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**McCarthyism and the Red Scare in
America
(1919 – 1954)**

**Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for a Master's Degree in
Literature and Civilization**

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Dedication

I dedicate this humble work to the soul of my father may Allah have mercy on him,
Tomy greatest supporter and source of inspiration: my mother.

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Abstract

Politicians and government members are usually stigmatized for being tricky and exploiters. This view was not generalized out of the blue. It was due to several dishonest practices conducted by different politicians and members of governments all around the world and at different periods of time. Thus politics became more often tied with dishonesty, dissemblance and exploitation. The First and the Second Red Scares in the United States (1919 – 1920) (1950-1954) is a vivid example of politicians and government members who exploited national crisis to achieve personal interests. During this period America was exposed to a state of political repression and fear from Communist subversion. Americans awareness involved and an end was put to the phenomenon.

Keywords: Red scare, McCarthyism, Bolshevism, Anarchism, political repression, Russian revolution, Communist subversion.

ملخص

عادة ما يتم وصم السياسيين وأعضاء الحكومة لكونهم مخادعين ومستغلي، ولم يتم تعميم هذا الرأي من فراغ. كان ذلك بسبب العديد من الممارسات غير النزيهة التي مارسها مختلف السياسيين وأعضاء الحكومات في جميع أنحاء العالم وفي فترات زمنية مختلفة، وبالتالي أصبحت السياسة مرتبطة في كثير من الأحيان بالخداع والنفاق والاستغلال. الرعب الأحمر الأول (1919 – 1920) والرعب الأحمر الثاني (1954-1950) في الولايات المتحدة هو مثال حي للسياسيين وأعضاء الحكومة الذين استغلوا الأزمة الوطنية لتحقيق مصالح شخصية. خلال هذه الفترة تعرضت أمريكا لحالة من القمع السياسي والخوف من التخريب الشيوعي. تدخل وعي الأمريكيين ووضع حد لهذه الظاهرة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الرعب الأحمر، البلشفية، المكارثية، فوضوية، القمع السياسي، التأمير الشيوعي الثورة الروسية

Résumé

Les politiciens et les membres du gouvernement sont généralement stigmatisés pour être rusés et exploitateurs. Ce point de vue n'a pas été généralisé à l'improviste. Cela était dû à plusieurs pratiques malhonnêtes menées par différents politiciens et membres de gouvernements du monde entier et à différentes époques. Ainsi, la politique est devenue plus souvent liée à la malhonnêteté, à la dissimulation et à l'exploitation. La première et la deuxième peur rouge aux États-Unis de (1919 à 1920) - (1950 à 1954) est un exemple frappant d'hommes politiques et de membres du gouvernement qui ont exploité la crise nationale pour atteindre leurs intérêts personnels. Pendant cette période, l'Amérique a été exposée à un état de répression politique et à la peur de la subversion communiste. Il est entré dans la conscience des Américains et a mis fin au phénomène.

Les Mots Clés :

Peur rouge, maccarthysme, bolchevisme, anarchisme, répression politique, subversion communiste. La révolution Russe.

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List of Abbreviations

CP : The Communist Party

CLP: The Communist Labor Party

CPUSA: The Communist Party of the United States

FBI: Federal Bureau of Investigation

HUAC: The House of Un-American Activities

NAM: National Association of Manufacturers

USSR : The Union Soviet of Socialist Republics

General Introduction

The two eras of (1919-1920) and (1950-1954) were remarkable in the United States history. These periods witnessed an unprecedented state of fear from Communist influence and subversion in the United States. Thus, they were referred to as Red Scares. The term is used to describe the state of fear or hysteria from Communism, because of the red flag of the Soviet Union that was held during the bloody Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. That revolution resulted in the creation of the first Communist state, which in turn caused red scare in America.

During the first era, America witnessed a state of social unrest and chaos. These social upheavals coincided with uprisings in Russia, and eventually, there was the estimation that these events were linked to the Russian ones. Consequently, the propagand that there was a Russian conspiracy designed to overthrow the American government was created. While it was a mere hypothesis, people in the government and politicians saw it as an opportunity to be seized. They made efforts to make this hypothesis appear as real as possible, the result was a nation exposed to severe political repressions.

In early 1950s and with tension in the Russo-American relation due to the multiple incidents such as the Cold War, Americans were again in confrontation with the Communist threat. In This period of stressful relationship with the Soviet Union, The public opinion was used again to create a phobia from Communism and achieve personal interests. This time political repression was even more extreme and the attacks were more wild. A great number of innocent people had their lives ruined. This period was known as the Second Red Scare and nowadays it is termed McCarthyism after Joseph McCarthy the initiator of anti-Communist crusades in that period.

The Red Scare in the United State is a subject that was widely discussed in academic researches and from multiple angles. Landon R.Y. Storrs University of Iowa

,the United States (July 2015) conducted a research on the Second Red Scare explaining how the events were manipulated and directed towards creating the Second Red Scare and how Americans lived during this era .Mr.Boukhalfa Ali, University of Oran Mohamed Ben Ahmed (2014-2015) conducted a research in a form of dissertation about Communism in the era of the Second Red Scare. In his research he investigated how Communism came to be seen as a threat to the United States and how the First Red Scare was contained. He also shed light on the legacy of the Second Red that is McCarthyism.

This research is based on an analytical approach to closely investigate the roots of the Red Scare and how it first came to existence. This research thesis aims to answer four main questions. The First question is what were the causes behind the appearance of fear from Communism? The second is how this fear was manipulated and exploited. The third inquiry is about how McCarthy and other politicians took advantage of this fear. The fourth point investigates how this fear was wiped away? To answer these questions, a number of different sources was used. The topic choice was based on personal interest in the field of American civilization and the desire to shed light on these two debatable eras in the United States history.

The first chapter is devoted to closely investigate the First Red Scare in terms of its causes, construction and its downfall. The Second Red Scare ‘McCarthyism causes, emergence and decline are discussed in the second chapter.

Chapter One
The First Red Scare 1919 - 192

1.1. Introduction:

The First Red Scare of 1919- 1920 was a result of chain of events that took place in the United States during this period. People argue that it is a normal reaction to these events; however, there is a fact that must be stressed which is the First Red Scare was the creation of a group of officials and members in the government who wanted to achieve personal interests from this crisis. By creating the First Red Scare and generating the idea of the Communists threatening the American society, life style and government they could advance their careers , gain high position , fame and wealth.

A range of events took place during the era when the First Red Scare. These events in a way in a way or another contributed to its appearance .

1.2.1. The Russian Revolution of 1917:

The Russian Revolution of 1917 was a historical turning point that marked the appearance of Communism. It was a two phases revolution that took place in 1917. This revolution marked the end of the Romanov Dynasty's rule and the emergence of Russia as the first communist power in the world. This revolution came as a result of a condensed chain of events that started since the 16th century(1584-1613) a period known among historians as the "Time of Troubles".¹

Politically the revolution of 1917 in Russia was motivated by the oppressive autocratic system of the Romanov family. Tsar Nicholas Romanov who inherited the throne after his father Alexander Romanov assassination (1894-1917)and was ruling Russia at that time established a system of autocracy that oppressed the people and deprived them from their rights as active citizens. There was no constitution, the Tsar controlled everything, despite the people's multiple attempts for a constitutional reform to limit the Tsar's absolute power. By April 23 ,1906 the Tsar was forced to give approval to the establishment of the Duma. The latter contained around 500 members(Wood34). They were elected deputies from all different classes of the Russian society. The Duma was the first step forparliamentary government(Wood34).

However, the fundamental law of the Duma contained articles, which guaranteed thatpower wouldremain in the hands of the Tsar as it states that "Supreme Autocratic power belongs to the emperor of all Russia"(Wood34).This statement came in the fourth article and in article nine it was stated that " no law can come into existence without His

¹The Romanov Dynasty was the last imperial dynasty that ruled Russia .Its reign lasted from1613 to 1917.,

approval''(Wood34).Using the privilege of these two articles, the tsar dissolved the Duma several times and power was always in his hands and the regime was kept purely autocratic(Wood35).

One other political motif of the revolution was the Tsar's war with Japan or as popularly known the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) or as historians refer to World War Zero''. The latter was a military conflict between the Russian forces and the Japanese ones. The Russo –Japanese war was another political factor that led to the spread of outrage among the Russian masses. In 1904 imperialism reached its zenith and Tsar Nicholas was determined to make Russia involved in the scramble of possessing colonies. He made plans to expand in East Asia.However, his attempts there were blocked by Japan and eventually an armed confrontation emerged between the two sides. Russia received a harsh and a humiliating defeat(Wood83). By signing the treaty of Portsmouth mediated by president Theodore Roosevelt , the war was brought to an end in 1905 and Japan was declared as a winner . The tsar's involvement in this war gave more exhaustion to the economic status of Russia and his defeat in it gave his people another doze of anger(Wood83).

The labor movements in Russia also helped in laying the ground for the revolution of 1917.Laborers or as they were named the Serfs were owned by the rich land owners.They could trade them the way they wished. They were exposed to hard working conditionslong, working hours and given low wages. This led to physical exhaustion and extreme poverty as a result the workers went on a series of strikes.On Sunday 9, January 1905 laborers were gathered in a peaceful strike. The tsar gave orders to the suppression of the protest. The confrontation between the tsar's army and the strikers resulted in a huge number of casualties among the protestors. As a result this strike was given the name of the Bloody Sunday(Figes 495).

The Tsar involving Russia in the First World War was also among the factors that caused the revolution. Russia entered World War One in a conflict with Germany. The tsar formed an army with young soldiers without receiving any training. They were sent to the battlefield with no equipment, shoes and food shortage. The result was the Russian army losing almost all its soldiers and Germany's victory. This eventually led to the spread of anger among the Russian masses who interpreted Russia's participation in the war as a waste of finance and the souls of young men (Wood 60).

The Russian revolution of 1917 was also motivated by a range of economic factors. First, there was the emancipation reform of 1861 (Wood 12). With the visible unrest among the peasants, tsar Nicholas could sense the coming of a revolution led by the peasants if serfdom were to be abolished, it is better that it should be abolished from above, rather than until it abolishes itself from below" (Wood 12), as a result he initiated the emancipation reform. The emancipation reform came to abolish serfdom in Russia. Serfs were granted their freedom with small pieces of lands. However this was in condition that they paid a sum of money as a tax to the government (Wood 13). The result was the landowners incapable of meeting the demands of the markets that was due to short in labor and the ex-serfs being highly indebted. This reform that was meant to settle the matters among the serfs, in fact worsened the situation and gave the people extra motive to wage a revolution.

The Russian revolution of 1917 was also the consequence of the primitive agricultural methods that caused a food crisis. The lack of advanced means and machines by which lands could be worked resulted in little production of food which resulted in high inflation and food crisis. Under these circumstances, lacking the capital to modernize their farms, the only way for the peasants to feed the growing number of mouths was to bring more land... did not even have a horse (Figs 121). The transportation crisis in 13,

February 1917 Russia witnessed a food crisis. Food shortages led the shoppers and the people to go in riots "it all began with bread"(Figs303). In Petrograd, shops and bakeries and for several weeks had empty shelves, there was no transportation by which food could be supplied and distributed. Eventually people went in uprisings(Figs303). This time the protests were meant to be violent comrades urged one factory agitator, if we cannot get a loaf of bread for ourselves in a righteous way, then we must do anything"(Figs304). The result was people invading the streets holding red flags and banners screaming bread and down the tsar(Figs305).

Socially the revolution was motivated by first, social classes the isolation of the peasantry from the rest of the society was manifested at almost every level— legal, political, economic, cultural, social and geographic"(Figs93). The Russian society before the revolution was characterized by extreme classification. The peasants were in the bottom of the scale, treated as savages and exposed to oppressive practices by the tsar and the aristocrats who were the elite of the society (Figs93).

The Russian massive population with diverse ethnicities and the hybrid composition of the Russian society was another factor that contributed to the outbreak of the 1917 revolution " a further complicating factor in considering the state of the Russian Empire on the eve of the 1917 is the ethnic composition of the population"(Wood6). Russia's population did not consist only of Russians , it was a mixture of other ethnicities ." Out of a population in 1917 of 163 million, Russians accounted only for 40 percent of the total."(Wood6). The rest of the population was composed of immense multi-lingual groups with diversity in size and the civilization level. These minorities and throughout different periods expressed their dissatisfaction of Russian's tsarist regime and raised several calls for separation from it and gaining self-government. However these calls were harshly suppressed by the tsar. One common example of these calls is the Polish

uprisings of 1830 and 1863 that was suppressed by killing a number of the Polish and exiling others(Wood7).

All the factors mentioned previously condensed one above the other and ignited tension among the Russian masses and they eventually exploded in a form of a revolution. The first phase of the revolution or the revolution of February marked the end of the tsarist regime in Russia. After the forced abdication of the tsar, the collapse of his regime and the end of the Romanov dynasty rule(Wood46). The Provisional government and the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers deputies took control over Russia and for the first time it was ruled by duality in power(wood47). The provisional government was formed by the Duma and it consisted of liberal ministers. The two institutions ruled Russia for eight months, till the return of Vladimir Lenin.

Protesting against the tsarist regime, Vladimir Lenin was arrested and then exiled for three years. After this period he m(Wood47). The two political moved to Western Europe where he embraced Marx theories and became a Marxist theorist and formed the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. Unsatisfied with the performance of the provisional government which despite the fact that it was formed and came as a result of the revolutionary rebellion conducted by the soldiers and the workers, it in fact served the aristocrats and the wealthy class(Wood47). As a result Lenin believed that the provisional government should be abolished and Russia only way of survival was to conduct socialism (Wood50). In October 1917, popularly known as the "Red October", Lenin and the Bolsheviks organized a rebellion against the Provisional government (Wood59).

Bolsheviks is a Russian word that means the majority, it was used to refer to the members and supporters of the Russian Social Democratic Worker's Party , that as we mentioned before was formed and led by Vladimir Lenin. The Bolsheviks were the opponents of the Mensheviks and are called the "Red army", Menshevik is also a Russian

word that means the ‘minority’ who are members of another political direction who opposed Lenin’s party and they were known also as the ‘white army’ or the ‘non-Leninists’. The Bolshevik or October revolution was a bloodless coup d’etat .It was based on invading the government buildings and the strategic locations of Petrograd:

Lenin arrived in disguise at Bolshevik headquarters... on the evening of 24th .During the night detachments of Red Guards, on the orders of the Bolshevik- dominated MRC, and command by party ...took control of the nerve centers of the city. Almost unopposed , they occupied the railway stations , manned the bridges , and seized the banks , post –and central ...residence and became the property of the provisional government after his abdication was invaded by the Bolsheviks and their supporters and they arrested members of the Provisional government” (Wood59).

The revolution that marked the collapse of the dual power also marked the emergence of Russia as the Soviet Union and the first Communist power in the world (Wood79).

Wood believed that ‘the Bolshevik revolution of October 1917 had opened a new chapter in the history, not just of Russia, but the entire planet earth ’ (79). ‘ The Russian Revolution was at least in terms of its effects, one of the biggest events in the history of the world. Actually, it was historically approved that the Russian Revolution of 1917 had a remarkable impact not only on Russia and its citizens, but on the entire globe .The United States was one of these countries that was deeply touched by the effects of the Russian Revolution of 1917.These happenings in Russia co-existed with unrest and social tension in the United States, thus it was highly believed that a Russian like revolution was going to outbreak in the United States. As a result a fear from Communism was created and spread all across the United States. This fear became known as the "Red Scare".

1.2.2. The Labor Movement of 1919

In 1919, the United States witnessed an unprecedented strike wave. It was not the first wave in the history of American labor, but the first in terms of strength and intensity. There upon says the famous historian J.B.S Hardman" The language that was used then no longer sounds familiar to our ears. The emotions that overwhelmed people in those momentous days fail to excite us today"(Foner1).On the same concern, the Literary Digest commented "an epidemic of strike, the Outlook wrote "everywhere strikes...The strike fever is in the air...The situation changes Kaleidoscopically .The disease that had struck our industrial systems breaks out in one place as it subsides in another; one strike is scarcely over when another one begins''(Foner1).

This strike wave sparkle was ignited by three factors. The first factor embodied in low wages and the rising of living cost that spread after the First World War.In the Great War aftermaths, the labor class was exposed to extreme poverty despite the fact that the country's economic status was fairly good and its capital gained a remarkable amount of profits (Foner3).In his letter to American workers that was published in a leftist- Socialist journal in December 1918, Lenin highlighted this issue saying" They have profited more than the rest. They have converted all, even the richest, countries into their tributaries. They have grabbed hundreds of billions of dollar"(Foner3).

With the government neglecting the laborers call for their case, the workplace owners ceased the opportunity to do the business in their way so many of the companies reduced the worker wages. In February 7, 1919 Anaconda Copper an owner of a big company declared that the wages of the workers would be reduced from 5.75 dollars per day to 4.75 per day. A call for a strike was immediately made(Foner5).

The second factor that caused unrest among the laborers in 1919 was the long working hours. In the street railways, operating engineers , oil fields, canneries , printing

shops , clothing factories , textile and steel mills the workdays were from ten to twelve hours .In steel , canning oil, municipal transportation and domestic service the seven –day week was the prevailed work pattern(Foner2) .Eventually workers suffered from extreme exhaustion as Grace Hutchins commented ” The very workers most in need of a strong union to demand shorter hours are often too exhausted at night to attend ... meetings. The writer has seen silk workers, keenly interested in the union fall asleep at a meeting ... after the day’s work” (Foner2).

Gaining unions’ recognition and the right of collective bargaining is the third in importance to law wages and long working hours as causes of the 1919 strike craze. The laborers wanted the government recognition of the unions and to have the right to participate in the process of decision making that concerns the work place. The work place masters were playing the role of a minor god. With the laissez-fair policy that granted them full and absolute control of the work place and the workers, the workers’ chance of gaining union recognition and collective bargaining was small. Eventually in 1919 strikes they expressed their dissatisfaction with the situation.

In the discussion of the motives of the 1919 strike wave, one cannot escape speaking about the promises made to laborers and labor unions during the World War One era as a factor that also contributed to the workers uprisings of 1919. Joseph Daniels, Secretary of the Navy wrote: “The world after peace... will not go back to conditions such as existed prior to our entry to the mighty struggle”(Foner4).George W. Perkins of the House of Morgan noted, ”The tool user will be part owner” (Foner4). Charles M. Schwab chairman of the Emergency Fleet Corporation announced “ we are the threshold of a new social era... It means ... that the man who labors with his handsis going to dominate the affairs of this world...” (Foner4).The most significant statement of all came from president Wilson who said “full recognition of the right of those who work ...to

participate in some organic way in every decision which directly affects their welfare or the part they are to play in industry”(Foner4).

Low wages, long working hours, oppression from the work masters and broken promises are motifs that can logically lead to unrest among workers anywhere in the globe. However, this was not the case for the 1919 strike wave in the U.S. As historian Sanford Jacoby explained:” open shop movement was able to draw suspicion that organized labor was Communist inspired.” (Foner4).The government and the work masters directly clicked alarms that a conspiracy is being designed to change the American life style and economic policy and embrace communism. An anti-Bolshevik propoganda was launched and the result was the First Red Scare (Goldstein 137)

The fact that the Russian Revolution was successful disturbed the employers and doubled their fears from a Russian like revolution. They decided to counter attack the workers strike wave(Goldstein 140). During strikes, they resorted to violence to crush most of the strikes using both public and private force(Goldstein141).They also organized campaigns to portray Communism as an immoral ideology and reported immoral incidents in Russia(Goldstein143).They generated claims that Communist thinkers are mentally unstable as one noted, “Socialism , Syndicalism, Communism and other mental and moral diseases with deceiving names are among our inheritance from the cesspools of foreign thought”(Goldstein143).

Educationally, the elite that feared communism expressed their fears about the possibility that students would be taught subject tied to Communism, and as John Edgerton , president of the NAM M feared that the students would ” become more enamored of the ideals of Lenin than of those of Washington , Jefferson , Madison , Hamilton and Lincoln ”(Goldstein144).

Teaching the immigrants, the employees and the native –born about the goodness of the government of U.S and its institutions was part of directly an anti-Bolshevik propaganda and indirectly silencing any attempts of striking. They promoted anti-Communist literature. The Scarlet Empire is a literary work that was popularized in the era "Atlantis" an imaginary community ruled by Communism(Goldstein144). People in the community suffered from extreme ignorance and poverty or as an employer stated in the Manufacturing records “ Worse than Barbarism”(Goldstein144).Employersintention was to suppress the strike wave and regain control over the work place. They used the fact that the labor movement emerged after the Russian revolution to generalize the idea that laborers are conspiring to revolt against the government or to overthrow it.

The government positively reacted to their claims and supported the employers providing them with all the needs to suppress the strikes.

1.2.3. The Anarchist Bombings of 1886 and 1919

Another direct reason for the First Red Scare is the anarchist bombings that occurred in America in1886 and 1919. These bombings co-existed with the unrest in Russia and eventually a belief that these anarchist activities were planned by foreigners to shake the stability of the country spread all across the country.

On May4,1886 a crowd of 1000 gathered in the Haymarket Chicago to protest The long working hours. In all of a sudden a number of 176 policemen arrived at the place and asked the crowd to disperse. In this moment an anonymous threw a bomb, the whole city was shaken. The panicked policemen started shooting randomly. By the end of the incident seven policemen and four protesters were dead and Sixty policemen and fifty demonstrators were injured(Schmidt 148).Immediately after the incident, the national press headlines were all pointing at the possibility of the existence of foreign anarchists who planned the bombing to shake the U.S stability .The New York Times headline stated

"Anarchy's Red Hand". The Chicago Tribune headlined 'nihilistic agitators' and the St. Louis Globe-Democrat wrote: "There are no good anarchists except dead anarchists"(Schmidt148).Hours later, the authorities arrested a number of 31 suspects all with foreign names. The suspects faced the accusations of conspiracy and murder. There was no evidence that could damned the suspects guilty for the bombing ,however eight of the suspects received the death sentence, One committed suicide, and four were hanged. Despite the fact that the governor of Illinois Richard Oglesby doubts about the suspects being responsible for the bombing the three remaining were sentenced to life in prison(Goldstein19) only to be freed later by his successor John Peter who said "The deed to sentencing the Haymarket men was wrong , a miscarriage of justice"(Schmidt19).

The Haymarket protest that was supposed to be purely for a decent objective that is of reducing labor hours, was directly linked to anarchist activities that supposedly intended to violate the law and order in the U.S. All the blame was put on labor movement. The knights of labor who was back then the most popular labor party received the greatest share of the blame which resulted in its decline. The Haymarket explosion also known as the Haymarket affair co-existed with the happenings in Russia. Thus, there was a fear from a Russian like revolution in the U.S.

In 1919, The U.S witnessed a series of anarchist bombings and attempted bombings that targeted people in big industries and the government. The followers of the Italian anarchist Luigi Galleani who were known as the Geallanists were the ones accused of the bombings. The series of the bombings were divided into two phases. The first phase was on April 1919 and the second phase was on June of the same year(Schmidt148).

In late April of 1919, a number of at least 36 mail bombs were delivered to addresses of newspaper editors, justice officials, businessmen politicians and appointees(Schmidt148)The U.S Attorney General Mitchell Palmer and John D.

Rockefeller a businessman that monopolized oil industry back then were two famous figures targeted in the bombing.

On June 3, 1919 a similar series of bombings took place. The Geallanists delivered nine mail bombs which resulted in no casualties but two of the bombers. Attorney General was attacked again in these bombings (Schmidt 148).

The reason why these bombings were declared as a planned ones is the discovery of leaflets on the bombs. The leaflets were entitled " Plain Words" signed "The Anarchist Fighters" there were also notes that threatened to destroy the oppressive Capitalists (Schmidt 148).

Paul Avrich, a historian of American anarchism assured that the followers of the Italian anarchist Luigi Galleani conducted the bombings. He also gave estimations that sixty or fifty of the followers participated in the planning of the execution of the bombings. Avrich argued that the bombings were a part of a conspiracy against the government (Shmidt 148).

The Justice Department and Bureau officials both had internal assumptions that these bombings were actually organized by small anarchist groups however they were determined to make them look like a nationwide attempt to overthrow the government. In early April the Justice Department made an announcement that it discovered a conspiracy designed by a group of anarchists to invade the government arsenals, take the weapons, particularly the explosives and use them to detonate the city of Pittsburgh (Schmidt 149).

Nothing was later said about the supposed anarchist plan, but with the late April bombings, the Justice Department could find a supporting evidence for its allegations. After June Bombings, many official announcements were made about the existence of a nationwide conspiracy designed to overthrow the government and expectations of coming similar bombings were made. On 3rd of June, an official declared that a campaign to

spread terror in the U.S had begun(Schmidt50) . General Attorney also assured the point on 13 June and called the bombings ‘ a combined and joint effort of the lawless classes of the population to injure if not , to destroy the government’’(Shmidt150).

The bombings were exploited by the Justice Department and the Bureau of Investigation to dramatize the matter and were directly linked to Bolshevism. William J.Flynn who just had been elected as a director of the Bureau and after a month of investigations made allegations that the bombings were linked to Russian Bolshevism .Despite the fact that he did not provide any concrete evidence for his allegations, he gained officials support. Predicted dates of when the revolution was to take place were made by different people. Flynn claimed that it will take place on the 4th of July(Schmidt150).Besides the fact that there was no concrete evidences that support the credibility of the organized Bolshevism through radical bombings were provided , the Bureau of Investigation Justice Department showed that the case of the bombings was exaggerated and exploited for personal interests when Palmer asked for a departmental reorganization and huge amount of financial aids.

Immediately after the June Bombings Palmer conducted a series of changes inside the Bureau. On 13 June Palmer asked the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations for five thousand dollars to provide financial support for the anti-radicals and Bolshevik investigations (Schmidt152). As a justification for hisrequest, Palmer argued that they received evidences that the revolution was about to happen and another attack was being organized :

we have received so many notices and gotten so much information that it has almost come to be accepted as a fact that on a certain day in the future , which we have been advised of , there will be another serious and probably much larger effort of the same

character which the wild fellows of this movement describe as a revolution a proposition to rise up and destroy the Government at one fell swoop(Schmidt152).

On 24 June, Francis P.Garvan who was appointed by Palmer as his assistant the Senate Subcommittee of House Committee an Appropriations and claimed that the five thousand dollars were needed to reorganize the Bureau. He also made allegations that the Russians are financing the radicals in the U.S by pouring money at the rate of 2 million per month. Some of the senators expressed their disapproval of what Garvan said. Senator Reed Smoot for example ironically responded to Gravan's statement that says "there is a certain psychological value in having ample support" Smoot said "there is no psychological question that enters into the spending of the appropriation. If we give you 2,000,000 every dollar of it will be expended". He also commented on the Justice Department press updates about the process of investigation saying " Do you think if we increased this to 2,000,000 you could get one single bomb thrower? I do not mean in the papers, I mean actually get him"(Schmidt153).

1.2.4. The Formation of the Communist Party1919:

Having a political entity with a communist agenda inside the U.S could not be more threatening than in this period. The Socialist Party was created in 1901 during a period of American Imperialism and the labor class oppression. After a series of internal conflicts that intensified after the Russian revolution of 1917, the party split and the Communist Party was formed in 1919(Foster171) .The fact that the Communist Party was formed in the aftermaths of the Russian revolution and in a period when most of the countries in Europe were rebelling against Capitalism and waged revolutions for change frightened both the employers and the government. Thus, efforts were made to contain any attempt of rebellion. The Palmer raids are a clear portrayal of the fear from communist influence in the U.S(Foster174).

The palmer raids were anti-Communist crusades that were based on jailing and expelling Communists or Communist –sympathizers with or without clear evidences regardless to the ideals of the freedom of speech stated in the first amendment .These raids were conducted by the U.S General attorney and his assistance J Edgar Hoover. Members of the Communist party and the Communist Labor Party that also came after the Socialist Party split had the biggest share of these violent practices simply for being a member in these Communist political entities.

On the 16th of October 1919, the police invaded the C.L.P head office and Cleveland and arrested the leader of the party. On the 8th of November, in New York a number of 700 policemen invaded meetings that were organized to celebrate the Russian Revolution anniversary. The Police arrested hundreds of workers(Foster174) .On the night of January the 2nd , 1920 the Department of Justice struck 70 cities and dragged workers out of their homes and threw them into jails .The jails were crowded and no proper food or toilet facilities were provided(Foster174).

A number of 10,000 of the two parties' members were arrested. Most of their leaders were also jailed like Ruthenberg, Larklin, Witheny and others. They were given sentences of long term in penitentiary .The foreign -born workers received the hardest penalties because they were considered as the most dangerous revolutionists eventually and using the legitimacy of the Wartime Deportation Act a number of 500 alien were deported. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, suspected anarchists were also deported(Foster175).

As a result of the anti-Communism hysteria, the Victor Berger a member of the Socialist Party despite being regularly elected was deprived from his seat in the House of Representatives. Five other Socialist assembly members were refused in the New York State legislature(Foster175).

The Two parties the C.P and the C.L.P membership was reduced after the horror attacks of the Palmer raids. They were also deprived from free speech and assembly under these acts of persecution the two parties were forced to drive their activities underground.

1.3. the First Red Scare Constructing:

In contrast to what was popularly known, the First Red Scare of 1919-1920 did not happen haphazardly or was a simple and natural reaction to the events that took place at that time. It actually happened due to the intervention of a group of people who saw in creating such a state of fear an opportunity to achieve some of their personal ambitions.

1.3.1. The Palmer Raids

Attorney General Mitchel Palmer played a crucial role in constructing the First Red Scare. He was the United States Attorney General from 1919 to 1921. Being a victim in both the April and June bombings of 1919 motivated him to act against radicalism at the time. However, his real intention was not find the guilty, punish them and put an end to radicalism. He in fact was more concerned with achieving personal profit material interest in particular. He therefore waged a campaign against radicalism that is popularly known as the Palmer raids.

The Palmer raids were a series of violent campaigns that were conducted against radicalism in November 1919 and January 1920.

After all these incidents including the labor movement, the anarchist bombings and the formation of the Communist Party, the First Red Scare found its way to spread all across the Country. Eventually massive efforts were made to contain Communism and eradicate supposed Communist subversives. Both the Bureau of Investigation and the Department of Justice were determined to wipe away any activity related to Communism as stated in the New York Times:

This department, as far as existing laws allow, intends in the forthcoming year to keep up an unflinching, persistent, aggressive warfare against any movement, no matter how cloaked or dissembled, having for its purpose either the promulgation of these ideas or the excitation of sympathy for those who spread them (Schmidt 294).

To make the raids successful the support of public opinion was needed. Thus, a dangerous image of the revolutionaries was created. In Boston, they were forced to walk in the street handcuffed and chained together and exposed to the press. Officials from the Bureau informed the press that a huge number of bombs and weapons was discovered during the raids with the objective of backing the argument of the so called an "American-Bolshevik" revolution (Schmidt294). Federal officials also informed the New York Times that the raids led to the discovery of Communist documents that proved that the nationwide raids saved the nation from the most threatening underground movement (Schmidt294).

The Justice Department also used the press to popularize anti-radical news stories. The nation's news media received an article of Palmer's message of New Year with the headline "Warns Nation of Red peril -U.S Department of Justice Urges American to Guard Against Bolshevism Menace-Calls Red Plans Criminal-Press, Church, School, Labor Unions and Civic Bodies Called Upon to Teach True Purpose of Bolshevist Propaganda"(Schmidt295). Other articles posted the manifesto and program of the Communist Party with the headlines "To Conquer and Destroy the State, U.S Communists Call for Labor Revolt -Revolutionary Pamphlet, Found in U.S Department of Justice Investigation Gives Message of Communists in Chicago to Russian headquarters "(Schmidt295) "Overthrow World Order! Cry Communists-Manifesto of Communist International Seized in U.S Justice Department Raids Tells 'Red' Own Story of Their Plans of Worldwide Plunder"(Shmidt295).

Palmer wrote also for magazine editors, conservative groups and leading thinkers of the society to elaborate the danger of the red menace and how his department is combating it. Photostatic copies of Communist documents and articles that contained passages that shows the willingness of Communists to revolt against the government were enclosed in Palmer writings(Schmidt295). The Latter assured that his only motivation for his writings was ‘‘ the furtherance of a more realizing popular appreciation of the menace involved in the unrestrained spread of criminal Communism unspeakable social treason’’ (Schmidt295).Palmer also declared that his department held a ‘‘vast amount of information regarding the radical movement in this country’’(Schmidt295).

By 1921, criminal syndicalism and sedition laws were brought into practice in 35 States. In New York Communist leaders were accused under a criminal anarchy Law .In California there were 500 arrests in the years 1920-1924 and most of the arrests were given long term prison sentence .The National guards a military unit was re-established and by October 1920 all the states except for a one had a unit . Anti-radical squads also known as the police ‘‘reds’’ were put under the authority full control and used against Communist subversion. Business men and bankers also had their share in the anti-Communist raids. They Formed the Better America Federation in 1920 to enlighten and warn people against the red menace(Schmidt 47).

In 1921 the New York legislature acted out the Lusk laws. The latter were laws that exposed schools to great surveillance and forced the teachers to make a loyalty oath. In this concern said the National Commander of the American Legion Frederic Galbraith in 1921 ‘‘ we are going to survey every school teacher and every school in the United States, we will get the teacher reds’’ he added ‘‘ if we find them disloyal we will tell you and you can kick them out’’(Schmidt 48).

The Ku Klux Klan was also involved in the raids of education surveillance. It Said:” it is notorious , that our public school system, which is the strongest bulwark of Americanism, is being attacked by papists and antichristian Jews of the Bolshevik Socialist”(Schmidt 48).

Emotions of Americanism and patriotism were promoted and cherished in the nation’s school and elsewhere. The Florida Department of the Legion made a chair of Americanism on the state university in 1925(Schmidt 49).The anti-radicals and Communist crusades campaigns concentrated on public opinion. It was important that the public sense the danger of the events that were taking place and their relation with Bolshevism. It was always the propaganda that could guarantee that.

In November 1920, the Justice Department announced to the ^press that its searches revealed that the intended revolution in the United States is actually “even more radical than the Bolsheviki”(Schmidt 273).It also alleged that during the searches the agents could find “ a complete counterfeiting plant” and “red flags, guns, revolvers, and thousands of pieces of literature...”(Schmidt 273). It also stated that they found bombs and the “Bombs were to be used to wreck stores, hotels, residences and thereby to spread a reign of terror ...it was to be revolution in America”(Schmidt 273). The Palmer raids , Justice Department ,Bureau of Investigations anti-radical campaigns Of thousands people in almost all over the United States cities and the “confiscation of tons of radical literature made those allegations seem real and American citizens were warned against being a Communist or expressing their sympathy towards Communism. Eventually freedom of speech was restricted during the First Red Scare and the ideals of civil liberties were violated.

1.4.The Fall of the First Red Scare:

After months of the anti-Communist hysteria the public opinion finally got tired of it and clues of the First Red Scare decline started waving in the air. In September 16 ,1920 a bombing took place in Wall St that resulted in the death of 33 person and the injury of 200, unlike the bombings of April and June 1919 neither the press nor the citizens seemed interested in knowing what happened. Despite the Bureau attempt to elate an anti-Communist hysteria people did not respond. Mitchell Palmer who advanced his career using the social unrest of 1919 failed to gain his party's nomination .Warren G. Harding the Republican president elect stated that “ too much has been said about Bolshevism in America”(Schmidt 300).

Vivid memories of the raids brutality against the aliens and their deportation combined with the political repression practiced upon the citizen created a sense of dissatisfaction among people and they started questioning the credibility of the raids(Schmidt 300).

J.Edgar Hoover's plans to deport the alien members of a labor organization named the Industrial Workers of the World were abandoned by the spring of 1920. The deportation raids were revised and wild attack was waged against both the Immigration Bureau and the Bureau of Investigation(Schmidt 300).

1.4.1.The Labor Department Back to Power:

The Labor Department became determined to retrieve its authority. It attacked the Deportation process and the Bureau of Investigation's policy of “ guilt by membership”(Schmidt 302).It re-established the former process of deciding cases depending on personal guilt, questioning the validity of the cases of deporting alien members of the CP and joining the preparation of a public report criticizing the Justice Department actions. Luis F.Post assistant secretary of labor who used to support

unrestricted immigration, freedom of speech and abhorred capitalism, made several changes that helped put an end to the First Red Scare (Schmidt 302).

In March 2, 1920 and after William B. Wilson Labor Secretary who already was not interested and participated lightly in the deportation process took a personal leave absence and the Secretary John W. Abercrombie resigned, and Post took the responsibilities of the Department (Schmidt 302)

Luis F. Post made three essential reforms. First he took the responsibility of deciding the deportation cases. In fact it was the responsibility of the Immigration Bureau to examine the cases and then transmit them to Secretary of Labor or his representatives for the final decision, however Post took the responsibility of the cases because he knew that the Bureau was prejudiced against aliens cases.

The second reform, Post made was in the nature of examining the deportation cases. He rejected the "guilty by membership policy". He instead revised the files closely and decided depending on the membership objective or "Conscious membership" (Schmidt 302) people who were transferred from the Socialist Party to the Communist Party were put under the classification of "automatic membership" (Schmidt 302) thus they were not deported. Aliens who were good workers and with children who were born in America were granted the benefit of doubt and were not deported as well. The third and final decision Post made was breaking up with the Bureau of Immigration (Schmidt 302).

Post's decisions made a remarkable change in the process of deportation and helped the Labor Department regain its authority.

1.4.2. Defending Civil Liberties:

The repression that the citizens of the United States were exposed to under the conditions of the Red Scare were unprecedented. People in America were familiar with freedom at almost every aspect of their lives and to be repressed or limited in all of a sudden was a new and undesirable experience. Thus fears from the fact that this repression would be the norm rose and a call for change was made.

The Supreme Court was one of the first institutions that expressed fears of repression at the time. It revised the first espionage act and declared its use of the 14th Amendment to protect and defend civil liberties (Schmidt 313).

The American Union Against Militarism that was established to protect civil liberties during the First World War was re-established as the American Civil Liberties Union as a reaction to the First Red Scare in January 1920 (Schmidt 312). The American Civil Liberties Union embraced the philosophy that opposition was vital and essential for the survival of democracy even in the war era. It also showed support for freedom of speech even for the oppressed and unpopular minorities such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Communists (Schmidt 312). The Union took direct action on the matter of freedom. They publicly supported labor free speech campaigns. They also attempted to put the Bureau of Investigation under Congressional surveillance (Schmidt 313).

1.4.3. Congress Investigation:

The Congress was almost turning a blind eye towards the Palmer raids and the practices of the Bureau of Investigation. However matters changed by 1923. Thomas J. Walsh a democrat and a member of the subcommittee in the senate was granted the approval to present his report. A report he had written three years earlier analyzing and criticizing the Palmer raids and the Bureau of Investigation practices. In his report Walsh accused the Bureau of conducting arrests and searches without proper evidences or legal

authority. He also accused it of violating the aliens constitutional rights because they were arrested without warrants or with improper warrants. He also pointed to the fact that the massive ,random and simultaneous arrests led to the suffering and the harming of innocent people and their families as well as the jails being overcrowded(Schmidt 314).Walsh also described the raids as an unmitigated outrage and lawless acts of Mob(Schmidt 314).

The reason why the Congress did not intervene in the practices of the Bureau, the Justice Department and the Palmer raids is that they were seen as an effort to achieve national security, which was an important cause for the Americans. The Congress investigations of the raids did not damn any of the participants in the Palmer raids. Senator Sterling conducted a research about them and he denied the accusations against the practices of the Palmer raids. He argued that neither the Bureau nor Palmer had conducted illegal practices, but it was a natural and a spontaneous reaction to the chaos of 1919 (Schmidt315).Despite the fact that the congress investigation did not damn the violent practices during the First Red Scare, however this affected its reputation. It was public opinion that brought the First Red Scare to an end. People lost interest in hearing about the red menace the United States eventually it just faded away.

1.5. Conclusion

Though the First Red Scare did not last long, it was intense and could mark an important period in the USA history. It in a way or another showed that the United States at a certain point experienced political corruption and repression and it was not as democratic and welcoming to immigrants as one could imagine. Later, the First Red Scare was the corner stone for another wave of fear from communism termed the Second Red Scare or as known nowadays ‘‘McCarthyism’’.

Chapter Two

The Second Red Scare 1950 - 1954

2.2. Introduction

The end of the Second World War marked a shift in the relationship of the three super powers of the world at that time including Great Britain, the Soviet Union and America. These powers fought side by side in the war against the axis and gained an epic triumph. As soon as this war ended, each country of the three had a different agenda and the alliances were broken. The ideological difference between Russia or as it became known back then, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States created a gap between the three countries. This gap developed and became a tension termed the Cold War.

The Cold War was an ideological clash that marked the split of the world into two poles. The western pole with the leadership of America and the eastern pole with the leadership of the Soviet Union. Each of the two poles was trying to spread its ideology and become the world's superpower. The Soviet Union and as discussed in the previous chapter witnessed a revolutionary ideological change, shifting from autocracy and feudalism to Communism initiated by Karl Marx. By this shift the Soviet Union inspired many other parts of the globe to follow the same path and embrace Communism as an ideology.

The Soviet Union successful testing of the atomic bomb in 1949 as well as the espionage acts discovered in the United States by agents of the former intensified tension between the two poles and led America to confirm that the Soviet Union is a threat to its world supremacy as well as its internal security and stability. Americans during this period all over again had a hysteria, a fear from communist subversion.

This sensitive period in the history of the United States witnessed the rise of Joseph McCarthy to the American Senate. McCarthy, was not receiving much appreciation and respect from his mates at the senate not only because of his young age but his unattractive

personality as well. Aiming at advancing his career and gaining popularity, McCarthy created the Second Red Scare that was later termed after him and become known as McCarthyism.

In 1950 McCarthy delivered a speech in Women Wheeling Club. In this speech McCarthy claimed to have a list that contains the names of 205 Communists agents inside the federal government. A claim that widened the fears about the Soviet threat. His claims were to be proven later as a merely mirage that has no existence and he committed such acts as an attempt to remain in America's political scene.

This chapter is devoted to investigate all the factors that paved the way for McCarthy and facilitated his path to create the Second Red Scare. These factors are mainly embodied in the Cold War, the Soviets successful testing of the atomic bomb and the exposition of Soviet espionage acts in the United States. This part will also investigate his rise to power, an analytical study of his famous speech in Women's Wheeling Club, as well as the rise and decline of the Second Red Scare.

2.2. Factors Leading to the Emergence of the Second Red Scare

(McCarthyism)

The Russian revolution, the labor movement of 1919, the anarchist bombings of 1919 and the formation of the Communist party were the major motifs that led to the emergence of the First Red Scare, the Second Red Scare also was the outcome of a range of events that paved the way for its emergence.

2.2.1. The Cold War

The Cold War is usually defined as a geopolitical tension or a rivalry that emerged between the United States and the Soviet Union in the period that spanned from 1947 to 1991 and directly after the Second World War. It is described as Cold because there was no direct clash or military confrontations between the two countries. The latter was a

conflict that was waged on political and economic fronts as well as the use of propaganda. Eric Arthur Blair or as nicknamed and popularly known George Orwell a British novelist, critic and an essayist was the first one to use the term. Orwell wrote an article in 1945, in which the term Cold War was coined for the first time. He used the term referring to what he supposed would be a nuclear conflict between the globe's super powers two or three monstrous super-states each possessed a weapon by which millions of people can be wiped out in a few seconds'' (Cold War Britannica).

The term migrated to the United States and was used there for the first time in a speech at the State House in Columbia, South Carolina by the presidential adviser and American financier Bernard Mannes Baruch.

The end of the Second World War changed the nature of the relationship between the Allies who were the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union. After defeating the Nazi powers of Germany and their surrender in May 3, 1945 the bonds of the alliance between the three super powers seemed dispensable and less useful. Revising the background of this alliance and the nature of relationship these superpowers used to have in the pre-war era it sounds logical to have the tendency to cut these bonds ; at least for the Soviet Union . Considering their relationship before this war, the Soviet State and the United States used to have a stressful relationship that is based on ideological difference one was capitalist, the other initiated a new ideology that is totally opposite to the other, that is Communism and one was Christian , the other totalitarian(MacMahon16). It was clear that the alliance would not last long after the war:

The wartime alliance between the globe's leading Capitalist power and its chief proponent of international proletarian revolution was riddled from the first with tension, mistrust and suspicion. Beyond the common objective of defeating Nazi Germany, there was little to cement a

partnership born of awkward necessity and weighed down by a conflict-ridden past (MacMahon 16) .

McMahon also believed that the U.S behavior towards the Soviets and since the Bolshevik revolution was characterized by animosity thereupon he says " The United States had, after all, displayed unremitting hostility to the Soviet State ever since the Bolshevik revolution that brought it forth"(MacMahon16).

The end of this alliance gave each of the two powers the freedom to fulfill its agenda. The Soviet Union initiated Communist crusades in Eastern Europe and established left –wing governments there as a means to secure its status incase Germany intended to attack again .Communism began to receive rapid and wide popularity. This frightened the United States and Britain who saw it as a threat to the survival of Capitalism especially with the appearance of Communist parties in both countries and other parts of the globe. These parties supported and encouraged the embracement of Communism and saw it as a more fair and efficient ideology especially with the destruction brought by the Second World War(MacMahon3).

The Yalta conference made it more clear for the Big Three that their alliance was doomed to fail and showed that there is no common interests for the future and each of them was having a totally different vision of how the post-war world would look like.The Conference was held on February 1945.The leaders of the three super powers met in Yalta .Winston Churchill , Joseph Stalin and president Theodore Roosevelt intended to discuss how the war would be brought to an end as well as the postwar organization of both Germany and Europe (MacMahon20).The question here is why the Yalta conference was considered as the turning point in the relationship of the Big Three and how did it cause the Cold War?

The answer is the following, in the Yalta conference the Allies discussed four main issues and made agreements about these issues. These agreements were later broken by the Soviet Union and tension reached its zenith. The first issue discussed was the Pacific War. The United States wanted the Soviet State's support to reduce the number of casualties in this war. Stalin showed his willingness to join the Allies in this war in few months after Germany's surrender. On the other hand, Stalin demanded control of the Japanese territory that it lost in the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-05 (see, first Chapter) and the diplomatic recognition of the independence of Mongolia from China (MacMahon20).

The second issue was the division of Germany. The Allies agreed to divide the defeated Germany into four post-war zones that would be controlled by the British, French, the Soviet Union and the United States forces. The United Nations was also among the issues that were discussed in the Yalta conference. Stalin gave his approval to join the United Nations which was a peacekeeping organization formed by Churchill and Roosevelt in 1941 as part of the Atlantic Charter. The latter was a joint declaration issued by the United States and Great Britain in the period of the Second World War about the visual post-war world. The point of disagreement was the contradictory visions each side had about the post-war world order and their national security. Each of the countries visualized a world where its national security is solid and immune as much as possible.

The Japanese attack of the Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941 during American neutralism which caused America to abolish neutralism the next day and declare its involvement in the Second World War gave vivid memories to America that its military force must receive more concentration. As a result the United States vision of the post world war was a world where she would be totally secure from any attempts of foreign

attacks " Military strategists took several lesson from the bold Japanese strike, each of which carried profound implications for the future" (MacMahon7).

America's main focus was directed toward military force. The defense officials advocated the establishments of an interwoven network of American air and naval bases. American military strategists also initiated the belief that " the nation's military must never again be allowed to atrophy" (MacMahon7) and that the military force of the United States " must form a core element in the new world order" (MacMahon8).

They insisted on a military presence in the pacific and dominance of the western hemisphere .As an addition to protecting its national security, the United States wanted an essential role in occupying the defeated enemies Germany, Italy, Japan and Austria as well as the dominance of atomic weaponry industry. Besides these two issues, the United States wanted to grant the countries that were liberated from axis dominance the freedom to decide their destiny and democratically choose their new governments (MacMahon8).

As far as for the United States the issue of providing national security was settled and clear. On the other side of the equation, the Soviet Union also put its national security on the top of the post-war concerns list. However this contradicted what came in the agreement of the Yalta conference. The fourth issue that the Allies discussed was Eastern Europe and Poland. They agreed that after the defeat of the axis, the liberated countries would be granted the freedom to decide their destiny and democratically choose their governments. Despite the fact that Stalin gave his total approval to this agreement , he later on did exactly the opposite. For him, to achieve his nation's security, the Poland and Eastern Europe agreement must be broken(MacMahon48).

The pictures of Hitler's attack of the Soviets on June 1941 were as vivid to the Soviets as America's memories of the Pearl Harbor attack or even more. This hostile attack led by the world's most famous Fascist, cost the Soviet Union huge and serious

losses that were unforgettable" Of 15 Soviet Republics, 9 had been occupied in whole or in part by Germans. Hardly any Soviets citizens remained untouched personally by what they came to sanctify as the Great Patriotic War. Nearly every family lost a loved one; most sacrificed several. In addition to the millions of human lives cut short by the conflict, 1,700 cities and towns, more than 70,000 villages and hamlets, and 31,000 factories were demolished'' (MacMahon10).

The memories of this monstrous attack combined with memories of a previous German invasion that took place during the First World War which co-existed with the Russian Civil War created an urge feeling among the Soviet government of the need to secure its nation against any future attacks from any nation in general and Germany in particular (MacMahon11).

The Soviet Union vast geographical space also recommended a serious and an effective security system that would grant protection for all its parts. McMahon noted that "a nation that covered one-sixth of the earth's land mass and was three times larger than the United States, made the challenge of an adequate national defense especially acute'' (11). One way of achieving this security and prevent any attempts of German re-attacks was to block the "Polish invasion route'' thereupon says Stalin "In the course of twenty-five years the Germans invaded Russia via Poland''(MacMahon11).

Unfortunately, Stalin's plans of security went beyond the blockade of Poland. He also put eyes on Eastern Europe states. He believed that by installing Soviet governments there the Soviet State would be expanded and Germany '' be hobbled through a harsh occupation regime, systematic de-industrialization, and extensive reparations obligations.'' (MacMahon11). Stalin knew that this plan was not going to receive a warm welcoming from the United States and the United Kingdom; however, he showed his intentions to keep it. In a meeting with Harry Hopkins, the US envoy on May 1945, said

Stalin "Neither the British nor the American people had experienced such German invasions which were a horrible thing to endure ...It is therefore in Russia's vital interest that Poland should be strong and friendly" (MacMahon11).

Stalin's breaking of the promise angered both Churchill and Roosevelt. Weeks after the conference, Stalin began acts of "brutal repression of noncommunist poles, coupled with its heavy-handed actions in Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary all areas recently liberated by the Red Army"(MacMahon20).

These acts as previously mentioned were totally against what the Big Three agreed on in the Yalta Conference. The result was an Anglo-American dissatisfaction. Roosevelt received a wave of anger from his people who blamed him for trusting Stalin and considered it as "a naïve step". Churchill on the other hand urged him to make an action saying that Poland is "a test case between U.S.A. and the Russians" (MacMahon22).

However, Roosevelt believed that the union of the Big Three was still functioning and their relationship worth another chance, thus no serious reaction was taken from his part. Russians could sneak punishment for their disloyalty, but Roosevelt death on 12th, April 1945 and the coming of Harry S. Truman as his successor changed the situation(MacMahon22).

Truman's arrival marked a turning point in the US-Soviets relations. Unlike Roosevelt, Truman was determined to tame the wild and rebellious Russians. With the help of "hard-line advisers" Truman started his Russians discipline crusades. On 20, April 1945 Truman made a comment expressing his confusion about why the United States did not take 85 per cent of what it wanted on important issues(MacMahon22).

In a period of three days from this comment, Truman met the Soviet foreign issues Minister V.M Molotov to check Russia's commitment to the agreement of Poland.

The three super powers met again in 17 July 1945. This conference was considered as an attempt to repair and save the remnants of the so called the "allies". It took place in Potsdam, Berlin. The territorial adjustment in East Asia and when the Soviet forces would join the American ones in the Pacific War are two main issues that were discussed in the meeting.

Unlike the Yalta conference, this time Truman had the privilege to negotiate with Stalin with more relief. The source of this relief was the successful testing of the first American bomb that took place in New Mexico on the 16th of July, 1945. The main points the three leaders agreed on were establishing a Council for administration of Germany, unconditional surrender from Japan and punishing the German criminals of the war (MacMahon22).

By the end of the conference, Truman showed his satisfaction with the conclusions the three leaders arrived at. Truman praised Stalin saying "I like Stalin He is straightforward Knows what he wants and will compromise when he can't get it" (MacMahon25).

However, matters changed and the exchanging of praise did not ease things up the Cold War intensified after the last meeting and both Truman and Stalin started the scramble for supremacy.

The Cold War made the people of both countries sensitive dealing with each other. Each country was consciously watching the other's steps.

2.2.2 The Exposition of Soviet Espionage Acts in the United States

' We should never send a spy to the Soviet Union .There is no weapon at once disarming and effective in a relationship with the Communists as sheer honesty''(Sulick165). This statement was written by the U.S ambassador William C. Bullitt in his message to the State secretary Cordell Hull on 20th , April 1936. A statement

that he would regret making later. Historians consider Bullett's statement a merely portrayal of the U.S naivety and lack of seriousness dealing with the danger of Soviet espionage in the 1930s. In this period when the U.S authorities were not interested in sending spies to the Soviet Union and not even expecting to really have Soviet agents inside its government, Soviet secret agents were riddling the U.S government and its defense industry (Sulick165).

Five years after his first statement, Bullet sent a letter to president Roosevelt. In this letter, he expressed totally the opposite of his letter to Hull saying "Communists in the United States are just as dangerous enemies as ever and should not be allowed to crawl into our productive mechanism in order later to wreck it when they get new orders from somewhere abroad" (Sulick166). Unfortunately his warning came late and president Roosevelt did not take a serious action towards the matter. The American Communist Party that showed its support to the fight against the fascist power was considered by the Soviets as a partner in the same cause. Eventually it received orders from Moscow to establish an underground spy's network (Sulick166).

By 1930s, Soviet spies were penetrated everywhere in the U.S government. The U.S war department, treasury, justice, new deal were all agencies in the executive branch that were penetrated by Soviet spies. The legislative branch spies were in the cover of members of the senate committees and U.S representatives. The White House also had its share of Communists subversives (Sulick166).

The Soviet spies mission was facilitated by a range of factors that laid to their penetration in the sensitive mechanism of the U.S government. First, the Communist Party of the United States widened popularity. After the crisis of the Great Depression, the CPUSA received a huge number of new members who believed that Capitalism was a wicked system that caused the tragedy. Enchanted by the legend of the Great Soviets, they

considered joining the CPUSA a part of a heroic action. Agents with this huge number of members could penetrate among them and use some of them as information sources.

The second factor is that of the Russian's skillfulness and professionalism in espionage. Russians were known for being skillful with espionage. They practice it as an everyday activity. Some historians argued that it's innate in their genes to be professional with espionage. Pavlik Morozov story depicts Soviets obsession with espionage. He was a boy of thirteen years old. He used to spy on his father and reported him for the authorities for anti-Soviet activities. After being murdered by his father, he was portrayed in TV channels and press as a martyr and a hero that the young generation should follow his example (Sulick166).

These two factors could not work in harmony and achieve the desired result without the third factor that embodied in Americans being open. Americans are known for being open to others they appreciate the ideals of free speech and integrating with others. Thus Soviets agents could easily mingle with them without being noticed (Sulick165).

After years of spying in America and without remarkable troubles, the Soviet espionage acts started to be visible for the U.S government. This was not because of the Bureau of Investigations detections or efforts but the result of defectors who reported themselves and the networks they belonged to.

2.2.3. Igor Gouzenko Case:

One of the most significant statements that clicked the alarm and pointed to the Soviets said "We can't do business with Stalin. He has broken every one of the promises made at Yalta"(Sulick181). This statement was made by president Roosevelt few weeks before his death. Later it was proven that this statement was an understatement to warn against Communist subversion in the United States government(Sulick181).

Gouzenko was one of the very first defectors. He abandoned the USSR during the Cold War (Sulick182). One month after the United States had dropped its atomic bomb on

Japan, Gouzenko asked asylum from the Canadian government. In return, he offered information about Soviet espionage in Canada and other western countries (Sulick181). The Canadian government was at first hesitant to "disrupt relations with their wartime ally" (Sulick182). However, what Gouzenko brought to the table was too solid and overwhelming. He knew that a simple tale about espionage was not going to grant him asylum so he backed his revelations with concrete evidences. The documents he provided led to the persecution of 21 Canadian citizens. The revelations extended to include the United States. The Canadian government shared Gouzenko's information with the U.S government. His revelations pointed to Alger Hiss who was an assistant of the secretary of state.

J. Edgar Hoover used the case to gain appreciation for the FBI's effort of spy hunt. Gouzenko's defection was a crushing blow to Soviet espionage and it could cost it a lot but Soviets were quick and thanks to other spies they knew of Gouzenko's defection and could save the situation (Sulick182).

2.2.4. The Red Spy Queen Elizabeth Bentley Case

Elizabeth Bentley or as popularly known among historians the "Red spy queen" was also from the first defectors of Soviet espionage and contributed heavily to the exposition of Communist subversion in the U.S government. Thereupon said Harvey Klehr and John Earl Haynes two famous historians of the era "The single most disastrous event in the history of Soviet intelligence in America was Elizabeth Bentley's decision to turn herself into the FBI in 1945 and tell all she knew" (Sulick191).

Bentley was lured to Communism and hated capitalism. she described the latter in her diaries with "maladjusted economic system" (Sulick186). Bentley joined the CPUSA underground and was put under the supervision of Jacob Golos as her spy handler. He was a Russian ardent Bolshevik who used to work for the secret police after the Russian

revolution , later he was trained by the Soviet Intelligence Service in Moscow .He was sent to the U.S as a spy under the cover a director of a tourism agency(Sulick186).

Bentley excelled in her espionage career with so much passion, however matters changed after Golos death due to a heart attack on thanksgiving 1943.Bentley was traumatized by Golos death who was apparently more than her spy handler and their relationship was not purely for professional interests . Her comrades in the spy networks started making changes after Golos death, and she was forced to give up a spy ring handled to her by Golos (Sulick188). Bentley felt scorned by the new decisions and signs of her rebellion surfaced. The leaders of the rings tried to contain her dissatisfaction especially after her interruption of a meeting and calling them ‘‘gangsters’’,she was dangerous because she knew almost all the networks real identities (Sulick190).

Feeling scorned and by the fall of 1945, she walked into the FBI office and revealed the identities of more than eighty soviet spies. Twenty seven of them were working in the U.S government . Despite Bentley’s defection, the FBI failed to use the information properly and no one of the names she gave was called for investigation(Sulick190).

2.2.5. The Wittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss Case:

One other case that contributed to the second Red scare was the Wittaker Chambers and Alger Hiss case. Thereupon said the historian John Eherman ‘‘ The Alger Hiss case had all elements of a fine drama, accusations of treason ,unusual evidence , the launching of a presidential career’’ (Sulick193). For the historian Lewis Harton , the Alger Hiss Wittaker Chambers case is a direct reason for the Second Red Scare. Bentley’s defection drove the FBI to revise earlier defection made by Chambers. Chambers joined the CPUSA in 1925.Being purely American rooted ,he was targeted to be used as a Soviet spy and work in the CPUSA underground. He eventually joined the Ware group, a spy ring that was headed by Harlod Ware of the department of Agriculture(Sulick194).Alger Hiss was

among the members of the Ware group. By late 1930 s Chambers passion and commitment towards communism started to decline .By 1938 he left the CPUSA. He urged Alger Hiss to do the same, however Hiss refused. The latter was enjoying a successful career at the state department(Sulick195).

.Chambers later arranged a meeting with Assistant Secretary of State Adolph Berle and exposed the identities of thirteen spies , Alger Hiss was one of them(Sulick195). His defection was not taken into consideration by president Roosevelt nor by the FBI. However in 1946, Hiss was forced to resign after a wave of rumors about his espionage. By August 1948 he was asked to present before the HUAC with Bentley and Chambers who publicly accused him of being a soviet spy(Sulick196). He was asked to defend himself. He denied all the accusations; however he was damned guilt after concrete evidences provided by Chambers(Sulick197).These three Soviet cases were not the only ones. Actually, the period 1930s -1940s was characterized by the exposition of spies and was called by historians the golden era of Soviet espionage. However these three cases were the most popular ones and that motivated the appearance of the second Red Scare.

2.2.6. The Soviet's Successful Testing of the Atomic Bomb:

The USSR successful testing of the atomic bomb was the outcome of dedicated spies who were able to penetrate inside the industrialization projects. American scientists made calculations and they agreed that the Russians were way too far from testing an atomic bomb(Sulick133).However by using espionage they could have a detailed explanation of how to develop an atomic bomb and eventually they successfully tested it on 1949.This demonstrated to which extent the USSR was willing to take the fight with the U.S.(Sulick133).

2.3.The Rise of Joseph McCarthy

2.3.1. Early life and Career

After the tension of the Cold War, the exposition of Soviet espionage acts and the successful testing of the atomic bomb, people in the U.S started being alarmed of the danger of Communists subversion. During this period Joseph McCarthy was elected as the youngest Senator in America's history

Joseph Raymond McCarthy was born in 14,November 1908 in Grand Chute, Wisconsin McCarthy attended Marquette university in Milwaukee , during his studies there he was elected as a president of his law Class. After earning his law degree in 1935, McCarthy entered the competition for Wisconsin's Tenth judicial Circuit and won it to become Wisconsin's youngest judge ever at the age of 30 years old .In July 1942, McCarthy took a leave absence and joined the forces in the Second World War as a first lieutenant in the Marines.

In 1946, he ran for the United States senate in a race against Robert .M La Follette and he won the race to be the youngest member of the senate .He was biased to conservatism and worked on issues such as legislation, sugar rationing and housing. However matters changed in 1950 when he delivered his famous speech at the wheeling club after which he rose to the United States political scene.

2.3.2. An Analytical Study of McCarthy's Speech

It all started with his famous speech .In February 9 , 1950, McCarthy delivered an intense speech to the Ohio County Republican Women's Club in Wheeling before a crowd of women and men that gathered to celebrate Abraham Lincoln 141st birthday. The attendants at the gathering expected to hear a speech about Lincoln's contributions to the U.S history or at the very worse a speech about housing or sugar rationing , topics that fit either the occasion or Senator Joseph McCarthy's profession . However McCarthy

infringed these expectations and delivered a speech that was totally different. McCarthy instead spoke about the threat of Communist subversion in the U.S government. He also made allegations that he has a list that contain 205 name of Communists subversives.

McCarthy begun his speech by shedding light on the rising Communist influence and compared it to the declined influence of the United States after the Second World War. He argued that in six years after the Second World War, the Population under the Soviet dominance doubled. This germination for Joseph McCarthy is a merely reflection of the brisk conquers the Soviet Union could make in the Cold War. This for him was the outcome of the unsuccessful Democratic government of President Truman saying:

Six years ago at the time of the first conference to map out peace ... there was the Soviet orbit 180 million people. Lined up on the anti-totalitarian side there were in the world at that time roughly 1.625 Billion people. Today ,only six years later, there are 800 million people under the absolute dominance of Soviet Russia. An increase of over 400 percent. On our side the figure has shrunk to around 500 million ...This indicates the swiftness of the tempo of communist victories and American defeats in the Cold War (McCarthy1).

McCarthy then gave allusions to the existence of Communist Subversives and that they were the reason for the U.S collapse and defeats in the Cold War .He quoted a known historian ‘ ‘ When a great democracy is destroyed , it will not be because of enemies from without but rather because of enemies from within’’(McCarthy2).He argued that this statement reflects exactly the Status of the United States:

The truth of this statement is becoming terrifyingly clear as we see this country losing on every frontThe reason why we found ourselves in a position of impotency is not because only our powerful, potential enemy has sent men to invade our shores, but rather

because of the traitorous actions of those who have been treated well by this nation(McCarthy2).

McCarthy pointed to the Communist subversives as being men of high positions in the government , who had a comfortable life and good future .

McCarthy intensified his speech when he declared that he has a list of Communist subversives . He claimed to have a list of 205 cases of individuals who were members of the Communist party and who still contribute to shape the U.S foreign policy (McCarthy3).

McCarthy argued that these Communist subversives were playing an active role in shaping the U.S foreign policy. To give credibility to his claim, it was an evitable to speak about , the Alger Hiss and Whittaker Chambers case. He used it to back up his claim, he argued that the Communists subversives existence is dangerous , because they have a hand in shaping the U.S policy. (McCarthy3).

McCarthy argued that Alger Hiss is one example of a group in the State Department (McCarthy3).McCarthy then pointed to the fact that Alger Hiss was president Roosevelt 's chief adviser at the Yalta conference. He argued that Hiss exploited Roosevelt's ill health and his mental and physical tiredness to make decisions that serve his Communist masters interests(McCarthy3). McCarthy presented records made by Secretary of State Stettinius that enlisted the decisions Hiss helped to make concerning the issues discussed in the Yalta conference such as the establishment of a European High Commission ,the treatment of Germany ,the Polish question(McCarthy4).To strengthen his argument about Hiss making decisions that serve the Communists interests , McCarthy quoted Arthur Bliss Lane of the State Department who said that he was glancing looking over the document and described it as a surrender to Stalin (McCarthy4).

To wipe out the confusion about why the congress is not making any action , McCarthy argued that the American citizens and government is living a state of numbness and apathy that comes as a natural reaction whenever a war is ended (McCarthy4).

Hinting to his willingness to conduct an anti-Communist subversives Crusades , McCarthy argued that the morals and the values of the American society are still undestroyed , however an urgent action should be took before it is too late (McCarthy4).

To sum up, in his speech McCarthy invested a huge effort to rise the alarm against Communist subversion using the fact of the Cold War tension and the espionage acts that were exposed in 1940.His plans were successful and he could bring back hysteria from Communist subversion and thus ignite the sparkle of the Second Red Scar which later was termed after him as ‘’ McCarthyism’

2.4.The Emergence of the Second Red Scare1950 -1954

Like the First Red Scare that was created by officials and driven by personal interests , the Second Red Scare was also driven by personal motives. McCarthy used it to advance his personal career that was failing , to gain the recognition of his mates that were treating him with irreverence , and to cover the gap of his personality unattractiveness by attracting the press and public attention

The next day after McCarthy’s speech , the press headlines barely spoke about it , however matters changed after rumors of him denying what people reported about the speech were spread(Giblin320).

On his way to Salt Lake City , McCarthy’s plane landed in Denver. He was confronted by reporters at the airports .They asked for his comments , and one of them asked for the list of the Communist subversives he mentioned in the speech(Giblin323). McCarthy responded that the paper he had at Wheeling club was a page from his speech ,not the list and that he kept the list on the plane. McCarthy showed the reporters his will

to present the list if he was called by Dean Acheson he said " if Dean Acheson calls me in Salt Lake City , I'll be glad to read the list to him" (Giblin324).

Later McCarthy declared that he would give the list only if Dean Acheson would give him full information about the Communistic activities. He knew that it was impossible , because president Truman enacted a law in 1948 that sealed all the personnel files of federal employees(Giblin328).His aim was to use the information and provide some names to his imaginary list.

On February , 11 , McCarthy received a telegram from a State Department official .The latter asked for the list McCarthy spoke about in his speech. McCarthy did not respond . He instead sent a letter to President Truman in which he was bold enough to ask the president to abolish the sealing act and reveal the information about Communist subversion or he would be considered as being a supporter of Communism(Giblin332).

Writing a letter to the president and in a language that carried a sense of threatening was a bold step from McCarthy , but the bolder step was when he named four Communist subversives in a crowd of 500 people .Harlow Shapley a professor of astronomy at Harvard and China expert John Stewart Service were two of the nominees(Giblin333).

McCarthy kept gaining the attention from press and people. The Boston Herald stated in a headline "Senator Lists Shapely as Among Four Pro-Reds Tied To State Dept." The San Francisco wrote " 4 in State Department Named as Reds" (Giblin 338).

In Las Vegas a crowd of more than 300 people rallied to hear his speech .McCarthy however aimed at more attention and popularity , thus he asked the Senate for a presentation of four or five hours to deliver a speech, in which he would present some new information about the Communist subversion matter. The source of these information was documents of the Lee report made in 1947 about Communist subversion. McCarthy's

plans was to change the order of the names mentioned in the report so that other senators would not know his Source (Giblin338).

The Senate gave approval to McCarthy's request .In the evening of February 20, 1950, McCarthy arrived at the session with a bag full of papers. The Crowd was enormous and reporters appeared with huge enthusiasm (Giblin 339).In a serious tone McCarthy opened his speech saying :“I wish to discuss tonight a subject which concerns me more than does any other subject I have ever discussed before this body, and perhaps more than any subject I shall ever have the good fortune to discuss in the future”’(Giblin342).

This time McCarthy attacked a democrat from Illinois named Scott Lucas. What is notable to highlight about Scott Lucas is that few days earlier , he delivered a speech in Chicago , in which he criticized McCarthy speeches and said, “ If I had said the nasty things that McCarthy has about the State Department , I Would be ashamed all my life”’(Giblin344).The conclusion is that McCarthy's attack was not for the anti-Communist crusade .It was a pay back for Scott Lucas .McCarthy Commented on what Lucas said about him saying :“the Democratic leader of the Senate ,at least the alleged leader. Actually I do not feel the Democratic Party has control of the executive branch of the government any more”’ (Giblin 342).

Lucas was convinced that McCarthy allegations were just imaginary. In the speech he tried to press him in order to expose his bluffs. He interrupted him several times during the speech and asked multiple questions. He even asked McCarthy to present the list of the 205 Communist subversives .McCarthy on the other side was strong enough to stand the pressure .He also denied the fact that he mentioned the particular number of 205 he responded “I do not believe I mentioned the figure 205.I believe I said over 200”’ (Giblin344).

After these speeches McCarthy was granted the popularity and the fame he ever wanted. It was then the right time to make some real action that would guarantee the consistency of his fame. The House of Anti-American Actions, The Senate Internal Security Sub-committee, the Eastland committee were committees established and used to fight Communist subversion.

Appointing himself responsible for the witch-hunt or the rooting of Communist subversives crusade, McCarthy appointed J Edgar Hoover, Roy Cohn and David Shine as partners and assistants in the crusade.

2.4.1. Attacking the press

With the rise of McCarthy, journalists and editors of magazines and newspapers were put under the screening and their freedom became limited especially if they criticized or negatively commented on McCarthy's anti-Communist campaigns.

He attacked the Capital Times describing it as 'Red mouthpiece for the Communist Party in Wisconsin'. (Alwood68). He also sent letters to a number of four hundred editors of weekly and daily newspapers all across the state. Henry Luce a Republican and an editor of the Times was attacked by McCarthy after publishing a story criticizing McCarthy. He was asked to change the story. Luce refused and McCarthy threatened him saying 'I am preparing material on Time to furnish to all your advertisers so that they may be fully aware of the type of publication they are supporting' (Alwood68). To give more credibility to his attack aiming at the press, McCarthy called James Wechsler editor of the New York Post for closed hearings. The New York Post had earlier described McCarthy's campaigns as the 'most fabulous hoax of the century.' (Alwood70).

As a response McCarthy used the fact that James Wechsler was a former member in the Young Communist League in early 1930s to claim that the newspaper is actually supporting Communism and have Communist subversives.

McCarthy: Mr. Wechsler, do you have any other people who are members of the Young Communist League, who were or are members of the Young Communist league working for you on your newspaper? Wechsler: I believe that it is a citizens responsibility to testify before a Senate committee whether he likes the committee or not .McCarthy: I know you do not like this committee. Wechsler: I want to say that I think you are now exploring a subject which the American society of newspaper editors might want to consider at some length. I answer the question solely because I recognize your capacity for misinterpretation of a failure to answer ... to my knowledge there are no Communist on the staff of the New York Post at this time”(Alwood70).

After multiple hearings and attacks aimed at the press, journalists were unable to function freely and freedom of the press was limited. The fact that McCarthy and since the beginning of his anti-Communist crusade did not provide any concrete evidence for his allegations did not affect his campaign. He was able to gain popularity and the approval of citizens and the government not because of their lack of awareness, but because of the circumstances surrounding his rise and his allegations. People were traumatized by the fact of the Cold War, the exposition of Soviet espionage acts, and the Soviets successful of the atomic bomb .It was logical that he would find that huge amount of support. It was all done under the cover of ‘‘ National Security’’ and when it comes to Americans the nation is all what matters .

2.4.2. Attacking the National Army

McCarthy’s accusations were getting more furious and wild. This time he targeted the National Army. By 1954, McCarthy become the most popular political figure on television after What was named the McCarthy Hearings.’’ They were a 36 days televised hearings of investigations .At first these hearings were concerned with possible espionage acts inside the Army Signal Corps Engineering Laboratories in Fort Monmouth,

New Jersey(Giblin712).He argued that a former spy named Julius Rosenberg had formed a spy ring there in 1940s.

The hearings were meant to be closed and confidential; however, this would not serve McCarthy's interest. Thus he invited a group of reporters to his office at the end of each session and presented to them his view about what happened. He needed more attention, eventually he organized small press conferences to guarantee that the hearings were gaining full attention and coverage by the most popular newspapers of the United States. The New York Times headline showed that his plan worked well .It wrote Rosenberg Called Radar Spy Leader; McCarthy says Ring He Set Up May still Be in Operation at Monmouth Laboratories¹⁴.' (Giblin713). The hearings resulted in the suspension of thirty-three employees .McCarthy argued that this was an essential step towards the conformation of all employees loyalty saying ; a very important step in making sure that government employees are true , loyal, fine type of people that the vast majority of them are.' (Giblin714).The investigation of the employees and suspending Thirty –three of them was not enough for McCarthy; he therefor gave the green light to his assistants of the subcommittee Roy Cohn and David Schine to do deeper investigations and call witnesses members of the Army's screening board in Washington (Giblin717).Cohn stated that the subcommittee received information that the board is being soft and unserious dealing with and employing people with Communist ties.

Robert Stevens Secretary of the Army reacted to Cohn's statement by organizing a press conference .In the Conference he announced that the Army had made enough in the matter of investigating security and found no threat or evidence that damned the thirty –three suspended employees or others guilty of disloyalty or Communist subversion (Giblin718).However McCarthy was not satisfied with the results he needed to find something to give credibility for his attacks.

After digging deeply, he could find something. In December 1953, he received information that an Army dentist named Irving Peress was promoted from captain to major. His promotion was quickly after his appointment and that Irving refused to answer an Army questionnaire that asked if he was or had ever joined a Communist subversive organization(Giblin736). McCarthy knew about it and called Irving for investigation before the subcommittee on January 30,1954.Peress was asked if he was a member or have ties with Communist organizations such as the Communist Party .Peress refused to answer again. His refusal of answering angered McCarthy more and gave him an extra motive for attacking the Army more wildly. He organized a meeting with reporters and expressed his dissatisfaction with Army officials who played a role in Peress promotion and failed to expose him. He assured the reporters that he would make enough effort to expose Peress, Thereupon he says: This is the only way to notify every Army officer that twenty years of treason are past and that this really is a new day'' (Giblin338).

Peress who was about to discharged in 31 March was discharged in 2nd February. The news of his discharge reached McCarthy who just sent him an invitation to stand before the subcommittee again and he was out of control(Giblin739).

McCarthy therefore organized a public hearing for Peress in New York federal court on February 18.The hearings were of no result (Giblin751).McCarthy then shifted his attention somewhere else. He attacked officer who signed Peress discharge, General Zwicker. McCarthy asked for his presence in court in the same day afternoon and asked the army to provide him with all the names of the army personnel who were part of Peress case. McCarthy was given enough evidence to generalize his claims about the Army containing Communist subversives he said:" I think here you have the key to deliberate Communist infiltration of our armed forces'' And the men responsible for the honorable

discharge of a Communist are just as guilty as the man who belongs to the conspiracy” (Giblin752).

In the afternoon of February 18, General Ralph W. Zwicker who had a past which is full of victories and honors and was considered by many as role model for bravery and strength was standing before McCarthy for investigation. McCarthy showed no intention to deal with Zwicker softly or on the basis of his position. Zwicker explained the matter of promoting Peress. He argued that it was nothing special, and he was not the only one. He said that the promotion touched a number of more than 7,000 Army doctors and dentists and that the decision of Peress discharging was not made by him. McCarthy of course showed no tendency to take his justification and respond "don't be coy with me, General." "Don't give me double talk"(Giblin 757).

The session continued and McCarthy was determined to pressure General Zwicker as much as possible he formed a hypothetical situation comparing it with Peress case. He asked if Zwicker would grant a soldier an honorable discharge if he knew at the last minute he was a thief who stole fifty dollars and if he would give a soldier an honorable discharge if he knew he was part of a Communist conspiracy as the case with Peress. Zwicker responded that he has no authority to keep Peress and he was not informed by anyone about his involvement in a Communist conspiracy(Giblin 762). McCarthy ignored his response and continued with the hypothetical situation:

McCarthy: Would you tell us, General, why fifty dollars is so much more important to you than being part of a conspiracy to destroy a nation which you are sworn to defend?

Gen.Zwicker :Mr .Chairman it is not and you know that as well as I do. McCarthy: Yes, I do know it. That is why I cannot understand you sitting there, General, a general

in the Army , and telling me that you could not , would not hold up his discharge.(Giblin760).

McCarthy continued in pressuring General Zwicker and asked: Do you think the general who originated the order decreeing the separation do you think he should be kept in service? Zwicker answered that the situation is different from Peress 's one and that it is up to him to decide (Giblin762)..McCarthy interrupted him and asked him about his personal opinion:

McCarthy: "You will answer that question, General...I do not care how long we stay here you are going to answer it."

Gen .Zwicker "Do you mean how I feel about Communists?"

McCarthy:" I mean exactly what I asked you ,General, nothing else. And anyone with the brains of a five-year old can understand that question. The reporter will read it to you as often as you need to hear it so that you can answer it ' (Giblin763).

GEN .Zwicker :“Start it over , please. The reporter repeated the question and ended it

With: ‘ do you think he should be removed from the military?”GEN. Zwicker: “I do not think he should be removed from the military.”McCarthy:” Then , General you should be removed from any command .Any man who has been given the honor of being promoted general and who says ‘ I will protect another general who protected Communists’ , is not fit to wear that uniform , General .I think it is a tremendous disgrace to the Army’ (Giblin765).

McCarthy was determined to held Zwicker responsible for Peress's honorable discharge and that it has ties with Communist subversion at any cost. This led to him furiously attacking and humiliating General Zwicker without regarding the fact of his high and respectable position. McCarthy dismissed Zwicker in the middle of the session and ordered him to appear before the court again next Tuesday. Zwicker left with deep

feelings of humiliation and insult . He later wrote a report about the session and how McCarthy treated him and sent it to the Department of Defense. McCarthy could not damned Zwicker guilty , but this did not ease him up. It in fact made him more furious about the case (Giblin765).

It is hard to prove something that is not there .McCarthy used his humiliating and provocative manner questioning Zwicker to cover the fact that his allegations have no real concrete evidences .It was all the creation of his mind .

2.5. The Fall of Joseph McCarthy and the Decline of McCarthyism

McCarthy and by attacking the National Army was planning to keep himself in the top of America's political scene , gain more popularity for his crusade and help his party to win the elections of 1956. However his plan did exactly the opposite and he was tumbled-down to the bottom.

Zwicker's report about his hearings and the way McCarthy treated him reached Army Secretary Stevens and he was shocked by the way McCarthy dealt with him.He immediately made an order that no Army official including Zwicker would stand before McCarthy's subcommittee. Stevens later called McCarty and informed him with his order. McCarthy was angry and witnesses said that he was shouting. He even ordered Stevens to stand also before the subcommittee. Stevens did not respond , however he was provoked to respond when McCarthy called him ‘‘ unfair to loyal officers ‘‘ because he prevented them from standing before the Subcommittee(Giblin766).Stevens replied :

“ I cannot permit the loyal officers of our armed services to be subjected to such unwarranted treatment. The prestige and morale of our armed forces are too important to the security of the nation to have them weakened by unfair attacks on our officer corps’’(Giblin 770).

Zwicker's report about his hearings McCarthy were made public to people and the press. People were just astonished at the way McCarthy treated the General Zwicker and a wave of outrage spread all across the country. This marked the beginning of McCarthy's falling down.

Newspapers headlines all expressed their dissatisfaction with McCarthy. The New York Times published the whole document. The Chicago Tribune who was McCarthy's biggest supporter wrote that he should "learn to distinguish the role of investigator from the role of avenging angel ...we do not believe Senator McCarthy's behavior towards General Zwicker was justified and we expect it has injured his cause of driving the disloyal from government service" (Giblin774). Stevens later delivered a speech in which he assured that he would not approve of future humiliation of the Army personnel by McCarthy's committee. He said :“ I shall never accede to the abuse of Army personnel under any circumstances including committee hearings .I shall never accede to them being browbeaten or humiliated” (Giblin775).

President Eisenhower who never commented on what McCarthy was doing since the beginning of his crusades , showed his approval with what Stevens said . This was a crushing blow to McCarthy, but the most devastating one was when Eisenhower publicly stated that “ it's no longer McCarthyism but it is “McCarthywasm” (Giblin 1057).

Matters became worse when news about McCarthy assistant Cohn Roy and a member of the subcommittee was asking for special treatment for his friend David Shine in his training period at the Army. People started to look down at McCarthy and his assistants. (Giblin1061).

His Army attacks and actions that carried insights of disrespect and absolutism .He was censured by the Senate. On December 2,1954 and after a period of three days of debate ,the senate made it decision. The Majority voted to condemn him for insult and

abuse. McCarthy and despite his practices it is noted that he left a remarkable effect on his colleagues in the senate. They excluded mentioning examples of McCarthy mistreatment in his charges. They knew well many innocent people were damned guilty, but they did not confess that openly in fear of being labeled as sympathizers or soft on Communists (Giblin1039).

After his censorship, McCarthy's confidence was injured. Matters became worse when the press reduced its attention to him. He was not actively participating in the presidential campaigns of 1956 elections. He offered to help the Republican candidates of Wisconsin however only one of them welcomed his offer.

McCarthy political strength severely reduced especially when president Eisenhower declared publicly that he is not supporting McCarthy's party in the elections of 1956.

By January 1955, the Democrats became stronger and they take back control of Congress McCarthy then was forced to hand over the responsibility of the Government Operations Committee to Senator John McClellan the senior Democratic member of the committee. By this McCarthy have no final word in the committee(Giblin1046).

Roy Cohn and J Edgar Hoover two close friends and supporters suddenly cut their relationship with him, Cohn even dropped the subcommittee a gesture that McCarthy called a win for the Communist.

Betrayed by friends, kicked out of the senate, not receiving attention by the press, and lost all the public support McCarthy felt left out. Therefore he resorted to alcohol. He started drinking heavily and was hospitalized several times. By 28, April 1957 McCarthy was hospitalized after an ailment. His wife told the reporters that it was his knee. Later she said it was a virus he had gotten when he was in Wisconsin and it caused him cold. The real matter was his liver failing (Giblin1065).

It was not only a physical suffering, McCarthy's mental health was also deteriorating. His friend Steve Swedish later reported after a visit to McCarthy at his house , that he told him in a low voice " they 're murdering me" he whispered to him that Communists constantly called him on the phone(Giblin1064).On 2, May 1957afternoon, McCarthy passed away at the age of forty-eight years old after another ailment (Giblin1065).

2.6. Conclusion

The second Red Scare or McCarthyism is a mere portrayal of a successful political manipulation, or more in particular the intelligence of a politician. It was a simple speech that was based on a lie that led to all the chaos a whole nation witnessed and was forced to experience for four years. People lives and reputations were ruined. It was all for a single interest that is remaining in power. Many historians now refer to senator Joseph McCarthy as a dictator. Many of them commented on his deeds after years of his exposition. One of the most significant quotes that were made about him is the one made by the historian Martha Gellhorn she said "Joseph McCarthy, the Junior Republican Senator from Wisconsin ruled America like devil king for four years .His purges were An American mirror image of Stalin's purges, an unnoticed similarity" .President Eisenhower saw him as parallel to Hitler the strongest dictator that the humankind history ever witnessed:

McCarthy is making exactly the same plea of loyalty within the government while both were using the pretense of fighting Communism. McCarthy is trying deliberately to subvert the people we have in government, people who are sworn to obey the law, the Constitution and their superior officers .I think this is the most disloyal act we have ever had by anyone in the government. McCarthy was not punished for the horrors he caused by government, however his penalty was more severe that is of being remembered as a person who used his position to destroy several innocent people lives.

General Conclusion

Members of the government and politicians exploited the chaotic status of the United States of 1919, manipulated the public opinion and created the First Red Scare .In 1950, the matter was even worse. It was one single person with a lie that caused the horror and injustice people had to face for four years.

Both Red Scares were unique prints in the United States history. This country that since decades was referred at as the most democratic country in the world and with the smallest rate of political corruption at a certain point in history was not. It should be marked then that as any other country in the world the United States at a certain period had its share of political corruption. The eras of the two red scares were also characterized by high political repression people were not able to freely express their opinion or ideas. They were put under scrutinization and exposed to repression.

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