



This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES AT MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE
JOHN HANNAH AND THE RED SCARE 1946-1954

presented by

David Edmund Murley

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in History

David T. Bailey

Major professor

Date 12/21/92

LIBRARY
Michigan State
University

PLACE IN RETURN BOX to remove this checkout from your record.
TO AVOID FINES return on or before date due.

DATE DUE	DATE DUE	DATE DUE
MAR 3 1993	SEP 3 0 2001	
FEB 30 1993	NOV 16 2003	
AUG 17 1999	AUG 05 2004	
FEB 08 2000	MAY 14 2006	
OCT 05 2000	OCT 10 2008	
JAN 06 2003	DEC 06 2011	
	APR 01 2013	

MSU is An Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity Institution

c:\circ\data\due.pm3-p.1

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES AT MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE:
JOHN HANNAH AND THE RED SCARE 1946-1954

By

David Edmund Murley

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History

1992

ABSTRACT

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES AT MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE: JOHN HANNAH AND THE RED SCARE 1946-54

By

David Edmund Murley

The paper examines how Michigan State College endured the Red Scare at the student and faculty levels. Material gathered for the paper came from interviews, newspapers, and material found in the Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections. The author concludes that, although some abuses of civil liberties and academic freedom did occur at M.S.C., the college emerged from the period relatively unscathed, due largely to the shrewd leadership of its president, John Hannah.

INTRODUCTION/ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For someone who did not live through the nightmare in our nation's history known as the post-World War II Red Scare (hereafter referred to simply as "the Red Scare"), it can be difficult to comprehend fully just what happened to the country. Perhaps the most effective way to comprehend such a phenomenon is to reduce it to a small scale, and from that point slowly add larger, interconnecting pieces to the puzzle.

Such was the way I encountered the question: How did Michigan State endure the Red Scare? I had talked with persons affected by the Red Scare and was fascinated by their recollections. I read books which would detail the abuses which occurred in institutions throughout the nation. Yet one piece of the puzzle which was missing was: Did the Red Scare touch down at Michigan State, or was MSU passed by? I saw a void which needed to be filled, a challenge which had to be met, and a Masters' thesis which cried out to be written.

The author would like to thank the staff of the Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections who retrieved scores of boxes of documents for my inspection. Special thanks also go to Nancy Brent, Freedom of Information Officer on campus, for helping to resolve certain questions

regarding privacy matters. Finally, David Bailey and Lash Larrowe put in much time and effort on this project, and to them I extend my gratitude.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE:	WORLD WAR II ENDS: THE RED SCARE REEMERGES	1
CHPATER TWO:	ACADEMIA AND COMMUNISM	23
CHAPTER THREE:	DEFIANT DISSENTERS: MICHIGAN STATE STUDENTS FEEL THE CHILL OF THE COLD WAR	50
CHAPTER FOUR:	COMPLAISANT DISSENTERS: THE FACULTY FEEL THE CHILL OF THE COLD WAR	70
CHAPTER FIVE:	CONCLUSIONS: HANNAH KEEPS THE ENEMY AT BAY	96
FOOTNOTES		105
SOURCES CONSULTED		118

CHAPTER ONE

WORLD WAR II ENDS: THE RED SCARE REEMERGES

Persecution against and distrust of Communists did not start with the onset of the Cold War; rather both were policies of state and local governments in the three decades before 1945, indeed, from the birth of the USSR in the 1917 Revolution. This paper does not cover pre-Cold War history, but it is necessary to understand that the Second Red Scare, which lasted from approximately 1947 until the mid-1950's (the First Red Scare had occurred from 1919--when the U.S. Communist Party was founded--until the early 20's) was not the first time government had harassed people it considered radical or subversive. That previous hostility to such undesirables manifested itself in the Palmer Raids, the oppression of the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) and America's refusal to recognize the Soviet Union until 1933.

The traditional hostility to Communism temporarily abated while the United States and the Soviet Union were allied against the Axis Powers in the Second World War. That fragile alliance was shattered by the onset of the Cold War, and the preeminent goal of the United States became stopping the spread of Communism both abroad and at home.

The 1946 Congressional elections saw the Republicans charge that the Democrats were "soft on Communism." That issue helped the Republicans capture both houses of Congress. Throughout President Truman's remaining years in office, he and his advisors-including Secretary of State Dean Acheson and General George Marshall--would be accused by the Republicans of harboring, ignoring, or surrendering to Communism.

The President's response to these charges was Executive Order 9835, which took effect October 1, 1947, and which called for the U.S. Attorney General to collect a list of organizations he considered "totalitarian, fascist, Communist, or subversive." In addition, the U.S. Civil Service was to consider "sympathetic association" as well as present membership in these groups in ascertaining whether employees should be dismissed as loyalty risks or not. The result was that under the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, thousands of Civil Service employees were dismissed or forced to resign.¹

It should be noted that this maneuver was done not merely to placate the right, but also to discredit and destroy the far left. Henry Wallace, the man Truman replaced as vice-President on the 1944 Democratic ticket, was a loud critic of Truman's Cold War policies and a third-party adversary of Truman's in the 1948 elections. Truman set out to paint Wallace as a tool of the Communists and isolate him from most of the liberal-labor constituency which made up the Democratic Party. The result was that both the Republican Party and the Democratic were aligned against the far left.

Despite Truman's Red-baiting, an ironic thing occurred. Rather than convincing the American public that the government was being purged of Communists, the Truman effort--coupled with the actions of the Red-hunting committees--had the effect of increasing the fear that Reds had infiltrated the federal government.

This irony was the result of a number of Reds who were "discovered" to be in the government, often by Communist-hunting committees. Such prominent New Dealers as Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White were accused of being Communists. Though neither man was ever convicted of espionage, the fact that they were kept in government despite the FBI's identification of both men as possible security risks brought fear to many people.

Other investigations raised questions of who in the government was helping the Communists. After the report of the Soviet dropping of the atomic bomb in August of 1949, the House Un-American Activities Committee launched an inquiry in order to find a "Scientist X" who had passed along American secrets to the Soviet Union. The Committee did not find the mysterious scientist, but it did leave in its wake several ruined academic careers. It also left behind the perception that some government scientists may have assisted the Soviet Union in developing the bomb.²

Perhaps the most damaging charge against the Truman administration was that it had "lost" China to Communist revolutionaries. Throughout the Second World War, many State

Department officials contended that the regime of Chiang Kai-shek, which they viewed as hopelessly corrupt, would eventually fall to Mao Zedong, the Communist leader. The State Department officials did not say that Mao was preferable to Chiang, only that his assent was inevitable and that our policies should be geared to that fact. Such pronouncements, coupled with the Truman administration's unwillingness to provide more aid to the doomed Chiang regime in the last days of its existence on the mainland, left enough "evidence" to leave the administration vulnerable to a charge of betrayal.³

The result of the loss was a purging of some of the State Department's brightest and most distinguished policy experts and diplomats. The purges would also make foreign service employees think twice before counseling against assistance to an anti-Communist regime our government was trying to support.⁴

These examples usually had just enough plausibility to make it appear that our government--as well as some of our most important institutions, including labor, Hollywood, and academia--had been infiltrated by Communists. Thus it is understandable how Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy (a political unknown until he gave a speech at Wheeling, West Virginia in which he accused the State Department of knowingly harboring Reds) could go on to dominate headlines for the next four years charging that the government was riddled with Communists.

The media through which McCarthy, as well as Congressmen Richard Nixon and John Rankin, and Nevada Senator Patrick McCarran, conducted their investigations were the Red-hunting congressional committee, groups ostensibly set up to explore and expose Communist involvement in various parts of society. While the most infamous of the groups was HUAC (actually HCUA, for House Committee on Un-American Activities, but commonly referred to as HUAC), the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (SISS) was created in 1951 and the Subcommittee on Investigations, a unit of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, was created after the Republican election victory in 1952.

The purpose of these committees was not only to expose Communists and garner headlines for members, but also to drive uncooperative witnesses from their jobs. A Committee could only expose a witness: it could not discharge him from employment. Yet both witnesses and committee members knew that if a witness did not convincingly relinquish his Communist past and cooperate with the investigators, he would almost certainly be fired by an employer who wished to avoid being accused of harboring Reds.

When a witness was called before one of the committees and quizzed about his associations with Communism, he faced a dilemma over which way to respond. Of course, if a witness wished to satisfy committee members as well as his employer, he could "confess" to his past sins of association with the Communist party and name others who were Communists. This approach would usually save the job of the witness, but would

involve the guilt of knowingly "betraying" friends or colleagues. (Of course, some who named names to the committees saw it as their patriotic duty to do so.)

Yet suppose a witness was asked "Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?" and truthfully answered "no" to such a question (perhaps the witness in question had attended some meetings of an anti-fascist or anti-hunger Communist front group years before). If government records or other witnesses said otherwise, the witness could be indicted for perjury.⁵

Some witnesses would claim First Amendment protection from committee probes into their dealings with the Communist Party. The Committee, these witnesses often felt, had no right to inquire into their political beliefs, and thus they were not required to answer such questions. Deploying such an option, as the Hollywood Ten discovered, left the witness open to a charge of contempt of Congress and a possible stay in prison.⁶

That left the witness the option of the Fifth Amendment. Initially, those who invoked the Fifth were exposed to charges of contempt; the courts felt that membership in the Communist Party was not, in itself, illegal activity and thus not warranted to the Fifth Amendment's protection against self-incrimination. But after two Supreme Court decisions (Blau vs. United States in 1950 and Brunner vs. United States in 1952) the Court opened the way for an expanded definition of the Fifth Amendment, one which would allow its use in response to questions about involvement with the Communist Party,

since evidence of such involvement might be used in a criminal prosecution.⁷

There was one other option open to a witness who wished to avoid the taint of having "hid behind the Fifth" but also wished to avoid implicating others: the so-called "diminished Fifth." A witness would talk about himself, but remain silent as to the activity of suspected Communists he was asked about. This allowed a witness to show that he was no longer--or never had been--a Communist, while not having to worry about having "sold out" others to save himself. The drawback to such an approach was that once a witness talked about any involvement with Communism, he waived his Fifth Amendment rights and was liable to contempt charges.⁸

One regular feature of the Committee hearings was the appearance of ex-Communist expert witnesses, former Reds who had renounced their Party affiliations (often because they had been expelled from the Party) and agreed to provide testimony at hearings, for a fee. This testimony usually consisted of describing the conspiratorial nature of the Communist Party or of evidence against a particular witness a Congressional committee was after. Much of this testimony was of dubious validity and some expert witnesses were later convicted of perjury.⁹

Other witnesses provided "expert testimony" based on specialized knowledge of Communist or Russian affairs. An example of this type of witness was Russian-born Ayn Rand, who provided expert testimony at the Hollywood Ten trial.

Rand had claimed that a particular American film must be Communist propaganda because it showed Russians smiling.

The exchange continued:

Representative John McDowell: Doesn't anybody smile in Russia anymore?

Rand: Well, if you ask me literally, pretty much no.

McDowell: They don't smile?

Rand: Not quite that way, no. If they do, it is privately and accidentally. Certainly, it is not social.¹⁰ They don't smile in approval of their system.

Although the Red Scare continued into the 1960s, it was slowed by two phenomena in the mid-1950's. The first was the collapse of Joseph McCarthy in 1954. McCarthy had been the most visible and most threatening of the Communist-hunters in the early 1950s. Yet when Republicans came to hold the presidency in 1953, charges that Reds had infiltrated the government no longer suited Republican objectives. McCarthy's crusade to root-out Communists finally floundered when he tried to prove, in televised hearings, that the United States Army was harboring Reds. McCarthy was soon after censured by the Senate and died in 1957.

The second event which emasculated the Red Scare was the leftward turn of the U.S. Supreme Court. From 1956 to 1958, the Supreme Court ruled on several cases which curbed the excesses of the Red Scare, including abuses of the Smith Act, state sedition laws, and the power of legislative investigations.¹¹

Before the Red Scare had run its course at the national level, it did major damage to many states. The fear and loathing of the Red Menace at the national level could scarcely have failed to inspire a desire at the state and local levels to root out Reds wherever they could be found in schools, state and local government, labor unions, even churches. Thus, in the middle and late forties local efforts to expose Communists and to drive them from prominent positions got underway, in the form of anti-Communist statutes and local ordinances, state legislative version of H.U.A.C., and state counterparts of the federal loyalty review programs.

It was inevitable, in such an atmosphere, that Michigan, home of the Big Three Auto Companies, the United Auto Workers, and several large universities and colleges, would be a major battlefield in the campaign to purge the Red Menace. The Great Lakes State was not a hospitable place toward those who questioned the economic and political status quo. Historian James Selcraig contends that Michigan was the most zealous and oppressive of all the Midwestern states in its handling of the post-World War II Red Scare. The actions of Michigan's Republican legislature, the State Police, and even the liberal governor gave Selcraig adequate justification to make that conjecture.¹²

The great anti-Communist crusade in Michigan began to accelerate in January of 1947 with the expulsion of the American Youth for Democracy from the MSC campus. American Youth for Democracy had changed its name from the Young

Communist League in 1943 and was, at the time of its expulsion, considered a Communist front group. The expulsion prompted Republican Governor Kim Sigler and State Senator Matthew Callahan (R-Detroit) to launch an investigation into the A.Y.D. on the Wayne and Michigan campuses.¹³

Senator Callahan was appointed to head a three-man, all-Republican Senate Committee to investigate communist activities throughout the State. Upon his appointment, he commented that "We are not going witch hunting, and we are not going out with a brass band. We intend to make a dignified investigation."¹⁴

Governor Sigler went public with an attack on the AYD, calling it "Communist-inspired" and saying that it was, "in reality, the Young Communist League." He, too, expressed a resolve to expose Communist activities in the State, threatening "I am going to extend the inquiry to every phase of Michigan life so every organization sailing under false colors will be brought into public view."¹⁵

The results of the AYD investigations led MSC and U-M to ban the organizations from the campuses. Wayne's President, David Dods Henry, in contrast, announced that the University was willing to recognize the organization as long as it would not violate school rules. However, when Senator Callahan announced his opposition to any state appropriations to the University unless the AYD was removed from campus, President Henry had a change of attitude. Henry asked the AYD to drop

its national affiliation, and when its members refused, he banned the organization from campus.¹⁶

Callahan, buoyed by his success in getting Michigan's three major colleges to drop a "Communist front" group, proposed a bill which required any person or organization affiliated with a foreign agency to register with the Michigan attorney general. Over loud but futile opposition from several liberal organizations--including the Michigan Council of Churches, the American Jewish Council, the CIO, as well as the Communist Party--the bill passed both houses of the legislature overwhelmingly.¹⁷

Governor Sigler appeared before the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee and testified that Michigan had 15,000 Communists and thousands of sympathizers within it; he also "named" some subversives, including State Senator Stanley Nowak (D-Detroit). Back home, Sigler ordered an investigation of Communist influence among state workers.¹⁸

After this flurry of activity in early 1947, the issue of Communism seemed to decline in significance in Lansing, as did the political stars of Callahan and Sigler. Sigler was defeated for re-election by Democrat G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams in 1948, and the Callahan Law was declared unconstitutional by Attorney General Earl Black. Even when the measure was approved by the public in a referendum in 1948, the new Attorney General, Stephen Roth, refused to enforce the law. In addition, an amendment to a school appropriations bill which would have required teachers to take a loyalty

oath did not pass, nor did a proposal to bar past or present Communists from teaching.¹⁹

Local examples of paranoia about the Red Menace were abundant, however. One HUAC member made headlines by announcing that "Communists, criminals, and fascists" were pouring into Detroit by the busload from Canada; Detroit's Police Commissioner, Harry Toy, ordered the seizure of several comic books to check for Communist content; Olivet College fired several professors because of their "ultra-liberal" views; and U-M dropped a labor extension class when it was rumored that the man teaching it was a Red. These issues might not have garnered the same publicity as the earlier headline-catching antics of Sigler and Callahan in early 1947, but they do convey a sense of the fear which had gripped the state.²⁰

The respite in Lansing was short-lived; the issue of Communism arose again in the spring of 1950 after an Anti-Communist Conference held in Lansing recommended the outlawing of the Communist Party. Although Governor Williams said he recognized the dangers posed by Communists, he was against outlawing the party. Instead, he called for a panel to study the problem and recommend solutions.²¹

The Republican-dominated Senate rejected Williams' proposal and created its own Senate Loyalty Commission, under the leadership of former Callahan committee member Collin Smith (R-Big Rapids), to probe state employee involvement

with Communism. Smith also called for the formation of a subversive investigation unit in the State Police.²²

Williams initially resisted the formation of the Red Squad, fearing that the inexact definition of its purview would allow abuses to occur. Williams claimed that such a squad would degenerate into a "secret police system" and a "Gestapo." The Governor chose his panel and charged it with finding viable solutions to the Red problem.²³

The legislature did not wait for Williams' experts to deliver their recommendations. Smith's Red Squad measure passed 27-0 in the Senate and 73-4 in the House. In addition, the legislature passed two other measures: one outlawing "subversive activities leading to the overthrow of the government" (which required ratification by the voters); the other, outlawing acts of violence committed in support of industrial or political changes. Clearly, with elections only a few months away and with American blood spilling in a war against Communism in Korea, few legislators wished to go on record as being soft on Communism. Williams, facing a tough re-election race, signed all three bills into law.²⁴

The 1950 election saw both parties exploit the Communist issue to gain votes. Williams went after a member of his own party (leftist State Senator Stanley Nowak, D-Detroit who had been named a subversive by Gov. Sigler) who was running for Congress and accused him of Communist-front activity; Williams' Republican challenger, Harry Kelly, inveighed that the Democratic Party was run by the "socialistic" tendencies

of the ADA. In addition, the Communist subversion bill which had passed in the summer was ratified by the voters over the protests of the ACLU and the National Lawyers Guild.²⁵

The 1951 legislative session, with GOP majorities in both houses, passed several more Red-control bills: one set penalties for engaging in subversion; another required school boards to publish an "approved" set of textbooks; a third made it illegal to give money to a subversive person or organization. Finally, it passed a law which required a loyalty oath from public employees.²⁶

1952 brought even more stringent legislation. A bill was introduced (known as the Trucks Act, after its sponsor) which required the registration of Communist members, outlawed subversive organizations from the ballot, banned Communists from public employment, made sabotage a felony, and stated that a public employee's invocation of the Fifth Amendment before a legislative committee would be "prima facie" evidence of the truth of the committee's charges. Both the House and the Senate passed the bill unanimously and Governor Williams signed it into law.²⁷

The Trucks Act required organizations to register five days after the bill's passage. Only two persons registered. The Attorney General used the bill to keep the Socialist Workers Party off the ballot, and only allowed it back after a judge's restraining order forced him to do so.²⁸

1952 also brought the House Un-American Activities Committee to Detroit to hold hearings on Communism in Michigan.

Before the hearings began, U.S. Rep. Charles Potter (R-Michigan) promised that an "undercover agent" would identify many previously unnamed members of the party. That agent was Bernice Baldwin, a nurse who had spent years working for the FBI as an undercover agent in the Communist Party. Baldwin named more than 150 Michigan residents as Communists, and also spoke of two professors at Michigan State who were Communists, though she did not name them (please see pp. 9 below).²⁹

The committee heard the naming (and later firing) of a violinist of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra; the suspension from college of a twenty-year-old woman, a student at Wayne University, for refusing to answer questions; and a heated exchange between committee counsel Frank Tavenner and future Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, at the time an official of the Civil Rights Congress, an organization on the Attorney General's List.³⁰

1953 saw the opening of the trial of six Michigan Communist leaders for violations of the Smith Act. All six, including Michigan Party leader Saul Wellman, a Spanish Civil War and World War II veteran, were found guilty. The presiding judge offered the convicted Communists transportation to the Soviet Union as an alternative to sentencing; when the six refused, he fined each \$10,000 and sentenced them to four to five years.³¹

HUAC returned to Michigan in 1954, led by U.S. Congressman Kit Clardy, a Republican from East Lansing. Two MSC professors

met with Clardy and were "cleared" by him, while three professors from the University of Michigan proved uncooperative and were later fired.³²

When John A. Hannah assumed the presidency of Michigan State College in 1941, it had just completed the first decade in its transition from a small agricultural college to a huge university. Enrollment had jumped from 3,214 undergraduates and 266 graduate students in 1931 to 6,195 undergraduates and 367 graduate students in 1941, while faculty size had gone from 302 to 607 in the same time period. The number of buildings on the campus also increased substantially, thanks to the federal Public Works Authority, which picked up 55 percent of the cost of building construction.³³

Hannah's educational background was hardly indicative of the background needed to engineer the massive change in Michigan State College. Hannah was born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, in 1902 and showed an inclination to agricultural interests (specifically poultry) from his early years. After two years at Grand Rapids Junior College and one year at the University of Michigan Law School, Hannah transferred to Michigan Agricultural College (which would become Michigan State College in 1925) and was graduated in 1923. Although he would receive an honorary doctorate from the University of Michigan, his graduation from M.A.C. in 1923 marked the end of his formal education.³⁴

After graduation Hannah went to work for the extension faculty of M.A.C. as a poultry specialist, a job which entailed

traveling across the state and giving instruction on how to improve egg production. In 1933, as President-elect of the International Baby Chick Association, Hannah worked on drafting a fair trade code covering the chicken business for the National Recovery Administration, a code which was adopted by Roosevelt in December.³⁵

Hannah then moved to Kansas City, Missouri, to take a position as managing agent of the National Commercial and Breeding Hatchery Code Authority to administer the code he had written. While serving in that capacity, Hannah received several offers to move to more lucrative positions, including academia, government, and private industry. Hannah rejected all of them and instead in 1935, accepted an appointment as Secretary of the M.S.C. Board of Agriculture, the board which oversaw the affairs of Michigan State College.³⁶

In 1941, when Robert Shaw stepped down as president of MSC, Hannah, who had demonstrated extraordinary administrative skills as secretary of the board, and who was, moreover, Shaw's son-in-law, was tapped to fill the void. The appointment came at an important time, for not long afterward America entered the war against the Axis powers. Throughout the conflict, thousands of servicemen received advanced training at Michigan State College, in areas such as foreign languages, foreign area study, and pre-flight training.³⁷

MSC experienced a large influx of students following the cessation of hostilities. By 1947, 15,000 students attended the college; by 1949, the number was up to 16,000.

Before World War II, MSC had ranked as America's 22nd largest school, based on student enrollment; by 1949, it was 9th. To accommodate this increased number of students, Michigan State launched a massive building program with the approval of the governor and the legislature, a program which would cost \$50 million over the course of the next decade.³⁸

Not all of Michigan State's expansion was occurring on the campus; in 1943, Hannah announced the creation of an Institute for Foreign Studies. When President Truman announced the Point Four Program in 1949, which called on American colleges and universities to render technical assistance to developing nations with economic and social problems, Hannah saw an opportunity for the college. He accepted appointment as an advisor to the Technical Assistance Administration of the Department of State, the body which administers many of the programs Truman outlines.³⁹

Many colleges shunned the idea that their faculty should be directly involved in helping modernize foreign countries. Hannah saw it as a way to fill an important void, to adhere to the service aspect of the land grant college mission, and to answer a U.S. President's calling. In addition, Michigan State could establish important contacts within the government, gain international recognition, and bring in revenues from governmental and foundations grants. The result was that by the mid-1950's, Michigan State was providing technical assistance programs in Colombia, Brazil, Vietnam, and Okinawa.⁴⁰

On a different front, Hannah exploited another opportunity to increase the prestige of Michigan State. In 1947, Hannah hired Syracuse Coach Clarence "Biggie" Munn to build the MSC football program. Within five years, the Spartans were national champions. While success in athletics did not attract top faculty, it undoubtedly caught the attention of potential out-of-state students, appealed to potential in-state students, and endeared the college to a legislature proud to have a national champion in their backyard.⁴¹

Perhaps more important, the success in athletics allowed Michigan State to gain admission to the Big Ten. The Big Ten had been comprised of only nine teams since the University of Chicago had dropped out years before; because of MSC's elevated stature in athletics, it was admitted as the tenth member in 1949.⁴²

Admission to the Big Ten helped elevate Michigan State's status from a rural agricultural school to a major college, not on a par with Michigan and Northwestern, but certainly with schools such as Indiana or Purdue. The mere fact that MSC was affiliated with a group of large, prestigious universities went far in legitimizing it as a respectable school.

While Michigan State was branching into new areas abroad and elevating its status at home, it was also busy assembling a faculty which, while not world-class, did include some prominent researchers. Michigan State had always been strong in animal science and agriculture, but in the 1940s it added respected faculty in the arts and letters as well. The English

Department included Russell B. Nye, a Pulitzer Prize winner, Herbert Weissinger, a former member at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study; and Virgil Scott, author of the highly acclaimed novel The Hickory Stick. Russell Kirk, who taught underclassmen in the Basic College, had received notoriety for his book The Conservative Mind. The economics department could boast of Charles Killingsworth, a highly regarded labor economist who had been called on by President Truman to mediate the national coal strike in 1952 and to serve on the federal Wage Stabilization Board during the Korean War.

Finally, Michigan State was shaped by President Hannah's involvement in educational and political affairs. In the 1948-49 school year, Hannah served as president of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges (NASULGC), and later went on to serve three more years as president. In 1951, he served as Chairman of a Committee sponsored by the American Council on Education to study the problems and transgressions in intercollegiate athletics.⁴³

On the political front, besides the previously mentioned involvement with the New Deal and Point Four Programs, Hannah served as Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel in the Eisenhower Administration; in 1954, he was appointed Chairman of the U.S. Section of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense for the United States and Canada. What is more significant are the full-time jobs Hannah turned down: Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority under Truman and Secretary of Defense under Eisenhower.⁴⁴

Michigan State thus had at its helm a man whose loyalty to the institution he ran was beyond reproach; whose success in improving its reputation and size was impressive; and whose involvement in governmental and educational affairs made him out of academia's most distinguished public servants.

Such a background would serve Hannah well, for the danger posed to MSC through outside intervention from Red hunters seemed large. In April of 1948, State Representative Harry J. Phillips (R-Port Huron) announced that "Communists have infiltrated into college teaching staffs, including MSC, the U of M, and Wayne University." Phillips added that he felt that Communist theory should not be taught in colleges.⁴⁵

Phillips' Republican colleague, Representative A. M. MacKay (R-West Branch), echoed him by asserting "It is legal to teach Communism . . . something ought to be done about it." MacKay made these comments after it had been reported to him that a textbook was being used at MSC which contained Communist theories.⁴⁶

Michigan State again faced political attack on its policies in October of 1950, this time for the speakers it chose for its lecture-concert series. Congressman Kit Clardy, then Vice-President of a group called the "Fighting Republicans" charged that the list of speakers was "riddled with pinks." Clardy was referring to Democratic U.S. Senators Paul Douglas of Illinois and Wayne Morse of Oregon, whom he called "socialists and pinkos."⁴⁷

Clardy threatened: "If they (the lecture-concert directors) continue to schedule such men they will have to reckon with me from here on out."⁴⁸

MSC President John A Hannah countered Clardy's attacks by stating that "We pick recognized national speakers who we feel will have something of importance to present to those who attended the lectures. It is part of the function of the college."⁴⁹

Thus we can see the tenuous position any college president, especially one dependent on public funds, found himself in throughout the late 1940's and early 1950's in the State of Michigan. Universities and their policies were probably more vulnerable than other public institutions to the damaging attacks of a publicity-hungry legislator. With both houses of the state legislature occupied by politicians who showed no propensity to tolerate leftist activism--or, indeed, freedom of inquiry or speech--and with the governor's chair held by a man who was willing to sacrifice his liberal sympathies to political expediency, the situation required of a university president the ability to strike a delicate balance between principle and political reality.

CHAPTER TWO

ACADEMIA AND COMMUNISM

The assault on radicals and dissenters in American universities did not begin with the onset of the Second Red Scare. Academic freedom was never an intellectual free-for-all, a concept whereby all ideas and opinions were given equal weight and a platform for their advocacy. From the late 1800s through the 1950s, professors and university administrators were constantly revising their definitions of academic freedom in order to stave off outside intervention in academic affairs.

The American Association of University Professors (AAUP) was formed in 1915, with John Dewey as its first president, after some academics were dismissed for advocating political and economic change that, to the admirers of the status quo, seemed radical. The AAUP's mission was one of developing professional standards the professors would be expected to meet, as well as protecting and defining academic freedom. The AAUP's Committee A on Academic Freedom and Tenure set forth a set of guidelines which, if followed, would entitle a professor who complied with the standards to the protections of academic freedom.¹

These guidelines would ensure protection if: 1), professors behaved in an appropriately scholarly way; 2), their conclusions were "the fruits of competent and sincere inquiry" and presented with "dignity, courtesy, and temperateness of language;" and 3), professors were cautious when dealing with "controversial matters" and presented all sides of an issue so to prevent "taking unfair advantage of the student's immaturity by indoctrinating him with the teacher's own opinions before the student has an opportunity to fairly examine other opinions upon the matters in question." The report also spelled out procedures which should be followed should infringements of academic freedom arise.²

World War I produced the first real test of the AAUP, and the organization showed itself to be malleable to the winds of prevailing opinion. The AAUP concluded that it had to show the country that it would not defend a professor considered unpatriotic, which required a revision of the definition of academic freedom, one which added to the AAUP standards loyalty (i.e., support for America's participation in WWI) to the nation. This was reflected in Arthur Lovejoy's report "Academic Freedom in Wartime," in which the AAUP said it would refuse to protect professors who indulged in any type of anti-war activity. The report also called upon professors of German or Austrian descent to refrain from publicly discussing the war. This change in the AAUP's definition of academic freedom was one reason why the organization

remained silent when professors at Minnesota and Columbia were dismissed during the war.³

The 1920s, unlike the war years, was a tranquil time on the nation's campuses. The number of academic freedom cases was small, and most of those dealt with religious rather than political questions.⁴

The 1930's, by contrast, saw a massive increase in student and faculty leftist radicalism. Not only did a powerful anti-militarist sentiment exist, but the Depression presented bleak prospects for just about anyone connected with academia. The bad economy sent more people to graduate school, with 26 percent more Ph.D.'s graduating in 1935 than in 1931; meanwhile, an AAUP survey found that 84 percent of schools it studied cut professors' salaries, usually by 15 percent. The Depression thus created an academic underclass--a group of tutors and instructors with low pay and no job security.⁵

The laws of supply and demand were not the only barriers to job entry for Jewish Ph.D.'s, for anti-Semitism was rampant in America. For example, Ivy League schools not only imposed quotas on the number of Jewish students who could enter, but also rarely hired Jewish professors. Schools like Brooklyn and CCNY were more hospitable to Jews, but these schools, to avoid academic in-breeding, hired few of their own graduates.⁶

These conditions led many professors to look for a change, for something beyond the perceived corruption of the two-party system. Some found that alternative in the Communist Party.

The party, with its Popular Front, was opening itself up to the non-proletariat by the mid-1930's. The party proved attractive to many academics, because it offered a way to explain the social chaos that surrounded them."⁷

For Jews, one attraction of the Communist Party was obvious. With Hitler's rise in Germany, and the West's timidity in combating that rise, the Soviet Union's perceived stand against Nazism led many Jews to join the Party. By the late thirties and early forties, at least half of the Party members in academia were Jewish.⁸

One did not have to be Jewish to view the Soviet Union as the only nation willing to stand up to fascism. When General Francisco Franco led a revolt against the legally-elected government of Spain in 1936, Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy rushed to send men and arms to prop up the insurgents. The United States, bound by the Neutrality Act, did nothing to help the Republican government defend itself. The Soviet Union (and the American Communist Party) took a stand against Franco, not only with words but with arms and men.

The Spanish Civil War proved to be a defining experience for many leftists in the thirties. The Communist Party's fight against Franco proved an effective way of recruiting members, for everybody who wanted to assist the Loyalists had to work through the Communist Party. Also, the Soviet support for the Spanish Republicans lent legitimacy to the claim that it was the main anti-fascist organization in the world.⁹

Despite the growing attraction of the Community Party for academics, and despite the relatively open manner in which many undergraduates participated in it, faculty members were clandestine about their membership. Classrooms were used neither for indoctrination nor recruiting, for membership in the Communist Party could still get one fired.¹⁰

The answer to the question of who was fired for political reasons and who was fired for scholarly reasons in the 1930s is unclear. Most of those fired did not have tenure, and it was usually the Teachers' Union rather than the AAUP which took up their cases. (The Teachers' Union, despite its affiliation with the virulently anti-Communist AFL, was a leftist-dominated organization, comprised mostly of junior faculty.)¹¹

The 1930s also witnessed the loyalty oath movement which foreshadowed (and perhaps legitimized) some of the excesses of the 1950s. Before 1930, for example, few states had loyalty oaths. By 1936, twenty-one states and the District of Columbia had them. While the content of these oaths was usually harmless--a commitment that the individual would support both the state and the United States constitution--academics were singled out to sign them, making academics a suspect group.¹²

Legislative committees investigating Communism also appeared in the 1930's. The University of Wisconsin and the University of Chicago were investigated by state committees, although no Communists were turned up. HUAC held public hearings in Detroit in 1938 and at the opening of the hearings,

charged that ten public school and college teachers were Communists. When the dust cleared, no Communists were found.¹³

The government's reaction to the perceived threat of Communists in academia was just the beginning of the troubles which were to befall the Communist Party. The Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 caused many members to leave the Communist Party, for they viewed the Pact as a betrayal of Marxist principles.

The advent of World War II also led many to leave the Party, for they either did not have the time or were in a situation--in a sensitive government job, for example, or in the military--where they could no longer continue working with the Party. Of course, not all would formally announce they were breaking with the CP. Instead, they quietly drifted away, either because of time commitments or the feeling that the Communist Party would not accomplish anything useful.¹⁴

The attacks on the Party were not always from the right. Some of the most bitter denunciations came from the left. Liberals, who may have tolerated the Communist Party as long as it was opposed to fascism, became some of the Party's most ardent critics after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Socialists criticized Moscow for its purge trials and increasingly dictatorial ways in the late 1930s. Trotskyists, led by intellectuals such as Sidney Hook, Irving Kristol, and the editors of the Partisan Review, laid forth a sophisticated attack on Stalinism which was widely accepted after the Popular Front had fallen apart. In addition, several ex-Communists or fellow travelers became the most strident critics of

Communism, and in later years made regular appearances as "friendly witnesses" before legislative committee hearings purporting to investigate Communist influence in American life.¹⁵

With the growing hostility toward Communists, the image of the Party changed. It was no longer viewed by many as a regular party, but instead as a conspiracy run by Moscow with the overthrow of the U.S. government as its ultimate goal. Communists were viewed as "intellectual automatons" who would, if they were teachers, unequivocally follow the party line and use it to indoctrinate their students.¹⁶

With these attacks on the Communist Party from both the left and the right, many institutions began to expel Communists from their ranks. The C.I.O., which owed a substantial debt to the C.P.O. and its members for its existing adopted anti-Communist resolutions at its conventions, joined other unions in expelling locals or individual Communist leaders from its ranks. In 1940, the Smith Act was passed, which, de facto, defined Communism as a conspiracy and made it a crime to be a member. Even the ACLU adopted an anti-Communist resolution and forced Elizabeth Gurley Flynn off its national board of directors because she was also a member of the executive committee of the Communist Party.¹⁷

The first school that explicitly banned members of the Communist Party from its faculty was the University of California at Berkeley. In 1940, a mathematics teaching assistant, Kenneth May, was ousted from the faculty on the

ground that his Communist Party membership conflicted with his academic responsibilities. The university's board of regents then adopted a resolution stating that Communist Party membership was incompatible with membership on the faculty.¹⁸

Also in 1940, the Rapp-Coudert Committee of the New York State Legislature hunted for Reds in order to discover if any subversive activities had been occurring in the state's schools and colleges. The hearings were important not only for the number of professors involved, but also for developing techniques which became common in future hearings, such as testimony by "professional" ex-Communists and reliance upon informers to provide names of persons accused of being Party members, as well as "exposing" Communists to public view, leaving their fate to be decided by academic authorities.

Professors from Brooklyn and CCNY who were called before the Rapp-Coudert Committee faced a troubling quandary, one which would face many people called before other red-hunting bodies, for the New York Board of Higher Education promised to take disciplinary action against teachers who failed to cooperate with the investigation. When one professor invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked about his Communist past, he was fired. The Board also vowed that it would not retain any members of any "Communist, Fascist, or Nazi Group." So invoking the Fifth Amendment or admitting one's past membership in the Community Party meant loss of a job. That meant denying membership in the Party, which exposed the professor to charges of perjury.¹⁹

Many professors chose this latter option and were fired because of it. Twenty professors were dismissed for "conduct unbecoming a faculty member" which meant either that they had been members in the Communist Party or that they had committed perjury. The Board did not show, however, that the professors were misusing their classrooms by indoctrinating students with Communist dogma.²⁰

The Second World War produced a temporary halt in the persecution of academic Communists. With the United States in an alliance with the Soviet Union to defeat the Axis powers, and with the national preoccupation with winning the war, Red-hunting was not a high priority. At the war's conclusion, however, leftist activity, at least among students, became commonplace again.²¹

Yet, not long after the end of the war, schools set about eliminating this radical presence from their campuses. The American Youth for Democracy, a group considered by some to be a Communist front, was banned from several campuses. Some colleges, if they did not ban AYD, demanded that lists of its members be filed with the school administration. Many universities enacted bans which prevented leftist speakers from appearing on campus. These actions made the student left essentially defunct by the early 1950s.²²

Radicalism on the part of the faculty did not exist after World War II. The federal loyalty security programs, along with the onset of the Cold War, had helped make Communists a perceived threat to national security. But the AAUP, in

a 1947 statement, rejected the government's "guilty by association" method of removing people from the payrolls. Communist membership, the report stated, did not in and of itself make a person unfit to teach. Rather, should a professor advocate the overthrow of the government, use his classroom as a forum to advance Communism, allow his thinking to be so uncritical as to evidence professional unfitness, or falsify his political affiliations, then he should be removed.²³

The AAUP was to have its resolution tested by the Canwell Committee, a "little HUAC" in the State of Washington. The Committee was investigating Communists and decided to focus its attention on Communism infiltration into the University of Washington. The University's Board of Regents promised to cooperate with the Committee, and Committee Chairman Canwell held a press conference to explain the upcoming investigation and to make it clear that the University would not defend those involved in "un-American" activities.²⁴

Eleven professors were subpoenaed to appear before the Committee. Two denied ever having been in the Party, while another admitted previous membership and agreed to name names of others who had been members with him. Four admitted former membership in the Communist Party, but refused to name names. Three professors--Joseph Butterworth, Herbert Phillips, and Ralph Gundlach--refused to cooperate and tell the committee whether they were, or were not, members.²⁵

The President of the University, Raymond B. Allen, doubted that it would be possible to keep a Communist on the faculty, given the anti-Communist feeling of the outside community as well as the position taken by the Board of Regents. Clearly, certain members of the faculty would have to go. But Allen also hoped to accomplish this task without causing the standing of the University of Washington to sink in the academic community because it had deserted the principle of academic freedom.²⁶

Allen hoped to accomplish this in two ways: first, he planned to give each of the accused a fair hearing before the University's Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure; second, he set about to redefine academic fitness to exclude Communists, proclaiming that the professional requirements of "competency, honesty, and attention to duty" did not coincide with "the secrecy of the Party's methods and objectives, with the refusal of Communists to hold their party membership openly, with the commitment to dogmas that are held to be superior to scientific examination"²⁷

With this thought in mind, as well as the knowledge that the Regents might intervene, in September of 1948, a divided special faculty committee recommended that Butterworth, Phillips, and Gundlach, as well as three others who refused to name names, be investigated by the Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom.²⁸

When the committee hearings began on October 27th, Professors Butterworth and Phillips admitted that they were members

of the Communist party. After that admission, counsel for the administration announced that the only charges the University would bring would be that Communist Party membership was incompatible with university obligations. Gundlach, on the other hand, denied membership in the Communist Party.²⁹

The tenure committee issued its report on January 8, 1949. The committee, in a divided decision, voted to keep Phillips and Butterworth; five because they felt the tenure code did not provide a ground to dismiss Communists, three because the university did not produce evidence that they were unfit to teach. (Three members of the committee dissented, holding that the two professors should be dismissed because of their Communist Party affiliations.)³⁰

On the question of Gundlach, the committee voted seven to four to dismiss him, on the ground that he had been unwilling to cooperate with the University President and with the tenure committee. The committee recommended no discipline for the three ex-Communists who refused to name names.³¹

President Allen overrode the committee's report and recommended that the Regents fire Phillips and Butterworth because of their membership in the Communist Party. Gundlach, too, should be dismissed, but for his political affiliations rather than for his lack of cooperation. Allen also recommended that two of the uncooperative ex-Communists be retained, but remained silent on the third.³²

The Regents concurred in the President's recommendations and fired Butterworth, Phillips and Gundlach, while placing

the three ex-Communists on two years probation and required them to sign an affidavit stating that they were no longer in the Communist Party.³³

The AAUP was strangely silent through the Washington case. Despite proddings from Gundlach, national AAUP President Ralph Himstead never released a report on the affair, but assured that the facts of the matter were being analyzed. It was not until after Himstead's death in 1955--six years later--that a report was issued which held that the actions of the University of Washington deserved censure, but did not call for reinstatement of the three faculty nor for any compensation for their anguish. Nor did the AAUP place the University on its list of censured institutions, despite efforts of local chapters to adopt such an action.³⁴

The University of Washington case caused great debate over just what was academic freedom, and who was entitled to its protections. Among Allen's most articulate defenders was former leftist Sidney Hook, who, by changing the definition of academic freedom, claimed that President Allen was actually defending academic freedom. Hook contended that it was impossible for a Communist to be objective, for 1), Communist professors receive instructions on how to conduct their classes (Hook took this position because of a resolution adopted by the national CP convention in 1936, and from an article published in the party's journal in 1937); 2), Communists will attempt to recruit students and faculty, control faculty appointments, and produce "shop papers" which take the party

line on academic issues; and 3), Communist researchers who have access to scientific research will report on their work to party officials, who will eventually use it against the United States. The weight of these three pieces of evidence led him to advocate the dismissal of Communist professors.³⁵

While some civil liberties-minded presidents such as Harold Taylor of Sarah Lawrence and Alexander Mencklejohn, formerly of Amherst, took exception to Hook's reasoning, most college presidents did not. Edmund Day of Cornell, Wallace Sterling of Stanford, and James Bryant Conant of Harvard all issued statements proclaiming that a Communist was incapable of free inquiry. President Charles Seymour of Yale was more blunt: "There will be no witch-hunts at Yale, because there will be no witches. We do not intend to hire Communists."³⁶

It was not just the presidents of elite universities who were issuing these statements against Communists in academia. In 1949, the National Education Association, whose membership was composed of elementary and secondary school teachers--and their administrators--adopted (by a vote of 2995 to 5) the report of its Educational Policy Committee, which stated that Party "membership, and the accompanying surrender of intellectual integrity render an individual unfit to discharge the duties of a teacher in this country."³⁷

Universities were not acting in a vacuum by policing themselves at this time. State legislative committees, such as the Callahan Committee in Michigan and the Broyles Committee

in Illinois were beating the bushes to flush out Communists, especially in their universities.

Other states went beyond legislative committees, enacting laws which could profoundly endanger the position of a professor. In New York, the Feinberg Law called for the Regents to draw up a list of subversive organizations, membership in which would automatically constitute "evidence of disqualification for a position in a public school in this state." The Ober Law in Maryland required faculty to submit statements that they were not trying to overthrow the government nor belonged to organizations that were trying to do so. Pennsylvania's Pechan Act required presidents at all state-aided universities to submit a report showing that they had "no reason to believe that any subversive persons were in their employ" and to list what steps were being taken to terminate known subversives.³⁸

Loyalty oaths again became popular. In Oklahoma, public employees (including college professors) had to swear that they were in neither the Communist Party nor any group declared subversive by the attorney general or other "authorized agency." In Georgia, there was a prohibition against "sympathy for the doctrines of Communism." Undoubtedly, though, the most famous controversy over the oath came at the University of California in 1949.³⁹

Originally, University employees were required to take an oath affirming that they supported the Constitutions of California and the United States, and would faithfully

discharge the duties of their office. That changed, however, when State Senator Jack Tenney, Chairman of California's Un-American Activities Committee, proposed a bill which would have taken the jurisdiction of the loyalty of University employees away from the Regents and given it to the State legislature. The University decided it could best pre-empt such legislation by imposing a loyalty oath on its personnel.⁴⁰

The oath the University Regents adopted was the existing one followed by ". . . I am not a member of the Communist Party, or under any oath, or a party to any agreement, or under any commitment that is in conflict with my obligations under this oath."⁴¹

Copies of the oath were sent to the faculty in July, and only those who signed it were given contracts. By September 6, 1949, it was reported to University President Sproul that only 50 percent of Berkeley faculty and 40 percent of the faculty at UCLA had returned the oath, with other campuses reporting different totals. At issue were the questions of violation of tenure for those who did not sign the oath, but also, by the ban against Communists, the question of the faculty's right to choose its own members.⁴²

Matters became much more heated after the dismissal of physics teaching assistant David Fox for lack of cooperation before a HUAC hearing in the Fall of 1949. By February of 1950, the Regents had adopted a resolution which called for the faculty to sign an oath by April 30, 1950, or be fired by June 30 of that year.⁴³

The faculty senate submitted two issues to its members in March, both to be decided by mail-in vote. The first was whether the faculty would accept the Regents' oath; the second was whether known Communists, because of their presumed party commitments, were acceptable as faculty members. The results were that the faculty voted overwhelmingly against the oath (1154 to 136, with 33 abstentions) and overwhelmingly (1025 to 268, with 30 abstentions) against allowing known Communists on the faculty. Thus, unlike the official --by contrast to the de facto position, as illustrated in the University of Washington case--position of the AAUP, the majority of the faculty at the University of California held Communists unfit for academic protection.⁴⁴

After some additional debate, it was decided to have the non-signers appear before University committees and show that they were not Communists. The Southern Committee embracing UCLA and the Santa Barbara campuses cleared 26 of the 27 it interviewed, while the Northern (Berkeley) Committee cleared 47 of 52. For many of the non-signers, the issue was one of principle, not politics. That did not assuage the Regents; by August, the Board of Regents insisted on firing all the non-signers (31 by that time).⁴⁵

In a special session of the State Legislature called in September of 1950, a new requirement, called the Levering Oath, was proposed. This oath, required of all civil defense workers and public employees in the state, called for the signer to support both the state and national constitutions.

In addition, the signer had to swear that she/he was not a member of a group advocating the overthrow of the U.S., nor had been for five years. In December of 1950, the Regents voted to make the above oath, in addition to the other oaths, a requirement for employment in the University system. Those who did not sign would receive no salary.⁴⁶

In October of 1952, in Tolman vs. Underhill, the California Supreme Court ruled that the Levering Oath took precedence over the University oaths, and ordered the California Board of Regents to re-appoint those who had refused to sign the anti-Communist oaths. (All regular faculty had signed the Levering Oath.)⁴⁷

The California Loyalty Oath case had several similarities to the Washington case. Like Washington, the AAUP did not immediately censure the University of California (it waited until 1956.) As in Washington, most of the California faculty showed no inclination to resign or to take other forceful action to get the Regents to charge their ways. And, perhaps most telling, and going beyond anything that ever happened in Washington, was the faculty referendum supporting the idea that a Communist was unfit to teach.⁴⁸

Termination of faculty members was not always the result of zealous state legislative committees or boards of regents worried about protecting their turfs. Often, the most ominous intrusions into academia were from the national committees like HUAC and the SISS. These groups were feared not only for the negative publicity which they engendered, but also

for the substantial resources they could mobilize, including "expert" witnesses, media attention, and large budgets.

Academia's first big run-in with one of these committees, although indirectly, was HUAC's search for atom spies in 1948 and 1949. Several physicists, who had been involved on A-bomb research at Berkeley Laboratories and who now held academic positions, came under investigation for their suspected role in passing along atomic information to the Soviets during the war. Although the HUAC hearings did not turn up any spies, they were to have major repercussions on the careers of those called.⁴⁹

Most of the witnesses at the hearings invoked the Fifth Amendment, and most were cited for contempt and forced out of their jobs. Some professors, such as Martin Kamen (of Washington University in St. Louis) and Clarence Hiskey (of Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute) kept their jobs, but endured years of government harassment. Giovanni Lumanitz (of Fisk College), resigned his position under pressure. Another, David Bohm (Princeton) was denied re-appointment, and Frank Oppenheimer (Minnesota) was forced to resign.⁵⁰

None of these professors had tenure, and HUAC's investigations into espionage suspected of having been committed during the Manhattan Project did not affect most academics. But these investigations were to set precedents of how universities would handle professors who invoked the Fifth Amendment before investigating committees.

The SISS, not long after HUAC's "atom spy" hearings, opened an investigation into the Institute of Pacific Relations and "exposed" Johns Hopkins Professor Owen Lattimore as a Community sympathizer. The subcommittee then turned its attention to New York City, where it hoped to expose Communists in the city colleges because of the conversion of Professor Bella Dodd. Dodd, who had managed the teachers' resistance in the Rapp-Coudert hearings, had broken with Communism, joined the Catholic Church, and was ready to testify against her colleagues. Thirteen professors were fired when they sought refuge in the Fifth Amendment in violation of Section 903 of the City Charter which called for dismissal of any city employee who did not cooperate in investigations.⁵¹

SISS also called Rutgers professors I. M. Finley and Simon Heimlich, who invoked the Fifth Amendment. Although a Rutgers faculty committee recommended keeping both men, the Board of Trustees fired the two by a unanimous vote. A faculty vote on whether to endorse the Board of Trustees' policy of excluding Communist Party members from the faculty passed in the affirmative by 520 to 52.⁵²

In response to the investigations into Reds in academia, many schools set up committees and procedures to deal with uncooperative witnesses. Some were vague; the University of Pennsylvania, for example, called for witnesses to "carefully consider the implications" of taking the Fifth and ruled that each case would "be judged individually." Harvard, on the other hand, was unequivocal on its stance toward the

witnesses: "He is neither wise nor legally justified in attempting political protest by standing silent when obligated to speak."⁵³

In response to the growing pressures against this nation's universities, the American Association of Universities, an association of college Presidents, released "The Rights and Responsibilities of Universities and their Faculties." The statement, signed by presidents of thirty-seven of the most prestigious universities in the U.S. and Canada, set out to codify what was expected politically of their faculty.

The report was not equivocal on the threat of Communism to the academic world and the professor's obligation to help stamp out that threat. The professor must not cross "the duly established line" by his "speech, writing, or other actions." Moreover, should a professor ever become a "propagandist for one opinion," he would forfeit his or her right to membership in the university.⁵⁴

Perhaps the most important statement was the one calling it a professor's duty as a citizen and as a professor to speak up when asked about his political affiliations: "Refusal to do so, on whatever legal grounds, cannot fail to reflect upon a profession that claims for itself the fullest freedom to speak and the maximum protection of that freedom available in our society. In this respect, invocation of the Fifth Amendment places upon a professor a heavy burden of proof of his fitness to hold a teaching position and lays upon his

university an obligation to re-examine his qualifications for membership in its society."⁵⁵

Both the A.C.L.U. and the National AAUP refrained from criticizing the document. And while a university president's signature on the statement was not tantamount to official acceptance of its pronouncements, many universities adopted its guidelines in the coming wave of Congressional investigations.⁵⁶

In February of 1953, HUAC began its investigation into subversion in higher education by investigating former members of the Harvard cell of the Communist Party, most of whom by then were teaching elsewhere. Several of those called cooperated with the committee and, named names (including future Librarian of Congress, Daniel Boorstin). Physicist Wendell Furry, who did not cooperate with the Committee, but who did talk to members of the University investigation, was put on probation. Two other untenured faculty who talked to the University, but not the committee, were not re-appointed when their appointments ran out.⁵⁷

Harvard was not the only school that retained tenured faculty who refused to cooperate with HUAC and still maintained their job. The University of Buffalo (later SUNY Buffalo) kept Associate Professor of Philosophy William Parry although he invoked the Fifth before the committee. Because he was willing to cooperate with the University investigation, and there wasn't great external pressure to fire him, Parry was put on probation but kept on the faculty.⁵⁸

Other schools--especially public institutions where state funding could be slashed by a hostile legislature--dealt more harshly with those who invoked the Fifth Amendment. Byron Darling, Associate Professor of Physics at Ohio State and never a member of the Communist Party, was dismissed after he invoked the Fifth Amendment before HUAC, although he cooperated with a University investigation. Temple University, a private school in Philadelphia, suspended Barrows Dunham, Chairman of the Philosophy Department, after he pled the Fifth before HUAC in February of 1953. A Communist Party member from 1938 to 1945, Dunham cooperated with University authorities and refused to answer only one question--one about another person. The Trustees ostensibly fired Dunham for violating his obligations as a faculty member by "taking the Fifth."⁵⁹

Other professors who wished to keep their jobs but avoid implicating others tried another approach: they agreed to talk about themselves, but not about others. There was no constitutional authority to do this, and those who tried it risked a contempt citation, as Professor Marcus Singer of Cornell found out. However, many schools--M.I.T., Sarah Lawrence, and Cornell--retained faculty members who took this approach.⁶⁰

The most hazardous approach for a faculty member to take was to defy a Congressional committee and a university investigation. Such was the fate of three University of Michigan professors--Clement Market, Mark Nickerson, and Chandler Davis --who defied HUAC at its hearings in Lansing in May of 1954.

Market was somewhat uncooperative with the University investigation, but he did convince the special committee that he had left the Communist Party. He was retained, but because he was untenured, he was not re-hired. Nickerson refused to repudiate his former beliefs, claiming that he had merely "drifted out" of the party, and was fired. Davis refused to answer any of the University committee's "political" questions and was thus accused of concealing his Communist connection, and was fired.⁶¹

Other schools followed similar policies. Horace Bancroft Davis, Chandler Davis' father, an associate professor of economics at the University of Kansas City, invoked the Fifth before the Jenner Committee of the U.S. Senate in June of 1953. Like his son, he refused to cooperate with the University investigation and was fired. Likewise, Edwin Berry Burgrum at NYU and Stanley Moore at Reed College in Portland, Oregon were fired when they refused to cooperate with school authorities after their uncooperative committee appearance.⁶²

Some schools attempted to defuse potential controversies by withholding tenure, often for deceptive reasons, from those whose political activities might cause problems. Vern Countryman, a Yale Law School professor, civil libertarian and defender of suspected Communists in loyalty hearings was denied tenure by President Griswold in 1954. The reason given by President Griswold was that Countryman's book, Un-American American Activities in the State of Washington, was not sufficiently scholarly to land him a tenured professorship in

the University. (The law school faculty had unanimously recommended him for a promotion and tenure.) Columbia dismissed Gene Weltfish, a critic of the American war effort in Korea who had been a lecturer there for seventeen years, because of a new policy which forbade non-tenure track individuals from staying on the faculty longer than five years.⁶³

Other professors were not even deceived about the reason they were fired. W. Lou Tandy, an economist at Kansas State Teachers College, was fired because he had signed an open letter requesting clemency for the Smith Act defendants. One Penn State assistant professor was fired after leading a campaign to reinstate a dismissed colleague.⁶⁴

Once an academic had been dismissed for political reasons, finding employment proved difficult. Schrecker states that "during the height of McCarthyism, in the middle and late fifties, no academic who was dismissed as the result of a public refusal to cooperate with an investigating committee was able to find a regular teaching position at an academically respectable American college or university."⁶⁵

The fates of those placed on the "blacklist" varied greatly. Some scientists went to work for private industry (although gaining security clearance was a problem for many). Some professors took jobs at Black colleges or at colleges outside the United States. Some had to resort to menial labor or jobs which had no relevance to their education.⁶⁶

The question of who to blame for the Red Scare's effect on academia cannot be easily answered. Obviously, individuals

such as Senator Joe McCarthy or Congressman Kit Clardy can be credited for helping to create an atmosphere of intolerance and cowardliness. But demagoguery and fear-mongering, while deplorable, are to be expected from politicians seeking to capitalize on the nation's sense of vulnerability to the Communist menace. While these politicians cannot be excused for their behavior, laying blame at their feet entirely misses the point of who had a moral and professional responsibility to defend those professors who were accused of un-American activities and affiliations.

Blame must first lie with the colleagues of the dismissed who showed no inclination to defend persecuted professors. The California case showed that even at a prestigious school, the faculty was willing to concede that Communists were unfit for academic service. The Washington case showed just how few faculty members were willing to commit their names to defend accused colleagues. The reasons for much of this silence, as Lazarsfeld and Thielens document in The Academic Mind, was fear.⁶⁷

Blame must also fall on university administrators, who caved in to external pressures and fired controversial professors. The reasons college presidents often gave for dismissals was that they were attempting to protect the autonomy of their institutions, and perhaps there is some truth to that statement. But had many presidents, especially those at public universities, been willing to stand up to investigative committees and retain former radicals who did not want to endanger

others by naming names, other presidents might have followed the example and done the same. Even if a president was given a vote of no confidence by the Board of Trustees and forced to step down, at least he could have done so with the knowledge that he was not responsible for wrecking someone's career in order to keep his job.

Finally, the AAUP proved derelict in its duty to defend the accused professors. The rhetoric of the AAUP remained lofty throughout the late 1940s and 1950s, and it still held to its 1947 statement which contended that Communism, in and of itself, was not justification for firing a professor. The AAUP also opposed loyalty oaths and supported a teacher's right to use the Fifth Amendment. But despite the organization's stated beliefs, it did not censure any schools which violated the AAUP's principles, nor even publish any reports about violations. It was not until 1956 that the AAUP finally condemned a specific violation of academic freedom. While it is unclear what effect timelier condemnations would have made, it seems certain that such a stand could have helped advance the cause of academic freedom.⁶⁸

CHAPTER THREE

DEFIANT DISSENTERS: MICHIGAN STATE STUDENTS FEEL THE CHILL OF THE COLD WAR

A college student who publicly criticized American capitalism in the late 1940's placed himself in a perilous position. Students had no way to safeguard their status as students, such as tenure, nor any major organization existed to advocate and fight for their interests. These facts, coupled with the outright hostility to most leftist ideas help explain why few students were willing to risk trouble by rallying around a person punished for "un-American" ideas or activities.

Nor was it only the student who had to worry about the consequences of his actions. Administrators, well aware of the frightening headlines which minor political incidents could cause, spent considerable time trying to keep controversy to a minimum. At Michigan State College, they had their hands full.

Michigan State experienced several student political controversies in the late 1940's and early 1950's. Some were minor, garnering headlines for a short period of time and then soon forgotten. Others resulted in state senate hearings and expulsion of students from college. Through them all, at Michigan State, one man made the ultimate decision as to

how each incident would be resolved. It was President John Hannah, and on him must ultimately fall any praise or condemnation for the way the school responded to the threat.

The first major Red scare incident which occurred at MSC was the American Youth for Democracy controversy. In November of 1946, both the AYD and a group known as the Spartan Citizens Political Action Committee petitioned the Student Council for recognition. The Council was leery of both organizations, and some members questioned whether such groups had a place at the College (some thought the groups were "Communist inspired"). After lengthy debate, the council eventually voted to recognize the Spartan Citizens P.A.C., but rejected the AYD request for membership on the ground that it was closely associated with Communism.¹

The A.Y.D. issue appeared to be over until, in late January of 1947, The State News came across some fliers passed out at a Fair Employment Practices Commission Rally which were marked "Spartan A.Y.D." The Student Council then launched a hearing into the matter, and President Hannah publicly stated that "with all the information I have, I am sure that the AYD is a Communistic front organization. The present Moscow-Communistic line is trying to create confusion and unrest among the people of the U.S. We believe the A.Y.D. is a part of this plan."²

Hannah's rhetoric, while perhaps over-heated, probably came from the presence of the A.Y.D. on U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark's list of seventy-one "totalitarian, fascist,

Communist, or subversive" organizations. In addition, F.B.I. Director J. Edgar Hoover had declared that "The A.Y.D. is but another name for the Young Communist League. It reflects all the sinister purpose of the Communist Party in the United States. It has the same techniques and same objectives; namely, the conversion of our . . . haven of liberty to a godless totalitarian state."³

Hannah was charged by Governor Sigler to conduct a thorough investigation and report on the "steps taken to eliminate the communistic elements if they exist." The first steps of that process were carried out when the student council recommended disciplinary action against the accused students.⁴

On February 4, the recommendations of the student council came before the Faculty Committee on Student Organizations, and a hearing was held in which alleged members of the A.Y.D. were questioned as to whether: A) they were members of the AYD; and B), they had been meeting as a group in violation of the college rules regarding student organizations.

The faculty committee agreed with the student council in recommending "continuous disciplinary probation" for six members of the group (which forbade them from engaging in extra-curricular activities) and further recommended that any student who continued to engage in AYD activity should be suspended from the college.⁵

President Hannah, in a public statement on the matter, asserted that this punishment was not being carried out against the A.Y.D. because of its political beliefs; rather, the group

was penalized for violating the rules regarding the conduct of organizations, rules decided by a "majority of students on this campus," as expressed "through their representatives on the student council." Political questions "never entered into the matter. Similar action would have been taken no matter what the background or program of the organization."⁶

Hannah's statement, while technically correct, was merely an affirmation of the student council's ruling, itself based on political factors, and his own statement that the A.Y.D. was a "Communistic [sic] organization." To claim that the college's decision was administratively sound while politically unbiased was deceptive. Hannah had merely shifted the role of "oppressor" from the school administration to the student council, thus allowing an "independent" body to do his dirty work.

Even if the student council had voted to recognize the AYD, Hannah would have had no choice but to withdraw recognition from the organization. The possibility of a Michigan public college extending recognition to what the Attorney General, the Director of the FBI, the governor, and he himself had characterized as a Communist front group was not feasible, and only would have invited more political intervention and caused greater turmoil. The University of Michigan had withdrawn recognition from its AYD chapter in early 1947. Wayne University, after initially resisting Sigler's demands for banning the organization, found its appropriations threatened. A similar stand by President Hannah in order

to save the AYD would have been futile and would have drained valuable political capital.⁷

The issue of which clubs would be allowed to form on the Michigan State campus emerged again in the winter of 1948. In January, Hannah told a group of student leaders that he felt that political groups should be allowed to form and operate during the 1948 election campaign. He added that such groups could include young Communists as well as young Democrats and young Republicans.⁸

At a faculty meeting in February of 1948, Dean of Students S. E. Crowe clarified the school's position on political groups. A club would have to state its aims and functions clearly, and would have to be on the Michigan ballot. The reason the college would recognize certain radical groups, Crowe explained, was that it is better to have such groups operating openly rather than "subversively."⁹

In February of 1948, the "New Republicans," an organization which was a Wallace front, formed on campus and was granted approval by the student council. (Henry Wallace was the candidate for President of the Progressive Party, which had been stigmatized as a Communist front.) After demanding a few minor changes in the organization's procedures, the faculty council recognized the group in March of 1948.¹⁰

The formation of the Wallace group, coupled with Hannah's declaration of tolerance for a Communist group on campus, rekindled the ire of State Senator Matthew Callahan, who asserted that there was a Communist club at Michigan State

and that he was going to call Hannah before the Un-American Activities Board of which he was chairman.¹¹

When asked to comment on the matter, Hannah contended that "There are no Communistic organizations on the campus --so far as I know" and that to his knowledge, there had been no examples of un-American activities on the campus.¹²

Testifying before Callahan's committee, Hannah said that there was no danger of a Communist cell starting on the Michigan State campus. He explained that in order for an organization to exist on the Michigan State campus, it was necessary for it to have a faculty sponsor, "and there will be no Communist on our faculty, I can see to that. We will not tolerate a Communist on the faculty. If we found one there, he would be looking for another job." Yet Hannah would not issue an outright ban on a campus Communist party as Senator Callahan had desired.¹³

Hannah never indicated that he wished to have the Communist party on campus, just that the legislature had the authority to end the dispute by outlawing the Communist party from the ballot, and thereby allow MSC to remove the party from campus. "Personally," said Hannah, "that is what I would like to see done." Yet Hannah made clear that any legal political party would be allowed to have a branch on campus.¹⁴

Hannah's position on the existence of a student Communist organization was thus ambiguous. The logic which Hannah set forth, and with which Callahan seemed to agree, was the following: Although a Communist group can exist, it will not happen

because such a group needs a faculty advisor. Since the college will not tolerate a Communist on the faculty, there is no need to fear such a group forming. The assumption in this reasoning, of course, is that an advisor to a Communist group would have to be a Communist. However, what would prevent a non-Communist from agreeing to sponsor such an organization? Hannah did not make this clear. Perhaps he felt that in order to risk one's academic career, one would have to be a dedicated Communist. Perhaps Hannah preferred to take an ambiguous position and thus avoid making a commitment. Hannah could thwart the hungry dogs of the legislature with some rhetorical meat while simultaneously protecting the autonomy of the institution from legislative interference.

Hannah's position on Communism was opposed not only by much of the legislature, but also by the press. For example, The Detroit Free Press, in an April 14th editorial, criticized Hannah's tolerance of a Communist organization on the campus, arguing that Hannah's logic was flawed for 1), Communists "invariably resort to subterfuge" by taking misleading titles such as the American Youth for Democracy; and 2), the Communist Party is not actually an American political party, but instead an "agency of a hostile foreign power . . . dedicated to the tactics of subversion and [it] functions as a recruiting and training center for subversives." Thus the Free Press called for rules to prevent the Communist party from ever gaining a "foothold" at Michigan State.¹⁵

Hannah responded to the Free Press with an angry letter in which he contended that the paper had misrepresented his views on Communists at MSC. Hannah agreed that Communist groups often went under disguised titles, and that the College would not tolerate "Communists under some other name--A.Y.D., or Progressive Citizens of America." That is why, as Dean Crowe had previously acknowledged, the College was willing to recognize a "legitimate" Communist group.

Hannah also agreed that the Communist Party was not a political party in the "commonly accepted" sense of the term; however, that did not require colleges and universities to banish it. That function, he contended, rested with the legislature.¹⁶

Hannah took his position against banning the Communist Party from campus from a 1937 law which required "All persons within the jurisdiction of this state shall be entitled to full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges" of several services, including public educational institutions. Furthermore, the law listed the manager--in this case, Hannah--of an institution which denies full access or use of facilities because of race, color, or creed to be both criminally and civilly liable. Whether or not the courts would, during the Red Scare, have interpreted this statute to apply to the Communist party seems unlikely. However, Hannah did at least have a law from which to take a stand.¹⁷

The Michigan State administration soon had its patience tested again, this time by James Zarichny, a former member

of the AYD. Due to his membership in the banned organization, he had been placed on probation and prohibited from participating in extracurricular activities, but his banishment from student activity did not prevent him from speaking out.¹⁸

When Hannah was called before the Callahan Committee to testify about Red organizations on campus, he named Zarichny as Michigan State's only Communist. Zarichny was then subpoenaed and appeared before the Committee in April of 1948.¹⁹

Zarichny proved uncooperative, refusing to tell the Senator whether or not he was a Communist, whether he knew other Communists on campus, or whether he agreed with the doctrines of Lenin. Zarichny did respond to questions about his loyalty, saying that he would unconditionally support the U.S. in a war against Russia and "would not like to" and "was not considering" becoming a citizen of Russia.²⁰

Senator Callahan was furious with his witness' responses, claiming that Zarichny had no right to refuse to answer his questions and that he would look into bringing contempt charges against him. Callahan added that "any student who takes the position you do today should not be given a diploma from a state university."²¹

Callahan did seek contempt charges, and the Michigan State Senate called Zarichny in to stand trial for refusing to answer whether or not he was a Communist. Witnesses were brought in who claimed that Zarichny had passed out The Communist Party's newspaper, the Daily Worker, and was circulating a Communist Party petition, both in Flint.

Zarichny was convicted of contempt by a 21 to 7 vote and was given a suspended sentence.²²

Zarichny had little choice but to invoke the First Amendment and refuse to answer the Committee's questions. If he had denied that he was a member of the Communist party, it is probable that students, administrators, and other witnesses would have appeared and refuted Zarichny's contention, thus exposing him to a charge of perjury. Had Zarichny admitted membership in the Communist party, he could have been convicted under either Michigan's Criminal Syndicalism Act or the Callahan Act which called for "agents of a foreign power" (i.e., possibly Communists) to register with the government or face penalties. Since Zarichny had not registered, he might have been subject to prosecution.²³

The College took no punitive action against Zarichny for his contempt conviction, but his reprieve was short lived. On December 6, 1948, Carl Winter--Chairman of the Michigan Communist Party and then under indictment under the Smith Act for conspiring to overthrow the government--came to the People's Church in East Lansing to address a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress, a meeting which James Zarichny presided over.²⁴

Apparently it was common practice to have members of the Michigan State College Police--or student "informers," hired by the police--attend meetings and rallies in an undercover capacity. Contained in Hannah's papers in the MSU Library is a two-page, typed, unsigned account of the

above meeting, detailing who was there and what was discussed, probably written by one of those informants. I quote below portions of that letter not only so that one might understand the details of the meeting, but also so that one can see the tone in which these reports were written.²⁵

"There were thirty-two persons present besides myself, Rev. Teft and Rev. Ault of People's Church. I was present for the whole meeting while the Reverends were for the latter part.

"The meeting was presided over by James Zarichny, and the main speaker was Carl Winters [sic]. Mr. Winters' topic dealt with the trial of the twelve Communist leaders by the Un-American Committee of Congress. His talk was poorly organized and he contradicted himself on many occasions. He mentioned that the Marx-Lenist Theory did not advocate the overthrow of the government and five minutes later asked the question, "Why shouldn't the need arise for the overthrow of the government?" He talked about the unjust court system of the United States and how that it was impossible to get a fair trial in our courts. Winters said that of course that we would never get a true picture in our closely guarded classrooms at Michigan State College. This produced applause and laughter. He also likened the Communist movement to a crusade, as the only party today that is interested in the human welfare of the people.

"In Hitler [sic] Germany the first party to be persecuted was the Communist Party. Hitler did this because he realized

the threat of the Communists to his regime. This is the same thing that is happening in the United States.

"Of course this was made in reference to the trial of the Communists. He asked that everyone sign a petition that was passed around to stop the trial. The petition was addressed to President Truman. He also recommended that 'we' take petitions around campus for other students to sign, just mentioning that it was to prevent an unfair trial.

"His most dramatic statement of the evening was that the time will come when we (meaning himself) will take over the courts and make those pay who are persecuting us now!

"His talk was an appeal to the emotions, likening himself and the rest of his kind as martyrs. He talked for about an hour.

"He seemed to appeal very strongly to his audience as their attention was held throughout. Of the thirty-two present I imagine about four were not students. Two of these four were Mr. and Mrs. John Payne, W.S.E. [Written and Spoken English] Dept. of M.S.C., one was a high school girl from Lansing, and another man of about forty-five years of age. These people must have had more than a passing fancy in the meeting as \$17.10 was taken up in the collection that followed.

"I was unable to take any of the names of the members that were present but I introduced myself and became known to them. This was not their first meeting this fall, as they talked as there had been previous meetings, this was apparent

in that they asked me if I had been to any of the other meetings. No plans were made for a future meeting."²⁶

Perhaps the meeting was secret, for five days after it was held the Detroit Free Press printed a story that "revealed" the activities of students "working in behalf of indicted Communist leaders." The Detroit Free Press also reported that Reverent Teft, the pastor-elect of the church, acknowledged that the students had been granted permission to hold a meeting at the church, but he was unaware of their purpose and expressed "deep regret and concern" that the meeting was held on church property.²⁷

On December 20, Michigan State announced that James Zarichny had been dismissed from the college for violating the terms of his probation (by holding the meeting at which Winter spoke). At the time of his dismissal, Zarichny, a mathematics major, had only one term left until graduation.²⁸

In a letter to the Academic Freedom Committee of the Flint Federation of Teachers, a group which had protested the dismissal, Frederick Mueller of the Board of Agriculture explained why Zarichny had been dismissed. Zarichny had been placed on probation for holding meetings of an organization which had been denied recognition by the student council; and "that Mr. Zarichny chose to violate such probation was a direct affront to the constituted authority of the institution."²⁹

Zarichny sent a letter to MSC students asking for assistance in his struggle to get reinstated by writing to

President Hannah and Dean Crowe and complaining. Zarichny explained that he was exploited "because I attended an off campus meeting, and exercised my right as a citizen to listen to someone else's political views. Surely, if I broke probation by participating in an off-campus meeting, then I broke probation last November 2 by participating in the extracurricular activity of voting in the federal elections."³⁰

Zarichny took his case to the Michigan Supreme Court where he sought a writ of mandamus to force the State Board of Agriculture to re-admit him to classes; when that failed, he sought to have his case heard by the United States Supreme Court, claiming that his constitutional right to free speech had been violated. The Court refused to hear the case, and thus the expulsion ruling stood.³¹

The question of whether MSC could protect students' freedom of expression when the student newspaper was under attack was raised in the summer of 1950, at the outbreak of the Korean War. In June, the American Legion was holding its annual Boys State convention, an event which Michigan State had hosted for the previous thirteen years. The events which occurred show both the overreaction organizations such as the Legion were capable of as well as Hannah's politically shrewd if unprincipled handling of potentially disastrous situations.³²

On June 22, The State News published the following editorial:

Editorially

IT'S NOT THE WAY

An interesting experiment has been going on under the guise of American education for the past week; an experiment shot with narrow principles, bald-faced fascism, and militaristic ideas.

This experiment has been taking place under our very noses in Quonset Village. The experiment has been called "Wolverine Boys' State, Inc." The Boys' State is an annual affair sponsored by the American Legion. About 1000 boys have come to MSC for each of the past 13 years to learn American government by setting up a mock state. (See story, page 4)

Now, obviously, much good can come out of such a clearly beneficial idea. But what has happened in Quonset Village during the past week has not been beneficial to America, or more important, to the world.

This past week, the 1,000 Michigan youth enrolled at Boys' State have had many seeds dropped into their minds. There has been much marching to and from assemblies. Full army trappings prevailed, starting with reveille in the morning, continuing with retreat in the afternoon and closing with taps at night. The boys have been required to attend nearly all formations, including church services, with gigs and work details being spread liberally when a goldbrick has been found.

But the payoff came Monday evening when a mock trial was set up to teach the boys all about the famous American method of "free trials." The whole trial was rigged around a defendant accused of having perjured himself while under oath. This crime of perjury was legitimate enough; but the man supposedly had committed perjury by answering "no" to the question, "Are you now or have you ever been a Communist?"

The word "Communist" mentioned several times at the mock trial, generally brought hoots and hisses from the youthful Michiganders. When the defendant himself took the stand, there were many boos and catcalls. It was quite obvious; the American Legion was again blandly passing out their "American bill of goods which consistently reads as follows; "Pre-serve Americanism. Preserve militarism. Stamp out communism, [sic] because it threatens

Americanism, and stamp it out by any means available, fast, slow, fair, foul, but stamp it out."

The American Legion has been passing out this line for a long time now and it has gotten just a little sickening. But not, apparently, to the impressionable youth of Michigan. They seem to have swallowed it whole, as they did at this trial, and the end result is that the word "Communism" can now bring a mass reaction behind which there is little or no thought. Communism itself may be good or bad; that isn't the point. The point is that there is now little room left in this country for the other point of view. And the fact that the jury became hung in the case cited above does not add weight to the Legion point of view. Actually, both prosecution and defense in the trial were arguing more effectively.

To the American Legion we say this: If communism [sic] is your special target, then face it, but not with catcalls, hisses and closed eyes. Give it open thinking and show some guts, by not hiding behind mass reaction of the crowd. And keep Boys' State, in itself it's a good idea--it just needs fumigation.³³

The American Legion wasted no time in condemning The State News for its editorial. Besides attacking The State News for claiming that "Communism itself may be good or bad," the Legion found fault with many other aspects of The State News, which they laid out in the following proposal:

"Whereas, the editorial follows the familiar Russian Communistic pattern and form, and

"Whereas, no loyal American could read this editorial without recognizing the hand of an expert in the sinister technique of subverting our American Institutions, and

"Whereas, the Michigan State College was created and is supported by the people of the State of Michigan and the taxpayers have the right to expect that good and not harm will come from such great institutions of learning and are

anxious that the promotions of our cherished American way of life as contemplated by the Constitution of the State of Michigan and the United States of America, and

"Whereas, Communism is a poison to the people that makes for complete destruction of those principles for which our founding fathers fought and died."

The resolution went on to demand a retraction and an apology to the Wolverine Boys State participants (so named because of the American Legion Chapter which sponsored the event) and that President Hannah discipline those involved; furthermore, the resolution demanded that if the editorial was "an indication of infiltration by subversive-minded people at Michigan State College" then a proper investigation must be undertaken.³⁴

As it happened, the college had taken action against the paper before the Legion's resolution had been sent to Hannah. The editor of The State News was given a chance to defend the paper's actions before the Board of Student Publications and a group of administrators. The editor's defense was to no avail; the college decided to suspend The State News for the remainder of the summer. The suspension was ordered so that a full-time member of the journalism department could assume responsibility for The State News. Because such an individual could not assume that responsibility until fall, the paper was shut down until then.³⁵

At the time of the editorial, The State News received an annual appropriation of \$30,000 from Michigan State and

was distributed free to all members of the college (daily during the school year, weekly in summers). The paper was under the supervision of the Board of Student Publications, comprised of four faculty members and three students.³⁶

The man who wrote the offending editorial was a recent MSC graduate who had stayed in the area to cover the Boys' State events and work on a joint State News-American Legion newspaper. The controversial editorial he submitted to The State News apparently had not been read by either the summer editor of The State News or by the Board of Publications. Otherwise, according to Director of Information James Denison, "it is reasonable to assume corrective action might have been taken."³⁷

Denison, in a letter to the editor of the Daily Californian, who had written to question the suspension of The State News, called the editorial "a flagrant violation of journalistic ethics, good manners, and sound newspaper practices. Furthermore, Denison claimed that the administration had had some previous trouble with the former student, which led him "to doubt his good judgment, and this incident served chiefly to confirm a previous impression." Denison also contended that "the College had no obligation-either moral or legal--to subsidize and maintain an open forum for the irresponsible expression of opinion which may jeopardize the larger interests of all students."³⁸

The final issue of The State News contained a statement from the Board of Student Publications, which explained that

the paper would be suspended until the Fall. The statement explained that the suspension was caused by an "editorial which, by its inaccuracy, intemperate tone, and extravagant phraseology, insulted the guests of the college--the Michigan Boys State." Furthermore, "the board of student publications does not condone the statements contained in the editorial, nor the phraseology in which they were expressed."³⁹

A brief addendum, signed by the summer staff, appeared below the above statement and explained that it did not fully represent the summer staff's feelings. The staff also claimed that those who wished to help the staff's cause could best do so by not taking part in any mass demonstration.⁴⁰

Hannah wrote the American Legion and apologized for the editorial, adding that it did not represent the views of the faculty. Hannah also defended the student who wrote the editorial, claiming that he was satisfied that "there is no question as to his integrity and essential loyalty to this country and its institutions" and that, at most, "he suffers from an excess of youthful zeal and a deficiency of judgment."⁴¹

The suspension of The State News did not go unnoticed by the faculty. A petition was submitted to Hannah, stating:

We, the undersigned members of the Michigan State College staff, urge that the MSC student newspaper, the Michigan State News, be immediately allowed to resume publication.

First, MSC needs a publication which reports news and airs opinions.

Second, regardless of the quality of editorial written, we feel the suspension of the paper is not justified. The democratic way recognizes complete freedom of speech, thought, and press. When a stu-

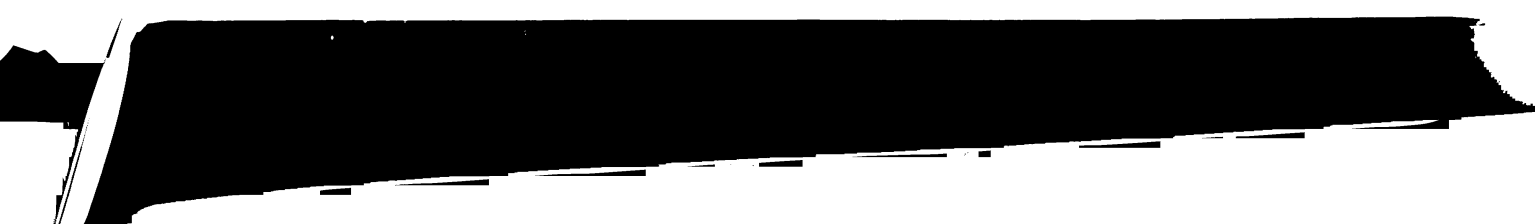
dent newspaper differs from administration, faculty, or outside opinion, the solution is not to suspend the newspaper. Instead, space should be given to whoever differs with its published opinions.

Third, we as university staff members cannot continue to speak in the classroom about freedom of press and see it denied to our own students.

Fourth, MSC has gained stature in recent years and can well afford to resist outside pressures. We feel that the college has already suffered adverse publicity and will suffer more unless the ban is rescinded.

In all, 238 members of the faculty signed the petition, but the effort proved futile. The Michigan State News suspended its operations for the remainder of the summer and did not resume publication until September.⁴²

That MSC had students who were perceived as radical (and possibly subversive) by the administration as well as by outsiders is evident from the four incidents mentioned above. Although the extent of student activity was never sufficient to garner MSC a reputation as a radical school, it was enough to raise the ire of the governor, certain State Senators, the Detroit Free Press, and the American Legion. This constant threat of outside intervention, coupled with Hannah's desire to maintain the autonomy of the school, guaranteed that the possibility of repercussion was very real for a student espousing heresy at this time.



CHAPTER FOUR

COMPLAISANT DISSENTERS: THE FACULTY FEEL THE CHILL OF THE COLD WAR

Michigan State College did not have a known Communist on its faculty in the 1946-54 time period which this study covers, and no professor was dismissed for holding dangerous beliefs or refusing to cooperate with investigative committees. Yet instances of finger-pointing, obsequious confessions by former leftists, and Red Squad reports of radicals on the Red Cedar were in evidence at Michigan State at this time.

If questioning the political and economic status quo was dangerous for an MSC student in the late 1940's and early 1950's--as Zarichny discovered to his sorrow--it could have meant exile for a faculty member. Using public funds to subsidize men and women who shaped the minds of our nation's youth with leftist thoughts was not a popular notion. And with MSC's previously mentioned tenuous situation, coupled with the national AAUP's lack of activity (there was no local branch at the time), a controversial professor on the East Lansing campus would have been in a grim situation if he refused to cooperate with College authorities.

Professors at MSC would have felt heightened concern not only because of the State of Michigan's extreme reaction to the Red Scare, but also because of their employment at

a land-grant college. Both the mission (to use government land to provide inexpensive, quality practical education in areas such as agriculture and home economics) as well as the academic climate (conservative, nearly anti-intellectual) of the land grant college provided an atmosphere of intolerance for outspoken leftists.

To clarify their position on where they stood on the question of Communism and the university, the Land Grant Colleges put forward a policy statement which, in view of its content, had the Orwellian title, "The Land-Grant Colleges and Universities and the Principle of Freedom." Based on the Association of American Universities' "Freedom and Responsibility in Higher Education," the plan was presented at the annual convention of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities in November, 1953.¹

The report reviewed what its authors presented as the distinguished history and service of the land grant college in American life. The land-grant college, the report contended, had been inextricably linked with freedom. This freedom, the report contended, is "inconceivable unless buttressed by freedom to find out, to test and try, and to know. . . . They provide the only climate in which resourceful research and teaching can survive." Yet Communist infiltration of education, government, and other areas of life, the report said ominously, threatened to poison that climate. The report proudly claimed--this was, after all, at a time when the nation was in thrall to McCarthyism --that "The Land-Grant

Colleges and Universities have been prompt to displace from their staffs any member of the Communist Party or anyone subject to its disciplines."

"They have regarded candor in response to official inquiry as a proper test of competence to conduct teaching, research, and public service in these publicly-supported programs of activity. They have rightly insisted upon due process and legal safeguards versus popular pressure and unproved accusation in their appraisal of staff integrity. They have refused to regard dissent as disloyalty in matters of opinion, judgment and objectively arrived at conviction. They have branded self-subjection to the discipline of Communism as proved betrayal of the principle of intellectual freedom."²

The report was unanimously approved by all members of the conference, including President Hannah.³

The Land Grant Colleges and Universities and the Principle of Freedom differed from Freedom and Responsibility in Higher Education in several ways. While the former primarily emphasized the role the practical arts have played in the development of the republic, the latter spent more time defining the nature of a university. The Land Grant report devoted two sentences to the researchers' roles and responsibilities within the university; Freedom and Responsibility devoted several paragraphs to the topic. These differences are trivial in light of the conclusion each report reaches: That the university cannot tolerate Communists on its faculty, since

the very nature of Communism prevents free inquiry and unbiased research.

Before the Land Grant College Statement had been signed, several faculty members had been accused of un-American activities, and their cause was aided by the management style of President Hannah. Hannah was scrupulous about his collection of evidence; he wanted no surprises, and did not like to discuss problems until he had gathered all relevant facts. Hannah was also a deep institutional loyalist; his heart lay with Michigan State, his alma mater. He was not a president who planned to use MSC as a stepping stone to a better job (like Presidents Allen at Washington and Hatcher at Michigan) and thus he had a vested interest in maintaining the institution's long term well-being.⁴

The first real effect of the Red Scare which directly influenced the Michigan State College faculty was a loyalty oath. Like many other states in the early 1950's, the State of Michigan imposed a loyalty oath on employees of state supported colleges. The colleges were mandated to make their personnel sign the oaths because of a law which made it illegal for any academic employee to work at an institution supported by State funds unless he or she had taken the oath. Failure to have the employees take the oath would result in A), total loss of State funding and B), loss of tax-exempt status.⁵

Apparently, enforcement of the oath provision lapsed sometime in the 1940s (probably during the War), for in February of 1951, William H. Combs, assistant to the president,

sent a memo to deans and department heads calling for the signing of an oath card in the presence of a notary public for all graduate assistants, instructors, and professors. The deans and department heads were to inform prospective employees that signing the oath was a condition of employment and that no salary could be paid until an employee had signed.⁶

The memo also announced that clerical and non-academic employees had to sign the cards, and that eventually everyone employed at Michigan State would have to sign.

The oath went as follows:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States of America and the Constitution of the State of Michigan, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of my position, according to the best of my ability."

The oath, unlike the one in California, did not require faculty to renounce or deny membership in the Communist Party or subversive organizations. There is no recorded protest or controversy from the faculty over the oath requirement.

The spectre of Communists at Michigan State arose when, in early 1952, Hannah received word from a man on the Brooklyn College faculty that two Communists who had attended Brooklyn College and later the University of Michigan Graduate School were now on the MSC faculty. One of those named was Professor of English Herbert Weisinger. The other name was blacked out.⁸

President Hannah wrote President Harry Gideonse of Brooklyn College--himself a former victim to the charge of Communism, and later a vociferous anti-Communist--asking whether Brooklyn College records indicated that either man was "affiliated with Communist organizations or in any other way suspect while he was a student at Brooklyn College" since "Questions have been raised with reference to the possibility of Communistic allegiance on the part of two members of our staff, both of whom were undergraduate students at your institution."⁹

Gideonse forwarded the letter to his dean of students. The dean reported that there was no record of one of the accused having attended Brooklyn College. The other, (Weisinger) had attended from 1930-34 as reported, but his political affiliations could not be documented since no records were kept of political activities in those days.¹⁰

Hannah further checked the validity of the charges by dispatching Arthur Brandstatter, head of the MSC Police, to Brooklyn College to interview the man who had made these allegations. Brandstatter recalls that he reported to President Hannah that the accuser had no evidence which would indicate that either man was a Communist.¹¹

Lloyd Emmons, Dean of MSC's School of Science and Arts, then wrote to Ralph Sawyer, Dean of the University of Michigan's School of Graduate Studies, asking about the two accused faculty members. (Weisinger had graduated with a PhD in English from Michigan in 1941; because the other

individual's name is blacked out, it is impossible to say when he attended Michigan).¹²

Sawyer replied "I do not find any record in the University of Michigan of any unfavorable political activity or possible Communist membership on the part of either of them. Professor W. G. Rice does remember [name blocked out--probably Weisinger] as an outspoken sympathizer with loyalist Spain--a feeling shared at that time, of course, by many liberals. It is true also that at the time none of us were sensitive to the implications of some leftist movements as now and our records may be incomplete."¹³

Weisinger did have a radical past, and an inquiry into his past activities might raise questions. As an undergraduate, he was a member of the Young Communist League; later, at Michigan, he was a vociferous advocate for the Spanish Loyalist cause (as Rice correctly remembered). He was also affiliated with the Teachers Union, an affiliation which was considered radical by many. Just how much of this was known to Hannah is uncertain, for Weisinger was not aware of the investigation at the time and never discussed his beliefs with Hannah. Yet he was never a member of the Communist Party, as his accuser claimed, and certainly was not a member in 1952.¹⁴

The man who made the charges against Weisinger was a former roommate of his who had attended graduate school with him at the University of Michigan. Weisinger surmises that the man grew bitter toward him as Weisinger's career flourished

and the accuser's did not. Of course, the easiest way to damage a man's career in that period was to accuse him of being a Communist.¹⁵

Russel B. Nye, Pulitzer Prize winning author and chairman of the English department, suggested in a memo that in addition to checking the two men the Brooklyn College professor had named, "any checking done at Brooklyn and at Michigan probably ought to include the man who wrote the letter. What was his connection with our two men, and what organizations did he belong to? Full information ought to include the source as well as the target."¹⁶

About a month after writing the memo Nye received a letter with information about the accuser; although the author has not seen a copy of the letter, I do have the inter-department memo (written by Nye) which was attached to it: "The attached letter speaks for itself, and in my opinion just about clinches the matter. Note that this concerns the last trace of the man involved before he returned to the U.S. and to Brooklyn. I think it would be only fair to notify President Gideonse that he has on his staff a man of definite instability who can make real trouble."¹⁷

The allegations of the Brooklyn College professor did not harm Weisinger, and the evidence indicates that the Michigan State administration did a fine job in gathering relevant evidence and going to great length to evaluate the validity of the accuser's charges. Although Hannah, a conservative man with a background in agriculture was not overly

friendly to Weissinger, he recognized that Weisinger's numerous books and articles--and his stay at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton--added to the lustre of Michigan State's reputation.

Michigan State was accused of harboring on its faculty in the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings in Detroit in February 1952, when former undercover agent Bernice Baldwin asserted that two MSC professors were part of a Communist cell in the Lansing area. Oddly--unless the omission was by pre-arrangement--Baldwin did not name the two professors.¹⁸

Baldwin's revelations prompted Hannah to respond by issuing a statement which proclaimed that "Michigan State College would not knowingly harbor a Communist on its faculty, and has no reason to question the loyalty of a single member of the faculty. Of course, hearsay evidence such as that presented by Mrs. Baldwin provides no basis for any attempt to discover disloyal individuals, if such there be, nor does it afford any valid reason for anyone to question the integrity of our teaching staff. If valid evidence is ever produced that any member of our staff is now a member of the Communist Party, or was once a member who has failed to renounce all allegiance to the Communist cause, he will be dismissed immediately."¹⁹

President Hannah's position was later clarified in a memo stating that "any staff member who has officially disassociated himself from Communist Party membership or

allegiance by an affirmative action, and has informed a responsible administrative official of Michigan State College at his former affiliation and repudiating action, will be considered as having complied with the policy of the college." The statement added ominously: "An individual cannot rightfully expect the support and protection of Michigan State College if he fails to clear his own record prior to its being brought to public attention by some official agency through testimony of witnesses or other means."²⁰

Later, on October 30, 1953, Hannah released a statement that in order to adequately renounce a Communist past, it was necessary for any staff member expecting protection to discuss their "situations" with their deans. While MSC intended to "defend those who deserve to be defended," it was necessary for Michigan State to "know all the facts with reference to any employees who are likely to be involved in the several investigations of Communist operations that are in operation or in prospect."²¹

Hannah did this, according to his successor, Walter Adams, because he wanted this information on hand so that should a legislative body decide to purge Reds at Michigan State, he would be prepared to defend the college and its faculty. Hannah later added that any MSC faculty member who invoked the Fifth Amendment in response to a loyalty question would be fired.²²

The author has not been able to find how many people took up Hannah on his offer and came forward to "confess"

current or previous membership in subversive organizations. (What constituted a subversive organization was not explained.) There was a record of only one such interview in the University Archives.

The one preserved interview took place on December 3, 1953, and was recorded by W. H. Combs. Combs reports that Jacob Schmookler, a young economist, had told Charles Killingsworth, chairman of the economics department, that he wished to speak to either Combs or Hannah about his "connections with certain organizations several years ago." Combs agreed to see him, and submitted a report to President Hannah.

According to the report, Schmookler was from a family of Bessarabian immigrants who had come to America in 1905. His parents, wrote Combs, "were part of the 'so-called under-privileged group.'" He had become associated with the American Student Union (viewed as a Communist front) and the Young Communist League while a student at Temple in the late 1930's.

In 1940, Combs reported, "due to his maturity in thinking and the influence of some fine teachers," Schmookler informed the organizations that he no longer believed the way they did and he resigned. But he was told that "traitors and rascals" could not leave so easily. A trial was conducted and he was dismissed from the Young Communist League and "shunned by his former colleagues in these organizations."

Combs concluded by saying "He indicates that he has since 1940 been a firm believer in the American system, that he

has become conservative in his views on economics and politics, and that he has had no desire to return to his former views. He is much embarrassed over the connections he had during his student days."²³

Schmookler, to the best knowledge of Adams, never had any problems because of his previous political affiliations. The author has found no record of any investigative body inquiring about Schmookler's past. Clearly Hannah was sincere in his promise to keep the matter confidential.

The issue of Communists on the Michigan State faculty made headlines again in September of 1953 when a professor's previous membership in the Communist party became public. Arnold Williams, an English professor who specialized in medieval literature, admitted that he had been a member of the Communist Party from 1936 to 1938 while serving as an instructor at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Williams denied both involvement with and knowledge of Communist Party activity since his arrival in East Lansing in 1939.²⁴

His involvement with the Party became public when the U.S. Department of Commerce asked him to vouch for one of its employees who had been accused of involvement with Communists. Williams revealed his past involvement with Communism to federal investigators and assured them that the person under investigation was not a member of the Communist Party while Williams was at North Carolina.²⁵

Two FBI members called on Williams, and he told them about his former C.P. membership. In an October, 1953 Senate Subcommittee hearing in Chapel Hill, Williams was named as a party leader. Whether the visit with the FBI agents and Williams' being named are connected cannot be determined.²⁶

According to Russel Nye, the information that Williams had been a Communist had been picked up by the United Press wire service. The U. P. correspondent in Lansing passed the information on to Nye, who was able to track down Hannah and warn Hannah before the information went public.²⁷

As previously stated, the University had issued a policy statement on February 29, 1952, promising to dismiss known Communists from the faculty. On October 30, 1953, approximately five weeks after the Williams "incident," the University released a third memo clarifying what constituted sufficient denial of past Communist affiliation, an issue which had been discussed in an earlier second memo, released sometime between the two (unfortunately for an historian, there was no date on it).

The timing of these memos in relation to the Williams incident raise two possibilities. One possibility is that the second memo was released sometime between the discovery of Williams' previous Communist Party involvement and the October 30 memo. The probable scenario for this would be that Williams had caught Hannah off guard, and Hannah wanted to make sure it did not happen again. In response, he issued a memo stating the need to come forward and tell a "responsible

university official" if the accused ex-Communist expected University protection. Sometime days or weeks later, on October 30, in order to reiterate and clarify that policy, the administration issued a third statement on the subject of Communism.

The second possibility is that the second memo was released before Williams' former Communist Party membership became public knowledge. If that is the case, then Williams was kept on the faculty in flagrant violation of the University's policy, which was to withhold "support and protection" to those who fail to clear their record with the administration before they are named by a witness or called by a committee for Communist activity.

Williams explained that he joined the Communist Party because it "offered a direct action program against fascism and racial discrimination and at the time there was not talk about the overthrow of the government of the United States." When asked whether he had ever brought the "Communist line" into his classes while at North Carolina, Williams answered "Teaching English, you would have to drag Communist propaganda in by the heels if you were to try to teach it. I never did that."²⁸

He then made a public "confession" in which he denounced his past membership in the party and expressed his belief in the superiority of the American system. Williams' confession sounds much like that of the actors in Hollywood who

had to come crawling to the House Un-American Activities Committee if they were ever to work again:

"I am and I have been ready to cooperate with all investigations by the various government agencies in giving them useful information that I may have on Communism.

"Having been a member of the party, I discovered rather abruptly the superiority of the American system for preserving and maintaining the values of a free society.

"I hope that my experience has helped me to interpret these values to my students and to others with whom I come in contact."²⁹

Williams received the backing of the college administration, including his department head, Russel B. Nye, and the Dean of his college, Milton Muelder. Nye thanked Hannah for defending Williams, saying that he could not see how the case could have been handled any better. James Denison, Hannah's public affairs officer, was equally pleased, saying "we are satisfied that Dr. Williams has complied with the provisions of the college's official policy on Communists. We are also satisfied that he is making and will continue to make every effort to cooperate with the government in furnishing information on the Communist Party."³⁰

What Denison's definition of "cooperation" was is tantalizing, for he was unclear as to what he meant. There is no evidence readily available to assist the researcher in determining whether Williams' "cooperation" meant implicating former colleagues at the University of North Carolina. It

is certainly plausible to think that government investigators would have asked such a question, given that the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security had held a hearing at Chapel Hill, looking for Reds on the faculty. It is also likely that had Williams refused to name former Party members, such information would have been publicized. Worse for Hannah, such information would have come to the attention of Congressman Kit Clardy, who almost certainly would have launched an investigation into Reds at MSC.

Weisinger's name came to Hannah's attention again when, in March of 1954, campus police chief Arthur Brandstatter received information from the U.S. House Un-American Activities Committee concerning Weisinger and Milton Rokeach of the psychology department. The Committee, Brandstatter was informed, had in its file the following references to Michigan State Professors. One of the professors, the files disclosed, had:

"'Been a sponsor of conference 'To Safeguard these Rights' held under the auspices of the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions on October 9-10, 1944 in New York City."

"Signed a statement of protest against the dismissal of Communist teachers. The statement was prepared under the auspices of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions and appeared in the February 19, 1949 issue of the Nation Magazine."

"Signer of a brief in behalf of J. Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo, October 1949 by cultural workers in the Supreme Court of the United States. These men are two of the ten Hollywood persons who were indicted for subversive activity. They were cited for contempt by Congress in 1947, and they appealed their case to the United States Supreme Court."³¹

Brandstatter informed President Hannah that the above material was but a "brief summary of the records contained in the Committee's files" and that the National Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions was considered a Communist front group by HUAC. Furthermore, Brandstatter enclosed a copy of the advertisement that appeared in the February 19, 1949 issue of The Nation. It was signed by both Rokeach and Weisinger, as well as about fifty other professors around the country:

KEEP OUR EDUCATORS FREE!

Academic Freedom Safeguards Political Freedom
University Professors are being fired for thinking,
PROTEST TODAY--
Add your name to this letter

Dr. Raymond B. Allen, President
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

The principle that every citizen has a right to his personal beliefs and associations and to voluntary participation in the affairs of the community is fundamental to the traditional American concepts of democracy and academic freedom.

The recent decision of the University of Washington to dismiss three faculty members on the basis of membership in the Communist party, or on the premise of "guilt by association," is shocking repudiation of this principle. If these dismissed professors are not reinstated, the result will be irreparable damage to all educational institutions and particularly to the University of Washington.

The University's action, if it is not swiftly reversed, will set a precedent for the dismissal of any instructor for any personal beliefs and associations.

As educators, deeply concerned for our own civil rights and those of our fellow citizens, and cognizant of the further implications of this action as a threat to our entire educational system, we urge the immediate reinstatement, with full rights of tenure, of the dismissed professors, Phillips, Butterworth, and Gundlach.³²

It is difficult to determine Brandstatter's purpose in forwarding this material to President Hannah. Neither Weisinger nor Rokeach's former wife remember any trouble resulting from their signatures on these petitions. Perhaps H.U.A.C. was sending material to Michigan State in advance of its visit to Lansing in less than two months, so that President Hannah would not be taken by surprise if any M.S.C. faculty were called to testify. It appears that Hannah realized that signing petitions for leftist causes five or six years earlier was really not worth worrying about since he did not call the matter to the professors' attention.

Yet two years earlier, the same two professors had signed a less controversial petition and received a letter from an unhappy Hannah. The extent to which Hannah wanted to keep MSC's name, but not its faculty, away from political controversy is evinced by that incident, which occurred in October, 1952.

An advertisement which appeared in the October 28th, 1952, edition of the Detroit Free Press called for the backing of Proposal Two, a measure which would bring about the reappointment of the Michigan State Senate. The group supporting the measure was called the "Michigan Committee for

Representative Government." Among those listed as sponsors of the measure were four MSC professors--Adrian Jaffe, Russel Nye, Milton Rokeach, and Herbert Weisinger. The first two professors were identified as being from East Lansing, Michigan; the latter two, from Michigan State College.³⁴

Rokeach's and Weisinger's public association with Michigan State College prompted Hannah to write to them: "The full page advertisement in the Detroit Free Press on Tuesday morning listed you among many other citizens as a sponsor of the Michigan Committee for Representative Government. I regret that, possibly inadvertently, the name Michigan State College was included in your endorsement.

"I am sure you understand that there can be no objection to your exercising all of the privileges and prerogatives of all other citizens, but I must also be concerned with the involvement of Michigan State College in any matter that may eventually embarrass us. There can be no possible objection from anyone on the form of endorsement in the same advertisement used by Professor Nye and Jaffe."³⁵

While one could sympathize with Hannah's concern to protect his institution's reputation, the following story shows how absurd the charges of Communism against a faculty member could sometimes be. During the 1950-51 academic year, the wife of a prominent physician in the area took a micro-economics course from Anthony Koo, a young faculty member who was born in China. The woman had received a poor grade on her exam and went to see Koo about getting her grade

changed. Apparently she could not fathom the concept of diminishing marginal returns, the process whereby adding inputs of labor with fixed amounts of capital will ultimately result in diminishing additions of output. She contended that under America's capitalist system, hard work will always lead to higher yields. When Koo refused to change her grade, explaining that she did not understand the concept, she complained to her husband about her supposedly Communist professor and the "Red" textbook he used to support his theories (future Nobel Prize Winner Paul Samuelson's Economics).

Her husband, a prominent Republican, began contacting legislators about the "Chinese Communist" on the MSC staff. (That Koo was a Communist was strongly implied but never explicitly stated.) Those legislators contacted Hannah, wanting to know who this man was and why he was being kept around.

Hannah began an inquiry into the nature of the charges, asking his staff to find what other universities used Samuelson's textbook. Members of Hannah's staff contacted the publisher, McGraw-Hill, which sent a list of other schools using the text. The list was several pages long, and included the United States Military Academy, Catholic University, and the General Motors Institute. That was good enough for Hannah.

Professor Koo's background was also explored. Koo, it turned out, was hardly a Chinese Communist subverting our nation's youth. He was the nephew of Wellington Koo, the Taiwanese Ambassador to the United States and an ardent supporter of Chiang Kai Shek and our anti-Communist efforts in

Korea. And when the recently dismissed General Douglas MacArthur came to Lansing to address the State legislature, Michigan Republican U.S. Senator Homer Furgeson extended a personal invitation to Professor Koo to come to the speech.³⁶

Hannah's penchant for inquiry into the backgrounds of faculty accused of Communist activity, of getting facts straight and collecting the maximum amount of evidence is shown in two letters found in the Hannah papers. The first is from a woman in the Department of Art, (her name was blacked out on the document), thanking Hannah for an interview she had with him on August 25, 1954. The woman wrote that the letter was "just to verify my statement to you that I am at a loss to know how and why my name is on the list." And that, as she had stated in her previous statement, "to the best of my knowledge I have no association with any Communistic organizations or have I ever had."³⁷

On September 8, Hannah sent a letter to Dean Muelder of Science and Arts concerning the meeting with the accused. Hannah states that "I suggested she go carefully over her recollection of her previous activities and after she had done so if she was as certain as she was in our conference that she had not been at any time a member of any Communist or Communist Front organizations that she write me to that effect."

Hannah concluded by adding "I am willing to accept it at face value, and if you wish to institute a promotion for

her at the next time that we are considering promotions I will impose no objections."³⁸

In May, 1954, Michigan State finally had professors called before a Red-hunting legislative committee when U.S. Representative Kit Clardy brought HUAC to Lansing. Clardy, an anti-Communist zealot whose campaign literature boasted that he had fought to prevent Alger Hiss and John Carter Vincent from getting pensions, was traveling about the state with a "mini"-HUAC in the hope of finding Reds.³⁹

Part of Clardy's hunt involved rooting Communists from the state's colleges. As Clardy stated in a newsletter to his constituents, "Our Committee is not attacking any school or school system. It is not going to attack academic freedom. It is seeking information about Communist infiltration."⁴⁰

Clardy sought that information when it called two Michigan State professors to testify in a closed session of HUAC. At its conclusion, Clardy announced that he was happy with the answers the faculty members had given and that he did not plan to call either of them to an open session of questioning. Clardy also told Hannah that he felt both men were "fine Americans."⁴¹

Who those two professor were and what they told the committee remains a mystery. Several professors contemporaneously associated with the university--including Walter Adams, Russel Nye, Herb Weisinger, Ralph Smuckler and others--could not remember who the two were or if such information ever went public. Of the people HUAC was likely to have investigated,

one professor--psychology professor Milton Rokeach, could not have been called, for he was in England for the 1953-54 academic year. Another, English professor Herbert Weisinger, told me that he was never called before HUAC. That leaves the possibility of Arnold Williams (whom HUAC would probably want to talk to, given his admission of former Communist Party membership), and economist Jacob Schmookler (who had admitted membership in Communist front organizations).⁴²

What the two professors said is also unknown, but it is obvious from Clardy's praise that the two cooperated, possibly by naming names. It was HUAC's technique to deal with cooperative witnesses in closed session to avoid embarrassing the witness, while publicly exposing uncooperative witnesses and jeopardizing their chances of retaining their jobs. Considering that in the same hearing Clardy exposed three University of Michigan professors (Market, Nickerson, and Davis) who would not cooperate, we must conclude that the two MSC professors told HUAC what the committee wanted to hear.

Ironically, though Clardy spent considerable time intimidating professors for their previous beliefs, in the 1954 Congressional election he was unseated by MSC speech professor Donald Hayworth, a Democrat. Clardy, of course, called it a Red conspiracy.⁴³

The extent to which Hannah cooperated with U.S. intelligence services by providing information on students and faculty is unclear, but, given the following information, there is

reason to believe that that cooperation occurred, and that it was considerable. First, Hannah served both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations in various capacities (including, work with the Point Four Program, the Defense Department, and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights) and thus would seem willing--probably would have considered it his duty--to share information should the government ask for it. Secondly, Hannah's personal secretary Ruth Jameson revealed to me that the administration building housed files on both faculty and students. No one outside the college was allowed access to these files except one man, who was given special clearance from Hannah. While Ms. Jameson never knew who that man was, it is probable that he was affiliated with some type of intelligence agency. Finally, Hannah told economics professor Charles P. Larrowe in 1960, several years after the period this paper concerns, that he met regularly with various members of government intelligence services. It is possible that Hannah could have met with intelligence agents during the time this study covers and passed along "matters of interest" to them.⁴⁸

Michigan State College, in all but one important aspect, was subjected to the same external pressures as other colleges and universities during the Red Scare. Its employees were forced to take loyalty oaths and were watched by members of the State Police Red Squad; it had on its staff faculty members who were repentant ex-Communists, as well as faculty who were accused of still being Communists or were thought to be

subversive by the federal government; finally, like many other schools, Michigan State had professors who were called to testify before a national "Red hunting" organization.

John Hannah's response to these problems was, like many other college presidents, to protect the reputation and autonomy of the institution he headed. Holding leftist political views (short of Communism) was not an issue to Hannah, as long as their holder did not associate Michigan State College with them. For example, in the case of Weisinger and Rokeach signing the "subversive" petitions, Hannah did not ask that the two accused professors curb their actions, or refrain from signing petitions in the future. Yet when the same two sponsored a much less controversial political proposal, Hannah asked them to refrain from using Michigan State's name in conjunction with their own.

Hannah also went to great length to investigate charges against faculty members. The case of the man that accused Herbert Weisinger of being a Communist shows that, if possible, Hannah would investigate charges of Communism (and dismiss them, if necessary) without ever having to confront (and unnerve) the accused. In cases where investigation was probably not possible--like the woman from the Department of Art whose name was on the "Communist list"--Hannah confronted the accused with the allegations and accepted her denial as truth. Such action shows great trust and concern in an era of tremendous suspicion.

Yet while Hannah may have been sympathetic to those who were falsely accused, he promised to show no mercy to anyone with respect to whom "valid evidence" could show was a Communist. In addition, those who did not clear their own record with the University administration before the discovery of previous Communist Party membership would be dismissed immediately, although it is likely that Williams did not do so and he was retained. Finally, Hannah threatened to dismiss anyone who invoked the Fifth Amendment before a legislative committee. Since that never happened, it cannot be said with certainty what Hannah would have done. There is no reason to think, however, that MSC would have treated its faculty in a manner different from other public colleges.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS: HANNAH KEEPS THE ENEMY AT BAY

How, then, should one evaluate the record of John Hannah's performance at the helm of Michigan State College during the Red Scare. Certain difficulties frustrate the historian, for valuable information regarding Hannah's conversations with Williams and the two faculty members called by Clardy remain unknown. In addition, Hannah was never faced with the tribulations which beset other college presidents--Communists who would not relinquish their ties to the Party, witnesses who would not cooperate with Congressional Committees, or faculty who attempted to deceive their college administration. Nevertheless, enough evidence does exist to render valid judgments on Hannah's performance.

Michigan State had neither a radical tradition nor a politically active student body, and thus the institution was not subjected to constant challenging of the status quo by its students. Yet that same lack of a radical tradition made any student dissent stand out. Contrary to Michigan State's reputation, several incidents did occur which were at the time, and in the atmosphere of the Red Scare, considered radical. They provide enough evidence from which to draw an accurate evaluation of Hannah's performance.

Hannah's record of guaranteeing student political freedom is mixed at best. His response in the AYD and The State News cases was certainly not a stand on political principle, but rather an action of expediency. Yet these stands are understandable--even prudent--given the paranoia which had gripped the country.

If The State News incident is viewed in terms of its short-term effects, it is difficult not to feel a sense of disgust by the baseless assertions which the American Legion leveled against The State News. Likewise, one could hardly credit the MSC administration for providing a case-study in how to protect First Amendment rights. The college, quite simply, failed to assure that the student publication staff would have the opportunity to express its opinions in an agreed upon forum.

Yet, viewed in the long-term, such a suspension was not very harmful to MSC. If the administration had failed to act against the paper, the Legion could have exerted tremendous pressure on the legislature to further investigate "Communist infiltration" at MSC. Appropriations to the college could have been slashed by a legislature angry that it was indirectly subsidizing Communist propaganda" via The State News. Given the political climate of summer, 1950--when Americans were in quick retreat in Korea, and "Red-control" bills overwhelmingly passed both houses of the state legislature--such a stand could have been counterproductive not just to MSC

as an institution, but also to individual students and faculty whose "Americanism" was into question.

Instead, all that was lost was a summer of publication of The State News (about nine issues). The paper resumed publication in September, with its college appropriation still intact. More important, MSC came out of the affair in decent shape, with further evidence that it could handle "problems" without the assistance of outside intervention.

Hannah's performance was better when he publicly announced that he would tolerate both a Communist student group as well as a pro-Wallace group on campus. Such a stand required courage, and it certainly did not endear him to witch hunters such as Senator Callahan.

These actions only affected student organizations and publications. To ban an organization may have a negative effect on free speech, but really does not harm the well-being of any individual. Thus, whether Hannah's record regarding these organizations was good or bad is of secondary importance when compared with his decision on James Zarichny.

It is understandable why Hannah would be upset that James Zarichny had brought Carl Winter to East Lansing. The Reverend Teft probably complained that he was duped by the students; local townspeople were probably angry that an MSC student had brought in a Communist; members of the legislature probably wanted to know why Hannah would allow a Communist especially one indicted under the Smith Act, to come to town. The pressures brought to bear upon a man who wanted to protect his

institution against regulations by outsiders must have been considerable.

In addition, viewing the incident from Hannah's perspective Zarichny had been given more than his fair share of warnings, ample opportunities not to cause further embarrassment to MSC. First, it had been the AYD affair; then, it had been Zarichny's appearance before the Callahan Committee; finally, his citation for contempt. Zarichny had obviously become a major source of embarrassment, and Hannah probably felt that he could ill afford to tolerate any more damage to MSC because of the actions of one Communist agitator.

It does seem, looking at the contre temps from today's vantage point, that Hannah could have allowed Zarichny to finish his last term. There might well have been a political price paid for keeping Zarichny as a student; it is possible that that price would have increased because of Zarichny's activities in his last term. But by relieving MSC of that potential political burden, Hannah had sacrificed First Amendment-protected activity, as well as the welfare of a human being.

The expulsion of Zarichny from Michigan State mars Hannah's record as a fair, open-minded university president. While Hannah's concern for the well-being of the institution is admirable, it is unfortunate that it was done at the expense of an individual student who was, after all, engaging in First Amendment-protected activities. The expulsion of Zarichny fitted Hannah's pattern of trying to give suspect individuals

an opportunity to cooperate with the college and protect their jobs. Those who did not cooperate were cast aside for the well-being of the institution.

One conjecture which can be stated with some confidence is that neither a Communist nor an uncooperative witness could have remained on the MSC faculty. Michigan's extreme reaction to the Red Scare, the actions of other public universities, and Hannah's own pronouncements are all evidence to this conclusion.

Hannah made several statements in which he unequivocally stated that no Communists would be tolerated on the MSC faculty. These statements were made at the Callahan Committee hearings (1949), after the allegations by Bernice Baldwin at the HUAC hearings (1952), and in a memo in which he called for faculty with Communist pasts to clear their record and discuss their situation with their Dean. Hannah also stated that a faculty member who invoked the Fifth Amendment would be fired. Finally, by signing the Land-Grant College Statement which boasted of the promptness in which member schools fired Communists, it is impossible to think that Hannah would have ever reneged on his pronouncements.

MSC's position on these issues was spelled out in a letter to John Slocum, Secretary of the Board of Trustees at the State University of New York System. Slocum had written MSC to inquire about its policy regarding Communist activity by faculty members.

James Denison replied that "There is a strong feeling here that public funds should not be used to employ any individual who is committed to the destruction of our social and political system, and it is my judgment that any Communist discovered to be a member of the faculty would not be with us very long."

How closely Hannah followed his policy of providing "support and protection" to faculty who renounced their Communist past cannot be stated with absolute certainty, but there is ample evidence to support the contention that he was true to his word. The only documented case of a faculty member "confessing" his past was Jacob Schmookler, and he appears to have emerged unscathed.

In addition the two faculty members who appeared before HUAC had probably also cleared their record before being called by Clardy. It is likely Hannah would have discussed what the two men were going to say to Clardy before their closed session meeting with him and cleared themselves with Hannah before talking with the Congressman. Since the identity of these two men is unknown, so too is their fate. But no evidence exists which would lead to a conclusion other than: Hannah kept his word, and the two did receive support and protection. The fact that Clardy told Hannah that both men were "fine Americans" makes the possibility of spite extremely remote.

Hannah's actions in response to charges during the Red Scare follow a certain pattern--to collect all relevant

information, to gain as much knowledge of an accused faculty member as possible, and to then render a judgment. Impassioned, foolish decisions were not part of his modus operandi. Having then reached a conclusion as to whether charges might be valid, only then might he call a faculty member in and discuss the matter. If his actions with the woman from the Department of Art were indicative of how he handled other cases (if there were other cases), then Hannah appears to have extended a tremendous amount of trust in an era when that virtue was at a minimum. No faculty review boards, special committees, or meetings before the Board of Agriculture--Hannah was willing to shoulder the responsibility of deciding how accused Communists would be dealt with.

More important to MSC as an institution was the fact that at no time did MSC have its autonomy usurped by outside intervention. No restrictive loyalty oaths were ever imposed; state appropriations were never cut (or threatened to be cut) in order to make Hannah act in a certain way. Hannah proved he was no tool of the right when he refused to comply with Callahan's request to remove the Communist Party from campus, or to expel Zarichny after his testimony before Callahan's Committee. Yet Hannah could also placate the Red-hunters (while maintaining the long-term status quo) by suspending The State News and publicly issuing stern warnings to would-be Communists on the MSC faculty. Such flexibility of action kept MSC well-suited for their future years of growth and

prevented it from sustaining any major damage during the Red Scare period.

Just as it has been said that only Nixon could have opened diplomatic ties with China, so too might it be said that only a man with Hannah's temperament and background could have brought Michigan State through one McCarthy era and position it for the meteoric rise which was to follow. As a conservative, Hannah could placate the right wing elements of the state legislature. As a man with a background in agriculture, Hannah could appeal to the rural representatives and senators who could trust one of their own, but not an egg-headed, Eastern-educated know-it-all at the helm of MSC. As a President with appointments in the Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower Administrations, as well as the Presidency of NALGCU, Hannah showed that he was no light-weight local boy, but a man of tremendous stature, respected by his colleagues and by parties on both sides of the aisle.

Furthermore, when one considers damage done to MSC during this period--minimal--and the harm which could have befallen it, Hannah's record is even more brilliant. An inappropriate response to the perceived threats of the Red Scare, either through extreme or insufficient action, could have resulted in: loss of state and federal government funds, an eventual exodus of faculty disgusted with violations of academic freedom (or faculty refusing to accept jobs at MSC in the future), or the firing of Hannah by the State Board of Agriculture. That Michigan State emerged from the Red Scare larger and

more reputable is directly attributable to Hannah and accounts for its elevation from college to university in 1955.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

WORLD WAR II ENDS: THE RED SCARE REEMERGES

¹David Cate, The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 275.

²Walter Goodman, The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1964), 288-296.

³David Halberstam, The Best and the Brightest (New York: Random House, 1972), 111-117.

⁴Ibid., 120.

⁵Erwin Griswold, The Fifth Amendment Today: Three Speeches by Erwin N. Griswold (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 13-14; Ibid., 18-19.

⁶Cate, The Great Fear, 147-150.

⁷Ibid., 152. For more thorough examination of the constitutional options available to accused Communists, see Cate, The Great Fear, 147-152; Griswold, The Fifth Amendment Today; and Lillian Hellman, Scoundrel Time, with a foreword by Garry Wills (Boston: Little, Brown Co., 1976), 2.

⁸Ellen W. Schrecker, No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 212.

⁹Cate, the Great Fear, 122-133.

¹⁰Garry Wills, in introduction to Lillian Hellman, Scoundrel Time, 2.

¹¹Cate, the Great Fear, 156.

¹²James Truett Selcraig, The Red Scare in the Midwest, 1945-1955: A State and Local Study (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1982), 1-2.

¹³Detroit Free Press, 1, 2, 5 February 1947; Ibid., 6, 11 February 1947.

¹⁴Ibid., 14 February 1947.

¹⁵Ibid., 3 February 1947; Ibid., 6 February 1947.

¹⁶Michigan State News, 13 November 1946; Ibid., 1 February 1947; Selcraig, The Red Scare in the Midwest, 106; Detroit Free Press, 12, 19 March 1947; Ibid., 2, 9 April 1947.

¹⁷Robert J. Mowitz, "State and Local Attack on Subversion" in Walter Gelhorn, ed., The States and Subversion (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), 148-152; Detroit Free Press, 1, 21, 29 May 1947.

¹⁸Ibid., 29 March 1947.

¹⁹Selcraig, The Red Scare in the Midwest, 8; Mowitz, "State and Local Attacks on Subversion", 195; Ibid., 197.

²⁰Detroit Free Press, 19 February 1948; Ibid., 17 April 1948; Ibid., 8 February 1948; Ibid., 10 January 1949.

²¹Selcraig, The Red Scare in the Midwest, 8-9.

²²Mowitz, "State and Local Attacks on Subversion", 201-202, 202-203.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., 10; Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., 11.

²⁶Ibid., 11-12.

²⁷Ibid., 12.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Detroit Free Press, 24 February 1952; Ibid., 1 March 1952.

³⁰Ibid., 28 February 1952; Ibid., 1 March 1952.

³¹Caute, The Great Fear, 202-203.

³²Detroit Free Press, 8-12 May 1954.

³³Paul L. Dressel, College To University: The Hannah Years At Michigan State, 1935-1969 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Publications, 1987), 51-54; 364-370. From 1935 to 1941, nearly \$5 million in buildings were added to the campus.

³⁴Dressel, College To University, 3-4; Ibid., 5.

³⁵Ibid., 4.

³⁶Ibid., 4-5.

³⁷Ibid., 61-64.

³⁸Madison Kuhn, Michigan State: The First Hundred Years (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1955), 444; Dressel, College To University, 371.

³⁹Ibid., 266; Ibid., 267.

⁴⁰Ibid., 273-280.

⁴¹Kuhn, Michigan State, 462.

⁴²Ibid., 460.

⁴³Dressel, College To University, 267; Ibid., 6.

⁴⁴Ibid., 14.

⁴⁵Michigan State News, 16 March 1948.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., 20 October 1950

⁴⁸Ibid., 21 October 1950.

⁴⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

ACADEMIA AND COMMUNISM

¹Ellen W. Schrecker, No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities (New York: Oxford Press, 1986), 17-18.

²Ibid., 18.

³Ibid., 21; Ibid., 22.

⁴Ibid., 27.

⁵Ibid., 28; Ibid., 29; Ibid.

⁶Ibid., 30; Ibid.

⁷Daniel Aaron, Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961), 196-197.

⁸Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 31.

⁹Ibid., 36.

¹⁰Ibid., 41.

¹¹Ibid., 52-53; Ibid.

¹²Malcolm M. Wiley, Depression, Recovery and Higher Education: A Report by Committee Y of the American Association of University Professors (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937), 441.

¹³Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 69-70; Ibid., 71.

¹⁴Ibid., 55-57.

¹⁵Ibid., 71-72; Ibid., 73; James Burkhart Gilbert, Writers and Partisans: A History of Literary Radicalism in America (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968), 166-168; Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 72.

¹⁶Ibid., 74.

¹⁷David Oshinsky, Senator Joseph McCarthy and the American Labor Movement (Columbia, University of Missouri Press, 1976), 98; Goodman, The Committee, 103; Victor S. Navasky, Naming Names (New York: Viking Press, 1980), 48-49.

¹⁸Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 75; David P. Gardner, The California Oath Controversy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 259.

¹⁹Lawrence Chamberlain, Loyalty and Legislative Action: A Survey of Activity by the New York State Legislature 1919-1949 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951), 161; Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 79; Chamberlain, Loyalty and Legislative Action, 173.

²⁰Ibid., 169.

²¹Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 84

²²Ibid., 85; Ibid., 87; Ibid., 90-91; Ibid., 93.

²³Ibid., 93; Ibid., 93-94.

²⁴Jane Sanders, Cold War on the Campus: Academic Freedom at the University of Washington, 1946-64 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979), 26; Ibid., 29.

²⁵Ibid., 38-39.

²⁶Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 97.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Sanders, The Cold War on the Campus, 42.

²⁹Vern Countryman, Un-American Activities in the State of Washington: The Work of the Conwell Committee (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951), 298.

³⁰Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 102.

³¹Ibid.; Ibid.

³²Countryman, Un-American Activities, 264-272.

³³Ibid., 275.

³⁴Sanders, Cold War on the Campus, 98-99; Interview with former Washington local AAUP member Charles Larowe, 16 September 1992.

³⁵Countryman, Un-American Activities, 381-385.

³⁶Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 111; Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Lawrence Chamberlain, "A Generation of Legislative Alarm", in Walter Gelhorn, ed., The States and Subversion (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952), 271-278; William Pendergrast, "The Ober Anti-Communist Law", in Walter Gelhorn, ed., The States and Subversion, 148-152; Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 115-116.

³⁹Ibid., 116-117.

⁴⁰George R. Stewart, The Year of the Oath: The Fight for Academic Freedom at the University of California (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1950) 145; Ibid., 52; Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid., 30.

⁴²David P. Gardner, The California Oath Controversy (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 55.

⁴³Stewart, Year of the Oath, 42-43; Ibid., 36.

⁴⁴Stewart, The Year of the Oath, 37; Ibid., 38.

- ⁴⁵Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 121.
- ⁴⁶Gardner, The California Oath Controversy, 218-219.
- ⁴⁷Gardner, The California Oath Controversy, 223; Ibid., 243-244.
- ⁴⁸Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 124-25.
- ⁴⁹Walter Goodman, The Committee, 252-253.
- ⁵⁰Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 142-148.
- ⁵¹Caute, The Great Fear, 317-321; Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 168-169.
- ⁵²Caute, The Great Fear, 414-415; Schrecker, 179.
- ⁵³Ibid., 182; Ibid., 184.
- ⁵⁴Taken from Memo of Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 27 April 1953, Communism and Subversive Activity, 1947-1954, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- ⁵⁵Ibid.
- ⁵⁶Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 189-190.
- ⁵⁷Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 194-195; Ibid., 197-200; Ibid., 201-202.
- ⁵⁸Ibid., 205-207.
- ⁵⁹Caute, The Great Fear, 416; Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 209-211.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., 212-216.
- ⁶¹Ibid., 222-232.
- ⁶²Ibid., 233-234; Caute, The Great Fear, 416; Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 237-238.
- ⁶³Charles P. Larrowe, interview with the author, 16 September 1992; Ibid.; Caute, The Great Fear, 416.
- ⁶⁴Ibid., 415; Schrecker, No Ivory Tower, 313.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., 266.
- ⁶⁶Ibid., 285-290.

⁶⁷Paul Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1958), 251.

⁶⁸Schrecker, No Ivory Tower.

CHAPTER THREE

DEFIANT DISSENTERS: MICHIGAN STATE STUDENTS FEEL THE CHILL OF THE COLD WAR

¹Michigan State News, 7 November 1946; Ibid., 12 November 1946; Ibid., 13 November 1946.

²Michigan State News, 31 January 1947; Ibid.

³Michigan State News, 9 December 1947; Detroit Free Press, 5 February 1947.

⁴Detroit Free Press, 2 February 1947; Michigan State News, 1 February 1947.

⁵Detroit Free Press, 5 February 1947.

⁶John Hannah, 2 February 1947, Communism and Subversive Activity, 1947-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

⁷James Selcraig, The Red Scare in the Midwest, 1945-1958, A State and Local Study (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1982), 6; Detroit Free Press, 12 March 1947.

⁸Detroit Free Press, 22 January 1948.

⁹Michigan State News, 8 February 1948.

¹⁰Michigan State News, 26 February 1948; Ibid., 9 March 1948.

¹¹Lansing State Journal, 17 March 1948.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Detroit Free Press, 13 April 1948.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Detroit Free Press, 14 April 1948.

¹⁶John Hannah to Editor of Detroit Free Press, 14 April 1948, Communism and Subversive Activities 1947-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

¹⁷Michigan, Public and Local Acts of the State Legislature of Michigan (1937), Act 117, Section 146-147.

¹⁸Michigan State News, 21 February 1948.

¹⁹Detroit Free Press, 13 April 1948; Ibid., 21 April 1948.

²⁰Michigan State News, 21 April 1948.

²¹Ibid.

²²Detroit Free Press, 20 May 1948; Ibid., 21 May 1948. Before the hearings began, four MSC student groups--the American Veterans Committee, the Spartans Citizens Committee, the Progressive Party, and the History and Political Science Club --Circulated petitions called for the abolition of the Callahan Committee. Detroit Free Press, 24 April 1948.

²³G. Leslie Field, Amicus Curiae Brief of Detroit Chapter, National Lawyers Guild, 1948, 11-15, Communism and Subversive Activity, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

²⁴Detroit Free Press, 11 December 1948.

²⁵Charles P. Larrowe, interview with the author, 16 September 1992.

²⁶Unidentified letter, undated (1948), Students: Disciplinary Cases--James Zarichny 1949, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

²⁷Detroit Free Press, 11 December 1948.

²⁸Detroit Free Press, 21 December 1948. Zarichny had been asked by the administration to transfer from Michigan State back in 1947 because of his "propagandizing" activities. Detroit Free Press, 21 April 1948.

²⁹Frederick Mueller to Cathryn Lee, 28 January 1949, Students: Disciplinary Cases--James Zarichny 1949, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

³⁰Lansing State Journal, 4 January 1949.

³¹Lansing State Journal, 13 January 1949; Ibid., 10 October 1949. The MSC Student Council refused, by a vote of 27 to 7, to pass a resolution calling Zarichny's ouster a violation of his Civil Rights. It also refused to support his reinstatement. Lansing State Journal, 13 January 1945.

³²Michigan State News, 29 June 1950.

³³Michigan State News, 22 June 1950.

³⁴Resolution passed at 1950 Annual Convention of U.P. Associations of American Legion Posts, 23-25 June 1950, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, State News - Suspension 1950, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections. Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

³⁵James H. Denison to Louis Bell, 13 July 1950, State News - Suspension 1950, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Michigan State News, 29 June 1950.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹John Hannah to George Beaudoin, 11 July 1950, State News - Suspension 1950, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

⁴²Petition to President Hannah, undated, State News - Suspension 1950, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

CHAPTER FOUR

COMPLAISANT DISSENTERS: THE FACULTY FEEL THE CHILL OF THE COLD WAR

¹"The Land Grant Colleges and Universities and the Principle of Freedom", Proceedings of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, Sixty-Seventh Annual Convention, (Washington: Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, 1953).

²Ibid., 108-109.

³Ibid., 108.

⁴Former Michigan State University President Walter Adams, interview with the author, August 1991. Adams was at MSU from 1947 to 1991, and served as Hannah's successor when the latter stepped down in 1969.

⁵Michigan, Public and Local Acts of the State Legislature of Michigan (1935), Act 23, Sections 1-2.

⁶William H. Combs to Deans and Department Heads, 14 February 1951, Loyalty Oaths, Miscellaneous Files, Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

⁷Michigan, Public and Local Acts of the State Legislature of Michigan (1935), Act 23, Section 1. The oath cited was found in the Hannah Papers; the one found in the Compiled Laws adds on "the duties of the position of (title of position and name of designation of junior college, college or university to be inserted) to which I am now or may subsequently be assigned."

⁸Former English Department Chairman Russel B. Nye, interview with the author, 17 September 1992; President Hannah to Samuel Kliger, 11 March 1952, Communism and Subversive Activity 1947-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan. Kliger, according to Herb Weisinger, was the former roommate who had accused him of being a Communist.

⁹John A. Hannah to Harry D. Gideonse, 3 April 1952, Communism and the University Staff - 1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

¹⁰F. W. Maroney to John A. Hannah, 9 April 1952, Communism and the University Staff - 1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

¹¹Former Michigan State College Chief of Police Arthur Brandstatter, interview with the author, May 1992.

¹²Ralph Sawyer to Lloyd Emmons, 19 April 1952; Communism and the University Staff - 1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Herbert Weisinger, interview with the author, July 1992.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Russel B. Nye to Lloyd Emmons, undated (1952), Communism and the University Staff - 1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

¹⁷Russel B. Nye to Lloyd Emmons and John A. Hannah, undated (1952), Communism and the University Staff - 1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

¹⁸Detroit Free Press, 1 March 1952.

¹⁹Statement released by John Hannah in response to Baldwin Charges, 29 February 1952, Communism and Subversive Activity 1947-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

²⁰Untitled memo, author unknown, undated, Loyalty Oaths, Miscellaneous Files, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

²¹Taken from explanation of Hannah's policy, untitled memo, author unknown, 30 October 1953, Loyalty Oaths, Miscellaneous Files, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

²²Walter Adams, interview with the author, August 1992; Detroit Free Press, 2 May 1954.

²³Interview given by Jacob Schmookler to William H. Combs, 30 December 1953, Communism and the University Staff - 1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing.

²⁴Lansing State Journal, 23 September 1953.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Russel B. Nye, interview with the author, 15 September 1992.

²⁸Lansing State Journal, 22 September 1953; Ibid.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid.; Russel Nye to John Hannah, 25 September 1953, Subversion 1952-1965, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan; Lansing State Journal, 22 September 1953.

³¹Arthur Brandstatter to John Hannah, 25 March 1954, Communism and the University Staff, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

³²The Nation, 16 February 1950.

³³Herbert Weisinger, interview with the author, July 1992; Muriel Rokeach, interview with the author, August 1992.

³⁴Detroit Free Press, 28 October 1952.

³⁵John Hannah to Milton Rokeach and Herbert Weisinger, 30 October 1952, Staff Political Activities 1952-1953, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

³⁶Walter Adams, interview with the author, August 1992.

³⁷Unknown to John Hannah, 29 August 1954, Communism and the University Staff - 1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

³⁸John Hannah to Milton Muelder, 8 September 1954, Communism and the University Staff - 1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

³⁹Michigan State News, 11 May 1954; Clardy campaign literature, Kit Clardy Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

⁴⁰"Washington Report: A Report to the people of the 6th Congressional District of Michigan" by Kit Clardy, 5 March 1953, Kit Clardy Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan. Kit Clardy later joined the John Birch Society. David Cate, The Great Fear, 92.

⁴¹Michigan State News, 11 May 1954.

⁴²Muriel Rokeach, interview with the author, August 1992; Herbert Weisinger, interviewed by author, July 1992; Ibid.

⁴³Michigan State News, 30 November 1954. Walter Adams recalls that several MSC professors helped Hayworth by donating time and helping write jingles for campaign ads. Hayworth was only able to stay in office for one term, before he was unseated by Charles Chamberlain.

⁴⁴Ruth Jameson interview with the author, June 1992; Charles P. Larrowe, interviewed by author, June 1992.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS: HANNAH KEEPS THE ENEMY AT BAY

¹James Denison to John H. Slocum, 18 August 1953, Communism and Subversive Activity 1947-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

SOURCES CONSULTED

Secondary Sources

- Aaron, Daniel. Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961.
- Caute, David. The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.
- Chamberlain, Lawrence. Loyalty and Legislative Action: A Survey of Activity by the New York State Legislature 1919-1949. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951.
- Countryman, Vern. Un-American Activities in the State of Washington: The Work of the Canwell Committee. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1951.
- Dressel, Paul L. College to University: The Hannah Years at Michigan State, 1935-1969. East Lansing: Michigan State University Publications, 1987.
- Gardner, David P. The California Oath Controversy. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California, 1967.
- Gelhorn, Walter. The States and Subversion. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952.
- Gilbert, James Burkhart. Writers and Partisans: A History of Literary Radicalism in America. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1968.
- Goodman, Walter. The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 1964.
- Griswold, Erwin. The Fifth Amendment Today: Three Speeches by Erwin Griswold. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955.
- Halberstam, David. The Best and the Brightest. New York: Random House, 1972.

- Hellman, Lillian. Scoundrel Time. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1976.
- Kuhn, Madison. Michigan State: The First Hundred Years. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1955.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul and Wagner Thielens, Jr. The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis. Glencoe, IL, Free Press, 1958.
- Navasky, Victor S. Naming Names. New York: Viking Press, 1980.
- Oshinsky, David. Senator Joseph McCarthy and the American Labor Movement. Columbia, MO, University of Missouri Press, 1976.
- Sanders, June. Cold War on the Campus: Academic Freedom at the University of Washington, 1946-64. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979.
- Schrecker, Ellen W. No Ivory Tower: McCarthyism and the Universities. New York: Oxford Press, 1986.
- Selcraig, James Truett. The Red Scare in the Midwest, 1945-1955: A state and Local Study. Ann Arbor: University Of Michigan Research Press, 1982.
- Stewart, George R. The Year of the Oath: The Fight for Academic Freedom at the University of California. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1950.
- Wiley, Malcolm W. Depression, Recovery and Higher Education: A Report by Committee Y of the American Association of University Professors. New York: McGraw Hill, 1937.

Primary Sources

- Brandstatter, Arthur to John Hannah, memo, 25 March 1954. Communism and the University Staff, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Clardy, Kit. "Washington Report: A Report to the People of the 6th Congressional District of Michigan." 5 March 1954. Kit Clardy Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

- Clardy, Kit. Campaign literature, undated. Kit Clardy Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Combs, William H. to Deans and Department Heads, memo, 14 February 1951. Loyalty Oaths, Miscellaneous Files, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Denison, James H. to Louis Bell, letter, 13 July 1950. State News--Suspension 1950, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Denison, James to John H. Slocum, letter, 18 August 1953. Communism and Subversive Activity 1947-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Field, G. Leslie. Amicus Curiae Brief of Detroit Chapter, National Lawyers Guild, 1948. Communism and Subversive Activity, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Hannah, John, Public Statement, 2 February 1947. Communism and Subversive Activity. 1947-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Hannah, John, 29 February 1952. Communism and Subversive Activity 1947-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Hannah, John to George Beaudoin, letter, 11 July 1950. State News--Suspension 1950, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Hannah, John to Editor of Detroit Free Press, letter, 14 April 1948. Communism and Subversive Activity 1947-1958. John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Hannah, John to Harry D. Gideonse, letter, 3 April 1952. Communism and the University Staff-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

- Hannah, John to Samuel Kliger, letter, 11 March 1952.
Communism and Subversive Activity 1947-1958, John Hannah papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Hannah, John to Milton Muelder, memo, 8 September 1954.
Communism and the University Staff-1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Hannah, John to Milton Rokeach, letter, 29 August 1954.
Communism and the University Staff-1958, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Maroney, F. W. to John Hannah, letter, 9 April 1952.
Communism and the University Staff--1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Mueller, Frederick to Cathryn Lee, letter, 28 January 1949.
Students: Disciplinary Cases--James Zarichny 1949, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Nye, Russel B. to Lloyd Emmons, undated (1952). Communism and the University Staff--1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Nye, Russel B. to Lloyd Emmons, memo, undated (1952).
Communism and the University Staff--1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Nye, Russel B. to John Hannah, memo, 25 September 1953. Subversion 1952-1965, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.
- Sawyer, Ralph to Lloyd Emmons, letter, 19 April 1952.
Communism and the University Staff--1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Schmookler, Jacob to William H. Combs, record of interview, 30 December 1953. Communism and the University Staff --1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Untitled memo, author unknown, undated. Loyalty Oaths, Miscellaneous Files, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Untitled memo, author unknown, 30 October 1953. Loyalty Oaths, Miscellaneous Files, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Unknown to John Hannah, letter 29 August 1954. Communism and the University Staff--1958, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Unidentified letter, author unknown, undated (December 1948). John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Upper Peninsula American Legion Resolution, 23-25 June 1950. State News--Suspension 1950. John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Petition to President Hannah, undated (1950). State News --Suspension 1950, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Memo, Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, 27 April 1953. Communism and Subversive Activity, 1947-1954, John Hannah Papers, Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections, Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

Other Sources Consulted

Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Michigan Library and Historical Center, Lansing, Michigan.

Public and Local Acts of the State Legislature of Michigan,
Act 23, Section 1-2.

Public and Local Acts of the State Legislature of Michigan,
1937. Act 117, Section 146-147.

Proceedings of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and
Universities, Sixty-Seventh Annual Convention, 153.
Washington: Association of Land-Grant Colleges and
Universities.

Newspapers/Magazines

Detroit Free Press.

Lansing State Journal.

Michigan State News.

The Nation.

Interviews

Adams, Walter. President Emeritus. Interview with the author,
August 1992.

Brandstatter, Arthur. Professor Emeritus, Criminal Justice.
Interview with the author, May 1992.

Jameson, Ruth. Personal Secretary to John Hannah. Interview
with the author, June 1992.

Koo, Anthony. Professor Emeritus, Economics. Interview with
the author, October, 1992.

Larowe, Charles. Professor Emeritus, Economics. Interview
with the author, August 1992.

Nye, Russel. Professor Emeritus, English. Interview with
the author, September 1992.

Rokeach, Muriel. Wife of Milton Rokeach. Interview with
the author, August 1992.

Scott, Virgil. Professor, English. Interview with the author,
July 1992.

Smukler, Ralph. Interview with the author. September 1992.