

about the purpose of the question which, as I say, is to discredit the whole motion-picture industry.

Chairman: You won't say anything first. You are refusing to answer this question.

Lardner: I am saying my understanding is as an American resident—

Chairman: Never mind your understanding. There is a question: Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Lardner: I could answer exactly the way you want, Mr. Chairman—

Chairman: No—

Lardner [continuing]: But I think that is a—

Chairman: It is not a question of our wanting you to answer that. It is a very simple question. Anybody would be proud to answer it—any real American would be proud to answer the question, "Are you or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?"—any real American.

Lardner: It depends on the circumstances. I could answer it, but if I did I would hate myself in the morning.

Chairman: Leave the witness chair.

Lardner: It was a question that would—

Chairman: Leave the witness chair.

Lardner: Because it is a question—

Chairman [pounding gavel]: Leave the witness chair.

Lardner: I think I am leaving by force.

Chairman: Sergeant, take the witness away.

[Applause.]

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"I Have in My Hand . . .": Senator Joseph McCarthy Charges That There Are Communists in the State Department

This document contains the text of Senator Joseph McCarthy's famous speech to the Women's Republican Club of Wheeling, West Virginia, on February 9, 1950. In this version, which McCarthy inserted in the *Congressional Record* on February 20, 1950, he stated that he held in his hand the names of fifty-seven subversives in the State Department; at Wheeling the list reportedly contained 205 names. The significance of the speech, however, is not in its numbers but in the main thrust of its attack: the charge that Communist sympathizers in the State Department had betrayed their country. Like other right-wing Republicans, McCarthy spotlighted the supposed concessions made by the United States to the Soviet Union at the Yalta Conference in 1945 and the "loss" of China to the Communists. Although many of his specific targets were the State Department's China experts such as John Stewart Service, the diplomat who had been implicated in the 1945 *Amerasia* case, McCarthy's real quarry was the Truman administration. As his repeated references to Secretary of State Dean Acheson imply, the Wisconsin senator was accusing the administration of harboring Communist agents at the highest levels.

Such charges may well have been designed to explain to anxious Americans why the United States seemed unable to prevail in the international arena. McCarthy's rhetoric also had a populist strain. His attacks on "the bright young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths" and "striped pants diplomats with phony British

Senator Joseph McCarthy, speech, *Congressional Record*, Senate, 81st Cong., 2nd sess., 20 Feb. 1950, 1954, 1956-57.

accents" seemed to resonate with the anti-elitist and anti-intellectual appeals of what liberals viewed as the "paranoid tradition" of American politics.

SENATOR JOSEPH McCARTHY

Speech at Wheeling, West Virginia

February 9, 1950

Six years ago, at the time of the first conference to map out the peace—Dumbarton Oaks¹—there was within the Soviet orbit 180,000,000 people. Lined up on the antitotalitarian side there were in the world at that time roughly 1,625,000,000 people. Today, only six 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 six years the odds have changed from nine to one in our favor to eight to five 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 for-

¹Dumbarton Oaks, an estate in Washington, D.C., was the scene of a 1944 conference at which the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union agreed to create the United Nations.

tunate or 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 education, 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,² the State Department had in China a young man named John S. Service. His task, obviously, was not to work for the communization of 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. . . .

Another interesting case was that of Julian H. Wadleigh,³ economist in the Trade Agreements Section of the State Department for 11 years [who] was sent to Turkey and Italy and other countries as United States representative. After the statute of limitations had run so he

²Chiang Kai-shek was the leader of the Chinese Nationalist government who was driven from power by the Communists under Mao Tse-tung in 1949.

³Julian Wadleigh was a former State Department official who confessed to having given documents to Whittaker Chambers.

could not be prosecuted for treason, he openly and brazenly not only admitted but proclaimed that he had been a member of the Communist Party, . . . that while working for the State Department he stole a vast number of secret documents . . . and furnished these documents to the Russian spy ring of which he was a part.

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 fifty-seven 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 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. . . .

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 three days after Hitler and Stalin signed the Russo-German alliance pact. . . .

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. . . .

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. . . .

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 Gromyko⁴ drafted the report on the conference . . .

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. . . .

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 therefor, 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 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.

⁴Andrei Gromyko was a Soviet diplomat and longtime foreign minister.

*In memory of Andrea Eagan
(1943–1993)*

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