

## Extended Controversial Issue Discussion Lesson Plan Template

Lesson Title: Joseph McCarthy and the first amendment

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**Contact Information:** Mendive Middle School

Appropriate for Grade Level(s): 8<sup>th</sup> grade

## US History Standard(s)/Applicable CCSS(s):

**H 4.2** Discuss the key people, ideas, and events of the Cold War era and analyze their impact on economic and political policy in the U.S.

**H 3.11** Compare and contrast the social impact of the Cold War and the War on Terror on the United States.

Discussion Question(s): Was Congress's violation of the First Amendment during the McCarthy Era justified?

Engagement Strategy: Walk the line

**Student Readings (list):** First Amendment, Smith Act, McCarran Internal Security Act, McCarthy's speech (2/9/50 at Wheeling, West Virginia), "The legacy of McCarthyism" by Ellen Schrecker, Eisenhower diary excerpts in regards to McCarthy (dated 4/1/53)

Total Time Needed: Three 60 minute class periods

## **Lesson Outline:**

Time Frame (e.g. 15 minutes)	What is the teacher doing?	What are students doing?
15 minutes	Walk the line: One side of the room should be designated "Agree" and one side should be designated "Disagree". Read each statement, allowing students to move to their chosen side. These statements become increasing less one-sided and more opinionated. This is a whole group activity in which students are told not to discuss their choices but silently moving to the side that matches their opinion.	Students will respond to each statement as to whether they agree or disagree. They are to respond to each by remaining on the side they are on (if it matches their position) or moving to the opposite side. Although this is a whole group activity, decisions are individual.
105 minutes	History mystery – students will receive a series of documents to assist them on forming an opinion on the McCarthy Era and first amendment violations. Students should be assigned to groups of three and must discuss each piece of evidence. Once conclusions have been reached, all group members write their response on their record form.	Students will examine each piece of evidence to develop an understanding of McCarthy and the red scare; they will discuss each piece with their group of three and then complete that section on their note-taker.

60 minutes	Ct. dente will receive the key question (M/as	Ct. deate will exects a property and then a final
60 minutes	Students will receive the key question ( <i>Was</i>	Students will create a pre-write and then a final
	Congress's violation of the First Amendment	writing piece that responds to the discussion
	<u>during the McCarthy Era justified</u> ?) and will be	question ( <i>Was Congress's violation of the First</i>
	asked to complete a 5 paragraph essay, utilizing	Amendment during the McCarthy Era justified?).
	any source provided in their mystery to	They must cite at least one quote for each of
	substantiate their position. They must cite at	their three main positions. This is an
	least one quote for each of their three main	individualized activity.
	·	marria dan zea don vicy.
	positions.	
<b>Description of Le</b>	esson Assessment: Students will create a five paragraph	n position paper that addresses the history mystery's
•	e paper must begin with a pre-write and then create th	
quote for each of	f their three main positions and substantiate their opin	ion thoroughly.
How will student	ts reflect on the process and their learning? Following	the completion of their position paper (most likely on
	ey will share on the extent of their understanding of the	
		e McCartry Era and now this method
ennanced/detrac	cted from their ability to understand the concept.	
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The pages that follow the Lesson Plan Template include a detailed background paper on the topic for teachers, student readings and reading

strategy/questions, source(s), handouts, assignment sheet, self-assessment/reflection and a rubric related to this lesson.

## Walk the line questions:

All statements begin with "All citizens of the United States..."

- 1. Have the right to express their opinion
- 2. Have the right to verbally criticize public policies
- 3. Have the right to criticize other citizens
- 4. Should recognize that the communist party is an accepted political party
- 5. Should recognize that communism is a valid, governmental system
- 6. Should protect our country from communist influence
- 7. Should criticize those who support traditional communistic viewpoints
- 8. Should look at those who profess to be communistic with a critical eye
- 9. Should encourage Congress to publically criticize those of a communistic ideology
- 10. Should expect that active communists on American soil should be limited on their freedoms, especially their freedom of speech

## Student question sheet:

Artifact 1: Read the article "Allies to Enemies: Origins of the Cold War". Once read, discuss the article with your group and write a two-three sentence summary of what the cold war was.

Artifact 2: Examine the first amendment. Detail the freedoms this amendment lists on the left hand side of the note-taker form. Explain each of the freedoms on your record sheet and write a description of each in your own words.

Artifact 3: Read the excerpt from the Smith Act. List three quotes and identify which freedoms (listed in Artifact 2 responses) are violated.

Artifact 4: Read the excerpt from the McCarran Internal Security act. List three quotes and identify which freedoms (listed in Artifact 2 responses) are violated.

Artifact 5: McCarthy's speech in Wheeling (2/9/50). Describe what concerns McCarthy by listing 5 of his concerns in your own words.

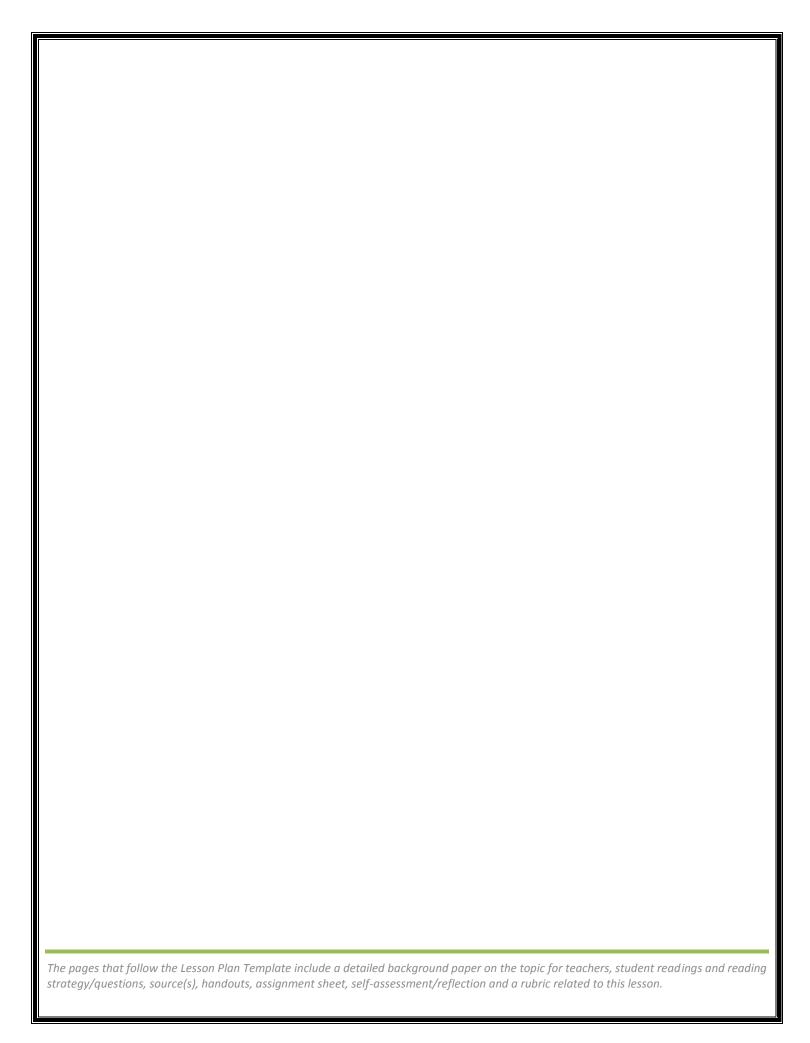
Artifact 6: Read "The Legacy of McCarthyism". Describe five impacts, as described by Schrecker, which changed how Americans operated.

Artifact 7: Read the excerpt from Eisenhower's diary. What was Eisenhower's strategy to change McCarthy's impact?

Artifact 8: Look at the political cartoons and analyze each, using the analysis sheet provided.



**Final question:** Using all evidence provided, write a five paragraph position paper on the following prompt: <u>Was</u> <u>Congress's violation of the First Amendment during the McCarthy Era justified</u>? In you three detailed support paragraphs, please use a quote in each from your artifacts and thoroughly support your position.



Name	Period	Date

# **McCarthy History Mystery - Student Sheet**

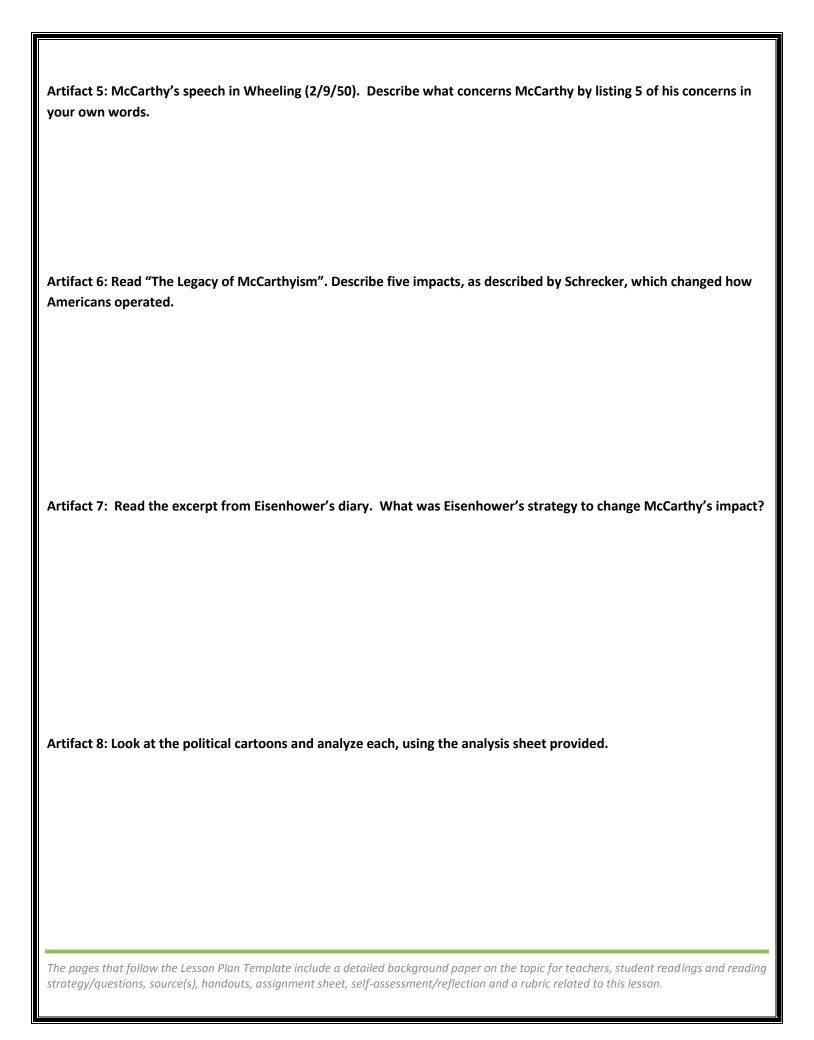
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## Allies to Enemies: Origins of the Cold War (Overview)

During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union had been allies against Germany. However, they had many serious ideological differences and often conflicting political agendas. In particular, the United States had a democratic system of government, while the Soviet Union had a communist government. Those differences led to tension-filled conflicts and increasingly polarized positions, as well as to opposing political and military initiatives. Because those conflicts never heated up to the point of major military action, the often intense struggle became known as the "cold war."

## **Eastern Europe**

Despite an agreement to help European nations regain self-government, the Soviet Union installed communist governments in Eastern Europe in the years between 1945 and 1948. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin justified his actions on the premise that those nations provided a security buffer from European invasion. He also believed that the United States had promised him this "sphere of influence" in Eastern Europe as part of their wartime alliance. Perhaps most important of all, Stalin wanted to spread communist ideology. To further that aim, the Soviets imposed communication and travel barriers to the Westóknown as the "iron curtain" othroughout its sphere of influence. Angered and concerned by Soviet actions, the United States and its allies took steps to fight the spread of communism.

## The Marshall Plan

The United States feared Soviet dominance throughout Europeóand perhaps beyond. As a result, President Harry Truman committed the United States to supporting democratic resistance in Europe. The Truman Doctrine, and the containment policy it became, led to two key prongs of cold war strategy. The first was economic aid to Europe with the Marshall Plan (1947) as its cornerstone. Proposed by Secretary of State George C. Marshall, the plan hoped to stabilize Europeóthus protecting it against communist influencesóby repairing European economies and infrastructures. Between 1948 and 1952, 17 European nations received Marshall Plan funds. The monies helped to restore industry, agriculture, and trade, while they shored up financial institutions.

## **Berlin**



Each action in the cold war prompted a reaction from the opposing side, which raised tensions to new levels. In 1948, the western alliesówho had occupied portions of Germany and the city of Berlinódecided to merge their zones into a new democratic German nation (founded in 1949). Because Berlin sat inside the Soviet-occupied portion of Germany, its western zones became a single isolated democratic island surrounded by communist territory. The Soviet Union responded in June 1948 by blockading all routes to West Berlin in an effort to push the western allies out. Only the Berlin airlift, which supplied the city by airdrop, enabled the people there to survive the 11-month blockade.

### **NATO**

Incidents like the Berlin blockade further heightened tension and increased U.S. concerns about Soviet expansion. They also encouraged the second major prong of the U.S. containment plan: military deterrence. The United States and its European allies believed that a strong military and a united political front would deter the Soviets from an attack. In 1949, they formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which rested on the core idea that each member nation would treat an attack on any other member as an attack on itself. The United States, with its increasing store of nuclear weapons, offered a formidable military threat at NATO's helm. In response, the Soviet Union formed the Warsaw Pact among its allies. As the Soviets developed nuclear weapons (testing began in 1949), the <u>race</u> for military dominance began.
Select Citation Style:  MLA  MLA  MLA  MLA  MLA  MLA  MLA  ML
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FIRST AMENDMENT		
AMENDMENT I		
Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free <u>exercise</u> thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.		
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## Smith Act of 1940

# http://www.bc.edu/bc\_org/avp/cas/comm/free\_speech/smithactof1940.html

The Alien Registration Act of 1940, usually called the Smith Act because the antisedition section was authored by Representative Howard W. Smith of Virginia, was adopted at 54 *Statutes at Large* 670-671 (1940). The Act has been amended several times and can now be found at 18 *U.S. Code* § 2385 (2000).

§ 2385. Advocating Overthrow of Government.

Whoever knowingly or willfully advocates, abets, advises, or teaches the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the government of the United States or the government of any State, Territory, District or Possession thereof, or the government of any political subdivision therein, by force or violence, or by the assassination of any officer of any such government; or

Whoever, with intent to cause the overthrow or destruction of any such government, prints, publishes, edits, issues, circulates, sells, distributes, or publicly displays any written or printed matter advocating, advising, or teaching the duty, necessity, desirability, or propriety of overthrowing or destroying any government in the United States by force or violence, or attempts to do so; or

Whoever organizes or helps or attempts to organize any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any such government by force or violence; or becomes or is a member of, or affiliates with, any such society, group, or assembly of persons, knowing the purposes thereof--

Shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both, and shall be ineligible for employment by the United States or any department or agency thereof, for the five years next following his conviction.

If two or more persons conspire to commit any offense named in this section, each shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both, and shall be ineligible for employment by the United States or any department or agency thereof, for the five years next following his conviction.

As used in this section, the terms "organizes" and "organize", with respect to any society, group, or assembly of persons, include the recruiting of new members, the forming of new units, and the regrouping or expansion of existing clubs, classes, and other units of such society, group, or assembly of persons.

# **Documents of American History II M2010**

## 1950s: Internal Security Act of 1950

## AN ACT

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

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

### TITLE I-SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL

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

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

Necessity for Legislation

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

- (1) There exists a world Communist movement which, in its origins, its development, and its present practice, is a world-wide revolutionary movement whose purpose it is, by treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups (governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary, to establish a Communist totalitarian dictatorship in the countries throughout the world through the medium of a world-wide Communist organization.
- (2) The establishment of a totalitarian dictatorship in any country results in the suppression of all opposition to the party in power, the subordination of the rights of individuals to the state, the denial of fundamental rights and liberties which are characteristic of a representative form of government, such as freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, and of religious worship, and results in the maintenance of control over the people through fear, terrorism, and brutality.

### Recognizing Propaganda Techniques

#### **Propaganda Techniques**

**What are Propaganda Techniques?** They are the methods and approaches used to spread ideas that further a cause - a political, commercial, religious, or civil cause.

**Why are they used?** To manipulate the readers' or viewers' reason and emotions; to persuade you to believe in something or someone, buy an item, or <u>vote</u> a certain way.

What are the most commonly used propaganda techniques? See which of the ten most common types of propaganda techniques you already know.

#### **Types:**

**Name calling:** This techniques consists of attaching a negative label to a person or a thing. People engage in this type of behavior when they are trying to avoid supporting their own opinion with facts. Rather than explain what they believe in, they prefer to try to tear their opponent down.

**Glittering Generalities:** This technique uses important-sounding "glad words" that have little or no real meaning. These words are used in general statements that cannot be proved or disproved. Words like "good," "honest," "fair," and "best" are examples of "glad" words.

**Transfer:** In this technique, an attempt is made to transfer the prestige of a positive symbol to a person or an idea. For example, using the <u>American</u> flag as a backdrop for a political event makes the implication that the event is patriotic in the best interest of the U.S.

**False Analogy:** In this technique, two things that may or may not really be similar are portrayed as being similar. When examining the comparison, you must ask yourself how similar the items are. In most false analogies, there is simply not enough evidence available to support the comparison.

**Testimonial:** This technique is easy to understand. It is when "big name" personalities are used to endorse a product. Whenever you see someone famous endorsing a product, ask yourself how much that person knows about the product, and what he or she stands to gain by promoting it.

**Plain Folks:** This technique uses a folksy approach to convince us to support someone or something. These ads depict people with ordinary looks doing ordinary activities.

**Card Stacking:** This term comes from stacking <u>a deck of cards</u> in your favor. Card stacking is used to slant a message. Key words or unfavorable statistics may be omitted in an ad or commercial, leading to a series of half-truths. Keep in mind that an advertiser is under no obligation "to give the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

**Bandwagon:** The "bandwagon" approach encourages you to think that because everyone else is doing something, you should do it too, or you'll be left out. The technique embodies a "keeping up with the Joneses" philosophy.

**Either/or fallacy:** This technique is also called "black-and-white thinking" because only two choices are given. You are either for something or against it; there is no middle ground or shades of gray. It is used to polarize issues, and negates all attempts to find a common ground.

**Faulty Cause and Effect:** This technique suggests that because B follows A, A must cause B. Remember, just because two events or two sets of data are related does not necessarily mean that one caused the other to happen. It is important to evaluate data carefully before jumping to a wrong conclusion.

# "Speech at Wheeling, West Virginia" (1950)<sup>1</sup> Joseph McCarthy

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

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

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

Six years ago, at the time of the first conference to map out the peace—Dumbarton Oaks—there was within the Soviet orbit 180,000,000 people. Lined up on the antitotalitarian side there were in the world at the time roughly 1,625,000,000 people. Today, only 6 years later, there are 800,000,000 people under the absolute domination of Soviet Russia—an increase of over 400 percent. On our side, the figure has shrunk to around 500,000,000. In other words, in less than 6 years the odds have change from 9 to 1 in our favor to 8 to 5 against us. This indicates the swiftness of the tempo of Communist victories and American defeats in the cold war. As one of our outstanding historical figures once said, "When a great democracy is destroyed, it will not be because of enemies from without but rather because of enemies from within."

The truth of this statement is becoming terrifyingly clear as we see this country each day losing on every front.

At war's end we were physically the strongest nation on earth and, at least potentially, the most powerful intellectually and morally. Ours could have been the honor of being a beacon in the desert of destruction, a shining living proof that civilization was not yet ready to destroy itself. Unfortunately, we have failed miserably and tragically to arise to the opportunity.

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

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

Now I know it is very easy for anyone to condemn a particular bureau or department in general terms. Therefore, I would like to cite one rather unusual case—the case of a man who has done much to shape our foreign policy.

When Chiang Kai-shek was fighting our war, the State Department had in China a young man named John S. Service. His task, obviously, was not to work for the communization of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Joseph McCarthy, "Speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, 9 February 1950," in Michael P. Johnson, ed., Reading the American Past, Vol. II (Boston: Bedford Books, 1998), 191-195.

China. Strangely, however, he sent official reports back to the State Department urging that we torpedo our ally Chiang Kai-shek and stating, in effect, that communism was the best hope of China.

Later, this man—John Service—was picked up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for turning over to the Communists secret State Department information. Strangely, however, he was never prosecuted. However, Joseph Grew, the Under Secretary of State, who insisted on his prosecution, was forced to resign. Two days after Grew's successor, Dean Acheson, took over as Under Secretary of State, this man—John Service—who had been picked up by the FBI and who had previously urged that communism was the best hope of China, was not only reinstated in the State Department but promoted. And finally, under Acheson, placed in charge of all placements and promotions.

Today, ladies and gentlemen, this man Service is on his way to represent the State Department and Acheson in Calcutta—by far and away the most important listening post in the Far East....

This, ladies and gentlemen, gives you somewhat of a picture of the type of individuals who have been helping to shape our foreign policy. In my opinion the State Department, which is one of the most important government departments, is thoroughly infested with Communists. I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to be either card carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our foreign policy.

One thing to remember in discussing the Communists in our government is that we are not dealing with spies who get 30 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....

The FBI, I may add, has done an outstanding job, as all persons in Washington, Democrats and Republicans alike, agree. If J. Edgar Hoover had a free hand, we would not be plagued by Hisses...in high positions of power in the State Department. The FBI has only power to investigate....

This brings us down to the case of one Alger Hiss who is important not as an individual any more, but rather because he is so representative of a group in the State Department. It is unnecessary to go over the sordid events showing how he sold out the Nation which had given him so much. Those are rather fresh in all of our minds.

However, it should be remembered that the facts in regard to his connection with this international Communist spy ring were made known to the then Under Secretary of State Berle 3 days after Hitler and Stalin signed the Russo-German alliance pact. At that time one Whittaker Chambers—who was also part of the spy ring—apparently decided that with Russia on Hitler's side, he could no longer betray our Nation to Russia. He gave Under Secretary of State Berle—and this is all a matter of record—practically all, if not more, of the facts upon which Hiss' conviction was based.

Under Secretary Berle promptly contacted Dean Acheson and received word in return that Acheson (and I quote) "could vouch for Hiss absolutely"—at which time the matter was dropped. And this, you understand, was at a time when Russia was an ally of Germany. This condition existed while Russia and Germany were invading and dismembering Poland, and while the Communist groups here were screaming "warmonger" at the United States for their support of the allied nations.

3

Again in 1943, the FBI had occasion to investigate the facts surrounding Hiss' contacts with the Russian spy ring. But even after that FBI report was submitted, nothing was done.

Then, late in 1948—on August 5—when the Un-American Activities Committee called Alger Hiss to give an accounting, President Truman at once issued a Presidential directive ordering all Government agencies to refuse to turn over any information whatsoever in regard to the Communist activities of any Government employee to a congressional committee. Incidentally, even after Hiss was convicted—... it is interesting to note that the President still labeled the expose of Hiss as a "red herring."

If time permitted, it might be well to go into detail about the fact that Hiss was Roosevelt's chief adviser at Yalta when Roosevelt was admittedly in ill health and tired physically and mentally...and when, according to the Secretary of State, Hiss and Gromyko drafted the report on the conference....

According to the then Secretary of State Stettinius, here are some of the things that Hiss helped to decide at Yalta. (1) The establishment of a European High Commission; (2) the treatment of Germany—this you will recall was the conference at which it was decided that we would occupy Berlin with Russia occupying an area completely circling the city, which, as you know, resulted in the Berlin airlift which cost 31 American lives; (3) the Polish question; (4) the relationship between UNRRA [United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration] and the Soviet; (5) the rights of Americans on control commissions of Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary; (6) Iran; (7) China—here's where we gave away Manchuria; (8) Turkish Straits question; (9) international trusteeships; (10) Korea.

Of the results of this conference, Arthur Bliss Lane of the State Department had this to say: "As I glanced over the document, I could not believe my eyes. To me, almost every line spoke of a surrender to Stalin."

As you hear this story of high treason, I know that you are saying to yourself, "Well, why doesn't the Congress do something about it?" Actually, ladies and gentlemen, one of the important reasons for the graft, the corruption, the dishonesty, the disloyalty, the treason in high Government positions—one of the most important reasons why this continues is a lack of moral uprising on the part of the 140,000,000 American people. In the light of history, however, this is not hard to explain.

It is the result of an emotional hang-over and a temporary moral lapse which follows every war. It is the apathy to evil which people who have been subjected to the tremendous evils of war feel. As the people of the world see mass murder, the destruction of defenseless and innocent people, and all of the crime and lack of morals which go with war, they become numb and apathetic. It has always been thus after war.

However, the morals of our people have not been destroyed. They still exist. This cloak of numbness and apathy has only needed a spark to rekindle them. Happily, this spark has finally been supplied.

As you know, very recently the Secretary of State proclaimed his loyalty to a man guilty of what has always been considered as the most abominable of all crimes—of being a traitor to the people who gave him a position of great trust. The Secretary of State in attempting to justify his continued devotion to the man who sold out the Christian world to the atheistic world, referred to Christ's Sermon on the Mount as a justification and reason therefore, and the reaction of the American people to this would have made the heart of Abraham Lincoln happy.

When this pompous diplomat in striped pants, with a phony British accent, proclaimed to the American people that Christ on the Mount endorsed communism, high treason, and betrayal of a sacred trust, the blasphemy was so great that it awakened the dormant indignation of the American people.

He has lighted the spark which is resulting in a moral uprising and will end only when the

4

whole sorry mess of twisted, warped thinkers are swept from the national scene so that we may have a new birth of national honesty and decency in Government			
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## The Legacy of McCarthyism

In the late 1950s a group of graduate students at the University of Chicago wanted to have a coffee vending machine installed outside the Physics Department for the convenience of people who worked there late at night. They started to circulate a petition to the Buildings and Grounds Department, but their colleagues refused to sign. They did not want to be associated with the allegedly radical students whose names were already on the document.

This incident and it is not unique exemplifies the kind of timidity that came to be seen, even at the time, as the most damaging consequence of the anti-Communist furor. Since political activities could get you in trouble, prudent folk avoided them. Instead, to the despair of intellectuals, middle- class Americans became social conformists. A silent generation of students populated the nation's campuses, while their professors shrank from teaching anything that might be construed as controversial. "The Black Silence of Fear" that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas deplores in Document 22 seemingly blanketed the nation, and meaningful political dissent had all but withered away.

Was McCarthyism to blame? Obviously the congressional hearings, loyalty programs, and blacklists affected the lives of the men and women caught up in them. But beyond that, it is hard to tell. The statistics are imprecise. Ten thousand people may have lost their jobs. Is that few or many? It may well be useful to reflect on an earlier debate among historians about the application of sanctions in this case the apparently low number of whippings administered under slaveryto realize that it may not be necessary to whip many slaves to keep the rest of the plantation in line.

Quantification aside, it may be helpful to look at the specific sectors of American society that McCarthyism touched. Such an appraisal, tentative though it must be, may offer some insight into the extent of the damage and into the ways in which the anti-Communist crusade influenced American society, politics, and culture. We should keep in mind, however, that McCarthyism's main impact may well have been in what did not happen rather than in what didthe social reforms that were never adopted, the diplomatic initiatives that were not pursued, the workers who were not organized into unions, the books that were not written, and the movies that were never filmed.

The most obvious casualty was the American left. The institutional toll is clear. The Communist party, already damaged by internal problems, dwindled into insignificance and all the organizations associated with it disappeared. The destruction of the front groups and the left-led unions may well have had a more deleterious impact on American politics than the decline of the party itself. With their demise, the nation lost the institutional network that had created a public space where serious alternatives to the status quo could be presented. Moreover, with the disappearance of a vigorous movement on their left, moderate reform groups were more exposed to right-wing attacks and thus rendered less effective.

In the realm of social policy, for example, McCarthyism may have aborted much-needed reforms. As the nation's politics swung to the right after World War II, the federal government abandoned the unfinished agenda of the New Deal. Measures like national health insurance, a social reform embraced by the rest of the industrialized world, simply fell by the wayside. The left liberal political coalition that might have supported health reforms and similar projects was torn apart by the anti-Communist crusade. Moderates feared being

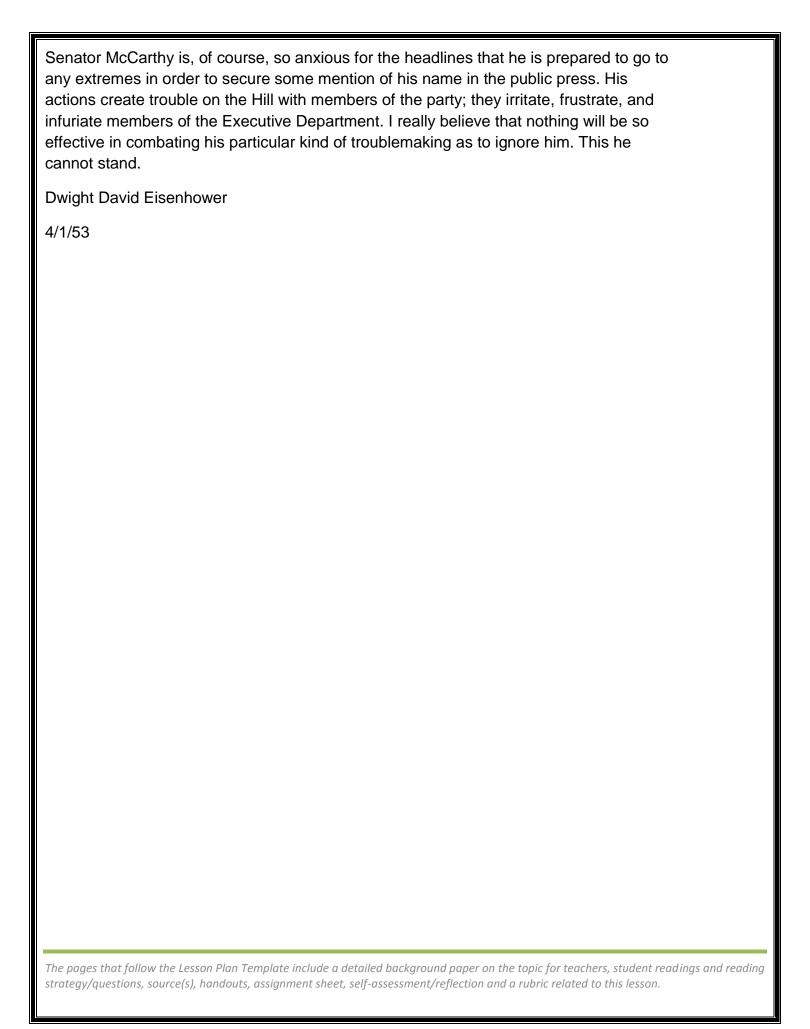
identified with anything that seemed too radical, and people to the left of them were either unheard or under attack. McCarthyism further contributed to the attenuation of the reform impulse by helping to divert the attention of the labor movement, the strongest institution within the old New Deal coalition, from external organizing to internal politicking.

The impact of the McCarthy era was equally apparent in international affairs. Opposition to the cold war had been so thoroughly identified with communism that it was no longer possible to challenge the basic assumptions of American foreign policy without incurring suspicions of disloyalty. As a result, from the defeat of third-party presidential candidate Henry Wallace in the fall of 1948 until the early 1960s, effective public criticism of America's role in the world was essentially nonexistent. Within the government, the insecurities that McCarthyism inflicted on the State Department lingered for years, especially with regard to East Asia. Thus, for example, the campaign against the "loss" of China left such long-lasting scars that American policymakers feared to acknowledge the official existence of the People's Republic of China until Richard Nixon, who was uniquely impervious to charges of being soft on communism, did so as president in 1971. And it was in part to avoid a replay of the loss-of-China scenario that Nixon's Democratic predecessors, Kennedy and Johnson, dragged the United States so deeply into the quagmire of Vietnam.

The nation's cultural and intellectual life suffered as well. While there were other reasons that TV offered a bland menu of quiz shows and westerns during the late 1950s, McCarthy-era anxieties clearly played a role. Similarly, the blacklist contributed to the reluctance of the film industry to grapple with controversial social or political issues. In the intellectual world, cold war liberals also avoided controversy. They celebrated the "end of ideology," claiming that the United States' uniquely pragmatic approach to politics made the problems that had once concerned left- wing ideologists irrelevant. Consensus historians pushed that formulation into the past and described a nation that had supposedly never experienced serious internal conflict. It took the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War to end this complacency and bring reality back in.

Ironically, just as these social commentators were lauding the resilience of American democracy, the anti-Communist crusade was undermining it. The political repression of the McCarthy era fostered the growth of the national security state and facilitated its expansion into the rest of civil society. On the pretext of protecting the nation from Communist infiltration, federal agents attacked individual rights and extended state power into movie studios, universities, labor unions, and many other ostensibly independent institutions. The near universal deference to the federal government's formulation of the Communist threat abetted the process and muted opposition to what was going on.

Moreover, even after the anti-Communist furor receded, the antidemocratic practices associated with it continued. We can trace the legacy of McCarthyism in the FBI's secret COINTELPRO program of harassing political dissenters in the 1960s and 1970s, the Watergate-related felonies of the Nixon White House in the 1970s, and the Iran-Contra scandals in the 1980s. The pervasiveness of such wrongdoing reveals how seriously the nation's defenses against official illegalities had eroded in the face of claims that national security took precedence over ordinary law. McCarthyism alone did not cause these outrages; but the assault on democracy that began during the 1940s and 1950s with the collaboration of private institutions and public agencies in suppressing the alleged threat of domestic communism was an important early contribution.



## Cartoon Analysis Worksheet

Level 1			
Visuals	Words (not all cartoons include words)		
List the objects or people you see in the cartoon.	Identify the cartoon caption and/or title.		
	Locate three words or phrases used by the cartoonist to identify objects or people within the cartoon.		
	Record any important dates or numbers that appear in the cartoon.		
Level 2			
Visuals	Words		
Which of the objects on your list are symbols?	4. Which words or phrases in the cartoon appear to be the most significant? Why do you think so?		
3. What do you think each symbol means?	<ol> <li>List adjectives that describe the emotions portrayed in the cartoon.</li> </ol>		
Level 3			
Describe the action taking place in the cartoon.			
B. Explain how the words in the cartoon clarify the symbols.			
C. Explain the message of the cartoon.			
D. What special interest groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon's message? Why?			

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## McCarthy and the First Amendment

Joseph McCarthy was a man of power and energy. He has an ego that was unsurpassed. "Senator McCarthy is, of course, so anxious for the headlines that he is prepared to go to any extremes in order to secure some mention of his name in the public press." (Eisenhower, 1953) He was instrumental in creating a heightened awareness of the insidious nature of communism but his vicious pursuit of communism often was light on truth. Many lives were tainted or destroyed for a purpose that in the end seemed to be purely political. What drove this man and why was he permitted to forge ahead, executing his right for freedom of speech and at the same time, violating many other of the constitutional rights of others? What elements of his life led to the negativity that now is attached forever to his name?

Joseph McCarthy began his uneventful childhood in rural Wisconsin. His parents, members of the Irish Catholic poor, were hard working and raised a shy, hide behind his mother's skirts child in Joseph. He assisted in the work load on the farm and delayed receiving his high school diploma until on into his twenties. He got a job managing a grocery store in Minawa, Wisconsin and has he warmed up to his new role, the shy backwards child evolved into a rambunctious, outgoing young adult.

In fall of 1930, McCarthy entered Marquette College and received his law degree. He worked in private practice a few years but after a failed campaign attempt, he was elected as Judge in the 10<sup>th</sup> circuit court, running on the slogan, "Justice is Truth in Action". (Klingaman, 1996) Joseph began to exhibit his true colors; he raced through cases, paid little attention to tradition and was even labeled "highly improper" by the Wisconsin

Supreme Court (Klingaman, 1996) for destroying evidence in a case that was attempting to appeal to a higher court.

When the war broke out following Pearl Harbor in 1941, McCarthy immediately enlisted in the Marines and was assigned to the Pacific. Although he saw little action, he played the press with stories of being wounded (which he never was) and stunts, like shooting off rounds from a grounded bomber. History continued to repeat itself with reckless disregard to tradition and he ran for office, even though military service and political service are prohibited from occurring at the same time.

McCarthy's unsuccessful run for Senate in 1944 taught him the need to develop a campaign edge and when he accused Lafollette, who he ran against in 1946, of being "Communistically inclined" (Klingaman, 1996), he won the Senate seat. As a Republican (Formally democratic during his circuit days), he was not especially well respected. He was conservative on domestic policies but tended to be liberal when it related to international relations and the highly nationalistic tone of America in the late 1940s did not welcome a focus abroad. In addition, his party began to alienate him; although he strongly supported his beliefs, he tended also to misrepresent the truth. As 1949 approached, he needed a strong platform if he intended to continue his political career. The ticket came from Edmund Walsh, dean of the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown, who suggested he commandeer the hunt for communists on American soil.

On February 9, 1950, at Wheeling, West Virginia, McCarthy spoke at a luncheon for Republican Women and stated, "I have in my hand a list of 205 – a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping the policy of the State Department." (McCarthy, 1950) A couple of immediate responses occurred (even though the existence of the list was never substantiated): First, McCarthy had been overlooked for many committee posts because of his non-conforming behaviors but he was immediately

placed on the Senate subcommittee (Tydings Subcommittee) to validate the accusations. Secondly, J. Edgar Hoover, in charge of the FBI, saw an opportunity to assist in his search of communist infiltration early in the Cold War and encouraged his subordinates to supply the Senate committee with a wealth of information to assist in their assessment.

The Tydings subcommittee, with a carte blanche dictate, operated with great aggression and little evidence. Utilizing the tenets of the Smith Act and the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, McCarthy chose "To protect the United States against certain un-American and subversive activities by requiring registration of Communist organizations, and for other purposes", the last phase opening the door for abuse. Although most of McCarthy's colleagues and President Truman had lost respect for the senator, the public was very supportive of him and his office regularly received letters and contributions of money from the many Americans who were deluded by his vigor.

McCarthy was incredibly critical of several governmental groups. From the start of the Korean War in June of 1950, McCarthy instigated many character assassinations of military leaders who he felt were masking the apparent wealth of information concerning communist activity. He triggered, without ammunition, and would often proceed to the next victim before the previous individual had had the opportunity to defend their integrity. He went after the Central Intelligence Agency and Schine and Cohen, cohorts of McCarthy's, embarrassed Eisenhower with their antics on foreign soil, burning books in a public foum. Although Senator Benton initiated a Senate censure committee to corral McCarthy, the committee failed to impact much of the destruction.

In 1954, McCarthy went head to head with the Army and ended up finally meeting his match. Joseph Welsh, chief counsel for the army, strategized that if he prodded and irritated McCarthy enough, Joseph's last of verbal inhibitions would destroy him. Welsh's plan succeeded. Welsh, when squelching McCarthy's tirade, said, "You have done enough. Have you no decency?" (Klingaman, 1996) The

aftermath of the ARMY-MCCARTHY Hearings led to ultimate censure by a Senate committee of McCarthy and the destruction of his spirit.

Although he appeared unphased, he never recovered from the defeat. His dominating presence never graced the public arena again. He had always been a heavy drinker but escalated his behavior, leading to several hospitalizations in 1956 and his early death in May of 1957 at the age of 49.

McCarthy posed as a patriot and manipulated the constitutional freedoms to achieve personal gain. Many lives were marred by his self-gratifying pursuit of fame and popularity and much was lost. Necessary revisions to health reform and foreign policy were tabled during this period, due to fear of appearing communistic. His tactics and legacy remind all of the responsibility that balances freedom with truth, that distinguishes character assassination from genuine critical inquiry in areas of security and safety, and the expectation that integrity of purpose is a requirement of investigative action.