

THE BEDFORD SERIES IN HISTORY AND CULTURE  
Advisory Editors: Natalie Zemon Davis and Ernest R. May

---

*The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America*

Edited with an introduction by Colin G. Calloway, *University of Wyoming*

*The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*

Edited with an introduction by Louis P. Masur, *City University of New York*

*Benjamin and William Franklin: Father and Son, Patriot and Loyalist*

Sheila L. Skemp, *University of Mississippi*

*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself*

Edited with an introduction by David W. Blight, *Amherst College*

*Muckraking: Three Landmark Articles*

Edited with an introduction by Ellen F. Fitzpatrick, *Harvard University*

*Punkit of Tammany Hall by William L. Riordon*

Edited with an introduction by Terrence J. McDonald, *University of Michigan*

*American Cold War Strategy: Interpreting NSC 68*

Edited with an introduction by Ernest R. May, *Harvard University*

*The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents*

Ellen Schrecker, *Yeshiva University*

*Postwar Immigrant America: A Social History*

Reed Ueda, *Tufts University*

THE BEDFORD SERIES IN HISTORY AND CULTURE

## The Age of McCarthyism A Brief History with Documents

Ellen Schrecker

*Yeshiva University*

1994

---

BEDFORD BOOKS of ST. MARTIN'S PRESS  
Boston • New York

to know that while the United States is openly exposed to shattering economic breakdowns, with their mass unemployment and all the rest of the human tragedies attendant upon cyclical capitalist economic crises, the U.S.S.R. is quite immune to such economic disasters. The Soviet Union, by its very nature, does not and *cannot* have cyclical economic crises and mass unemployment due to overproduction. . . .

Besides this economic fear, the big American capitalists also have a profound political fear. They view with the gravest alarm the rising democratic tide throughout Europe and the world, and they know that the U.S.S.R. is the main bulwark of this new world democracy. They correctly see in this expanding democracy a formidable threat to their perspective of imperialist expansion. In the reactionary spirit of Hitler, therefore, they have embarked upon a crusade to crush democracy and socialism and to set up reactionary political systems that will conform with their plans for establishing world domination by Wall Street.

. . . The Truman Doctrine,<sup>1</sup> in substance, means the throwing of the gigantic financial, industrial, and military might of the United States government behind European reactionary minorities, even to the point of promoting civil war and undermining world peace. Besides the serious dangers inherent in the arming of a fascist country like Turkey a grave menace is involved in undermining the power and prestige of the United Nations as the United States did by taking the unilateral action of giving military aid to Greece and Turkey. The success of the Truman Doctrine, in its wider implications, would imply the systematic organization of a fascist Europe. Characteristically, the Truman Doctrine has as its slogan the old reactionary watchword of Hitler and Mussolini: that is, to stop the advance of communism. The Truman Doctrine is the Wall Street counterpart of Hitler's Anti-Commintern Pact<sup>2</sup> and has no more chance of success.

<sup>1</sup>The Truman Doctrine was the name given to the American policy of supporting anti-Communist governments. It had been articulated by President Truman in a March 1947 speech to Congress calling for economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey.

<sup>2</sup>The Anti-Commintern Pact sealed the alliance between Germany, Italy, and Japan during World War II.

### 3

## The Communist Menace: An American Legion View

The following selection is representative of the literature produced by professional anti-Communists in the McCarthy era. Written by the national commander of the American Legion, James F. O'Neil, it tells Legionnaires how to fight communism. Like J. Edgar Hoover's 1947 statement to HUAC in Document 4, it stresses the dangers posed by liberal gullibility and the need to expose the Communists' tricks. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the Legion worked closely with the FBI and the rest of the anti-Communist network, often spearheading local campaigns against alleged Communist influence in schools or other institutions. O'Neil himself became an important figure in the unofficial program set up by the professional anti-Communists to administer the Hollywood blacklist and help its victims "rehabilitate" themselves.

JAMES F. O'NEIL

### *How You Can Fight Communism*

The rape of Czechoslovakia and the president's message to Congress on March 16th pointing out the now clear menace of world communism poses a serious question for the Legion. Are we doing all we can at post and community level in combating and exposing Communist activities? Or are we complacently "letting George do it"? Resolutions and oratorical efforts are obviously not enough. Strong arm methods and various other attempts to prevent Communist or near-Communist meetings are both beneath Legion dignity and counter to fundamental constitutional American rights. . . .

James F. O'Neil, "How You Can Fight Communism," *American Legion Magazine*, Aug. 1948, 16-17, 42-44.

What then can Legionnaires effectively do to combat these **Fifth Columnists** in our midst and yet stay strictly within the law of land and bounds of patriotic propriety? Plenty! First let us briefly analyze the problem. The nature and purposes of world communism are now generally understood by all literate, informed Americans. Communists, no matter what their pretenses, are foreign agents in any country in which they are allowed to operate. The Canadian spy trials<sup>1</sup> more than proved that point. But while they are plotters for revolution and ultimate seizure of power, it obviously would be foolish for them openly to advocate anything so unwanted, unpopular, and repugnant.

So the first step is to disguise, deodorize, and attractively package Moscow's revolutionary products. Next the salesmen and peddlers themselves must be skillfully disguised, deodorized, and glamorized. Hence Communists always appear before the public as "progressives." Yesterday they were "20th century Americans," last week they were "defenders of all civil liberties," tonight they may be "honest, simple trades unionists." They are "liberals" at breakfast, "defenders of world peace" in the afternoon, and "the voice of the people" in the evening. These artful dodges and ingenious dissimulations obviously make it difficult for the average trusting citizen to keep up with every new Communist swindle and con game.

Here is where the American Legion can serve exactly the same important public service that Better Business Bureaus have done in the past in warning and protecting the public against all manner of swindles and rackets. . . . It does not require four years of college to be able to spot new commie fronts and to keep abreast of the ever-changing party line. But it does require a few hours of serious study and reading each week plus consultation with recognized experts. Legionnaires cannot devote themselves to any more valuable public service. . . .

Most cities today contain a nucleus of former F.B.I. men, Army or Navy intelligence officers, former C.P. members who have come over to our side, and other trained or experienced men, many of them Legionnaires. They should be contacted and organized into an unofficial advisory committee. Experts on communism are available; it is your job to locate them in your department and community. These experts generally all know each other and should be used to check on the credibility of doubtful and unknown "anti-Communists."

You cannot fight knowledge with ignorance. Communist propaganda is generally craftily conceived and is carried out with diabolic cunning and

<sup>1</sup>In 1946, as a result of the revelations of a defector from the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, the Canadian government charged a dozen men and women with spying for the Soviet Union. See pages 27-28.

guile. Most Communists spend years in study and training for their subversive roles. You cannot expect to outwit and thwart them by reading a couple of pamphlets or even a book. You will simply have to know your stuff. Merely hating them is not enough. . . .

. . . When a known pro-Soviet apologist is slated to lecture in your city, to address a meeting, speak over a local station, or make any kind of public appearance, form a small delegation, assemble all your facts (having first made doubly sure that they are facts), then call upon those responsible for importing the out-of-town peddler of Soviet propaganda and in a friendly, helpful manner call their attention to the fact that they evidently have been misinformed as to the background and record of the individual in question or to the true intent and purpose of the allegedly bona fide organization.

Or if some of your local prominent people have sponsored or lent their names or contributed money to indubitable C.P. fronts, perform the same friendly advisory service. Remember that you are trying to protect a local citizen from being made the fool, so belligerence and blustering are entirely out of order. If your local organization or citizen rejects your friendly, documented advice then obviously you are dealing with a willful fool or with people who know exactly what they are doing and don't care. In other words you will have uncovered another C.P. frontier.

. . . Many newspapers and other publicity media have secret Communists on their staffs who regularly slip in a neat hypodermic needle full of Moscow virus. They simply neglect to mention that "So and So" is a well known Communist or that "Such and Such Organization" is a Communist front and a fraud. Call their attention to their "mistakes" in a friendly manner. Honest and patriotic people appreciate such friendly tips. Those who go right on making similar "mistakes" should have their employers or sponsors notified. . . .

. . . Never forget the fact that Communists operating in our midst are in effect a secret battalion of spies and saboteurs parachuted by a foreign foe inside our lines at night and operating as American citizens under a variety of disguises just as the Nazis did in Holland and Belgium. Every art of human cunning is therefore necessary on their part to protect themselves and their subversive mission from exposure.

Far from their homeland and base of supplies, they are totally dependent on us for cover, food, munitions, and transport. The front organizations continually set up by the C.P. are therefore nothing more than screening auxiliary forces which keep the secret battalion supplied, clothed, and fed. Mercilessly and tirelessly exposing and putting these fronts out of business is manifestly almost as vital as detecting and exposing actual Communists and spies. Actual *official investigation* is obviously beyond our jurisdiction

and under the law it is the proper field of the F.B.I., while the *exposure* of front organizations and Communist supporters is the function of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

All departments and posts should be eternally vigilant against any attempt to sabotage or wreck the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Washington State Legislative Committee on Subversive Activities, or the Fact Finding Committee of the California Legislature, also known as the Tenney Committee. . . . The American Legion should be in the forefront in demanding that similar subversive investigating committees be set up by the state legislatures in every department where communism is a serious threat. . . .

The American Legion is composed of men who risked] their lives on the field of battle for their country, in two world wars. Military wars of aggression have now been replaced by a far more insidious form of warfare—the political or psychological war. Shooting wars have been turned by the Communists into “cold wars.” Cold wars require even a greater degree of vigilance and militancy on our part than shooting wars. The fight against America’s enemies goes on.

There is work, important work, for every loyal Legionnaire as I have outlined in this article. Everyone is now familiar with the Communists’ fanaticism and their ruthless, dynamic drive for power. If 75,000 fanatical Communists can indoctrinate, control, and activate an estimated million dupes and camp followers, surely the American Legion’s more than three million members can arouse, warn, and instruct the remaining 139 millions of our citizens. The task is clear, the weapons and tools are available—let’s go!

## 4

### To Quarantine Communism: J. Edgar Hoover Speaks to the American People

Because J. Edgar Hoover rarely appeared before congressional committees, his 1947 HUAC testimony was unprecedented. The FBI director’s stature and alleged expertise ensured that the views he expressed in this statement received wide circulation. Politicians, journalists, academics, and opinion leaders of all political persuasions adopted his formulations and recycled them in countless speeches, position papers, judicial decisions, and magazine and newspaper articles. Hoover’s testimony is also part of the FBI’s campaign to criminalize the Communist party by prosecuting it under the 1940 Smith Act’s provisions against teaching and advocating the overthrow of the government “by force and violence.” As the excerpts in Document 10 from the transcript of the 1949 Smith Act trial of the party’s top leaders reveal, many of the arguments the FBI director presented to HUAC were repeated almost word for word by the prosecutors and their witnesses two years later.

Hoover also used his HUAC appearance to call for supplementing the government’s legal assault on communism with an organized campaign to weaken the party by exposing its members and its alleged machinations. His testimony about the party’s infiltration of the labor movement, film industry, and federal government points to what would become the main battlegrounds of the McCarthy era, just as his final invocation of “old-fashioned Americanism” reveals the traditional mentality that undergirded so much of the anti-Communist crusade.

J. Edgar Hoover, testimony, House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings on H.R. 1884 and H.R. 2122*, 80th Cong., 1st sess., 26 Mar. 1947.

*Testimony before HUAC*

March 26, 1947

... The aims and responsibilities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are the same—the protection of the internal security of this Nation. The methods whereby this goal may be accomplished differ, however. I have always felt that the greatest contribution this committee could make is the public disclosure of the forces that menace America—Communist and Fascist... This committee renders a distinct service when it publicly reveals the diabolic machinations of sinister figures engaged in un-American activities....

The Communist movement in the United States began to manifest itself in 1919. Since then it has changed its name and its party line whenever expedient and tactical. But always it comes back to fundamentals and bills itself as the party of Marxism-Leninism. As such, it stands for the destruction of our American form of government; it stands for the destruction of American democracy; it stands for the destruction of free enterprise; and it stands for the creation of a "Soviet of the United States" and ultimate world revolution.

The historic mission: The preamble of the latest constitution of the Communist Party of the United States, filled with Marxian "double talk," proclaims that the party "educates the working class, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of socialism."

The phrase "historic mission" has a sinister meaning. To the uninformed person it bespeaks tradition, but to the Communist, using his own words, it is "achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat"; "to throw off the yoke of imperialism and establish the proletarian dictatorship"; "to raise these revolutionary forces to the surface and hurl them like a devastating avalanche upon the united forces of bourgeois reaction, frenzied at the presentment of their rapidly approaching doom."

In recent years, the Communists have been very cautious about using such phrases as "force and violence"; nevertheless, it is the subject of much discussion in their schools and in party caucuses where they readily admit that the only way in which they can defeat the present ruling class is by world revolution.

The Communist, once he is fully trained and indoctrinated, realizes that he can create his order in the United States only by "bloody revolution." Their chief textbook, *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet*

*Union*, is used as a basis for planning their revolution. Their tactics require that to be successful they must have:

1. The will and sympathy of the people.
2. Military aid and assistance.
3. Plenty of guns and ammunition.
4. A program for extermination of the police as they are the most important enemy and are termed "Trained Fascists."
5. Seizure of all communications, buses, railroads, radio stations, and other forms of communications and transportation.

They evade the question of force and violence publicly. They hold that when Marxists speak of force and violence they will not be responsible—that force and violence will be the responsibility of their enemies. They adopt the novel premise that they do not advocate force and violence publicly but that when their class resists to defend themselves then they are thus accused of using force and violence. A lot of double talk....

... The American Communist, like the leopard, cannot change his spots. The party line: The Communist Party line changes from day to day. The one cardinal rule that can always be applied to what the party line is or will be is found in the fundamental principle of Communist teachings that the support of Soviet Russia is the duty of Communists of all countries.

One thing is certain. The American progress which all good citizens seek, such as old-age security, houses for veterans, child assistance, and a host of others is being adopted as window dressing by the Communists to conceal their true aims and entrap gullible followers....

The numerical strength of the party's enrolled membership is insignificant. But it is well known that there are many actual members who because of their position are not carried on party rolls.

... The *Daily Worker* boasts of 74,000 members on the rolls. What is important is the claim of the Communists themselves that for every party member there are 10 others ready, willing, and able to do the party's work. Herein lies the greatest menace of communism. For these are the people who infiltrate and corrupt various spheres of American life. So rather than the size of the Communist Party, the way to weigh its true importance is by testing its influence, its ability to infiltrate.

The size of the party is relatively unimportant because of the enthusiasm and iron-clad discipline under which they operate. In this connection, it might be of interest to observe that in 1917 when the Communists overthrew the Russian Government there was one Communist for every 2,277 persons in Russia. In the United States today there is one Communist for every 1,814 persons in the country.

One who accepts the aims, principles, and program of the party, who attends meetings, who reads the party press and literature, who pays dues, and who is active on behalf of the party "shall be considered a member." The open, avowed Communist who carries a card and pays dues is no different from a security standpoint than the person who does the party's work but pays no dues, carries no card, and is not on the party rolls. In fact, the latter is a greater menace because of his opportunity to work in stealth.

Identifying undercover Communists, **fellow travelers**, and sympathizers. The burden of proof is placed upon those who consistently follow the ever-changing, twisting party line. Fellow travelers and sympathizers can deny party membership but they can never escape the undeniable fact that they have played into the Communist hands thus furthering the Communist cause by playing the role of innocent, gullible, or willful allies.

Propaganda activities: The Communists have developed one of the greatest propaganda machines the world has ever known. They have been able to penetrate and infiltrate many respectable and reputable public opinion mediums. . . .

The Communist propaganda technique is designed to promote emotional response with the hope that the victim will be attracted by what he is told the Communist way of life holds in store for him. The objective, of course, is to develop discontent and hasten the day when the Communists can gather sufficient support and following to overthrow the American way of life.

Communist propaganda is always slanted in the hope that the Communist may be aligned [*sic*] with liberal progressive causes. The honest liberal and progressive should be alert to this, and I believe the Communists' most effective foes can be the real liberals and progressives who understand their devious machinations.

The deceptiveness of the Communist "double talk" fulfills the useful propaganda technique of confusion. In fact, Lenin referred to their peculiar brand of phraseology as "... that cursed **Assopian** [*sic*] **language** . . . which . . . compelled all revolutionaries to have recourse, whenever they took up their pens to write a legal work."

Lenin used it for the purpose of avoiding "censorship." Communists today use it to mislead the public.

The use of the term "democracy" by the Communists, we have learned to our sorrow, does not have the meaning to them that it does to us. To them it means communism and totalitarianism and our understanding of the term is regarded by them as imperialistic and Fascist. . . .

Motion pictures: The American Communists launched a furtive attack on Hollywood in 1935 by the issuance of a directive calling for a concentration

in Hollywood. The orders called for action on two fronts. (1) An effort to infiltrate the labor unions; (2) infiltrate the so-called intellectual and creative fields. . . .

. . . . The entire industry faces serious embarrassment because it could become a springboard for Communist activities. Communist activity in Hollywood is effective and is furthered by Communists and sympathizers using the prestige of prominent persons to serve, often unwittingly, the Communist cause.

The party is content and highly pleased if it is possible to have inserted in a picture a line, a scene, a sequence, conveying the Communist lesson, and more particularly, if they can keep out anti-Communist lessons.

Infiltration: The Communist tactic of infiltrating labor unions stems from the earliest teachings of Marx, which have been reiterated by party spokesmen down through the years. They resort to all means to gain their point and often succeed in penetrating and literally taking over labor unions before the rank and file of members are aware of what has occurred.

With few exceptions the following admonitions of Lenin have been followed:

It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade-unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs. (p. 38, *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. V. I. Lenin, 1934, International Publishers Co., Inc.)

I am convinced that the great masses of union men and women are patriotic American citizens interested chiefly in security for their families and themselves. They have no use for the American Communists but in those instances where Communists have taken control of unions, it has been because too many union men and women have been outwitted, outmaneuvered, and outwaited by Communists.

The Communists have never relied on numerical strength to dominate a labor organization. Through infiltration tactics they have in too many instances captured positions of authority. Communists have boasted that with 5 percent of the membership the Communists with their military, superior organizational ability and discipline could control the union. . . .

If more union members took a more active role and asserted themselves it would become increasingly difficult for Communists to gain control. Patriotic union members can easily spot sympathizers and party members in conventions and union meetings because invariably the latter strive to

establish the party line instead of serving the best interests of the union and the country. . . .

. . . The party for the past 18 months has been giving special attention to foreign language groups. . . . The Communists now seek strength from foreign groups who may have relatives in countries which Russia seeks to influence.

Government: The recent Canadian spy trials revealed the necessity of alertness in keeping Communists and sympathizers out of Government services. . . .

Since July 1, 1941, the FBI has investigated 6,193 cases under the Hatch Act, which forbids membership upon the part of any Government employee in any organization advocating the overthrow of the government of the United States. . . .

One hundred and one Federal employees were discharged as a result of our investigation, 21 resigned during the investigation, and in 75 cases administrative action was taken by the departments. A total of 1,906 individuals are no longer employed by the Government while 122 cases are presently pending consideration in various Government agencies.

The FBI does not make recommendations; it merely reports facts, and it is up to the interested Government department to make a decision. Almost invariably, of course, subjects of investigations deny affiliation with subversive groups, often despite strong evidence to the contrary. . . .

Mass and front organizations. . . . The Communist Party in the United States immediately took up the [united front] program and a systematic plan was worked out of infiltrating existing organizations with Communists. . . .

. . . Front organizations. . . . solicited and used names of prominent persons. Literally hundreds of groups and organizations have either been infiltrated or organized primarily to accomplish the purposes of promoting the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States, the promotion of Soviet war and peace aims, the exploitation of Negroes in the United States, work among foreign-language groups, and to secure a favorable viewpoint toward the Communists in domestic, political, social, and economic issues.

The first requisite for front organizations is an idealistic sounding title. Hundreds of such organizations have come into being and have gone out of existence when their true purposes have become known or exposed while others with high-sounding names are continually springing up. . . .

. . . I feel that this committee could render a great service to the Nation through its power of exposure in quickly spotlighting existing front organizations and those which will be created in the future. . . .

The Communist Party of the United States is a **fifth column** if there ever was one. It is far better organized than were the Nazis in occupied countries prior to their capitulation.

They are seeking to weaken America just as they did in their era of obstruction when they were allied [*sic*] with the Nazis. Their goal is the overthrow of our Government.

There is no doubt as to where a real Communist's loyalty rests. Their allegiance is to Russia, not the United States. . . .

. . . What can we do? And what should be our course of action? The best antidote to communism is vigorous, intelligent, old-fashioned Americanism with eternal vigilance. I do not favor any course of action which would give the Communists cause to portray and pity themselves as martyrs. I do favor unrelenting prosecution wherever they are found to be violating our country's laws.

As Americans, our most effective defense is a workable democracy that guarantees and preserves our cherished freedoms.

I would have no fears if more Americans possessed the zeal, the fervor, the persistence, and the industry to learn about this menace of Red fascism. I do fear for the liberal and progressive who has been hoodwinked and duped into joining hands with the Communists. I confess to a real apprehension so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism. I do fear so long as school boards and parents tolerate conditions whereby Communists and fellow travelers, under the guise of academic freedom, can teach our youth a way of life that eventually will destroy the sanctity of the home, that undermine[s] faith in God, that causes them to scorn respect for constituted authority and sabotage our revered Constitution.

I do fear so long as American labor groups are infiltrated, dominated, or saturated with the virus of communism. I do fear the palliation and wesselworded gestures against communism indulged in by some of our labor leaders who should know better but who have become pawns in the hands of sinister but astute manipulators for the Communist cause.

I fear for ignorance on the part of all our people who may take the poisonous pills of Communist propaganda. . . .

The Communists have been, still are, and always will be a menace to freedom, to democratic ideals, to the worship of God, and to America's way of life.

I feel that once public opinion is thoroughly aroused as it is today, the fight against communism is well on its way. Victory will be assured once

Communists are identified and exposed, because the public will take the first step of quarantining them so they can do no harm. Communism, in reality, is not a political party. It is a way of life—an evil and malignant way of life. It reveals a condition akin to disease that spreads like an epidemic and like an epidemic a quarantine is necessary to keep it from infecting the Nation.

## 5

### Communist Spies in the State Department: The Emergence of the Hiss Case

The following selections illustrate different aspects of the Alger Hiss case. The case began at a HUAC hearing in August 1948 when the confessed ex-Communist witness Whitaker Chambers accused Hiss and several other former New Deal officials of having belonged to the Communist party. At first, Hiss denied knowing Chambers and then sued him for slander for Chambers's assertion that Hiss was a Communist. Chambers retaliated by producing copies of government documents that he claimed Hiss had given him for transmission to the Russians. Hiss's eventual conviction for perjury in January 1950 (the statute of limitations for espionage having run out) seemed to prove that Communists were Soviet agents, thus legitimizing much of the anti-Communist furor that followed. Because of its importance, its reliance on the word of a single witness, and Hiss's continuing insistence on his innocence, the case is still controversial.

The first group of documents contains excerpts from the original HUAC testimony of Hiss and Chambers. These transcripts show how the case began to unfold as the discrepancies between Hiss's testimony and that of Chambers emerged and as, under the prodding of Richard Nixon, Chambers seemed to reveal details about Hiss's personal life that contradicted Hiss's initial denial that he knew Chambers.

The second document comes from an FBI report that contained a signed statement Chambers made the day after he turned over several rolls of film, the "Pumpkin Papers," to the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Alger Hiss and Whitaker Chambers, testimony, House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings regarding Communist Espionage in the United States Government*, 80th Cong., 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C., and New York City), 3, 5, 7, 16, 17 Aug. 1948; Frank G. Johnstone (Special Agent, Baltimore), summary report, 4 Dec. 1948, Alger Hiss FBI file, in *In Re: Alger Hiss*, ed. Edith Tiger (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 269–73; Dmitri Volkogonov to John Lowenthal, 14 Oct. 1992, reproduced in *Cold War International History Project Bulletin*, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 33.