Guard and Organized Reserves, plus hundreds of thousands of loyal and faithful civil servants.

Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, a point of order.

Senator MUNDT. Senator McCarthy has a point of order.

Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. Stevens is not speaking for the Army. He is speaking for Mr. Stevens, for Mr. Adams, and Mr. Hensel. The committee did not make the Army a party to this controversy, and I think it is highly improper to try to make the Army a party. Mr. Stevens can only speak for himself. . .

.

All we were investigating has been some Communists in the Army, a very small percentage, I would say much less than 1 percent. And when the Secretary says that, in effect "I am speaking for the Army," he is putting the 99.9 percent of good, honorable, loyal men in the Army into the position of trying to oppose the exposure of Communists in the Army.

I think it should be made clear at the outset, so we need not waste time on it, hour after hour, that Mr. Stevens is speaking for Mr. Stevens and those who are speaking through him; when Mr. Adams speaks, he is speaking for Mr. Adams and those who are speaking through him, and likewise Mr. Hensel.

I may say I resent very, very much this attempt to connect the great American Army with this attempt to sabotage the efforts of this committee's investigation into communism. . . .

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Mr. ADAMS. About that time these two friends left, and because I wanted Senator McCarthy to restate before Mr. Cohn what he had told me on the courthouse steps, I said, "Let's talk about Schine."

That started a chain of events, an experience similar to none which I have had in my life.

Mr. Cohn became extremely agitated, became extremely abusive. He cursed me and then Senator McCarthy. The abuse went in waves. He would be very abusive and then it would kind of abate and things would be friendly for a few moments. Everybody would eat a little bit more, and then it would start in again. It just kept on.

I was trying to catch a 1:30 train, but Mr. Cohn was so violent by then that I felt I had better not do it and leave him that angry with me and that angry with Senator McCarthy because of a remark I had made. So I stayed and missed my 1:30 train. I thought surely I would be able to get out of there by 2:30. The luncheon concluded.

Mr. JENKINS. You say you were afraid to leave Senator McCarthy alone there with him? Mr. Adams, what did he say? You say he was very abusive.

Mr. ADAMS. He was extremely abusive.

Mr. JENKINS. Was or not any obscene language used?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes.

Mr. JENKINS. Just omit that and tell what he did say which constituted abuse, in your opinion.

Mr. ADAMS. I have stated before, sir, the tone of voice has as much to do with abuse as words. I do not remember the phrases, I do not remember the sentences, but I do remember the violence.

Mr. JENKINS. Do you remember the subject?

Mr. ADAMS. The subject was Schine. The subject was the fact—the thing that Cohn was angry about, the thing that he was so violent about, was the fact that, (1), the Army was not agreeing to an assignment for Schine and, (2), that Senator McCarthy was not supporting his staff in its efforts to get Schine assigned to New York. So his abuse was directed partly to me and partly to Senator McCarthy.

As I say, it kind of came in waves. There would be a period of extreme abuse, and then there would be a period where it would get almost back to normal, and ice cream would be ordered, and then about halfway through that a little more of the same. I missed the 2:30 train, also.

This violence continued. It was a remarkable thing. At first Senator McCarthy seemed to be trying to conciliate. He seemed to be trying to conciliate Cohn and not to state anything contrary to what he had stated to me in the morning. But then he more or less lapsed into silence. . . .

So I went down to room 101. Mr. Cohn was there and Mr. Carr was there. As I remember, we lunched together in the Senate cafeteria, and everything was peaceful. When we returned to room 101, toward the latter part of the conversation I asked Cohn—I knew that 90 percent of all inductees ultimately face overseas duty and I knew that one day we were going to face that problem with Mr. Cohn as to Schine.

So I thought I would lay a little groundwork for future trouble I guess. I asked him what would happen if Schine got overseas duty.

Mr. JENKINS. You mean you were breaking the news gently, Mr. Adams?

Mr. ADAMS. Yes, sir; that is right. I asked him what would happen if Schine got overseas duty. He responded with vigor and force, "Stevens is through as Secretary of the Army."

I said, "Oh, Roy," something to this effect, "Oh, Roy, don't say that. Come on. Really, what is going to happen if Schine gets overseas duty?"

He responded with even more force, "We will wreck the Army."

Then he said, "The first thing we are going to do is get General Ryan for the way he has treated Dave at Fort Dix. Dave gets through at Fort Dix tomorrow or this week, and as soon as he is gone we are going to get General Ryan for the obscene way in which he has permitted Schine to be treated up there."

He said, "We are not going to do it ourselves. We have another committee of the Congress interested in it."

Then he said, "I wouldn't put it past you to do this. We will start investigations. We have enough stuff on the Army to keep investigations going indefinitely, and if anything like such-and-such doublecross occurs, that is what we will do."

This remark was not to be taken lightly in the context in which it was given to me. . . .

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Mr. JENKINS. You will recall, Mr. Cohn, that he testified that you said that if Schine went overseas, Stevens was through as Secretary of the Army?

Mr. COHN. I heard him say that, sir.

Mr. JENKINS. Did you or not?

Mr. COHN. No, sir.

Mr. JENKINS. Did you say anything like that, Mr. Cohn?

Mr. COHN. No, sir, and my recollection is that I did not. I have talked to Mr. Carr who was sitting there the whole time, and he says I did not. . . .

Mr. JENKINS. All right, now you are saying you did not say it, Mr. Cohn?

Mr. COHN. Yes, sir. I am saying I am sure I did not make that statement, and I am sure that Mr. Adams and anybody else with any sense, and Mr. Adams has a lot of sense, could ever believe that I was threatening to wreck the Army or that I could wreck the Army. I say, sir, that the statement is ridiculous.

Mr. JENKINS. I am talking about Stevens being through as Secretary of the Army.

Mr. COHN. That is equally ridiculous, sir.

Mr. JENKINS. And untrue?

Mr. COHN. Yes, sir, equally ridiculous and untrue, I could not cause the President of the United States to remove Stevens as Secretary of the Army. . . .

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Cohn, what is the exact number of Communists or subversives that are loose today in these defense plants?

Mr. COHN. The exact number that is loose, sir?

Mr. WELCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. COHN. I don't know.

Mr. WELCH. Roughly how many?

Mr. COHN. I can only tell you, sir, what we know about it.

Mr. WELCH. That is 130, is that right?

Mr. COHN. Yes, sir. I am going to try to particularize for you, if I can.

Mr. WELCH. I am in a hurry. I don't want the sun to go down while they are still in there, if we can get them out.

Mr. COHN. I am afraid we won't be able to work that fast, sir.

Mr. WELCH. I have a suggestion about it, sir. How many are there?

Mr. COHN. I believe the figure is approximately 130.

Mr. WELCH. Approximately one-two-three?

Mr. COHN. Yes, sir. Those are people, Mr. Welch—

Mr. WELCH. I don't care. You told us who they are. In how many plants are they?

Mr. COHN. How many plants?

Mr. WELCH. How many plants.

Mr. COHN. Yes, sir; just I minute, sir. I see 16 offhand, sir.

Mr. WELCH. Sixteen plants?

Mr. COHN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WELCH. Where are they, sir?

Mr. COHN. Senator McCarthy—

Mr. WELCH. Reel off the cities.

Mr. COHN. Would you stop me if I am going too far?

Mr. WELCH. You can't go too far revealing Communists, Mr. Cohn. Reel off the cities for us.

Mr. COHN. Schenectady, N.Y.; Syracuse, N.Y.; Rome, N.Y.; Quincy, Mass.; Fitchburg, Mass.; Buffalo, N.Y.; Dunkirk, N.Y.; another at Buffalo, N.Y.; Cambridge, Mass.; New Bedford, Mass.; Boston, Mass.; Quincy, Mass.; Lynn, Mass.; Pittsfield Mass.; Boston, Mass.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Cohn, you not only frighten me, you make me ashamed when there are so many in Massachusetts. [Laughter.] This is not a laughing matter, believe me. Are you alarmed at that situation, Mr. Cohn?

Mr. COHN. Yes, sir; I am.

Mr. WELCH. Nothing could be more alarming, could it?

Mr. COHN. It certainly is a very alarming thing.

Mr. WELCH. Will you not, before the sun goes down, give those names to the FBI and at least have those men put under surveillance.

Mr. COHN. Mr. Welch, the FBI—

Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WELCH. That is a fair question.

Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, let's not be ridiculous. Mr. Welch knows, as I have told him a dozen times, that the FBI has all of this information. The defense plants have the information. The only thing we can do is to try and publicly expose these individuals and hope that they will be gotten rid of. And you know that, Mr. Welch.

Mr. WELCH. I do not know that. . . .

Cannot the FBI put these 130 men under surveillance before sundown tomorrow?

Mr. COHN. Sir, if there is need for surveillance in the case of espionage or anything like that, I can well assure you that Mr. John Edgar Hoover and his men know a lot better than I, and I quite respectfully suggest, sir, than probably a lot of us, just who should be put under surveillance. I do not propose to tell the FBI how to run its shop. It does it very well.

Mr. WELCH. And they do it, don't they, Mr. Cohn?

Mr. COHN. When the need arises, of course.

Mr. WELCH. And will you tell them tonight, Mr. Cohn, that here is a case where the need has arisen, so that it can be done by sundown tomorrow night?

Mr. COHN. No, sir; there is no need for my telling the FBI what to do about this or anything else. . . .

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Cohn, tell me once more: Every time you learn of a Communist or a spy anywhere, is it your policy to get them out as fast as possible?

Mr. COHN. Surely, we want them out as fast as possible, sir.

Mr. WELCH. And whenever you learn of one from now on, Mr. Cohn, I beg of you, will you tell somebody about them quick?

Mr. COHN. Mr. Welch, with great respect, I work for the committee here. They know how we go about handling situations of Communist infiltration and failure to act on FBI information about Communist infiltration. If they are displeased with the speed with which I and the group of men who work with me proceed, if they are displeased with the order in which we move, I am sure they will give me appropriate instructions along those lines, and I will follow any which they give me.

Mr. WELCH. May I add my small voice, sir, and say whenever you know about a subversive or a

Communist spy, please hurry. Will you remember those words?

Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. COHN. Mr. Welch, I can assure you, sir, as far as I am concerned, and certainly as far as the chairman of this committee and the members, and the members of the staff, are concerned, we are a small group, but we proceed as expeditiously as is humanly possible to get out Communists and traitors and to bring to light the mechanism by which they have been permitted to remain where they were for so long a period of time.

Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, in view of that question—

Senator MUNDT. Have you a point of order?

Senator MCCARTHY. Not exactly, Mr. Chairman, but in view of Mr. Welch's request that the information be given once we know of anyone who might be performing any work for the Communist Party, I think we should tell him that he has in his law firm a young man named Fisher whom he recommended, incidentally, to do work on this committee, who has been for a number of years a member of an organization which was named, oh, years and years ago, as the legal bulwark of the Communist Party, an organization which always swings to the defense of anyone who dares to expose Communists. I certainly assume that Mr. Welch did not know of this young man at the time he recommended him as the assistant counsel for this committee, but he has such terror and such a great desire to know where anyone is located who may be serving the Communist cause, Mr. Welch, that I thought we should just call to your attention the fact that your Mr. Fisher, who is still in your law firm today, whom you asked to have down here looking over the secret and classified material, is a member of an organization, not named by me but named by various committees, named by the Attorney General, as I recall, and I think I quote this verbatim, as "the legal bulwark of the Communist Party." He belonged to that for a sizable number of years, according to his own admission, and he belonged to it long after it had been exposed as the legal arm of the Communist Party.

Knowing that, Mr. Welch, I just felt that I had a duty to respond to your urgent request that before sundown, when we know of anyone serving the Communist cause, we let the agency know. We are now letting you know that your man did belong to this organization for, either 3 or 4 years, belonged to it long after he was out of law school.

I don't think you can find anyplace, anywhere, an organization which has done more to defend Communists—I am again quoting the report—to defend Communists, to defend espionage agents, and to aid the Communist cause, than the man whom you originally wanted down here at your right hand instead of Mr. St. Clair.

I have hesitated bringing that up, but I have been rather bored with your phony requests to Mr. Cohn here that he personally get every Communist out of government before sundown. Therefore, we will give you information about the young man in your own organization.

I am not asking you at this time to explain why you tried to foist him on this committee. Whether you knew he was a member of that Communist organization or not, I don't know. I assume you did not, Mr. Welch, because I get the impression that, while you are quite an actor, you play for a laugh, I don't think you have any conception of the danger of the Communist Party. I don't think you yourself would

ever knowingly aid the Communist cause. I think you are unknowingly aiding it when you try to burlesque this hearing in which we are attempting to bring out the facts, however.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman.

Senator MUNDT. Mr. Welch, the Chair should say he has no recognition or no memory of Mr. Welch's recommending either Mr. Fisher or anybody else as counsel for this committee.

I will recognize Mr. Welch.

Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, I will give you the news story on that.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Chairman, under these circumstances I must have something approaching a personal privilege.

Senator MUNDT. You may have it, sir. It will not be taken out of your time.

Mr. WELCH. Senator McCarthy, I did not know—Senator, sometimes you say "May I have your attention?"

Senator MCCARTHY. I am listening to you. I can listen with one ear.

Mr. WELCH. This time I want you to listen with both.

Senator MCCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. WELCH. Senator McCarthy, I think until this moment—

Senator MCCARTHY. Jim, will you get the news story to the effect that this man belonged to this Communist-front organization? Will you get the citations showing that this was the legal arm of the Communist Party, and the length of time that he belonged, and the fact that he was recommended by Mr. Welch? I think that should be in the record.

Mr. WELCH. You won't need anything in the record when I have finished telling you this.

Until this moment, Senator, I think I never really gauged your cruelty or your recklessness. Fred Fisher is a young man who went to the Harvard Law School and came into my firm and is starting what looks to be a brilliant career with us.

When I decided to work for this committee I asked Jim St. Clair, who sits on my right, to be my first assistant. I said to Jim, "Pick somebody in the firm who works under you that you would like." He chose Fred Fisher and they came down on an afternoon plane. That night, when he had taken a little stab at trying to see what the case was about, Fred Fisher and Jim St. Clair and I went to dinner together. I then said to these two young men, "Boys, I don't know anything about you except I have always liked you, but if there is anything funny in the life of either one of you that would hurt anybody in this case you speak up quick."

Fred Fisher said, "Mr. Welch, when I was in law school and for a period of months after, I belonged to the Lawyers Guild," as you have suggested, Senator. He went on to say, "I am secretary of the Young

Republicans League in Newton with the son of Massachusetts' Governor, and I have the respect and admiration of the 25 lawyers or so in Hale & Dorr."

I said, "Fred, I just don't think I am going to ask you to work on the case. If I do, one of these days that will come out and go over national television and it will just hurt like the dickens."

So, Senator, I asked him to go back to Boston.

Little did I dream you could be so reckless and cruel as to do an injury to that lad. It is true he is still with Hale & Dorr. It is true that he will continue to be with Hale & Dorr. It is, I regret to say, equally true that I fear he shall always bear a scar needlessly inflicted by you. If it were in my power to forgive you for your reckless cruelty, I will do so. I like to think I am a gentleman, but your forgiveness will have to come from someone other than me.

Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. Chairman.

Senator MUNDT. Senator McCarthy?

Senator MCCARTHY. May I say that Mr. Welch talks about this being cruel and reckless. He was just baiting; he has been baiting Mr. Cohn here for hours, requesting that Mr. Cohn, before sundown, get out of any department of Government anyone who is serving the Communist cause.

I just give this man's record, and I want to say, Mr. Welch, that it has been labeled long before he became a member, as early as 1944—

Mr. WELCH. Senator, may we not drop this? We know he belonged to the Lawyers Guild, and Mr. Cohn nods his head at me. I did you, I think, no personal injury, Mr. Cohn.

Mr. COHN. No, sir.

Mr. WELCH. I meant to do you no personal injury, and if I did, beg your pardon.

Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator. You have done enough. Have you no sense of decency sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?

Senator MCCARTHY. I know this hurts you, Mr. Welch. But I may say, Mr. Chairman, on a point of personal privilege, and I would like to finish it—

Mr. WELCH. Senator, I think it hurts you, too, sir.

Senator MCCARTHY. I would like to finish this.

Mr. Welch has been filibustering this hearing, he has been talking day after day about how he wants to get anyone tainted with communism out before sundown. I know Mr. Cohn would rather not have me go into this. I intend to, however, Mr. Welch talks about any sense of decency. If I say anything which is not the truth, then I would like to know about it.

The foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions, and which, since its inception, has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party,

and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.

Now, that is not the language of Senator McCarthy. That is the language of the Un-American Activities Committee. And I can go on with many more citations. It seems that Mr. Welch is pained so deeply he thinks it is improper for me to give the record, the Communist front record, of the man whom he wanted to foist upon this committee. But it doesn't pain him at all—there is no pain in his chest about the unfounded charges against Mr. Frank Carr; there is no pain there about the attempt to destroy the reputation and take the jobs away from the young men who were working in my committee.

And, Mr. Welch, if I have said anything here which is untrue, then tell me. I have heard you and every one else talk so much about laying the truth upon the table that when I hear—and it is completely phony, Mr. Welch, I have listened to you for a long time—when you say "Now, before sundown, you must get these people out of Government," I want to have it very clear, very clear that you were not so serious about that when you tried to recommend this man for this committee.

And may I say, Mr. Welch, in fairness to you, I have reason to believe that you did not know about his Communist-front record at the time you recommended him. I don't think you would have recommended him to the committee, if you knew that.

I think it is entirely possible you learned that after you recommended him.

Senator MUNDT. The Chair would like to say again that he does not believe that Mr. Welch recommended Mr. Fisher as counsel for this committee, because he has through his office all the recommendations that were made. He does not recall any that came from Mr. Welch, and that would include Mr. Fisher.

Senator MCCARTHY. Let me ask Mr. Welch. You brought him down, did you not, to act as your assistant?

Mr. WELCH. Mr. McCarthy, I will not discuss this with you further. You have sat within 6 feet of me, and could have asked me about Fred Fisher. You have brought it out. If there is a God in heaven, it will do neither you nor your cause any good. I will not discuss it further. I will not ask Mr. Cohn any more questions. You, Mr. Chairman, may, if you will, call the next witness.

Senator MUNDT. Are there any questions?

Mr. JENKINS. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JENKINS. Senator McCarthy, how do you regard the communistic threat to our Government as compared with other threats with which it is confronted?

Senator MCCARTHY. Mr. Jenkins, the thing that I think we must remember is that this is a war which a brutalitarian force has won to a greater extent than any brutalitarian force has won a war in the history of the world before.

For example, Christianity, which has been in existence for 2,000 years, has not converted, convinced nearly as many people as this Communist brutalitarianism has enslaved in 106 years, and they are not

going to stop.

I know that many of my good friends seem to feel that this is a sort of a game you can play, that you can talk about communism as though it is something 10,000 miles away.

Mr. Jenkins, in answer to your question, let me say it is right here with us now. Unless we make sure that there is no infiltration of our Government, then just as certain as you sit there, in the period of our lives you will see a red world. There is no question about that, Mr. Jenkins. . . .

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