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A JEWISH PERSPECTIVE ON THE MC CARTHY ERA:
A STUDY OF THE ATTITUDES TOWARD SENATOR JOSEPH R.
MC CARTHY REFLECTED IN THE ISRAELI PRESS 1952-1954

JULIE WOLKOFF

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated, with love, to my parents
and family.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to take an issue which has affected the American Jewish community and to investigate its treatment in the mainstream Israeli press. The issue, the actions of Senator Joseph McCarthy, deeply split the American Jewish community. One segment protested McCarthy's actions as violating the basic American rights of freedom of speech and freedom of thought. Another segment, eager to disassociate itself from possible Communist connections, supported actions to ferret out Communists. Not surprisingly, a set of circumstances which caused so much reaction among one Jewish community would be reflected in the press of another Jewish community.

The Israeli newspapers that I chose to analyze were Ha'Aretz and The Jerusalem Post. Ha'Aretz, unlike most Hebrew newspapers, has no political party affiliation. It is both liberal and independent. The Post is Israel's only English newspaper and it is also independent.

For the thesis, I read, on microfilm, the Jerusalem Post for the period of July 1952 through December 1954, inclusive and Ha'Aretz from September 10, 1952 - December 1952, inclusive and March - June 1954 inclusive. The periods covered in Ha'Aretz are the periods of heaviest

concentration in the Jerusalem Post. The years 1952-54 are covered since they were the years when McCarthy's activities peaked.

The thesis is arranged into three major chapters. The first chapter details the background of the McCarthy years in the United States and Israel. The second chapter reports on the wire service articles in the Israeli press. Ha'Aretz is treated first. Every Ha'Aretz article during the period is covered and its location in the paper is cited. For the Jerusalem Post, a representative selection of articles is covered.

The final chapter details the longer background and analysis articles from both papers. Again, Ha'Aretz is treated first with every article cited. A representative sample from the Post follows.

Following a brief conclusion are two Appendices. The first charts out all the McCarthy coverage in the New York Times, 1950-1954; the Jerusalem Post; July 1952-December 1954 and Ha'Aretz September 10, 1952 - December 31, 1952 and March - June 1954. The second Appendix shows a comparison graph of the coverage in the Jerusalem Post and Ha'Aretz March - June 1954.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND

Senator Joseph McCarthy's rise to power can best be understood by examining the political climate which led to his ascent. Four events in particular will demonstrate the context of the Senator's career.

The trial of Alger Hiss was the first major event of the Cold War. In many ways, Hiss, an East Coast, New Deal politician, was a prototypical liberal. He was a former State Department official, serving as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace when, in 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a self-described former Soviet agent, accused him of being a Communist spy.¹ Chambers' evidence was five rolls of microfilm showing 1938 State Department papers which he claimed Hiss had passed to him. Hiss denied passing the documents and claimed that his contact with Chambers had ended in 1936, but a court found him guilty of perjury on these two counts.

The Hiss case established the polarity between liberals and conservatives that would last throughout the Cold War years. To conservatives, Hiss was a guilty, un-American traitor. But to liberals, he was the innocent victim of a frame-up. Victor Navasky, in his book Naming Names, explains the messages of the Hiss case:

...to be a Communist Party member was to be a spy;
 ...to be a Russian was to foment worldwide revolution;
 ...to be an informer was to be a patriot; ...to be
 a New Dealer was to be a dupe....²

A second important event in the pre-McCarthy era was the investigations of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) into Communist subversives in the entertainment industry.³ In 1947, HUAC subpoenaed many Hollywood actors, writers and directors. A group of writers, dubbed the Hollywood 19, refused to cooperate with the committee. Ten of these men were Jews.

Subsequently, ten of the Hollywood 19 were called to testify. They denounced HUAC and, on First Amendment grounds, challenged the committee's right to question them. All ten were cited for contempt of Congress and, in 1949, went to jail. Six of these ten were Jews.⁴

The Jewish connection in the investigations went even deeper because the movie business was tonally Jewish:

...since the movie business was and is very much a Jewish business, it is not surprising that the interests of the Jews as a group and of the motion picture industry were thought to intersect. Indeed, many Jews. . . believed that HUAC went after Hollywood precisely⁵ because it was something of a Jewish preserve. . .

Jews had a history of leftist political involvement. Many were active in the Anarchist and Socialist movements as well as the Communist movement. Arnold Forster, the general counsel of the ADL states:

There was an evident quotient of anti-Semitism in the McCarthy wave of hysteria. Jews in that

period were automatically suspect. Our evaluation of the general mood was that the people felt if you scratch a Jew, you can find a Communist.⁶

The Rosenberg case occurred during the peak McCarthy years of 1951-1953. Accused of espionage, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were charged with passing the atomic bomb secrets to Russia. They were found guilty and sentenced to death.

The Rosenbergs and their lawyer were Jewish as were the judge and the prosecutors. None of the jury members, however, were Jewish. Fears of increased anti-Semitism caused many Jews to support the death sentence although an equally large number opposed it. Jewish agencies were uncertain in their response. They feared that support of the Rosenbergs would cause the public to suspect a Jewish conspiracy. As Arnold Forster stated, the link between Jew and Communist was already established in the public mind.

Fears of a worldwide Communist takeover were heightened by the Korean War. A common perception was that this was a conflict between good and evil, between the Communist way of life and the American capitalist way. To many Americans, being a Communist meant being a traitor. As a result, political repression of Communists increased.

In this period, Joseph McCarthy rose from obscurity to the United States Senate. McCarthy's political career began as a Wisconsin judge.⁷ Techniques

he would use in the Senate were apparent in his first election campaign. Thirty years old, McCarthy made age the major campaign issue. He claimed that the incumbent was 73 and had been born in 1866. Actually, his opponent was born in 1873 and was 66 years old. On occasion, McCarthy increased the judge's age to 89. Nevertheless, his campaign was successful.

As a judge, McCarthy was best known for two things. Once, when a case of his was appealed to a higher court, the court discovered that McCarthy had destroyed part of the trial record. McCarthy argued that the missing statements were immaterial. But the court responded that this action was an example of judicial misconduct.

McCarthy's other significant judicial act was to clear the court calendar. When he began, McCarthy's district had a 250 case backlog. By holding late night sessions and granting quickie five minute divorces, McCarthy entirely eliminated it.

In 1942, McCarthy joined the Marines. Although this required him to leave Wisconsin, he retained his judicial seat. Even though his position allowed him a service exemption, McCarthy enlisted and requested a commission. Later in his career he would claim that he had enlisted as a private and earned a commission as a second lieutenant. In fact, he was commissioned as a first lieutenant.

While in the Marines, McCarthy was assigned to a desk job. He subsequently said that he had been a tail gunner. Despite the fact that his Marine record shows no battle missions, McCarthy claimed, in 1944, to have participated in 14. In 1948, he boosted this number to 17 and, in 1951, he stated that he had been active in 30 missions.⁸

While still in the Marines, McCarthy decided to enter the Wisconsin Senatorial campaign. He took a leave and returned home to campaign despite the fact that this action violated both military and Wisconsin law. The Marines forbade soldiers to become involved in politics and, in Wisconsin, holding a judicial position precluded running for other elective offices.

McCarthy's Senate campaign was similar in style to his previous judicial campaign. He ignored the issues and criticized his opponent on personal grounds. McCarthy charged that incumbent Robert LaFollette made his home on a "Virginia Plantation," fearing to come defend his record in Wisconsin.

McCarthy also contrasted their war time careers. He said that the war time pay raise that Congress took and LaFollette's profits from a Wisconsin radio station demonstrated that while others were fighting, LaFollette was profiting. Of his own qualifications for the Senate, McCarthy was quite specific. As he said, "Congress needs a tail gunner" and "America needs fighting men."⁹

McCarthy's performance was undistinguished during his early years in the Senate.¹⁰ He devoted his time to three causes. First, he offered a plan to end the current coal strike. His suggestion was that the government draft the striking workers as well as John L. Lewis, head of the United Mine Workers. But the advice was ignored so McCarthy turned his attention to other matters.

One of these matters was the issue of sugar rationing. McCarthy's efforts resulted in increased sugar allocations and an early end to rationing. This endeared him to the soft drink companies, especially the Pepsi-Cola company. Through his connections with Pepsi-Cola he obtained a loan which helped him out of financial difficulties. Because of his close ties to the Pepsi lobbyist, McCarthy was known as "the Pepsi-Cola Kid."¹¹

McCarthy's third effort during his early Senate years involved the country's housing problem. He opposed publicly-funded housing and supported privately-financed, pre-fabricated homes. He arranged government loans for a private construction company from which he later received payments, ostensibly for an essay he wrote on housing.

Although McCarthy's early years in the Senate were politically uneventful, it was at this time that he developed his unique personal style. From the beginning, he defied his colleagues and ignored the protocol of the

Senate. During debates, he falsified quotes and invented facts. Robert Griffith describes his typical behavior on the Senate floor:

He would refuse to yield the floor for unfriendly questions, or would turn upon an interrogator with some personal charge or accusation. In a matter of minutes he turned a staid and dignified Senate debate into an angry brawl. He tended to reduce all issues to personal terms and to attack men rather than ideas.¹²

Joe McCarthy discovered Communism in 1950. At the time, he was having problems in Wisconsin because his tax record and the legality of his first Senate campaign were under investigation. His term in the Senate would end in 1952 and McCarthy needed an issue on which to base his reelection campaign. The issue of Communism was a good bet. Sides were clearly drawn and the debate aroused powerful feelings. McCarthy would focus on Communism for the next five years.

In February 1950, McCarthy gave a speech to a Republican group in Wheeling, West Virginia and he alleged that there were 205 Communists in the State Department. He claimed to have their names on a list in his hand. Later, when he placed the speech in the Congressional Record, the Senator amended the number to 57. He offered to supply his list to President Truman and then gave details of 81 individual cases to the Senate.

McCarthy's strength came not from the speech itself but from the press coverage of it.¹³ The Wheeling speech was covered by the wire services as was the one

he gave in Reno, Nevada later in the same week. Coverage of the Reno speech illustrated the problems which arose when writing about McCarthy. The stories were, to some degree, incoherent because of the timing of the speech (it occurred on a Saturday night and the reporters, facing a deadline, had no place to check the facts McCarthy cited) and the difficulty of deciding what the major issue was. The incoherence of the stories masked the problems which the speech itself raised. The press reported McCarthy's reckless attacks but there were few facts to back them up. They failed to analyze the Senator's speech or to provide background information. Richard Rovere, a reporter, writes:

. . . no newspaper could print the truth - because no newspaper could be sure it was the truth - that he had failed to identify even one Communist in the State Department.¹⁴

Within the first week of McCarthy's crusade the press pattern was established. McCarthy's charges would be printed. This would cause countercharges to which McCarthy would then respond. There was a new story for every newspaper edition and deadline. Denials were as frequent as charges but they tended to be buried on the back pages. Edwin Bayley states:

This was to be the pattern for the next five years - daily stories, usually on page one, and often several a day, reaching a peak in 1954, when it was not unusual for a paper to carry 15-20 stories a day in which McCarthy was the central figure.¹⁵

McCarthy's probe of the State Department continued throughout 1950 and 1951. The charges and counter-charges increased. At this time, he also attacked General George C. Marshall, accusing him on June 14, 1951 of disloyalty. All the while, press coverage of McCarthy's activities continued.¹⁶

These activities continued through 1952. New activities related to the elections filled the Senator's remaining time. McCarthy gave a nationally broadcast speech in October 1952 which attacked Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic Party's presidential candidate. McCarthy tried to link Stevenson to subversives. Stevenson, he claimed, was a part of the Acheson-Hiss-Lattimore group of traitors. Stevenson's campaign manager, Wilson Wyatt, had been active in the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). According to McCarthy, this destructive group advocated the recognition of Red China and opposed loyalty oaths and HUAC. Stevenson's speech writer, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., was also active in ADA. Schlesinger was a New York Post writer which reflected badly on him as the Post's editor, James A. Wechsler, was an admitted former member of the Young Communist League.

McCarthy went on to compare Stevenson to Alger Hiss by a famous slip of the tongue: "Alger. . . I mean Adlai." He also tried to show that Stevenson was a Communist sympathizer because he advocated political

freedom and said that universities should accept Communist professors.

As a result of this speech, McCarthy's press coverage grew, especially in his home state of Wisconsin. Bayley states:

No one knows how successful he was in tarring Stevenson, but one result of the effort was plain: he dominated the news in Wisconsin newspapers . . . All the news wasn't good for McCarthy¹⁷ that week, but all the news was about McCarthy.

McCarthy swamped his opponent and won reelection easily.

In 1953, the Republicans were in control of the Senate and McCarthy's congressional position improved. He was appointed chairman of the Committee of Government Operations. This committee had a permanent subcommittee on investigations for which McCarthy hired a staff; Roy Cohn as chief counsel and David Schine as chief consultant.

McCarthy's next move was to attack President Eisenhower. He accused Eisenhower of being "soft" on Communism and ineffective in his policies. The Senator's State Department probe also continued. McCarthy claimed that since the State Department's employee loyalty files were kept open, people could easily tamper with them. McCarthy also criticized the State Department's Overseas Information Program which supplied books on America to State Department libraries abroad. McCarthy complained about the number of books by Communist and "Fellow Traveler" authors present in these libraries. During the

year, Cohn and Schine traveled to Europe. As part of their travels, they investigated the Overseas Information Program and reported back to McCarthy.

As McCarthy's activities increased, Republican party opposition to him grew. Eisenhower was annoyed by McCarthy's personal attacks. Senator Taft was upset at the Senator's behavior. However there was little they could do to stop him.

In 1954, the Army drafted David Schine. Roy Cohn requested special treatment for his friend. He wanted Schine to be commissioned and exempted from basic training. He also suggested that Schine be assigned to McCarthy's committee. The Army denied Cohn's request and required Schine to participate in basic training. They did, however, allow him special privileges. He was given extra passes and he frequently left drills to make and accept phone calls.¹⁸ Cohn nevertheless reacted to the Army's denial with threats to investigate it. It was at this time that the McCarthy committee began the Peress Investigation.

Irving Peress was a Jewish dentist who refused to sign a loyalty oath in the Army. Before this was discovered, he had been automatically promoted to major. When the Army realized the problem, Peress was given an honorable discharge.

McCarthy considered this affair to be a major scandal. Crying "Who promoted Peress?" he began by

investigating General Ralph Zwicker, Peress' commanding officer. He condemned Zwicker's action in discharging Peress and called for his resignation.

Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens supported Zwicker. He issued an order stating that Zwicker's appearance before the McCarthy committee was unnecessary. Next he met with McCarthy. The result of the meeting was a "Memorandum of Understanding." The press claimed that Stevens sold out to the Senator.

Eisenhower viewed McCarthy's investigation into the Army as a threat to his administration and vowed to take action. The Army issued a report detailing its problems with McCarthy. As a result, the McCarthy committee began to investigate McCarthy.

McCarthy relinquished his chairmanship for the investigations but he did not restrain himself from participation. From his position on the sidelines, McCarthy abused the witnesses. He took upon himself the privilege of asking questions and changing the issues under discussion. He demanded the right to cross examine witnesses, a right denied to all those previously investigated by the committee.¹⁹

The Army-McCarthy hearings received wide exposure from newspapers, radio and television. The result of this attention was that the nation had a first hand look at McCarthy in action. From then on, the Senator's committee power and public support decreased.

On March 9, 1954, Sen. Ralph Flanders, a Republican, spoke out against McCarthy from the Senate floor. McCarthy's party support was dwindling.

When the hearings began, McCarthy was also losing press and media support. An "Anti-Joe" movement was growing. On March 9, the same day as the Flanders speech, Edward R. Murrow devoted his "See It Now" program to a discussion of McCarthy's methods. Using film of McCarthy in action, he tried to show his viewers what kind of man McCarthy was. Unfortunately, Murrow himself used McCarthy-like tactics. Some of his tape was taken out of context. Other clips were chosen to show embarrassing moments or foolish facial expressions. But the program had the desired effect of adding strength to the anti-McCarthy position.

During the hearings, Joseph Welch was the Army's counsel. He came off well in the media coverage. Welch attempted to stick to the subject at hand, demanding a response to his questions and waiting until it came. When McCarthy tried to attack him by exposing the past associations of a member of Welch's firm, Welch became angry. Berating McCarthy he ended by saying, "Have you no sense of decency, sir?"²¹ This is the image which remained with most Americans after the hearings were concluded.

The Democrats on the McCarthy committee took advantage of the hearings to bolster their own position.

Although they had resigned from the committee, they returned for this battle. They used every opportunity to claim the Anti-Communist crusade as their own. At the same time, they were strongly against McCarthy.

The Army-McCarthy hearings ended in June 1954 with no formal conclusions. The committee's findings, issued later, were that both McCarthy and Stevens were wrong. Stevens had been too timid in his dealings with McCarthy and McCarthy had been too lenient with his staff. However, no one was very interested in the committee's findings. Most people were influenced by the impressions they obtained from viewing the hearings.

In the autumn of 1954 the Senate began new hearings to determine whether McCarthy's behavior should be censured. A committee appointed to investigate recommended censure on five counts. Two of these were actually considered by the Senate. The first was a charge of contempt of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections in 1951 and 1952. The second was a charge against McCarthy's behavior during the Zwicker affair. This was subsequently dropped and replaced by a charge that McCarthy had abused the Watkins committee. The Watkins committee had been set up to determine the censure details. In December, the Senate voted 67-22 to condemn, not censure, McCarthy. Bayley describes McCarthy's Senate supporters:

Most of those who stood by McCarthy (all Republicans) were from states west of the Mississippi. It may be significant that the greatest support came from the part of the nation where McCarthy's activities had been given the least coverage in newspapers, and from the only part of the country that did not have access to live television coverage of the fateful Army-McCarthy hearings.²²

The political consequences of the Senate's action were mixed. McCarthy lost his committee chairmanship, but that was due to the fact that the Democrats had regained control of the Senate in the 1954 elections. He also lost his status in the Senate; no one would ever again jump at his words. His popular support was gone, but his hard core support remained.

McCarthy's later career was undistinguished. He sponsored no legislation, and supported no more popular causes. He died, still a U.S. Senator, on May 2, 1957.

Before examining the Israeli press treatment of McCarthy, it is imperative to view the political climate of Israel and the other major news events covered during the McCarthy era.

Just as immigrants to the United States often brought their political ideologies with them, immigrants to Israel did too. Many Eastern European Jews came to Israel with Socialist or Communist leanings. In 1949, the Communist Party in Israel won 4 seats in the Knesset elections with 3.5% of the vote.²³ In 1951, they won 5 seats with 4.0% of the vote and in 1955 they gained another seat with 4.5% of the vote.

The Socialist movement was even stronger. It formed the basis of the government. In 1906, the Po'alei Zion was founded which aimed to form through class struggle, a Jewish society based on socialist foundations. Two of its leaders were Itzak Ben-Zvi and David Ben-Gurion. This later became the political party Ahdut ha-Avodah.

Ha'Po'el Ha'Za'ir was established in 1905. This group rejected the class struggle, preferring to form a Jewish society through conquest of labor and conquest of soil. Their efforts resulted in the establishment of Deganyah, the first kibbutz and Nahalah, the first moshav. This group later merged with Ahdut Ha-Avodah to form Mapai.²⁴

Mapai was the strongest party in the early years of statehood. In 1949 they had 46 Knesset seats with 35.7% of the vote. In 1951 they had 45 seats and, in 1955, 40 seats with 37.3% and 32.2% of the vote respectively.

The left wing Mapam party was also strong. It was formed in 1948 from the left wing segment of Ahdut ha-Avodah and Ha Shomer Ha'Za'ir. In 1949, Mapam garnered 14.7% of the vote for 19 seats and in 1951, they had 12.5% for 15 seats. In 1955, there was a party split. The two segments received 7.3% and 8.2% of the vote, which equalled a total of 19 seats. The vote totals show the strength of left wing ideologies in the

early years of statehood.

The news events covered in the Israeli press during 1952-1954 can be divided into national and international stories. The national stories tend to fall into four major categories: German reparations, border problems, local politics and the Holocaust.

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion supported reparations as did the majority of the Knesset. Menachem Begin opposed them so bitterly that he had to be thrown out of the Knesset for his behavior. The press also covered the reactions of major world powers to the reparations agreement. The United States, Great Britain, Germany, the USSR and the United Nations issued statements commenting on the topic.

The press also dealt with Israel's border problems. There were truces on all fronts and a Mixed Armistice Commission (MAC) to deal with problems. However, there were constant skirmishes and violations occurred. The MAC's ineffectiveness tended to be the subject of much debate.

Local politics received much room in the press. The death of Chaim Weizmann, Israel's first President, in November 1952 prompted many articles recounting his history and that of the Zionist movement. The search for his successor took one month. Two votes passed and a third had to be cast before Itzak Ben-Zvi emerged as Israel's president. Another major story was Ben-Gurion's

resignation, in November 1953, from the Prime Minister's seat.

The press covered the Holocaust from several angles. There were stories about survivors and reparations coming to them. War trials of Nazis in Germany and elsewhere in Europe were reported. The most major Holocaust story, however, dealt with efforts to reclaim Jewish children from those who sheltered them during the war. One case, covered in great detail, was that of the Finaly brothers. They were living in France after the war when their relatives requested custody. The boy's guardian ignored all inquiries. Then, she had them baptized and hid them in a local church. The issue flared into a religious crisis when both the Church and Jewish authorities claimed the boys. Several years passed before any settlement could be made. Thereafter, similar situations were referred to in the press as "a new Finaly case."

The major international stories of the period were all connected with Communism. The first was the Prague Trial which began on November 20, 1952. In this trial, 14 people were accused with conspiring to overthrow the Czech government. Eleven of the 14 were Jews. Of the 11 who were executed, eight were Jews. The Prague Trial had many anti-Jewish, anti-Israel elements. The Soviet press for example stressed the role of Israeli spies in the conspiracy. Articles in Soviet papers were openly anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist.²⁵ It was later

discovered that the anti-Semitic tone of the trials had been ordered by Soviet "advisors."²⁶

The Doctor's Trial in Russia during January 1953 was also extensively covered by the Israeli press. Nine doctors, seven of whom were Jews, were charged with conspiracy. It was alleged that they planned to use medical means to kill Soviet political and military leaders. The doctors were also charged with having been in contact with foreign agencies, specifically the American Joint Distribution Committee and the World Zionist Organization.²⁷

Stalin's death, on March 5, 1953, was also covered in the Israeli press. There was hope that Soviet-Israel relations would improve with the new regime.

The last major international story of this period was the Korean War. The press reported both on the war and on the truce talks.

CHAPTER TWO

THE WIRE SERVICES

The majority of articles about McCarthy in the Israeli press came from the wire services. During the period between March 1954 and June 1954, Ha'Aretz printed 39 McCarthy related articles: 33 were from the wire services, three were analyses of McCarthy's problems and three were translations from the foreign press (i.e. the New York Times). In the same period, there were 49 articles in the Jerusalem Post. Of these, 41 were wire press articles, seven were analyses and one was a Post editorial. There were also three photographs and two cartoons which came from the wire services.

The Israeli papers used four main wire services. The United Press service was identified by the letters U.P. in English and פ.י.ו. in the Hebrew. The Reuter (ר.י.ט.) service also was used by both Hebrew and English papers. The Palestine Telegraphic Agency (ה.א.פ.ט.) appeared only in Ha'Aretz. The Associated Press (A.P.) was used only by the Jerusalem Post.

Stylistically, the wire service articles tended to be very short. They gave very few facts and no background material. On occasion, both the U.P. and

Reuter reports would be combined into one story.¹

When articles are referred to in this thesis, their date and location will be given, as will their newspaper identification.

During this time, Ha'Aretz was four pages with nine columns per page. A citation of 1:7 refers to page one, column seven counting columns from right to left. The Jerusalem Post was also four pages with only eight columns per page. Once again, 1:7 will refer to page one, column seven but with the columns counted from left to right. Both papers printed expanded editions on Fridays which afforded them more opportunity for analysis and background of current affairs. Neither paper was published on Saturday or on major Jewish holidays.

Ha'Aretz

In the autumn of 1952, the Ha'Aretz treatment of McCarthy concentrated on his role in the United States Presidential campaign. On September 18, 1952 (1:7) an article on Harry Truman's defense of General Marshall appeared. Truman denounced those who accused government workers of Communist leanings. The article specifically mentioned that Senators McCarthy and Jenner (another conservative Republican) had attacked Marshall. McCarthy had charged that Marshall was "on Russia's side."

On October 22 (1:7) there was a report about Truman's attack on General Eisenhower. He contended that

Eisenhower was anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic. In addition, Truman condemned Eisenhower's association with Senators Nixon, Jenner and McCarthy.² Truman was angered by their support of the McCarran Act (which set up immigration quotas) arguing that: "they are the main combatants for the sake of this racially and religiously discriminatory legislation." Eisenhower ignored Truman's second charge, responding only to the anti-Semitism and anti-Catholic charges. He defended himself by pointing to his good friends Rabbi [Abba Hillel] Silver, Bernard Baruch and Cardinal Spellman.

In addition to election coverage, Ha'Aretz noted problems which members of the American Communist Party were having. On October 1 (2:1) there was a report of testimony given by General Walter Bedell Smith, director of the CIA, on Communists in the U.S. government. The general said that the State Department was full of Communists. His testimony came during McCarthy's suit for libel against Sen. William Benton, although this fact was omitted from the article.³

On September 18, 1952 (1:7) Ha'Aretz reported the arrest of four American Communist leaders. Dorothy Rose Forest, James Frederick Forest, Marcus Murphy and William Sentner were accused of plotting the overthrow of the American government.⁴ Again on September 23 (1:6) there was a report of American Communist arrests. In this case, six leaders were arrested and charged with plotting

to overthrow the government. They were among 18 people who had been arrested the previous week in Detroit. On December 22 (1:7), there was a brief report that U.S. President-elect Eisenhower had met with four top aides to discuss the fight against Communism in the United States.

In 1954, the Ha'Aretz treatment of McCarthy was more detailed. His problems with the Army were covered extensively. On March 12 (1:4) an article with a large, dark headline discussed the possibility of the McCarthy committee looking into Roy Cohn's behavior in regard to the Army. There was a problem however, as Cohn was the committee's chief counsel. On March 14 (1:5) another dark headlined article appeared. This one noted that an investigation into McCarthy and Cohn's treatment of the Army was expected to begin soon. McCarthy had stepped down from his committee position and, in his stead, Senator Karl Mundt was to serve as acting committee chairman.⁵ On March 17 (1:6) an article noted that the committee would investigate Roy Cohn. Cohn was charged with "attempting through pressure and threats" to force the army into granting David Schine special privileges.⁶

The start of the investigation was reported in two articles on April 22 (1:6). The first listed McCarthy's counter charges. He alleged that the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Mr. Struve Hensel, had instigated the investigation in order to prevent McCarthy from

investigating Hensel.⁷ The second article contained Hensel's response. On April 23 (1:4), an article appeared to clarify the dispute between McCarthy and Cohn and Army Secretary Stevens. It noted that the investigation would begin soon.

The first use of the term "Army-McCarthy" (צבא-מק-קארתי) appeared in H'Aretz on April 27 (1:3). This article indicated that both the investigation and the coverage of it had begun. On April 28 (1:5), under the same headline as the April 27 article, the principals in the investigation were introduced. They were: Joseph Welsh, counsel for the Army; Ray Jenkins, special counsel for the sub-committee; Secretary of the Army Robert T. Stevens; and McCarthy aides Cohn and Schine.

On May 3 (1:4) a report said that Vice-President Richard Nixon requested clarification of the Army-McCarthy dispute. May 27 (1:3) brought a report of McCarthy angrily walking out of a committee session. On June 24 (1:4), McCarthy was once again under fire. The personal relationships between Cohn and Schine and between both men and McCarthy were said to be a subject of examination. An article in the same day's Jerusalem Post added the fact that McCarthy was causing unrest among the Jewish population. It also compared his anti-Communist campaign to that of Adolf Hitler.⁸

In 1954 Ha'Aretz articles also dealt with the growing deterioration of Eisenhower's relations with

McCarthy. On March 4 (1:5) an article reported that Eisenhower had condemned McCarthy's methods, despite the fact that Eisenhower had not mentioned the Senator by name.⁹ On March 5 (1:5) a rather long article stated that an Eisenhower-McCarthy accord had not been reached. McCarthy was said to be expendable.¹⁰ A New York Times article mentioned on March 8 (1:3) criticized Eisenhower's inaction on the McCarthy issue.¹¹

Richard Nixon urged the use of "fair" methods in the fight against Communism in a March 15 (1:3) report. Although Nixon did not attack McCarthy by name, his speech contained many items which seemed to refer to McCarthy. The article had a subheading which shifted its focus from Nixon's speech to the Army-McCarthy dispute. It said that McCarthy sent a letter to Army Secretary Stevens concerning the Schine affair.¹² A May 30 (1:5) article noted that both Eisenhower and Attorney General Herbert Brownell were against McCarthy. Both men castigated McCarthy's network of informers.¹³

McCarthy was not one to take these attacks lying down. When attacked, he fought back. This too received press attention. On March 7, Adlai Stevenson gave a speech in Miami charging that the Republican Party was split between McCarthy and Eisenhower. McCarthy demanded free air time to respond to what he felt was an unwarranted criticism.¹⁴ A March 9 (1:7) item in Ha'Aretz noted that CBS ("Columbia") was the first network to

refuse McCarthy free radio and television time to answer these charges.

A March 11 (1:6) article reported McCarthy's attacks on Albert Einstein. Einstein's public condemnation of McCarthy's behavior caused the Senator to brand him a Communist sympathizer. The following day, an article (1:5) noted that "peace" had been achieved between McCarthy and U.S. Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson. The two were united in their attack on Communism. This appeared after a previously mentioned article predicting an investigation of Roy Cohn.¹⁵ A March 14 (1:6) article gave McCarthy's view of the disagreement between Eisenhower and himself. Immediately following this article, another article on McCarthyism appeared. In this one, Eisenhower decried the "Inquisition." It was noted that he omitted a direct reference to McCarthy, but his implication was clear.

In an April 15 (1:8) piece, McCarthy's attack on Robert Oppenheimer was reported in detail. McCarthy charged that Oppenheimer had allowed Communists to work on the atomic bomb project. On June 4 (1:4) an article noted that McCarthy was attacking the Army again. This time, he gave the names of 135 alleged Communists. On June 11 (1:3), McCarthy called upon all Americans to support him. He asked them to spend all their time investigating schools and universities. Their task, he said, was to report all Communists to the government.

McCarthy said that there were at least 25,000 Communists to be found.

McCarthy also devoted time to defending himself and enlisting support. On March 1 (1:5) there was a report concerning McCarthy's claim that he had Eisenhower's backing. The Senator argued that the inquiry into his behavior toward the army would be dropped.¹⁶ On March 10 (1:6), an article noted that McCarthy had met with Bernard Baruch. Although it was not known why they met, the fact of the meeting was significant.

There were other McCarthy articles in 1954 which didn't fall into a specific category. On March 18 (2:5), an article which contained Eisenhower's charge to the McCarthy committee appeared. Eisenhower advised the committee to judge wisely and carefully. On March 19 (1:5), Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson's response to McCarthy's charges that there were Communists in the Army was printed. A piece on June 8 (1:5) related the efforts of a group of people to establish a referendum on the recall of Senator McCarthy. However, this so-called "Joe Must Go" club failed to collect the needed signatures.¹⁷

Ha'Aretz also covered the problems of American Communists and American concerns. On April 20 (1:6), a report appeared on the security status of Robert Oppenheimer. Although the article noted the physicist's problems, it did not mention McCarthy's role in them.¹⁸

The Justice Department of the United States announced, in a May 30 (1:5) article, the arrest of seven Communist leaders. However, the article listed eight names: Simon Silverman, Elias Sid Taylor, Robert Elkins, Jacob Goldring, Joseph Dimow, Alfred Marder, Sidney Zussman Resnik and James Sherman Tate.

Finally, on June 2 (1:4), there was a lengthy report on a speech given to the Senate by Senator William Noland. In this speech, Noland detailed the Communist plan for world domination. Between 1954-1960, he predicted a series of Communist takeovers. Beginning with Indo-China, Formosa, Burma and Siam, the Communists would go on to conquer Indonesia, Japan and India. A second expansion phase would occur between 1960-1965. At this time the Communists would subjugate Africa and the Arab countries. An economic war against Europe and the West would follow. By 1973, World War III would be underway. This would pit the United States, Canada, and South America in a hopeless attack against the Communists.

Jerusalem Post

The Post's coverage of McCarthy in 1952, like that of Ha'Aretz, tended to concentrate on his role in the Presidential campaign. On October 29 (3:5) a report covered McCarthy's latest attack on Stevenson. McCarthy charged that Stevenson had the Communist Party's "complete

endorsement." Running short on time, McCarthy excised a section of the speech in which he said he would not label Stevenson a Communist or Pro-Communist. Many Eisenhower supporters were upset over this attack and as a result, disavowed McCarthy. Also on October 29 (3:6), there appeared an account of Truman's attack on the Republican Party. Truman condemned their tacit support of McCarthy and his tactics. He said that these tactics confused people, created fear and clouded the true campaign issues.

A November 14 (1:4) report noted that the United Nations was marking time until the results of the U.S. election. This article contained the sentence: "In spite of Senator McCarthy, the campaign has been relatively clean." On November 6 (1:4), the U.S. election results were reported. Most notable were upsets in several Senate elections. In the election piece, McCarthy was referred to as the "'Communist-baiter' from Wisconsin."

Also in 1952, several articles dealt with problems created by Senator McCarthy. A December 16 (3:6) report covered Truman's warnings of internal dangers to freedom. He noted that there were those who wanted the government to regulate the minds and spirits of its citizens. Although Truman didn't name names, he clearly implied McCarthy was behind this trend. On December 30 (1:8), a report said that McCarthy was seeking to investigate colleges in order to root out Communist thinkers. It

noted that McCarthy was about to become chairman of the Senate Investigations Committee.

In 1953, the Post continued to cover McCarthy's attacks. On April 2 (2:3), the resignation of Charles W. Thayer, a United States diplomat was reported. Thayer had authored books ridiculing Communism, and when McCarthy's committee called for a full investigation of his past, he resigned.

A June 15 (1:6) article noted that Eisenhower had said that you must know Communism in order to fight it. The same article reported McCarthy's latest charges against the State Department. He assailed the Department for using books by Communist authors in its propaganda drive (the Overseas Information Program). On June 29 (1:8), McCarthy's investigation of authors was covered. Ten unnamed writers were called before his committee to discuss the use of Communist authored works in the Overseas Information Program. On July 1 (3:7), an article reported Dr. Louis Harar's refusal to testify before HUAC. Dr. Harar, a writer, refused as a Jew and as an American. He stated that he had an obligation to refuse to cooperate with HUAC. Although McCarthy was not mentioned in the article, his involvement in the affair was apparent. July 5 (2:2) brought a report calling for a clear directive on "book burning" from President Eisenhower. Meanwhile the McCarthy committee called further witnesses and, in Hollywood, the Screen Actor's

Guild voted to bar Communists from membership.

McCarthy's attacks on the Army were printed on September 13 (3:6). He threatened to release Army secrets, stating that he would not allow the Army to hide Communist propaganda and related documents by labeling them "restricted." His committee, he said, had a large number of Army documents which were Communist inspired. On December 6 (3:6), an article reported on McCarthy's popular support. Of 4,346 telegrams received by the White House, 2,492 favored the Senator and only 1,354 were opposed to him.

As McCarthy's charges grew, so did the attacks on him. These attacks were well covered, as were McCarthy's constant counter charges. On May 15 (1:2), the paper reported an international dispute. Clement R. Attlee, director of Britain's foreign policy, in a speech before Britain's House of Commons, questioned United States policy. Attlee said that there was doubt whether it was made by Eisenhower or McCarthy. McCarthy responded that the charge was both cheap and unwarranted, and he demanded an apology. Attlee retorted that he didn't think anyone in Britain judged the U.S. by McCarthy's actions.

On May 19 (1:7), twelve Boston clergymen stated that they regretted McCarthy's cheap attack on Britain. McCarthy's ideas and tactics, they said, were un-American. At the same time, in New York, Reverend James Pike

denounced HUAC and its threatened investigation of Communists in religious groups.

On June 14 (3:5), the Post reported Albert Einstein's response to Congress' investigations. Einstein urged teachers to spurn "witchhunt" probes. He stated that he would refuse to testify before a Congressional committee and urged all intellectuals to do the same. McCarthy responded that anyone giving advice like Einstein's was "an enemy of the nation."

A July 6 (3:7) report contained U.S. church leaders' denial to another of McCarthy's attacks. In this instance, one of McCarthy's investigators had charged that Protestant clergy were the largest group in the U.S. which backed Communism.

On July 27 (3:8) the entry of Eisenhower's brother, Arthur Eisenhower, into the anti-McCarthy fight was reported. Arthur Eisenhower charged that McCarthy was similar to Hitler. In addition, his actions harmed the United States both domestically and abroad.

A September 18 (3:6) report dealt with charges HUAC made against Stephen Wise and Judah Magnes. The National Council of Churches condemned HUAC's action stating that it was a "reprehensible act" which violated the American tradition of fair play. Both of the slandered rabbis were dead and could not defend themselves against these charges. Also on September 18 (3:6), was an article noted a charge made by Harry T.

Madison, the National Commander of the Jewish War Veterans. Madison claimed that McCarthy was

needlessly complicating and endangering the fight against Communism through use of practices we condemn in totalitarian governments of both the left and right.

Harry Truman attacked McCarthy again in a November 18 (1:4) report. This time, Truman called McCarthyism a cancer consuming life in the United States. These charges were made in a nationwide television and radio broadcast. Truman ignored McCarthy personally and concentrated on the tactics which the Senator employed. McCarthyism, said Truman, denoted the "corruption of truth [and] the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play." Truman also attacked the Eisenhower administration for embracing McCarthyism in order to gain political advantage. Afterwards, McCarthy demanded free radio and television time to answer Truman's charges.

In 1954, the Jerusalem Post covered the beginnings of the Army-McCarthy conflict. On February 21 (1:2), McCarthy's ultimatum to the Army was noted. He demanded the names of all those involved in the promotion and honorable discharge of Mjr. Irving Peress. The Army rejected his demands. A February 22 (1:3) report gave a fuller response. The Secretary of the Army informed three officers that they could ignore McCarthy's summons. After this, a showdown seemed inevitable. On February 26 (1:2), it was reported that the Secretary of the Army requested Eisenhower's aid in opposing McCarthy.

Dr. Peress' response to McCarthy's harassment was detailed on March 2 (1:3). He claimed that his treatment was typical of what happened to McCarthy's innocent victims. Peress had been hounded and then abused by McCarthy. Following this, he began to receive unsigned anti-Semitic letters. In addition, he said that "Fascists" threw rocks through his windows.

On March 7 (1:4), the reaction of the "Army, Navy and Air Force Journal" to McCarthy's actions received press attention. The Journal called upon Eisenhower to defend servicemen from the abuses of McCarthy and his sub-committee. The time had come wrote the article's author to test Eisenhower's declaration that military leaders must not fall prey to party politics. On April 20 (3:7), the paper reported that a secret meeting was held during the Army-McCarthy probe. The meeting was called to settle preliminary arguments in the case. One argument involved the feeling of some sub-committee members that McCarthy should step down from his position as committee chairman.

Press coverage continued throughout the hearings. On September 3 (2:2), the sub-committee's report was printed. The sub-committee charged that McCarthy had failed to exercise adequate control over his staff. However, they also found that Army Secretary Stevens was guilty of administrative derelictions in his dealings with the Senator.

Throughout 1954, McCarthy's growing unpopularity was a continuing story. On January 18 (3:8), the Post reported the results of a recent Gallup Poll. This found that McCarthy was most unpopular among Jews.¹⁹

A February 28 (1:2) story dealt with an upcoming G.O.P. probe into Senate investigators. This probe by the Republican Senate Policy Committee would include a look into McCarthy's tactics.

On April 13 (1:4), Truman was once again on the attack, assailing "witch hunters" and "political bogey-men." He accused them of ignoring the lessons of history and making a mockery of the institutions which they sought to preserve. Although he did not specifically mention McCarthy, Truman said that there was one among the witch hunters who was extremely harmful to America. This person's charges, stated Truman, would damage America's faith in the integrity of the government, the army, the schools, the churches, the labor unions and the press. In addition, Truman said that this person cared nothing for the American traditions of law and order and fair play.

McCarthy's eroding position among Republicans was discussed in a September 20 (1:8) article which reported Senator Ralph Flanders' (R, Vermont) newest attack on the Senator. Flanders accused McCarthy of adopting Communist tactics and creating a new rule - guilt by association. He also condemned McCarthy for

hiring staff investigators of questionable ability.

A November 5 (1:6) report told of Democratic success in the Senate elections. The Democrats had regained control of the Congress and, as a result, McCarthy would lose his committee chairmanship. Finally, on December 3 (1:2), the paper reported on the Senator's 67-20 vote to censure McCarthy. McCarthy was absent during the voting, but he later stated that he would continue to investigate Communism.

Despite McCarthy's troubles, his attacks continued. In the autumn of 1954, as the censure movement grew, he became increasingly vocal. On October 6 (2:3) a report noted that Rabbi Benjamin Schultz called for a march in support of McCarthy. Rabbi Schultz was the executive director of the American Jewish League Against Communism.²⁰ On November 9 (1:2) an article reported that McCarthy attacked the censure charges, referring to them as "imbecilic." A November 24 (2:5) article expressed the fears that McCarthy would use a filibuster to halt or delay the censure.

After the Senate's censure of McCarthy, he called it a "circus," according to a December 5 (2:4) report. He said that the Senate session was a "lynch party." On December 8 (1:5), an article covered McCarthy's anti-Eisenhower Senate speech. In the speech, he denounced Eisenhower and apologized for supporting him in 1952. The White House had no immediate comment.

In 1954 the Post also covered the problems of the American Communist Party. On June 6 (3:6) they published a report of the five Communists who were jailed in Missouri. (The five were: William Sentner, Robert Manewitz, James Forest, Marcus Murphy, and Dorothy Forest.²¹) On April 6 (1:7), the first in a series of articles appeared on the move to outlaw the Communist Party. In this instance, Texas outlawed it. An August 15 (1:6) article reported that the United States Senate had banned the Communist Party. Eager to show their own dislike of Communism, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., MN.) and other Democrats sponsored the bill. Finally, on August 25 (1:6), the Post reported that Eisenhower had signed the bill, thus ending the legitimacy of the Communist Party in the U.S.

This was the extent of wire service coverage in the two papers. Every article in Ha'Aretz was examined. The Jerusalem Post articles were selected to give an overview of the main issues. The next chapter will examine the more detailed treatment of the analysis articles in the two papers.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS

The wire service articles in Ha'Aretz and the Jerusalem Post were supplemented by more in-depth articles. These articles provided background or analysis of the events in the headlines. They were usually written by the paper's correspondent in the U.S. In addition to background information, they often explained the idiosyncrasies of American politics in order to give Israeli readers a fuller understanding of events. These articles usually appeared in the expanded Friday edition of the papers. This chapter will look at a selection of analysis and background articles from the Post and all the articles that appeared in Ha'Aretz during the McCarthy period.

Ha'Aretz

In 1952, Ha'Aretz had two correspondents covering the American political scene. A. Galblum's (א. גלבלום) articles, datelined New York, were always labeled "especially for Ha'Aretz." His official title was "שליח 'הארץ' בארצות-הברית". The other correspondent, reporting from New York and Washington, was Edwin Ruth (אדווין רוט). His byline was undesignated. He may have been the additional reporter whom Ha'Aretz sent to cover

the American elections.¹

Most analyses of American politics during the autumn of 1952 dealt with the Presidential campaign. McCarthy, for the most part, was a footnote to the campaign itself.

On October 17 (1:4), Galblum wrote about the campaign. He noted that Israelis were actively interested in the American elections. At a Madison Square Garden Assembly, Galblum reported, Eisenhower said that he supported Israel. Unfortunately, he also supported Senator McCarthy. The article went on to say that the candidate's support for McCarthy disappointed the New York Times. In addition, it upset the Jews, the majority of whom were Democrats. Galblum noted that despite this, "this time many of them [the Jews] will vote in favor of the Republicans - mainly for reasons of local concerns and economic [ones]. . ." These cross-over voters were also motivated by the Republican's stand on racial discrimination which tended to be "more defined and vehement" than that of the Democrats.

On October 18, Galblum filed another article on the campaign. This article, printed on October 19 (1:7), covered Truman's latest attack on General Eisenhower. Truman accused Eisenhower of being anti-Semitic. Truman's proof was Eisenhower's association with "Nixon, McCarthy and other reactionaries" who supported the McCarran Act. Eisenhower responded by denying the

charges and reaffirming his support of Israel.

Galblum's election coverage was picked up again on November 3 (1:4). This article reported that 70% of American Jews supported Stevenson, with only 30% favoring Eisenhower. Writing about the McCarthy campaign, he noted that four Jews were playing key roles in the campaign. Steve Miller was the head of "McCarthy clubs" in Wisconsin. Mr. Packman, (JKDPKD) another direct supporter of McCarthy, was described as "the working editor of Milwaukee's second daily paper," presumably the Milwaukee Sentinel.

Bayley, in Joe McCarthy and the Press, deals with the manner in which Wisconsin papers covered McCarthy during the week preceding the 1952 elections.² He notes that the Milwaukee Sentinel endorsed McCarthy and ignored his opponent. The Sentinel printed nine stories favorable to McCarthy and two which were critical of his methods during the campaign's last week.³ In contrast, the Milwaukee Journal endorsed McCarthy's opponent Mr. Fairchild. But as a result of McCarthy's campaign methods, he received a great deal of coverage in this paper as well. In the last week of the campaign, the Journal printed four stories favorable to Fairchild, nine stories favorable to McCarthy and 22 which were critical of the Senator. Mr. Packman's support for McCarthy is reflected in the Sentinel's more positive coverage.

In addition to Miller and Packman, Mr. Charles Ashley was also a Jewish supporter of McCarthy. He headed Milwaukee's Republican Party. Finally, Galblum noted that Senator Gittleman (גיטלסמן), a Jewish Republican State Senator from Wisconsin, although strongly against McCarthy, had withdrawn his opposition. This withdrawal was attributed to Eisenhower's support for McCarthy. Despite these Jews who were favorable to McCarthy, Galblum wrote that there was "little doubt that McCarthy will get only a few Jewish votes." In addition, the rabbis of Milwaukee congregations spoke out against McCarthy's candidacy, specifically mentioning the charges of anti-Semitism which had been directed at the Senator.

An article by Edwin Ruth on November 5 (2:3) covered the areas of disagreement between the Eisenhower and Stevenson campaigns. Their political positions on the Communism issue were similar but their methods differed. Stevenson decried Communism saying: "Communist movements are like hidden snakes. Professional people must guess when they will bite." However he labeled McCarthy and his methods as "dangerous." Eisenhower also condemned Communism, but supported Senators McCarthy and Jenner whose careers were based on an anti-Communist demagoguery.

Another article by Mr. Ruth appeared in the November 7 (2:3) issue of Ha'Aretz. In this article, he dealt with McCarthy's famous anti-Stevenson speech

of October 27, 1952. This speech, given one week before the election, was broadcast over national radio and television. In Hebrew it is referred to as an "extensive broadcast." The broadcast reportedly cost \$80,000, and was paid for by a "private source."

In this speech, McCarthy alleged that Stevenson had pro-Communist sympathies. Additionally, said McCarthy, Stevenson advisors Wilson Wyatt, Arthur Schlesinger and Archibald MacLeish were Communist. McCarthy also charged Stevenson with having strong ties to Alger Hiss. In the course of his speech, he even referred to Stevenson as "Alger. . . sorry, I mean Adlai."

Ruth's article also gave the reasons for Eisenhower's success in the elections. One reason, said Ruth, was the general's anti-Communist stand. The other major reason for his success was the perception that, in regard to Korea, Eisenhower could "handle Soviet Russia" and could successfully conclude the war.

The two American correspondents also sent articles to Ha'Aretz which dealt with Communism in the United States. On September 24 (2:9) in a daily column entitled "Seen and Heard" (ראינו ושמענו), preceded by the words "The American correspondent for Ha'Aretz writes me," there was a report on a new American sport. This sport was psychological baiting by the Communists. The report notes that James Forrestal, the former

United States Secretary of Defense had been hounded by Reds. During Forrestal's illness in 1949 Communists said "The state will fall as did Forrestal." They mailed unsigned letters to him, and made anonymous telephone calls to taunt him, calling him "tightfisted" (תַּיִפֵּס). The reporter implied that James Forrestal had been harassed to death.

An un-bylined special report to Ha'Aretz printed on November 24 (1:5) accused Abba Hillel Silver of being a Communist. The charge was that "he undermines the opponents of Communism." The source of this accusation was Arthur Kohlberg, chairman of the "American Jewish League Against Communism." The report describes Kohlberg as being "connected with Senator McCarthy." It continued "this is not the first time Silver has been accused of Communist decadence." Previously the Forward, the mouth-piece for the Jewish worker movement with Po'ali Zion connections, had made these accusations.

In 1954, Ha'Aretz still had two correspondents filing reports on McCarthy's actions. Ha'Aretz's American correspondent, was Elijah Selfter (אליהו סלפטר) and their other by-lined reporter was Alf Sherman (אלף שרמן). Both men wrote about the Army-McCarthy hearings. They gave background information on the conflict which enabled Israeli readers to understand the front page wire service articles.

On March 19 (5:1), Ha'Aretz printed an extremely

detailed article by Selfter. This article discussed the major issues and events leading to the Army-McCarthy conflict. It covered the bottom third of the page for all nine columns and was carried on to the next page for an additional two columns.

The piece recounted Dr. Peress' promotion and discharge. It also covered Senator McCarthy's complaints that there were 2,000 Communists or fellow-travelers in the government, and that General Zwicker had not proven his loyalty. The paper described Zwicker as "the general who was not seen wearing army fatigues," implying that Zwicker did not belong in the army. Zwicker's official support was not strong enough to stop McCarthy, and the Republican party was split over the Senator's behavior.

According to the article, Robert Stevens, the Secretary of the Army's response to McCarthy's probe was an "unconditional surrender." Although he initially protested McCarthy's actions and threatened to resign if the Senator persisted, Stevens ultimately capitulated. Eisenhower, noted the reporter, also reacted to the McCarthy probe. He announced that army officers could not be compelled to testify before the Senator's subcommittee. He ordered McCarthy to refrain from harassing the army.

The article also noted McCarthy's investigation of Mrs. Annie Lee Moss. McCarthy charged Mrs. Moss with

passing secrets to the Communists. But Mrs. Moss, a woman who operated a code machine in the Pentagon, had no access to secret material and knew nothing about Communism. In the course of their questioning, the Committee learned that there were several other women named Annie Lee Moss in the Washington area. The Moss hearings made the committee look foolish and ill-prepared.⁴

On Friday, March 26 (5:1) Ha'Aretz printed another long background article on McCarthy. This article, by Alf Sherman, investigated the sources of McCarthy's power and support. McCarthy's power, he wrote, was largely due to his grass-roots support, especially from laborers (עבודת ידים). The Republican party also contributed to his strength. Due to his popular support, McCarthy was allowed freedom to operate as he wished within the party. Many Republicans also believed that McCarthy was responsible for the election of eight Republican senators in 1952.

Although McCarthy's grass-roots support remained strong, Sherman speculated that his overall power was weakening. The CBS network refused his demand for free air time to rebut Adlai Stevenson whereas they had previously acceded to his demands. An article in the Encyclopedia Britanica compared McCarthy to Hitler. Most important the East Coast papers, which had previously been against McCarthy, increased their criticism of the Senator and his methods. Among the critical press were

the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the New York Post and the news magazines Time and Newsweek.

The article also examined the reasons why Americans supported McCarthy. McCarthy's actions appealed to those people who were concerned with national security. He used fears, which he had helped create, as a means to increase his support. He made Americans fear intellectuals because he linked them with the Communist Party. He attempted to scare people, including the liberal Jewish community of New York, by invoking the Prague Trials and the Russian doctor's trials, and by implying that they would occur here if the Communist Party grew strong. Because of these threats, argued McCarthy, "[America's] economic and military power should be second to none."

McCarthy created additional fears in the minds of Americans. America had become a mobile society. People were living in new communities; few lived where they had been born. Many of the old bonds were broken and one of the few remaining ones was that of patriotism. McCarthy played upon the fear that this remaining bond could be lost.

The Senator also scared people by invoking America's high standard of living. America's wealth gave the people a sense of security; but the Communist Party, claimed McCarthy, was a clear threat to the standard of living.

McCarthy created a new equation in American life.

The Democrat party, he said, was against freedom. Its left wing had been infiltrated by the Communists. Liberals were also dangerous. The only way to be a true patriot was to be a Right Wing Republican.

Given this equation, why was McCarthy's support in danger? Sherman explained that McCarthy's failing was his rigidity. He was so convinced of his own rightness, he refused to hear any criticism. This ultimately created an unfavorable impression of him to many Americans. He was viewed as fanatic and he was unable to overcome this image.

The final background article in Ha'Aretz was by Selfter on April 2 (5:1). This piece was dated March 14 and dealt in detail with the events of March 6-13. It was headlined "Misters Schine, Cohn and McCarthy."

Beginning: "the past eight days have been the worst for McCarthy since he began his career as the biggest American Inquisitor," Selfter described the conflict by dividing his article into days and events. On Saturday evening, March 6, Adlai Stevenson gave a speech. In this speech, broadcast by radio and television to the entire country, Stevenson criticized Eisenhower and condemned McCarthy. He stated that Eisenhower's foreign policy was misguided. All of the government's energy was wasted on criticizing Communist governments. Stevenson felt that the outcome of this position would be a third world war. He then "dedicated" the second

part of his speech to Senator McCarthy. He said that Eisenhower was weak and spineless when it came to McCarthy. McCarthy's conflict with Army Secretary Stevens had, he said, split the Republican party so that it was half Eisenhower's and half McCarthy's. Selfter stated, "he criticized McCarthy in a fashion that was too much for a person to take - even McCarthy."

McCarthy responded to Stevenson on Sunday, March 7. He requested free air time from NBC and CBS "so that I can answer his [Stevenson's] unfair attack on me." Selfter explained this request to his Israeli audience. He noted that although radio and television stations are private in the United States, they must be licensed by the government Federal Communications Commission. The FCC had a fairness rule in regard to political matters which required the granting of equal time to opposing groups. McCarthy had taken advantage of this rule in the past. For example, when Harry Truman had made a 20 minute speech in which he attacked McCarthyism, McCarthy received 30 minutes of free time to rebut Truman. McCarthy had every expectation that his request would be granted this time as well.

On Monday, March 8, McCarthy continued his demands. But the networks decided to offer free response time to the Republican Party rather than to McCarthy. The party decided that Vice-President Richard Nixon should respond to Stevenson's charges.

Selfter continued by reporting that McCarthy was stunned by "two explosions" on Tuesday, March 9. The first was a Senate speech given by Republican Senator Ralph Flanders. This was the "strongest speech ever given in the Senate against McCarthy." Flanders accused McCarthy of trying to form his own Republican party. On this same day, Edward R. Murrow's first anti-McCarthy program was broadcast. Selfter described Murrow as a television journalist whose "See It Now" program attracted a wide audience. Murrow criticized Senator McCarthy by showing film footage of the Senator in action. Murrow condemned McCarthy for concentrating on "internal [Communism] at the expense of external Communism." This program elicited tremendous response with mail running 2:1 against McCarthy.

Thursday, March 11, the "big explosion" of the week occurred. McCarthy appeared on the Fulton Lewis radio program and responded to charges against him. But this spot could not make up the other events of the day. McCarthy's committee investigated Mrs. Annie Lee Moss on charges of Communism. Her denials were so strong and her ignorance about Communism was so real that McCarthy's committee was dealt a serious blow. McCarthy and chief counsel Roy Cohn came out looking like fools. Also on this day the Army released its charges against McCarthy. The Army recounted the events which transpired after David Schine was drafted in July 1953. Cohn

continually pressured the Army to give Schine special treatment. During basic training Schine was given unprecedented privileges. He received 16 passes and 250 phone calls. He often missed training sessions. Cohn allegedly threatened to "get the Army" if his requests were ignored.

McCarthy used his radio appearance on this day to attack Edward Murrow. He charged that Murrow had Communist connections due to his participation in the Institute of International Education. This was an advisory group which dealt with United States - Russian relations. However, McCarthy's charges were lost among the day's other events.

By Friday, March 12, it was clear that hearings were needed to resolve the conflict. McCarthy was called upon to halt his investigations and his outrages against the Army.

Saturday evening, March 13, one week after Stevenson's speech, Nixon replied to Stevenson's charges. He refuted Stevenson by stating that the administration's foreign policy was acceptable and that the likelihood of World War III was incorrect.

Selfter concluded by noting McCarthy's popular support according to the Gallup Polls. Three polls were cited; August 1953, January 1954 and early March 1954. The figures follow:

	Aug. 1953	Jan. 1954	Early March
For	34%	50%	46%
Against	42%	29%	36%
Without Opinion	24%	21%	18%

As Selfter said, there is "no doubt that McCarthy has fallen in the eyes of the American public. The only question is to what level and in how much time."

Selfter also indicated the Gallup findings concerning McCarthy's support among members of major religious affiliations. These figures were from the latest poll (early March). Among the Catholics who were surveyed, 56% favored McCarthy and 29% were against him. Among Protestants 45% were for and 36% against. Among Jews 12% were pro-McCarthy and 83% were against him. Selfter stated that this poll indicated "that the Jews continue to be the most strongly opposed to McCarthy."

The trend reflected in the Gallup polls continued. An April 6 poll (taken four days after the publication of this article) shows 31% favorable, 46% unfavorable and 19% without opinion.⁵ Of those with positive views, 28% were Catholic, 68% were Protestant and 1% was Jewish. Of those opposed to McCarthy, 20% were Catholic, 71% were Protestant and 5% were Jewish.⁶

Finally, the June 25 (4:3) edition of Ha'Aretz included a section on McCarthy in the "Foreign Press Report." The three sources chosen for the section were

all anti-McCarthy. Time magazine was quoted stating that Democrat Sen. Symington felt McCarthy's army attack would prove fatal. The Economist of London wrote that McCarthy was lying in order to save his position. Lastly, the New York Times quoted Sen. Noland saying that McCarthy was destroying the Republican Party. The Senator's actions, according to Noland, made the party look foolish and caused irreversible harm. In addition, McCarthy was damaging the Senate as a whole. However, his actions, most of all, were self-defeating because people were beginning to perceive the lack of intelligence underlying the entire affair.

The Jerusalem Post

In 1952, there were two reporters supplying the Post with articles on American politics. Alastair Buchan was an independent reporter. His articles came through the OFNS wire service. Jesse Zel Lurie was the Jerusalem Post's American correspondent.

On September 18 (4:2), there was an article by Buchan reporting on the American presidential campaign. In the article McCarthy was referred to as "the notorious leader of anti-Communist witch hunts. . ." Buchan went on to explain that Eisenhower ". . .inevitably, . . .has to keep fairly unsavory company [McCarthy]. . ." in order to obtain votes needed to win.

Jesse Zel Lurie had a campaign analysis printed on

October 9 (4:2). In this report he noted that the G.O.P. was raging at America's "Red menace." They were "clutching at every Communist straw in the wind," and constantly "frothing in outrageous indignation over Communist infiltration."

The campaign itself had degenerated into one of wild words, half-truths and name-calling. In addition, there was a constant spate of charges, counter-charges and denials.

The most recent "Communist Straw" in the campaign was the "Smith furor." This uproar began when General William Smith, during the McCarthy-Benton libel suit, mentioned the large number of Communists in the State Department.⁷

On November 5 (1:8), Lurie had another analysis of the elections. This article was filed on November 4 - election day. Lurie wrote that the outcome of the presidential race made little difference to the congressional races. If Eisenhower won, he would be working with a "reactionary Congress." If Eisenhower lost, the "fascization of the Republican party" would result. This would lead to Senator McCarthy or someone similar to him as the presidential candidate in 1956.

In 1953, the Post continued printing articles by Alastair Buchan. Jesse Zel Lurie remained the American correspondent. Other bylined articles on McCarthy and McCarthyism also appeared. One was written by Maurice

M. Shudovsky a writer from McCarthy's home state of Wisconsin. Virginia Cowles, whose work was distributed by OFNS, was another independent reporter who had an article picked up by the Post. The final Post American reporter in 1953 was bylined as "A Special Correspondent." His articles were datelined New York. It seems likely, given the content of his reports, that this correspondent was an American Jew wishing to maintain his anonymity during the turbulent times.

Many of the articles in 1953 dealt with political aspects of McCarthy and McCarthyism. On January 29 (4:2) Buchan wrote about the morals of witch hunting. He referred to these methods as both doubtful and objectionable. McCarthy's tactics included the use of wild accusations used to defame innocent people. Unfortunately McCarthy's colleagues did not have the courage to discipline him. This, along with his position of parliamentary immunity, protected him. His actions "made a judicious approach to questions of loyalty and subversion well-nigh impossible."

An April 5 (4:2) article, marked only "copyright," dealt with McCarthy's power. It noted that he was not only against Communists but also against homosexuals. The State Department, claimed the Senator, was "full of Communists and queers." It was thought that these exaggerated claims of McCarthy might eventually aid the Communists.

McCarthyism was described as demagoguery. In fact, it had much in common with Hitler's techniques, as the Nazis had begun by ranting against Communists and Jews.

Lurie had an article published on April 30 (5:8). This article, written on April 24 in New York, stated that Eisenhower and Taft were "mollycoddling" McCarthy. Although Eisenhower was elected to end McCarthyism, according to Eisenhower's liberal backers, he was now calling the Senator a "valued member of the Republican machine."

This support did not make mention of McCarthy's vulnerability. Lurie reported that if Eisenhower and Taft wished to, they could reduce Senate support of McCarthy on two counts. McCarthy had been using contributions sent to aid in his fight against Communism to speculate on the commodities market. In addition, his Communist witch-hunting could be exposed as a publicity stunt.

Eisenhower and Taft's refusal to stop McCarthy was due to the Senator's role in the 1954 elections. Several "hard core liberals" such as Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota were up for reelection. McCarthy would be used against them by attracting a "know-nothing vote" which could swing a close election. The danger in using McCarthy was that his power would increase and he might then turn on Taft and Eisenhower. However, this was a

risk Taft and Eisenhower were prepared to take.

On July 28 (4:5) the Post printed an article by Maurice M. Shudovsky. Shudovsky explained the article this way: "During the past five weeks Europeans and Israelis have constantly been needling me to explain what makes this rough tough unscrupulous Joe tick?"

Shudovsky attributed McCarthy's success to the fact that McCarthy had struck "political 'pay-dirt'." McCarthy capitalized on Americans' fears and exploited their legitimate concerns. His supporters were disenchanted with the Korean War and many of them distrusted foreigners.

McCarthy's technique was to simplify everything to a common denominator. He avoided all complexities; for example, the U.S. consisted of two groups: good guys and Communists. Such simplifications were sensationalistic and headline-grabbing. Moreover, McCarthy was protected by congressional immunity since his charges were made from the Senate floor. The result, according to Shudovsky, was that "little by little McCarthy is becoming the most powerful single figure in the U.S."

However, Shudovsky stated, McCarthy's ability was only middling. He did not have a real future. "Eventually McCarthy will go the way of all panacea pedlars who have tried to bamboozle the people during periods of great stress."

On November 12 (3:6), Lurie had an article on the

Republican victory in a California by-election. This victory strengthened the position of McCarthyites. Using the successful results of the election, they claimed that the only way to win was to raise the Communist bogey.

Lurie also indicated the growing power of HUAC. In their continuing search for Communists in the government, they had subpoenaed former-President Harry Truman.

A December 29 (4:2) article by Virginia Cowles dealt with McCarthyism's transformation of the United States. She noted that McCarthyism threatened to divide the country over the issue of individual rights. Many telephones were tapped and people were carefully watching their words.

McCarthy's support came from the average Mid-Westerner. These people feared Communism. They felt that war with Russia was inevitable and that the early stages had begun. The stories of Communists in U.S. government positions kept these fears at a fever pitch.

The Congressional investigation committees were designed to gather information in order to help pass new laws. Instead several of them hunted Communists. Their view was that: "Communists must be determined by their utterances, their associations, and their friends." The committees created a system of denunciation under which people were condemned for their opinions rather than their actions. For example, HUAC's subversive files had over a million names, records and dossiers. Many of

these names came off letterheads or were people who had been favorably mentioned in The Daily Worker. Additional names were those of people who had criticized the committee. When these people were subpoenaed, they were not given the right to cross examine witnesses against them. Often there were no witnesses at all. This process tended to destroy the reputations of those who came before the committee.

In addition to the political ramifications of McCarthyism, the effect on the religious community was covered. On July 20 (4:5), "A Special Correspondent" writing from New York discussed the feelings of U.S. rabbis toward McCarthyism. At their annual convention, the Central Conference of American Rabbis attacked McCarthy's tactics. The Rabbinic Assembly called on Eisenhower to repudiate both McCarthy and his tactics.

The Chicago Tribune countered the Rabbinic Assembly in an editorial. The piece noted that McCarthy was highly regarded by Americans, especially those who were Catholics. The "unfair denunciation" by the Rabbinic Assembly would result in misunderstanding and ill-will.

On September 15 (1:4), this same correspondent wrote about HUAC's latest smears. The committee had released the testimony of Benjamin Gitlow, an ex-Communist official. Gitlow charged that Stephen S. Wise and Judah Magnes had carried out Communist Party instructions. The Jewish community was shocked by this

allegation. Dr. Israel Goldstein and Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath denounced the charges. They asserted that the charges were nothing more than character assassination.

In 1954, Alastair Buchan, Jesse Zel Lurie and "a special correspondent" continued to write for the Post. In addition, Dr. Jacob Shohan, an American living in Tel Aviv, wrote a letter to the editor on McCarthyism.

Dr. Shohan's letter, dated December 29, 1953, was printed on January 5 (4:6). He wrote in response to Virginia Cowles' article of December 29, 1953.⁸

Shohan claimed that most Americans would rather suffer the evils of McCarthyism than ignore the true problems. In her analysis, argues Shohan, Cowles did not mention the Hisses and Rosenbergs nor did she mention that liberals had, in part, created the present situation.

The truth, according to Shohan, was that all Communists were ready to sell out their country in the interest of the U.S.S.R. It was far better to have a few innocent people hurt than to allow the United States to become another Czechoslovakia. Cowles' problem was that she suffered from "anti-hysteria hysteria."

On May 26 (4:1), the Jerusalem Post printed its only editorial on McCarthy entitled "McCarthyism On Trial." It noted that the Army-McCarthy hearings had focused world attention on McCarthy. McCarthy had made himself representative of one face of America; everyone was aware of what he symbolized. The Senator had also

crystalized American opinion, it seemed as if no one neutral was left in the country. McCarthy's challenge to the President, along with his baiting the Army had caught the country's attention.

McCarthy was now faced with an all or nothing situation. If Eisenhower's response was weak, McCarthy won all. He would be the top Republican and the way to the White House would be open to him. But, if Eisenhower's response was strong, McCarthy would lose. He would return to obscurity on a wave of public revulsion.

The new opportunities people had had to see McCarthy at work caused the growth of anti-McCarthy feeling. His detractors felt that McCarthy had caused "something inherently American, democratic and ethical" to be lost. This belief hardened their feelings against the Senator.

Although the ultimate result of the hearings could not be forecast, the Post expressed the fear that McCarthy would transfer blame to Cohn and Schine. Then, they would become the villains of the affair. The Post stated: "If the American Jewish community will not reap a rich dividend of increased anti-Semitism from the unsavory business it will be only because the whole sorry chapter will be enough to create a general revulsion in favour of the wholesome values which, even if very temporarily obscured, are paramount in American life."

Jesse Zel Lurie wrote a report on the Army's response to McCarthy's pressure on March 18. It was

printed on March 25 (4:2). In this article, Lurie gave the background of the conflict. On November 24, 1953, McCarthy had used free air time to attack the Eisenhower Administration. He "declared war" on the President. The Administration response was to ignore McCarthy's long-range intentions and to continue to use him as a Republican spokesman. Then McCarthy attacked the Army. Secretary of the Army Stevens' "surrender" to McCarthy became the Senator's undoing. Lurie referred to it as the Senator's "Munich." Public opinion turned and the Senator's popularity began to wane.

The Army retaliated against McCarthy and fought dirt with dirt. McCarthy and Cohn charged that the Army was trying to smear them. Cohn then claimed that the Army had offered him a deal. He said that the Army had promised to give him information about an Air Force base of homosexuals if McCarthy would back down.

The Army claimed that it had a great deal of information which would be harmful to McCarthy, but they censored much of it. For example, the Army held back the implication of an "unnatural association" between Cohn and Schine or Cohn and McCarthy or both. The Army also withheld information on the financial connections between Schine and Cohn. According to Joseph and Stewart Alsop, two American newspaper columnists, this information would serve as the Army's second firing line if they needed one.

On June 9 (4:5), Buchan filed an article on the continuation of the hearings. He noted that McCarthy was losing support. The Senator had challenged the Administration by using information from documents which had been leaked to him. The Administration stated that it was illegal for McCarthy to possess these documents and no one, not even a U.S. Senator, was above the law. McCarthy counter-claimed that as a Senator in charge of a committee on investigations, it was his duty to give Americans a clear picture of their government. If this required him to use leaked documents, he would.

Meanwhile, McCarthy's public support was diminishing. The Republican Party was deeply split over the issue. The hearings were televised and McCarthy was not coming off well.

In addition to the Army-McCarthy hearings, McCarthy's battles with President Eisenhower and other Republican Party members were widely analysed in 1954. On January 8 (5:4), Buchan wrote an article on the problem. He explained that Eisenhower's style of leadership was comparable to a constitutional monarchy. Eisenhower diminished the power of the Executive Branch by frequently deferring to Congress. However, Congress did not do much with their added power. Their recent legislative record was abysmal and they allowed McCarthy virtually free rein to do as he wished. This changed in December 1953 when, in defiance of McCarthy, Congress

supported John Foster Dulles. In addition, Eisenhower decided at this time to place himself prominently in the headlines so that there would be no room for McCarthy.

As for McCarthy's influence, Buchan stated: "outside Washington and New York, where most of its victims live, McCarthyism is far less discussed than in most foreign cities and newspapers." As for McCarthy himself Buchan wrote: "In a sense, McCarthy is only a particularly unscrupulous and evil manifestation of the American sense of frustration with the intractability of world affairs."

In a January 22 (5:6) article, Buchan noted that Congress was curbing McCarthy. This was due, in part, to political rivalry. McCarthy was irritating his fellow Senators. He was infringing on the domains of the Foreign Relations Committee and the Armed Services Committee among others. McCarthy's disrepute was also spreading and threatening to taint the entire Congress and its investigating process.

The administration was concerned over McCarthy's actions since their political implications were a threat. McCarthy alone took credit for his accomplishments, but his failures were shared by the entire party. Now that McCarthy was seriously hurting the party, the administration offered him a deal. They would cooperate with issues which were legitimately under his jurisdiction if he would forego headline hunting. McCarthy declined

the offer.

On February 26 (4:2), Lurie wrote that Eisenhower was helpless before McCarthy's onslaught. Four years had passed since McCarthy's famous West Virginia speech and in recent weeks, the Senator was overshadowing the President in news coverage.

Buchan analyzed McCarthy's latest challenge to the President on March 17 (4:2). McCarthy's attempts to control the Army were labeled the most serious challenge to a President's leadership in many years. McCarthy's assault had dominated both the Washington and the national press. Although he had outmaneuvered Army Secretary Stevens, McCarthy had not anticipated the negative press reaction which followed. However the Army was greatly respected and, for example, McCarthy lost the support of the powerful Chicago Tribune. Columnist Walter Lipmann called this the "parting of the ways." The Alsop brothers compared McCarthy to Britain's Neville Chamberlain who thought he could strike a bargain with Hitler.

That Eisenhower still had not joined the McCarthy battle was viewed as weakness on his part. Dulles, who had spoken out, was perceived as being more courageous than the President. However, a Republican party policy change was evident in the decision to have Nixon rather than McCarthy respond to Adlai Stevenson's charges.

On October 4 (4:2) Buchan reported on the report

of the Watkins Committee. The Committee stated that McCarthy's conduct was a blow to his reputation and standing. The investigation covered more than 40 charges in five general categories. They recommended censure on two counts: McCarthy's refusal to supply information to the Senate Committee on Privilege and Elections and the Senator's abuse of General Zwicker.

The authors of the Committee report were highly conservative Senators. Their report was balanced, fair and "downright charitable" to McCarthy. Yet the fact that this group recommended censure was a blow that the Senator could not overcome.

On December 8 (4:2), Buchan wrote that the gap between Eisenhower and the Republican Party's right wing had grown. The Senate debate on McCarthy had been wearisome and unprofitable. It served to reaffirm McCarthy's self-proclaimed role as a martyr for the reactionary right.

Buchan also analyzed the sources of McCarthy's support and power in early 1954. On February 24 (4:2) he wrote about the men behind McCarthy. He speculated on whether McCarthy's power was waxing or waning. Buchan gave evidence for both. Although McCarthy had been quieter and more circumspect in the past few months, he was presently on a speaking tour for the Republican Party. A public opinion poll taken during the first week of January showed that only 24% of those polled felt that

McCarthy's actions were helping American foreign relations. Forty-one percent felt that the Senator's actions were harmful.

Where did McCarthy's support originate? Buchan stated that the strongest support came from the German population of McCarthy's home state of Wisconsin and the Irish-Catholic people of Massachusetts. His appeal with the latter was due to his position on restricting British trade with China. The Senator also appealed to the "very new very rich" in Texas and the Southwest, for they found no "satisfaction in the cautious conservatism of Eisenhower."

McCarthy's support also came from isolationists and ultra-conservatives. The middle-aged and elderly people who grew up in a less complex America also supported him. These men and women lacked foreign contacts and were uncomfortable with the idea that the U.S. had become the leader of the free world. McCarthy played to their fears and their longing for their old way of life.

On April 4 (4:2), Buchan investigated McCarthy's strength in the Midwest. By following McCarthy on a speaking tour, Buchan developed a first hand understanding of the Senator's charisma. In fact, Buchan said many people followed McCarthy because of his personal magnetism rather than the issues he espoused. The Senator implied that Washington was Un-American. His courage in expressing this, he suggested, had endangered

his life. In this way, he created a fund of sympathy and publicity.

McCarthy, however, was losing some support in the Midwest. The Republican Party officials in Minnesota and Iowa did not view the Senator as an asset. The Milwaukee Journal which had been constantly against McCarthy published an anti-McCarthy editorial. And for the first time, there were no abusive or threatening letters and calls from the Senator's supporters.

The weakening of McCarthy's position was also reflected in the outcome of the 1954 elections. On June 24 (4:2), Jesse Zel Lurie reported on the California primary elections. Senator Jack Tunney, for eight years chairman of the Senate's Un-American Activities Committee, lost his re-election bid. In the past, Tunney's findings had been quoted regularly by McCarthy.

Lurie again reported on American primary elections on September 30 (4:2). He noted that the Republicans were now on the defensive. There were election setbacks in Maine and in Wisconsin where two McCarthy supporters were defeated.

On October 29 (5:1), Buchan reported that the Democrats were leading in the election campaign. In the Midwest, the Illinois Senate incumbent was a McCarthy foe. In Massachusetts, the incumbent was a liberal Republican who had failed to stand up to McCarthy. The Party decided not to use McCarthy to influence the Irish

vote. New Jersey was the only place where McCarthy was used in the Senate race. The Senator spoke against the liberal Republican candidate, Clifford Case. McCarthy stated that Case's sister had been a Communist.

On November 12 (4:2), Lurie reported the results of the U.S. elections. He wrote that "eggheads" had swung the elections. The intellectuals in the U.S. had voted across party lines for the more liberal candidates. Lurie noted that McCarthy's only campaign role had been to smear the New Jersey Senate candidate.

In Wisconsin, the anti-McCarthy candidates won. As for McCarthy, he was now certain to be censured. Although his Senate seat was secure until 1958, his personal future was in doubt. As the article concluded, "he couldn't be elected dog-catcher in Wisconsin today."

CONCLUSION

The most obvious question to ask in conclusion is - why did Joe McCarthy receive so much Israeli press coverage? What was it that made this United States Senator, concerned almost solely with internal American events, a force that compelled a foreign newspaper to cover him on its front page?

I believe that there are several answers. Israel, in the early 1950's, was establishing her national identity. One of her allies was the United States. Although never explicitly stated, Israelis were concerned that internal American politics could affect foreign relations. If a conservative, isolationist, strongly anti-Communist group gained power, America could turn away from foreign allies, especially those that were liberal and socialist. This possibility necessitated keeping an eye on the American political scene.

Another major reason for Israeli press coverage was the preponderance of Jews in the Communist movement. The cases of the Hollywood Nineteen and the Rosenbergs had strong Jewish elements and, as the newspaper articles show, other prominent Jews were accused of Communist sympathies and leanings. Also, when friends of Israel, men like Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi

Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Judah Magnes or Albert Einstein were branded "Fellow-Travelers," it was a natural news item.

Since the Jews were the tonal element of American Communism, they were, proportionally, more threatened by McCarthyism than were other groups. This was reflected in the amount of Israeli press attention. The Jerusalem Post editorial of 26 May 1954 specifically noted this connection when it spoke of the "rich dividend of increased anti-Semitism" which could be expected to arise from McCarthy's actions.

Finally, I believe that there was a connection in the Israeli mind between events in Europe and those in America. Although it was Communist governments in Prague and Russia who were attacking Jews and an anti-Communist movement doing so in the United States, the patterns of repression were similar. Coming so soon after the Holocaust, which began with rhetoric against Communists and Jews, the Israeli press was sensitive to all attacks on Jews. For all of these reasons, Joseph McCarthy and his actions became, for a time, front page news in Israel.

APPENDIX A

COVERAGE IN THREE PAPERS

This Appendix shows the total amount of press coverage of Joseph McCarthy and McCarthyism in three major newspapers. The information for the New York Times coverage came from the New York Times Index for the years 1950-1954. To find the articles, I looked under the headings "McCarthy, (Sen.) Joseph R.," "McCarthyism," "U.S. - Politics and Government - Communism Issue" and "U.S. - State Department - Loyalty and Security."

Information for the Ha'Aretz and Jerusalem Post charts was obtained by reading through the microfilmed editions of the papers.

The charts use the following symbols:

- S - McCarthy's State Department accusations
- P - McCarthy and party politics, or McCarthyism
- o - McCarthy mentioned in State Department article
(not as the major focus)
- * - Article concerning McCarthy's personal life
- x - Article which mentions McCarthy (not as the main focus)
- A - The Army-McCarthy conflict
- ph - Photo (Jerusalem Post only)

- C - Communism in America (Israeli press only)
- H - HUAC (Israeli press only)
- i - McCarthy is implied but not named (Israeli press only)
- tr - Translation of foreign press (Hebrew only)

Each symbol refers to a single article. When more than one article appears, a number will be used with the letter (i.e. P-5 means five articles appeared on a single day concerning McCarthy and party politics). For the Israeli press, "ed," "an" and "car" will follow the symbol, when appropriate, to indicate editorials, analysis articles and political cartoons (i.e. A-an). Days on which the Israeli press was not published will be crossed off the chart.

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
1			x o	x o *	x o	o
2			x	x S *	S	S
3			x	*	* S	x S
4		x	x	x S *	S	
5			x	S *	S	*
6			x	S		x
7	x		x	S	x S	
8			x	S	x	
9			S	S		S
10				S		x-2
11				S		S
12		S o	*	S		
13	x-2				S	S
14		o	S	x	S	
15			S			x S

NEWSPAPER: NEW YORK TIMES

YEAR: 1950

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
16			o S	o S	o * S	o x S
17			S			S
18						x
19	x					
20	x-2					
21		o	x * S	S	S	
22			S	S		
23			S		S	S
24				S	S	S
25	x		S		x	
26	x			S	S	
27			x S		S	S
28			S	S		S
29			x S	* S		x S
30				S		
31			x-2 * S			

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	x					
2	o					
3	x-2 *			o		x
4			o			
5		o			x	
6						
7	x	x				x
8	*			s	o	
9	*					o
10			x-2			o
11						
12						
13		x o				
14			x-2 s	x		x-2
15						x

NEWSPAPER: NEW YORK TIMES

YEAR: 1950

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16					o	x-3
17				x o		
18	o S					
19		x-2 o				
20			o	x	x-2	
21	S					
22	S					
23					x	x
24				x		
25	S					*
26	*	x				
27						
28					x S	
29			x			
30					x	
31	x	*		x		

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
1		x S				
2		x o S	x		S	x-2 o
3		x S	x-2	S		
4	x S		x	x S		x o
5					S	S
6	x	x			S	
7	* P		x	x	S	
8	x					S
9			x S	x-2	x	
10			o S		o P	o S
11		x-2 o S		x o	o P _{ed}	
12	x			x	P	S
13			x o S			
14		x	x			
15			x-2 o S		P x	*

NEWSPAPER: NEW YORK TIMES

YEAR: 1951

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
16	S					
17		x-2				x-3
18						
19						S
20		x	S			S
21			x S			
22			x S		x	o S
23						x o P
24	o S			x		P
25	o S	x o P	x	x-2	x-2	x
26						x
27	x S					
28		x				
29			x-3	x	S	o
30	x					x-2 o
31	x *					

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	o-3 P S	x	o P	o x		
2		x	o S			
3				o S		
4		x-2		S-ed	o-2 S P	
5				S	o S-ed	
6				S-ed		
7		*		S	o S	x
8	P	o S		S P	x P	o
9		S	x P	S	x	
10		x S		x S		x
11		S-ed	x	S	P	x-2
12		S		S	o	
13	S		x	x P	o P	x
14	S		x-2 S o	x P		o P S
15		o * S P				o S

NEWSPAPER: NEW YORK TIMES

YEAR: 1951

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16		x o-2 S P	o-2 S P	x	x	x *
17		x S P	P	x		
18			x S	x	x	
19		S		o S	x	o x S
20		S	x o P	o S _{ed}		
21		x *	S			S
22			P			x-2
23		x S P		o-2 P S		o-2 S
24		S	x		x	
25			x-3	x		
26	x o S			o S	x	
27			x	o S		
28		x P	* P	o		o S
29	o P	*-2 S P				
30		P	P		x	
31	o S	* P S				x

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
1		x-2 * P				
2		*				
3	*	P-2 o S				
4			x	x S		
5				x		x
6	x o S				* x	x P
7		x-2	x	P		P
8	S	x		S P	x	
9			S		P	
10		x-2 P				
11	*			*-2		
12	.	S	x			
13			x-2			
14			x			
15	*		*			

NEWSPAPER: NEW YORK TIMES

YEAR: 1952

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
16	x-3 S o					
17			x			*
18				P	* P	
19	x					
20		P	P	x P		
21			P			x
22	x o S	*		x-2	x	
23			x S			P
24		x P	* P	x		P S
25		x	P	*		
26	x					x P S
27	P	x	* x	P	*	
28	x	P S	* P x			
29	*	x		x P		S
30	x		x *			
31	x					

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	x			P-2	x o	
2			P	*	x-4 S *-2	
3	x	x P	P	x *		x
4		x	P S * x-2	x P	x * S	
5		*	P S	x-2	*	
6				x-2 P-3	x-2 *	
7			P	P		
8			x	P-3 S x		
9						
10	x-2 * P	x P	P-2 S *	x		
11	x P		P-3 * x	x * S		*
12	x	x *	x-2	x-2		x
13			P	x-2		
14			P-3 x *-2 S			
15	* P		x P			

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16	*		x			
17			x	x-3		
18	*-2 P	P	x-2 P ₂	x		
19		P S	x-3 P-2	x-2		
20		x-2 S		x-2		
21		S	P-3 x-2		x-2 S	
22		x P				
23		P-2		x		
24	P *	P	x	x-2		
25	*		x P	x	S	
26	*	P	x P	*		
27		P				
28	x *	P-5 o	x	x-5 *		
29	*	* P		x-3		
30		*	x-3 P S		x	x *
31	x	x				

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
1	*		x-2	x-2	x-2	x P ₂
2		x		P	x	x-2 P
3	x	x			x * P	x-2
4	x-3	x	x		x-2	x
5	x *	x S	x S		x	x
6	x-2	x-3 S		x P	x P	P
7	x-3			x	x-3	
8	x	x *	P		P	x
9						
10	x-3		x		x-3 *	
11				x		x P
12	.			x * P		x P
13	x	x	x	x-2 P	x-2 P	P
14	x-2		x * P	x-2	P	x-2 P-2
15	x-3	x S	x * P	x P	x-3 *	x-2

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	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
16			x-3 S	x-3 *	x-3	x-3
17		x-2 S	x		* P-2	x-2
18	x-2 P	x P	x-4	x-3	x P	x-2 P
19	*		x-3	x * P	x	x-2 P-2
20			P	x	x	x-2
21		S	x-3 *	x	x *-2 P	P-3 x
22	x	x-2 S-2 P	x-6 P-2	x P	x * P-2	x-4 P
23		P	x P	x	x * P-2	* P-4
24			x		x *	x P
25	x		x-2	x	x P-2	x-2 P
26	x-3 S	s	x * P	x-2 * P		P
27			x *	x	P	x P
28	x		x-2	x	P	x
29	x		x-4 * P-2	x	P	
30	x		x	x-2 P		x
31	x-2 S P		x-2 *		*	

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	x-3 P		P			x
2	x	x	x P		P	x-2 P S
3	x	x-3 P-2	x		P	x-2 P
4		x	x-3 *			x-2 P
5	x S P	x-2 P	x *		x-4 P	x-2 P S
6	P-3	x-3	x			x-2 P
7	x-2 P					x-2 * P-2
8	x-5 P-2				x-2 P	x-2 P
9	x-2	P	x *		x P	x-3 P S
10	x-4 P	x		*	x	x-3 P ₂
11	x *		x P	x	x	x-2 P-2
12	x P	*	x	x		x-2 P-2
13	x P	x P-2	x-2	x-2 *		x P-4
14	x-2 S P-2		x		x	x-3 P-3
15	x P		x P		x P	x-2 P

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16	x-2 P	x-2 P	x-2 P		x	x-2 P
17	x-2 P	x	x P	x-3	x P-3	x
18		x P	x *		P	x
19	x-3 P	P	x-3	x P-2	P-2	x-7 P-2
20	x-3 P	x P	x-2		P-2	x-2 P
21	x-3 P	x-2 P-4	P		x P	P
22	x-2 *	x-2 P		x * P	x P	x
23	x P-2			P	P	
24	x-2	P-2	x P	x P		
25	x-5 P-2		P	P	x-6 S-2 P-4	
26	x-2 P-4		x-3 *		x-3 * P-5	
27	P-2	x		x P	x-2 P	x P
28	P-2				P-2	x
29	x P-2	x-3 P S	*-2	P	P-2	
30	x-6		*		P	P
31						x *-2

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
1	A x		A * P x-2	P x A-4	P-2 A-7	P-6 x A-2
2		P	A-2 P	P-3 * A-5	P A-8 x	P A-8 x-2
3		A-2 S x-3 o-2	A-2 o x P-3	A-5 P-4	A-2 * P-2	A-8 x ₅ P-3
4		A * x	A-6 * P o x ₂	A-6 * P-5 x-2	A-7 x P-3	A-5 x-4
5	P-2 x		A-2 P x-4	A-5 * P-2 x-5	A-6 * P-2	A-7 x P-2
6	P-2 x-2	P x	A-3 *-2 x-3 P-3	A-3 *-2 P-4 x-2	A-12	A-10 x P-4
7	P-4 A	P-4 A x	A-7 * P-11 x-4	A-4 * P-2 x	A-11 P x	A-6 x
8	A x	P-3 x-2	A-3 x-2 P-5	A-3 P-5	P * A-5	A-5 P
9	A P-2 x-3		A-2 x P-5	A-5 x-2 P-3	A-11 * x-4 P-2	A-7 P-3
10	P-4 x	P-3 x-2	A-2 * x P-7	P-3 A x	A-4 * P-2 x-2	A-10 P-5 x-2
11	A P-2 x-3	P-2 x-3	P-6 A x-4	A-9 P-6 x-2	A-5 P-2 x-2	A-13
12	P-2 A x-2	P-3 A x	A-6 x-5 P-6	P-6 A	A-6 x-2	A-9 P-5 x-4
13	x-3 P		A-6 x-3 P-5	P-2 A x	A-8 P-2 x-3	A-8 x-2 P-3
14	A-2 P x-3	P-3	A-7 x-2 P-10	P-2 A	A-8 P-2	A-4 x-7 P-7
15	P-2	A * x	A-2 x-2 P-6	A-4 *	A-7 P-2	A-4 * P-4

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YEAR: 1954

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
16	A x		A-5 P-3	A-2 x P-2	A-8 P	A-6 x P-3
17	S o P-2 x-2	x	A-3 * P-3 x-2	A-2 x P	A-2 x P	x-2 A-5 P-2
18	x-2 P	P-3 *	A-4 x-2 P-3	A-3 * P x	A-7 x	A-8 P x-3
19	S x	A-4 * P-2 x-2	A-5 x-4 P-6	A-2 x P-2	A-7 x	A-4 x
20	P A x	A-2 P x	A-3 P-6 x-14 *-2	A	A-6 x P-2	A-4 P-2 x-2
21	o P	A-3 *	A-6 * P-8 x-3	A-5 P	A-2 * x P-2	A-6 P x-3
22	x-3	A-2 x	A-5 P-2 *-2 x-2	A-5 x-4 P-2	A-3 P x-2	A-2 P-3
23	A P x	A-6 P	A-5 x *-2 P-2	A-15 P *	A-8	A-3 P
24	P x	A-3 P x-2	A-7 P	A-10 P-3	A-3 * x	A-2 x P
25	P x-2	A-5 P x-2	A-6 P	A-7 * P x-2	A-3 P x-3	A-2 P
26	P-2 x-2	A-5	A-3	A-6 P	A-5 ₀ S	P-2 A
27	P A x-2	A-4 * P x-3	A-2 P-2 x-2	A-11 P-2	A-8 x	A-4 x-2 P-4
28	P-2	A-7 *-2 P-6 x-2	A-5 P-8 x-2 *	A-12 x *	A-11 *	A x
29	x-2 P		A P-2 x-3	A-9 o P S x	A-9 P	A-3
30	x		P-2 A x-2	A-10 x	A-5 P x	
31	A P-3 x-3 *		A-2 * x P-2		A-4	

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	A-2 P	A-4 x-4 P-6	A-7 P-6	P-2 A	P	P-5
2	A	A P x	A-4 P-5		P x	P-8 x-2
3	A-2	P-7 A	A-2 x P-4	P-2 x	x	A-3 * x P-13
4	P A	P-4 x	P A	P-4 A	P-3 A x-3	P-2 x
5	x-2	P-7 A-2	P-4 x A-2	A	P-2 A x-2	P-7 A * x
6		A-2 x P-6	P-2	P-2 x	P-2 A	P-2 * x A-2
7	A x	A-2 x P-4	P-3	A P	P-3	x-2 P *
8	A P x	A P-5 x-3 *-2	A-2 P-3	A P	P-4 x	P-8 A * x-4
9	A	P-3 A x	A-6 P-3	P x	P-3 x s o *	P-9 A x-2
10	P	P-2 A x-2	A-4 P-4	P-2	P-3 *	P-4 A x
11	P A x	P-6 A	A-4 P-5	P	P-3	P-4 x
12	A	A-2 x P-3	A-5 P-6		A-2 ^{x-2} s P-3	P-3 x
13	A-2 P	P-3 A * x-2	P-2 A x		P-3 A	P-2 *
14	P-3	P-3 x	P-4 x A-2	A P * x-2	A-3 *-2 P-5 ^{x-2}	P-2 x
15	P-2 A	A-2 P-5	x-2 P	P A x	P-5 *	P

NEWSPAPER: NEW YORK TIMES

YEAR: 1954

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16	A-4 ^{x-3} P-3	A P	A-2 P-3	A x	A-5 * P-4	
17	A-2 P x-2	P A x	P-3 x-2	x-2 A P	P-3 A	P *
18	A-2 P-2	P-3 A x	P	P	P-4 A x *	P
19	A-2 P-6 x-3	P-3 A	P-3 A x	A	P-5 x	P-2 A
20	A-2 ^{x-2} P-2	P-2 A	P-2	x	P-2	P
21	A-4 P-4	A P	P-2 A	P	A-2 P-5	
22	P-3 A	P-3 A	P		A P-2 x	x
23	P	P-2	P	P	x P	
24	P A	P-2 A *	P *	P A x	A-2 P	
25	A-3 x P-4	A-3 x P-2	P-2 A *	x	P	P x
26	P	P-3	P-4		P	
27		P A	P	P A *	P-2	P-2 x-5
28	A-2 o S P x-2	A	A-7 x P-10	P A	P-6 x-2	
29	A-3 x P-2	P-5 *	P-4 ^x A	P A	P-3 x	P A x
30	P-4 A x	P-3 S *-2	P-2 A	A-2 P-2 x-2	P-8 A x *	x-4 A P
31	A-2 * P-2 x2	A S x P-2		P-2 A x-2		P

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1				P	X	
2		X				
3						
4				X	x	
5	X			P	x-2	
6			X		x	X
7					P	
8					X	
9		X		i x		
10			P			
11			P	X		
12	X					
13			X			X
14						
15					X	

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YEAR: 1952

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16		X		x		i
17						S
18			x	X		
19	X					
20			X			X
21						
22				x	X	
23		X				
24						
25				X		
26	X					
27			X			X
28						
29			X	P-2	X	
30		X				P
31				i		

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
1						
2				P-2	X	
3	X					
4				X		
5				P		
6						X
7		X	X		P	
8						
9					X	
10	X					
11				X		
12						
13						X
14		X	X			P-3
15					P	P

NEWSPAPER: JERUSALEM POST

YEAR: 1953

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
16					X	
17	X					
18				X		
19					P	
20						X
21		X	X			
22						
23					X	
24	X					
25				X		
26						
27			P			X
28		X	X			
29	P		P			P
30				P P-an	X	
31	X					

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	H	X				
2						
3				X		
4	X					P
5	P		X			X
6						P
7					X	
8		X	A			
9	i					
10			X	X		
11	X					
12			X	C	H-2 P-an	X
13			A		H	
14					X	P
15		X	H		H	

NEWSPAPER: JERUSALEM POST

YEAR: 1953

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16	P					
17				X		
18	X		* H		P-2	
19		P	X		H P	X
20	P-an					
21			P		X	
22		X				
23						
24		i		X		
25	X	S				
26		P	P			X
27	P		X			
28	P-an				X	
29		X				P an
30			* ph			
31				X		

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
1			P		X	
2	X		P			P
3				X		A-an
4			P	P-an _{ph}		
5	P		P	C	C	X
6		X	X			P C
7			A-2			
8	P-an		P		X	P
9	X		P		A	A-an _{ph}
10				X	1	
11			P	A		
12						X
13		X	X	P	A	
14			A			P
15		A	A		X	

NEWSPAPER: JERUSALEM POST

YEAR: 1954

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
16	X		A	C		
17			A P-an car	X		
18	P				P	
19					P-an	X
20		X	X	A		A
21		A				
22	P-an	A		P	X	
23	X		P	A		P
24		P-an car		X		A A-an
25			A-an ph car	A	P A	
26	P	A P-2		A	C P-ed	X
27		X	X			
28		P	P			
29	P				X	
30	X				P	
31						

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1			P-an			
2		P				P
3			A			P
4		P		P-an	P	
5		P	C		P	P
6		P		P		
7					P	
8					P	P P-an
9			P		P	
10						
11						
12			P		P-an	
13			P			
14			C	P		
15		C				

NEWSPAPER: JERUSALEM POST

YEAR: 1954

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16				X		
17	X	C				
18			X			X
19					*	
20		C	P		X	
21	P	X				
22						
23				X		
24	X				P	C
25		C	X			X
26						
27					X	
28		X	X			
29				P-an	P	
30			P P-an	X	P	
31	X	P				

	July	August	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1				C	X	
2						
3					X	
4				X		
5					X	
6						
7					X	X
8					X	X
9						
10						
11				X		
12						
13			X			X
14						
15					X	

NEWSPAPER: HA'ARETZ

YEAR: 1952

	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
16						
17				x		
18			C x			
19				x		
20						
21						
22				x		
23			C			
24						
25						
26						
27						
28			C			
29						
30						
31						

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
1			A			
2				A-an		A C
3					A	
4			P			A
5			A tr			
6						
7						
8			P			A
9			P			
10			P			
11			P			P
12			A P			
13						
14			A P-2		tr	
15			A	P		

NEWSPAPER: HA'ARETZ

YEAR: 1954

	Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June
16						
17			A			
18			A			
19			A-an A			
20				C	P	
21						
22				A-2		
23				A		
24						
25						tr
26			A-an			
27				A	A	
28				A		
29						
30					A C	
31						

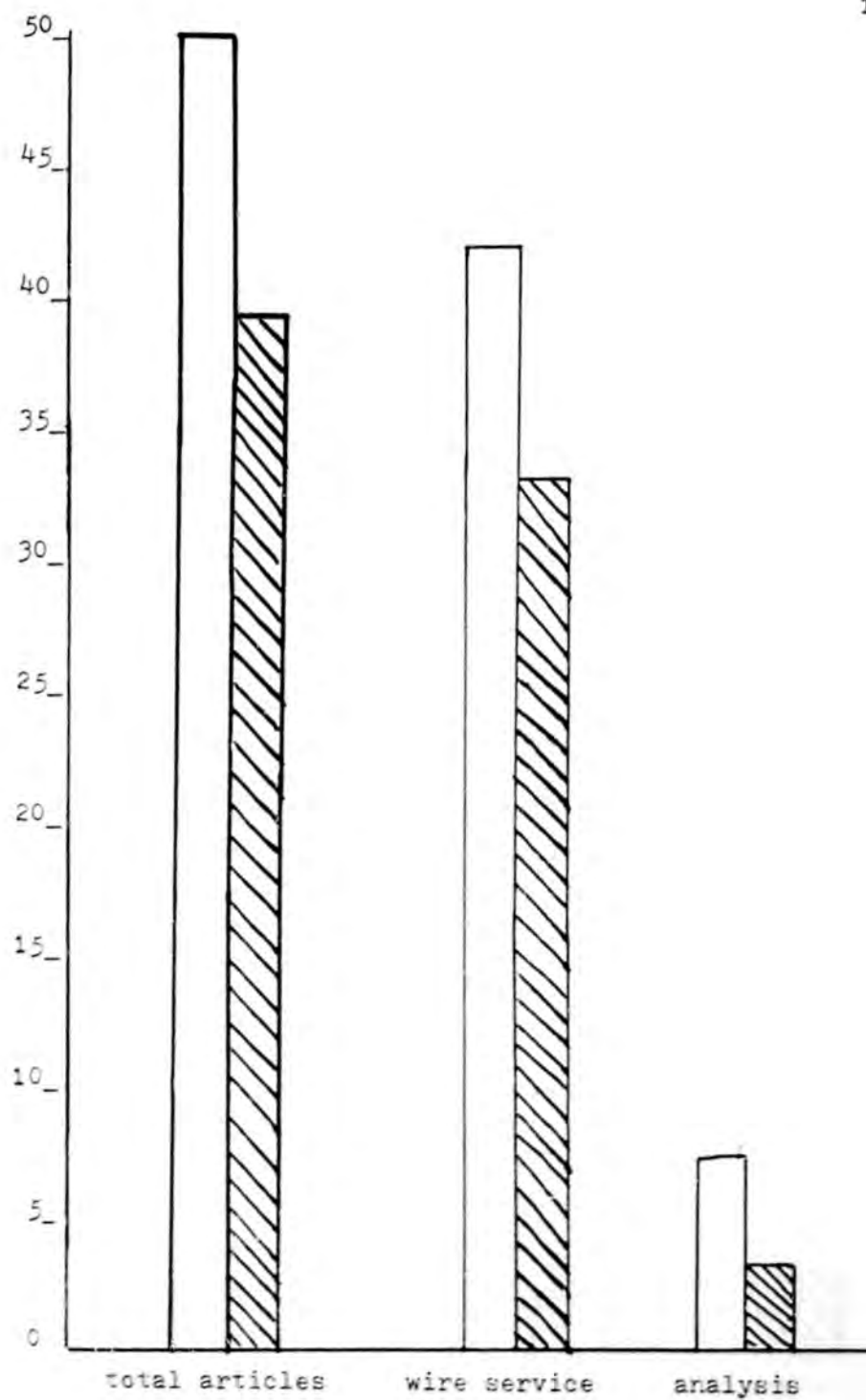
APPENDIX B

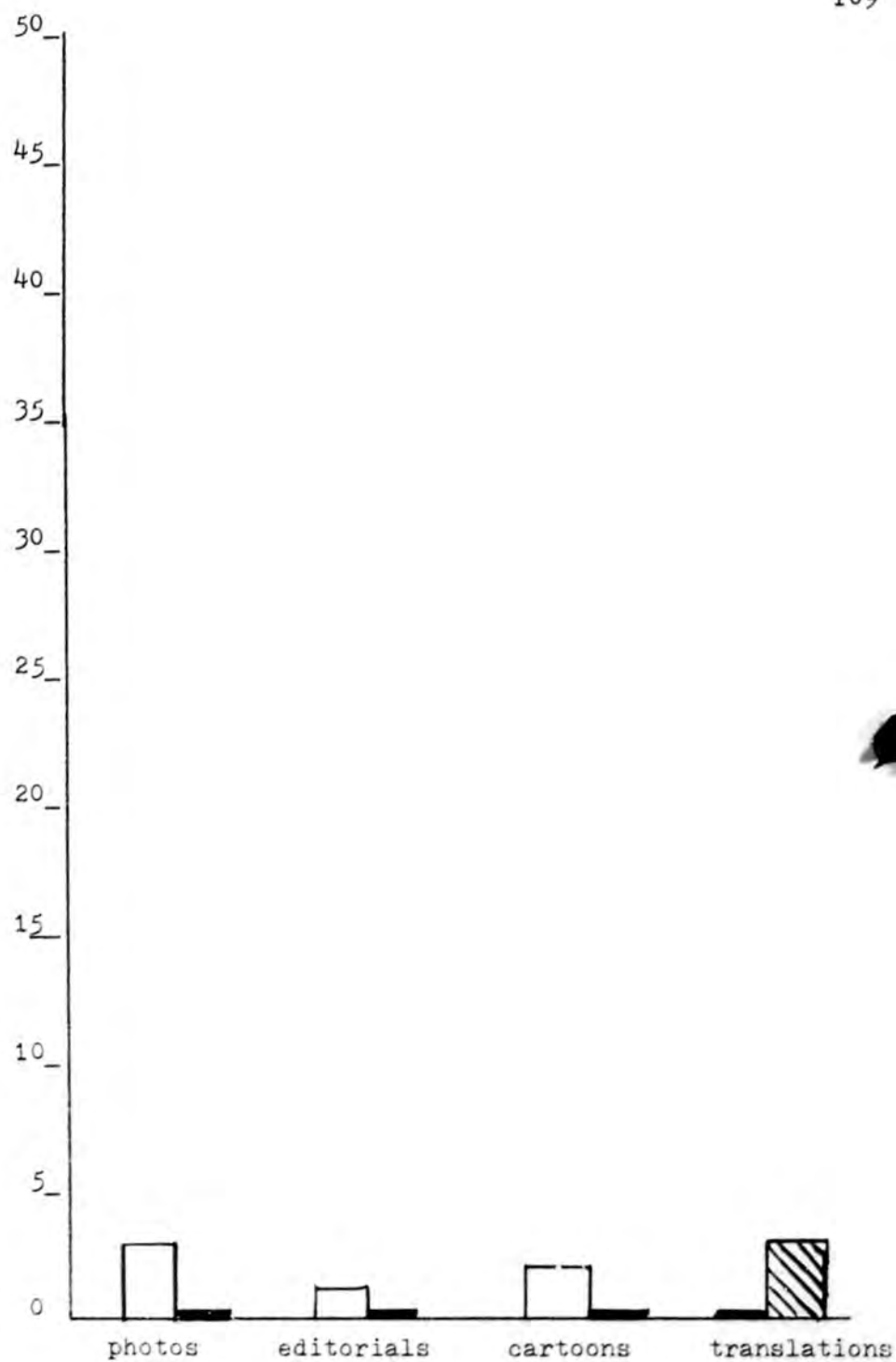
A COMPARISON OF FOUR MONTHS

This Appendix offers a comparison breakdown of all the McCarthy articles in the Jerusalem Post and Ha'Aretz during the period of March-June 1954. On the graph, the vertical column indicates the total number of articles.

The Jerusalem Post is symbolized by 

Ha'Aretz by 





FOOTNOTES

Chapter One

¹David Cate, The Great Fear (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), pp. 56-62.

²Victor S. Navasky, Naming Names (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), p. 8.

³All material in this section comes from Navasky unless otherwise noted.

⁴Navasky, p. 113.

⁵Ibid., p. 109.

⁶Ibid., p. 112.

⁷Material in this section, unless otherwise noted, comes from Richard Rovere, Senator Joe McCarthy (New York: Harper and Row, 1959). Rovere is the earliest source for background material on McCarthy and, as such, is cited by most later authors. The background of McCarthy's career can also be found in Allen J. Matusow, ed., Joseph R. McCarthy (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970) "Introduction" pp. 1-15 and Robert Griffith, "The Making of a Demagogue," in Thomas Reeves, ed., McCarthyism (Hinsdale: Dryden Press, 1973) pp. 11-24.

⁸Rovere, p. 95.

⁹McCarthy campaign flyer cited in Rovere, p. 103.

¹⁰Matusow, p. 13.

¹¹Rovere, p. 106.

¹²Reeves, p. 20.

¹³All information on the press comes from Edwin R. Bayley, Joe McCarthy and the Press (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), unless otherwise noted.

¹⁴Rovere, p. 137.

¹⁵Bayley, p. 47.

¹⁶See Appendix A, New York Times charts.

¹⁷Bayley, p. 102.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 203.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 200-1.

²¹Ibid., p. 208.

²²Ibid., p. 212.

²³All information on Israeli politics comes from Israel Pocket Library, Democracy (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1974).

²⁴Ibid., pp. 98-101.

²⁵Avigdor Dagan, Moscow and Jerusalem (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1970) pp. 65-66.

²⁶Peter Brod, "Soviet-Israeli Relations 1948-56: from Courtship to Crisis," The New Left Against Zion, Robert Wistrich, ed. (London: Vallentine, Mitchell and Co. Ltd., 1979), p. 63.

²⁷Dagan, pp. 66-70.

Chapter Two

¹See: Ha'Aretz, March 1, 1954 (1:5) and Jerusalem Post, June 2, 1954 (1:6).

²Cf. Jerusalem Post, October 22, 1952 (3:6).

³Cf. Jerusalem Post, October 1, 1952 (3:6).

⁴Cf. Jerusalem Post, June 6, 1954 (3:6).

⁵Cf. Jerusalem Post, March 17, 1954 (1:2).

⁶Cf. Jerusalem Post, March 14, 1954 (1:4).

⁷Cf. Jerusalem Post, April 23, 1954 (1:4).

⁸Cf. Jerusalem Post, June 2, 1954 (1:6).

⁹Cf. Jerusalem Post, March 4, 1954 (1:7).

¹⁰Cf. Jerusalem Post, March 5, 1954 (1:3).

¹¹Cf. Jerusalem Post, March 8, 1954 (3:6).

¹²Cf. Jerusalem Post, March 15, 1954 (1:3).

¹³Cf. Jerusalem Post, May 30, 1954 (1:6).

¹⁴Bayley, Joe McCarthy and the Press, pp. 190-192.

¹⁵See Thesis, page 22.

¹⁶Cf. Jerusalem Post, March 1, 1954 (1:4).

¹⁷Cf. Jerusalem Post, June 8, 1954 (1:3).

¹⁸Cf. Ha'Aretz, April 15, 1954 (1:8).

¹⁹See Chapter Three, pp. 50-51 for an expanded discussion of the Gallup poll findings.

²⁰Navasky, Naming Names, p. 121.

²¹See Ha'Aretz, September 18, 1952 (1:7) for the account of their arrest.

Chapter Three

¹The Jerusalem Post, in its review of opinion in the previous day's Hebrew press, reported on November 2, 1952 (2:4): "Ha'Aretz (Independent) has had a special correspondent covering the election campaign in the past few weeks. The regular American correspondent of that paper, who shows a distinct predilection for Eisenhower now, reports that Governor Stevenson told garment workers in New York jokes in Yiddish. . ."

²Bayley, pp. 105, 229-230.

³The critical articles were responding to the Senator's "Alger-Adlai" speech.

⁴Fred J. Cook, The Nightmare Decade (New York: Random House, 1971), pp. 477-9.

⁵Matusow, p. 152.

⁶Ibid., p. 154.

⁷Cf. Jerusalem Post, October 1, 1952 (3:6).

⁸Discussed in this chapter on pages 57-58.

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