shortcomings. They have not only tried to create hostility toward us among specific nations, races, and religious groups. They have tried to prove our democracy an empty fraud, and our nation a consistent oppressor of underprivileged people. This may seem ludicrous to Americans, but it is sufficiently important to worry our friends.

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Our achievements in building and maintaining a state dedicated to the fundamentals of freedom have already served as a guide for those seeking the best road from chaos to liberty and prosperity. But it is not indelibly written that democracy will encompass the world. We are convinced that our way of life—the free way of life—holds a promise of hope for all people. We have what is perhaps the greatest responsibility ever placed upon a people to keep this promise alive. Only still greater achievements will do it.

The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal is not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record.

Questions

1. Why does the commission believe that the federal government must take the lead in promoting civil rights?

2. Why does it consider "our domestic civil rights shortcomings" a threat to the triumph of democratic ideals in the Cold War?

164. Joseph R. McCarthy on the Attack (1950)

Source:* Congressional Record, *81st Congress, 2nd Session, pt. 2, pp. 1954–56.

Soon after the announcement of the Truman Doctrine, the president instituted a loyalty review system in which government employees were required to demonstrate their patriotism without, in many cases, knowing the charges against them. But the individual whose name came to be most closely associated with the anticommunist crusade was Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin. In a speech in West Virginia in February 1950, McCarthy stated that he had a list of 205 communists working for the State Department. The charge was preposterous; and a few days later, when he entered the speech in the *Congressional Record*, McCarthy reduced the number to 57—still a wild and unsubstantiated claim. The demagogic pursuit of communists riding roughshod over civil liberties came to be known as McCarthyism.

FIVE YEARS AFTER a world war has been won, men's hearts should anticipate a long peace, and men's minds should be free from the heavy weight that comes with war. But this is not such a period—for this is not a period of peace. This is a time of the "cold war." This is a time when all the world is split into two vast, increasingly hostile armed camps—a time of a great armaments race. . . .

Today we are engaged in a final, all-out battle between communistic atheism and Christianity. The modern champions of communism have selected this as the time. And, ladies and gentlemen, the chips are down—they are truly down. . . .

Ladies, and gentlemen, can there be anyone here tonight who is so blind as to say that the war is not on? Can there be anyone who fails to realize that the Communist world has said, "The time is now"—that this is the time for the show-down between the democratic Christian world and the Communist atheist world?

Unless we face this fact, we shall pay the price that must be paid by those who wait too long.

Six years ago, at the time of the first conference to map out the peace . . . there was within the Soviet orbit 180,000,000 people. Lined up on the antitotalitarian side there were in the world at that time roughly 1,625,000,000 people. Today, only six years later, there are 800,000,000 people under the absolute domination of Soviet Russia—an increase of over 400 percent. On our side, the figure has

shrunk to around 500,000,000. In other words, in less than six yea the odds have changed from 9 to 1 in our favor to 8 to 5 against u This indicates the swiftness of the tempo of Communist victori and American defeats in the cold war. . . .

The reason why we find ourselves in a position of impotency is n because our only powerful potential enemy has sent men to inva our shores, but rather because of the traitorous actions of those wh have been treated so well by this Nation. It has not been the less fort nate or members of minority groups who have been selling th Nation out, but rather those who have had all the benefits that th wealthiest nation on earth has had to offer—the finest homes, the fi est college education, and the finest jobs in Government we can giv

This is glaringly true in the State Department. There the brig young men who are born with silver spoons in their mouths are th ones who have been worst. . . .

In my opinion the State Department, which is one of the mo important government departments, is thoroughly infested wi Communists.

I have in my hand 57 cases of individuals who would appear to either card carrying members or certainly loyal to the Commun Party, but who nevertheless are still helping to shape our forei policy.

One thing to remember in discussing the Communists in o Government is that we are not dealing with spies who get thir pieces of silver to steal the blueprints of a new weapon. We are de ing with a far more sinister type of activity because it permits t enemy to guide and shape our policy. . . .

Questions

1. What kind of social resentments are evident in McCarthy's speech?

2. What evidence does McCarthy offer to support his claim that comm nists have infiltrated the State Department?