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**Politics of Fear in the United States: The Case of McCarthyism**

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## **Dedication**

We dedicate this modest work to the dearest persons to our hearts, our beloved parents who never stopped believing in us and have always been very patient and constantly supportive.

We never remiss your sacrifices and we are forever indebted to you.

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## **Abstract**

The core of this study is to analyse politics of fear in the United States by specifically shedding light on one of its most recurrent concepts which is scapegoating strategy. It provides an examination of the constancy of American domestic politics in time of crisis vis-à-vis its willingness to jeopardize personal liberties for the sake of an alleged national security. To clarify this approach, the research provides an evaluation of the course of the American democracy, its government's integrity and its commitment to equality and freedom of speech in relation to different historical scenarios. Finally, this dissertation closes with the conclusion that even though McCarthyism, at several occasions, allowed the US government to violate basic civil and political rights. It was merely a revelation to the rhetoric that was increasing in American politics over decades.

## ملخص

يتمثل جوهر هذه الدراسة في تحليل سياسة الخوف في الولايات المتحدة من خلال تسليط الأضواء على وجه التحديد على واحدة من أكثر المفاهيم المتكررة والمتناقضة الا وهي استراتيجية التضحية. كما تقدم دراسة لمدى ثبات السياسة الداخلية الأمريكية في وقت الأزمات ومدى استعدادها لتهديد الحريات الشخصية من أجل الأمن القومي المزعوم. لتوضيح هذا النهج، يتضمن البحث تقييمًا لسير الديمقراطية الأمريكية والتزام حكومته بالمساواة وحرية التعبير فيما يتعلق بمختلف السيناريوهات التاريخية. وأخيرا، تختتم هذه الرسالة بالاستنتاج أنه على الرغم من ان المكارثية، في عدة مناسبات سمحت للحكومة الامريكية بانتهاك الحقوق المدنية والسياسية الأساسية كان مجرد خطاب كان يتزايد في السياسة الأمريكية على مدى عقود.

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## Introduction

As the authoritative power in the country, governments' regular roles vary between getting people in order to reduce conflicts and serve and facilitate living progresses allowing the pursuit of pleasure and prosperity. Yet, every now and then fear from something's name can exceed the fear from the thing itself regardless to its actual size. Since long ago, US politics are being run by fear and willful ignorance and not by logical decision-making. The research purpose of this dissertation is to scrutinize the American politics of fear by examining precisely US government's response towards the rise and fall of McCarthyism.

The work at hand traces the history of accumulated waves of mass hysteria from potential nemesis throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Since the end of the WWII, American policy makers have repeatedly miscalculated, quarreled with allies and underestimated their foes. US Presidents worry that too much or too little is done to reshape events, and then set out to rectify their predecessors' inaccuracies. Over the last decades, American presidents calls their advisors for practically very similar instructions about the possibility to regenerate American power and preserve its prestige. Yet, even though the individual presidents are quite different, their responses tend to be rather similar especially in terms of the systematic scapegoating politics. The term of "McCarthyism" rests on the idea of how can a domestic disturbance determine a country's foreign politics especially when it comes to defense strategies.

This dissertation is composed of three chapters. The first chapter "The Background of McCarthyism" deals with the history of scapegoating strategy in the USA in order to clarify the reasons that led the government to take severe measures to oppose any attempt of communist penetration. "The Second Red Scare: McCarthy's Witch-Hunt" is the title of the second chapter that seeks to answer series of questions on how race hatred and the use of deceptive accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism spread fear and destruction of faith at every level of US society. Finally, the third chapter "Does

McCarthyism Appear again in USA?” is regarded as the core of this research work as it do not only imply the long-lasting domestic outcomes of the rise to power of a so-called demagogue. However, it refutes the myth that the United States is waging a global war on terrorism and sheds the light on the dreadful results that are provoked under the pretext of preserving worldwide peace and prosperity.

One of the main goals of this research is to expose minority groups’ sufferings and human rights violation in a society that is described as the most democratic one. A number of questions, among which the following will be deeply examined and will guide the progress of this research study: Was scapegoating systematic in American politics? How did McCarthyism allow the government to violate the basic rights of Americans? What were the real motives behind McCarthy’s ideology? Why was McCarthy accused of using “the Big lie” to smear Americans? How did the media perceive McCarthyism? And Could accused terrorists be the new communists? The findings will be a theoretical grounded description of American politics of fear.

To provide a conclusive and clear answer to these questions, McCarthyism is embraced as a case study. The necessity of investigation before legislation in similar cases is vital. Although US leadership calls for a new vision that sets fear aside, its disproportionate responses intertwines the course of certain major events. The McCarthy’s reign of terror is intensely related to the reality of communism in USA and its outcomes on the American life. The surges of gossip, falsification, hearsay, deliberate untruths and guilt by association do not just reflect the basis of the virtual destruction of several US characters but it highlights as well the intermittence of newer versions of the phenomenon.

To approach the research at hand, a set of methodological frameworks are to be considered. The case under study examines the alteration in US domestic politics by focusing on scapegoats manufacturing as part of its systemized politics of fear. In this respect, the use

of a descriptive method is required in this research work as it gives further insights on scapegoating resurgence through time in parallel with McCarthyism. Additionally, this research is also based on the analytical qualitative method as it reflects the origins of the US terror and the extent it affects US democracy. To stress the claim, the study emphasizes on the use of discourse analysis approach in order to provide an accurate as well as authentic understanding to the real reasons and objectives behind reoccurrence of scapegoating strategy as a vigilant method.

The issue being discussed is among US's most skeptical and controversial subjects in the views of many historians and professionals. Literature that deals with such issue will continue to be generated as long as there will be a proportion of the American society that is worried about the credibility of its governmental policies. The US obsession that is interpreted into McCarthy's witch-hunt has colossal impact on the American ethics and values. Thomas Doherty, the author of *Cold War, Cool Medium: Television, McCarthyism, and American Culture*, reveals that attempts to eliminate intruders especially in governmental offices has long existed in USA even before McCarthy launches his anticommunist campaign.

Another view suggests that McCarthyism demonstrates only the greed of a politician that has taken advantage of the nation's concern to serve his personal interest. In a presentation given at a conference entitled "Have You No Sense of Decency?" McCarthyism 50 Years Later, Nathan Glazer, Anthony Lewis, and Sam Tanenhaus refute that McCarthy is the leader of the purging crusade. Nonetheless, he is more considered as the medium that has uncovered US lengthily increasing rhetoric over the past decades.

The dissertation requires a historical background review to better understand the development of events and reach persuasive results. The exploration of different interpretations and assessments of the issue beforehand is compulsory in fulfilling the research work objectives.

## Chapter One

### Background of McCarthyism

Fear is mankind's most complex sensation; a manipulative emotion that can be an arcane feeling of vulnerability, a profound driving force, or even an inestimable source of cruelty. When conquered by fear, even the greatest of man of all may not escape his predestined chaotic fate. When America endured times when false evidence appeared as a reality, it urged the incarnation of most unfavourable politics and extreme and ineffective measures that eventually led to a violation of numerous civil liberties. During times of anxiety, the American authorities showed at several occasions the highest costs it is willing to pay to preserve a presumed national security.

This chapter provides an exploration to McCarthy's witch-hunt origins as well as the reoccurrence of scapegoating strategy in the American politics. It denotes times when reason and good judgments were taken over by fear and paranoia. The chapter examines the social and governmental injustices and discriminations that emerged during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century. The conspiracies, schemes, blacklisting and scapegoating that emerged in USA were typical results of nation's uncertainty which elucidated more radicalism and hysteria. Due to numerous atrocious scripts in the American history, the US political system was put in a place where it had to reconsider its policy and develop itself more towards the principle that people are innocent until proven guilty.

The chapter unveils parts of the hideous truth that lies beneath the facade of alleged American democracy. John Adams explained plainly the outcomes of governmental strategies while controlled by paranoia as "Fear is the foundation of every government". Over decades the American political system is presumed to be evolving towards the benefit of its people. Yet, they are those people who suffer the most from it. In a broader sense, the U.S fear cultivation policies have not only infringed population's civil liberties, but put them in a

marginalized inactive status with a restricted function limited to cope and embrace governmental policies (“The Politics of Fear...”).

### **1.1 Salam Witch Trials**

The chronicle of witch’s persecutions date back hundreds years ago, it took place particularly in England, Germany, France and Italy. People were accused of casting spells and consorting with the devil. Superstitious villagers begun to conduct witch-hunts as they perceived them a convenient means to get rid of their enemies. Therefore, thousands of presumed witches were executed. When the Roman Catholic Church strengthened its powers, Paganism<sup>1</sup> and witchcrafts became unacceptable and Heretics<sup>2</sup> were considered as enemies.

Testimonies of the Massachusetts Bay colony held records of the tragic events that took place in Salam village in 1692. After King Charles I of England granted puritans a charter to settle and govern an English colony in the Massachusetts Bay, their utmost desire was to create a flawless theocratic society based on principles of the Bible. The first witch trial of Massachusetts took place in Charles Town 1648 when a midwife named Margaret Johns was accused of witchcraft and hanged as she was believed to foretell the future and possess an evil touch. In 1692, many similar cases followed while a group of young girls started to behave in strange ways and held many women responsible for their afflictions which as a result condemned them to death (“The Salam Witch...”).

Historians came to the conclusion that the unprecedented attentions that were given to the Salam girls, the position there were put in as public testifiers, and the willingness of the authorities to condemn people with no concrete confirmation encouraged them to send more people to their deaths. The irrational behaviour of the girls during the trials was diagnosed as a Mass Psychogenic Disorder<sup>3</sup> that was presumed to result from an Ergot poisoning which caused girls’ hallucinations and unintentional behaviours. However, such theory was later rejected by various scientists (“The Salem Witch...”).

At the time when the witch-hunts took place, the authorities surprisingly and implicitly encouraged locals to be fearful and denounce each other as witches. In his book entitled *Witch Hunts in the Western World: Persecution and Punishment from the Inquisition through the Salem Trials*. Brian Alexander Pavlac emphasized on the presence of physical involvement in all sorts of crimes whereas witchcraft as a supernatural crime relied only on spectral and non tangible aspects apparent only to those making the accusations as evidence (187). The eccentric pattern of conviction that threatened alleged sinners' freedom for other's condemnations caused the deaths of many others. An estimated maximum number of 1.000.000 people were put to death (189).

As the witch accusations did not seem to reach an end, the allegations became very scandalous for the authorities to support. Equally, spectral evidence were highly debatable and no longer reliable. Consumed by fear, all witch trials were impeded in 1693 and those who remained alive of the accused were granted freedom. An article "The Salam Journal: The Aftermath" of Mr. Sam Nekrosius's class stressed out the state of sobriety and culpability that emerged after the end of the trials, and all those who were involved walked different paths. By 1752, Salam village became Danvers, and most of the jurors recognized their greatest mistake and publically admitted. Later, only one of the accusing girls confessed her misdeed while the rest eventually moved on. However, guilt confession and public apologies could not erase the hysteria that had existed and rationalize the girls' behaviour nor spare the innocent lives that were convicted.

Arthur Miller's "The Crucible" resurrected the tales of the Salam witch trials. The play was based on historical people and real events which portrayed the ruthlessness of a community that sanctioned the execution of countless number of innocents with no tangible evidence merely to put its concerns at ease. Charles Spencer, the writer of "The Crucible, Old Vic, Review: The Intensity of a Thriller" believed that great literary works could be perceived

differently as time go by (“The Crucible - A Challenging...”). The Crucible fitted to depict the dreadful events of the witch hunts, to exemplify the state of communist mistrust, the emergency of their eradication, and recently to serve as a reference to religious fundamentalists’ attitudes toward murdering in the name of God. Though the incidents differed in time and space, the plot remained the same as the world was a theatre where history repeatedly played itself (“The crucible: Old...”).

## **1.2 The Anti-Irish Sentiment**

Under the urge of escaping Anglican religious persecution and the pursuit of better living conditions, Irish immigrants began to set sail to New England. From 1700 till the Revolutionary War, about quarter a million of Irish disembarked in America (“Irish Immigration of 1700’s...”). Most Irish immigrants were financially adequate craftsmen or tenant farmers. Yet, many of the Irish Catholics who could not afford the journey to New England had to pay their tickets out only through being indentured servants for several years in southern plantation to pay their dept. Moreover, convicted Catholics were as well shipped along with the immigrants who most of them would abandon Catholicism for Protestantism just for the sake of blending with other protestant communities (McCaffrey 64).

Nevertheless, such enormous wave of immigrants was not quite welcomed among prior settlers as intense sentiment of anti-foreigner began to emerge, particularly due to the religious split between Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant. In 1845, Ireland endured horrific potato crops poisoning that did not cause only starvation but the death of hundreds of thousands Irishmen as well. This Potato Blight was, more or less, perceived as another reason for Irish immigration (“Irish Catholic Immigration...”).

As soon as the Irish settled in America, negative and discriminating depiction, caricature and stereotypes began to conquer the population. Often perceived as “white negroes”, the Irish were described as idle, drunkard, ignorant, silly and criminals (“Irish-American,



Racism...”). The increasing number of immigrants to the States gave rise to a wave of Anglo-American Nativism. Such attitude carried strong feelings of hatred and opposition towards Irish Catholics in particular since they were perceived a threat to American values and way of life that needed to be restrained (“Nativism”).

Driven by blind perceptions, native born, white, and Anglo Saxons formed a hostile nativist anti-immigrants’ movement that was identified as the Know Nothings Party (“Know-Nothing Party”). When the nativist concern continued to elevate, a mob of anti-immigrants went after a group of students and nuns and burned the Ursuline Convent School in August 1834. Despite the discontentment in regards to the church incident, a nationwide approval of anti-Catholics and strong despise plainly appeared at the trial of those who were involved in the incident (“American Nativism, 1830-1845”).

The Irish resentment and antagonism was “a subconscious undercurrent throughout much of the British society in the same way that anti-Semitism is felt if not always expressed in Europe” (qtd. in “A Resurgence of Anti-Irish”...). It became an integral part of it in all protestant communities. In 1844, Philadelphia witnessed severe street violence between Irish Catholics and Nativist Protestant. The quarrel was over the Catholics discontentment about their children’s religious learning. They presumed that young Catholics were forced to read from Protestant King James bible as a way to weaken their Catholicism. The Bible riots initially began after Catholics’ demands to enforce Catholic bibles learning were turned down. Violent uprisings and attacks resulted in the incineration of several Catholic churches and assassination of many individuals (“1844: Philadelphia ‘Bible Riots’ ...”).

In Missouri August 1854, Thomas H. Benton; a former senator, attempted to gain Irish immigrants votes to boost up his campaign against Luther Kennett. As Nativists supported Kennett, huge crowds gathered to vigilantly guarantee the ban of illegal votes. The gatherings took a brutal turn as one man among them was anonymously stabbed. The hunt after the

suspected led the fuming mob to the wrecking, burning, and damaging several Irish properties. One day later, nativists' violence and fights with Irish steam workers continued; it was not until the local militia units intervened that the crowd was dispersed. Therefore, atrocities of the uprisings reported many deaths and injuries as well as properties and habitats demolishing ("A Look Back. Irish...").

American's most frightful concern was that Catholics would gain political power over the church, penetrate into the white house, and eventually strip Protestants from their citizenship. When Alfred Emanuel Smith, a furtive cardinal, campaigned for presidency in 1928, extreme oppositions from American protestant faced him. It was believed that as soon as Smith won the elections, the Papal throne would be moved to Washington and it would be from there the pope would rule the world ("The 1928 presidential election"). In 1960, the candidacy of John Kennedy was strongly confronted because of his Catholicism. Americans' worries were mainly over the constitutional separation from the church which might later be put at risk. He carried on his campaign only after he had to address 300 clergymen and to reassure the audience and prove his truthful intentions ("Anti-Catholicism").

The Irish antipathy and discrimination were manifested in different forms; slogans like "No Irish Need Apply", "Irish Need not Apply", "No Irishman Need Apply" or simply "No Irish" were common exigency mottos in newspaper job announcements ("1854: No Irish Need Apply"). Some such as Professor Richard Jensen strongly denied the reality of such segregationist signs. In his paper "No Irish Need Apply, a myth of victimization" published in 2002, he claimed that there was hardly no significant evidence that proved the existence of such overstated allegations. However, Professor's claims were put into questions simply by a 14 years old girl online research. Rebecca Fried's discovery of the anti-Irish slogans that appeared in newspaper ads as well as in shop's windows did not only bring disrepute to

professor Richard Jensen's credibility but proved the Irish persecutions as well ("The Teen Who Exposed...").

### **1.3 The Yellow Peril**

The fantasy that the American Dream and the California Gold Rush implied dragged thousands of immigrants from diverse parts of the world to the United States. The "Yellow Peril" was a racial expression coined out to refer to an alleged threat from a potential expansion of Asian population that would overwhelm the western world and destroy its values ("the phrase finder"). The cosmopolitan atmosphere that emerged was very alarming. The American concern arose mostly from an oriental crowd. Asian existence in America dated back to the late 1800's, when male Asians were brought as labours to the west coast. Many Americans feared the employment competition that they might undergo once the Asian labours were achieved. Consequently, a mass wave of anti-Asian alarm spread all over America (Old "Yellow Peril"...).

Racial stereotypes of Easterners emerged as they were described "as rat-eating, opium-smoking, sexually depraved, untrustworthy sub-humans" (qtd. in Is the "Yellow..."). Such racist alibis were sufficient enough to implement the Asian's exclusion. In an attempt to prevent further Chinese to come to the States, the government passed the Chinese Exclusion Act on May 6, 1882. The legislation banned successfully immigration for almost a decade, until it was made permanent in 1902 ("Chinese Exclusion Act 1882"). The exigency of earning money had put the Chinese labours at no negotiation position for they worked at any given price. However, the pressure of a similar competition was far to be tolerated by Americans because in such case the company owners would tend to hire workers that required the least ("Chinese Immigration and...").

As the Chinese were no longer welcomed, uprisings and manifestations in the west coast broke out in which many Asians were targeted. The 1886, Seattle Riot was the outcome of

anti-Chinese resentful feelings that were progressively intensified over the years. The Chinese fortune to obtain jobs was very problematic for the Americans especially after they were considered equals to African Americans and Native Americans. Consequently, expulsion, arrests and occasionally murders took place under the pretext of keeping Chinese away from “White American” employments (“Resentment toward Chinese...”). Labour leader Samuel Gompers argued that “The superior whites had to exclude the inferior Asiatics, by law, or, if necessary, by force of arms” (qtd. in *Yellow Peril Reinfects...*). Such measure would only affirm the actual misery, hardship and torment that Asian immigrants endured.

During the years of Second World War, the Yellow Peril did no longer include just Chinese but Japanese as well. Within the same context of eliminating the inferiors, unwanted, and non-Americans, the Yellow Peril’s chauvinistic attitude resulted in the death of 100.000 American citizens only because they had Japanese origins (“Return of the Yellow...”). What the Los Angeles Times accounted in relation to the Japanese immigrants was that “A viper is nonetheless a viper wherever the egg is born-so a Japanese-American, born of Japanese parents, grows up to be a Japanese, not an American.” (qtd. in *Yellow Peril Reinfects...*). A similar portrayal was highly illustrative to the profound distrust that dwelled within each and every American.

The Pearl Harbour attack was the sparkle that unleashed the American fury upon the Japanese; the casualties were beyond measures and such assault was far to be spared (“Attack at Pearl Harbour, 1941”). Predictably, Japanese Americans were first to take the blame, many were sacked of their government occupations. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt ratified the Executive Order 9066 through which he permitted both the Secretary of War and the Military Commander to take absolute control over areas of the west coast. Though there was no case of sabotage or disloyalty, about 117,000 Americans of Japanese descent were relocated to internment camps (“Suffering under a Great...”). Thousands of the expelled were

actually Americans who were not only deprived of their personal liberties but of their houses and properties as well (“Executive Order 9066: Resulting...”).

#### **1.4 The Ku Klux Klan**

The Klan was identified as social fraternity formed in 1866 Pulaski, Tennessee by white southerners mainly veterans of the confederate army (“The Ku Klux Klan 1866”). Initially the club had no concealed malicious intention. Yet, the outfit they wore reflected quite the opposite. The Klansmen were more linked to the “use of now-iconic racist symbols — white hoods, flowing sheets, fiery crosses — and a predilection for vigilante violence” (qtd. in Cunningham). Once the Klan had grown in number, they appeared increasingly as a brutal terrorist organization, particularly when mysterious knight-rides attempted to frighten newly freed slaves. The Klan then developed into the only association that attempted to maintain white superiority through returning newly freed slaves to a state of second class oppressed citizens.

Following the presidential reconstruction to improve African Americans’ conditions and protect their rights, confederate southerner states ratified legislations known as Black Codes<sup>4</sup> in order to control black’s liberty. As the Klan spread to almost every state in the south, hundreds of enraged and hateful southerners joined the Klan and shortly after they embarked on a protest of terror, violence, intimidation and even murder in response to the new imposed social order (“Extremism in America”). Ku Klux Klan’s victims were not only former slaves, they targeted also northern intellectuals and carpetbaggers who opposed them as well. African Americans were segregated against and intimidated for whatever reasons Klansmen claimed. To comment on Klan’s roughness, one black man wrote: “We have very dark days here. The coloured people are in despair. The rebels boast that the Negroes shall not have as much liberty now as they had under slavery. If things go on thus, our doom is sealed. God knows it is worse than slavery” (qtd. in *The Rise and Fall of Jim Crow*).

African American's racial harassment was relatively an instrument for the Klansman to wage a war against the government of reconstruction. Between 1870 and 1871, Congress passed the enforcement act and Ku Klux act against terrorist organizations. These laws made it a felony to conspire or intend to deprive individuals of any civil rights or privileges. By the end of the reconstruction era, the Klan gradually faded away until it resurrected again in 1915 ("Eyewitness to History").

Klan's revival coincided with the release of the movie "the Birth of a Nation" by D.W. Griffin, it was the most popular and yet the most disreputable American's achievements at that time adapted from Thomas Dixon's *Clansman*. The movie was very debatable and had enormous effect on people, it made them trust the history that was portrayed, changed their attitudes, increased hatred towards African Americans, and convinced them to control blacks as they were described like savages. The Klan was depicted as a heroic, patriotic, and noble force that defended the honour of white women against the ravages of newly freed slaves ("D.W Griffith's the Birth..."; McVeigh 20).

In Georgia 1915, under the leadership of Colonel William Joseph Simons, the Klan reached its peak of power to serve justice in the south. As its territories increasingly expanded, Klansman recruitment strategy was a spectacular achievement; within merely three months 48,000 of new affiliates joined the Klan (McVeigh 21). The Klan was being "the invisible empire" that stood for the rights and authority of American born white Protestants (McVeigh 143). However, the urge for pure ethnicity extended its list of enemies to include Catholics, Jews, and immigrants as well.

Due to schemes within the Klan, former leader Simons was overthrown from leadership and replaced by Hiram Wesley Evans in 1923. Under Evans' supervision, the Klan went on even brutal waves of terrorism. Their most common abuses were executing, shooting, and whipping that led many to death as a result. On certain occasions, the Klan's victims were

whites, Protestants, and females who were convicted to bring disgrace to their ethnicity.

Several women were tormented for irrational reasons only because of Klan's allegations were to preserve pure womanhood that sounded more like complete submission (Baudouin 20).

Despite the Klan's new leadership that proved to be so politically influential that people continued to join the league for a sense of belonging and sovereignty. The glorious number of 5 million Klansman that was reached by early 1920's was reduced to 300,000 member in 1930 ("Ku Klux Klan..."). Its collapse was believed to be mainly due to a combination of inner conflicts and adversary oppositions. Within the course of their research, Roland G. Fryer and Steven D. Levitt, who looked into historical statistics about KKK demographic, criminal, and political trends, stated that the Klan's limps resulted from its vulnerable foundation and profit-driven arrangements ("When the KKK was a...").

#### Ku Klux Klan's Membership Evolution.

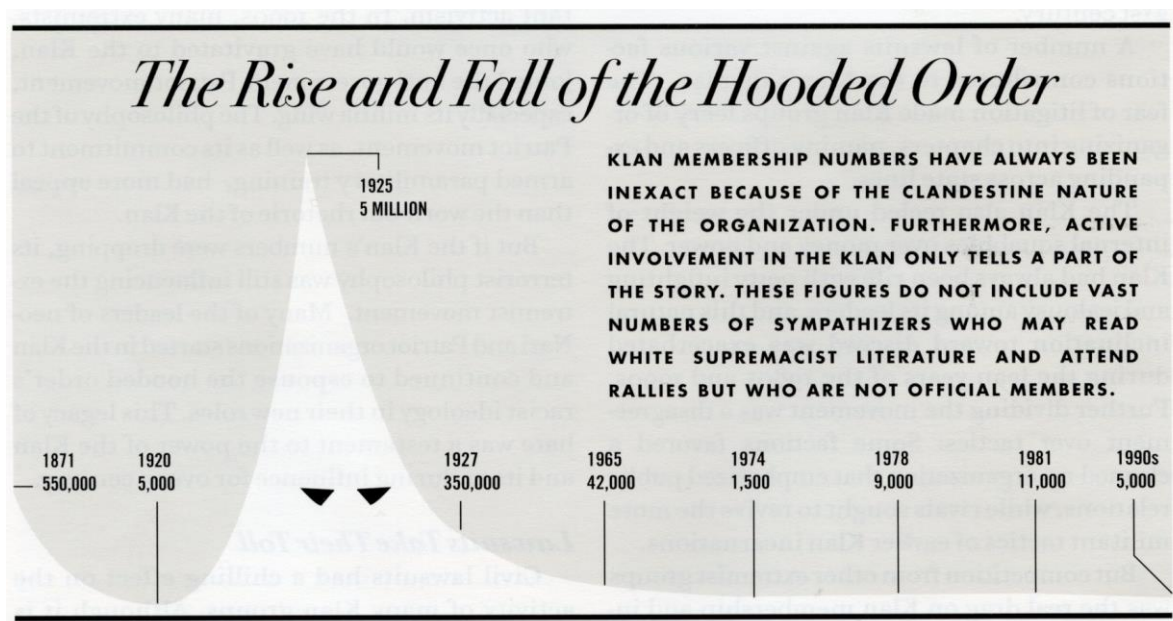


Figure 1

**Source:** <https://www.google.dz/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=2&ved=0ahUKEwjGi9CAhpLMAhVCVhQKHeM2CPUQFggjMAE&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.splcenter.org%2Fsites%2Fdefault%2Ffiles%2FKu-Klux-Klan-A-History-of-Racism.pdf&usg=AFQjCNEmcmXIAeaJNfDPPiv6-kx2HyxM4Q>.

The Klan's influence had once more been reduced due to several internal conflicts. Yet, it did not completely disappear. In 1960, as the civil rights movement arose, the Klan re-emerged as a resisting force to the movement and the era witnessed several armed attacks and murders. At the peak of Klan's atrocities, the African-American 16<sup>th</sup> street Baptist Church of Birmingham held records of four young girls' massacre who were inside the church when it was bombed in 1963 ("Ku Klux Klan"). Klan's epoch had left an unconcealed scar on the American history and an engraved grief that people would have to everlastingly bear.

### **1.5 The First Red Scare and the Immigration Policy of 1919**

The Ellis Island, "the Island of hope, the Island of tears", was the gateway of millions of American immigrants to the United States. Settlers from diverse parts of the world set sail for search of new beginning in those territories. Nevertheless, by 1875 the Supreme Court began to assert regulations to consider the immigration restraint ("Historical Overview of..."). In the first few years after the First World War, the increased hostility toward foreigners was mainly reflected in the congressional basic change known as the closing of the open door policy. In 1921, in an attempt to limit the number of immigrant President Warren G. Harding signed the Quota Act which set the top number of immigrant to come in the country to 357,000 people per year. The rate of each nationality to enter the United States in 1910 was set to only 3 percent ("The Main Political..."). By 1924, Congress established border patrol within the immigration service and issued the National Origins Quota Act which further reduced immigration and reset the quota to 2 percent of each nationality based on previous population percentage. Such initiation was believed to intend to keep eastern European distant since most of the first settlers were westerners ("A Brief Timeline of U.S...").

Prior to World War I, isolationism was America's long breath before a deep plunge into a highly unanticipated, chaotic, and irritating era. America's first Red Scare<sup>5</sup> dated back to the aggressive dictator oppositions in Europe and Asia. In 1917, the outbreak of the Russian



Bolshevik Revolution was a ringing alarm to a danger that would spread shock waves throughout the western world. Consequently, the United States experienced a brief period of hysteria (“Dictatorships – The great...”). At war times, the US provided employments for millions of individuals in war industry as well as in military forces. However, by the end of the war they were all left jobless (“The Red Scare”). Such issue was intolerable for socialist workers unions, thus, series of serious uprisings and disorders started to emerge.

### **1.5.1 Palmer Red Raids of 1919**

Although Americans were quite aware of communist existence in the States, they had never been sympathizers with radicalism in any form. Therefore, safety measures such as the Espionage Act 1917 and Sedition Act 1918 were set to prevent any attempt of rebel as well as to insure a nationwide allegiance. However, much criticism was addressed to such precaution as it was a severe repressive initiative that affected American rights as well (A. Beard and R. Beard 331). The Attorney General of the Department of Justice A. Mitchell Palmer and his associate John Edgar Hoover used the latter acts to launch a crusade to fight, if not eradicate, anarchists, communists, and radical leftists (“The Palmer raids”). Palmer’s concern was mainly due to the radical activities that took place then and which clearly justified a similar response.

The social unrest, the split of allegiances among immigrants and different ethnic groups, and the massive strikes and riots caused a vast state of panic, particularly after waves of bombing as when a bomb was placed on the front door of Palmer’s home. Under Palmer’s direction, a new and very well-funded division dedicated for opposing communist activities called the General Intelligence Division was set. By the first raid of November 1919, federal agents arrested 200 people at a union of Russian workers in New York. Few days later, another raid revealed a hidden bomb in industrial unit in the Russian workers’ building

("Palmer raids"). As a consequence, serious measures were taken and expulsion became an urgent necessity.

Only between 1919 and 1920, thousands were arrested and often held in custody without trials. The raids didn't last long but they truly illustrated how frightful it was to be the wrong sort of person in America during those times. In this sense former president Theodore Roosevelt asserted that:

There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. When I refer to hyphenated Americans, I do not refer to naturalized Americans. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were naturalized Americans, Americans born abroad. But a hyphenated American is not an American at all...There is no such thing as a hyphenated American who is a good American. The only man who is a good American is the man who is an American and nothing else. (qtd. in Hyphenated Americans "Roosevelt)

The hyphen inserted in the middle of immigrants' names stood not only for the American absolute rejection of their integration but for an infinite identity alienation as well. In the same context, President Woodrow Wilson joined Roosevelt's declaration and stated that "any man who carries a hyphen about with him carries a dagger that he is ready to plunge into the vitals of this Republic whenever he gets ready" (qtd. in A hyphenated American). Consequently, complete blending would never be reached as there would be no trust in such people and the alibi of alienation was a sufficient for authorities to charge.

Palmer's process to deal with the "undesirables" by deporting hundreds of innocent persons rightly or wrongly associated with radicalism was very debatable. The Palmer Raids seized an estimation of 3.000 to 10.000 in more than 30 cities, many of which were arrested with no warrants and no concrete evidence of their guilt ("Palmer Raids"). Regarding his authoritative position, convicted deportation was not difficult for Palmer. Thus, Immigration

Acts were the best opportunity to remove similar refugees from the country. Palmer's obsession went further to suspect the existence of 300,000 communists inside the states ("Palmer Raids"). Although the Red Scare lasted no more than two years but it was an antecedent to what it would come in the 1950's.

### **1.5.2 Sacco and Vanzetti Trial (1927)**

The bias against foreigners was plainly exemplified in the Sacco and Vanzetti trial. Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian born and self admitted immigrants, were sentenced to death for potential armed robbery and double murder. In the "The Trial of Sacco and Vanzetti", Doug Linder shed light on the national judgment split that arose over the men persecutions and jury's dreadful verdict. America was torn over the case and public opinion swung between the confidence in their innocence with the trust that they were targeted only for their radical political belief and the guilt certainty along with the justness of the persecution.

The felony took place in South Braintree, on April 15 Massachusetts 1920, when a paymaster of shoes factory Frederick Parmenter and his guard Alesandro Berardelli were assassinated. Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on May 5<sup>th</sup> due to investigations that particularly aimed Italians that were based on witnesses' uncertain testimonies and the Bridgewater Police Chief Michael Stewart inference that they were involved with primer suspects. The circumstances around the crime of Sacco and Vanzetti's possession of armament when arrested made them easy targets to be framed with the crime.

Both Sacco and Vanzetti were followers of an activist anarchist called Luigi Galleani; he was a pro revolution and a major suspect in the series of bombing of 1919 and 1920. While the U.S congress issued the Military Service act in 1916, Sacco and Vanzetti were in an anarchists fundraising and instead of enlisting for the draft they fled to Mexico along with Galleani and other anarchists. When they returned to the states, Galleani and few of his

followers were captured and deported. Such occurrence urged the Galleanist left to remain undercover and conceal underground (“about the Sacco-Vanzetti case”). Sacco and Vanzetti’s vague role had no direct association with the Galleani’s preceding incidents. Fred Moore, the defendants’ attorney, saw that in order to prove both men’s innocence it would be better to turn the trial into a political one and drew as much worldwide concentration as possible. Moore began to make the case heard to radicals, immigrant groups and even international concern more particularly Italian one (“The Trial of Sacco and Vanzetti”). Soon after, Moore’s efforts paid off as many responded to the call and reacted supportively to the case.

As only being targeted for their radical political beliefs, the prosecutions condemned Sacco and Vanzetti to death. Through the course of the trial, Assistant District Attorney Williams asserted that along with three other criminals, Sacco and Vanzetti were involved in the crime. Sacco recognized as the shooter and Vanzetti as the driver of the fleeing vehicle (Tejada 132). However, nothing related to the other three mysterious convicted were mentioned once more. Dozens of witnesses were called to the stand to give their testimonies and several witness statements were utterly contradictory to the ones preceding them which resulted in cross-examination that refuted their arguments (Tejada 138). The inexactitudes of the witnesses were in favour of the defence of the convicted men especially the inability to relate neither of them to have been at South Braintree at the time of the crime.

As much important the witness testimonies were to the jury they were that of the accused. Sacco declared that the same day of the crime he took a day off work to get some work paper done at the embassy and benefited from the rest of the day to relax. Vanzetti on the other hand, as he did not have a regular job, he sold the few fish he had and spent some time at the shore then he went home (Tejada 141). Both men’s alibis were quite solid particularly because several witnesses backed up their stories and confirmed what they asserted.

Physical and ballistic evidence allegedly found in the crime scene brought much difficulty to the case defence. Several working classes protests in American European and South American districts went on for urgent calls for a retrial in an attempt to reverse the verdict and save the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti. The emergence of new evidence for the trial and Moore's years of fierce fighting to prove the innocence of his defendants changed nothing ("The Trial of Sacco and Vanzetti"). The despicable verdict that put two innocent brave men on the electric chair in August 23, 1927 was sufficient enough to inquire the nature of the state government.

The age of traitors' existence that jeopardized the US national security had changed but the message had not. Cold War tensions maintained suspicions about the US governmental policies and the credibility of its officials. Moreover, the failure of Truman's doctrine to contain communist's spread shifted the attention from doubted actions, which Americans were constantly alarmed about, to doubted thoughts as communism penetrated ever more in popular culture ("Truman Administration (1945-1953)..."). By the late 1950's, America reached an unprecedented new level of hysteria engendered by communists' attempt to overthrow its government.

In the beginning, Senator Joseph McCarthy, had started his anti-communist campaign with the finest intentions as he was determined to prove that there were communists in the government. Nevertheless, for him to continue his quest, innocent people had to be sacrificed for McCarthy's own personal aggrandizement. The time and context in which McCarthy had his political career led the Red Scare to reach its peak. He publically made dramatic announcement accusing the State Department for harboring communists and communist sympathizers. After he served in the Marines during the WWII, McCarthy took a turn towards politics and started his career as a circuit judge. However, it was nothing more than a misfortune as he was let go due to conflicts he was part of ("McCarthyism, red scare...").

By 1950, McCarthy ran for a re-election campaign for the Senate and since he was in desperate need of a booster for his campaign, the communism issue coped rightly with the requirements. His skill in playing with the truth allowed him to put America's drawbacks on the existence of conspirators that the government had no interest in cleaning them out. His accusations were especially against those who challenged him, using just enough truth to make them sound credible ("McCarthy and McCarthyism").

McCarthy was referred to as the most controversial figure in American politics. His dramatic announcement was perfectly timed to cause a mass hysteria. However, he was motivated less by the duty and more by his re-election campaign. For about five long years, the Senator and his anti-Communist crusade had once again dominated the American scene, affected Americans behaviour and attitudes, terrified politicians, and ruined the lives of countless of its citizens. Therefore, the United States was left with the most challenging task of balancing the need of its national security with that of personal liberties.

## End Notes

<sup>1</sup>Paganism is a set of different ancient religious beliefs that belonged to early civilizations. The term was revived during the era of Renaissance to distinguish old traditions from modern Catholic faith. Through time, paganism became an umbrella term to include all non-Catholics despite their distinct religious beliefs. Stone, Ryan. "The True Meaning of Paganism." *Ancient Origins*. N.p., 09 Nov. 2014. Web. May 2016.

<sup>2</sup>Heretics is a description of individuals who deviated from the church's religious practices and beliefs. As the Catholic Church influence increased in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, opposing catholic voices were intolerable and sounded worrying, thus, the church ordered the capture and punishment of suspected heretics. Bambrick, Courtney, Tim Mutrie, and Mary Beth Wilson. "Heretics." *Marginality and Community in Medieval Europe*. N.p., n.d. Web. June 2016.

<sup>3</sup>Mass Psychogenic Disorder, partly resulting from nocebo effect, it is diagnosed as the state of mind when it is taken over by thoughts whether positive or negative and resulting in the individual's outcomes accordingly. Silverman, Jacob. "What Is Collective Hysteria?" *HowStuffWorks*. N.p., 18 Apr. 2007. Web. June 2016.

<sup>4</sup>Black codes were restrictive laws enforced by Confederate states during the reconstruction era in an attempt to reset white authority and limit newly freed African Americans. Every southern state adopted its unique domineering system that was very similar to slavery. History.com Staff. "Black Codes." *History.com*. A&E Television Networks, 2010. Web. June 2016.

<sup>5</sup>Red Scare (1918-1921) referred to the communist massive waves of paranoia that engulfed the United States originally in post-World War I. Such concerns was built upon several factors among which the Bolshevik rebellion, the rise of labour unions and bitter resentment of immigrants especially due to anarchists' unlawful activities. "Red Scare." *West's Encyclopedia of American Law*. The Gale Group, 2008. Web. June 2016.

## **Chapter Two**

### **The Second Red Scare: McCarthy's Witch-Hunt.**

During the years that followed the Second World War the United States was determined to oppose the Soviet Union to become the political, economic and military leader of the world. However, Soviet's rejection to American submission and the US insistence to diminish all Soviet power and influence drove the world into an intense ideological conflict. This conflict later was known as the Cold War because neither side dared to launch a direct attack on the other. Their mutual fear, the political and military setbacks and the consecutive confrontations they faced increasingly grew America's concerns about the rising Soviet threat. At several occasions the world was brought to the brink of a third world war during the cold war.

The chapter provides close insights to understand better how panic and despair may lead great nations to fall into chaos and ruin. When communism was forcefully expanding its influence, several challenges arose to the United States to prevent Asian countries from falling under Soviet's control like a line of falling dominos. Consequently, major proxy wars supported by opposing sides took place. The United States and the Soviet Union fought the Cold War with great fear which eventually turned inwards against their people. Once they launched hunts for enemies within, they both proved that there was no more room for diplomacy. The American propaganda perceived communism as an epidemic that need to be contained so as not to infect America.

The Red Scare that hunted Americans opened doors for some politicians to exploit that fear as they set up investigations to expose alleged communist infiltrations throughout the nation. The Red Scare's most famous icon was Senator Joseph McCarthy after whom the 1950's anti-communism hysteria was named McCarthyism. Considering the US governmental procedures embraced during McCarthyism, the chapter analyses its effects on US domestic politics in time of crisis as well as the firmness of its democratic organizations.



## **2.1 The Emergence of the Second Red Scare**

Faced with the communist threat of the 1950's, America suffered from a political and cultural hysteria caused by fear and anxiety from a potential enemy that might exist within. The hatred-repressed feeling toward communists had allowed serious loyalty suspicions to flow among government officers and espionage accusations began to emerge among liberals ("Defending or Dividing..."). Surrounded by such intense rivalry and race for armaments' atmosphere Charles H. Fairbanks, a southeastern and historical archaeologist, wrote that "The strange result is that the activity of the *other* side, and not one's own resources, plans, and motives, becomes the determinant of one's behaviour" (qtd. in "Arms Race"). Guided by mistrust, the US interventions were based upon the enemy's uncertainties, which resulted in ruining many lives and careers, under the pretext of chasing out the Red communists from the American soil despite very few evidence were available.

Though Cold War reports were to a certain extent believed to be exaggerated, both world's superpowers spent extraordinary amounts of money to insure their security through spying on each other. Agents' recruitment, stealing classified documents, secret surveillances, and sabotaging activities were among various tactics used to uncover the enemy's intelligence agency missions ("Cold War espionage"). As it was depicted in Western movies and literature, surveillance was a shared Cold War pastime in spite of how very risky it was and how harsh would be the price to pay. Yet, both sides' undercover agents were aware of the inevitable ending once their cover was blown ("Spies of the Cold War Era").

### **2.1.1 The Alger Hiss Case**

Alger Hiss was a former talented government lawyer and State Department official; who contributed to the foundation of the United Nations in post World War II ("A Byte out of History:..."). Hiss was convicted purportedly of lying under oath and performing undercover activities for the Soviets during his days in the office. The timing of his case helped to rise

national attention, particularly as it drove interest about the conspiracy theories which would set ground later to what would be known as McCarthyism (“Alger Hiss: Divisive...” 1). The precise charges directed to Hiss were not only giving away classified US information to Chambers, as he was a mediator to the Soviets, but breaking the pledge he had made for his country as well (“A Loss of Conviction...”).

Hiss’s accusations came from Whittaker Chambers, an ex-communist spy and magazine editor, who asserted that Hiss was an active undercover soviet spy during the 1930’s. Moreover, Chambers claimed a close friendship with Hiss and even provided detailed description about his life (“The Alger Hiss Case”). In 1938 and 1939, at the Hearing room of Ways and Means Committee, Chambers confessed his prior-involvement with the Communist party and reported to the authorities all he knew about US Communists’ infiltrations. Chambers even named for the Committee individuals who he knew before as active Communists (“The Trials of Alger...”). In 1939, during dinner with the Assistant Secretary of the State, Chambers declared clearly all he knew about the Communist penetrations. Later in 1942, he was interrogated by the FBI but little was done to follow up with his statement. A blind eye was turned on the matter especially after President Roosevelt refused to hear about Soviet spying (“The Alger Hiss case”).

The quarrel between Hiss and Chambers initiated a terror of communist government infiltrations that hunted the American population. In August 1948, under his request to appear before the House Un-American Activity Committee<sup>1</sup>, Hiss testified that he never heard of Chambers’ name and he might identify him to a man he barely knew in the mid 1930’s by the name of George Crosley (“The Trials of Alger...”). Responding to Chamber’s accusations, Hiss sued him for slander, however, Chambers had not uttered his last words. At the trial he presented to the committee new evidence which included: handwritten memos and typewritten summaries of State Department documents and strips of 35mm film and

undeveloped rolls. Chambers evidence would later be known as the pumpkin papers as they were hidden in his farm inside a hollowed-out pumpkin (“Secrets, Lies, and Atomic Spies”). After extensive FBI investigations of validating Chambers data to disclose Hiss’s cover, he was sentenced to serve five years in prison (“A Byte out of History...”).

Following countless unsuccessful efforts Hiss made for protesting his innocence, very few trusted his virtue and supported him. Several theories of possible plots were in possession of Hiss’s attorney that helped to reach a conclusion where Hiss might be covering up for his wife (“Alger Hiss: Divisive...” 3). A number of new evidence from the Soviet archives related to his case had emerged. In 1992, Russian archivists reported the inexistence of any evidence that convicted Hiss of spying. Under the request of Hiss, General Volkogonov announced that "You can tell Mr. Alger Hiss that the heavy weight can be lifted from his heart" (qtd. in “Alger Hiss: Divisive...” 4).

In 1996, Hiss died at the age of 92 years old. Even after his death many American still doubted his innocence. They considered the declassified Venona decrypted evidence that neither convicted him of any soviet undercover works nor entirely cleared his name from any misdeeds (“A Loss of Conviction...”). Even though Hiss assumed disloyalty did not take place while America was in times of war, it unlocked a door for upcoming espionage cases alike. Besides, it was due to such cases that much blame was put on the American administration for being soft on communism.

### **2.1.2 The Amerasia Spy Case**

The US history held records of individuals who deceived their country and of foes that spied and manoeuvred deceitful schemes on the American ground. In a speech he delivered before the HUAC, Hoover expressed his willingness to side with the US government against the domestic communist threat. Hoover’s anti-communist crusade also aimed at media and educational organizations’ sequels, under his command in 1946, the FBI initiated immense

waves of public “education”. To preserve its authority, the FBI hyped its anti-communist campaign and made it echo in multiple dependable media forms (“J. Edgar Hoover, Speech...”2).

Driven by the conviction that communism might have roots established in US finest files, thousands of reporters, government officials, educators...that were brought before the committee were disgraced, harassed and even forced to abandon their occupations (Alwood 6). In the late 1940s, the FBI launched night raids that exposed one of the grand spy cases of post war America. The break-in of the pro-communist *Amerasia* magazine was due to a press release of a classified Strategic Service’s documents. When the FBI forces broke in the magazine’s offices about 1800 stolen confidential reports, among which data related to US armies’ location in China, were retrieved. Therefore, Philip Jaffe, Kate Mitchell, Mark Gayn, Andrew Roth, John Stewart Service, and Emanuel Larson were arrested (“The Documented Truth...”).

Due to China’s fall to communist control and the shift in politics of the 1940’s-1950’s, many of the American foreign-service officers and journalists, known as members of the China Hands, faced treason accusations. Diplomats such Service, John Carter Vincent, John Paton Davies, and John F. Melby and Owen Lattimore subjected loyalty board examinations and investigations (Lieberman 448). In the context of the US denial of the Chinese self-governing right and the China Hands members’ persecution a letter written by former US diplomats to the editor of *The New York Times* in January 1954 declared:

A Foreign Service officer who reports . . . to the very best of his ability and who makes recommendations which at the time he conscientiously believes to be for the best interests of the United States may subsequently find his loyalty challenged and may even be forced out of the Service and discredited forever as a private citizen after years of distinguished service (qtd. In Lieberman 449).

The China Hands members' condemnation were assumed to be because of their sympathy with the Chinese free will to decide its fate. Accordingly, the US government had to take severe measures in order to prevent the spread of a similar communist easiness.

As a former member of the China hands<sup>4</sup>, John S. Service was suspected of reviling confidential data to the Amarasia editor. Service was never prosecuted and the grand jury, House subcommittee, and the State Department's Loyalty Board released him from his position. Yet, in 1950, Senator McCarthy had a different verdict. According to him, it was because of Service and his friends' ineptitude and sympathy towards communism that China was lost. McCarthy declared that Service was one of the numerous conspirators that were selling out their country to the enemy. Although Service's case had much echo than the precedent, he was once more discharged ("John S. Service dismissed..."). Following several attempts to recover his career, in 1956 the Supreme Court judged the presidential board's dismissal as invalid and Service managed to get his life back on track and pursued his service at the State Department until he retired in 1962 ("John Service, a Purged...2").

### **2.1.3 The Rosenberg Case**

The twists and turns that were encountered during the communist witch-hunt, justified the authorities' persistence to blow more covers of those who worked behind the shadows. The first Russian A-bomb test 1949 spread more distrustful feelings among Americans as it was highly unexpected, especially because America presumed to have the lead on nuclear weapons. Consequently, Klaus Fuchs a German physician, who offered his services to assist American to construct their first A-bomb, was imprisoned for revealing secret data to the Russians ("Soviets explode atomic bomb"). Unsurprisingly, after that an extensive search for spies began.

The declassification of the Soviet program known as the Venona Cables<sup>2</sup> led the authorities to a man named Harry Gold, who was originally supposed to be named Raymond,

to whom Fuchs exposed top-secret data related to the bomb manufacture. After investigations Gold confessed he paid a soldier to get confidential information, the soldier from the Manhattan project<sup>3</sup> was later identified to be David Greenglass (“Trial of the Rosenberg...”). The Rosenberg were other recognizable figures related to Soviet spying, the couple Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were arrested and charged of spying and conspiring with the Russians, they were denounced by none other than Ethel’s brother David Greenglass (“David Greenglass, the brother...”).

In an unprecedented occurrence, classified data about the Atom Bomb were discussed publically at the trial of the Rosenberg. It was found pointless to keep it secret especially because the enemy successfully managed to expose it (“Julius and Ethel...”). According to David Greenglass testimony Julius, as a soviet spy, did not only induce him to steal data related to the Manhattan project but also managed to obtain vital information for the development of a weapon, which was later used to take down the U-2 American spy plane in 1960 (“Julius Rosenberg Biography”).

To serve justice and punish the conspirators for the disgraceful espionage act, Greenglass was imprisoned for about ten years and the Rosenberg, parents of two young boys, were condemned to death (“David Greenglass, the brother...”). Even though the Rosenberg’s execution was perceived as a very dreadful event, the verdict could not have been different as there was no match with other prior cases. Within the same context of clemency and diminishing the defendants’ punishment, the Appellate Court was not able to ignore such capital treason despite the couple’s flawless judicial records and their fine social status (“The Rosenberg Case”).

The Controversy of the Rosenberg’s case lied in the misdeed Ethel had committed and what was she guilty of. Following decades after the Rosenberg’s sentence, Morton Sobell, who preserved his phony innocence, openly announced that he and his friend Julius were

indeed Soviet spies (“Case Closed: the Rosenbergs...”). Julius and Ethel’s sons, Michael and Robert, accepted the evidence about their father’s disloyalty. Yet, they both believed that their mother was not guilty and was persecuted based on guilt by association (“Julius Rosenberg Biography”).

## **2.2 McCarthyism’s Origins and Development**

The terror, anxiety and hysteria that the word McCarthyism carried out existed long before the communist witch-hunt campaign was launched. Despite the coalition that joined the USA and the USSR during the First World War, both showed no sign of upcoming harmony. Due to the Soviet’s escalating domination in diverse corners of the globe, mistrust and suspicions took over the American population which made foreigners and non-Americans’ fate at stake (“McCarthy Era: Era of...”). Cold War blemish was felt in every aspect of American life, it gave rise to an unusual sense of devotion to the country. US military intervention adopted the containment policy to chase off communist threat and prevent further expansion, moviemakers tended to produce anti communist movies, and Americans’ consumption attitude shifted to local goods (“Cold War Influences...”).

Following the congressional responses to calm American’s concern, President Truman embraced as well the idea of capturing communists. Therefore, in March 1947, he signed on to the Loyalty Board that set up government agents in administrative organizations to test employees’ Americanism. The essence of such initiation was to prove their patriotism by denouncing Communism (“March 22, 1947: Truman...”). As Loyalty Boards started to operate approximately 1,200 employees were dismissed for having doubtful allegiance and about 5,000 chose to remain silent because they felt offended. To enhance the situation, Truman gave a chance of defence to the ones labelled with disloyal conducts. However, during this loyalty checks about 3 million American employees were interrogated; some of which were let go and others resigned (“Loyalty Review Board”).

The increasing fearful sentiment of the communist suspicions without doubt presented the ideal opportunity not to be missed. Acquired its name from the Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy; McCarthyism was perceived as a manipulative strategy used in domestic affairs in the United States during the Second Red Scare epoch to achieve political, economic and psychological benefits. Its aim was to spread an anti-communist fever by the use of alleged and often overstated accusations (“McCarthyism was more than...”). In cases of crisis, the usual was that nations looked up for their governments to combat their fears. For the case of Americans, Senator McCarthy seized the chance to turn his crusade of anti-communism into a weapon which was supposed to spare people from their agony. In an attempt to reveal the true cover of McCarthyism and how those presumed communist charges tremendously affected American’s social and political lives Doherty stated that:

[McCarthyism] is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of the due process of law. It is the use of the Big Lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism and security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth; it is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of our society (qtd. in Doherty 14).

In this sense, McCarthyism instigated an anti-communists obsession that deprived people of their basic rights and ruined their reputations based only on little evidence of disloyalty proved to have brought nothing but disgrace to the US government.

At the time when communism became a serious political issue. In February 9, 1950, Wheeling West Virginia, Senator McCarthy delivered a speech in which he related the significant decrease of American influence and supremacy after the Second World War to the presence of a traitorous scheme manoeuvred inside the country. He called for a moral uprising when he inserted “When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be because of enemies



from without, but rather because of enemies from within" (qtd. in "Joseph McCarthy, Wheeling..." 2). McCarthy deliberately turned the situation into his own cause when he made vague accusation of traitors inside state department.

McCarthy's speech was a turning point in history, his exploitation of the communists' national concern began when he made vague accusation of traitors' presence within the state government, he claimed to have a list of 57 cases among which 205 members of communist party working for the government and asserted that its lack of intervention to impede them could only be a sign of its complicity ("Joseph McCarthy, Wheeling ..."). Cold War tensions and the setbacks that were encountered raised suspicions about the governmental policies and the credibility of its officials. The communist accusations fitted the mould of an inevitable political revolution.

### **2.3 McCarthy's Blacklists and the Committee Hearings**

After he warned about communist's infiltrations into US institutions, McCarthy asserted that the communist party planned to penetrate and infect every aspects of daily American life. Therefore, as a precaution certain books were confiscated, educators and educational programs were altered and prominent art, news and entertainment figures were blacklisted ("McCarthy and McCarthyism" 86). By the late 1940's, HUAC's duties were revived once it turned its attention toward Hollywood. Based on the conviction that communism managed to set up a foothold in America's most prominent sphere, it was believed that dissident notes and damaging US representation were passed through the movie industry ("The Hollywood Blacklist").

McCarthyism soon spread to every part of American society and life. Federal, states, and local governments created blacklists of peoples and organizations suspected of being communists. The witch-hunt on Hollywood began with its first blacklist in November 1947. All those who were pro or suspected to be involved with communist activities among

producers, directors, writers, actors, artistes...etc were blacklisted (“The Hollywood Blacklist...”). When the HUAC compelled Hollywood employees to testify before the hearing committee, a list of witnesses was set. Some members within the list protested the charges and elucidated their freedom of speech (“Hollywood Ten”). Though, the chairman of HUAC, J. Parnell Thomas, asserted that Congress had the right to enquire about people’s political affiliations by stating that “The Constitution was never intended to cloak or shield those who would destroy it.” (“Hollywood Ten” cited...).

Responding to the committee’s sceptical accusations against the movie industry, members of Hollywood liberals established the Committee for the First Amendment. The Committee was supposed to bring assistance to the convicted men; however, shortly after the hearing session was opened the committee members disbanded (“Blacklist: A different look at...”). At all times, the accused refused to answer the committee’s most recurrent question “Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?” (“Hollywood Ten”). Screen writer Alvah Bessie, screenwriter and director Herbert Biberman, screenwriter Lester Cole, director Edward Dmytryk, screenwriter Ring Lardner Jr., screenwriter John Howard Lawson, screenwriter Albert Maltz, screenwriter Samuel Ornitz, producer and screenwriter Adrian Scott, and screenwriter Dalton Trumbo were the blacklisted Hollywood Ten condemned to serve at top a year in prison for refusing to collaborate (“Hollywood 10” cited for...).

In addition to government blacklists, private organizations also printed blacklists of their own. One of the most prominent non-government blacklists was named Red Channels. In 1947, Roy Brewer, a member of the Motion Picture Industry Council, made to order a booklet under the name of Red Channels. Written by Ted C. Kirkpatrick and published in 22 June 1950, 151 registered names of writers, directors and performers were suspected for being affiliates of radical organizations. Coupled with that, copies were sent to those concerned with the hiring in the entertainment industry (Red Channels). In the early 1950’s, Nancy Davis

discovered her name on one of the blacklists and could no longer pursue her career as an actress. Ironically, the president of the Screen Actor Guild was Ronald Reagan, Nancy future husband and later US 40<sup>th</sup> president, managed to clear her name under the pretext that she was confused with another women (Ronald Reagan).

The blacklisting phenomenon was far to be ended, it was after HUAC hearing in 1951 conducted by John S. Wood and Internal Security subcommittee in 1952 lead by Senator Pat McCarran that the phase of “Naming Names” began (“Blacklist: A different look...”).

Sociologist Edward Shils viewed former communist confessions as:

Fantasies of destroying American society and harming their fellow citizens, having fallen out with their equally villainous comrades, now provide a steady stream of information and misinformation about the extent to which Communists, as coherent and stable in character as themselves, penetrated and plotted to subvert American institutions (“Naming names: the social...”).

Although the ex-communist denunciations were presumed to be cynical, untruthful, and damaging, they were the government’s most reliable source of information. The outcomes of the Hollywood blacklist were of high price, they caused the loss of many brilliant figures that had their careers forever ruined, spread a wave of social rejection and often subjected them to segregation and harassment (“The Hollywood Blacklist...”).

## **2.4 Edward R. Murrow Vs Senator McCarthy**

Egbert Roscoe Murrow, later Edward R. Murrow. Murrow started his career as a chief of the National Student Federation and soon after he became an assistant director for the International Institute of Education in 1930 (“Edward R. Murrow Biography”). In 1937, he was hired to direct the CBC radio correspondence in London; from there he established basic standards of broadcast journalism to come. Along with his remarkable and distinctive career and the company of a small staff he appointed earlier, later known as Murrow’s Boy’s,

Murrow bravely reported the urgent atrocity of Hitler's war on Western Europe during WWII. Soon after the end of the war he returned back to the States where he was quit an icon of broadcast journalism ("Edward R. Murrow: This Reporter").

With Cold War tension, the escalating Red Scare, and the House on Un-American Activities hearings, media instantly picked up on stories and ran with them. In October 1953, Murrow decided to inspect and report the case of Milo Radulovich. Milo John Radulovich was lieutenant in the Air Force Reserve who got released from duty because his loyalty was questioned due to relatives associations ("Milo Radulovich: Nemesis..."). Although Radulovich committed no misdeed he was considered a menace to the national security because the Air force believed that his father and sister were communists' sympathizers. As Murrow sent a reporter to Radulovich home, he stated that "If I had said, I will cut those ties, everything would have been beautiful" (qtd. in "Remembering Milo Radulovich"). There were no evidence against him, yet, he was immediately judged guilty by association.

During his communist chase, McCarthy seemed not caught communists same as he did of news headlines. Despite that the case of Radulovich did not involve McCarthy's name but the program dealt openly with the outcomes of McCarthyism on civil rights. As Murrow siezed the opportunity to report Radanovich's case, Americans supportively reacted with him. Therefore, few days after Radulovich regained his reputation when the Pentagon reinstated him again ("Milo Radulovich, 80, Dies..."). The case served more as an eye-opener on the gravity of communist allegation and the controversies it arose.

Murrow and others view Senator McCarthy "As a dangerous junk-yard demagogue whose wild and unfounded charges did nothing but destroy people's lives without ever finding one so-called fifth-column Communist spy in the government"("qtd. in "Ike and Tail Gunner Joe"). The inestimable damages he caused and the charged atmosphere of anxiety and fright that was spread could not pass unnoticed. At his TV show "See it Know" in March 9, 1954,

Murrow decided to dedicate the entire half an hour show to confront McCarthy. He openly used his personal words in a provocative attempt to put an end to his reign of terror. Murrow deliberately chose to close the show with a long statement in which he invited the American nation to take a stand for democracy and for personal liberties (“60 years ago...”).

McCarthy claimed that his choice to respond to Murrow’s attack was not to justify himself but rather to doubt Murrow’s motives toward the extermination of the communist conspirators. He considered Murrow’s confrontation as an act of allegiance and an overprotective sensation toward fellow communists (“Senator Joseph R. McCarthy...”). Murrow eventually concluded that the ultimate verdict of anyone’s attempt to oppose or disagree with McCarthy would without doubt be met with the charges of communism (“Edward R. Murrow Response...”). Even though Murrow’s stand was contributory effective, the timing of his quarrel was highly debatable. He was criticized over the fact that the surrounding circumstances made McCarthy an easy target and he safely took advantage of such matter (Doherty 162).

Spending his life as a heavy smoker, Murrow, the legend that set the highest standards of professional broadcast journalism, passed away at the age of 57 of lung cancer. For his tribute, President Johnson said that he was a “gallant fighter” who had “dedicated his life as a newsman and as a public official to the unrelenting search for truth” (qtd. in “Edward R. Murrow, Broadcaster...”). Murrow proved himself to the Americans as brave patriotic men and a tenacious conscientious reporter. Hence, since 1971, the Radio Television Digital News granted yearly awards named after Murrow to prominent journalistic accomplishments. Also, in 2005, under the direction of George Clooney a new generation of journalists released the movie entitled “Good Night, and Good Luck” to re-enact Murrow’s efforts to put end to McCarthy’s terror (“Edward R. Murrow Biography”).

## 2.5 The Army McCarthy Hearings

Television had a significant role during the Army McCarthy Hearings, the show was very welcomed among Americans mainly because of the unprecedented opportunity to witness the court of justice that made most of famed political antecedents minor to what was broadcasted (Doherty 189). On 22 April 1954, for about thirty-six days, an average of 188 hours of broadcast, the Army hearings the greatest political spectacle of its history. When McCarthy went on further with his investigation to reach even the Army, he was brought before the Senate to respond to the Army's accusations ("On This Day: Army...").

Following McCarthy and Murrow's quarrel, the US Army announced that McCarthy along with his associate Roy Cohn had employed an oppressive campaign to get a privileged dealing with one of his enlisted past associate David Schine. However, McCarthy proclaimed the opposite that Schine was kept in the Army's custody in order to deter McCarthy from uncovering communist agents among its ranks. To resolve the dilemma, the Senate's Chairman of the Government Operations Committee ordered a live Hearings sessions against the Army ("McCarthy Army Hearings Begin").

The journalistic eyewitness and its revelation of details made the confrontation unprecedented and magnified. In such context Doherty asserted, "Nonetheless, to a devout coterie of Army-McCarthy buffs, the hearings were as fiercely addictive as a soap opera" (202). Although the broadcast ratings were not quite high as the echoes made by the Hearings, the American nation were quite intrigued by the inelegance of the phenomena.

On June 9, 1954's session, McCarthy's accusations initially targeted Army officials of "coddling Fifth Amendment Communists". Then later, he addressed the charged precisely to Frederick G. Fisher, who was an associate in the Army's special counsel ("Frederick G. Fisher..."). McCarthy provocatively stated that:

I think we should tell him that he has in his law firm a young man named Fisher, whom he recommended, incidentally, to do work on this committee, who has been for a number of years a member of an organization which was named, oh year and years ago, as the legal bulwark of the Communist party (qtd. in McCarthy-Welch Exchange).

McCarthy's attack on Fisher's character proved nothing, as did every other argument he had proposed. Through a monologue delivered by Joseph Welch for Fisher's defense the Hearings reached an emotive climax. Welch lost his temper challenging McCarthy by stating: "Until this moment, senator, I think I never gauged your cruelty or recklessness" and concluding by: "Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?" causing McCarthy's character assassination and leaving him no opportunity to strike back ("The Army-McCarthy...").

Soon, public opinion turned against the Senator and the Hearings drew to an inconclusive finish shortly afterward. McCarthy's time of glamour had come to an end, the Senate voted for his condemnation for his "inexcusable," "reprehensible," "vulgar and insulting" conduct "unbecoming a senator". McCarthy was not expelled from office, yet he had lost most of his power, his reputation, and respect to the American audience during the Hearings (The Army-McCarthy...). Despite Hearings' damages that were made to the Senator's career, major items of unfinished business, fear, and smear strategy of communist was left.

The extensive media coverage of the hearings exposed McCarthy's nature and allowed the nation to witness his self-destruction. His failure to give any compelling evidence of any person's relation to communism was within the U.S Army. The Republicans' damage had been done, McCarthy was shamed into silence and McCarthyism had finally come to an end. While McCarthy and other leading players of his time had long since passed from the scene, McCarthyism remained a story without an end. The persecution of American citizens and the

unfounded hatred of left-wings attitudes that was entrenched in society might be his most lasting legacy.



## End Notes

<sup>1</sup>House Un-American Activity Committee, also known as Dies Committee, is a committee of the US House of Representatives set to inspect alleged charges of communist activities throughout the 1950's. Its investigations resulted in the blacklisting of several prominent character. The committee's nomination changed to be Internal Security Committee before it was finally dissolved in 1975. Goodman W. "House Un-American Activities Committee." *The Columbia Electronic Encyclopaedia*. N.p., 2012. Web. May 2016.

<sup>2</sup>Venona Cables was coded messages sent by secret agents of the Soviet military intelligence agency in the 1940's. The United States efforts for the cables decryption in the 1940's, revealed the identities of numerous Americans who were spies for the Soviet Union. The Cables. Tyson, Peter. "Read Venona Intercepts." *PBS*. PBS, Jan. 2002. Web. June 2016.

<sup>3</sup>the Manhattan project was a secret US, Great Britain and Canada's project set up during World War II (1941-1946) in an effort to develop nuclear bombs. Under control of the United States Army Corps of Engineers, the project was carried out in enormous secrecy. After a test explosion in July 1945, the United States dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. "Manhattan Project." *New World Encyclopedia*. N.p., 14 Sept. 2014. Web. June 2016.

## Chapter Three

### Does McCarthyism Appear again in USA?

McCarthy's end as a public and administrative figure was in December 1954, when the senate ratified his censorship. Over time, the concept of McCarthyism was perceived as a political aberration, a black hole in the American history that exhausted much of its time and energy. The subversive warning that McCarthy sent off was powerful enough to cause an epoch of anxiety that changed the course of upcoming US fortune. The anti-communist obsession that deprived people of their democratic basic rights and ruined their reputations noticeably interpreted US willingness to take one man's alleged charges as solid ground for the severe and unjust measures to preserve its national democracy.

The basic and distinctive feature of U.S policy during the Cold War was its tendency to embrace any country that opposed communism regardless of the orientation of its government. However, by the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR, America had its politics, social welfare, and education forever reshaped. Over the last few decades, terms like Islamists, or Terrorists were used to describe the newly emerged political movements that believed in Islam as a political governing system. Once more, due to the stressful situation America placed itself in, it had to turn its strength to terminate that new enemy which sought to achieve absolute domination. Democracy was about the approaches that were taken as well as the achievements it accomplished. Still, the US government's measures violated the norms and values of the Constitution even though it had the legitimate goal of preserving security.

While US foreign policy issues tended to take center stage in the post- Cold War era, there were challenges on the domestic front as well. Fear that remained prevalent across the U.S had the domestic security services restructured. In a comparison he made between impression of McCarthyism and post 9/11 assault, Geoffrey Stone; a professor at the University of

Chicago, stated that: “Just as hard cases make bad law, hard times make bad judgments... It's our responsibility as lawyers to resist those bad judgments.” (“McCarthy Era Offers Cautionary...”). Under the shadow of distress, the latter “bad judgments” could hardly be illustrative to the political repression that the US government carried out upon its nation.

### **3.1 The 9/11 Attacks**

The deadliest case of domestic terrorism in the history of the United State stand for horrendous attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. The terror blasted the American security and drove the country into a grief and fear not felt since The Pearl Harbour Attack. For several days, Americans searched for collective comfort in candlelight vigils and churches. Facts stated that the attacks were manoeuvred by nineteen men who hijacked four fuel-loaded US commercial airplanes bound for west coast destinations (“September 11, 2001...”). Reports indicated that two of the hijacked planes flew into the Twin Tower while the other crashed into the Pentagon and the fourth never reached their envisioned objective and were found crashed in a field of Pennsylvania (“The 9/11 terrorist attacks”).

The narrative alteration that was given to the events dominated all other possible interpretations, and later engendered certain political and ideological consequences. The strategy of mainstream media to direct American public opinion and instantly raised the nation's concern toward the gravity of the situation. In an unprecedented occurrence, newscast organization cooperated and shared exclusive and constant coverage of the attacks (Monahan 56). A serious reasoning of the attacks iterated the notion of insidious enemies backed up by “axis of evil” that were compromising the alleged American democracy and freedom (Morgan 27). That suggested the crucial vigilance of the US government towards other predicted terrorist acts.

The watch lists' phenomenon that emerged in the fifties during McCarthyism was once again revived through the latter terrorist act. Under the shadow of fear, Americans feared Americans, confused panic with patriotism, and blindly oppressed others to ensure their own safety. Although the naming was quite different, still they had the same concept. Terrorist watch list were list that had names of people suspected of consulting about or preparing for terrorism, based on intelligence findings or other tips the government did not disclose. It was highly assumed that the absence of cooperation between the agencies resulted in such horrific acts even though some of which had actual suspected hijackers (““Startling” Number of Americans...”).

The sorrow and the evil that Americans saw the day of the attack soon gave way to anger and an urgent quest for answers and retribution. US government delegated itself to act as a counterterrorist force to oppose these terrorist organisations. Despite the assertion of undersecretary of Defense Douglas J. Feith that “What we did after 9/11 was look broadly at the international terrorist network from which the next attack on the United States might come. And we did not focus narrowly only on the people who were specifically responsible for 9/11. Our main goal was preventing the next attack” (“September 11 attacks”). In fact, US had benefited most out of the 9/11 assault not only by infringing its citizens' most basic privileges but also by launching presumed counterterrorism wars and intervening in those states on so called humanitarian basis. Facts stated that a month before the attacks, a caution by the CIA was addressed to President Bush about Bin Laden's threats to strike. US government was given an anonymous tip that a group of Bin Laden's supporters planned to attack with explosives, yet little attention was given to the matter (“While America Slept...” 2).

As the nation found itself once again at stake to confront the ever more difficult task to hunt down a new enemy, interrogations about the identity of those responsible for the terrorist

acts and the velocity of the government to retaliate so that justice would be served kept repeatedly ringing in the American society. In a speech he delivered at the eve of the attacks, President Bush declared that:

These acts of mass murder were intended to frighten our Nation into chaos and retreat, but they have failed... Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve... (“George W. Bush: Address...”).

Therefore, US government felt the urgency to take measures for retaliation and terrorist termination. Soon after, Bush’s administration presumed that the attacks were orchestrated by el Qaeda regarding its great influence in Afghanistan and its support to the Taliban regime in controlling most of the country (“9/11 attacks triggered...”). The attackers were presumed Saudi Arabian and other Arab nations’ Islamists, commonly known as el Qaeda fighters. Under similar circumstances, the CIA used the term “conspiracy theory” to dismiss any inquiries about the government considering its prior involvement in the Persian Gulf War and its continued military presence in the Middle East (“2001 Attack on America”).

### **3.2 From US Surveillance Crusade to Government Watch-lists**

In post-World War II, US government created the National Security Agency in order to prevent any alien surprise attack and keep watch over distant targets. However; following the 9/11 attack, the scope of NSA’s surveillances stretched itself even more to include US civilians as well especially after it failed to foresee any prior indications of the attack. Edward Loomis a former NSA cryptologist proclaimed, “I do believe it could have been prevented with revisions to the way we were permitted to operate,” and “What if there was a tool that could have allowed analysts to monitor their Internet traffic while also preserving the privacy rights of Americans?” (Inside the NSA the day...). Revelations alike led US government to

deeply consider experiencing surveillance programs domestically. However, very much like during McCarthyism innocent people were maligned, ostracized, blacklisted and little secrecy protections were respected while auditing nearly all U.S data communications.

In fact, exposures of NSA illegitimate domestic spying cases dated back, between 2006 and 2009, long before the assault was made. The enactment of the Patriot Act<sup>1</sup> was presumed to improve US counter-terrorism efforts. Section 215 of the prior act gave green light to Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act to scrutinize all what appeared as “relevant” to terrorist suspicious investigation (How 9/11 turned US...). With the intense efforts and expenditures to monitor nationwide flowing data it would come as no surprise that both NSA and CIA got the share of the lion as exposed by the former NSA contractor Edward Snowden. Mostly known as the man who blew the whistle on the NSA and the U.S. Surveillance State, Snowden stated that a large portion of the black budget<sup>2</sup> was devoted to hunt “who seeks to exploit their authorized access to sensitive information to harm US interests.” (“US Intelligence spending...”). While McCarthyism compelled the American public to enter a severe state of anti-communist hysteria, NSA managed to reincarnate the same stressful anti-terrorist paranoia.

In response to prior addressed inquiries, James R. Clapper Jr, director of National Intelligence, wrote “The United States has made a considerable investment in the Intelligence Community since the terror attacks of 9/11, a time which includes wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the Arab Spring, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction technology, and asymmetric threats in such areas as cyber-warfare” (““Black Budget” summary...”). Under such statement, it was clearly uttered that the most important functions of US secret organizations were not merely to do espionage but also to create anarchy and domestic chaos in target states.

In a similar circumstances to McCarthy's paranoiac crusade, the FBI domestic wireless surveillance unite turned into a massive spying campaign, government blank warrants persistently infringed US constitutional civil liberties and personal privacies. Under a top-secret spying program code-name PRISM, NSA obtained direct access to citizen's social media accounts and filtered other websites like: Microsoft, Yahoo, Google, Facebook, PalTalk, AOL, Skype, YouTube and Apple ("How 9/11 turned the US...").

Under the pretext of raising concern over freedom, transparency and rights to maintain privacy, Former Technical assistant Edward Snowden appalling revelations like "Even if you're not doing anything wrong, you're being watched and recorded". Furthermore, he added "it's getting to the point you don't have to have done anything wrong, you simply have to eventually fall under suspicion from somebody, even by a wrong call, and then they can use this system to go back in time and scrutinize every decision you've ever made, every friend you've ever discussed something with, and attack you on that basis" ("You're Being Watched: Edward..."). By means of such initiation, Snowden intended to open people's eyes on the ugly truth and take a stand in their interest but most likely it was an attempt to clear himself.

The Terrorist Identities Datamart Environment, government watch lists' major source, held approximately 700,000 names ("2 US Agencies added..."). Moreover, watch-listing facts argued that in 2013, the government made 468,749 nominations for inclusion to the Terrorist Screening Database, up from 227,932 nominations in 2009 ("How the US's Terrorism..."). With a blacklisting case-like, an atmosphere charged with fear and suspicions spread all over the country. Ordinary citizens turned into informants and characters, choices, loyalties and motives were questioned. A Georgetown law professor David Cole stated regarding the re-emergence of McCarthyism in the post-9/11 sphere, "We have adapted the mistakes of the past, substituting new forms of political repression for old ones." ("1953-2003-2016:

Syria...”). Although McCarthyism hardly looked good in the light of US history, it managed to cause great damage to its present by repeating itself.

During the presidency of George Bush Jr. and up to Barak Obama, the reign of fear once more managed to envelope the country as lists of terrorist suspects emerged. People of different social categories had their names put on the list in case they met with certain qualifications. Landing up on the government’s terror watch-list was an altering concern as it did not only ruin individual’s lives but also restrict their travelling liberty as no flight lists were shared with 22 foreign governments (“How the US Terrorism...”). Despite the intentions it had to reason its acts of espionage, the US history incessantly held records of infringing the rights and violating the privacy of its own people.

Education Secretary for the Conference of Catholic Bishops Sister Glenn Ann McPhee was one of many who were added to the watch list. Owing to the inefficiency of the airport screening system, Ms. McPhee was misidentified with an Afghani man who used the same name and was on the watch list. Therefore, Ms. McPhee arrested at Baltimore Washington International airport. As difficult and hard as the process she went through, McPhee spent nine long months to be able to clear her name from the TSA watch list (“Problem-Filled Traveler...”). McPhee doubtlessly admitted that if it were not for the political connections she had, she would have not been able to discharge herself. McPhee’s case stood as was one of many other innocents whose names were repeatedly correlated with those of the list of suspected terrorists (“Nun Terrorized by Terror...”).

Another victim of the watch-list was a former Korean War marine veteran and a Professor of Constitutional law at Princeton University, Walter F. Murphy. In March 2007, Murphy was denied a boarding pass to get to a plane and was informed that he had his name added to the Transportation Security Administration’s terrorist watch list. Such reaction came merely to the assumed result of a governmental criticism the professor had made earlier (“Professor:



Bushing Bush...”). The reason behind his allegations and inability to use the boarding service was that Murphy, as he detailed, had “In September 2006, given a lecture at Princeton, televised and put on the Web, highly critical of George Bush for his many violations of the Constitution.” (“Another Enemy of the People?”). A statement alike was close enough to any unapproved behaviour and fitted the requirements to be suspected of having terrorist liaison back then. Eventually when Murphy was allowed to board the plane, he was warned that his luggage would probably be raided. On his returning trip, his luggage was lost indeed (“Is Princeton Professor and...”). Even though McCarthy’s reign of paranoid accusations ended long ago, it thrived to find its way back through the skeptical procedures US government adapted to tarnish innocent Americans’ reputation.

Such governmental procedures implied that one did not have to be suspected of committing a crime or any misdeed but could be added to the list, thus be accused of being terrorist, just by disagreeing with the government. Because of the abused use of the Patriot act, not only those under investigations were spied on but anyone else who was assumed relevant. American Civil Liberties Union and other civil liberties supporters were forcefully critical to the use of lists based on unverified and insubstantial suspicions with no solid ground for prosecution (“400,000 on the ‘terrorist’ list”). While it was considered that US government had avoided its inaccuracies and political repression once existed during McCarthyism. It merely replaced them by new forms since the paradox in those watch list was that none of the known terrorists’ names were in fact in it.

The argument that the US government rested on when trespassing civilians’ privacies and personal liberties was that terrorism was its most imperative and alarming threat and it had to respond (““Startling” Number of Americans...”). Nevertheless, US “fabricated” precautionary excuses turned out to be far from being equivalent to their actual actions. The War on Terror originated through conflicts between belligerent countries in the Middle East

and US involvement. Ever since the beginning of the terrorist attacks on American soil, the War on Terror had been implicated in the lives of Americans. The notion of War on Terror indicated the assertion that US conflict stemmed out of an overhyped fear. As it was asserted in an essay entitled “For Security's Sake”, “Fighting a war against an abstract idea, ‘terror’, removes any limitations to military action; ‘terror’ does not dictate goals, enemies, or location” (“For Security's Sake”). Therefore, the use of such vague connotation was the alibi to strike anyone whenever and wherever US government claimed suspicions of a threat.

### **3.3 Twenty-first Century America: McCarthyism to Terrorism**

Though numerous figures had long since passed from the US scene, McCarthyism remained a story with an open end. When perceived through the lens of its relevance to US modern time, fear from McCarthyism again affected American behavior and attitudes. At the presidential election of Donald Trump, the professional treatment of conservative celebrities in Hollywood illustrated not the vestiges of McCarthyism but a replication of it. Hollywood conservatives were being intimidated for the inevitable downfall of the Democratic Party. Hence, several actors were explicitly subjected to criticism and false accusations of racism due to their political beliefs (“Hollywood 21<sup>st</sup> Century Version...”).

McCarthyism caused a paradoxical culture of terror that seized a nation at the height of its power. When Hollywood corporation was believed to be politically skeptic, a prominent TV and movie actor, who requested his name not be used for fear of professional outcomes, argued, “There’s a McCarthyism coming from the left...In 30 years of show business, I’ve never seen it like this” (“In Liberal Hollywood...”). Conceivably US history kept repeating itself because people never seemed to learn from it, the concern had come to the point where Hollywood conservatives in the entertainment industry were blacklisted for the sin of not falling in line with the left.

In times when fear became a unique political force, McCarthyism was the closest parallel to today's hysteria about Islam. Post 9/11 America was again a challenge by a foreign threat that was the most shocking catastrophic terrorist attack in decades. However, rather than focusing on halting the efforts of those actually responsible for the attack, some Americans chose to target Muslims in their societies. Concerns and speculations about increasing Islamophobic sentiment opinions about Muslims and Arabs, both living in the United States and abroad, and attitudes toward the Islamic faith was a widespread issue. A poll conducted by "The Guardian" in 2006 revealed that 46% of Americans "said they held unfavorable attitudes towards Islam" ("A Comparison between Islamophobia..."). Once suspicion about a fear within was instilled, it became easier for Americans to question friends and neighbors, individuals they would not have doubted before.

### Anti-Islam sentiment in the US

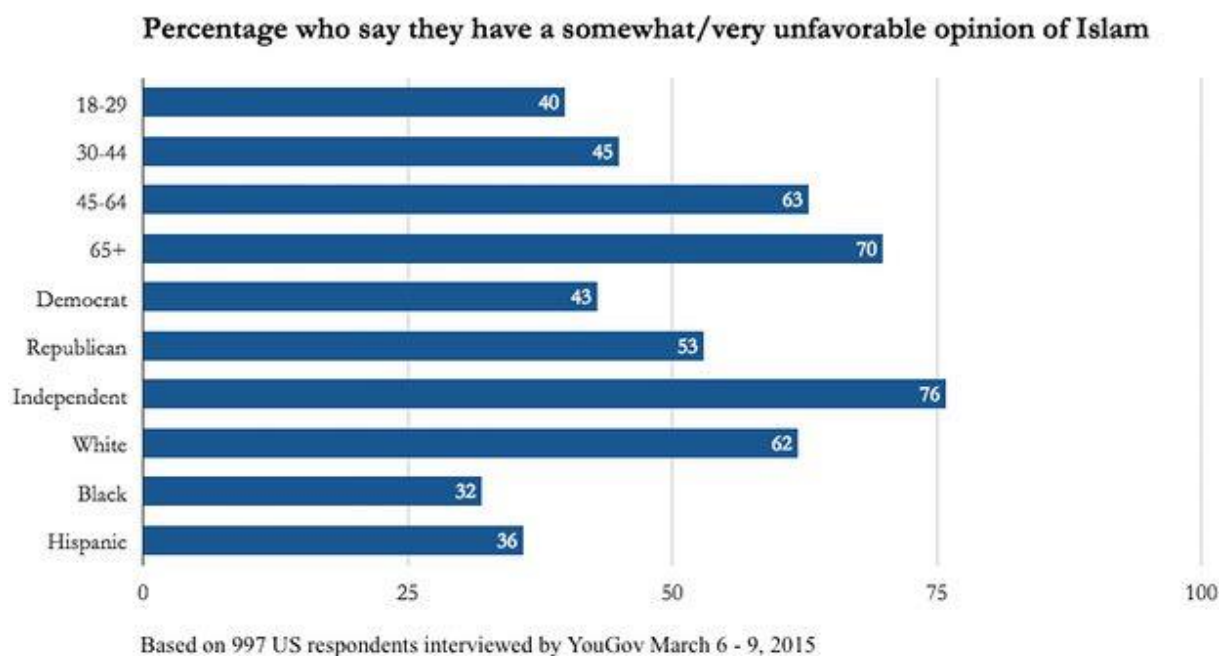


Figure 1

**Source:** <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/08/muslims-us-islam-islamophobia-data-polls>

After US government began secretly blacklisting people and forever labeling them undesirable to be purged from society that was not communism any longer but terrorism. America was allegedly a free country where people had the right to speak out for what they believed. However, Muslim Americans rights' to live freely, worship and speak as they choose were trampled ("From McCarthyism to the..."). Legal experts perceived the targeting of advocates for Palestinian human rights as a modern version of McCarthyism. Individuals who supported the boycott on behalf of Palestinians were subjected to prejudicial blacklisting.

Anti-boycott policies emerged as New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo signed a pro-Israel executive order that penalized all individuals and groups who endorsed the boycott. The bills banned making any investments or state contracts with groups and individuals who boycotted Israel and other U.S. allies and persistently appealed US government to create a blacklist of people, organizations and companies that support boycott ("NY Gov. Cuomo signs..."). Several legal organizations such as the Center for Constitutional Rights, National Lawyers Guild, the New York Civil Liberties Union and Palestine Legal declared, "'McCarthyist,'" noting they "harken back to the McCarthy era when the state sought to deny the right to earn a livelihood to those who express controversial political views." ("21<sup>st</sup> Century McCarthyism" NY..."). The unconstitutional attacks on the freedom of speech in both cases were viewed as at war with the first amendment.

Even that McCarthyism and the War on Terror were half a century apart, the same scenario was playing on both sides. Since the beginning of the War on Terror, headlines persistently fanned the flames and warned of sleeper cells in the nation's midst. Discriminatory attitudes and practices towards Muslim-Americans threatened person's career, family, freedom, and, sometimes, life itself. The misinterpretation of Islam as taking fighting and self-defense to the extreme, with no reflection to a peaceful option, and the confusion between Islamists and Muslims hurt public relations and scrutinized several innocent Muslim Americans

(“Islamophobia: the Stereotyping and...”). It was due to such kind of mindset that America was heading to prejudice, discrimination, and scapegoating of millions of Muslims who actually wished to cause no harm.

Faced with an eruption of anti-Muslim hate and the growing Islamic prejudice, President Obama felt the urge to elucidate that, “We are not at war with Islam. We are at war with people who have perverted Islam.” (“Defeating ISIS Ideology”). However, figures compiled by the FBI, illustrated that the rates of anti-Muslim hate crime incidents in US jumped in 2001, from 28 to 481 incidents. The number dropped in the following years, but has never returned to levels reported before the 9/11 attacks (“Data: Hate Crimes against...”).

Some scholars and experts believed that the violent repercussion against Muslims Americans was not driven merely by the series of recent terrorist attacks, but also by the political resentment from candidates like Donald J. Trump, who called for a ban on immigration by Muslims and national registry of Muslims in the US (“Hate Crimes Against...”). When deeply considering facts on hate crimes against Muslims, fear they felt was not entirely groundless.

### Anti-Muslim Rates of Hate Crimes

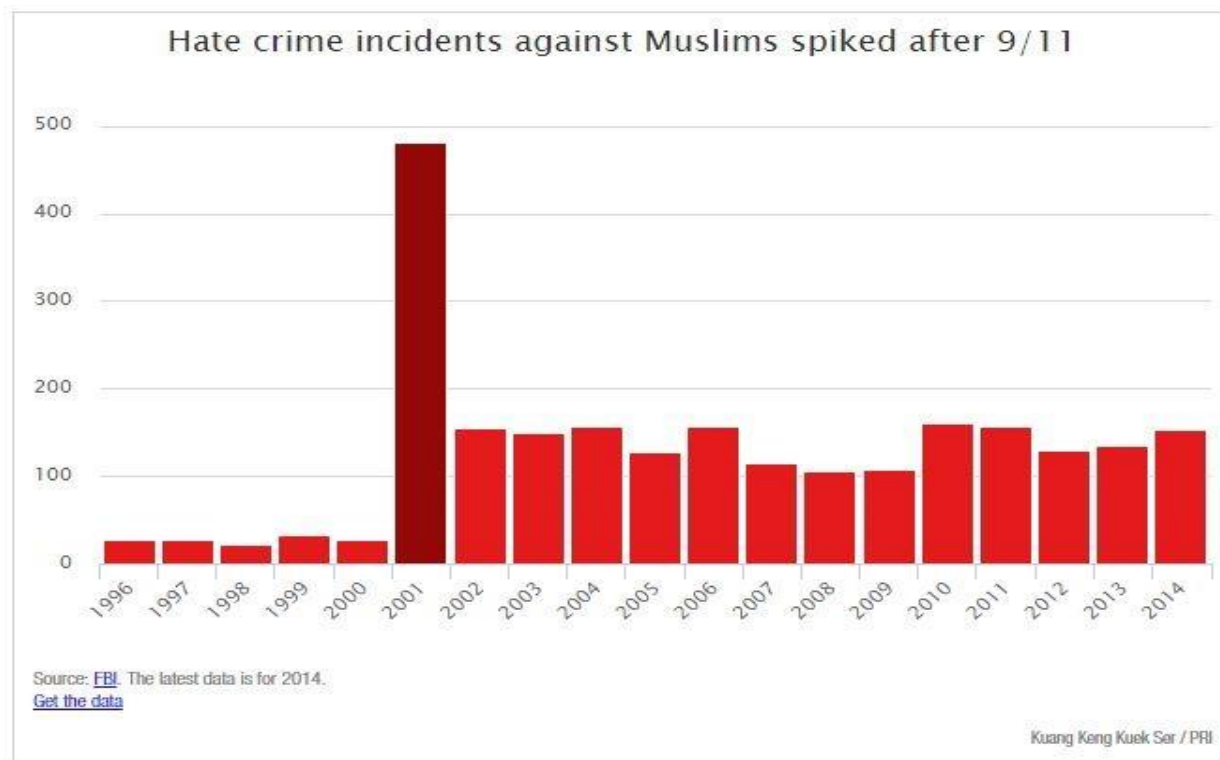


Figure 2

Source : <https://www.pri.org/stories/2016-09-12/data-hate-crimes-against-muslims-increased-after-911>

During his electoral campaign, Donald J. Trump was coined out as the master of fear. He relied on people’s fear and concern of terrorism to start a new phase of McCarthyism against people of Arab ethnicity. As he started focusing his anti-Muslim rhetoric on security, Trump delivered a speech on immigration in which depicted outsiders as a terrifying danger. He openly threatened that “The attacks on our police, and the terrorism in our cities, threaten our very way of life...Any politician who does not grasp this danger is not fit to lead our country.” (“Donald Trump and the Politics...”). Circumstantially, the fearful pictures Trump painted about Muslims were validated to the nation by some foreign terrorist attacks.

President elect Trump stood by his plan to ban all Muslims from entering US as he summoned the nation’s fear in a more unusual maneuver. Trump urged for the “total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until our country’s representatives can figure out what is going on.” (“Trump on the Future of...”). Even though he was highly

criticized for the use of “cheap fear-mongering”, Trump went even further to claim to have evidence of vast number of illegal Muslims and immigrants that were allowed to enter US. However, the lack of support to his claim made it very similar to Senator McCarthy’s list of communist infiltrators (“Donald Trump and the 21<sup>st</sup>...”).

The “islamophobia industry” and proposed terrorist labeling were grounded upon an attempt to criminalize a set of related ideas and made-up beliefs of the past. Doubts about US government’s attempt of recycling an older paranoia and reshaping for a new target were later confirmed by the reemergence of a new McCarthyism. The Islamophobs’ use of labeling and alleged skims of Muslim Americans, who presumably had an ill will toward USA, sent an angry fueled racist message throughout the nation. Such matter would not only unleash a systemic targeting of Muslims, but also would make those Islamophobs the genuine specialists of accused terrorists (“Trump, Islamophobia, and the...”).

The myth of US global war on terrorism was refuted; evidence amply suggested that they were US deliberate actions which created the environment that led to the formation of the ISIS. The so-called “so darn evil, so brutal, so barbaric, so inhuman” as well as “ugly, savage, inexplicable, nihilistic, and valueless evil was simply a significant share of US Middle East heritage (“How America Made...”). Nevertheless, the interrogation that remained unclear in the US/ISIS interrelation was the claim that the Islamic State could not be defeated by a powerful US led military coalition for more than 20 countries.

The overwhelming Islamophobic obsession that US and its allies showed their determination to put end to such threat was just a cover up to their lie. The 16,000 US air raids directed, between 2014 and 2015, supposedly to target Terrorists were in fact intended to destroy the economic bases of Iraq and Syria. US government twisted the truth and led people to believe in the immensity and futility to defeat such outsider enemy was only to justify in

the eyes of public opinion its global war of conquest (“America’s “Global War on Terror”...”).

Lots of blood was shed since America launched its so-called War on Terror. Based on a recent study that was made an estimation of 1.3 million people were killed since 9/11 counterattack started. Yet, it would be fairly impossible to count how many of these victims were Americans and how many were not (“Do the Math: Global...”). Because its counterterrorist measures were mainly based on eliminating a potential danger rather than fixing its deficiencies, it came to the belief of many that previous counter-terrorism actions would not have American public support if it was not for government’s propaganda and the growing islamophobia. Therefore, unconstructive response built upon such fear opened doors concerning the true existence of this outside enemy (Chossudovsky 153).

Anti-Muslim attacks generated far more for religious or political advantage than for any legitimate security fear. The Islamophobes were viewed as the actual successors of Senator McCarthy since their goal were to chase other Americans under an uncertain plan. They kept insisting on a modern style political and religious investigation in the same way that Senator McCarthy used the hearing to punish and torment the liberal class and presided over a reign of political terror in the country.

Abuses of First Amendment rights to free speech in response to threats from enemies, real or imagined, have a long history in America. It came to the belief that in order that America stayed a depiction of inclusiveness, minorities ought to be seen as fellow neighbors to engage with, not outsiders to be shouted at, or avoided. As John F. Kennedy once said, “Ultimately America’s answer to the intolerant man is diversity, the very diversity which our heritage of religious freedom”.



## End Notes

<sup>1</sup>The Patriot Act of 2001 was US one of many authority expanding alterations made to its surveillance laws. While most Americans thought that it was set up to catch terrorists, the Patriot Act made it easy for the government to spy on and monitor Americans' personal communications. Therefore, it turned regular citizens into suspects (“Sensenbrenner, James F. "H.R.3162 - 107th Congress (2001-2002): Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001." *Congress.gov*. 26 Oct. 2001. Web. May 2016.”).

<sup>2</sup>Black Budget was the government's illusory and tangled accounting of intelligence gathering, covert operations, and secret military research and weapons programs’ expenditures. In the past three years, \$100 billion covertly went into the Pentagon’s classified cache (“Weiner, Tim. "How the Pentagon Hides Its Secret Spending." *Project Censored*. 14 July 2015. Web. Nov. 2016.”).

## Conclusion

When America endured times where false evidence appeared as a reality, it urged the incarnation of most critical politics, extreme and ineffective measures that caused the violation of numerous civil liberties. McCarthy's charges were provocative and untruthful, and often adequately vague to withstand any truth-inspection. Nevertheless, his intimidation and manipulation of the époque fear of global communism allowed him to build power while destroying lives and careers. History experts asserted that McCarthy's triumphs and continued power were made possible merely by the government unwillingness, fear, and irresolution to take a stand. Guilt by association and character assassination couldn't pass by without leaving an unpleasant scare on the American society.

Fear was the simplest emotion that US government mostly relied on to boost its campaigns. When associated with terror, panic, crime, causing pain and uncertainty it became a great source of power. However, the cost of it upon the US policy-making was plainly reflected through the manufacture of its most unconstructive responses. During the growing of anti-communist hysteria, the United States was overwhelmed by a stifling conformity caused by the absence of a free and open debate. While revelations discovered about government violations of laws and American basic rights, McCarthyism stood as the face of the damaging and weakening of America's democratic institutions. In fact, it was only by the end of the Cold War in the early 1990's, Americans really felt free to speak their minds and voice their opinions.

The suppression of political dissent and cultural creativity was presumed to be the undeviating outcome of fear caused by McCarthyism. Even though he did more damage to his cause than benefit, McCarthy was in fact the beneficiary, and not the leader, of the anticommunist movement that made a political revolution in America. The exploitative and destructive crusade that the Senator had launched was arbitrated to be wrong at every moral

level. The end of unsubstantiated charges era did not truly end US great fear, rather it blasted out into something that was unlikely unexpected which was surveillance programs and terrorist watch lists. America's 21<sup>st</sup> century McCarthyism combined the red scare witch-hunts of the 1950's with similar incidents which took place centuries before.

The difference between acts of violence committed by supremacists and any other revolutionist groups was that those acts were interpreted to be terrorist performances for the latter whereas for the former, with the powers it had and handling of the press, it was more likely to be referred to as attempts for maintaining security. In this sense, it could be concluded that for a nation that presumably cuddle democracy, vigilance in decision-making is extremely essential for with no freedom of thought and no freedom of expression the nation's destruction and corruption of its youth's minds would be inevitable.

The research work is based on the idea that investigated the systemic reoccurrence of scapegoating strategy as one of US politics of fear. Conventionally, when rethinking about the purging process that McCarthyism and Islamophobia engendered, it would only make sense that under US foreign policy, America was believed to undergo a new phase of McCarthyism. Such conviction raised many doubts whether or not the government was perpetrating another witch-hunt, or it was out of fear that it was crusading against freedom of thought, assembly and expression as well. Thus, despite his legacy that coined him out as the master of a deceitful witch-hunt and blacklists, McCarthy was the example that highlighted the requirement to read the history not as a reassurance, but as a warning.

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