“THOSE WHO CANNOT REMEMBER THE PAST ARE CONDEMNED TO REPEAT IT.”

George Santayana, philosopher (1863-1952)
“THE ONLY THING THAT WE LEARN FROM HISTORY IS THAT WE LEARN NOTHING FROM HISTORY.”

Georg Hegel, philosopher (1770-1831)
First they came for the Communists
And I did not speak out
Because I was not a Communist
Then they came for the Socialists
And I did not speak out
Because I was not a Socialist
Then they came for the trade unionists
And I did not speak out
Because I was not a trade unionist
Then they came for the Jews
And I did not speak out
Because I was not a Jew
Then they came for me
And there was no one left
To speak out for me
• Martin Niemoller, (1892-1984) German Lutheran pastor, leader of a group of anti-Hitler clergymen. In 1937 he was arrested and eventually confined in Sachsenhausen and Dachau. He was released in 1945 by the Allies.
The Second Coming
W. B. Yeats - 1865-1939

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst are full of passionate intensity.
THE
HOLLYWOOD
BLACKLIST
TERMINOLOGY

• HUAC - The House Un-American Activities Committee

• “Naming Names” - Witnesses before HUAC who cited the names of friends or acquaintances who were or might have been members of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. (CPA)
“Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?”
HUAC couldn’t seem to stay away from the Motion Picture Industry. For every witness from the worlds of labor, science, the armed forces or education, there were a dozen from the wonderful world of show biz.

Naming Names by Victor Navasky
• What happens when the state puts pressure on its citizens to betray their fellows?
PLAYWRITE
LILIAN
HELLMAN’S
1952 LETTER TO
HUAC

• …to hurt innocent people whom I knew many years ago in order to save myself is, to me, inhuman, indecent and dishonorable… I cannot and will not cut my conscience to suit this year’s fashion…
In the context of the anti-Communist crusade of the 1950s, citizenship required the betrayal of friendship, for e.g., Harvard University discreetly made the willingness to name names the test for employment.

Harvard Dean to M.I. Finley, classical scholar:

“Look, we don’t give a damn what you tell the committee. Tell them anything. Just clean your skirts. Say you were a spy --- we don’t care what you say as long as you’re not accused of not having cooperated.”
• Folksinger Pete Seeger wouldn’t name names to HUAC but instead offered to sing songs!
THE BLACKLIST DOMINATED THE MOVIE BUSINESS FOR A DECADE BUT...

• Nobody wanted to talk out loud about it. The Motion Picture Association of American denied there was a blacklist. It was just an ugly rumor started by movie, radio and television people who couldn’t get work because of their political associations.

STERLING HAYDEN (ACTOR) NAMED NAMES

• “...I can’t go through with it. They know I was a party member --- they don’t want information. They want to put on a show and I’m the star. They’ve already agreed to go over the questions with me in advance. It’s a rigged show: radio, TV, and the papers. I’m damned no matter what I do. Cooperate and I’m a stool pigeon. Shut my mouth and I’m a pariah.”
BLACKLISTED WRITERS COULD ALWAYS HIDE BEHIND PSEUDONYMS BUT AS THE ACTOR LEO J. COBB SAID:

• “It’s the only face I have.”
THE ACTOR ZERO MOSTEL USED TO SAY:

• “I am a man of a thousand faces,
• all of them blacklisted.”
• **1970s’ Interview:**

“*When the facilities of the government of the U.S. are drawn on an individual, it can be terrifying.* The blacklist is just the opening gambit --- being deprived of work. *Your passport is confiscated.* That’s minor. But *not being able to move without being tailed* is something else. Phone taps are expected, but the interception of the grocery bill. After a certain point, it grows to implied as well as articulated threats and people succumb. My wife did and she was institutionalized. I had two babies then.”
In 1955 at age 61, unable to find work for 5 years, his wife dead, forced to place his schizoid son in a state home, he checked into the Hotel Taft in NYC and took the pills that killed him. His sister wept and said, “He’s been hurt so terribly. Now see what they did to him. They took his living away. They took his life away. A person can only stand so much.”
In Hollywood, during the HUAC days, friend became afraid of friend, client suspected agent, actors feared that other actors who wanted their parts were turning them in. “You didn’t know who was for you or against you.”

Miller observed, “It didn’t harm me, it harmed the country; I didn’t need any foreign relations.”
BLACKLISTED WRITER MILLARD LAMPELL WAS TOLD BY A FRIEND:

- “Pal, you’re dead. I submitted your name for a show and they told me I couldn’t touch you with a barge pole. It’s a rotten thing. I hate it. But what can I do?”
  And with a pat on my cheek, “Don’t quote me pal because I’ll deny I said it.”
DAVID RAKSIN, LEADING HOLLYWOOD COMPOSER, NAMED ELEVEN NAMES.

• “The whole thing was some kind of insane ritual. None of this could have happened if society was not mad. I said to myself, ‘This is like the Spanish Inquisition, so maybe the best I can do is come out of it alive.’”
Blacklisted writer Ring Lardner was able to parody the conspicuous consumption ethic of the American middle class when he placed the following add in the “Houses For Sale/Owner Going abroad” section of Variety reading...

“House for Sale/Owner Going To Prison”
ROY HUGGINS, WRITER/DIRECTOR
(“MAVERICK,” “CHEYENNE,” “THE ROCKFORD FILES”) NAMED NAMES

• 1970s interview:
• “It was a period of absolute terror on the part of the whole country. Terror and paranoia... By the time I got the subpoena everyone had been mentioned many times. It didn’t occur to me that I’d be double-crossed, because I wasn’t aware of the ritualistic aspect of the whole HUAC procedure. I was trapped into partaking of the ritual... I ended up agreeing that people who had already been mentioned many times were indeed known to me as Communists,”
ISOBEL LENNART, ONE OF HOLLYWOOD'S TOP MUSICAL-COMEDY WRITERS, EX PARTY MEMBER, NAMED NAMES

- 1970s' interview:
  - “I believe with all my heart that it was wrong to cooperate with this terrible Committee and I believe that I was wrong. I believe I did a minimum of damage but I still believe it was wrong... It was shame and guilt and nothing else. I’ve never gotten over it. I’ve always felt like an inferior citizen because of this.”
Abe Polonsky, Blacklisted, Writer-Director

- 1970s’ Interview

‘The U.S. government can really harass you. They went around to where people were on jobs and got them fired, even the jobs that had nothing to do with writing. Not only that, but if people moved into an apartment house, the FBI would show up and talk to the janitor or whoever. The landlord would say, for instance, ‘Well, maybe if this guy is a criminal, we ought to get him out of here.’ And they would say, ‘Oh, no, he’s not a criminal, but we just want to be sure he’s still living here.’ Well, now you know there’s something wrong with this guy, and everybody hears it.”
WILLIAM WHEELER, HUAC INVESTIGATOR

- Interviewed in the late 1970s:
- “The idea was to prove that these people were communists....I just wonder if what I did was right. I often wonder. I’ve thought a lot about this...I was a cop...If I had known as I know now, I don’t know. I destroyed a lot of people and I think they destroyed themselves.”
HIGH NOON: THE HOLLYWOOD BLACKLIST AND THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN CLASSIC
What does "blacklist" mean?
BLACKLIST

**NOUN**

a list of people or things that are regarded as unacceptable or untrustworthy and should be excluded or avoided.

**VERB**

put on a blacklist.

**synonyms:**

boycott · ostracize · avoid · embargo · consider undesirable · steer clear of · ignore · refuse to employ ·
What was the Hollywood Blacklist?

How long did it last?
MORE QUESTIONS

• Was Sen. McCarthy involved in the Hollywood Blacklist?

• Were there serious Communist infiltrators at work in the U.S. during the 1940s and 1950s?

• Was Hollywood ever seriously a communist threat to the American way of life?
• Is it illegal to be a member of the Communist Party of the United States?
It (paranoia) had been around a long time before the Radical Right discovered it—and its targets have ranged from "the international bankers" to Masons, Jesuits, and munitions makers.

American politics has often been an arena for angry minds. In recent years we have seen angry minds at work mainly among extreme right-wingers, who have now demonstrated in the Goldwater movement how much political leverage can be got out of the animosities and passions of a small minority. But behind this I believe there is a style of mind that is far from new and that is not necessarily right wing.
SUMMARY

• American politics have been governed by paranoia since the creation of the United States,

• paranoia has played a pivotal role in American politics by fostering fear in citizens regarding issues such as gender, ethnicity, race, and religion—
• The Paranoid Style is, above all, a way of seeing the world and of expressing oneself...

• In the paranoid style, as I conceive it, the feeling of persecution is central, and it is indeed systematized in grandiose theories of conspiracy.
EXAMPLES FROM AMERICAN HISTORY

- The Illuminism Controversy of the late 18th & early 19th century
- The anti-Masonic movement of the late 1820s and 1830s
- The Anti-Catholicism of 1830s on
- Modern Day: the country is infused with a network of Communist agents:
  - Sen. McCarthy: Even George Marshall has betrayed American interests;
  - Marshal and Dean Acheson were intent of delivering China to Russia; the Marshal Plan was an evil hoax.
- The present day John Birch Society led by Robert Welch: “Communist influences are now in almost complete control of our Federal Government.”
WHAT ARE THE BASIC ELEMENTS IN ALL THIS?

• The central image is that of a vast and sinister conspiracy, a gigantic and yet subtle machinery of influence set in motion to undermine and destroy a way of life.
HOWEVER, LET US KEEP IN MIND THIS IMPORTANT POINT!

- Hofstadter:

  “I would like to emphasize again that **the paranoid style is an international phenomenon. Nor is it confined to modern times.**”
“We are all sufferers from history, but the paranoid is a double sufferer, since he is afflicted not only by the real world, with the rest of us, but by his fantasies as well.”
George Santayana:

“Those who do not learn from history are doomed to repeat it.”
OR, AS THE FRENCH SAY, “PLUS ÇA CHAN
GE, PLUS C’EST LA MÊME CHOSE” – “THE
MORE THINGS CHANGE, THE MORE TH
EY STAY THE SAME.”
“History Does Not Repeat Itself, But It Rhymes”
- The Great Depression
- WW2
- Post WW2 society
- 1947: “Russia is our ally; Russia is our enemy.” - Churchill: “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.”
- Aug. 29, 1949: Russia tests its first Atomic Bomb
- 1950: Alger Hiss, accused Soviet spy + other Soviet spies
- February 1950: Sen. Joseph McCarthy asserts he has a list of "members of the Communist Party and members of a spy ring" employed in the State Department.
• June 25, 1950: Korean War starts
• July 17, 1950: Julius Rosenberg arrested on suspicion of espionage.
• August 11, 1950: Ethel Rosenberg arrested.
• June 19, 1953: The Rosenbergs executed by electrocution in Sing Sing prison.
• August 12, 1953: Russia tests the H Bomb.
• **1949: Supreme Court:** the existing Hollywood distribution scheme was in violation of United States antitrust law, which prohibits certain exclusive dealing arrangements.

• **1949: Television**
THE HOLLYWOOD BLACKLIST

• The Hollywood blacklist was the colloquial term for what was in actuality a broader entertainment industry blacklist put in effect in the mid-20th century in the United States during the early years of the Cold War.

• The blacklist involved the practice of denying employment to entertainment industry professionals believed to be or to have been Communists or sympathizers.
Not just actors but screenwriters, directors, musicians and other American entertainment professionals were barred from work by the studios.
TWO REASONS

1) Membership in or alleged membership in, or sympathy with the Communist Party USA,

2) Refusal to assist Congressional investigations into the party's activities. (Naming names)
• Even during the period of its strictest enforcement, from the late 1940s through to the late 1950s, the blacklist was...
• rarely made explicit or easily verifiable,

• because it was the result of numerous individual decisions by the studios and was not the result of official legal action.
Nevertheless, it quickly and directly damaged or ended the careers and income of scores of individuals working in the film industry.
Dalton Trumbo, 1970,
(Blacklisted, jailed, wrote scripts under pseudonyms during the 1950s)

- “The blacklist was a time of evil, and no one on either side who survived it came through untouched by evil.

- It was a time of fear. And no one was exempt. Scores of people lost their homes. Their families disintegrated. They lost — and in some, some even lost their lives.”
“But when you look back upon that dark time, as I think you should every now and then, it will do you no good to search for heroes or villains. There weren’t any. **There were only victims.** Victims, because each of us felt compelled to say or do things that we otherwise would not, to deliver or receive wounds which we truly did not wish to exchange.”
# Chronology of the Hollywood Blacklist

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1936 – 38:
The U.S. government began turning its attention to the possible links between Hollywood and the party during this period. Under then-chairman Martin Dies, Jr., the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) released a report in 1938 claiming that communism was pervasive in Hollywood.
1938: The HUAC (The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), popularly dubbed the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and from 1969 onwards known as the House Committee on Internal Security) was created in 1938 to investigate alleged disloyalty and subversive activities on the part of private citizens, public employees, and those organizations suspected of having either fascist or communist ties. When the House abolished the committee in 1975 its functions were transferred to the House Judiciary Committee.
The Smith Act is enacted into law forbade any attempts to “advocate, abet, advise, or teach” the violent destruction of the U.S. government. Meanwhile, the government apparently initiated prosecutions against many communists for their political beliefs, triggering First Amendment concerns.
1948: the national executive leaders of the U.S. Communist Party were charged with violating the Smith Act. The government argued that the Communist Party was part of a conspiracy to advance a political ideology whose eventual goal was the destruction of the U.S. government.
1957 The Supreme Court overturned Smith Act convictions. The Court drew a distinction between political positions that advocated an abstract point (for example, the advocacy was not connected with any effort to overthrow the government) versus advocacy that involved immediate or future actions.
In 1941, producer Walt Disney took out an ad in Variety, the industry trade magazine, declaring his conviction that "Communist agitation" was behind a cartoonists and animators' strike. According to historians Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund, "In actuality, the strike had resulted from Disney's overbearing paternalism, high-handedness, and insensitivity"
• **1941-45:** The wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union brought the CPUSA newfound credibility. During the war, membership in the party reached a peak of 50,000. As World War II drew to a close, perceptions changed again, with communism increasingly becoming a focus of American fears and hatred.
MISSION TO MOSCOW (1944)

- The film, made during World War II, shows the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin in a positive light. Completed in late April 1943, the film is, in the words of Robert Buckner, the film's producer, “an expedient lie for political purposes, glossily covering up important facts with full or partial knowledge of their false presentation.”
The movie gives a one-sided view of the Moscow trials, rationalizes Moscow's participation in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact and the Soviet invasion of Finland, and portrays the Soviet Union as a state that was moving towards a democratic model, a Soviet Union committed to internationalism.
The House Committee on Un-American Activities would later cite *Mission to Moscow* as one of the three noted examples of pro-Soviet films made by Hollywood, the other two being *The North Star* and *Song of Russia*. It's been called "unquestionably the most blatant piece of pro-Stalinist propaganda ever offered by the American mass media."

In 1950, the film became an object of attention by members of Congress, who saw it as pro-Soviet propaganda.
• However, the film had been written by a non-communist (Howard Koch) at the request of President Roosevelt
In 1945, Gerald L. K. Smith, founder of the neofascist America First Party, began giving speeches in Los Angeles assailing the "alien minded Russian Jews in Hollywood".
Mississippi congressman John E. Rankin, a member of HUAC, held a press conference to declare that "one of the most dangerous plots ever instigated for the overthrow of this Government has its headquarters in Hollywood ... the greatest hotbed of subversive activities in the United States". Rankin promised, "We're on the trail of the tarantula now."
The Hollywood blacklist was rooted in events of the 1930s and the early 1940s, encompassing the height of the Great Depression and World War II. Two major film industry strikes during the 1930s increased tensions between the Hollywood producers and the unions, particularly the Screen Writers Guild.
July 29, 1946, William R. Wilkerson, publisher and founder of The Hollywood Reporter, published a "TradeView" column entitled "A Vote For Joe Stalin". It named as Communist sympathizers...

In August and September 1946, Wilkerson published other columns containing names of numerous purported Communists and sympathizers. They became known as "Billy's List" and "Billy's Blacklist".
1947: HUAC IN HOLLYWOOD

Why?

1) HUAC follows the CP to Hollywood. The CPUSA had focused on Hollywood beginning in 1936.

2) HUAC chose Hollywood for its glamour. Publicity! “They (movie stars) were our royalty and if you want to scare a country, you attack its royalty.”
Result: a miscalculation on HUAC’s part.

Subpoenaed witnesses were either friendly, knowing no names, or hostile --- the Hollywood Ten --- who wouldn’t name names.
October 1947, drawing upon the list named in The Hollywood Reporter, the House Un-American Activities Committee subpoenaed a number of persons working in the Hollywood film industry to testify at hearings. The committee had declared its intention to investigate whether Communist agents and sympathizers had been planting propaganda in American films.
The hearings began with appearances by Walt Disney and Ronald Reagan, then president of the Screen Actors Guild.
THE HOLLYWOOD TEN

- 10 motion-picture producers, directors, and screenwriters who appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington in October 1947, refused to answer questions regarding their possible communist affiliations, and, after spending time in prison for contempt of Congress, were mostly blacklisted by the Hollywood studios. The 10 were Alvah Bessie, Herbert Biberman, Lester Cole, Edward Dmytryk, Ring Lardner, Jr., John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Samuel Ornitz, Adrian Scott, and Dalton Trumbo.
The group originally included the German writer Bertolt Brecht, but Brecht fled the country on the day following his inquest, and the remaining 10 were voted in contempt of Congress on November 24, 1947. Convicted in federal court the following year, they were given sentences of six months to one year in prison.
While in prison, Dmytryk broke with the rest and agreed to cooperate, admitting being a communist and giving the names of 26 others.
With the exception of Dmytryk, the group was severely blacklisted by the film industry. Most were never again employed in Hollywood, but some did write scripts under pseudonyms.
FIRST AMENDMENT vs. FIFTH AMENDMENT

- **Amendment 1**: Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise 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.

- **Amendment 5**: ...nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself,
**HOWEVER...**

- the Supreme Court didn’t say until 1950 (Blau case) that a witness could avoid being in contempt of court or Congress by invoking the Fifth Amendment on the question of Communist Party membership, three years after the Ten were called. Therefore, neither the ten nor their counsel could have been sure that “taking the Fifth” would get them off the hook.
THE FOLKSINGER PETE SEEGER TOOK THE FIRST AMENDMENT BEFORE HUAC

• Even after it was established that the Fifth might keep him out of prison and the First might not.

• “Look” he said, “the Fifth means they can’t ask me, the First means they can’t ask anybody.”
HOLLYWOOD 10 CHARGED WITH CONTEMPT

House Reacts to Trumbo Dodge of Red Question

WASHINGTON, D.C. Nov. 24 - The House Committee on Un-American Activities, ruling that John Howard Lawson, screen writer, had refused to answer as to his membership in the Communist Party, moved today to bring a citation against him for contempt of Congress.

Meanwhile, Eric Johnson, president of the motion picture association, told the committee to “expose communism, but don’t put any American who isn’t a Communist in a concentration camp of suspicion.” He said that the motion picture industry should retain the right to decide what will or will not go into our pictures.

It was a day for announcements as the committee opened the second week of its inquiry into the alleged Communist saturation of the film industry. Mr. Johnson presented one scoring the committee for the course of its investigative procedures. The committee, after briefly
In contrast, other leading Hollywood figures, including director John Huston and actors Humphrey Bogart, Lauren Bacall, Judy Garland and Danny Kaye, organized the Committee for the First Amendment to protest the government’s targeting of the film industry.
Members of the committee, such as Sterling Hayden, assured Bogart that they were not Communists. During the hearings, a local Washington paper reported that Hayden was a Communist.
November 25, 1947: The first systematic Hollywood blacklist was instituted. A group of studio executives, acting under the aegis of the Association of Motion Picture Producers, to fire the artists - the so-called Hollywood Ten - and made what has become known as the Waldorf Statement.
It was announced via a news release after the major producers met at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel and it included a condemnation of the personalities involved, effectively ostracizing those named from the industry. These producers instituted compulsory oaths of loyalty from their employees with the threat of a blacklist.
JUNE 22, 1950: A PAMPHLET ENTITLED RED CHANNELS

• Focused on the field of broadcasting,
• Identifies 151 entertainment industry professionals in the context of "Red Fascists and their sympathizers".

• Soon, most of those named, along with a host of other artists, were barred from employment in most of the entertainment field.
• 1. Reports of Soviet repression in Eastern and Central Europe in the war's aftermath added more fuel to what became known as the "Second Red Scare."

• 2. The growth of conservative political influence and the Republican triumph in the 1946 Congressional elections, which saw the party take control of both the House and Senate, led to a major revival of institutional anticommunist activity, publicly spearheaded by HUAC.
3. 1947: The following year, the Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals (MPA), a political action group cofounded by Walt Disney, issued a pamphlet advising producers on the avoidance of "subtle communistic touches" in their films. Its counsel revolved around a list of ideological prohibitions, such as ...
"Don't smear the free-enterprise system ...  

Don't smear industrialists ...  

Don't smear wealth ...  

Don't smear the profit motive ...  

Don't deify the 'common man' ...  

Don't glorify the collective"
1948: HUAC CHAIRMAN, J. PARNELL ROBERTS, IS SENTENCED TO DANBURY FEDERAL PRISON AFTER BEING CONVICTED OF TAKING KICKBACKS FROM HIS STAFF. THERE HE WILL MEET UP WITH TWO OF THE HOLLYWOOD TEN, RING LARDNER JR. AND LESTER COLE.
• The Hollywood investigations, suspended while the Ten’s case worked its way through the courts, reopens with John Wood at the head and actor Larry Parks as the first witness.
“THERE WERE ONLY VICTIMS”
DALTON TRUMBO, 1970


That Same Morning...

- NYC, Foley Square, U.S. Federal Court: the government concludes its espionage case against Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Martin Sobell.

- Alger Hiss, 46 yr. old former State Dept. official, convicted of perjury for denying he had passed official papers to the Russians, prepares to enter prison for 5 years.
• Larry Parks

• Admitted to HUAC that he had joined the CP in 1941 at 25 because it was the “most liberal” of all political parties and left it in 1945 because of “lack of interest.”

• Unlike the Hollywood 10 he was willing to detail his own political autobiography but had compunctions about naming those who had served with him. “I WOULD PREFER YOU ALLOW ME NOT TO MENTION OTHER PEOPLE’S NAMES. THIS A IS NOT THE AMERICAN WAY.”
• Parks’ plea to the committee was rejected. Two days later it was leaked to the media that Parks had succumbed and named the names. By talking about himself, the committee insisted he had waived the right to refuse to talk about others.

• Congressman Donald L. Jackson (CA): “The ultimate test of the credibility of a witness is the extent to which he is willing to cooperate with the committee in giving full details as to not only the place of the activities, but also the names of those who participated with him in the Communist Party.”
Larry Parks: “Do not make me crawl through the mud like an informer.”

IMPORTANT!

In most, if not in all such cases, HUAC already knew in advance the names that the witness was giving them. So why did they insist that witnesses tell them what they already knew? (Cf. Congressman Jackson’s remarks)
Larry Parks (December 13, 1914 – April 13, 1975) was an American stage and movie actor. His career arced from bit player and supporting roles to top billing, before it was virtually ended when he admitted to having once been a member of a Communist Party cell, which led to his blacklisting by all Hollywood studios.
EDWARD G. ROBINSON (1893-1973)
THE GROUND RULES FOR HUAC WITNESSES ARE NOW SET:

1) **Invoke the First Amendment** and risk going to **prison** for contempt of congress like the Hollywood Ten.

2) **Invoke the Fifth Amendment** (protection against self-incrimination) and risk being **blacklisted**.

3) Cooperate, **name names, and continue working**, like, for e.g., Sterling Hayden.
FREE-LANCE BLACKLISTERS

- American Legion*
  Catholic War Veterans
- Hollywood’s Motion Picture Alliance for the Preservation of American Ideals (MPAPAI)
- American Business Consultants and Aware, Inc. which published, listed and cleared names for pay.
JACOBA ATLAS, WHOSE FATHER HAD NAMED NAMES, RECALLS HER MOTHER TELLING HER:

• “...people used the blacklist as a way of getting back at other people for things that had nothing to do with politics....A lot of people who testified did so to get back at people who had gotten jobs away from them, who had won assignments. It was an opportune moment...a golden opportunity. This was the government who wanted your testimony. It was sanctioned.”
4 REASONS FOR NAMING NAMES

• I didn’t hurt anybody.
• They deserved what they got.
• I wasn’t responsible for my actions.
• I was acting in obedience to a higher loyalty.

Navasky in “Naming Names” concludes: “...none of them in the last analysis persuasive, all of them at first blush plausible.”
STERLING HAYDEN (1916-1986)
JOHN GARFIELD
(1913-1952)
Early on a sunny May morning in 1952, I answered the doorbell of our New York City apartment to find two huge, scary-looking men, wearing hats and raincoats and big black shoes. They were, it turned out, F.B.I. agents. I was 6½ years old. My father, the movie star John Garfield, had died suddenly at the age of 39 the week before. Ten thousand people had gathered outside Riverside Memorial Chapel in Manhattan, clamoring to pay their respects to him. My family was still in shock.
I was paralyzed with fear when I saw those two men at our door. But my mother swiftly came to my rescue. "What do you want?" she demanded angrily, clutching me and my brother protectively.

"We just want to take a look around, Mrs. Garfield," one of the men said.

"You want to look around?" my mother shot back. "What for? You already killed him! You got what you wanted, now get out of our lives!"

Then she slammed the door.
My father had been a Hollywood star, famous for playing tough guys, including alongside Lana Turner in “The Postman Always Rings Twice.” He was one of the first actors to set up his own production company, and his first independent film, “Body and Soul,” released in 1947, remains among the finest boxing films ever made. It was nominated for three Oscars and was a huge critical and commercial success.
But in 1951 he was subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee. That committee’s work was a prelude to the notorious Senate investigations into Communists in the government led by Senator Joseph McCarthy and his counsel, Roy Cohn.
My father was not a Communist, but he declined to name people who might have been. The experience ruined his career. Even before the House hearing, Hollywood movie studios had barred my father from performing in their films. He didn’t work for 18 months after he was first accused of being a member of the party. My father died of a heart attack. But we were all convinced that it was the witch hunt of the House committee that had killed him.
My father was a great actor, but also a fervent patriot. He had tried to enlist in World War II but failed his physical. Instead, he found a way to contribute by organizing, with Bette Davis, a club in Los Angeles called the Hollywood Canteen to entertain troops. The canteen gave service members, many on their way to war, a chance to relax and the reassurance that they had the country’s support. He went on a number of tours in combat zones predating those of Bob Hope.
The F.B.I. had been following my father for about a year before his death, shadowing him wherever he went, even when he paid a visit to the deathbed of his friend (and co-star) Canada Lee. Agents visited my school. They followed my mother to the grocery store. They tapped our phones.
These actions were in every respect a true “witch hunt.” The committee hounded United States citizens, looking to prosecute and persecute anyone it considered a “leftist,” very often with scant proof. More frequently all it had was innuendo, insinuation and lies.
Most of those blacklisted people weren’t famous like my father. They were teachers, writers, directors, painters, intellectuals; many, but not all of them, worked in creative fields.
My father was never a member of the Communist Party, although my mother briefly was. He had learned his craft in the legendary Group Theater, some of whose members had been in the party. They were idealists searching for a way to help the poor and hungry, the unfortunates of our country. They had survived the Great Depression and took literally Emma Lazarus's words inscribed on the Statue of Liberty: “Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me, I lift my lamp beside the golden door!”
Both the House Un-American Activities Committee and Senator McCarthy’s committee were focused on hunting down as many “Reds” as they could, destroying reputations and careers along the way. Some of those people left the country. Others were able to work only under assumed names. And some, like my father, were hounded to death.
So I cringe when I hear President Trump claim to be the victim of a “witch hunt” because of the F.B.I.’s investigation into Russian interference in one of our most vital rights: free elections. How ironic that Mr. Trump has adopted the phrase used to criticize the work of his friend and mentor, Roy Cohn. But this investigation is no witch hunt. It is an appropriate, responsible and intelligent response to a hostile act against the nation.

And remember this, Mr. President: You still have your job, your family, your money. And your life.

Julie Garfield is an actress, teacher and painter.
HIGH NOON: THE HOLLYWOOD BLACKLIST AND THE MAKING OF AN AMERICAN CLASSIC
“All that is necessary for evil to succeed is that good men do nothing.”

Edmund Burke, Irish statesman (1729-1797)
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THE HOLLYWOOD BLACKLIST AND THE SCREEN DIRECTORS GUILD
CECIL B. DEMILLE

- *Samson and Delilah* (producer) (1949)
- *The Greatest Show on Earth* (producer) (1953)
- *The Ten Commandments* (producer - as Cecil B. de Mille) (1956)
JOSEPH MANKIEWICZ

- All About Eve (1950)
- Julius Caesar (1953)
- The Barefoot Contessa (1954)
- Guys and Dolls (1955)
- Suddenly, Last Summer (1959)
- Cleopatra (1963)
- Sleuth (1972)