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### Z á s a d y p r o v y p r a c o v á n í :

Práce se zaměří na fenomén Red Scare z 50. let 20. století. Teoretická část se pokusí uvést předpoklady a vysvětlit ideová východiska Výboru pro neamerickou činnost a hollywoodské černé listiny. Praktická část se bude věnovat reflexi mcartismu v americké kinematografii (např. tituly "The Front"; "Good night, and Good Luck"; "Guilty by Suspicion").

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## **ANNOTATION**

The Bachelors thesis concerns the phenomenon Red Scare and the House of Un-American Activities Committee, which was established in 1938 to investigate communism activity within the United States of America. It also studies its impact on the movie industry in Hollywood, and hence on the individual actors, who due to the Hollywood blacklisting mechanism couldn't perform anywhere during the second Red Scare in the 1950s. It then continues to analyze famous American titles such as *The Crucible* (1996); *Good Night, and Good luck* (2005) and *The Front* (1976), which concern the previously mentioned issues.

## **KEYWORDS**

House of Un-American Activities Committee, communist subversion, Hollywood Blacklist, second Red Scare

## **ANOTACE**

Bakalářská práce se zabývá zahraniční problematikou, konkrétně fenoménem první a druhé Rudé Hrozby a později Sněmovním výborem pro neamerickou činnost, který vznikl za účelem protikomunistického vyšetřování v roce 1938 a působil v Americe především v padesátých letech dvacátého století. Práce dále zkoumá dopady tohoto výboru nejen na filmový průmysl v Hollywoodu, ale i na samostatné herce, jimž bylo zakázáno účinkovat kvůli tzv. „Černé listině“ během fenoménu druhé Rudé Paniky 50. let 20. století. Následně bude rozebírat známé americké tituly jako *Čarodějky ze Salemu* (1996), *Dobrou noc a hodně štěstí* (2005) a *Na černé listině* (1976), které se výše zmíněnou problematikou zabývají.

## **KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA**

Sněmovní výbor pro neamerickou činnost, protikomunistické vyšetřování, hollywood, černá listina, druhá Rudá panika

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## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is dedicated to the political and social chaos stemming from the second Red Scare, which engulfed all of America during the late 1940s and the early 1950s. It closely examines both domestic and foreign political affairs that fundamentally gave rise to the phenomenon known as the age of McCarthyism. To fully understand how the McCarthy era originated, it is crucial to track the roots to its source, namely to the first Red Scare which germinated soon after witnessing the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The paper also pays close attention to the American Congress and the laws it produced in the 1920s in order to curb the growing domestic influence of the Communist Party of the United States of America, which gained tremendous attraction after the first World War. The anti-communist acts are also a subject of this bachelor thesis as they heavily restricted freedom of speech and belief which is rather unusual for a nation that was built upon freedom of expression. Little did the masterminds behind the legislations know that their paranoia of a possible communist subversion would lead to a chain reaction that would result in the deepening of the already intense anxiety of a potential Bolshevik revolution occurring in the Land of Opportunity. A considerable portion of the thesis is devoted to a trio of occurrences, namely the Seattle General Strike, the anarchist bombings and the Palmer Raids that followed soon after. All of these events occurred in the same year 1919 and every single one of them is considered to be a notable milestone that contributed to the expansion of the growing communist anxiety. The dissertation will then continue by shifting its attention back to the second Red scare

To help characterize the following Red Scare which was more energetic and bitter than its precursor, several movies related to the topic are presented and meticulously analyzed to find out how the paranoia of an imminent communist threat molded the minds of individuals located in the general government sector and also in the civil sector. Pictures like *The Crucible*, *Good Night, and Good Luck* and *The Front* will be scrupulously inspected to find out how exactly did the age of McCarthyism affect thousands of American livelihoods in the 1950s. The ultimate question that the thesis will try to answer is whether the anxiety of a possible Bolshevik subversion was misused for a personal profit or not.



# 1. McCARTHYISM

## 1.1 Introduction into the McCarthy Era

“Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?”<sup>1</sup> A question that struck fear into American hearts during the late 1940s and early 1950s as the malevolent anti-communist drive jolted not only members of high politics, but also thousands of lesser professions. A question that was meant to probe the United States of America in order to find any harmful communist activity within domestic affairs turned out to be the main instrument of chaos and turmoil. A question that was meant to test citizens’ loyalty and patriotism in front of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (hereinafter HUAC). Unfortunately, this inquiry had a major side effect as it shattered many families and friendships, ruined numerous careers and damaged reputations of those, on whom this question was bestowed. Sadly, any answer given to the committee, whether it be based on truth or not, was met with the same aftermath. Either incriminate people around to “save your skin” or face the penalty. Ordinary folks, in fear of losing their jobs and their lives, learned to curb their opinions regarding these “witch-hunting” trials that very often operated without any supporting evidence leading to an incrimination.

This bleak period of suspicion and chastisement is nicknamed the “McCarthy era” after the senator of Wisconsin Joseph Raymond McCarthy, who molded the fear of red espionage after World War 2 (hereinafter WW2) into his passport to fame- or rather notoriety. Nevertheless, the McCarthy era was also paradoxically perceived as good times since the soil of American territories remained relatively untouched by the WW2, which brought ruin and decimated industries across Europe. Meanwhile in the US, the economy flourished as the joblessness, due to the Great Depression in 1930s, kept fading away. Having the unused wartime fund of \$140 billion, America started to invest into welfare.<sup>2</sup> New automobiles, motorbikes, refrigerators and mainly television sets were massively manufactured and rolled off to American households across the continent. Commercial aviation also grew rapidly after the war. Many military planes, such as the Boeing B-29 became a template for designing new heavy commercial aircrafts. The landscape across America started to dramatically change as new roads and highways were constructed to improve the local infrastructure. New houses were erected in the suburbs of central cities together with new educational institutions for

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<sup>1</sup> Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 1991), 3.

<sup>2</sup> Fried, *Nightmare in Red*, 4.

WW2 veterans thanks to the Servicemen's Readjustment act of 1944, also known as G.I Bill<sup>3</sup>. Not only veterans, but also blue-collar<sup>4</sup> workers were given the opportunity to go through college and eventually attain the white-collar<sup>5</sup> status. Life was becoming more comfortable for many.

Unfortunately, the on-going "American dream" had to be put on hold, as the upcoming tension between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics began to intensify in 1946. The year before in April 1945, Harry S. Truman became the 33<sup>rd</sup> president of the United States. Truman did not have the spirit or the character of a strong leader like his predecessor Franklin D. Roosevelt and was continually facing barrage of heavy criticism from both sides of the political spectrum. Republicans perceived him as "soft towards Communism" since he did not specify his policy to stop the spreading of socialism in the East for quite some time. Some critics went as far as blaming him for letting the communists help determine the state policy.<sup>6</sup> Leftists on the other hand, such as Henry Wallace, who served as the vice president to Roosevelt until his death, was displeased to see the aggressive stance towards the Russians set in motion after Truman entered the White House. Both Wallace and Roosevelt believed that America and Soviet Russia could become close allies in the postwar world<sup>7</sup>. It is important to say that the Americans were truly anti-communist at heart during this period, but only as long as it concerned their continent. It is intriguing to say that they preferred to keep a stable relationship with the USSR abroad<sup>8</sup>.

However, as Stalin continued to secure and reinforce his influence around various eastern countries such as Czechoslovakia, Turkey or Greece, Truman and his counselors began to identify this political expansion as a potential threat to freedom of speech and eventually to the American national security itself. The X Article, written by George F. Kennan and released in 1946 (under the pseudonym Mr. X), further cemented the fear of the imminent communism threat. Kennan, who was an American diplomat residing in U.S. Embassy in Moscow, came to several drastic conclusions as to why communism and capitalism cannot coexist and how they contradict each other. According to Kennan, the

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<sup>3</sup> Fried, *Nightmare in Red*, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Blue-collar worker is a term referring to a worker who perform manual labor

<sup>5</sup> White-collar worker performs managerial or administrative work

<sup>6</sup> Marie-France Toinet, *Hon Na Čarodějnice 1947-1957: Mccarthismus*, trans. Hana Hurťová (Praha: Themis, 1999), 19.

<sup>7</sup> "Henry Wallace Criticizes Truman's Cold War Policies," History.com, November 13, 2009, 1, accessed February 11, 2019, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/henry-wallace-criticizes-trumans-cold-war-policies>.

<sup>8</sup> Toinet, *Hon na Čarodějnice*, 21.

Soviet communists regarded themselves as the enemies of capitalism and they would manipulate controllable Marxists located in the capitalism world.<sup>9</sup>

Now convinced that the US had no other choice than to confront Soviet Russia, Truman's executive branch needed to sway the public opinion about the Reds<sup>10</sup>. A campaign was set in motion to link danger and communism to one another and to disrupt the advancing expansion of the communist influence. Truman pledged himself to aid countries that were fighting communist subversion. To do so, he asked the Congress for the sum of \$400 million to assist Turkey and Greece in order to "... support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure."<sup>11</sup> The answer as to why Truman chose Turkey and Greece as his first objectives for the project was to prevent communism from reaching the southern regions. Such suggestion was originally brought by Dean Acheson, Minister of Foreign Affairs, to stop the possible domino effect if Turkey and Greece succumbed to socialism.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, this set of beliefs became known as the Truman doctrine, which governed the U.S diplomacy for the next 40 years.

Truman's motives for these actions were subjected to various interpretations. For instance, American historian and economist Herbert Feis believes that Truman only responded to the Soviet aggression that caused turmoil mainly in Poland where Joseph Stalin promised to hold free elections as he stated during the Yalta Conference in 1945.<sup>13</sup> On the contrary, Stalin failed to uphold his promise as he consciously refused to disband the Soviet sponsored provisional government known as the Lublin Committee, which "pulled the strings behind the curtain" in Poland<sup>14</sup>. Another big factor was the division of Germany and the Soviet Berlin blockade which prevented supplies from arriving from the western sphere to the capital city. Truman's administration responded to this crisis with a massive airlift "bridge" to bypass the ground barricades. On the other hand, realpolitik Lynn E. Davis hinted that Truman "forced" freedom of speech onto political ideology that revolves around totalitarianism.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, revisionist William A. Williams implies that Truman was

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<sup>9</sup> George Frost Kennan, *The Sources of Soviet Conduct*, Foreign Affairs, July 25, 1947.

<sup>10</sup> Toinet, *Hon na Čarodějnice*, 21-22.

<sup>11</sup> Harry S. Truman, *Truman Doctrine: President Harry S. Truman's Address before a Joint Session of Congress*, March 12, 1947, proceedings (New Haven: Avalon Project, Yale Law Library, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Sara Ann Stratton, *THE DOMINO THEORY IN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, 1947 - 1968*, Master's thesis, McMaster University, 1989 (Hamilton: (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1986), 35.

<sup>13</sup> Deborah Welch. Larson, *Origins of Containment: A Psychological Explanation* (Princeton (N.J.): Princeton University Press, 1985), 9.

<sup>14</sup> Jerzy Lukowski and Hubert Zawadzki, *A Concise History of Poland* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 271.

<sup>15</sup> Larson, *Origins of Containment*, 15.

using this situation as an excuse for its thirst for expansionism.<sup>16</sup> Deborah Larson, professor of Political Science at University of California, points out that Truman maybe felt the necessity to validate himself as a decisive leader to match his predecessor Roosevelt.<sup>17</sup> This statement is mainly based on Truman's most famous words:

*"I'm here to make decisions, whether they prove right or wrong, I'm still going to make them."*<sup>18</sup>

However, this containment policy was one of many possible solutions to solve this plight. Conservative Republicans such as the Senator Robert A. Taft prompted to restore the isolation policy from WW2, though this choice was quickly swept under the rug as this approach led to WW2 in the first place.<sup>19</sup> Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace supported the détente policy which revolved around maintaining a healthy trading relationship with Soviet Russia to avoid senseless bloodshed. Leftist supporters from Congress of Industrial Organization that backed up Wallace were liquidated by The Taft Hartley Act of 1947, which penalized various unions if their leaders refused to denounce communistic faith.<sup>20</sup> A far more hostile option called the rollback would focus on undermining and destroying Soviet Russia by using military force but was deemed too dangerous and provocative.<sup>21</sup> Policy of containment on the other hand aimed to provide only equipment and provisions to countries that fully wished to battle the ills of communism. America could then hide behind the fact that it did not directly intervene in any combat. This was true until the Land of Liberty shifted its focus on aiding South Korea against the communist counterpart North Korea. Here Truman turned to the rollback strategy after the success of Incheon Landing which was short-lived since the Chinese communists drove them back South.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, a far bigger issue was about to be uncovered when a Wisconsin Senator in a black suit holding a briefcase full of names affiliated with Communism in America walked into the Senate.

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<sup>16</sup> Larson, *Origins of Containment*. 9.

<sup>17</sup> Larson, *Origins of Containment*, 145-6.

<sup>18</sup> David McCullough, *Truman* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), p. 470.

<sup>19</sup> McCullough, *Truman*, 631.

<sup>20</sup> Jerel A. Rosati, *The Politics of United States Foreign Policy* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning, 2014), 342.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Kelly, *James Burnham and the Struggle for the World: A Life* (Wilmington, DE: ISI Books, 2002), 155.

<sup>22</sup> Matray, James I., *Truman's Plan for Victory: National Self-Determination and the Thirty-Eighth Parallel Decision in Korea*. *The Journal of American History* 66, no. 2 (1979): 314-33.

## **1.2 Beginning of the McCarthy Era and the Question of the National Security at the Expense of Personal Freedom**

After the successful handling of the Berlin Crisis, America has found its first victory by driving the exhausted Russian communists from Germany, however, the optimistic ambience didn't last for long. The U.S. quickly found themselves not to be the only superpower with an atomic bomb. In late August 1949, it became obvious that the Soviets developed their own version of the nuclear bomb. In addition, communist Mao Zedong successfully overthrew Kuomintang (hereinafter KMT) along with its leader Kai-shek Chiang on 1<sup>st</sup> of October 1949 and established People's Republic of China in its place.<sup>23</sup> The West pondered as to why such a revolution occurred in the first place. After all, Kai-shek and his Nationalist Party of China had been heavily supported by America with a hefty amount of supplies and a huge budget since the 1930s whereas Zedong received little to none from Soviet Russia and still was able to push KMT back into Taiwan. With China under its control, it seemed that Communism reached a milestone for a global conquest.<sup>24</sup> In Addition, North Korea had launched an unexpected ambush against its neighbor South Korea in June 1950, which again played into the hands of the communism expansion, heaping more uneasiness on the already weakened American spirit.

In any case, these ill news quickly traveled the world and the seeds of anxiety had been sewn mainly in the USA. Front pages of newspapers were packed with articles regarding the impending dangers of nuclear weapons, the press also released illustrations showing the possible havoc and destruction an atom bomb could cause in major city centers. Children attending schools were forced to drill crawling under their desks if thermonuclear bombs were to fall. As if the anxiety of foreign threat was not enough, rumors started to spread that the Soviets already successfully integrated spies into the state apparatus. How else could the federal republic lose their atomic monopoly, influence over China and the first direct conflict in the Korean War if someone from within did not leak important strategic information?

The public suddenly shifted its attention from the foreign to domestic affairs. Massive hysteria swarmed the society as the Reds became truly the most real threat to the national security. Pamphlets, brochures, books and newsletters with vilifying content against the Reds were printed out and distributed to every household in larger quantities than ever before. Illustrations demonizing the Soviets were hung up on signboards and billboards. Reprints of

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<sup>23</sup> Daniel Srch, *Rudá hrozba: Antikomunismus v USA 1917-1954*(Praha: Epoque, 2016), 66.

<sup>24</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 66.

the famous pamphlet “Communist infiltration in the United States, its nature and how to combat it” made by the Chamber of Commerce back in in 1946 were scattered to every school and institution.<sup>25</sup> In it was the customized depiction of Communism to fit the current agenda and their manipulative tactics. This pamphlet also warned about the front organizations located in the U.S. that had shown some sign of discontent with the “establishment”. These usually liberal communities served as puppets for creating an environment suitable for a communist subversion. Often calling for various reforms to societal standards that raised the public attention. According to the brochure, these organizations, such as the American Youth for Democracy or the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, were supposedly under the influence of Soviet communism.<sup>26</sup> The Communist Party USA (hereinafter CPUSA) gained a lot of members shortly after the U.S. agreed to partake against Nazi Germany in the Second World War It is estimated that over 85 000 citizens actively supported CPUSA in 1942.<sup>27</sup>

To battle this threat that could make America implode from within, a series of acts and executive orders were established in the 1940s and the 1950s to stabilize the situation. The Smith Act of 1940 made it illegal to knowingly plan or advise overthrowing the government of the United States with any force or to organize and lead a community to do such a thing whereas the Alien Registration Act authorized deportation of those that were branded dangerous to the national security. Hundreds of communists were persecuted under the Smith Act between 1940 and 1957. During this period, eleven leaders of the CPUSA were condemned to prison time. The defendants were given mostly three to five years of imprisonment and their defense attorneys were also incriminated but with contempt of court.<sup>28</sup> Truman’s Executive order 9835 of 1947 instructed all federal employees to be checked for any lack of “loyalty”. Its purpose is to root out any potential communist influence in the U.S. Federal government. The McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 forced all communist organizations to register under the United States Attorney General so that they could be closely surveilled by the government. Members of these registered communist organizations often had their citizenship revoked and were involuntarily asked to submit their names and

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<sup>25</sup>Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 68-69.

<sup>26</sup>Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 70.

<sup>27</sup> Victor G. Devinatz, *Communist Party of the United States of America*, Encyclopædia Britannica, October 12, 2014, accessed March 24, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Communist-Party-of-the-United-States-of-America>.

<sup>28</sup> Albert Fried, *McCarthyism: The Great American Red Scare: A Documentary History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p .13, 15, 27, 110–12, 165–68.

addresses to the federal government.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, they were often restricted from entering and leaving the American soil. Under the leadership of the director J. Edgar Hoover, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (hereinafter FBI) has drastically changed in size and “hazardousness”. Obnoxiously paranoid of a possible communist invasion, Hoover went on an “incrimination spree” that resulted in thousands of unemployed citizens without legitimate trials and sufficient evidence.

With all these regulations, laws and prosecutions, the U.S. leadership soon found itself to be a target of controversy. What difference was there now between Russian and American politics? Federal institutions became so obsessed with suppressing the civil rights of an individual for the betterment of the state to battle the opposing ideology. Little did they know that they would become the same thing they hated and fought against. Having an own opinion and set of beliefs became a taboo in America during the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century just like in its contradictory totalitarian regime. Those who chose to advocate for the freedom of speech would quickly find themselves on trials and out of jobs. Interestingly, more serious crimes such as murder or property felonies suddenly became “less important” and troublesome than verbal attacks on the government. Individuals arrested for such matters often cited the Fifth Amendment but to no avail as if it had no significance. The Amendment states the following:

*“No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury...”*<sup>30</sup>

As mentioned before, individuals were often caught in midst of this disarray without even knowing the cause or reason for their incrimination. America, once a land of opportunity and freedom as people knew it became the land of uncertainty and distrust. FBI and various committees such as the House Un-American Activities Committee worked ceaselessly to inspect and survey “every nook and cranny”, to find and apprehend any un-American activity. Teachers, lawyers, entrepreneurs from various profession spheres, clerks, screenwriters, film producers and actors were commonly pursued and observed as if they were evil witches from the medieval times. In fact, the McCarthy era was often associated with witch-hunting as people were prosecuted for incomprehensible reasons just as witches were for practicing rituals which people did not understand and thus feared it. Additionally, the hunts were based only upon presumptions similarly to the incriminations of the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century in the U.S. In

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<sup>29</sup> McCarran Internal Security Act, § 5-7 (1950).

<sup>30</sup> Fifth Amendment - U.S. Constitution," Findlaw, accessed March 24, 2019, <https://constitution.findlaw.com/amendment5.html>.

any case, these grim times known as the McCarthy Era had their roots long before the events of the Cold War.



## 2. THE FIRST RED SCARE

### 2.1 The First world war and the Acts

In the early 20th century, the U.S. was engulfed by a phenomenon known as the First Red Scare soon after the Russian revolution of 1917, where the Bolsheviks successfully dismantled the Tsarist autocracy and established the Soviet Union in its place.<sup>31</sup> Whilst the period of the First Red Scare was rather short, the process on the other hand was more fierce and deadly. Many factors such as the engagement in the first World War, the formation of various repressive mechanisms against the Germans and later against communists and the increasing violent attacks from the agitated left-wing anarchists ultimately formed the basic pillars of the first Red Scare.

Shortly after declaring war on the German empire in April 1917, the 28th president Woodrow Wilson began a process of preparing human and natural resources for a transition into the wartime economy<sup>32</sup>. To do so, he delegated his power to a federal institution called the Council for National Defense which was further segmented into smaller and more specific sections such as the War Industries Board (hereinafter WIB) or the Committee on Public Information (hereinafter CPI). The War Industries Board, as the name suggests, was given the task of overseeing the wartime production whereas the CPI focused on producing posters, short movies or pamphlets characterizing Germans as greedy and corrupt aggressors to raise awareness. Nevertheless, the economic transition wasn't as smooth as expected. Although the Americans were willing and full of enthusiasm, they stumbled and made countless errors especially in the first 15 months. For instance, there was a shortage of coal in 1917 due to poor logistic management.<sup>33</sup>

In the meantime, a small quantity of legislations was released to insulate America's foreign interests. Legislations such as the Espionage Act of 1917, the Immigration Act of 1918 or the Sedition Act of 1918 were crucial milestones for a mass hysteria during the late 1910s until the mid-1930s. The federal Espionage Act prohibited any interference with military operations or recruitment whilst also restricting any support for the enemies of the US. As a result of such law, many politicians, especially the socialist ones, quickly found themselves in the penitentiary. For example, Kate Richards O'Hare was sentenced for giving

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<sup>31</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 13.

<sup>32</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 10.

<sup>33</sup> David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 72.

anti-war speeches in Bowman, North Dakota. Her commentary caused disturbance and potential damage to the U.S recruitment for the WWI.<sup>34</sup> Later in 1918, the leader of the Watch Tower Bible and Trait Society Joseph Rutherford along with seven other directors of the same society, were incriminated over several statements made in the society's book *The Finished Mystery*. The book dubbed American patriotism as an instrument of murder. The society was charged with insubordination, disloyalty and obstruction of the enlistment program during the war.<sup>35</sup> The American cinematography was affected too. Amidst all the movies with political propaganda, there were some that did not quite meet the desired standards of the CPI. For instance, a movie called *The Spirit of 76* in particular characterized the English barbarity during the American Revolution of 1776. This short silent film was viewed as an instrument undermining American wartime allies. The Producer of the short controversial film, Robert Goldstein, was arrested, fined and put in jail for ten years.<sup>36</sup>

While at war, Wilson's agitation increased as he noticed the diminishing morale towards the US participation in the ongoing global conflict. To "uplift" the American pro-war spirit, he enacted a piece of legislation that strengthened the Espionage Act. This regulation further trimmed down the freedom of speech by outlawing any profane, disloyal and abusive language against the establishment. Furthermore, foreigners who mocked the American flag while residing in the US were quickly dispatched back to their land through the Immigration Act of 1918. The core idea of such law was to deport all perilous anarchists and radical unionists that were suspected of engaging in any harmful activity against the American establishment.<sup>37</sup>

What truly contributed to the original Red Scare was the wartime economy which led to the ongoing clash between the owners of organizations and their blue-collar workers. New industrial corporations such as the American Federation of Labor (hereinafter AFL), which advocated for better wages and working conditions, gained more attention. Once the war ended, AFL endorsed an agenda which would abolish the repressive mechanisms and free the convicts affected by them. The agenda would also aim to provide a better social security as well as a plan to build new affordable houses whilst prompting the federal government to

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<sup>34</sup> David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 83.

<sup>35</sup> Alexander Hugh Macmillan, *Faith on the March* (Lulu Publishers, 2010), 89.

<sup>36</sup> "The Unluckiest Man in Hollywood, Part 2," *Slate Magazine*, June 30, 2000, accessed March 24, 2019, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2000/06/the-unluckiest-man-in-hollywood-part-2.html>.

<sup>37</sup> Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 130.

create better social services. Equally important was the right for the AFL to intervene when a new regulation regarding the industry or commerce was to be authorized.<sup>38</sup> The same worker union in California exhorted the nationalization of production facilities, whereas the Ohio union pursued the expropriation of railroads, mining operations and the field of metallurgy.<sup>39</sup> The most notorious worker union of post-war times was the anarcho-syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World association (hereinafter IWW). The IWW members nicknamed the *Wobblies* were disliked even by the AFL union. Its main goal was to colligate all laborers and at the same time overthrow the capitalist regime in America and set up a worker self-management. The American establishment was stunned not only due to the IWW demands and their aggressivity, but also due to the events unfolding on the Old Continent, where a series of communist subversions were attempted after the WWI.

After the defeat in the war, Germany faced an uprising formed by a Marxist movement Spartacus League that announced itself to be a part of Comintern.<sup>40</sup> The Comintern, also known as the Third International, advocated communism on the international scale. In the meantime, Austria gave birth to the Communist Party of Austria, which also recognized itself as a member of the Comintern. The next official member of the Third International was the Communist Party of Austria, which directed and controlled the Austrian nation for a brief period of time before. Although all these communist parties ultimately failed to consolidate their influence and lost their control in each of their respective countries. Despite these communist failures in the Europe, America still perceived bolshevism as a global threat. In the words of former communist Murray B. Levin, the impending Red Scare was “a nationwide anti-radical hysteria provoked by a mounting fear and anxiety that a Bolshevik revolution in America was imminent—a revolution that would change Church, home, marriage, civility, and the American way of Life”<sup>41</sup>. Together with the formation of multiple leftist unions in America and the ongoing political subversions in the Old Continent, dark times loomed over the land of opportunity and freedom.

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<sup>38</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 12.

<sup>39</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 12.

<sup>40</sup> David Priestland, *The Red Flag: Communism and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Grove Press, 2009).

<sup>41</sup> Murray B. Levin, *Political Hysteria in America: The Democratic Capacity for Repression* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 29.

## 2.2 Era of Strikes and Walkouts

As the war ended so did end the need of a wartime economy though its dismantlement caused series of problems such as the continually growing inflation or the economy recession. Poverty and underdevelopment increased along with radicalism of leftist unions. To battle the low wage income system, the unionists arranged walkouts to show their soreness. One of the first and also the biggest walkouts was the Seattle General Strike of 1919 which lasted for over five days in which over 65,000 workers participated.<sup>42</sup> The walkout began on February 6, thoroughly crippling the city's routine activities such as schools or ordinary commerce. Interestingly, the maintaining of the order and essential services such as removal of hazardous garbage or the clean laundry shipment to hospitals was not performed by the federal services, but rather by the General Strike Committee.<sup>43</sup> In other cases, voluntary workers turned into milkmen to distribute milk among the citizens and protesters. Furthermore, the strikers also produced and handed out around 30,000 meals a day for ¢25 during the walkout.<sup>44</sup> Out of fear, the press urged the unionists reevaluate their plan to strike as it could plunge America on a road "to god knows where".<sup>45</sup> Ole Hanson, the mayor of Seattle during the first red scare, proclaimed that the strike served as an attack on the federal government even though the protests were carried out in a peaceful manner. Hanson further criticized the occasion as a test for true Americanism.<sup>46</sup>

To prevent a total collapse of the city, Hanson had summoned 1500 policemen and appealed to the nearby federal base to send troops as a backup. The Mayor also threatened the workers to replace their respective roles in companies they refused to work at. Striking employees presumed this to be an empty threat and they were correct.<sup>47</sup> Rhetorical attacks and intimidations against strikers became a custom tradition for Ole Hanson during the walkout. Hanson went as far as to publicly issue death threats to those who would try and

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<sup>42</sup> "Seattle General Strike: Labor's Most Spectacular Revolt," Labor Notes, February 06, 2019, <https://www.labornotes.org/2019/02/seattle-general-strike-labors-most-spectacular-revolt>.

<sup>43</sup> Ann Hagedorn, *Savage Peace: Hope and Fear in America, 1919* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2008) 184-5.

<sup>44</sup> Howard Zinn, *A Peoples History of the United States* (New York, NY.: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), 368-9.

<sup>45</sup> Jeremy Brecher, *Strike!* (Boston, MA: South End, 1997), 124-5.

<sup>46</sup> Robert K. Murray, *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919-1920* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 63.

<sup>47</sup> Jeremy Brecher, *Strike*, 126-7.

meddle with the federal government. Mayor himself once expressed the hatred for the demonstrators at the presence of reporters:

*“Any man who attempts to take over the control of the municipal government functions will be shot”*<sup>48</sup>

Apart from his constant verbal assaults he also instructed important and strategic locations such as the power plant and various government institutions to be heavily fortified with mounted machine guns and constant patrols. Additionally, WWI formed a non-armed peacekeeper squad that focused on solving any feasible complication by means of persuasion.<sup>49</sup> All these precautions were considered overblown as the Seattle Strike was bloodless and in fact very harmonious. John F. Morrison, a Major General stationed in the city, described the Town of Seattle as the safest place to be during the strike.<sup>50</sup>

As the Seattle Strike progressed, the minds of many unionists altered. Leading members of the AFL and the IWW noticed how incendiary the general strike proved to be for the middle class and the public as a whole. The labor unions acknowledged the possible loss of attraction it had during the WWI if the walkout continued to sprout. To avoid a possible debacle, the AFL and the IWW pressured the workers into resuming their employment. Several laborers succumbed to the pressure and took up their jobs in the streetcar operations and restored some of the transportation services.<sup>51</sup> Newsboys, craftsmen and farmers soon followed. Others, scared by the Mayors propaganda and his appealing political fame, gave in and returned to their jobs. By February 10, the executives of the General Strike Committee voted to end the strike and to release a public statement informing how they got pressured and how the workers do not want to work in “a city so tightly closed.”<sup>52</sup> Immediately after their resignation, Hanson ordered 39 IWW members to be incarcerated for being the masterminds behind the strike even though their roles in the events were rather insignificant.<sup>53</sup> , Ole Hanson became praised by the press as a sole man that ended the strike. The next following month, he abandoned his post as a lord mayor and went on to educate the Americans about the dangers of “domestic bolshevism” via his pamphlet *Americanism vs Bolshevism*<sup>54</sup>. Little

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<sup>48</sup> Robert Sobel, *Coolidge: An American Enigma* (Washington, D.C.: Regnery Publishing, 2015), 124.

<sup>49</sup> Howard Zinn, *A Peoples History of the United States: 1492-present* (New York: Perennial, 2003), 368–9.

<sup>50</sup> Zinn, *Peoples history*, 368-9.

<sup>51</sup> Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States. From the Founding of the American Federation of Labor to the Emergence of American Imperialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1975), 74.

<sup>52</sup> Brecher, *Strike*, 112.

<sup>53</sup> Zinn, *Peoples History*, 370-1.

<sup>54</sup> Murray, *National Hysteria*, 65-68

did Hanson know that he had caught the attention of an extremist and anarchist group led by Luigi Galleani, a terrorist organization focusing on achieving their ambitions through violence.

### 2.3 Anarchist bombings of 1919 and the Palmer Raids

On the 28<sup>th</sup> of April, a shipment containing disturbing content was sent via the mail service to Hanson's home. A box filled up with makeshift explosives was dispatched to his address but for luckily for him, the package was abruptly discovered, and the bombs were safely disarmed and disposed of. Other public anti-radical speakers, who also became a target for assassination, did not share the same fortuitous fate unfortunately. For instance, Thomas W. Hardwick, who supported and sponsored the Immigration act of 1918, paid a far bigger price for maintaining his set beliefs regarding the deportation of potential anarchists from the US. Once the booby-trapped shipment arrived at its destination, it exploded in one of his housemaids' arms, severely crippling her and causing serious burns to his wife.<sup>55</sup>

In fact, over 36 makeshift bombs were mailed and distributed in the late April 1919 to a cross-section of high-profile politicians and appointees.<sup>56</sup> Thankfully the mailed booby traps had the same wrapping and distinctive packaging, allowing the post office employees to detect and single them out from their storage facilities. Twelve bombs in total had been intercepted before reaching their intended targets.<sup>57</sup> Galleanists, a group of anarchists responsible for this mayhem, intended to deliver the bombs on 1<sup>st</sup> of May. This date signifies the International Workers' Day, also known as May Day or Labor Day, which is by the Galleanists celebrated as the international day of social anarchism revolution.

One month later on 2<sup>nd</sup> of June, a set of bombs exploded simultaneously in eight various towns across the United States of America. The traps were very similar to those from April as they were also aimed against officials who opposed communism. The most notable target was the Attorney General of the United States of America, Alexander Mitchell Palmer. Miraculously, Palmer and his family remained unscathed while their dwelling took considerable damage.<sup>58</sup> These horrendous news further unsettled the public as it seemed that the radicalism was worsening. What seemed even more alarming were the pamphlets *Plain* called *Words* attached to every single bomb stating the following:

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<sup>55</sup>"Senators Wife Injured by Bomb," *The Cornell Daily Sun* (Ithaca, New York), April 28, 1918, <https://cdsun.library.cornell.edu/?a=d&d=CDS19190430.2.16>.

<sup>56</sup>"Send Death Bombs to 36 U.S. Leaders" *Chicago Tribune*(Chicago, Illinois) May 1, 1919, <https://www.fold3.com/image/153511600?ann=95348a80-cfbd-11dd-2a79-2b2461101f57>

<sup>57</sup>"Anarchists in America: The Wall Street Bombing of 1920." *Keith York City*. January 17, 2013. Accessed March 25, 2019. <https://keithyorkcity.wordpress.com/2012/10/24/anarchists-in-america-the-wall-street-bombing-of-1920/>.

<sup>58</sup> Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Edinburgh: AK, 2006), 153.

“ ... *Do not say we are acting cowardly because we keep hiding, do not say it is abominable; it is war, class war, and you were the first to wage it under cover of the powerful institutions you call order, in the darkness of your laws, behind the guns of your bone-headed slave. [...] There will be bloodshed; we will not dodge; there will have to be murder: we will kill, because it is necessary; there will have to be destruction; we will destroy to rid the world of your tyrannical institutions. ...*”<sup>59</sup>

Alexander Palmer, angered by witnessing an attempt to end his life and the ongoing radicalism, launched an exorbitant counter attack to suppress extremist or non-extremist labor unions and to potentially deport their members from the U.S.

His initial raids on anarchist groups did not proceed smoothly. Arrested radicals pleaded not guilty as they proposed overthrowing the government by using free speech rights, not by violence.<sup>60</sup> Federal Judge deemed the accusations to be distorted and closed the case. This setback taught Palmer that he needed more men he could rely on in the justice department if he were to try and deport anarchists again. First, he got William J. Flynn, who was well known for his expertise on anarchism, to be the head of Bureau of Investigation. Secondly, Francis P. German was appointed as a director of United States Department of Justice. Finally, Palmer named his friend J. Edgar Hoover as the head of General Intelligence Division (hereinafter GID), which was to observe and investigate programs of radical communities.<sup>61</sup> Through this institute, Palmer and Hoover together organized a raid conducted on 7<sup>th</sup> of November 1919. At 9 p.m., FBI agents along with the local police carried out a set of raids against the members of the Union of Russian Workers in nine towns. In total, Palmer amassed over 60,000 names affiliated with un-American activities and presented his discovery before the Senate on 17<sup>th</sup> of October, to propose a better Anti-Sedition Law to boost his authority over prosecuting anarchists.<sup>62</sup>

The overzealous raids continued throughout the next year and gradually intensified. Suspects were often beaten while being interrogated and their homes were turned upside down without search warrants.<sup>63</sup> Since the secret service had an objective to target whole labor associations, agents often arrested everyone in a given un-American community,

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<sup>59</sup> Kathleen R. Arnold, *Anti-immigration in the United States. Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 2011), 615.

<sup>60</sup> David Pietrusza, *1920: The Year of the Six Presidents* (Basic Books, 2008), 146–7.

<sup>61</sup> Stanley Coben, A. *Mitchell Palmer: Politician* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 207–9.

<sup>62</sup> Coben, *Politician*, 219–21.

<sup>63</sup> Murray, *National Hysteria*, 227–9.



including visitors who did not belong to the communist organizations. Captives were rounded up and sent to overcrowded and filthy holding facilities resembling soviet forced-labor camps established by Vladimir Lenin. Hoover himself later disclosed these apprehensions to be “clear cases of brutality.”<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the Department of Justice falsely claimed these raids were a major success as several bombs were taken hold of during the arrests. This turned out to be a disinformation as only four ordinary guns were collected during the raids.<sup>65</sup>

Despite this, Palmer’s actions were still praised by the press and the public, but one attorney Francis Fisher Kane from the Eastern District of Pennsylvania abandoned his job to protest against these inhumane practices. He believes that the General Attorney is looking for danger at areas where there wasn’t any in the first place.<sup>66</sup> Further complications arose for the Department of Justice and the GID on 3<sup>rd</sup> of May 1920, when a body belonging to an Italian anarchist Andrea Salseda was found. The following investigation was not able to detect the cause of the death, but it unveiled that he had been illegally detained in a correctional facility for several weeks without proper injunction.<sup>67</sup> What truly compromised authority (but not eliminated) Palmers’ was the publication of a memorandum regarding the illegal misdeeds carried out by the Department of Justice. It characterized the harsh and intriguing punishments victims received. Captives were further forced to testify against each other as the agents provoked them on behalf of “justice”. Every listed case within the document is supported by evidence based on testimony of witnesses or other material proof.<sup>68</sup>

Whether the Palmer Raids did more harm than good is left open for discussion. The methods used to rid America of danger and radicalism were cruel and barbarous indeed, but on the other hand no additional strikes or assassinations occurred after 1920. Radical unions such as the IWW were kept in check. Order and peace returned to the streets and the fear of communists slowly but surely vanished and so did the anxiety of foreign Bolshevistic subversion due to the defeat of the Red Army in Poland on 25<sup>th</sup> of August 1920.<sup>69</sup> After witnessing the horrors of the WW1 and its gruesome aftermath, the Americans longed for a

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<sup>64</sup>Louis F. Post, *The Deportations Delirium of Nineteen-twenty: A Personal Narrative of a Historic Official Experience* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2003), 96–147.

<sup>65</sup>Post, *Delirium*, 91-95, 96-147.

<sup>66</sup>Peter Charles Hoffer, William James Hoffer, and N. E. H. Hull, *The Federal Courts: an Essential History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 249.

<sup>67</sup> Kenneth D. Ackerman, *Young J. Edgar: Hoover, the Red Scare, 1919-1920* (Falls Church, VA: Viral History Press, 2011), chapter 40.

<sup>68</sup>Rome Green. Brown, *Report upon the Illegal Practices of the United States Department of Justice: To the American People* (Washington: National Popular Government League, 1920).

<sup>69</sup> Ronald Grigor. Suny, *The Soviet Experiment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 106.

period of peace and normality, not for a continual prosecution of those with different political mindsets. A Republican candidate, Warren G. Harding, perfectly summed up the American mood at that time as his main political motto was “Return to Normalcy”.<sup>70</sup> Seeing how the foreign affairs crippled the Land of Freedom over the course of the 1910s and the early 1920s, Washington plunged the Country into a state of isolation despite the pleas of Woodrow Wilson to join the League of Nations after the events of WWI. It now seemed that the communist dream of engulfing the world in “red” came to an end. At least for now...

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<sup>70</sup> Srch, Rudá hrozba, 32.

### 3. THE SECOND RED SCARE

#### 3.1 In-Between the Red Scares

While the angst of communist subversion was on a steady decline after the first Red Scare, it did not vanish completely. The matter wasn't just acknowledged on a national scale anymore as America shifted its attention to the wonders of the Golden 1920's. Industrial boom struck the U.S and citizens focused on enjoying the fruits it bore. Large numbers of population moved from rural areas into large and busy towns to relish in the luxury of modern technology and find new jobs.<sup>71</sup> Automobiles became more affordable for the public; lavish houses were built, and consumerism overall grew. As a result of this industrial growth, privatism found its way into the hearts of men as individuals focused more on their well-being and on topics affecting them than on subjects troubling the whole nation. Puritan customs slowly perished from households as the desire to own things and live a luxurious life replaced them.

Although the 1920s were viewed as the happy times, they weren't completely flawless. Due to the WWI, patriotism grew and so did the desire to protect the "American ways of life ". Organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan weren't only bent on vilifying the African Americans, but also Jewish immigrants (some believed Jews had close ties with Bolsheviks in the past).<sup>72</sup> The anti-communist ambience didn't dwell only in the Ku Klux Klan but also in the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholics detested the Marxist ideology for the fact that it leaned on materialism and atheism.<sup>73</sup> Edmund A. Walsh, a Jesuit priest, was considered by many as one of the biggest experts on domestic communism. Walsh experienced the impact of communism first hand when he was sent through the Papal Relief Mission to Russia to help battle the famine of 1919. Disgusted by the amount of atrocities coordinated by the Bolsheviks during his stay in Russia, Walsh became devoted to teaching others what Communism was truly about.<sup>74</sup> Due to his favorable reputation, the Jesuit priest had an honor to present his thesis before many influential politicians in Washington. His vast knowledge and influence inspired politicians even twenty years later after the World War 2.

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<sup>71</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 34-35.

<sup>72</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 36.

<sup>73</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 36.

<sup>74</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 36.

Even Joseph McCarthy, one of the main leading figures later during the cold war, quoted his works.<sup>75</sup>

Anti-communism wasn't an uncommon in the opposite of the political spectrum either. There were in fact many disputes between the leftists over the creation of a substantial platform. Power struggles had risen mainly between the members of the Communist Party of America and other leftist organizations regarding its leadership and control. To gain a bigger attraction than other socialist groupings, the CPUSA tried to spread its influence into the Afro-American community. This idea turned out to be a misstep as they little to none when it came to the solution of racial problems persisting in America. A final nail in the coffin was George S. Schuyler's famous statement sullyng the CPUSA's reputation by implying that communism had brought nothing but ruin for the whites and it would bring the same outcome for the colored communities.<sup>76</sup> With the public opinion against them, the American communists could do little to make themselves appeasable in order to regain recognition it once had after the WWI. Together with the fear of being suppressed and prosecute by the authorities, they were left with no option but to lay low for the span of the next fifteen years.

However, there was one case that bode well for the future of communism. The US got hit by the Great Depression crisis and by 1932 one-third of the workforce found themselves unemployed. The middle class was forced to move back to the farms or to aimlessly look for jobs across the continent. Radicalism was more than welcome during these gloomy times. People looked for answers to their misfortune anywhere they could to feed their hungry offspring even if it meant entering the Communist Party. The U.S. was facing an obvious need for a change at that time and the Marxists offered solutions referring to the successful Bolshevik revolution of 1917. Their plans appeased to many as the communist party gathered over 75,000 members by 1941<sup>77</sup>. However, as the upcoming World War 2 started to intensify, the CPUSA began to have a breather as the anti-communist repressive mechanisms were restructured to aim against the Nazi Germany and its ideologies.

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<sup>75</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*,37.

<sup>76</sup> Harvey Klehr and John E. Haynes, *The American Communist Movement: Storming Heaven Itself* (New York: Twayne Publ. U.a., 1992), 32-42.

<sup>77</sup> Simkin, John. "Communist Party of the United States." *Spartacus Educational*. Accessed March 16, 2019. <https://spartacus-educational.com/USAcommunist.htm>.

### 3.2 Aftermaths of the WW2

Troubled by the ever-growing influence of the Nazis after 1939, the American administration largely muted the ongoing anti-communism activities in order to focus more on berating the tyrannical dictatorship formed by Adolf Hitler. Given the appalling relations between the Reds and the Nazis, especially after Hitler decided to break his alliance with Stalin and invade the USSR through Poland, the communist sympathizers located in US actually supported the government against its enemy despite their differences. Such bond was established purely out of conflict of interest, which was biased on the resentment against the Nazi regime.<sup>78</sup> American communists were so bent on winning the war, they voluntarily postponed or cancelled their walkouts if they directly intervened with the ongoing war efforts.<sup>79</sup>

The point of view of the American public on the Soviet Union changed throughout the war. Seeing how two contradictory ideologies united against their common enemy was something one would find in a utopian world. Inspired by this, some went as far as sugarcoat the terrifying acts Stalin carried out during his lifetime. For instance, a movie *Mission to Moscow* directed by Michael Curtiz which is based on a book written by Joseph E. Davies. The movie idolizes Stalin's procedures and his looks<sup>80</sup>. Similarly, journal *Life* viewed Stalin's secret police, the NKVD, as a humorous parody even though it was one of the vilest secrets polices established in the world.

This uncertain mixture of optimism and pessimism regarding the Soviet Union soon took an unexpected turn after the WW2. Once the magazine *Foreign Affairs* published the X Articles regarding the USSR's aggressive stance towards capitalism, The American administration abandoned Roosevelt's dreams of achieving reliable relationships with the opposing ideology. Instead, it chose to dust off old-time methods to re-ignite a war against foreign and domestic communism. Truman's doctrine oversaw the prevention of communist influence abroad, whereas both civilian and federal employees were subjugated to numerous repressive committees and laws back home. Laws became much more coercive towards citizens as new committees dedicated to screen the public for loyalty emerged with overzealous Joseph Raymond McCarthy as their main head.

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<sup>78</sup> Srch, *Rudá hrozba*, 57.

<sup>79</sup> Fried, *Nightmare in Red*, 14.

<sup>80</sup> *Mission to Moscow*, dir. Michael Curtiz, perf. Walter Huston and Ann Harding (United States: Warner Bros., 1943)

### 3.3 The House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Hollywood Scene

The most notorious board was the HUAC - House Committee on Un-American Activities. Among other intrusive investigations the HUAC launched, was the examination of the Hollywood scene. In late September of 1947, the committee issued first warrants on 34 individuals working in cinematography on presumptions that they too collaborated with the Soviet Union.<sup>81</sup> Screenwriters, actors, directors and other movie-industry professionals were forced to testify about their roles and suspected memberships in the Communist Party. Those who refused to answer these allegations were charged with contempt of Congress. Some have tried citing the First Amendment, which should guarantee the freedom of speech, but with no avail. Movie-industry artists soon found themselves to be on a blacklist forbidding them from working in the entertainment industry. The Hollywood scene had instantly split into two camps with different points of view regarding the HUAC intrusion. On one side, producers such as Walt Disney, Jack Warner or Ronald Reagan welcomed the HUAC energetic investigations and kept reassuring the committee of their loyal patriotism towards their country.<sup>82</sup> On the other side of the camp resided those, that perceived the HUAC hearings as an attack on individuals' privacy. John Howard Lawson was among one of the first to fight back and refuse to answer the fundamental 64-dollar question<sup>83</sup> : “*Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?*” Out of the 34 individuals, only 10 declined to answer the principal question in Washington in October of 1947. These entered the history as the Hollywood Ten.

Lawson and the others assumed the worst was over as the hearings smeared the HUAC's good reputation. However, the reality of it was completely different. The board had decided to double down on its intentions and forwarded the case of The Hollywood Ten to the Supreme Court of the United States for their contempt of Congress where their hopes fully diminished. Their last faith remained in the liberal judges elected into the Supreme Court by Franklin Roosevelt. Unfortunately, due to the untimely deaths of two liberal judges Wiley Rutledge and Frank Murphy, the court setup partly changed in favor of the HUAC thus

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<sup>81</sup> Daniel Srch, *Na Černé Listině: Hollywoodští Rudí a Hony Na Čarodějnice v Americkém Filmovém Průmyslu (1947-1960)* (Praha: Filozofická Fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2015), 43.

<sup>82</sup> Srch, *Na Černé Listině*, 45.

<sup>83</sup> 64-dollar question is an idiom used for a question that is both difficult and important to answer. It is taken from a 1940s radio program *Take It or Leave It*

leaving the Ten with no other option but to carry out their sentences in a form of imprisonment or a fine.<sup>84</sup>

To avoid further complications occurring in the Hollywood business, representations from various motion picture associations such as the Motion Picture Association of America or 20<sup>th</sup> Century Fox gathered at a Waldorf hotel in New York to write up a statement declaring their non-involvement with any of the accused members of Hollywood Ten and their resentment against the communism beliefs while refusing to employ those with such ideology. Such declaration became known as the Waldorf Statement. Some guilds formed and prioritized their own internal means of dealing with the contemporary subject. Each club made it mandatory for the employees to provide their signatures under various statements regarding the issue. Surprisingly enough, no workforce was discharged and the socialists were allowed to keep their careers as long as they did not ruin the good names of the employers.<sup>85</sup> The ambience of uncertainty and doubtfulness started to loom over the movie industry as any employee could still be summoned before the HUAC during the 1940s and mainly during the 1950s. Movies with anti-communist theme suddenly became a top priority for producers to prove their patriotism. Movies like *I married a Communist* (1949) or *Guilty of Treason* (1950) hit the silver screens across the US.

Despite all these precautions Hollywood made to avoid another HUAC inquisition, it was inevitable that another one was imminent. The main factor leading to another sets of hearings was the publication of a book called the Red Channels, which written by three former FBI agents. The book provided a long list of 151 individuals from the movie industry that supposedly cooperated with communists. While the evidence presented was considered to be misleading and fake, it still moved the board enough to reinstate the sessions but this time directly in Los Angeles. Thus, in October of 1951 new hearings, under the leadership of John Stephens Wood, have launched. The prosecuted were once again asked the 64-dollar question along with a new proposition to “name names”. A perfect indictee for the board is an individual willing to admit where his or allegiances lie and to reveal names of those, he or she believes to have close ties to communistic activities. Having witnessed the gruesome fate that mate the Hollywood Ten, no defendant amassed the courage to cite the first amendment again due to a possible charge of contempt. The only way to oppose the system would be the use of the fifth amendment implying no man should testify against himself. Doing so would still

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<sup>84</sup> Srch, *Černá Listina*, 49.

<sup>85</sup> Srch, *Černá Listina*, 50.

yield disastrous results as the defendants would quickly find themselves to be labeled as uncooperative witnesses. Based on these assumptions, their chances of getting employed dwindled instantly since no company wished to hire someone labeled by the government as “not patriotic enough”.<sup>86</sup> While the second round of the hearings was carried out in a peaceful manner, some cases were still considered to be intricate for the HUAC. One of the accused artists was Lillian Hellman a playwright who intended to fully cooperate with the board but declined to in order to obstruct any potential harm coming their way. While her proposal got directly rejected it still served as a tool to warn the public about the controversy of naming names.<sup>87</sup>

Those belonging to the “friendly witness” section had diverse reasons to their cooperation with the board. Some were left no choice but to collaborate due to external pressure from their employers or families while others were motivated purely out of fears of a possible subversion. There also was a large number of artists cooperating just to maintain their livelihood. One of the first informants to align was Larry Parks who thanks to his liberal opinions regarding the “red” threat couldn’t find a job in the movie industry. His collaboration proved of little help as he continuously struggled despite his willingness to incriminate others. Leo Townsend on the other hand viewed the necessary collaboration as one’s duty towards the American government. Those willing enough to conspire with the HUAC usually got to maintain their jobs but at a greater cost. A trio of two actors Sterling Hayden and John Garfield and one director Elia Kazan managed to retain their jobs, but their careers later took an unexpected turn. For instance, Hayden’s conscience found its way into his heart after seven years as he voluntarily relinquished his spot in Hollywood<sup>88</sup>. Garfield on the other hand was caught lying about his non existential ties to leftist parties and soon due to the strain died from a heart attack in the age of 39.<sup>89</sup> Elia Kazan became a well-known film maker once he resumed his career but his dreadful reputation as an informant followed him for the rest of his days. The second hearings also became a way of redemption for those that chose to defy the Congress in the past. Edward Dmytryk, a member of the infamous Hollywood Ten made a choice to switch sides in hopes of regaining his status in the movie industry. Dmytryk with the help of the Motion Picture Industry Council voluntarily testified for his actions in the past

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<sup>86</sup> Toinet, *Hon na čarodejnice*, 109-112

<sup>87</sup> Congress, House, Committee on Un-American Activities, Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of the Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry, 82d Congress, May 21, 1952 in Ellen Shrecker, *Age of McCarthyism: Brief History with Documents* (United States: ST MARTINS Press (NY), 1994), 201-2.

<sup>88</sup> Sterling Hayden, *Wanderer* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Sheridan House, 2000), 65–66, 76, 354.

<sup>89</sup>



before the HUAC, answered the 64-dollar question and proceeded to maintain distance from the Hollywood Ten. By doing so, he vindicated himself and was able to recover his post as a This phenomenon naturally angered the Hollywood leftists and they branded men like Edward Dmytryk or Robert Rossen, who followed in his path shortly after, as traitors.

The inquisitions nearly leveled the Land of Dreams to the ground. Co-workers were pitted against each other and movie studios were forced to release hundreds of employees, yet it still wasn't enough for some individuals and some newly formed patriotic pressure groups. These non-federal organizations were left dissatisfied with the meager precautions HUAC presented and wished to lay more responsibility on studio managers. One of such group called the American Legion is well respected in Hollywood for it can produce massive and effective boycotts preventing movies from hitting the screens if communists had a part in shooting it.<sup>90</sup> Legionary magazines with offensive content were published to streamline the "witch hunt". These periodicals beared articles such as the *Did the Movies Really Clean House?*<sup>91</sup> written by a recognized anti-communist Joseph B. Matthews. Hollywood couldn't afford to resist the American Legion's demands and thus in March of 1952, it sent representatives from the MPAA to meet the Legionary delegates in Washington. Here the head of the organization Donald R. Wilson emphasized the importance of keeping the movie industry "pure". Left with no other option, Hollywood promised a better cooperation in the future while the patriots worked on methods of "purifying" names of those willing to abandon protecting the Reds in Hollywood. After several days had passed since the meeting, movie studios received a list of three hundred individuals to be cross-checked again. The individuals in question were to be put on a "gray list" until they provide a plausible denunciation.<sup>92</sup>

The process of blacklisting gradually increased as the size of organizations and individuals aiming to keep the Hollywood "clean" swelled. The American Business Consultants (ABC) was behind the mentioned list *Red Channels* and the *Counterattack* that aided HUAC greatly while pursuing the Reds.<sup>93</sup> A big role in the ongoing drama had a journalist George E. Sokolsky. Sokolsky didn't partake in the formation of the blacklist but rather on rehabilitating those affected by it. Hedda Hopper on the other hand kept a watchful

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<sup>90</sup> Srch, *Černá Listina*, 59.

<sup>91</sup> Srch, *Černá Listina*, 60.

<sup>92</sup> Greylisting worked similarly to blacklist but is of a lesser importance. People appeared on a greylist just because of having a leftist opinion on occurring matters. Names on this list weren't barred from working but were close to being investigated and transferred to the blacklist

<sup>93</sup> Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund, *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930-1960* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 387-388.

eye over the development of the show biz by issuing her tabloid *Hedda Hopper Looking at Hollywood* which attracted a substantial amount of readers.<sup>94</sup>

As the drama progressed, it became much harder for the blacklisted individuals to revert the damage a blacklist caused for them. In addition to a friendly presence before the committee and the willingness to expose the Red identities, the aspirant also had to form a testament resigning his or her struggle against the American authority. The testament was then sent for a close inspection to the American legion or to George Sokolsky. A significant ally for the leftists was a lawyer Martin Gang, who developed ways of bypassing the blacklisting procedure. One of his case regarded the previously mentioned Sterling Hayden, whom he managed to assail.<sup>95</sup>

The blacklisting system kept playing a vital role also during the 1960s until Dalton Trumbo, one of the first among the Hollywood Ten to be banished from entertainment business, started to undermine it slowly but effectively. Even though anticommunist theme was still present in the late 1960s, it was not as active as it was in between the years of 1947 and 1952. The ambience gradually “softened” as foreign and domestic affairs took an unexpected turn. Dwight Eisenhower was to be replaced by John Fitzgerald Kennedy promising a breath of fresh air from conservatism and the flower children emerged bringing in the era of the peace culture. What also helped to break the uneasy ties was Khrushchev’s speech given on the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union addressing and partly admitting Stalin’s war crimes. After such occasion, many started to doubt and forsake the communist regime.<sup>96</sup> In any case, the Cold War was still far from over as several major crises were yet to be unveiled but the House on Un-American Committee and the blacklisting mechanism “corroded” into oblivion. The “witch hunting” activity became a relic of the past people would remember when reminiscing of the 1950s and early 1960s.

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<sup>94</sup> Jennifer Frost, *Hedda Hoppers Hollywood: Celebrity Gossip and American Conservatism* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 1-137.

<sup>95</sup> Srch, *Černá Listina*, 62.

<sup>96</sup> Srch, *Černá Listina*, 62-63.

## 4. CHARACTERIZING THE SECOND RED SCARE AND THE BOARD HEARINGS THROUGH CINEMATOGRAPHY

### 4.1 Arthur Miller and *The Crucible* (1996 film)

Given the bitter ambience surrounding the movie industry, nearly no one dared to address the harshness surrounding the aftermaths of being put on a blacklist. Only after witnessing the growth of Senator McCarthy's paranoia which began to nibble at the US Army, could one truly start to openly question the fundamentals of the anti-communistic theme in domestic affairs. One such individual Arthur Miller, a playwright and essayist, tasked himself to try and portray the ineffectiveness and dreariness accompanying the HUAC hearings. To achieve such a task, Miller turned to studying the witchcraft trials of 1692 which bore a significant resemblance to modern-day trials. Along with the personal experience gathered from his own trial and the knowledge gained from Ellia Kazan's hearings, Miller was on his way to creating a masterpiece known as *The Crucible* a play which was later converted into a full-fledged movie directed by Nicolas Hytner under Arthurs' watchful eye.

To fully understand the comparisons Miller made between the Salem trials and the HUAC hearings, the settings chosen, and the plot of the film must be first analyzed in detail. The puritan town Salem is depicted as an isolated township far away from the rest of the society, where people are more motivated by greed and gluttony so much the fundamental civil rights were basically overlooked. I believe the selected location perfectly mirrors the Hollywood during the 1940s and 1950s as it too was considered to be a confined dwelling which housed individuals minding only their private issues.

The issue I have here is with the term "puritan" town. Puritans believed that only through piety, honesty and hard work could a society prosper.<sup>97</sup> However, Miller depicted them as greedy, manipulative and scrupulous human beings who were not afraid to twist their faith in god for personal profit in his magnum opus *The Crucible*. For example, a quarrel between Giles Corey and Thomas Putnam over land ownership is displayed in the film even though such bickering should not occur between puritan individuals due to their values and beliefs. In addition, the selfishness deepens when Putnam took advantage of the ongoing witch trials and accused Corey of conspiring with the devil, Corey was then promptly sent to prison and later tortured to death for his refusal to name his informant. After his death, his

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<sup>97</sup> Brian Gabriel, "Puritan Morals & Standards," Synonym, September 28, 2017, accessed March 17, 2019, <https://classroom.synonym.com/puritan-morals-standards-12086083.html>.

lands fell into Putnam's custody. It could be presumed that Miller chose to display this to showcase individuals from the entertainment industry such as his former friend Elia Kazan, who ill-naturedly maneuvered and incriminated his colleagues during the HUAC hearings in order to keep his fortuitous career.

Nevertheless, back to the beginning of the movie, we are shown a scene of girls meeting in a scheduled place to dance and perform a satanic ritual. Again, dancing and conjuring spirits was strictly prohibited by the puritans. In fact, any form of entertainment was considered taboo as puritans focused mainly on church standards.<sup>98</sup> The playwright tries to tie the act of dancing and the rituals to the meetings of communists. Both were branded illegal by the authorities and severely punished by the law. Puritans dealt with such disobedience by hanging the accused, which arguably is not so far-fetched from the penalty Hollywood artists received. The lives of the professionals were not directly taken, but the same cannot be said for their social status which was usually far beyond repair once their names became connected with the red threat. Such outcome generally leads to poorer living standards and in some cases even to premature death. For instance, John Garfield's heart gave out allegedly due to the sheer amount of stress of his blacklisting.<sup>99</sup>

Miller also made clear references to the 64-dollar question and to the issue of providing names. The town of Salem has invited Reverend Hale to check for any signs of satanism. Abigail Williams, the true culprit behind the organized ritual, refuses to confess and puts the blame on her friend Tituba, whose background would suit the crime much better. While questioning Tituba, a black slave suspected from bewitching the town, he asks two questions : " When did you compact with the devil ?" and "When the Devil comes to you, does he bring other people?"<sup>100</sup> Tituba, under severe pressure breaks down and delivers a lie to save her own life as they were about to hang her. The slave confesses to meeting the devil but not with her own intent and proceeds to name other Salem inhabitants as Devils accomplices to ensure her survival. Witnessing the confession, Abigail and the rest of the girls who participated in the dancing, suddenly decides to partake in the concession and proceeds to name other citizens to avoid prosecution. Such ambience also followed Hollywood during the blacklisting era. In September 1950, director Edward Dmytryk publicly admits his past

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<sup>98</sup> Gabriel, "Puritan Morals & Standards"

<sup>99</sup> Pechter, William, and Abraham Polonsky. "Abraham Polonsky and "Force of Evil"." *Film Quarterly* 15, no. 3 (1962): 47-54.

<sup>100</sup> *The Crucible*, dir. Nicholas Hytner, perf. Winona Ryder and Daniel Day-Lewis (United States: 20th Century Fox, 1996), laser disc, 0:30:11

ties with the reds and wishes to expose others who were affiliated with them too to maintain his career.<sup>101</sup> Dmytryk mentioned his close friend Adrian Scott, who produced some of the best Dmytryk's titles like *Crossfire* or *So Well Remembered*.

Knowing what punishment awaited those performing witchcraft in Salem, the accused naturally kept on associating other Salem residents with the devil to save themselves. The uneasiness and the angst of ending on a gibbet instantaneously spread throughout the Salem just like the anxiety of losing careers did in the US during the 20th century. The townspeople of Salem later seemed to care little if there truly was Satan walking among them but rather focused on who was to be executed. It feels as if author wants to point out that McCarthyism was more about causing internal damage than actually preventing a possible foreign threat. I presume Miller tries to relay such a message at the end of the film, where Deputy Governor Danforth learns of Abigail's disappearance but still presses on to interrogate and hang people accused by her.<sup>102</sup>

Arthur also proceeds to mock Danforth for his actions based on lack of evidence and knowledge of the cases. The Deputy Governor is entirely oblivious to local relationships and remains neutral through the entire film. Whether such attribute is a good or bad thing is left up for the viewer to decide. However, a judge should always get acquainted with each case to be able to give a just punishment. Unfortunately, inquisitors from both Salem and HUAC carried out their verdicts based only on assumptions.<sup>103</sup> Judge John Hathorne, an advisor to Danforth and the only minister voicing concerns about relying on testimonies provided by "... distracted persons and of course the mad"<sup>104</sup>, becomes highly disconcerted with the wild accusations Abigail continually provides. Especially when Reverend Hale's faith in god comes into question. The judges quickly dismiss the case as they believe a minister is incorruptible and pure.<sup>105</sup> An equal situation arose during the second Red Scare when Joseph McCarthy himself marked the United States Army for a close inspection in 1954.<sup>106</sup> The so called Army-McCarthy hearings indicated the downfall of McCarthyism as the press became increasingly

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<sup>101</sup> Gevinson, Alan. *American Film Institute Catalog: Within Our Gates: Ethnicity in American Feature Films, 1911-1960*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

<sup>102</sup> *The Crucible*, dir. Nicholas Hytner, perf. Winona Ryder and Daniel Day-Lewis (United States: 20th Century Fox, 1996), laser disc, 1:39:11.

<sup>103</sup> A referral to the Red Channel article in the Counterattack newsletter where Hollywood professionals were listed and affiliated with the Communist Party without any evidence, *Red Channels: A Facsimile Edition* (San Bernardino, CA: Primary Source Publications, 2017). *The Crucible*

<sup>104</sup> *The Crucible*, Hytner, time 0:39:30

<sup>105</sup> *The Crucible*, Hytner, time 1:34:11.

<sup>106</sup> Sreč, Rudá hrozba, 123.

hostile towards the Wisconsin Senator for his growing paranoia.<sup>107</sup> The charges led against the US Army were based on a letter written by the FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover sent to Major General Alexander R. Bolling. The memo contained a warning of a possible subversion in the Army Signal Corps, however the letter proved to be a fraud.<sup>108</sup>

Nevertheless, Salem becomes dysfunctional since most of the population is either in prison, hanged or on the run to avoid the turmoil. John Proctor, the main protagonist, gets involved and ends up giving a forced and a false testimony implying his connections with Satanism. Proctor ultimately refuses to answer for crimes that he did not commit and withdraws from signing a written confession that would condemn him and his family. John conclusively tears the written confession into pieces to keep his name unsullied for his three sons. The written confession has the same attributes as a blacklist of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. If John Proctor were to let the written proclamation put up on the church for display, his family would surely lose respect not only among the Salem dweller, but in the whole Massachusetts Colony. The Proctor family would not be able to find any job in the village and others could try and lay claim on his acreage for the heresy John has “perpetrated”. Artists from the motion picture industry had it no different. Once on one of the many blacklists, there were few options these individuals could choose from. Either leave the Hollywood career behind or try to testify and play into the hands of HUAC. Dalton Trumbo and several others chose an entirely different path. For instance, Trumbo kept writing new scripts and screenplays in undercover for movie studios such as King Brother Productions. Some of his works like *Roman Holiday* or *The Brave One* received an Academy Award for Best Story but he could not claim the prize for the scripts.<sup>109</sup>

To summarize It could be claimed that the events from Salem and Hollywood are nearly identical to one another apart from several exceptions. For example, the witches were obviously not real as no one had any credible evidence but the society in the 17<sup>th</sup> century still identified witchcraft as a serious threat. It was mainly due to the lack of general knowledge in both the and medical fields, that any phenomenon occurring in the 17<sup>th</sup> century which could not be clarified by logic was tied with black magic. If someone succumbed to an unknown illness which was yet to be discovered, a community would start pointing fingers at witches.

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<sup>107</sup> Ted Morgan, *Reds: McCarthyism in Twentieth-century America* (New York: Random House Paperbacks, 2004), 489.

<sup>108</sup> [https://archive.org/stream/armysignalcorpss0709unit/armysignalcorpss0709unit\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/armysignalcorpss0709unit/armysignalcorpss0709unit_djvu.txt)

<sup>109</sup> John Noftdheimer, "Dalton Trumbo, Film Writer, Dies; Oscar Winner Had Been Blacklisted" September 11, 1976, accessed March 17, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/1976/09/11/archives/dalton-trumbo-film-writer-dies-oscar-winner-had-been-blacklisted.html>.

Likewise, the lack of physicists studying the laws of nature and the laws of physics as a whole, meant that any phenomenon considered unnatural would again be attributed to satanic rituals.

The movie includes a short scene, where a young man is seen adding wood to a fire. While doing so, an old man named George Jacobs Sr. waves at him with his walking stick and the fire erupts simultaneously. A Passerby Mr. Putnam, who is also a neighbor to Jacobs, connected the small burst of flame to witchcraft instead of logically deducing that fire will increase in size if more wood is added. Putnam may have done so in order to claim Jacobs's premises and he just seized the opportunity to incriminate him.<sup>110</sup> Again, showing the audience that for some artists the Red Scare was misused as a means of amassing a bigger fortune. Putnam's actions could mirror those of William R. Wilkerson, the founder of *The Hollywood Reporter* magazine, through which he helped shape the beginnings of the Hollywood witch hunt. In one of his articles *A Vote for Joe Stalin* Wilkerson flags several careers to be associated with the Communist Party.<sup>111</sup> Williams true motive's for leading skirmishes against Hollywood were revealed in 2012, when his son W.R. Wilkerson III released a statement regarding his father's crusade. William's catalyst for such actions appeared to be a revenge for his unfulfilled ambitions of owning a movie studio.<sup>112</sup>

Nevertheless, the following scene perfectly summarizes the absurdity of both "witch hunts". George Jacobs stands before the judges in a meeting hall, where he is forced to confess to crimes he could not logically have committed. Putnam's daughter, Ruth is instructed by her father to falsely claim that Jacobs visited her through a window with intents to blackmail her. The old frail man defends himself stating that he can barely walk on his own using crutches, how could he leap through a window? Such a rational argument was immediately dismissed by the judges suggesting he could have sent his spirit to harm her. Yet how could a spirit leave its body Jacobs later added. Left with no choice, Putnam's daughter maliciously lies about seeing a black figure (presumably the Devil) whispering into the ears of the elderly man. Abigail and her squad follow with the story and start to fake fainting. The committee and the spectators side with the hysterical girls and Jacobs is put in jail for these bizarre reasons. Soon after, Martha Corey breaks the anxious ambience with her loud laughter

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<sup>110</sup>The Crucible, Hytner, timestamp 0:42:56

<sup>111</sup> Brian E. Birdnow, *The Subversive Screen: Communist Influence in Hollywood's Golden Age* (Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, ABC-CLIO, 2019), 60.

<sup>112</sup> William R. Wilkerson, III, "An Apology: The Son of THR Founder Billy Wilkerson on the Publication's Dark Past," *The Hollywood Reporter*, December 19, 2012.

adding that these fools are good only for amusement.<sup>113</sup> This segment shows how easily obsession can turn out to be a double-edged sword. Puritans became so obsessed with hunting heathens just like modern anti-communist Americans were with the communists. Both sides looked for the smallest excuses to justify their apprehension of enemies. This often resulted in major difficulties in making out who was a friend or foe. The substantial difference between these two was that Puritans shaped the fear of witches.

Communism on the contrary, was considered to be an authentic threat to America from the beginning. Seeing how the Bolsheviks advanced in establishing foreign subversions in Europe and Asia, an American could easily ask himself when the Reds would visit his household. With all the ongoing foreign affairs like the loss of the Korean War in 1953 or surrendering China to Mao Zedong in 1949, no one could blame themselves for asking such a question. Furthermore, there is a strong belief believe that any organization or a singular entity wishing not to employ or stand up for someone affiliated with the reds should not be shunned. It is completely natural for a person to sway away from sources of danger. In the past, gentiles did likewise upon witnessing their Jewish neighbors being deported to concentration camps in Germany.<sup>114</sup> In former Czechoslovakia any individual voicing concerns received a similar treatment. If a person chose to hold a grudge against the totalitarian regime, he or she was commonly barred from studying or finding a proper job. The public kept a distance from these capitalist sympathizers to avoid being questioned by the secret police State Security.

Lastly, the ending displays the mournful outcome Proctor had to face after refusing to have his name publicly disgraced. John ultimately sacrificed his life so that his family could live freely without people labeling them as worshippers of the devil. Meanwhile, both Reverend Parris and Thomas Putnam begin to fear for their lives as they become hatefully berated by other Salem residents for letting the trials progress. Proctor's sacrifice could be seen as an indirect reference to those in Hollywood unwilling to participate in naming names. Among them was the aforementioned John Howard Lawson or Ring Lardner Jr. who is known for his famous response to the 64-dollar question. When asked to answer it, Lardner

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<sup>113</sup> *The Crucible*, Hytner, timestamp 0:43:00.

<sup>114</sup> Arthur Miller, "Why I Wrote "The Crucible" An Artist's Answer to Politics." *The New Yorker*, October 21, 1996.



replies: “I could answer the question exactly the way you want, but if I did, I would hate myself in the morning.”<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> James Cross Giblin, *The Rise and Fall of Senator Joe McCarthy* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2010), 65.

## 4.2 Good Night, and Good Luck

While Miller's work focused more on the rise of McCarthyism, George Clooney's picture, *Good Night and Good Luck*, shed light rather on McCarthy's downfall. The picture revolves around Edward Roscoe Murrow (David Strathairn), one of the most influential American broadcast journalists of the 1950s, and his news team consisting of a producer Fred Friendly (George Clooney) and a journalist Joseph Wershba (Robert Downey Jr.). Murrow was one of the first pioneers of radio and television news broadcasting who used these platforms to keep the public well informed about both domestic and foreign affairs. He was also renowned for his courage to "...throw rocks at giants..."<sup>116</sup>, meaning that Murrow was not afraid to confront corrupted and ill-mannered individuals located in the government. One of his most notable achievements was the censorship of the previously mentioned Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The picture exhibits the struggles and obstacles Murrow and his team in Columbia Broadcasting System had to deal with while pursuing justice during the second Red Scare. The subject of this movie is primarily the investigative committee HUAC and its impudent incriminations based on non-existent evidence. For example, a case of a U.S. Air Force lieutenant Milo Radulovich is displayed in the movie. Radulovich was forcibly discharged from the Air Force Reserve without a trial due to his close connections with his father, who supposedly had communist ties only because he once read Serbian newspaper.<sup>117</sup> The allegations hinged on a sealed manila envelope containing plausible evidence, however the folder remained secret and no one was allowed to view it, not even Radulovich himself.<sup>118</sup> The lieutenant later declined the offer to denounce his relatives stating:

"If I am being judged on my relatives, are my children going to be asked to denounce me? Are they going to be judged on what their father was labeled? Are they going to have to explain to their friends, et cetera, why their father is a security risk?"<sup>119</sup>

Radulovich's statement is nearly identical to the one John Proctor made at the end of *The Crucible*. Both wished to avoid labels so that their descendants could not atone for their "mischiefs". Radulovich's lawyer, Charles Lockwood, believes this case to be a colossal

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<sup>116</sup> *Good Night*, Clooney, timestamp 0:02:30.

<sup>117</sup> Thomas Rosteck, *See It Now Confronts McCarthyism: Television Documentary and the Politics of Representation* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994), 66-7.

<sup>118</sup> Rosteck, *See It Now*, 74.

<sup>119</sup> Rosteck, *See It Now*, 72.

insult to justice.<sup>120</sup> The whereabouts of this peculiar dispute reach Murrow, who decides to publicize it through his broadcast channel *See It Now* despite the clear objections of his executives. CBS News' director, Sig Mickelson (Jeff Daniels), voices concern about the possible backlash the CBS would suffer if Murrow's team was to proceed with the story as it targets both the U.S. Air Force and McCarthy's methods. Mickelson further warns about the potential loss of crucial sponsors who have military contracts.<sup>121</sup> The patrons might withdraw their funds from CBS network as they do not wish to be associated with those willing to oppose McCarthy's practice. The Wisconsin Senator identifies any organization or individual willing to oppose him or the U.S. Senate Investigating Committee, as a communist sympathizer.<sup>122</sup> The benefactors, out of fear of potentially being labeled in this way, would likely back away from the CBS if the story airs. Army colonels Anderson (Glenn Morshower) and Jenkins (Don Creech) also argue over the upcoming debut of the story while warning Fred Friendly that the CBS News team is about to "navigate through dangerous waters."<sup>123</sup>

It may be presumed this is how anxiety was instilled in those choosing to fight for the civil liberties. The anxiety of losing one's livelihood if he or she were to pursue justice during the McCarthy Era modified choices of many in the 1950s. Despite the countless warnings and the huge risk of losing his career, Murrow still proceeded to broadcast the story. The debut attained nation wide publicity and became highly favored by the public. The abrupt success the broadcast amassed frightened the Air Force enough to reinstate Milo Radulovich back into the army and withdraw the accusations. Soon after, both Murrow and Friendly try to pursue McCarthy himself. The case of Annie Lee Moss investigated by McCarthy as the chairman of the HUAC piqued their interest. Moss was a communications clerk working at the pentagon who supposedly encoded and decoded and then leaked confidential and top-secret messages to the CPUSA.<sup>124</sup> This turned out to be a disinformation as the Pentagon points out she had no access to the code room and only transmitted encrypted messages.<sup>125</sup> McCarthy's reputation slowly dwindles away to a point of him being investigated by the congress but at a big cost. One of the big CBS donors, William Paley, disapproves of the continual offensive broadcasts as he wishes to maintain good relationships with his military and government contacts. He

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<sup>120</sup> Thomas Rosteck, *See It Now Confronts McCarthyism: Television Documentary and the Politics of Representation* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994), 66.

<sup>121</sup> Good night, Clooney, timestamp 0:13:00

<sup>122</sup> Good night, Clooney, timestamp 1:04:00

<sup>123</sup> *Good night*, Clooney, timestamp 0:15:20

<sup>124</sup> Thomas C. Reeves, *The Life and times of Joe McCarthy: A Biography* (Lanham: Madison Books, 1997), 549.

<sup>125</sup> Reeves, *The life of Joe McCarthy*, 549

cuts Murrow's Show from Tuesday while also lowering funds going towards See It Now program. CBS News team rejoice after achieving such victory against injustice.

For Murrow however, it was not only a victory against violations of rights but also a significant triumph over the consumerism which kept transforming the radio and the television into a suitable platform for commercialism after the Second World War. Murrow detested the idea of letting these platforms be altered into a shallow form of entertainment and advertisement as it would insulate the viewer from focusing on essential matters at hand like the futility of the second Red Scare. The rise of materialism is noticeable in various parts of Clooney's picture. For instance, there are various advertisements being played out during the intermissions such as the Kent cigarette commercial.<sup>126</sup> These advertisements are in Murrow's opinion very distracting not because of their content, but because he believes that the television is a powerful tool for more than senseless advertisements. Murrow once added a famous remark about television broadcasting:

"... This instrument can teach, it can illuminate, it can aspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to these ends. Otherwise, it is nothing but wires and lights in a box..."<sup>127</sup>

To summarize, Clooney's picture *Good Night, and Good Luck* captures the post war tensions and the consuming paranoia of domestic communism subversion and the exploitation of such fear by Joseph Raymond McCarthy. To help mediate this issue, the entire movie was shot in black and white for several reasons. Firstly, it helps heighten the anxious atmosphere and the seriousness of the matter presented. Secondly, the black and white motive together with the jazz singer Dianne Reeves simulates the 1950s ambience which pulls the audience in effectively. Lastly, It can be argued that the choice for this color scheme helps portray the ultimate clash of good and evil while showing the power of one individual during dire times. While *Good Night* serves as a prudent and precautionary tale that reflects the behavior of a society stricken by mass hysteria, it still illuminates positivity and hope that fear will not overcome righteousness.

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<sup>126</sup> *Good Night*, Clooney, time 0:24:00

<sup>127</sup> *Good Night*, Clooney, time 1:25:00

### 4.3 Portrayal of the Blacklist Through *the Front* (1976)

As previously mentioned, the process of blacklisting touched many lives from the entertainment industry. How exactly the method of ostracizing looked in practice is explicitly portrayed in Martin Ritt's movie *The Front*. The movie tells a story of two protagonists: Howard Prince (Woody Allen) and Hershel "Hecky" Brown (Samuel Joel Mostel) and their struggles they had to face during the impacts of McCarthyism. Prince's tale focuses more on the position of a screenplay writers after ending up on a blacklist whilst Hecky's tragedy informs the audience of the fates that usually awaited blacklisted actors.

First of all, the movie suggests the ineffectuality of putting screenwriters on a blacklist as they can either change their names or release their work through other people untainted by the repressive mechanism. For instance, Alfred Miller (Michael Murphy), a talented but blacklisted scriptwriter asks his friend Prince, who works as a cashier in a restaurant, to publish his screenplays under his name, to which Prince enthusiastically agrees for a small percentage of the profit. Their plan works out flawlessly and Prince becomes rich and attains a status of a respectable person among the scenarists despite being totally oblivious as to what writing a screenplay amounts to. The former clerk realizes the potential profit of being the "front man" for the blacklisted professional and decides to cover up for more screenwriters. Interestingly enough, no one becomes remotely suspicious of the sudden emergence of Howard's talent as it seems that the investigative committees were content as long as the screenplays were not made by a communist. Presumably, this is a nod to artists like Howard Koch, Lester Cole or mainly to Dalton Trumbo and the scripts he secretly wrote under a pseudonym borrowed from his nephew, Robert Rich.<sup>128</sup> Trumbo continued to make a hefty amount of money or even more as if no blacklist ever occurred to him, proving that expelling screenwriters from Hollywood was pointless.<sup>129</sup>

Prince's anecdote is filled with farce and humor as he progresses to the pinnacle of wealth, while his counterpart protagonist Hecky faced a series of downfalls that ultimately lead to his suicide. As the investigators from the examining committees try to expose and blacklist communists, they come across Heck's past and his involvement with the Reds. The

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<sup>128</sup> Day, Elizabeth. "Hollywood Blacklisted My Father Dalton Trumbo: Now I'm Proud They've Put Him on Screen." *The Guardian*. January 16, 2016. Accessed March 25, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/jan/16/dalton-trumbo-hollywood-blacklist-mitzi-trumbo-bryan-cranston>.

<sup>129</sup> John Noftdheimer, "Dalton Trumbo, Film Writer, Dies; Oscar Winner Had Been Blacklisted" September 11, 1976, accessed March 17, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/1976/09/11/archives/dalton-trumbo-film-writer-dies-oscar-winner-had-been-blacklisted.html>.

actor justifies his “red past” by implying that he only participated in a May Day parade or bought *The Daily Worker* magazine just to impress a communist lady he fancied. He also confesses to signing the Russian War Relief stating that America and Russia were on the same side later in the WW2.<sup>130</sup> How could Becky know that the U.S. and the Soviet Union would collide against each other later on? More importantly, why did the investigative boards rely on such illogical accusation that could be easily justified?

This scene cleverly illustrates the absurd allegations professional artists had to invalidate in order to continue working. For instance, Jean Muir was the first actress to be deprived of her job after appearing on the notorious pamphlet *Red Channels*. She was instantaneously fired and removed from the cast of a television sitcom *The Aldrich Family*, after its sponsor, General Foods Corporation, refused to finance a program with a “controversial person” in it. Muir’s supposed allegation rested on her six-month membership in the Congress of American Women which was a woman’s rights organization.<sup>131</sup> Sadly, the federal authorities perceived the organization as subversive because of its affiliation with the Women’s International Democratic Federation, which was sponsored by the Soviet Union. Muir was ultimately condemned for her past interests and curiosity just like Hecky was.

There are two things worth pointing out. Firstly, it is obvious that the movie mocks the absurdity of being incriminated on past time activities that were not even based on a desire to orchestrate a Bolshevik subversion. Secondly, if a performer or a screenwriter decided to fully denounce his former actions, he had to do so through a letter containing patriotic testimony which would persuade the HUAC and the movie studios of his unquestionable loyalty. In these situations, the previously mentioned “clearance” lawyer Martin Gang became the best option for those willing to purge their names. At one point, it seems fairly bizarre that Gang himself was not prosecuted during the hearings as his endeavor could be perceived as pro-communist, after all his work revolved around helping the Reds avoid prosecution. Ritt’s picture also briefly touches the issue of cases involving misunderstandings. To give an example, individuals that shared the same name or had a very similar one with those blacklisted, were too barred from working.<sup>132</sup>

Through Hecky’s dialogue with the owner of the movie studio Francis X. Hennessey, it is possible to recognize what the HUAC actually pursued. Ritt suggests that the

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<sup>130</sup> *The Front*, Ritt, timestamp 0:15:20.

<sup>131</sup> Myrna Oliver, "Jean Muir; Actress Blacklisted in 1950s," *The Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 1996, March 02, 2018, accessed March 26, 2019, [https://www.newspapers.com/clip/17927382/jean\\_muir/](https://www.newspapers.com/clip/17927382/jean_muir/).

<sup>132</sup> *The Front*, Ritt, timestamp 0:27:50.

investigative committees were after the sincerity and willingness to cooperate when questioning the potential communists. The director further indicates that the method of naming names to avoid further prosecution was not so much about expanding the blacklist because the HUAC later already knew most of the names affiliated with the Bolsheviks in the Hollywood.<sup>133</sup>

Unfortunately, Hicky, the optimistic performer, loses his job despite the nationalistic letter he wrote and is now approached by Hennessey to spy on Howard Prince. The actor complies out of sheer desperation, but he fails to do so given the stress and the pressure. Another frame which remarkably contributes to the depiction of the blacklisted actors is when Hicky is booked to perform on stage in the Catskills, after which he is short-changed of his salary. Hicky ends up humiliated before the whole crowd after confronting the club owner who denounces him as a “communist son of a bitch.”<sup>134</sup> It is important to notice that actors were put in a more difficult spot after appearing on the blacklist than the screenwriters since the actor directly appeared on the screen while the screenwriter’s identity remained concealed. Actors in general, were considered as a second-class citizen in America during the 1950s.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> *The Front*, Ritt, timestamp 0:40:27.

<sup>134</sup> *The Front*, Ritt, timestamp 0:53:30.

<sup>135</sup> "Blu-ray Review: "The Front" (1976)," World Cinema Paradise, accessed March 26, 2019, <http://worldcinemaparadise.com/2014/03/28/blu-ray-review-the-front-1976/>.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This bachelor thesis aims to acquaint the reader with the phenomenon called the Red Scare that affected the United States in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The paper pays close attention to how the American society responded to the mass hysteria stemming from a fear of a potential communist subversion in the late 1920s. The rising number of communist sympathizers residing in the U.S., together with the pro-communist events unfolding in the Europe and Asia after the WW2, gave the Land of Liberty and its citizens a justified reason to be paranoid. What also contributed towards the increasing uneasiness was the formation of various worker unions such as the American federation of Labor or the Industrial Workers of the World who continually emphasized the nationalization of various industrial corporations and exceptional conditions for the laborer.

It is safe to assume that Americans are very patriotic of their country and value their ways of life and the personal freedom over anything else. Seeing how the Bolshevik regime would alter the American lifestyle if it were to continually spread, the local government decided to set up a defensive mechanism consisting of repressive acts. These acts and laws ultimately squelched the freedom of speech and even some of the basic civil rights of an individual in order to improve the national security. With the increasing amounts of new regulations, the U.S quickly started to show traits of a totalitarian regime from which it tried to distance itself.

The anti-communist agenda was welcomed at first since the radicalism of some of the leftist organizations increased. However, the public opinion about the repressive mechanisms gradually changed when they started to affect innocent individuals who were monitored only due to their criticism of the American Government. After the WW2, the regulations heavily intensified as the Wisconsin Senator, Joseph Raymond McCarthy successfully deepened the anxiety of a communist threat by claiming that the Red spies already infiltrated some of the important government positions. It is important to remember that McCarthy did not instill the fear of a possible subversion, but rather manipulated the uneasiness to strengthen his position in the senate. Under his rule, hundreds if not thousands of men and women lost their livelihoods to the ever-growing paranoia that engulfed every single industrial field. The uneasiness and the ambience were so tense that only meager hearsays of once owning a communist brochure were enough to incriminate someone of aiding the authoritarian enemy. One of the biggest industrial spheres to be affected by the Red Scare was undoubtedly the entertainment



industry. It was only a matter of time before the House Un-American Activities Committee targeted Hollywood and its professionals as cinematography and television broadcasting became powerful tools for propagating possible agendas in the 1940s.

In conclusion, it is obvious that the massive witch hunts occurring in the 20<sup>th</sup> century did more harm than good. The idea of suppressing the domestic growth of communist influence may have sounded good on paper, but in the reality the anti-communist drive served rather as a tool for personal contemptible gains. The Hollywood trials and the McCarthy era as a whole act as a solid reminder that it is fairly easy to let fear and angst cloud one's judgement if a person is subjugated to a sheer amount of pressure. Furthermore, McCarty's rise to political power partly mirrors the one of Adolf Hitler's. While Hitler did not spread fear per se, he took advantage of other emotions like anger and rage to accelerate his campaign for absolute power and control. What they have in common however is the society which allowed these delirious characters to present their "solutions" to the current respective problems. Therefore, the blame for these bleak times that struck America does not entirely rest on McCarthy, but also on each American citizen who lets his fears of losing his private wealth dictate his actions.

## RESUMÉ

V této bakalářské práci se zabývám fenoménem první a druhé tzv. Rudé paniky, kterým byly v první polovině dvacátého století zasaženy Spojené státy americké. V první řadě jsem se snažil poukázat na silně nepřátelský postoj tamní společnosti k možnosti komunistického převratu, který byl posilován vědomím úspěšného bolševického převratu samoděržaví v Rusku roku 1917. Pro vytvoření komplexního pohledu na situaci jsem do akademické práce připojil také kratší náhled na vývoj politického dění v Evropě po první světové válce, který následně ovlivnil míru anti-komunismu v novém světě.

V práci se také věnuji pozici amerického kongresu v celkovém dění. Jako podstatný vidím fakt, že ačkoliv byla senátem během první Rudé Paniky zavedena série zákonů, zaměřujících se na omezování svobodného projevu s cílem posílení národní bezpečnosti a tím potlačení tamního růstu komunistického vlivu, tak skutečným výsledkem zavedení těchto zákonů bylo spíše prohloubení strachu z „rudých“ a nikoliv jeho utlumení, neboť jejich zavedení zkomplikovalo život mnoha lidí sociálně smýšlejících. Tento sled událostí vnímám jako důležitou lekci na poli politiky, platnou až do dnešních dní, také s důrazem na vyhocení situace, které následovalo – někteří jedinci se na protest těchto zákonných restrikcí přidali ke Anarchosyndikalistické a radikální skupině Galeanisté se záměrem spáchat řadu teroristických útoků (tyto byly provedeny rozposláním balíčků s výbušninami do domů státních zástupců, starostů a politiků, jenž měli, co do činění s prosazováním těchto proti komunistickým zákonů). Jako pomyslný vrchol zákroků proti rozkvětu komunistické ideologie (který zároveň dobře poukazuje na to, do jaké míry byl strach z rozvoje této ideologie naléhavý) vnímám situaci, kdy generální prokurátor spojených států A. Mitchell Palmer (přeživší jednoho z výše zmíněných teroristických činů), se ujal ofenzívy v podobě Palmerových rejů. Tyto reje, ačkoliv kruté a nemorální, byly považovány za úspěšné, jelikož úspěšně dokázali vymýtit Galeanisty a částečně potlačit rozkvět komunistické ideologie. Hlavní důvod kontroverznosti těchto rejů spočíval v neschopnosti americké vlády rozeznat rozdíl mezi anarchisty, komunisty, socialisty a sociálními demokraty. Výsledkem této neschopnosti byly persekuce nejen levicových anarchistů ale všech kteří (ať už více či méně) podporovali komunismus.

V bakalářské práci jsem věnoval jednu kapitolu Generální stávce v Seattlu z r.1919, jelikož tato se také jednoznačně dá považovat za důležitý milník přispívající zvětšení strachu z „rudých“. Tato stávka je brána jako největší přiblížení k převratu kapitalismu v dějinách

Spojených států amerických, a ačkoliv byla čistě nenásilná, je i tak brána jako radikální útok mířený na svržnutí svobodného režimu.

Ve své práci se dále věnuji druhé, intenzivnější Rudé panice, a především jejímu dopadu na filmová studia a na jednotlivé individuální kariéry v Hollywoodu. K popsaní druhé Rudé paniky jsem využil příkladu filmů *Čarodějky ze Salemu*, *Dobrou noc a hodně štěstí* a *Na Černé Listině*. Snímek režiséra Hytnera *Čarodějky ze Salemu*, jsem si vybral, jelikož podrobně popisuje vznik Rudé paniky a její následky po druhé světové válce a přirovnává jej ke vzniku honů na čarodějnice z roku 1692. Skrze film je kladen důraz na zobrazení bezostyšnosti Výboru pro neamerickou činnost, který na základě bezdůkazných nařčení odsuzoval jednotlivé osoby z kolaborace s komunisty a uváděl je do tzv. černé listiny, díky které přišli o možnost obživy. Ve snímku je také dobře viditelný mechanismus zneužívání strachu z „rudých“ ve prospěch jedince. (Příkladem je samotný senátor z Wisconsinu Joseph Raymond McCarthy – jeho zneužití tohoto fenoménu pro urychlený karierní růst).

Abych ve své práci mohl ukázat i rovinu představující dopad tohoto dění na životní osudy hollywoodských profesionálů spojené s tzv. černou listinou, vybral jsem si k představení dílo Martina Ritta *Na černé listině*. Tento film zobrazuje jak devastující dopad existence listiny na profesní a osobní život filmových profesionálů, tak poukazuje na postoj, který zaujala filmová studia, která se rozhodla adoptovat myšlenku antikomunismu, a aktivně ji aplikovat tak, aby se vyhnuly jakémukoliv možnému střetu s vyšetřovacím výborem.

Předmětem posledního filmu, kterému se věnuji, *Dobrou noc a hodně štěstí* od George Clooneyho je především zaznamenání klání senátora Josepha McCarthyho a Edwarda R. Murrowa, který skrz televizní vysílání Columbia Broadcasting System poukazoval především na praktiku výše v práci zmiňovaného Mccarthismu. Jako podstatný se mi zdá rozměr filmu, kde lze vysledovat otevřenou kritiku, která ovšem znamenala v tomto scénáři osobní ohrožení.

Mým posledním cílem v této bakalářské práci, bylo vytvořit srovnání pohledu těchto filmů a jejich popisů druhé Rudé paniky. Snímky se dle mého názoru shodují ve faktu, že jak první, tak zejména druhý strach z „rudých“ rozštěpil Americkou společnost jako dosud žádná jiná událost v historii nového kontinentu. Jako nejtragičtější vidím skutečnost, že vzniklé obavy zasáhly místní společnost na skutečně hluboké úrovni – tedy nejen v rámci umění, nebo „vyšší“ politiky, ale až na úroveň rodinných vztahů a osobních morálních hranic, kdy ze strachu o ztrátu živobytí se občané cítili být nuceni tyto morální hranice porušovat např.

udáváním osob ze svého okolí, donášením škodit kolegů ze zaměstnání, případně blízkým přátelům.

V poslední řadě bych rád dodal svůj názor na toto téma. Při výběru tohoto tématu jsem nečekal, že Rudá Panika bude mít komplexní kořeny sahající zpětně až ke konci první světové války. Dále jsem překvapen, do jaké míry dokázal strach z „rudých“ ovlivnit myšlenkové pochody statisíců občanů a jak paranoidní samotná americká vláda byla ohledně „hrozícího“ komunistického převratu na vnitrostátním území. Jejich odůvodnění je samozřejmě pravdivé a smysluplné, přece jen okolnosti po druhé světové válce svědčily růstu komunistického vlivu na globálním měřítku a komunistická ideologie sama sobě opovrhovala k sobě oponentním kapitalistickým režimem. Každopádně, je až podivuhodné, jak jednoduché bylo někoho osočit z velezrady ze spojení s nepřítelem. Stačilo pouhé nařknutí, jenž nemuselo být založeno na pravdě a nebo podloženo důkazy, a dotyčný se ocitl na výsledku testujícím jeho loajalitu a patriotství vůči vlastní zemi. Osobně tento přístup Mccarthismu vnímám jako chaos vzbuzující a účelově zneužívaný, jelikož je zřejmé že díky tomuto procesu nekonečného obviňování muselo trpět i mnoho nevinných občanů.

Z filmů, jenž jsem si vybral k podrobnému popisu dopadů ze strachu z „rudých“ jsem si nejvíce oblíbil *Čarodějnice ze Salemu*. Hlavním důvodem je způsob popisování výše zmíněného fenoménu skrze porovnání s hony na čarodějnice v Salemu z roku 1692. Je nepřehlédnutelné, jak moc jsou tyto dva fenomény jeden druhému podobné, co se týká jejich vývoje od počátku až do samotného konce. Zvláště se mi líbí důraz, který je kladen na to, že se historie může opakovat, pokud lidé dovolí emocím jako strach převládnout nad jejich rozumem.

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