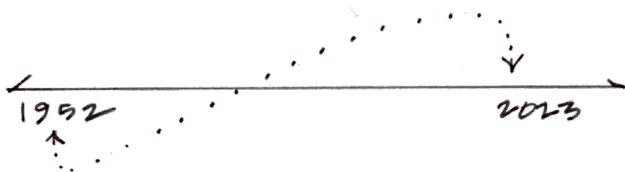


OPERATION MIND

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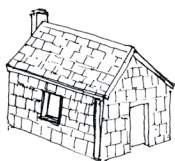
OPERATION MIND

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A Brief Documentary Account of the House Committee
on Un-American Activities. And Why it Matters Now.

NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS
ELIZABETH DOUVAN

Foreword by Silke-Maria Weineck



Disobedience
Press

FOREWORD

Ann Arbor, Michigan. November, 2022.

Silke-Maria Weineck

All politics are “Operation Mind.” Until they become Operation Law, Operation Gun, Operation Jail.

Reading this “pamphlet,” written by Natalie Zemon Davis and Elizabeth Douvan in 1952, is an emotional experience, precisely because it is such a somber, fact-driven text. Data. History. Names. A matter-of-fact account of ruined lives and reputations, of ideological terror, of entire industries going silent because going silent seemed prudent. It is moving to watch Davis and Douvan—young women, graduate students, vulnerable—deciding against prudence. Because, as Gramsci said, “living means taking sides. Those who really live cannot help being a citizen and a partisan. Indifference and apathy are parasitism, perversion, not life.”

HUAC, the thing, has few defenders now, but

HUAC, the idea, is growing tentacles daily: the idea that there is one correct way to be American and one correct way to write its history, that those who speak for the powerless must be erased from the nation's view, that dissent itself is un-American, that universities—the ultimate Counter-Operation Mind—are dangerous, subversive institutions that must be reined in, stunted, defunded.* If only they were. As progressive academics during McCarthy's reign found out, university administrators will side with power more often than not. The University of Michigan's graduate library is still named after the president who suspended Clement Markert, Mark Nickerson, and Chandler Davis, Natalie Zemon Davis' husband, after the three refused to testify.

In many ways, the fact that there is no longer a single committee in charge of swinging these ideological clubs makes it harder to fight them. In the place of HUAC, there are, to give just one example, a thousand school boards captured by reactionaries who are themselves Gramscians of a sort, intent on seizing cultural hegemony. They, too, are taking sides. And they will not stop until they have banned every book that features trans

* the House Un-American Activities Committee

women, gay men, Black history. Unless we stop them.

Every poll tells us they are the minority, that most of us don't believe them, that they themselves are the un-American ones. But we live in a country that has made a foul peace with minoritarian rule, a peace frequently abetted by universities themselves, and while we can never give up on seeking to persuade, with data, history, and names, reason alone will not be enough. There is no outside of politics other than apathy, parasitism, perversion.

It is exhausting to battle the right-wing hydra and its centrist toadies, two heads sprouting for every one you lop off, and no way to cauterize the necks. It's exhausting to have to fight. But if Natalie Zemon Davis and Elizabeth Douvan could go to work, methodically, calmly, and furiously documenting their moment, honoring, in every word they wrote, their chosen trade—the production and dissemination of knowledge, then we can honor them in turn. By being relentlessly truthful and relentlessly partisan. In short: by living.

WRITING OPERATION MIND

Toronto, Ontario. August, 2022.

Natalie Zemon Davis

Operation Mind was written in early 1952, a time of growing political hysteria about the alleged dangers of Communism in the US. We had come to Ann Arbor two years before, as my husband Chandler Davis, a new PhD from Harvard, took up a post as Lecturer in the Department of Mathematics. With my BA from Smith and my MA from Radcliffe behind me, I was a graduate student in the Department of History, endowed with a good fellowship and enjoying the exploration of early modern history. We made friends, including with progressive-minded folk on the faculty, and participated in the activities—mostly educational—of the small Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions (ASP). I was especially eager to meet women, for we were few in number among the graduate students at that time. I especially became

friends with Elizabeth Douvan, who had graduated from Vassar some years before and who was working for her PhD in the new field of Social Psychology. Like me, she was married (her husband was a law student), and like me, she intended one day to have children once she had some professional achievement to her credit.

The visit of HUAC to Michigan was announced in early 1952, and members of ASP put their minds to what to do about it. My idea for a pamphlet came out of this concern. As a history student, however, I didn't want the pamphlet to be a simple political tract, but rather a documented account of HUAC's activities and impact. This meant putting my grad school lessons to work in proper research, documentation, and footnotes!

Libby and I discussed the materials as I found them in the HUAC archives, and then together we did the final assembling and writing of the pamphlet. Operation Mind! We used "operation" in a way that was then new and summed up what we saw as the Committee's goal: turning people away from concern with progressive social causes and frightening them into a conservative way of thinking about politics. We showed that HUAC's questioning strayed far from its congressional charge to seek facts about acts of force and violence

intended to overthrow the government of the United States. Instead, witnesses were asked about or accused of membership in various organizations, including trade unions, deemed “communist” by the Committee, with dire consequences for those who refused to answer properly.

The pamphlet was published first in mimeographed form and then printed by Edwards Brothers in downtown Ann Arbor. Libby and I decided not to put our names on the pamphlet: the title page simply said “Distributed by University of Michigan Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; [and] the Civil Liberties Committee of the University of Michigan.” When the HUAC investigators tried to find the author, the best they could do was seek out Edwards Brothers printers. They obliged by giving them my husband’s name as he had paid the printing bill. (This information surfaced later in HUAC’s questioning of Chandler: he was charged with responsibility for a pamphlet that in fact Libby and I had authored!)

I don’t recall what response we received from students and colleagues when *Operation Mind* appeared in early 1952. The next major landmark for us was in October 1953, when Chandler received a subpoena from HUAC (he would ultimately testify in the spring of 1954, refusing to answer questions

on the basis of the First Amendment). Colleagues gave him impressive support during that period and afterward, when he struggled in vain to keep his post at the University of Michigan.

Meanwhile I had only limited contact with my fellow graduate students. Quite apart from Chandler's challenge to HUAC, I gave birth to our first child in 1953 and tried to do research for my doctoral dissertation. Still, I do recall conversations with history students such as Helen Tanner, doing pioneering research on indigenous history. We stayed away from politics, and Helen may never have seen *Operation Mind*.

As I think back on it from 2021, I'm happy to think of my early effort to support freedom of speech. It failed to stop HUAC, but served to remind me of the high goals we should have as historians.

OPERATION MIND

A Brief Documentary Account
of the House Committee on
Un-American Activities

Distributed by

University of Michigan Council of
the Arts, Sciences and Professions;
Civil Liberties Committee of the
University of Michigan

Ann Arbor
February, 1952

Sec. 34.66, P

For the third time in five years, the House Committee on Un-American Activities is threatening to come to Michigan. Hearings are scheduled to begin in Detroit February 25th. This unwelcome visit, according to newspaper and radio accounts, will probably extend to Ann Arbor.

The Committee has announced that it is especially interested in 'Red infiltration' into defense industries. Representative Charles E. Potter (R., Mich.), a member of the Committee, has taken pains to protest that the group does not intend to interfere in labor affairs or to smash labor unions. In spite of Representative Potter's pious assurances, the hearings will very nearly coincide with important elections in several unions, notably Ford Local 600 of the UAW, and with an increasingly vocal protest on the part of this and other unions against the cold war unemployment of some 200,000 of their members.*

In view of this impending visit, as a public service, the Ann Arbor Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions has prepared the following brief account of the Un-American Committee, its history, its methods, and its aims.

* Walter Reuther, President of the UAW, has recently announced his refusal to cooperate with the Committee on Un-American Activities (*Detroit Times*, February 10, 1952.).

Detroit's First Visit of the 'Un-Americans'

The first visit of a Committee on Un-American Activities to Michigan took place 14 years ago in October, 1938, when the Dies Committee came to Detroit.*

Much of its investigation, coinciding with the organizing of unions in the automobile industry, centered around trade union leaders. Walter Reuther, Victor Reuther, and Emil Mazey were attacked as un-American.¹ On the eve of a gubernatorial election, Governor Frank Murphy was slandered by witnesses as a traitor for requesting the brief postponement of a court injunction against a strike² He lost the election.

The Committee also paid considerable attention to intellectuals and professional people. It considered medical aid to Loyalist Spain heinous, and it singled out several prominent professors at the University of Michigan for attack on this score.³ At least 10 teachers in the Detroit area public schools were attacked, not for their behavior in the classroom but for their political activities.⁴ For example:

* The House Committee on Un-American Activities was informally known as the Dies Committee after its founder Martin Dies, Jr., a Texas congressman. [*added by editors in 2023]

'Huldah Fine -- she is secretary of the Detroit Local 231 of the Federation of Teachers and is a director of the League for Industrial Democracy ... That is an organization of "pinks" who have a lot of different ideas.'

⁵

Walter Bergman was attacked not only for his support of Sacco and Vanzetti but also because he

'hides his real "red" color by calling himself a member of the Socialist Party and by being a personal candidate for political office on the Socialist ticket. He is president of the Detroit Federation of Teachers and a member of the executive committee of the League for Industrial Democracy, a strictly Communist organization.'

⁶

Furthermore, in May 1933 he spoke at a 'demonstration held in protest against the Hitler movement and against the Facist movement.'

⁷

Religious leaders were not immune from the slander of the Committee. An outstanding Detroit rabbi, Leon Fram, was charged with being a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, favoring the boycott of German goods and supporting medical aid to the Loyalists.'

⁸

The kind of witnesses used to impugn the characters of these educators and civic leaders is exemplified by W. S. Reynolds, who testified against the above-mentioned rabbi. In another connection, Reynolds stated:

‘New York is the site of the part of the American population which gave communism to the world and imported that doctrine into the American soil through Ellis Island.’

‘It is noteworthy that young Negroes, whatever Communist net they have been caught into, will readily admit that their interest in communism lies in white women ... The idea of racial equality is preached by the Communists, although unnatural and repugnant to the American Negro in general.’⁹

‘Communists popularized the idea of racial equality to the point where also in Detroit several mixed marriages have been solemnized.’¹⁰

Shortly after the Dies Committee concluded its hearings in Detroit, the Detroit Board of Education ordered an investigation of ‘Communist membership’ or ‘sympathy toward subversive and un-American doctrines’ among school teachers, the Detroit Police Department to be called upon to

furnish detailed information.¹¹

A Decade of 'Smear' Tactics

'But,' you say, 'that was in 1938. How do we know that the Committee has not changed in character and purpose?'

The Record of the Committee's activities in the past few years indicates that its character has changed in no essential way. Throughout its history the Committee has never concerned itself with acts of force and violence designed to overthrow the government of the United States. It has not questioned people about concealing arms or about organizing groups to commit violent acts against minorities. It has never fulfilled its most basic duty in that it has never operated predominantly as a bona-fide *fact-finding body* to legislative ends.

On the contrary, the Committee has consistently used its powers to intimidate and silence Americans whose political convictions and associations are different from its own norms. It has tried to obstruct legal political and union activities.

In 1947 and 1951, for example, the Committee investigated the motion picture industry in Hollywood.¹² There was never a charge made of force or violence against the United States. Ideas,

not acts, were subjected to scrutiny -- and even then the Committee failed to demonstrate the existence of Communist propaganda in films. The investigation consisted of attacks on individual writers, directors and actors for their personal views and associations. These attacks were often made on the basis of hearsay alone.¹³

That the Committee has smeared and obstructed union activities is evidenced in the Hollywood hearings: the Committee asked two standard questions of all 'unfriendly witnesses' (J. Parnell Thomas' appellation) -- 'Are you a member of the Screen Writers' (or Directors') Guild?' and 'Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?'¹⁴ Three possible explanations for the Committee's using this first question are: 1) that the Committee assumes that membership in these unions locates the political convictions of its members, 2) that the Committee assumes that these unions are *a priori* 'un-American', or 3) that the Committee was attempting to associate the names of smeared witnesses with the unions and in this way to smear by implication the unions. In any case, these unions, without any direct investigation, were made to appear suspect in the eyes of the American people.

The committee, unconcerned with the investigation of *acts*, attempts principally to obtain from its witnesses as many *names* as possible of those with allegedly suspect political

convictions. Moreover, not only the political convictions of those named or subpoenaed are suspect, but also *any* activities in which these people may engage. An example of this attitude is found in the 1951 hearings in Baltimore, where the following exchange took place:

The witness: I teach these various subjects (piano, counterpoint, music literature, score reading) that I mentioned: I hardly believe, gentlemen, that teaching music comes under the category of subversive activities.

Representative Walter: It depends on who the teacher is.

The witness: Really? That is very difficult to see how one can --

Representative Walter: Never mind. It is very apparent to me.¹⁵

The implication is that any of these unfavored people should be barred not only from working on vital defense projects but also from working at all.

What are 'Un-American' Ideas?

Since the evidence indicates that the Committee has been primarily concerned with people because of the ideas they hold, it is well to look into its definition of un-American ideas. Some of the testimony regarding Communist ideology in films, accepted by the Committee in the 1947 Hollywood

hearings, is indicative. For example, J. L. Warner, in describing material unacceptable for the film *Humoresque*, said:

‘John Garfield played the part of the boy and he was mad at Joan Crawford for romantic reasons and said “Your father is a banker.” He was alluding to the fact that she was rich and had all of the money. He said, “My father lives over a grocery store ...” This is very, very subtle ...’¹⁶

Mrs. Lela Rogers claimed that *None But the Lonely Heart* was Communistic, basing her contention on a newspaper statement that it was a ‘story pitched in a low key ... moody and somber throughout in the Russian manner.’ Furthermore, Mrs. Rogers claimed that

‘the mother in the story runs a second-hand store. The son says to her, “You are not going to get me to work here and squeeze pennies out of little people who are poorer than we are.”

Mrs. Rogers commented ‘We don’t necessarily squeeze pennies out of people poorer than we are. Many people are poorer and many people are richer.’¹⁷ Mrs. Rogers was thanked by the Committee for being ‘one of the outstanding experts on Communism in the United States.’¹⁸

Thus, the Committee considers that mild social criticism and “the Russian manner” are un-American. The Committee also feels very strongly that the ideas on foreign policy which disagree with its own are un-American. In investigating a peace committee in Baltimore, the Committee stated that it was all for peace, BUT, in the words of its counsel, Frank Tavenner, ‘If it is a peace on Communist terms instead of the interests of this country, it is a different proposition.’¹⁹ And what is ‘a peace on Communist terms?’ The following question was asked of a witness by Committee member Donald Jackson:

‘What kind of peace do you think we could get on Soviet terms? What do you think it would mean to the average individual in this country *to negotiate a peace* in light of the consistent record of the Communist Party for aggression outside their own frontiers? ...’²⁰ (Italics added.)

Apparently any peace resulting from negotiation is a ‘Soviet’ peace. Many Americans will agree with Representative Jackson that the United States should not seek agreements with the Soviet Union. But many will disagree. By what right does the Committee include them in its ‘Communist’ smears? Whether the reader disagrees with Committee member Jackson about the solution of world problems is not at issue. What is important is that, while the essence of

democracy is the right to one's own political convictions, the Committee smears as un-American those convictions with which *it* disagrees.

Committee members have hardly been notorious for their defense of civil liberties. Seven of nine present members voted to override President Truman's veto of the McCarran Act;²¹ and the Committee smeared the National Committee to defeat the Mundt Bill.*²² In a question directed to J. L. Warner during the first Hollywood hearings, Representative John McDowell cited a distinguished precedent for a favorite bill of his to outlaw the Communist Party: 'You know during Hitler's regime they passed a law in Germany outlawing Communism and the Communists went to jail. Would you advocate the same thing here?'²³

* The McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 required Communist organizations to register with the Justice Department and established the Subversive Activities Control Board to investigate persons suspected of engaging in subversive activities.

The National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill (1948-1950) sought to oppose passage of the Mundt-Nixon Bill, a proposed bill that would have required all members of the U.S. Communist Party to register with the Attorney General. [*added by editors in 2023]

In the same hearing the following exchange took place between Representative Vail and Eric Johnston. Johnston mentioned a film which 'showed a colored boy in the picture with some white boys.'

Rep. Vail: He wasn't in the wood pile?

Mr. Johnston: No, nor under a chip.²⁴

Two of the present members of the Committee are Dixiecrats, Chairman John S. Wood of Georgia and James B. Frazier, Jr. of Tennessee. The Committee is obviously not sensitive to violations of civil liberties in the South. John Pace explained to them that after he left the Communist Party in 1935 he returned to Tennessee, Pace stating proudly: 'My grandfather was a lieutenant in the Confederate army in Tennessee right where I live.'

Representative Wood: For your information, the gentleman who was interrogating you is also from Tennessee.

Representative Boyle: You see, Mr. Pace, he is trying to get across to you that the climate and atmosphere and high level of citizenship in Tennessee would naturally contribute to your reformation.²⁵

Evidently, the Committee feels that Tennessee is so perfectly democratic that it provides a fine rehabilitation center for an ex-Communist.

Who has Been Attacked by the Committee?

What kinds of people have been attacked by the Committee? The lists of persons charged by the Committee with un-American affiliations and thoughts include labor leaders; famous scientists, including Dr. E. H. Condon and Professor Frank Oppenheimer; outstanding artists; and professional people. Even an outstanding member of so respected a party as the Republican Party was recently smeared by a member of the Committee, Representative Potter of Michigan. Newbold Morris, liberal Republican and former President of the New York City Council, was declared by Potter unfit for heading the Administration's inquiry into corruption in government because he had been associated with allegedly Communist front organizations.²⁶

Among those cited for contempt of Congress by the Committee are some of the most creative artists in the film industry -- men whose names may be less familiar than their works: *The Best Years of Our Lives*, *None But the Lonely Heart*, *Crossfire*, *The House I Live In*, *Home of the Brave*, *The Brotherhood of Man*, *Destination Tokyo*, and many others. A number of these same movies, especially those dealing with the evils of anti-Semitic and anti-Negro bigotry, were used as official training films by the Armed Forces during the Second World War.

But the list of people cited by the Committee for contempt only suggests the extent of the punishment meted out by the Committee. In its publications the Committee has listed the names of scores of respected persons whom it considers disloyal because of their ideas and convictions. These people, whose jobs are endangered and whose reputations are impugned, are usually never even called before the Committee or given the opportunity of defending their beliefs. The Committee decides what are subversive organizations and by association alone brands as subversive those people who belong to such groups.

Among those whose names have thus been smeared are many illustrious academics, religious, and professional leaders. To name only a fraction of those listed: Professor Clifford Morgan, John Hopkins; Professors Kermit Eby, Robert J. Havighurts, Anton J. Carlson, Anatol Rapaport, and Rudolph Carnap, University of Chicago; Professor Kenneth Cameron, University of Indiana; Professor Edwin Bart, Cornell University; Professor Edgar S. Brightman, Boston University; Professor Dorothy W. Douglas, Smith College; Professor John De Boer, University of Illinois; Professor E. Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Professor Linus Pauling, California Institute of Technology; Professor Pitirim Sorokin, Harvard University; Professor Oswald Veblen, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton;

Thomas Mann, Artur Schnabel, Howard Fast, and Rockwell Kent. The list of Pulitzer and Nobel prize winners among the Committee's targets is impressive. Bishops, ministers, and rabbis are among the most commonly listed occupations.²⁷

Among the organizations whose members are disloyal, *a priori*, the Committee has listed the Book Find Club and Consumers Union.²⁸ The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt Bill,²⁹ and, more recently, a peace committee in Baltimore³⁰ were attacked, not on the basis of overt criminal acts, but on the basis of their ideas, which the Committee claimed to be Communistic or supported by Communists.

The practice of listing organizations as subversive without a hearing has been declared illegal by the Supreme Court in the case of the Attorney General's list.³¹ The Court stated that it was not in accord with democratic principles to judge a group before a hearing had been held. If this is true of the Attorney General's list, is it any less true in the case of the Un-American Activities Committee's list -- more extensive and extreme in principle than that of the Attorney General?

The Committee's Contribution to American Life: Thought Purge and Inquisition

What has been the effect of the Committee's

hearings? In Hollywood soon after the hearings on the film industry, the Association of Motion Picture Producers instituted a blacklist. The Association publicly stated that it would not rehire any of the persons cited for contempt by the Committee, and that it would 'forthwith discharge or suspend without compensation those in our employ ... until such time as he is acquitted or has purged himself of contempt, and declared under oath that he is not a Communist.' The Association deplored the absence of stronger laws to aid them in this work of purging subversive elements from private industry. 'The absence of a national policy, established by Congress, with respect to the employment of Communists in private industry makes our task difficult. Ours is a nation of laws. We request Congress to enact legislation to assist American industry to rid itself of subversive, disloyal elements.'³²

Many people, attacked by the Committee without the benefit of a hearing, have lost their jobs and professional standing. 'Unfriendly' witnesses have suffered similarly. To cite only one example, Dr. Murray Abowitz, arthritis specialist for 14 years, was recently fired without warning, charges, or a hearing. Hospital spokesmen admitted in private that the firing was 'political.' Dr. Abowitz had been uncooperative when called before the Committee on Un-American Activities last September.³³

Lawrence Duggan committed suicide after being smeared by the Committee. Harry Dexter White, suffering a heart attack in the course of being questioned by the Committee, died soon after his testimony. Actor J. Edward Bromberg, with a very serious heart condition, obtained a promise from the Committee that he would not be called until a Committee-appointed physician had examined him. The Committee failed to keep its promise, and Mr. Bromberg was compelled to testify in June, 1951. He was so visibly ill that the Committee chairman commented on it.³⁴ Six months after his trying appearance, he died of a heart attack. (It is not without significance for the visit of the Committee to Michigan that Mr. Bromberg was subpoenaed while he was rehearsing for a stage role in Ann Arbor. Representative Potter, herald of the present visitation, made a point of having the subpoena served in Ann Arbor, and went to the trouble of attempting to arouse local veterans' groups to protest, under the erroneous notion that the University had officially engaged Mr. Bromberg.)

Perhaps the most serious indictment against the Committee, however, is that it has fostered the notion that Americanism is to be equated with conformity. As Professor Henry Steele Commager stated in his article on the Committee on Un-American Activities:

‘What is the new loyalty? It is, above all, conformity. It is the uncritical and unquestioning acceptance of America as it is -- the political institutions, the social relationships, the economic practices.

‘Who among American heroes could meet their tests, who could be cleared by their committees? Not Washington, who was a rebel. Not Jefferson, who wrote that all men are created equal, and whose motto was “rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God”. ... Or Justice Holmes, who said that our Constitution is an experiment and that while that experiment is being made “we should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression of opinions that we loathe and believe to be fraught with death.”’³⁵

The Committee's Plans for Ann Arbor

If the Committee should hold ‘investigations’ at Michigan State and the University of Michigan, these will be their first direct attempts to judge and exert control over the institutions of higher learning in this country. What can we expect from such hearings?

First, we can expect that the Committee will use the same tactics which they have employed elsewhere, and which Representative Eberharter

(D., Penn) described to Congress as follows, in the course of arguing against the contempt citations of the Hollywood Ten: 'These witnesses were placed on trial and denied the right to counsel. They were confronted by witnesses who were permitted to smear them with innuendo, suspicion, prejudice, and hearsay three or four times removed, and were not granted the right to cross-examine. Charges made against them carried full legal immunity to those making them; they were given national publicity. Yet the persons charged were not permitted to testify when they wanted to do so ...'³⁶

Second, we may expect that the Committee will pursue the ugliest and most dangerous of its more recent trends: the muddying of the distinction between political non-conformity and espionage. A good deal of secret work is done at the University; at the same time there are in Ann Arbor a good many people whose views do not coincide with those of the Committee. The Committee will certainly do what it can to show that the two phenomena are related, since according to the Committee's allegations

'It's every Communist's duty, even as a mechanical or office worker, to pick up any information around the plant he can lay hands on. Though he may not act under an organized spy ring, he can often turn up information which Moscow wants.

This applies to Communists in the Government and anywhere else, too.’³⁷

It should not be necessary to point out that the Committee will not be particularly scrupulous in determining whether its victims are or have ever been Communist Party members, since ‘the Party uses what it calls “Fellow Travelers” and “Front Organizations” in some of its most effective work.’³⁸

Third, we can expect that many innocent people will be smeared and that the reputation of the University will suffer. As has been clearly demonstrated in the case of the University of California loyalty oaths, when university professors are judged not on the basis of competence but on the basis of toeing the line of orthodoxy in their personal beliefs, education suffers. There is no area of human endeavor which needs more the assurance of freedom from fear and intimidation than the instruction of young people in the pursuit of knowledge. Our universities must, if they are to produce sound – able to judge values for themselves, be in fact as well as in theory free market places of ideas.

Here is What You Can Do
to Prevent Thought Control in America

Urge any organization, living unit, or group to which you may belong to make public its

opposition to the Committee's presence in this area. Write your Congressman similarly.

Promptness is important. The Committee is scheduled to open hearings in Detroit on February 25.

Footnotes

1. *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*. Committee on Un-American Activities (Wash., 1938), Vol. 2, pp. 1286, 1492, 1495-1496.
2. *The Detroit News* (Oct. 21, 1938), p. 4, col. 5.
3. *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities*, pp. 1277-1278.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 1297 ff..
5. *Ibid.*, p. 1299.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 1341.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 1295.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 1346.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 1331.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 1334.
11. *The Detroit News* (Oct. 26, 1938), p. 29, col. 3.
12. Gordon Kahn, *Hollywood on Trial* (N.Y., 1948), pp. 29, 176.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 29, 35, 29, 54, 58.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 81, 94, 110.
15. 'Hearings Relating to Communist Activities in Defense Area of Baltimore,' *Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities* (Wash., 1951), part 2, p. 941.
16. Kahn, *Hollywood on Trial*, pp. 17-18.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
19. 'Hearings Relating to Communist

- Activities in Defense Area of Baltimore,'
part 2, p. 918.
20. 'Communist Tactics among Veterans'
Groups,' *Hearings before the Committee
on Un-American Activities* (Wash., 1951),
part 2, p. 1959.
 21. See voting record of House of
Representatives, 81st Congress, 2nd
Session.
 22. *Annual Report of the Committee on Un-
American Activities for Year 1950* (Wash.,
1951), pp. 25-27.
 23. Kahn, *Hollywood on Trial*, p. 22.
 24. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
 25. 'Communist Tactics among Veterans'
Groups,' p. 1959.
 26. *New York Herald Tribune* (Feb. 4, 1952),
pp. 1, 25.
 27. *Report of the Communist 'Peace'
Offensive. A Campaign to Disarm and
Defeat the United States*. Prepared and
released by the Committee on Un-
American Activities (Wash., 1951), pp.
99-166, *passim*.
 28. *Guide to Subversive Organization and
Publications*. Prepared and released by
the Committee on Un-American Activities
(Wash., 1951), pp. 29, 42.
 29. *Annual Report of the Committee on Un-
American Activities for Year 1950*, pp. 25,
33.

30. 'Hearings Relating to Communist Activities in Defense Area of Baltimore,' part 2.
31. Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, 341 US 123.
32. Kahn, *Hollywood on Trial*, p. 185.
33. *National Guardian* (Jan. 30, 1952), p. 5.
34. 'Communist Infiltration of Hollywood Motion-Picture Industry,' *Hearings before the Committee on Un-American Activities* (Wash., 1951), p. 734.
35. H.S. Commager, 'Who is Loyal to America?' *Harpers Magazine* (Sept., 1947), vol. 195, p. 193 ff.
36. Kahn, *Hollywood on Trial*, p. 161.
37. *100 Things You Should Know about Communism*. Prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities (Wash., 1951), p. 121.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

EPILOGUE AND CALL TO ACTION

Ann Arbor, Michigan. January, 2023.

Rebekah Modrak | Nick Tobier

In 2021, a high school teacher in Florida is fired for hanging a Black Lives Matter flag over her classroom door. A New Jersey public school librarian learns that she has been terminated for celebrating Hispanic Heritage, Women's History, Black History, and Neurodiversity in book displays. At a local public library board meeting in Louisiana, a librarian defends the First Amendment rights of library users to access books on all topics, and condemns book censors' propensity to target marginalized communities; she is slandered as a "pedophile" on social media. The Rainbow flag and Progress Pride flags are displayed in a high school math class until a few students complain that their presence makes them "uncomfortable"; their Long Island school district issues a directive banning all "political" flags except the US and state flags.

University of Florida officials prohibit three political science professors from testifying as expert witnesses in a voting rights lawsuit against Florida Governor Ron DeSantis' administration. Gov. DeSantis signs a law requiring state schools to survey the political affiliations of teaching staff. PEN America reports over 1586 book bans, mostly books featuring LGBTQ+ characters and characters of color. A list of names and locations of teachers who have signed the Zinn Education Project's Pledge to Teach the Truth about U.S. history—namely that “it was founded on dispossession of Native Americans, slavery, structural racism and oppression”—are published online by the right-wing *Daily Wire*.

And so, the fight to control information and speech continues in the present day. The contemporary “operation mind” employs similar intimidation tactics, such as the administration of loyalty oaths, the publication of lists of names, and the use of smear campaigns.

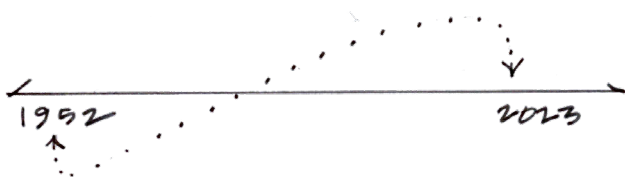
Davis and Douvan's *Operation Mind* is a body of evidence, a prophetic warning, and a call to action about the necessity and urgency of doing all we can to prevent thought control in America. They prompt us: use available resources, read, research, document, and log conditions in print. Distribute

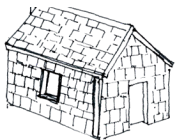
ideas deemed dangerous by those in power. Find friends and colleagues to collaborate. And take Davis's advice to heart: "I realized that between heroic resistance to and fatalistic acceptance of oppression, there was ample space for coping strategies and creative improvisation."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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