



HUAC

Agenda Item: Red Scare Era

Under Secretary General:

Kuzey Karlık

&

Mustafa Aslan

HUAC

(House Un-American Activities committee)

Agenda item: Red Scare Era

Under Secretary General: Mustafa Aslan

Under Secretary General: Kuzey Karlık

1. Letter from the Secretariat.....
2. Letters from the Academy of Huac.....
 - 2.1. Letter from the Under Secretary General.....
 - 2.2. Letter from the Under Secretary General.....
3. Introduction.....
 - 3.1. What is 'Red Scare'.....
 - 3.2. The Committee.....
 - 3.3. The Agenda Item.....
4. Procedure.....
 - 4.1. Note from the Academy.....
 - 4.2. Directives.....
 - 4.3. Communique.....
5. McCarthyism.....
6. Ideologies.....
 - 6.1. Left Wing.....
 - 6.2. Right Wing.....
7. The First Red Scare (1917-1920).....
 - 7.1. What are the Causes?.....
8. The period between Red Scares (1921-1946).....
9. The Second Red Scare (1947-1957).....
 - 9.1. What are the Causes?.....
 - 9.2. What are the Impacts?.....
10. Delegate Profiles.....
11. Further Reading.....
12. Questions to be Considered.....
13. Playlist.....
14. Bibliography.....

1.Letter from the Secretariat

Esteemed Participants,

It is our paramount pleasure to welcome you to the second installment of Yükseliş Model United Nations Conference 2025. We, Neva Nas Aydın and Ramazan Yandı, will be serving you as your Secretary General's in the upcoming three days. Our Executive Team has put not only the best Academic Team but the Best Organization team so that you can enjoy creating memories in our conference.

Essentially Model United Nations Conferences are great opportunities to improve your debating capabilities, your confidence, your foreign language level and understand how policy is implemented. We can state that Model United Nations Conferences helped us both in our academic and social lives. For this reason it is our duty to transfer these experiences to the next generations and ensure that they affect them in a similar way.

We hope you have one of the best MUN experiences of your lifes in YKMUN 2025!

Sincerely,

Neva Nas Aydın & Ramazan Yandı

2. Letters from the Academy of Huac

2.1. Letter from the Under Secretary General

Dear Participants,

First of all, I would like to greet the HUAC committee.

In the presence of this wonderful committee, let me tell you a little bit about myself.

I am Mustafa Aslan; I am a 12th-grade student at Bahçeşehir Aspendos Campus and I am honored to serve as the Under Secretary General of the committee.

I have been attending Model United Nations conferences in Antalya and many other cities for the last two years and this is my 22nd conference.

This committee has been one of the committees that I have looked forward to doing for a very long time and it is very meaningful to me because I share the academy with my first Mun friend, Kuzey. I want to thank Ramazan and Neva for giving us both the opportunity to share our first USG experience and to have the pleasure of making such a special historical committee and lastly my special thanks to Yaren Yalçın.

Moreover, my biggest belief about the committee is that after it is over, you will leave as delegates with a sense of the ideological views of the people you represent and an understanding of events whose effects and consequences are still visible, although not as much as they were at the time.

Besides these we have added all the necessary information in the committee to the study guide as an academic team. if you have any questions, even if it is the tiniest thing, you can contact me from my contact information below.

I wish you all success in advance.

Under Secretary General

Mustafa ASLAN

aslanmustafa0770@gmail.com

+05324246907 whatsapp

2.2. Letter from the Under Secretary General

Dear Delegates,

I would like to welcome you all to the House-UN American Activities Committee! I am Kuzey Karlık and it is my utmost pleasure to serve you as one of the Under Secretary Generals of this committee.

First, I would like to thank the executive team for granting me this opportunity in this marvelous conference. And I would like to thank my fellow other Under Secretary General Mustafa, for his magnificent efforts and work ethic.

The study guide we wrote contains crucial information for this committee. Yet as its name states it's only a guide for you, so I am highly encouraging you to do your research properly, there will be a lot of debate points, disagreements and controversies hence you have to be ready.

I am sure this committee will be a blast, and I am looking forward to meeting you all on 25-27 August. If you have any questions you can always contact me through mail.

Sincerely,

Kuzey, Under Secretary General of HUAC,

kuzeykarlik@gmail.com

3. Introduction

3.1. What is ‘Red Scare’

The Red Scare was hysteria over the perceived threat posed by Communists in the U.S. during the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States, which intensified in the late 1940s and early 1950s. (Communists were often referred to as “Reds” for their allegiance to the red Soviet flag.) The Red Scare led to a range of actions that had a profound and enduring effect on U.S. government and society. Federal employees were analyzed to determine whether they were sufficiently loyal to the government, and the House Un-American Activities Committee, as well as U.S. Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, investigated allegations of subversive elements in the government and the Hollywood film industry. The climate of fear and repression linked to the Red Scare finally began to ease by the late 1950s.

3.2. The Committee

House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, established in 1938 under Martin Dies as chairman, that conducted investigations through the 1940s and ’50s into alleged communist activities. Those investigated during the [Red Scare](#) of 1947–54 included many artists and entertainers, including the Hollywood Ten, Elia Kazan, Pete Seeger, Bertolt Brecht, and Arthur Miller. Richard Nixon was an active member in the late 1940s, and the committee’s most celebrated case was perhaps that of Alger Hiss.

In April 1948 the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) sent to the floor for a vote a bill coauthored by Nixon and Rep. Karl Mundt that sought to proscribe many activities of the Communist Party though not to outlaw it altogether; the bill was passed by the House but failed in the Senate. Claiming that the need for legislation “to control Communist activities” was unquestionable, the bill asserted in part:

Ten years of investigation by the Committee on Un-American Activities and by its predecessors have established: that the Communist movement in the United States is foreign-controlled; that its ultimate objective with respect to the United States is to overthrow our free American institutions in favor of a Communist totalitarian dictatorship to be controlled from abroad; that its activities are carried on by secret and conspiratorial methods; and that its activities, both because of the alarming march of Communist forces abroad and because of the scope and nature of Communist activities here in the United States, constitute an immediate and powerful threat to the security of the United States and to the American way of life.

HUAC's actions resulted in several contempt-of-Congress convictions and the blacklisting of many who refused to answer its questions. Highly controversial for its tactics, ***HUAC was criticized for violating First Amendment rights.*** Its influence waned by the 1960s; in 1969 it was renamed the Internal Security Committee, and in 1975 it was dissolved.

3.3. The Agenda Item

Red Scare, period of public fear and anxiety over the supposed rise of communist or socialist ideologies in a noncommunist state. The term is generally used to describe two such periods in the United States. The first occurred from 1917 to 1920, amid an increase in organized labour movements, immigration, urbanization, and industrialization. The second period, also called McCarthyism after U.S. Sen. Joseph McCarthy, took place from roughly 1947 to 1954

In the early 1950s, American leaders repeatedly told the public that they should be fearful of subversive Communist influence in their lives. Communists could be lurking anywhere, using their positions as school teachers, college professors, labor organizers, artists, or journalists to aid the program of world Communist domination. This paranoia about the internal Communist threat—what we call the Red Scare—reached a fever pitch between 1950 and 1954, when Senator Joe McCarthy of Wisconsin, a right-wing Republican, launched a series of highly publicized probes into alleged



Communist penetration of the State Department, the White House, the Treasury, and even the US Army. During Eisenhower's first two years in office, McCarthy's shrieking denunciations and fear-mongering created a climate of fear and suspicion across the country. **No one dared tangle with McCarthy for fear of being labeled disloyal.**

Any man who has been named by either a senator or a committee or a congressman as dangerous to the welfare of this nation, his name should be submitted to the various intelligence units, and they should conduct a complete check upon him. It's not too much to ask. Senator Joseph McCarthy, 1953

4. Procedure

4.1. Note from the Academy

As it is a special committee, we can estimate the questions you can potentially ask, so we thought it appropriate to add a note about the general procedure of the committee.

The majority of the committee will be semi-moderated, and we expect it to proceed through a discussion atmosphere.

The reason why we put information with a directive in the guide section is for a few potential scenarios. The crises to be given in the committee are completely related to the direction the committee will evolve, as well as the actions you will take with your directives. As an academic team, we will give the necessary guidance on this subject within the committee according to the course of events.

The committee includes many different groups, such as agents, capitalists, lawyers, government officials, celebrities, communists, and people accused of being communists, and this actually prepares the ground for discussion.

The Red Scare period was certainly not only a conflict between communists and capitalists; there were conflicts between almost every group in that chaotic situation.

One of the things that we expect in the committee is that each delegate should stick as much as possible to the policy of the people they represent, and this is very crucial since you are representing personal identities rather than countries.

In the committee, agents can try to exonerate themselves, McCarthy can accuse new people—it is all in your hands. This committee is much more than just the QTBA part, and we will provide the necessary flexibility as an academic team.

4.2. Directives

Directives are written requests which are sent to, read by and approved, or denied, by the crisis staff and the related academy (AKA Backroom). Directives are your main tool to take action and in the case of doing something that directly affects the future of the committee, directives are your best and only friend.

To have the best chance of getting your directives accepted by the backroom they need to be clear, concise and well written. The objective of directives is to further your cabinet's goals and/or your personal goals. Some of the actions you will want to achieve through directives will be complex and require multiple steps. In those cases you need to build up towards your goal.

4.3. Updates

Updates are the outcomes of directives, which are either granted or rejected based on how precisely one wrote and phrased the directive. The backroom evaluates whether they are adequate or not; every conference with crisis committees includes a backroom that reads and inspects directives.

Updates can also come as a result of a new occurrence. For example, if the other cabinet launches a successful attack on one of your cities and captures it, an update will come.

The update doesn't necessarily have to be the result of a directive; for instance, if you are in the Hundred Years' Wars committee during the 14th century, then the Crisis Team may bring a plague update that will infect the majority of soldiers. Hereupon, it can be understood that the update may also be a *crisis*.

4.4. Crisis:

Crises emerge when one submits an insufficient directive, temporal crises occurring depending on the backrooms' wishes, or in the case of a multi cabinet committee the other cabinet successfully affects you in a negative way. To clarify:

1- In order for a sufficient directive to be written, there are a few rules and necessities that must be followed; failing this, an inevitable crisis will occur based on what was wanted to be done in the directive.

Directive Types and How to Write Them:

In most contexts, there are six types of directives that can be submitted. Each type has its own purpose, advantages, and disadvantages. Unless it is a top secret directive, directives should be given to the chair, who will then send them to the crisis team via admins.

i) Personal Directive:

Personal directives are written when an action is within your character's authority or is possible due to their abilities. Now take a look at how to write a Personal Directive: Firstly, there is a format for writing directives; thus, one has to write who is sending the directive and to whom (from, to). After that, which cabinet is sending the directive, then the real-world time and the current date of the committee. Lastly, the type of your directive and the headline of it. And that's it; this is all the format one needs to know to write a directive. The only thing left is the content of the directive, and the method by which one writes it is fairly straightforward; it is written by addressing the WH questions, which are what, why, when, who, where, and, most importantly, how. Write down the action you want to take by answering the WH questions, then detailing and explaining it as much as possible to ensure that your plan is as comprehensive as possible. Also, the use of the future tense is critical, try to use it whenever possible. Here is how a directive looks on paper:

From: Harry S. Truman
To: Chairboard

Personal Directive

Date: 1943 May 2
Time: 12.34

What:

Why:

When:

Who:

Where:

How:

Once one gets used to it, it is quite simple and straightforward to write. While it lacks details and additional information, the directive nicely illustrates its format. As one keeps writing and contributing to their cabinet's goals, in no time one will witness that the directives one has written have already surpassed that one above. And to write such a directive, here are a few tips and tricks:

- For every action that's written in the directive, it has to answer all the WH questions.
- The longer and more detailed, the better.
- Drawing your war doctrine, charging plan, or strategy may significantly increase the directive's preciseness and effectiveness. The success rate of the directive will grow in proportion to how clear your action and directive are.
- Do not use abbreviations such as "etc."; instead, detail the directive explicitly.
- WH questions are not necessarily broken into paragraphs (one can write the directive like a book), but if you're a beginner, doing so will dramatically improve the quality of your directive, hence, I strongly recommend it.
- One should not try to impose their ideas or policies on others but rather to achieve a specific goal,
- If you are positive that there is no impostor in the cabinet, directives should be written separately because it will be much faster. If you need the authority of another cabinet member, simply ask that person to add their name to the "from:" section. That way, eight people will be working on eight different tasks, and it will save quite a lot of time.
- If needed, fake names can be used for strategic persons in the directives, like Coxus, the Naval Commander.

ii) Joint Directive:

Directives written by more than one individual are considered joint directives. Joint directives are written when one can only achieve the purpose of the directive by utilising the authority of other cabinet members. Consider the scenario where one is a commander responsible for capturing Warsaw. Recognising the insurmountable challenge of achieving this objective without air superiority, a collaborative effort can be initiated by writing a joint directive with the air force general. In this case, the "from" field of the directive would include the commander's name alongside the name of the air force general, and instead of a personal directive, you write Joint Directive at the top of the directive. Everything else is the same.

iii) Top Secret:

Top Secret directives are those that your chair is not allowed to read. Top secret directives are directly handed to the admin. They are written precisely the same, but one must fold the paper and write "TOP SECRET" on the back side of it. The major reason for writing a Top Secret Directive is treason, a diabolical strategy to crash one's own cabinet or switch sides. For instance, if a person secretly kills his cabinet members and becomes dictator, the winning condition changes and only that person wins, whereas the cabinet loses. But as the academy of the HUAC committee, we don't recommend writing Top Secret Directives unless you're planning on writing a brilliant many paged directive, because failing to do so will backfire much worse. If one fails to accomplish their nefarious plan and gets busted, one will earn their cabinet's distrust and may die and be given an insignificant character. Additionally, updates to the Top Secret Directives are only sent to the person who sent them unless they directly affect other cabinet members.

IV) Press Release (Declamation):

Press Releases are written when one wants to make a declaration, a speech, or a notice. When one writes a press release, depending on the era of the committee, the other cabinet members may

hear it or not. The format is once again exactly the same, except for the "WH Questions" part. For example:

| | | |
|----------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| From: McCarthy | Press Release | Date: 1947 July 20 |
| To: Chairboard | Government policy on communism | Time: 18.17 |

A Press Release like that might be written before a conflict to increase the motivation and morale of soldiers, or it could be written in any way one wishes, depending on their goal. Since one is addressing your people rather than the Crisis Team, the language can be informal. Plus, press releases can prevent crises, especially those related to the public; they can be used for propaganda, making promises, or spreading misinformation. This is a different form of press release that could be submitted:

Based on one's creativity, press releases may vary just like directives and can be used for almost any purpose. And for this committee, we will allow you to write Declamation instead of Press Release because declamation is a more accurate term for the ninth century.

(NOTE: There are normally two other types, committee directive and intelligence directive, but we have not included them as they will not be used in this committee.

4.3. Communique

This committee's final document will be a communique. A communique is a document of explanation, it does not have a specific format like the resolution paper. In a communique, you explain the matters you've discussed in the committee carefully and detail your solutions to those issues in paragraphs. It may be seen as a press release, but a formal and longer version.

5. McCarthyism

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy was a little-known junior senator from Wisconsin until February 1950 when he claimed to possess a list of 205 card-carrying Communists employed in the U.S. Department of State. From that moment Senator McCarthy became a tireless crusader against Communism in the early 1950s, a period that has been commonly referred to as the "Red Scare." As chairman of the Senate Permanent Investigation Subcommittee, Senator McCarthy conducted hearings on communist subversion in America and investigated alleged communist infiltration of the Armed Forces. His subsequent exile from politics coincided with a conversion of his name into a modern English noun "McCarthyism," or adjective, "McCarthy tactics," when describing similar witch hunts in recent American history. [The

American Heritage Dictionary gives the definition of McCarthyism as: 1. The political practice of publicizing accusations of disloyalty or subversion with insufficient regard to evidence; and 2. The use of methods of investigation and accusation regarded as unfair, in order to suppress opposition.] Senator McCarthy was censured by the U.S. Senate on December 2, 1954

McCarthyism, name given to the period of time in American history that saw U.S. Sen. [Joseph McCarthy](#) of Wisconsin produce a series of investigations and hearings during the 1950s in an effort to expose supposed communist infiltration of various areas of the U.S. government. The term has since become a byname for defamation of character or reputation by means of widely publicized indiscriminate allegations, especially on the basis of unsubstantiated charges.

McCarthy was elected to the Senate in 1946 and rose to prominence in 1950 when he claimed in a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, that 57 communists had infiltrated the State Department, adding:

One thing to remember in discussing the Communists in our government is that we are not dealing with spies who get thirty pieces of silver to steal the blueprints of a new weapon. We are dealing with a far more sinister type of activity because it permits the enemy to guide and shape our policy.

McCarthy's subsequent search for communists in the Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, and elsewhere made him an incredibly polarizing figure. After McCarthy's reelection in 1952, he obtained the chairmanship of the Committee on Government Operations of the Senate and of its Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. For the next two years he was constantly in the spotlight, investigating various government departments and questioning innumerable witnesses about their suspected communist affiliations. Although he failed to make a plausible case against anyone, his colourful and cleverly presented accusations drove some persons out of their jobs and brought popular condemnation to others.

McCarthyism both reached its peak and began its decline during the "McCarthy hearings": 36 days of televised investigative hearings led by McCarthy in 1954. After first calling hearings to investigate possible espionage at the Army Signal Corps Engineering Laboratories in Fort Monmouth, New Jersey, the junior senator turned his communist-chasing committee's attention to an altogether different matter, the question of whether the Army had promoted a dentist who had refused to answer questions for the Loyalty Security Screening Board. The hearings reached their climax when McCarthy suggested that the Army's lawyer, Joseph Welch, had employed a man who at one time had belonged to a communist front group.

Welch's rebuke to the senator—"Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?"—discredited McCarthy and helped to turn the tide of public opinion against him. Moreover, McCarthy was also eventually undermined significantly by the incisive and skillful criticism of a journalist, Edward R. Murrow. Murrow's devastating television editorial about McCarthy, carried out on his show, See It Now, cemented him as the premier journalist of the time. McCarthy was censured for his conduct by the Senate, and in 1957 he died. While McCarthyism properly ended with the senator's downfall, the term still has currency in modern political discourse.

- a. Hollywood Ten

- In 1947 HUAC investigated the ‘Hollywood Ten’ – ten Hollywood filmmakers. They were fired, fined, imprisoned and blacklisted. Some had to move to Europe; others were unable to find work ever again.
- Some 300 other actors, screenwriters, artists, civil rights activists scientists and celebrities were accused and blacklisted, including Charlie Chaplin, comedienne Lucille Ball, NAACP founder WEB Du Bois, Robert Oppenheimer (of atomic bomb fame), playwright Arthur Miller, and protest singer Pete Seeger.
- b. Exposing suspects
 - The FBI, led by J Edgar Hoover, sought out Communists by illegal means, including burglaries, opening mail, wiretaps, undercover operations and planting forged documents. From 1951-55 the FBI leaked FBI files to the employers of suspected teachers, lawyers etc.
 - Government departments regularly carried out loyalty reviews – it has been suggested that one in five government employees were investigated.
 - Groups such as the American Legion and the Minute Women of the USA organised tens of thousands of people into study groups, letter-writing networks and patriotic clubs dedicated to rooting out communism.
 - Private investigative firms, such as AWARE, were set up which accused people of being Communists, causing them to be fired just because they were accused. Journals such as Counterattack published lists of accused organisations and individuals.
- c. Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations
 - From 1953, the PSI was chaired by McCarthy. It held 169 hearings 1953-54, calling 653 people.
 - McCarthy’s methods were immoral and undemocratic. He publicly accused people with little or no evidence, and intimidated the accused by attacking their personal character and questioning their loyalty to America.
- d. End of the Scare

The McCarthy witch-hunt alarmed many people, some of whom dared to speak out:

 - In 1953, Truman called it “the corruption of truth, the abandonment of the due process law. It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism”.
 - In 1953, and again in 1954, the CBS newscaster Ed Murrow ran episodes attacking McCarthy.
 - Arthur Miller’s play The Crucible (1953) was about 17th century witch-hunts, but it highlighted the cruelty of McCarthyism.
 - In 1954, **McCarthy accused Army personnel of being ‘soft’ on Communism**; the hearings were televised, and people were horrified at the way McCarthy treated the accused; as a result the Senate voted to censure McCarthy.
 - In November 1954, the Republicans lost the Senate elections, and McCarthy lost his chairmanship of the PSI.
 - **In 1956-58 the Supreme Court curtailed the powers of HUAC, notably overturning its tendency to see ‘taking the Fifth’ as an admission of guilt.**
- e. Results
 - HUAC called more than 3,000 individuals to testify. Many ‘took the Fifth’, but once accused “a man is ruined everywhere and forever”.
 - Hundreds were imprisoned, and some ten or twelve thousand lost their jobs.
 - The FBI continued its COINTELPRO counterintelligence program to discredit organizations considered subversive to the U.S. until 1971.

- The Communist Party was destroyed.
- **Many people hesitated to protest about anything long into the 1950s, and there was little criticism of US foreign policy until the Vietnam War.**
- McCarthyism is today used as an example of the misuse of power to stifle personal freedoms.

Results of McCarthyism

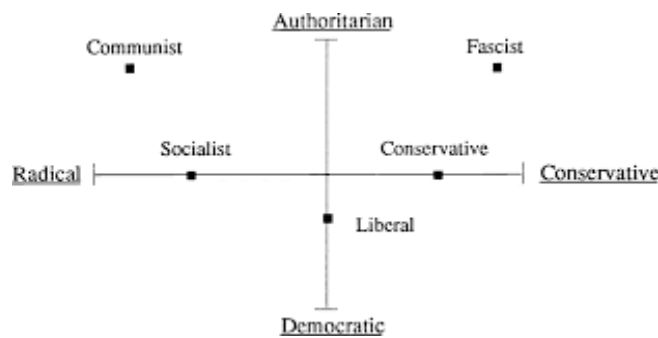
Joseph McCarthy's charges that various government entities were infested with communists or communist sympathizers were mostly undocumented, and he was unable to make plausible charges against any person or institution. Nonetheless, his accusations resulted in some people losing their jobs and others facing popular condemnation. The persecution of innocent persons on the charge of being communists and the forced conformity that the practice engendered in public life came to be called McCarthyism

Smith Act, a U.S. federal law passed in 1940 made it a criminal offense to advocate the violent overthrow of the government or to organize or be a member of any group or society devoted to such advocacy. The first prosecutions under the Smith Act, of leaders of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), took place in 1941. After World War II the statute was used against the leadership of the American Communist Party (Communist Party of the United States of America; CPUSA). The convictions of the principal officers of the CPUSA (1949) were sustained—and the constitutionality of the advocacy provision of the Smith Act upheld—by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Dennis v. United States* (1951). In a later case, *Yates v. United States* (1957), the court offset that ruling somewhat by adopting a strict reading of the advocacy provision, construing “advocacy” to mean only urging that includes incitement to unlawful action.

6. Ideologies

The political terms left wing and right wing originated in the 18th century during the French Revolution. They are based on the seating arrangements in the French National Assembly — those who sat on the left of the chair of the parliamentary president supported the revolution and a secular republic, and opposed the monarchy of the old regime. The people on the left were in favor of radical change, socialism and republicanism i.e. a strong French republic instead of the monarchy.

Those who sat to the right supported the institutions of the monarchist old regime or Ancien Régime. The stronger your opposition to radical change and desire to preserve traditional society, the more you were to the right. Tradition, institutional religion and privatization of the economy were considered the core values of the right-wing.



6.1. Left Wing

Left, in politics, the portion of the political spectrum associated in general with egalitarianism and popular or state control of the major institutions of political and economic life. Leftists tend to be hostile to the interests of traditional elites, including the wealthy and members of the aristocracy, and to favour the interests of the working class (see proletariat). Left wing economics means believing in government acting to encourage the growth of business, private and public companies working together, higher taxes to maintain vital programs, particularly on the rich and on large companies, strong unions, strong provision of worker's rights, and strong regulations, and strong social programs, particularly in education. They tend to regard social welfare as the most important goal of the government. Socialism is the standard leftist ideology in most countries of the world; communism is a more radical leftist ideology.

There are some distinctions between leftist ideologies;

Center left is an ideology that supports social equality and government intervention in the economy, but also values individual rights and market mechanisms to some extent. It sits between the more radical leftist ideologies that advocate for extensive government control and moderate or center ideologies that emphasize a balanced approach.

Liberalism stands for a belief in an equal right to freedom and dignity, advanced by a government of constitutionally restrained powers. In different historical contexts, liberals have varied in their understanding of that ideal and the policies needed to achieve a free and prosperous society and a secure world. Since the early nineteenth century, the general trend in liberal thought and politics has been toward a broader, more inclusive conception of what an equal right to freedom means. In pursuit of that aim, liberals have come to favor greater regulation of the economy while also supporting the deregulation of private moral life and stronger protection of civil liberties.

Socialism is a social and economic doctrine that calls for public rather than private ownership or control of property and natural resources. According to the socialist view, individuals do not live or work in isolation but live in cooperation with one another. Furthermore, everything that people produce is in some sense a social product, and everyone who contributes to the production of a good is entitled to a share in it. Society as a whole, therefore, should own or at least control property for the benefit of all its members.

This conviction puts socialism in opposition to capitalism, This conviction puts socialism in opposition to capitalism, which is based on private ownership of the means of production and allows

individual choices in a free market to determine how goods and services are distributed. Socialists complain that capitalism necessarily leads to unfair and exploitative concentrations of wealth and power in the hands of the relative few who emerge victorious from free-market competition—people who then use their wealth and power to reinforce their dominance in society. Because such people are rich, they may choose where and how to live, and their choices in turn limit the options of the poor. As a result, terms such as individual freedom and equality of opportunity may be meaningful for capitalists but can only ring hollow for working people, who must do the capitalists' bidding if they are to survive. As socialists see it, true freedom and true equality require social control of the resources that provide the basis for prosperity in any society.

Communism is a political and economic ideology that positions itself in opposition to liberal democracy and capitalism. It advocates instead for a classless system in which the means of production are owned communally and private property is nonexistent or severely curtailed. It is similar to socialism in a sense, yet communism is far more extreme.

Communism is an umbrella term that encompasses a range of ideologies. The term's modern usage originated with Victor d'Hupay, an 18th-century French aristocrat who advocated living in "communes" in which all property would be shared and "all may benefit from everybody's work."

The Father of Communism, Karl Marx, a German philosopher and economist, proposed this new ideology in his *Communist Manifesto*, which he wrote with Friedrich Engels in 1848. The manifesto emphasized the importance of class struggle in every historical society, and the dangerous instability capitalism created. Though it did outline some basic requirements for a communist society, the manifesto was largely analytical of historical events that led to its necessity and suggested the system's ultimate goals, but did not concretely provide instructions for setting up a communist government. Though Marx died well before a government tested his theories, his writings, in conjunction with a rising disgruntled working class across Europe, did immediately influence revolutionary industrial workers throughout Europe who created an international labor movement.

The *Communist Manifesto* presented the French Revolution as a major historical turning point when the "bourgeoisie," the merchant class that was in the process of consolidating control over the "means of production," overturned the feudal power structure and ushered in the modern capitalist era.

That revolution replaced the medieval class struggle that pitted the nobility against the serfs with the modern one pitting the bourgeois owners of capital against the "proletariat," the working class who sell their labor for wages.

Marx, Engels, and their followers advocated for and predicted as historically inevitable a global proletarian revolution in the *Communist Manifesto* and later works. They stated that it would first usher in an era of socialism, then of communism.

As a popular Marxist slogan puts it, the Communist economy would function "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Marx and Engels' theories wouldn't be tested in the real world until after their deaths. An uprising in Russia toppled the czar and sparked a civil war in 1917 during World War I that eventually saw a group of radical Marxists led by Vladimir Lenin gain power in 1922. This group was called the

Bolsheviks. It founded the Soviet Union on former Imperial Russian territory and attempted to put communist theory into practice.⁴

Lenin had developed the Marxist theory of vanguardism before the Bolshevik Revolution. This theory argued that a close-knit group of politically enlightened elites was necessary to usher in the higher stages of economic and political evolution: socialism and finally communism.

Lenin died shortly after the civil war ended but the "dictatorship of the proletariat" led by his successor Joseph Stalin would pursue brutal ethnic and ideological purges as well as forced agricultural collectivization. Tens of millions died during Stalin's rule from 1922 to 1953 on top of the tens of millions who died as a result of the war with Nazi Germany.

This system of central planning enabled rapid industrialization and growth in Soviet gross domestic product (GDP) outpaced that of the U.S. from 1950 to 1965. The Soviet economy generally grew at a much slower pace than its capitalist, democratic counterparts, however.

Left-wing extremists seek to abolish the existing state and social order and thus the free democratic basic order. Depending on their ideological orientation, they want to replace it with a communist system or an anarchist society "free of domination". All left-wing extremists agree that "capitalism" as the "root of all evil" has to be fought and eliminated.

Left-wing extremists regard "capitalism" as the inseparable union of the market-based system of ownership and the democratic state governed by the rule of law. The sole purpose of this union, they say, is to consolidate relations of exploitation and oppression. This is why they consider "capitalism" to be incompatible with the idea of a society that is based on freedom and equality for all people.

Left-wing extremists believe that overcoming "capitalism", which they regard as necessary, is not possible through political reforms, but can only be achieved by overthrowing the existing state and social order. Left-wing extremists are in principle also willing to use violence to reach this goal.

6.2. Right Wing

Right wing politics is the portion of the political spectrum associated with conservative political thought.

Someone with right-wing politics would have a political position that views social inequality or social stratification as natural, normal, inevitable or even desirable. They will typically defend this political position on the basis of tradition, natural law or economics. Therefore, people with right-wing politics view society having hierarchies and the inequalities that result as being the natural outcome of traditional social differences or the result of competition in market economies.

Conservatism is a preference for the historically inherited rather than the abstract and ideal. This preference has traditionally rested on an organic conception of society—that is, on the belief that society is not merely a loose collection of individuals but a living organism comprising closely connected, interdependent members. Conservatives thus favour institutions and practices that have evolved gradually and are manifestations of continuity and stability. The government's responsibility is to be the servant, not the master, of existing ways of life, and politicians must therefore resist the temptation to transform society and politics. This suspicion of government activism distinguishes

conservatism not only from radical forms of political thought but also from liberalism, which is a modernizing, antitraditionalist movement dedicated to correcting the evils and abuses resulting from the misuse of social and political power.

Conservatism is as much a matter of temperament as of doctrine. It may sometimes even accompany left-wing politics or economics—as it did, for example, in the late 1980s, when hard-line communists in the Soviet Union were often referred to as “conservatives.” Typically, however, the conservative temperament displays two characteristics that are scarcely compatible with communism. The first is a distrust of human nature, rootlessness (social disconnectedness), and untested innovations, together with a corresponding trust in unbroken historical continuity and in the traditional frameworks for conducting human affairs. Such frameworks may be political, cultural, or religious, or they may have no abstract or institutional expression at all.

Centre-right political ideology is a term used to describe individuals, political parties, or policies that incorporate elements of both conservative and liberal philosophies. This ideology is often characterized by a belief in a market-based economy where government intervention is limited, combined with a moderate stance on social issues. Centre-right individuals or parties typically advocate for fiscal conservatism, personal freedom, and a balanced approach to social reform.

Fascism, political ideology and mass movement that dominated many parts of central, southern, and eastern Europe between 1919 and 1945 and that also had adherents in western Europe, the United States, South Africa, Japan, Latin America, and the Middle East. Europe’s first fascist leader, Benito Mussolini, took the name of his party from the Latin word *fascis*, which referred to a bundle of elm or birch rods (usually containing an ax) used as a symbol of penal authority in ancient Rome. Although fascist parties and movements differed significantly from one another, they had many characteristics in common, including extreme militaristic nationalism, contempt for electoral democracy and political and cultural liberalism, a belief in natural social hierarchy and the rule of elites, and the desire to create a *Volksgemeinschaft* (German: “people’s community”), in which individual interests would be subordinated to the good of the nation. At the end of World War II, the major European fascist parties were broken up, and in some countries (such as Italy and West Germany) they were officially banned. Beginning in the late 1940s, however, many fascist-oriented parties and movements were founded in Europe as well as in Latin America and South Africa. Although some European “neofascist” groups attracted large followings, especially in Italy and France, none were as influential as the major fascist parties of the interwar period.

7. The First Red Scare (1917-1920)

The first Red Scare began toward the end of World War I. It was fueled in part by a surge in activity among organized labour alongside anxiety stemming from the Russian Revolution of 1917, in which Vladimir Lenin’s Russian Social-Democratic Workers’ Party overthrew the Russian tsar and proved that a popular labour-led movement could successfully take over the reins of government. Fears of a Bolshevik conspiracy to overthrow the United States government drove paranoia, and U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer carried out a series of raids against foreign-born individuals who were accused of anarchist, communist, and radical leftist sympathies. The Palmer Raids, which were sometimes brutal and of questionable constitutionality, drew increasing criticism from the public as

they failed to produce evidence of a Bolshevik conspiracy. The credibility of the Red Scare diminished in 1920 as Palmer's predictions of a revolution on May Day that year went unfulfilled.

The Palmer Raids

The widespread fear of political radicals increased in 1919 when anarchists sent bombs to leading political figures. Several of the bombs were intercepted before they could do any harm, but some bombs did explode. In 1920, on Wall Street, New York, a bomb killed 38 people. No one was found guilty of this attack but the fear of communism and anarchism rose after the event.

The home of the US Attorney General, A Mitchell Palmer, was bombed in July 1919. Palmer claimed that there were many communists already in America and even a few in Congress. In response, the government became determined to get rid of communists and anarchists in America.

A series of harsh raids against suspected political radicals and organisations led to thousands of people being arrested without trial. Hundreds of political radicals, such as the anarchist Emma Goldman, were deported. Goldman had immigrated to the USA in 1885, but her speeches and writings went against conventional American values and political ideals. She was sent back to Russia in late 1919.

Key Figures and Organizations

Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer:

A key figure in the First Red Scare, Palmer led the government's crackdown on radicals, organizing the Palmer Raids. His aggressive tactics earned him both support and criticism.

J. Edgar Hoover: A young Justice Department official at the time, Hoover played a significant role in organizing and executing the Palmer Raids. He later became the first director of the FBI, where he continued to pursue anti-communist activities.

Emma Goldman: A prominent anarchist and activist, Goldman was one of the most famous individuals targeted during the Red Scare. She was arrested and deported to Russia in 1919 under the Espionage Act of 1917.

The American Protective League (APL): A civilian organization that worked with the federal government to identify and report suspected radicals. The APL conducted surveillance, reported suspicious activities, and assisted in arrests during the Red Scare.

International Implications

Global Perception of Communism:

The Russian Revolution and the rise of the Bolsheviks intensified fears of a worldwide communist revolution. This fear was not limited to the U.S.; other countries, particularly in Europe, also experienced Red Scares and cracked down on leftist movements.

Impact on International Relations: The fear of communism influenced U.S. foreign policy, contributing to a more isolationist stance in the immediate post-World War I period. The U.S. was wary of international involvement that could expose the country to communist influence.

Influence on the League of Nations: The First Red Scare and fears of communism contributed to the U.S. Senate's decision to reject membership in the League of Nations, reflecting a broader reluctance to engage in international institutions perceived as potential platforms for spreading radical ideologies

Legacy of the First Red Scare

Long-Lasting Anti-Communist Sentiment:

Although the intensity of the First Red Scare diminished, the anti-communist sentiment it generated persisted throughout the interwar period and beyond. This sentiment laid the groundwork for the Second Red Scare following World War II.

Impact on Immigration Policy: The restrictive immigration policies introduced in the wake of the First Red Scare had lasting effects, shaping U.S. immigration policy for decades. The quota system established in the 1920s remained in place until the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965.

Erosion of Civil Liberties: The actions taken during the First Red Scare set a precedent for future government crackdowns on civil liberties during times of perceived national threat. This included the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and the McCarthy-era purges of the 1950s.

Global Political Landscape

Rise of Fascism and Totalitarianism: While the fear of communism persisted, the interwar period also saw the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany, and Spain, as well as the consolidation of Stalin's power in the Soviet Union. These developments shifted the focus of international concern from communism to the threats posed by totalitarian regimes.

Economic Depression and Political Unrest: The Great Depression of the 1930s led to widespread economic hardship, which in turn fueled political unrest and the rise of extremist movements. In the U.S., this period saw increased government intervention in the economy, but fears of communism were less pronounced than during the Red Scare.

Prelude to World War II: The political tensions and economic challenges of the interwar period ultimately set the stage for World War II. The fear of communism would resurface after the war, contributing to the onset of the Cold War and the Second Red Scare.

7.1. What are the Causes?

During the Red Scare of 1919-1920, many in the United States feared recent immigrants and dissidents, particularly those who embraced communist, socialist, or anarchist ideology. The causes of the Red Scare included:

- *World War I, which led many to embrace strong nationalistic and anti-immigrant sympathies;*
- *The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, which led many to fear that immigrants, particularly from Russia, southern Europe, and eastern Europe, intended to overthrow the United States government;*
- *The end of World War I, which caused production to decline and unemployment to rise. Many workers joined labor unions. Labor strikes, including the Boston Police Strike in September 1919, contributed to fears that radicals intended to spark a revolution;*

- *Self-proclaimed anarchists' mailing bombs to prominent Americans, including United States Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and United States Supreme Court Associate Justice (and former Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Chief Justice) Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.*

8. The period between Red Scares (1921-1946)

After World War I, many Americans were afraid of communism, especially after the Russian Revolution. This fear became known as the First Red Scare. The U.S. government, through the Bureau of Investigation (what would later become the FBI), began watching and targeting people they believed were radicals or subversive. Under J. Edgar Hoover, the Bureau developed detailed surveillance programs to track labor leaders, immigrants, and political activists. Even though the initial Red Scare faded by the early 1920s, the Bureau never stopped collecting information on people they considered dangerous to American values.

In the years between the First and Second Red Scares, the Bureau changed tactics. Rather than using mass raids like during the Palmer Raids of 1919–1920, agents now worked behind the scenes, building files on suspected communists and their associates. They developed long-term relationships with local police, employers, and informants to get information more easily. The Bureau wanted to manage dissent silently, without public backlash. Even peaceful protest groups or liberal reformers were sometimes seen as “subversive” and investigated. This quieter form of control allowed the government to prepare for a larger crackdown later—what would become the Second Red Scare.

For many working-class Americans in the 1920s, especially immigrants and laborers, the atmosphere was full of fear and suspicion. People who supported unions or joined protests for better wages were often accused of being radicals or communists. This didn’t just affect their public image, it could mean losing their jobs, getting arrested, or being followed by government agents. Even if someone wasn’t involved in politics at all, just attending the wrong meeting or reading the wrong newspaper could bring unwanted attention. For many, this created a sense of being watched and silenced. Some families told their children not to speak openly about politics, even at home.

Among intellectuals, activists, and progressive reformers, the climate often felt unfair. Individuals who had once believed they could change society through education, protest, or political organizing, were now targeted. At the same time, others feared association with radicals might ruin their reputations or careers. As a result, some activists pulled back from public life, while others tried to hide their views altogether. There was a growing belief that freedom of speech didn’t apply equally to everyone especially if your ideas didn’t match those of the government.

At the same time, many Americans especially in the middle and upper classes supported the government’s actions. They saw communism as a foreign danger and were afraid that strikes, protests, or changes to the status quo might lead to violence like in Russia. For them, the deportations and surveillance seemed like necessary protection. Newspapers often spread sensational stories about “reds” trying to take over the country, which only increased anxiety. These fears weren’t always based on facts, but they were real and widespread. Patriotism and suspicion became closely linked, and many people believed that questioning the government was unamerican.

By the 1930s and early 1940s, as the Great Depression deepened and World War II was inescapable, feelings were mixed among the people. On one hand, people were desperate for economic change and more sympathetic to socialist or left-wing ideas that promised fairness. On the other hand, many still feared radicalism. When the government passed new laws like the Smith Act and began targeting communists again, some people felt safer but others felt more paranoid. Trust was hard to come by. Neighbors watched. People censored themselves. And for immigrants, leftists, or anyone considered “different,” the fear of being labeled unamerican never really went away.

By the 1930s, communism had become an attractive economic ideology, particularly among labor leaders and intellectuals. By 1939, the CPUSA had about 50,000 members.^[27] In 1940, soon after World War II began in Europe, the U.S. Congress legislated the Alien Registration Act (also known as the Smith Act, 18 USC § 2385) making it a crime to "knowingly or willfully advocate, abet, advise or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing the Government of the United States or of any State by force or violence, or for anyone to organize any association which teaches, advises or encourages such an overthrow, or for anyone to become a member of or to affiliate with any such association"—and required Federal registration of all foreign nationals. Although principally deployed against communists, the Smith Act was also used against right-wing political threats such as the German-American Bund, and the perceived racial disloyalty of the Japanese-American population (*cf.* hyphenated-Americans).

9. The Second Red Scare (1947-1957)

The second Red Scare took place after World War II and at the nascence of the Cold War. The uneasy wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union had begun to unravel, and by 1948 the Soviets had installed communist governments in the countries of eastern Europe that had been liberated by the Red Army. Many Americans were likewise alarmed by developments in 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong, took power in China and the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb.

The second Red Scare took place after World War II and at the nascence of the Cold War. The uneasy wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union had begun to unravel, and by 1948 the Soviets had installed communist governments in the countries of eastern Europe that had been liberated by the Red Army. Many Americans were likewise alarmed by developments in 1949, when the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong, took power in China and the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb.

The second Red Scare took place after World War II and at the nascence of the Cold War. The uneasy wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union had begun to unravel, and by 1948 the Soviets had installed communist governments in the countries of eastern Europe that had been

liberated by the Red Army. Many Americans were likewise alarmed by developments in 1949, when



the Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong, took power in China and the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb.

[Joseph McCarthy](#)

U.S. Sen. Joseph McCarthy (center) during an investigation into alleged communist infiltration of the government, 1954.

In 1950 U.S. Sen. Joseph McCarthy began asserting that communists had infiltrated the highest ranks of the government, claiming in a speech that he had a list of employees of the U.S. Department of State who were loyal to the Soviet Union. He called for investigations into staff in the Department of State, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other government agencies. Upon his reelection to the U.S. Senate in 1952, he was appointed chair of the Senate Committee on Government Operations and Investigations. In this capacity he presented colourful accusations that drove some government workers out of their jobs and brought popular condemnation to others. Many people besides McCarthy promoted the scare, which led to few convictions but much loss of employment for government employees, teachers, scholars, and people in the mass media.

Most notably, throughout the 1940s and '50s the [House Un-American Activities Committee](#) (HUAC) conducted investigations into alleged communist activities by individuals who included well-known artists and entertainers. Among those investigated were film director Elia Kazan, playwrights Arthur Miller and Bertolt Brecht, folksinger Pete Seeger, and the so-called Hollywood Ten, 10 motion-picture producers, directors, and screenwriters whose refusal to answer the committee's questions regarding their possible communist affiliations resulted in their incarceration for contempt of Congress as well as blacklisting by the Hollywood studios for most of them. HUAC's most celebrated case, however, did not involve an entertainment industry figure but instead Alger Hiss, a former U.S. State Department official who was convicted in January 1950 of perjury concerning his involvement with Whittaker Chambers, who accused him of having participated in a communist spy ring.

The second Red Scare peaked in 1954 during the "*McCarthy hearings*," 36 days of televised investigative hearings into alleged espionage within the U.S. Army. The hearings, led by McCarthy, exposed his sensational and truculent interrogation tactics. At the hearings' climax, the Army's lawyer, Joseph Welch, countered one of McCarthy's accusations by saying, "Have you no sense of

decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?" Welch's response gave expression to the public discrediting of McCarthy, who in December was censured by his colleagues in the Senate.

Fear of Communism in the United States

- **Post-World War II Tensions:** After WWII, the U.S. and the Soviet Union emerged as superpowers with opposing ideologies—capitalism versus communism. The fear of communist expansion grew as the USSR exerted influence over Eastern Europe, leading to the Iron Curtain and the division of Europe.
- **Domestic Concerns:** The success of the Soviet Union in developing nuclear weapons, the rise of communist movements in China and Korea, and the spread of communism in Eastern Europe heightened fears that communism could infiltrate and undermine American society and government.

McCarthyism and the Red Scare

- **Senator Joseph McCarthy:** McCarthy became the face of the anti-communist crusade, famously claiming in 1950 to have a list of communists working within the U.S. government. His tactics included aggressive investigations and unsubstantiated accusations, leading to widespread paranoia and the destruction of many careers.
- **HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee):** The committee investigated alleged disloyalty and subversive activities, particularly focusing on Hollywood, academia, and the federal government. Those accused faced blacklisting, loss of employment, and social ostracism.

Hollywood Ten and Cultural Impact

- **The Hollywood Ten:** A group of screenwriters and directors who refused to testify before HUAC, citing the First Amendment. They were blacklisted and imprisoned for contempt of Congress. This event marked the beginning of widespread blacklisting in the entertainment industry.
- **Cultural Impact:** The Red Scare led to the censorship of films, books, and other cultural works deemed sympathetic to communism. The fear of being labeled a communist sympathizer stifled artistic expression and political discourse.

International Relations and the Cold War

- **Global Context:** The Second Red Scare occurred during the early years of the Cold War, a period of intense rivalry between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. The spread of communism in countries like China, Korea, and Eastern Europe fueled fears that the U.S. could be next.
- **Containment Policy:** The U.S. adopted a policy of containment to prevent the spread of communism globally, leading to involvement in conflicts such as the Korean War. This international tension reinforced domestic fears of communism.

Responses and Reactions Government Policies and Legislation

- **Loyalty Programs:** President Truman initiated loyalty programs that required government employees to undergo background checks to prove their loyalty to the U.S. The Federal Employee Loyalty Program (1947) aimed to root out communists within the federal government.
- **Smith Act (1940):** This act made it illegal to advocate the overthrow of the government by force. It was used to prosecute members of the Communist Party and other leftist groups.

- **McCarran Internal Security Act (1950):** Required communist organizations to register with the government and allowed for the detention of individuals deemed a threat to national security during an emergency.

Civil Liberties and Individual Rights

- **Erosion of Rights:** The Red Scare led to significant infringements on civil liberties, including freedom of speech, association, and the right to a fair trial. Individuals accused of communist ties often faced harassment, loss of employment, and blacklisting without due process.
- **Supreme Court Responses:** In some cases, the Supreme Court upheld anti-communist legislation, but over time, it also began to push back against the most extreme violations of civil liberties, particularly in the late 1950s.

Social and Cultural Responses

- **Blacklisting:** Many people in the entertainment industry, academia, and other sectors were blacklisted due to suspected communist ties. This practice not only ruined careers but also contributed to a climate of fear and conformity.
- **Public Opinion:** The American public was divided, with some supporting McCarthy's actions as necessary for national security, while others criticized them as witch hunts that violated fundamental American principles.

Role of the Media

Media Hysteria

The media played a significant role in amplifying fears of communism. Sensationalized reports and broadcasts helped to fuel the paranoia and supported McCarthy's rise.

Opposition in Media

Over time, some media outlets, most notably CBS's Edward R. Murrow, began to challenge McCarthy's tactics and exposed the lack of evidence behind many of his claims, contributing to his eventual downfall.

Spread of Anti-Communist Sentiment

Education and Propaganda

Anti-communist sentiment was spread through schools, churches, and community organizations. Educational materials and films were produced to warn against the dangers of communism.

Impact on Society The Red Scare created a pervasive atmosphere of suspicion and fear. Neighbors turned against neighbors, and a culture of conformity and self-censorship emerged as people sought to avoid being labeled as communists.

9.1. What are the Causes?

The Red Scare began as a response to the threat of communist, socialist, and anarchist ideas and actions linked to developments in Russia and the Soviet Union.

The initial infrastructure for waging war on domestic communism was built during the first Red Scare, with the creation of an antiradicalism division within the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the emergence of a network of private “patriotic” organizations. With capitalism’s crisis during the Great Depression, the Communist Party grew in numbers and influence, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s New Deal program expanded the federal government’s role in providing economic security. The anticommunist network expanded as well, most notably with the 1938 formation of the Special House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, which in 1945 became the permanent House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). Other key congressional investigation committees were the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and McCarthy’s Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations.

The Second Red Scare was shaped by the context of the early Cold War, with the United States and the Soviet Union emerging as the two dominant superpowers after the end of the Second World War. Espionage was a very real concern in this time period, and it should be remembered that there were spies passing information back to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union’s successful testing of the atomic bomb in 1949 would have been particularly troubling in this respect, given that it had the effect of shattering what had been (up to that point) an American monopoly on weapons of mass destruction.

However, some people argue that the Second Red Scare holds much deeper roots, far preceding the Cold War itself, with anti-communist movements and sentiments exerting force across the 1920s and 1930s. There was a powerful political dynamic to this as well, given that these anti-communist movements were often anti-civil rights and anti-labor, and were in opposition to the New Deal.

At the same time, there is also the history of the American Communist Party. Originally founded in 1919, the party gained significant political clout during the Great Depression, even as it aligned with other left-leaning organizations in defense of broader programs of social progress and in opposition to Fascism. However, the Soviet-Nazi nonaggression pact of 1939 heralded an abrupt shift in the party’s political leanings, which suddenly became non-interventionist where Europe was concerned. This about-face, Storr writes, had the effect of disillusioning many party members, as well as former allies, while revealing the degree to which the American Communist Party (as an organization) ultimately answered to direction from the Soviet Union.

At home, this fear of communism was ratcheted to an all-time high by Senator Joseph McCarthy when he made the unsubstantiated claim on February 9, 1950 that there were communists working in the State Department. This kicked off a slew of witch hunts for real and imagined communists lurking in all parts of American society. Politicians began attacking their political opponents by accusing them of being communists. Numerous filmmakers and writers were blacklisted for having possible communist sympathies. In 1951, the Rosenberg Trial, in which two Americans were tried and sentenced to death for passing atomic secrets to the Soviets, further fueled paranoia that anyone could be a communist working to undermine American democracy and capitalism.

Overseas events also contributed to the Second Red Scare. When the Soviets conducted their first atomic test on August 29, 1949, many feared that the struggle between communism and democracy could lead to total nuclear annihilation. Meanwhile, more countries were experiencing communist takeovers and revolutions. As communism took hold in new countries, many Americans wondered if it could happen at home, too. Nowhere was this clearer than in Korea, where the United States and its allies went to war against North Korea and its Soviet and Chinese allies in a bloody contest over their respective ideologies.

9.2. What are the Impacts?

Conservative critics of the New Deal often denounced its supposed communist tendencies, but not until after 1945 did their concerns reach the political mainstream and stimulate a second Red Scare. A major contributing factor was the collapse of the wartime alliance between the United States and the communist Soviet Union. Soviet control of Eastern Europe angered ethnic Americans with ties to their old homelands. When Republicans regained control of both houses of Congress in 1946 for the first time since 1932, the stage was set for a legislative offensive against communists and their allies.

Republicans had campaigned on the issue of ousting communists from the federal government. In 1945, Elizabeth Bentley, courier for a Soviet intelligence network, went to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and named dozens of government officials as spies. A program to decrypt Soviet intelligence cables – the Venona Project – began picking up steam in 1947 and revealed widespread Soviet espionage in the United States during World War II.

Although Bentley's charges did not become public until 1948, President Truman, stung by the Republican takeover of Congress and hoping to preempt congressional action, announced a new Loyalty Order in March 1947. Loyalty boards were created in every federal agency. The FBI was authorized to investigate federal employees to determine whether enough "derogatory information" about them warranted a full field investigation. The loyalty boards could then hold hearings, hear confidential witnesses, and fire people if "reasonable doubt" about their loyalty existed. To facilitate the boards' investigations, the attorney general released a list of subversive organizations, membership in which could be grounds for dismissal.

More than five million government employees were reviewed. Several hundred were dismissed; several thousand more resigned. Critics insisted the boards lacked procedural safeguards, such as the right to confront critical witnesses, and that investigators used overly broad criteria to demonstrate communist sympathies.

The Loyalty Order did little to assuage concerns about subversion. Congressional committees, notably the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), changed from a special to a standing (i.e., permanent) committee in 1946 and undertook a series of investigations into communist influence throughout American life. Although it looked at infiltration of labor unions, colleges and universities, and a variety of other organizations, HUAC's investigation of the entertainment industry generated the most attention.

During a series of hearings about communist influence in Hollywood, HUAC subpoenaed a group of screenwriters, producers, and directors who came to be known as the Hollywood Ten. These artists refused to answer questions about whether they had ever belonged to the Communist Party (all 10 had), but they did not cite their Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination. Instead, they insisted HUAC had no right to ask them such questions, after which they were convicted of contempt of Congress and sentenced to brief prison terms. In response, the movie studios issued the Waldorf Declaration, announcing they would not employ anyone who refused to testify about communism before Congress and, thus, beginning the Hollywood Blacklist.

In a series of hearings over the next several years, a few hundred actors, writers, and directors took the Fifth Amendment, saving themselves from prison but losing their jobs. Many others testified, admitted once belonging to the Communist Party USA (CPUSA), and "named names," identifying people they had known in the party.

The major short-term consequence of Red Scare consisted of its increasingly powerful tendency to spread to all levels of society. After the accusations directed towards Truman's administration, Red Scare paranoia started spreading to not only local governments and employers but

also the media, universities, labor unions, etc. Consequently, various accusations on all these levels resulted in ludicrous situations, interfering with the proper development of the professional areas.

Despite the irony, the idea of protecting democracy by stifling essential democratic values, such as the multitude of opinions, should be considered a short-term consequence as well. The second Red Scare was far more elaborate than the first, as it led to executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on charges of communist espionage, to multiple cases of imprisonment, deportation, or the most common punishment – long-term unemployment. Storrs stresses the fact that one of the critical consequences of Red Scare was the lively debate that goes on to this day about the proper balance between security and liberty.

A great number of officials were removed from office in the wake of McCarthyism hysteria. More often than not, the eliminated officials were working on certain policies designed to strengthen the democratic system, redistribution, and regulation. Thus, Red Scare had a negative impact on the economic potential of the New Deal, as it removed the people capable of managing the unregulated capitalist system, as well as its anti-democratic aspects.

The police structures developed for the purposes of revealing Red espionage continued working in the 1970s. By spying on the Texas population, they infringed on the privacy rights of those who could not even remotely resemble Soviet spies. Moreover, the effects of Red Scare were very prominent in public schools, where the ultra-right were the driving force. A great number of teachers were scared into resigning, and the censure of publications and curriculum continued even in the 1970s.

10. Delegate Profiles

Clyde Doyle

A U.S. Congressman and prominent member of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), Doyle was deeply involved in investigating alleged communists in government and entertainment. He believed communism posed a subversive threat to American democracy and supported blacklisting and public hearings to expose communist ties.

J. Edgar Hoover

As Director of the FBI from 1924 to 1972, Hoover was perhaps the most relentless anti-communist in the U.S. government. He saw communism as a direct and constant threat to American society. He initiated surveillance programs against suspected communists and civil rights leaders he thought were influenced by Marxist ideology.

Ronald Reagan

Before becoming president, Reagan served as president of the Screen Actors Guild, where he opposed communist influence in Hollywood. As president, he referred to the USSR as an "evil empire" and built much of his foreign and domestic policy around fighting communism. He championed military buildup and anti-communist movements globally.

Kit Clardy

A Congressman and active member of HUAC, Clardy was a vocal and aggressive opponent of communism. He was involved in efforts to root out communists from labor unions, universities, and

public institutions. His tactics were often harsh and controversial, and he earned the nickname "Michigan's McCarthy."

Elia Kazan

A successful director who was once a member of the Communist Party, Kazan later became disillusioned and testified before HUAC in 1952, naming names of former associates. He argued that communism was a real threat to freedom and democracy. His testimony helped fuel the blacklist, and his decision remains controversial.

Walt Disney

Disney testified before HUAC in 1947, claiming that communist agitators had tried to infiltrate the labor unions in his studio. Though not a political crusader, he viewed communism as an anti-American force and supported efforts to purge suspected communists from Hollywood.

Herbert Hoover

President during the first Red Scare (1920s–1930s), Hoover opposed radical leftist movements and saw communism as incompatible with American individualism and capitalism. He supported crackdowns on socialist and communist labor organizers.

Joseph McCarthy

A U.S. Senator who became the face of the second Red Scare in the 1950s. McCarthy claimed that communist spies had infiltrated the government, military, and media. Though many of his claims were unproven or exaggerated, his aggressive tactics created widespread fear and suspicion.

Harry S. Truman

As president at the start of the Cold War, Truman opposed communism both domestically and abroad. He introduced the Truman Doctrine to contain Soviet expansion and launched loyalty programs to screen federal employees. However, he criticized the excesses of McCarthyism as damaging to democracy.

Richard Nixon

Nixon's early political career was built on anti-communism. He gained national attention for his role in exposing Alger Hiss as a suspected Soviet spy. As Vice President and later President, he maintained a strong anti-communist stance, though he famously visited China in 1972 to open diplomatic relations.

Francis E. Walter

A Congressman and co-author of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952, which aimed to prevent communist infiltration through immigration. He was a leading member of HUAC and believed communists were a serious domestic threat.

Dalton Trumbo

An acclaimed screenwriter and member of the Hollywood Ten, Trumbo refused to testify before HUAC and was blacklisted. A former member of the Communist Party USA, he remained a critic of anti-communist repression and believed in the right to political dissent, even as he later distanced himself from Stalinism.

Klaus Fuchs

A German-born physicist who worked on the Manhattan Project and was later convicted of passing

atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. A committed communist, Fuchs believed he was helping maintain global balance and prevent American nuclear domination.

Paul Robeson

A celebrated singer and civil rights activist who openly supported the Soviet Union and communism as a solution to racism and colonialism. Robeson refused to denounce communism during the Red Scare, which led to the revocation of his passport and widespread blacklisting.

Robert J. Oppenheimer

The lead scientist of the Manhattan Project, Oppenheimer had past associations with communists and was close to many leftist thinkers. Though not a communist himself, he supported left-wing causes. In 1954, his security clearance was revoked after a controversial hearing questioning his loyalty.

Henry Wallace

Vice President under FDR and later Progressive Party presidential candidate in 1948. Wallace advocated peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union and opposed Cold War militarism. Though not a communist, his views made him popular among leftists and suspected by anti-communists.

Alger Hiss

A former State Department official accused of being a Soviet spy by Whittaker Chambers and convicted of perjury in 1950. Hiss denied being a communist, but the case was a turning point in U.S. anti-communist sentiment, and many believe he was in fact involved with Soviet espionage.

Charlie Chaplin

The legendary filmmaker was a vocal critic of capitalism, war, and inequality. Though not a member of the Communist Party, his left-wing views led to intense scrutiny. In 1952, while traveling abroad, the U.S. government barred him from re-entry, citing his political beliefs.

Haakon Chevalier

A professor and friend of Oppenheimer, Chevalier was identified in Oppenheimer's security hearings as someone who approached him about sharing information with the Soviets. Though never convicted of espionage, he was considered a communist sympathizer.

Ethel Rosenberg

Convicted and executed along with her husband Julius for espionage in 1953. The Rosenbergs were accused of passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union. Debate continues over the extent of Ethel's involvement, but she was likely supportive of communism.

Arthur Miller

The playwright of *The Crucible*, which was an allegory of McCarthyism. Miller criticized the Red Scare and refused to name names when subpoenaed by HUAC. Though not a communist, he was sympathetic to civil liberties and critical of anti-communist hysteria.

Howard Koch

Screenwriter of *Casablanca*, Koch was blacklisted for alleged communist affiliations and left-wing views. He was a member of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization and stood against anti-communist censorship.

Julius Rosenberg

Convicted and executed for espionage along with his wife Ethel. Julius was almost certainly involved in passing nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union and was a committed communist, believing he was aiding a fellow socialist state during a time of global tension.

Edward Teller

Edward Teller was a Hungarian-American physicist best known for developing the hydrogen bomb. Having fled fascism in Europe, Teller also viewed communism as a serious danger to Western civilization, especially when tied to nuclear proliferation.

During the Red Scare, he became deeply involved in Cold War politics and is best remembered for his testimony against Robert Oppenheimer during the latter's 1954 security hearing. Teller suggested Oppenheimer could not be trusted with national secrets due to his past leftist associations, despite no proven disloyalty.

His stance made him a divisive figure respected by anti-communists but seen by many in the scientific community as having betrayed a colleague. Teller supported strong U.S. defense policies and saw communism as both a scientific and ideological threat.

Louis Budenz

Louis Budenz began his political career as a leading American communist, serving as editor of the Daily Worker, the official newspaper of the Communist Party USA. In 1945, however, he publicly broke with the Party, converted to Catholicism, and became one of its most visible and vocal opponents.

After his defection, Budenz testified extensively before Congress and other government bodies, claiming that the Communist Party USA was not just a political group but a covert instrument of Soviet espionage. He provided names of individuals he believed were communist operatives or sympathizers.

Budenz saw communism as fundamentally dishonest and morally bankrupt, and he became an essential figure in the government's efforts to discredit the American left during the Cold War.

Whittaker Chambers

Whittaker Chambers joined the Communist Party USA in the 1920s and later became a Soviet courier, transmitting classified information from U.S. government contacts. In the late 1930s, he defected from the communist underground, fearing both Soviet tyranny and the moral decay of the movement.

He came to national prominence in 1948 when he testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee, accusing former State Department official Alger Hiss of being part of a Soviet spy network. This case helped launch Richard Nixon's political career and intensified Cold War fears. Chambers later published Witness (1952), an influential memoir in which he described communism as a false religion that promised salvation but delivered repression. He became a symbol of redemption for former communists and a hero among Cold War conservatives.

Maurice Rapf

Maurice Rapf was a Hollywood screenwriter and an early member of the Screen Writers Guild. In the 1930s, he joined the Communist Party USA, motivated by his support for labor rights, racial equality, and opposition to fascism.

Rapf never engaged in espionage or radical activism, but he was open about his political views, which were well to the left of mainstream American politics. In the late 1940s, during the Red Scare, he was blacklisted from Hollywood due to his party affiliation and progressive stance.

Although he later left the Communist Party, he remained critical of McCarthyism and HUAC, which he saw as attacks on civil liberties and freedom of expression. Rapf eventually became a film professor and a voice for freedom of artistic expression in the face of political censorship.

Edward R. Murrow

Edward R. Murrow was one of America's most respected broadcast journalists, best known for his courageous reporting during World War II and later for his influential television program *See It Now*. In 1954, Murrow delivered a landmark broadcast that openly challenged Senator Joseph McCarthy's methods during the height of the Red Scare. He argued that McCarthy's reckless accusations and fearmongering endangered American democracy and civil liberties. Murrow's principled stand played a crucial role in turning public opinion against McCarthyism. Though not aligned with communism, Murrow strongly believed in protecting freedom of speech and resisting government overreach, making him a symbol of journalistic integrity in an era of political hysteria.

11. Further Reading

a. Fear of Communism

The long-standing embedded belief, going back to the 'Red Scare' of the 1920s, that Communism was about to destroy American democracy, freedom and way of life, and the government had been taking action against Communism before McCarthy.

- HUAC: The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) had been created by Congress in 1938 to investigate private citizens, public employees and organizations suspected of disloyalty. Before the war it also investigated Nazis and Japanese Americans, but its focus was always on Communists.
- The Smith Act of 1940 made it a criminal offence to "advocate, abet, advise or teach [the] desirability or propriety of overthrowing the Government of the United States".
- In 1942, the Department of Justice started keeping a list of (154) organizations it deemed subversive.

b. Anti-Union sentiment

The Unions were seen as by many, especially Republicans, as damaging to the US economy & capitalism, and hotbeds of sedition.

- In 1947 the Taft-Hartley Act imposed restrictions on Unions, prohibiting secondary picketing, closed shops, allowing states to pass 'right-to-work' laws, and requiring all union officials to sign an affidavit that they were not Communists.
- The strikes of 1949: In fact, Union activity was much reduced in the years after 1946, but a small economic downturn in 1949 caused some prominent strikes, including a 3-week strike by 60,000 Ford workers, and strikes by 1 million miners and 500,000 steelworkers, both demanding pensions & insurance as well as significant wage increases. This created a sense of alarm.

c. Spy cases

- Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers: were two Soviet spies who in return for immunity accused a number of government officials of being spies (including Alger Hiss).
- Alger Hiss: In 1948 Alger Hiss, a US government official who had helped set up the United Nations, was accused of spying for the USSR in the 1930s. Hiss was eventually sentenced to 5 years imprisonment for perjury. This was the case that prompted McCarthy to make his speech at Wheeling.
- Ethel and Julius Rosenberg : in 1953 man-and-wife team Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed, and a number of co-conspirators imprisoned, for leaking information to the USSR about American radar, jet technology, and nuclear weapons.

d. Cold War

After WWII, the USA and the USSR had entered into a period of enmity-without-fighting called the 'Cold War' – in 1947 President Truman had declared the Truman Doctrine that it was America's duty to intervene in foreign affairs to 'contain' communism and protect democracy.

In the late 1940s a number of events led to a significant fear of a nuclear war with the USSR and a Communist invasion:

- In 1948 Communists took over the government of Czechoslovakia, the last free democratic country in eastern Europe – an event which prompted Congress to agree to the Marshall Plan, pumping \$_millions in the economies of western Europe.
- In June 1949, Stalin closed all land access to West Berlin – the 'Berlin Blockade'.
- In August 1949 the USSR successfully tested an atomic bomb, leading to an arms race. In US schools, children were taught to 'Duck and Cover' in case of a nuclear missile attack.
- In October 1949, Communists took over the government of China.
- In June 1950, Communist North Korea invaded and almost conquered democratic South Korea – leading America into the three-year Korean War.

e. Intelligence

In 1943, the National Security Agency started the Venona Project to monitor Soviet spying; when some Venona materials were declassified in 1995 it became clear that a level of espionage was indeed taking place.

f. Swing to the Republican Party

President Truman was a Democrat. However, during his Presidency support for the more right-wing Republican Party began to grow; Republicans generally supported McCarthyism, using it as a central theme which helped them gain political power in the Congressional and Presidential elections of 1952.

g. Media sensationalism

All these factors created a sense of panic in the public mind, to which the media played:

- As you saw in your study of Popular Culture, many of the films of the 1950s were about invasions of alien creatures and Communists taking over America.
- Newspapers, magazines and cinema newsreels sensationalised stories about alleged communist infiltration, often without evidence.

<https://www.johndclare.net/USA12.htm>

In 1954, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) stripped [J. Robert Oppenheimer](#), the former leader of the Los Alamos laboratory of the Manhattan Project, of his security clearance. That action was taken on the grounds that his associations with Communism earlier in life made him a national security risk. The committee controversially decided to block Oppenheimer's access to classified material on nuclear weapons out of a concern that he might share secrets with the Soviet Union.

The removal of Oppenheimer's security clearance sparked outrage within the scientific community. However, it was not the first time that scientists were investigated for Communist sympathies. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, several Manhattan Project veterans faced the scrutiny of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). HUAC was established in 1938 by the House of Representatives to investigate potential disloyalty and subversion. The committee infamously targeted hundreds of private citizens, particularly in the entertainment industry, who were suspected of being communists or having ties to left-wing organizations. While not as notorious as Oppenheimer's case before the AEC, HUAC's investigations into left-leaning scientists hold an important place in the history of the Cold War.

The people impacted were part of a wave of investigations conducted during the late 1940s and early 1950s. The news that Soviets had tested their first atomic bomb in 1949, followed by the arrests of atomic spies Klaus Fuchs and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg a year later, intensified public fears about Communism. By 1950, roughly 10% of all American scientists and engineers were subjected to loyalty pledges in order to maintain their security clearance. HUAC's investigations aroused further concern about Communist infiltration.

<https://ahf.nuclearmuseum.org/ahf/history/huac-and-manhattan-project>

12. Questions to be Considered

- Under what terms such spies as the Rosenbergs will be tried, and how will HUAC deal with the prosecution of Soviet spies and the reaction to it?

- How the committee will expose communists in Hollywood and many other industries, and how it will prevent witch hunts in the process
- How will the powers of HUAC be supervised to ensure the safety and well-being of citizens, will personal freedoms be guaranteed?
- How will a fair and equitable judicial system be maintained during the prosecution and trial of the communists?
- In what ways should HUAC deal with Oppenheimer's alleged connections to communism?

13.Playlist

▶ ***Sound Smart: The House Un-American Activities Committee | History***

▶ ***'California Witch Hunt': California State Archives Exhibit on the Un-American Activiti...***

▶ ***What is McCarthyism? And how did it happen? - Ellen Schrecker***

▶ ***Sound Smart: The Red Scare | History***

▶ ***Fear of Communism in America - The Red Scare & McCarthyism***

14.Bibliography

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/First-Amendment>

<https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/educational-resources/age-of-eisenhower/mccarthyism-red-scare>

<https://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/research/online-documents/mccarthyism-red-scare#:~:text=%5BT%20he%20American%20Heritage%20Dictionary%20gives,in%20order%20to%20suppress%20opposition.%5D>

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Red-Scare-politics>

<https://www.johndclare.net/USA12.htm>

<https://www.history.com/articles/red-scare>

<https://www.mass.gov/info-details/sacco-vanzetti-the-red-scare-of-1919-1920#:~:text=Causes%20of%20the%20Red%20Scare&text=The%20Bolshevik%20Revolution%20in%20Russia,decline%20and%20unemployment%20to%20rise.>

<https://www.britannica.com/biography/Joseph-McCarthy>

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/z7spn9q/revision/3>

<https://billofrightsinstitute.org/essays/the-postwar-red-scare>