In 1960, a Milwaukee dentist told his longtime patient that “the Zionist party in this country makes up more than 90% of the communist party.” The dentist claimed to have come by this “information” while serving in the “Intelligence department of the Navy” during the war. His patient, a housewife who identified herself as “a second generation American citizen [of] the Jewish faith,” was so concerned by what he told her that she wrote to FBI director J. Edgar Hoover to ask if this could possibly be true.¹

She was not alone in her concern. When the Cold War began in 1947, the murder of Jews under Nazi rule had ceased, and the Nazis’ antise­mitic ideology had been discredited. Yet some American Jews found themselves targets of a subtler form of prejudice. Hoover’s FBI and other government agencies called on Americans to help them find and root out the communists in their midst. Not all were as openly anti-Jewish as the Milwaukee dentist, but many harbored a suspicion that Jews in the United States were communists.

The FBI’s approach to Jews and Judaism during the Hoover era was shaped not only by a suspicion of Jews as potential communists but also by the image of America as a land of equality and religious tolerance. In the years after World War II, the link between Jews, Judaism, and communism was fraught. On the one hand, being Jewish was prima facie evidence that one may be communist; on the other hand, Judaism played an essential role in the concept of a religious America. In this
period, as Dianne Kirby shows in chapter 4, Americans used religion as a way to differentiate themselves from the communist USSR. "Communists have been, still are, and always will be a menace to freedom, to democratic ideals, to the worship of God and to the American war of life," Hoover told the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in 1947. Unlike the "godless communists" in the USSR, Hoover argued, Americans lived in a religious nation. President Eisenhower famously asserted: "Our form of government has no sense unless it is founded in a deeply felt religious faith, and I don't care what it is. With us of course it is the Judeo-Christian concept but it must be a religion that all men are created equal." Eisenhower, like Hoover, assumed that the category of religion in general—as well as the religiosity of the United States—included Judaism. Eisenhower's identification of American governmental ideals as "Judeo-Christian" points to a role that Judaism would play in the Cold War: the inclusion of Judaism allowed Americans to claim that the United States was both generically religious and accepting of religious diversity.

For anticommunist crusaders in general, and for Hoover and the FBI in particular, these two dimensions—the association of Jews with communism and the embrace of Judaism as a defining component of American religiosity—posed a conundrum: how could Jews be un-American while Judaism formed a foundational part of American values? On the one hand, midcentury antisemitism and Cold War ideologies combined to create suspicion of Jewish leftists, as the antagonistic relationship between the FBI and Hollywood demonstrated. On the other hand, "Judeo-Christian" rhetoric and the embrace of a "Judeo-Christian" mythology became an essential part of what differentiated America from the "godless" USSR, with its Marxism and persecution of religious groups.

This chapter charts the FBI's engagement with these two approaches to Jews and Judaism. The first part begins with a brief history of Jews and the FBI, focusing on the years from 1947 to the early 1960s, and explores the cultural assumptions about Jews as communists. While the first part is about Jews, the second part is about Judaism (or the "Jewish faith," as the Milwaukee housewife put it) and its role in the FBI's representation of a religious America's struggles against communism. Building on this foundation, the third section turns to the question that drives this chapter: how could Hoover and the FBI's embrace of Judaism as essential to American culture coexist with their proclivity to see Jews as communists?
JEWS AND COMMUNISM

Well before the end of World War II, many Jews associated with the political left. Some who emigrated from Eastern Europe before 1924 participated in the Bolshevik Revolution. Among those investigated by the Bureau of Investigation, for example, was the famous Jewish anarchist Emma Goldman. After Goldman served a two-year sentence for conspiring against the draft, Hoover re-arrested her and persuaded the courts to deport her as a foreign-born radical. Few American Jews were as politically radical as Goldman, but many others were committed leftists. Some had, before they left Eastern Europe, been members of the Bund, the secular Jewish labor party. In the United States, many continued or joined that tradition and joined labor unions. Leftist politics were even evident in the first decades of the twentieth century in the three major New York Jewish newspapers: the socialist Forverts, the anarchist Freie Arbeiter, and the communist Morgen Freiheit.

But by the postwar period, the close association between Jews and the Communist Party had waned. The Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939 dealt the party a heavy blow. Most Jews were still politically left, but there were far more socialists than communists. And though Jews were demographically overrepresented in Communist Party membership, the party was neither exclusively nor even overwhelmingly Jewish. In the 1950s, the American Jewish population exceeded four million, and the Communist Party peaked at around fifty thousand members. Just as only a small percentage of American Communists were Jews, only a small percentage of American Jews were communists. Indeed, a number of Jewish organizations actively combatted communism: the American Jewish League Against Communism was founded in 1948, and larger organizations, such as the Jewish Federation, the American Jewish Committee, and the Anti-Defamation League, created their own anticommunist committees. These national Jewish organizations aided the FBI and even conducted their own purges of known communists from their ranks.

While most Jews were not communists, many did identify with the political left, and some began to fear that they would be targeted as communists, whether they were or not. This fear was not unfounded. A significant number of Americans continued to associate Jews and communism, and formed judgments as to who was a good American based on race or national origin. A 1951 New York Times article illustrates such judgments: it reported that government officials declared that an East
Tennessee atomic plant was not a likely target for saboteurs because of the “lack of Communists” there. The officials justified this conclusion by citing “the prominence of pure Anglo-Saxon stock” in the nearby population.7 (Ironically, in 2012, three White Christian pacifists, including an eighty-two-year-old nun, broke into the facility to protest nuclear weapons.) Jews and African Americans bore the brunt of such assumptions about communism. A 1948 survey by the American Jewish Committee found that 21 percent of Americans believed that “most Jews are Communists.”9 Another survey found that 19 percent of people answered “Jews” when asked which “nationalities, religious, or racial groups” were communistic.10

Throughout the Cold War, the FBI suspected and pursued many individual Jews, as well as Jewish and Zionist groups suspected of colluding with communists, though the FBI rarely claimed that it had pursued someone because the person was Jewish. Of the late 1940s investigations into Post Office employees for “disloyalty,” 90 percent of the cases were against African Americans or Jews.11 An American Jewish Committee document from the late 1940s reported that the FBI estimated that 50 to 60 percent of communists were Jews.12 The FBI kept tabs on dozens of Jewish organizations, from the Zionist Organization of America to the politically progressive Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women’s Clubs.13 It even tried to police representations of Jews and antisemitism on the radio, on television, and in movies.

A 1949 American Council for Education (ACE) publication found that rhetorical combinations such as “Jews and atheists” and “Jews and communists” appeared frequently in a variety of publications, especially student textbooks.14 The tendency to conflate communism and Jewishness is also detectable in FBI files. For instance, Charlie Chaplin’s file includes information from an informant “who claims to have a number of confidential sources concerning Communist and Jewish activities operating in Los Angeles.”15 Beyond the walls of the FBI, this slippage between Jewish and communist did not go unchallenged. The ACE study, which had been funded by a grant from the National Council of Christians and Jews, denounced assumptions that all Jews were communists and declared that “equally disturbing is the combining of Jewish with other groups which lack prestige with many Americans.” That the ACE deemed such a study necessary, however, suggests that the tendency to identify Jews as communists was recognized at the time. Because of such associations, as well as social and professional prejudice, the bureau itself was an institution from which Jews were largely
excluded. Almost all FBI agents in this period were White Protestants or Catholics. Before 1960, the bureau as a whole employed only five African American agents. Similarly, the Jewish FBI agent Al “Wallpaper” Wolff, one of Elliot Ness’s Untouchables, recalled his long and varied FBI career “working in all those departments as the only Jew.”16 Until the time of Hoover’s death, fewer than 2 percent of agents came from racial or religious minority groups.17

However pervasive antisemitism may have been within the FBI in this era, Hoover certainly did not want the FBI to seem antisemitic. If the bureau, its agents, or even its informants seemed prejudiced against Jews, FBI projects would be open to critique. The FBI’s solution was not to denounce antisemitism or to avoid association with those who professed anti-Jewish bias, however, but rather to keep overt declarations of antisemitism out of the record. Agent Jack Levine recalled that when one informant told him that all Jews were communists, he was not allowed to include the comment in his written report because the bureau worried that bias would discredit the report.18 Since the FBI nevertheless used the report and the information it contained, it is clear that the antisemitic bias of the informant did not discredit the informant’s testimony in the bureau’s view. What was important was that the FBI not seem to be endorsing such an attitude.

Not only did the FBI try to keep antisemitism from being recorded in its own documents, but in some cases it also tried to keep it from being depicted in popular media. The FBI justified its objection to portraying American culture as antisemitic on the grounds that such a representation would give the enemy fodder for anti-Americanism. For instance, it concluded that the highly acclaimed 1947 film noir classic Crossfire bordered on aiding the communist enemy in plainly depicting and denouncing antisemitism in America. Crossfire did not lack for critical success—it was nominated for an Academy Award for best picture. The FBI, however, pronounced that the whodunit, a story about a Jewish man murdered by an American soldier, “was near treasonable in its implications and seeming effects to arouse race and religious hatred, through misleading accusations [including] the use of a drunken, maladjusted soldier to typify our courageous service men and the use of minority groups to arouse suspicion and sympathy.” To highlight “the racial angle” was “decidedly the wrong approach to overcome racial hatred,” and it played into the enemy’s hands.19 This effort to render the problem of American antisemitism invisible extended beyond the bureau’s taste in films to its own internal policies. In 1949, Hoover wrote to Jacob Javits,
the Jewish congressman from New York: "We do not use the word 'Jew' or 'Jewish' in describing the race or nationality of criminals in connection with the issuance of our identification orders furnishing details on individuals wanted by the F.B.I. Several years ago the F.B.I. adopted the rule of prohibiting the use of words descriptive of religion to describe a race or nationality."\textsuperscript{20}

Hoover’s effort to distance the FBI from antisemitism was in line with the growing marginalization of antisemitic anticommunism after World War II. This was in part due to greater tolerance of Jews in American culture, but also due in part to a desire to distance American culture from Nazism. As the sociologists Aaron Beim and Gary Allen Fine demonstrate, spouting the kind of antisemitic anticommunist rhetoric that had been popular in the 1930s was no longer considered appropriate and could prove a significant public relations liability.\textsuperscript{21}

Although its public and overt manifestations had become gauche, antisemitism remained an unspoken undercurrent in many social and political circles. Thus, for example, government agencies disproportionately pursued Jews as potential communists. McCarthy’s Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Government Affairs was one highly visible instance. Of the 124 people questioned by the committee in 1952, 79 were Jews. The most famous communist-hunting arm of the American government, HUAC, pursued Jews specifically. HUAC also worked closely with Hoover. Although Hoover tried to keep the bureau’s role quiet, the FBI consistently leaked information, witnesses, and even charges to HUAC.\textsuperscript{23} Hoover himself occasionally made an appearance at HUAC hearings, and when he did, committee members praised him and fawned over him. Over its years of operation, HUAC compelled the testimony of hundreds of Jews as suspects and as witnesses; in many cases Jews made up the overwhelming majority of those called before the committee. Thirteen of the first nineteen people brought before HUAC were Jewish.\textsuperscript{24} Ten of them refused to cooperate and instead denounced HUAC, quickly becoming the first to be blacklisted and jailed. Of the blacklisted “Hollywood Ten,” six were Jews. As Joseph Litvak shows, “antisemitism, and the systematic recruitment and display of Jewish collaborators, were very much on HUAC’s” agenda.\textsuperscript{25}

The targeting of Jews suspected of communism had tragic consequences. The popular radio and television actor Philip Loeb, for instance, committed suicide after he was blacklisted. Loeb played the lovable patriarch on The Goldbergs, an immensely popular radio show from 1926 to 1946, and then moved to television in 1950. Likely because of his union
work with the Actors’ Equity Association and the Television Authority, Loeb was listed in a 1950 pamphlet titled Red Channels: The Report of Communist Influence in Radio and Television.36 Although in most cases it offered no concrete evidence of entertainers’ communist involvement, Red Channels listed 151 entertainers (about a third of whom were Jewish) who were effectively blacklisted from then on.27 Philip Loeb was on the list. Although his costar and Goldbergs owner, Gertrude Berg, did not want to fire him, when General Foods dropped its sponsorship and CBS dropped the show, she acquiesced.28 His wife had died years earlier, and he was the only means of support for his mentally ill son; after Red Channels, he struggled to find work. Only days after he overdosed on barbiturates in a New York hotel room, the FBI cleared Loeb of membership in the Communist Party.

Most Jews were not communists, but the fact that two of the most famous communists were Jews reinforced the popular association. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, both American-born Jews, were convicted of what Hoover called “the crime of the century,” giving nuclear secrets to the Soviets in order to help them build a bomb.29 The FBI played a crucial role in gathering evidence against the Rosenbergs, a story that has been told many times.30 The Justice Department, bolstered by the bureau’s information, argued that Julius had headed an espionage operation during the war and subsequently stole nuclear secrets, with the help of his wife, Ethel. The Rosenbergs and their supporters claimed that the government had fabricated evidence against them because of their communist beliefs and even their Jewishness, but such arguments were made to no avail. The Rosenbergs faced a sensational trial, and were convicted and then executed in 1953.

The FBI also followed American Jewish groups with Zionist goals. In the late 1940s, the FBI kept close tabs on several Jewish organizations working to bring about a Jewish state in Palestine. The FBI admitted it had put the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) under “limited investigations in 1949, 1954, and 1970” to determine whether it qualified as a foreign agent.31 But it had clearly been keeping tabs on the organization for years before 1949: documents from 1947 refer to “the concern recently expressed by the Director” about “the present situation in Palestine.”32 Although the FBI was concerned about weapons being supplied to Jews in Palestine (a legal gray area), it spent much of its time trying to get the ZOA on charges that it had not properly registered itself as a foreign aid organization. Although some Americans, such as the dentist mentioned in the opening anecdote, assumed Zionism and
communism went hand in hand, the bureau rarely linked its investigations of Zionist organizations explicitly to communism (though it did reply to one woman’s letter asking about the Zionist movement not with information about Zionism, but with enclosures of “What You Can Do to Fight Communism” and “The Communist Menace: Red Goals and Christian Ideas”).\textsuperscript{33} Most of the time, the FBI justified its surveillance of Zionist organizations by citing their support for a foreign political project, not on the grounds of a perceived connection to communism. In\textit{Masters of Deceit}, Hoover’s best-selling work, it is the communists who are anti-Zionist; thus instead of attacking the Zionist movement openly, Hoover sought to discredit its leadership as a way of undermining it without alienating its rank and file.\textsuperscript{34}

But there were times when Hoover and his FBI seemed to suspect a connection between Zionist organizations and communism. The bureau also kept a detailed file on the Irgun, an underground paramilitary Jewish organization committed to building a Jewish state in Palestine. Hoover himself took an interest in the underground organization as it tried to garner American support.\textsuperscript{35} To create a Jewish state, the Irgun claimed, Jews would have to fight the British and the Arabs, and it was willing to break the law to do so. The FBI, in its response, also skirted the spirit of the law, if not the letter: instead of wiretapping Americans directly, it told British intelligence whom to wiretap and then used the information from the British wiretaps in its investigations. The bureau also occasionally assumed a connection between Zionist groups and communism. Hoover approvingly cited an American Jewish Congress remark about the prominent Irgun activist Peter Bergson (a pseudonym for Hillel Kook) that described him and his Irgun associates as “disreputable Communist Zionists.”\textsuperscript{36}

**JUDAISM AS PART OF A JUEDO-CHRISTIAN AMERICA**

And this is how they [the Founding Fathers in 1776] explained those: “we hold that all men are endowed by their Creator...” not by the accident of their birth, not by the color of their skins or by anything else, but “all men are endowed by their Creator.” In other words, our form of government has no sense unless it is founded in a deeply-felt religious faith, and I don’t care what it is. With us of course it is the Judeo-Christian concept, but it must be a religion with all men are created equal.

Eisenhower’s famous remarks, given as part of a speech to the Freedoms Foundation in 1952, captures the mix of attitudes toward Judaism
and the civic religion that emerged in the United States during the Cold War: (1) “Our form of government” must be based on religious faith. (2) America was not theocratic or sectarian, however; it did not matter what the content of that faith was, provided that it recognized that “all men are created equal.” (3) While America was religiously pluralistic, there was nonetheless a sense of a religious “us” and “them,” and the “us” was to be identified with “the Judeo-Christian concept,” a concept that seems to identify Judaism as a source of the religious values with which the president identified. But the Judaism that helped constitute the Judeo-Christian tradition had little to do with Judaism as such. It was scarcely ascribed a distinctive theology or practice and was valued only for the ways its users imagined it to coincide with Christianity.

That Eisenhower was giving voice to widespread views is suggested by the popularity of the phrase “Judeo-Christian” in the Cold War era. The term appears in print only a handful of times before the 1940s, but it had proliferated by the 1950s. Newspapers, books, and casual exchanges all adopted the term, and Hoover himself used it in his writing. What exactly “Judeo-Christian” meant in this context is not as clear-cut as it might seem. It did not serve a descriptive historical or sociological function, since no individuals described themselves as Judeo-Christians and no religious community called its creed Judeo-Christianity. In combining two broad religious groups, the term skirts deep theological differences, sociological separations, and historical conflict. But the elisions inherent in the term allowed many Americans to ally Judaism and Christianity in the fight against a third enemy—godless communism. Adding “Judeo-” as part of America’s religious heritage provided a way to assert the religiosity that supposedly distinguished American culture from communism while also reaffirming a commitment to tolerance and inclusiveness.

The trend of referring to Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism as the three American faiths also reached its heyday in the early Cold War period. This tripartite vision sometimes even had the imprimatur of the U.S. government itself, as when it allowed the National Council of Christians and Jews to send teams composed of a rabbi, a Catholic priest, and a Protestant minister to present popular public “trialogues,” first to enlisted men and women and then, after the war, to cities throughout the United States. Even those sharply critical of the shallowness of this American religiosity recognized the ascendancy of this tripartite vision of religious pluralism. Will Herberg’s 1955 classic, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, included all three within the “American way of life,” despite his critique of that way of life as theologically vacuous.
When Herberg described the national imagination, he argued that religion formed a central part of American culture and identity, and by “religion” he meant that practiced by Protestants, Catholics, and Jews.

Hoover also used the language of “Judeo-Christian,” and by doing so, he signaled his participation in this particular brand of Cold War American religious pluralism. As noted elsewhere in this volume, Hoover cast communism as the enemy of religion, by which he meant both Christianity (including Catholicism) and Judaism. As he explained in his prepared remarks for HUAC in 1947, for example, communism was “evil work” and “a cause so alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism.”43 In the 1958 Masters of Deceit, in which he developed his thesis that communism was a false religion, Hoover made sure to include a chapter on its efforts to destroy Judaism. As this work makes clear, Hoover distinguished between Jews who were drawn to communism and Judaism as a religion. Many communist leaders called themselves Jews or claimed a Jewish origin, and the Soviets reached out to Jews. The apparent sympathy was duplicitous, however, and the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union, especially the government’s targeting of rabbinic schools, revealed that its true intention was to destroy Judaism, a goal that reflected its broader antipathy toward all those who worship God, “regardless of their faith.”

Although this conflation of Judaism and Christianity made some Jews wary of the language of “Judeo-Christian,” others adopted it to emphasize their own American belonging and anticommunist stance. This was how the American Jewish League Against Communism used it, for example, when it referred to communism as “a conspiracy aimed at God, the Ten Commandments and Judeo-Christian morality.”42 For some Jews, aligning themselves with “Judeo-Christian tradition” served as a way to distance themselves from the communist ideology with which Jews were often identified.

The effort to position Judaism as part of “Judeo-Christian” America helps to explain why, even while the FBI pursued countless American Jews on suspicion of communism, the bureau also leapt into action to defend Judaism. A dramatic instance occurred in 1958 when a late-night caller told the United Press International: “We bombed a Temple in Atlanta. . . . We are going to blow up all Communist organizations. Negroes and Jews are hereby declared aliens.”43 No one was killed, but the explosion caused at least $100,000’s worth of damage. President Eisenhower told Hoover to send the FBI to Atlanta to investigate the bombing, even though it was not exactly a matter under FBI jurisdic-
tion, and Hoover quickly complied, committing the FBI to “offer assistance” and sending reports to the president updating him on the investigation’s progress. Although Hoover’s FBI was targeting many individual Jews as potential enemies of the state, it saw an attack against a synagogue as an attack against the American ideals of tolerance and religiosity. The rabbi of the synagogue expressed a similar sentiment to the press when he claimed that the bombing exposed “the contrast between the ideals of religious faith and the practices of Godless men.” Many Jews and non-Jews alike saw the bombing as a godless attack against religion and, by extension, America itself, an attempt to destroy “the religious and democratic foundations of our country.”

DEFENDING JUDAISM, DEFENDING AGAINST JEWS

Hoover saw the “Judeo-Christian concept” as quintessentially American. It was the major feature that differentiated the United States from the USSR. And Judaism formed a critical part of American God-fearing democracy. Individual Jews might ally themselves with communism, but Judaism’s presence in the United States affirmed the country’s moral stature and commitment to tolerance. How could Hoover’s FBI see Jews as potential communist enemies but simultaneously treat Judaism as an integral part of the religious-democratic American order that the bureau was established to defend?

There are two related possibilities that allowed for the apparent contradiction. The first is a Christian theological view of Judaism that renders present-day Jews invisible. The Christian concept of supersessionism—that Christianity is the fulfillment of biblical Judaism—has long allowed many devout Christians to overlook or disparage their Jewish contemporaries while embracing the biblical legacy as their own, as if Judaism were a religious tradition that ended after the coming of Jesus. This position associated Judaism with ancient biblical Jews rather than contemporary American Jews. In other words, Judaism was a thing of the past, part of the religious legacy to which Christians themselves, rather than present-day Jews, were heir. The American Council for Education survey suggested that this view was widespread: across the 315 textbooks from the era, three-quarters of the space dedicated to Jews and Judaism consisted of references to events prior to the year 79 CE, fewer than 12 percent of the books mentioned modern Judaism at all, and discussion of Jews in America was “conspicuously absent.” For many Americans in this period, Jews were the chosen people of the Bible, the
spiritual forebears of Christians, and contemporary Jews were simply overlooked.

Another possibility for making sense of this dissonance involves a different claim about the relationship of Jews and Judaism: the only real Jewishness is religious, an assertion which denies that ethnic Jewishness is possible. Hoover, for instance, does not articulate supersessionist theology in its classical form, but in Masters of Deceit he develops a definition of Jews that is exclusively religious. There he defines Jews as “the people who gave the world the concept of our monotheistic God and the Ten Commandments,” and claims they “cannot remain Jews and follow the atheism of Karl Marx and the deceit of the communist movement.” For Hoover, this passage suggests, Judaism was a religious creed associated with the past and with the Bible, the source of “our” monotheistic God and the Ten Commandments, and it was impossible to be Jewish without adhering to that religious legacy. “Persons of the Jewish faith and communists” share nothing in common, he argued. Hoover’s book told about one party member who explained to “our agents” that when he joined the Communist Party, he renounced God, became an atheist, and began trying to convert others to atheism. His fellow Communist Party members, he went on, did not attend synagogue, observe holidays, or otherwise associate with Judaism. “It is a matter of record that numerous Communist Party leaders call themselves Jews and claim a Jewish origin.” Jews who allied themselves with communism might claim to be Jews, but by adopting its ideology they could only “claim” a Jewish origin, because they were no longer true Jews.

Hoover and those who shared his views may have never consciously considered the relationship between American antisemitism and certain forms of theology, or between their suspicion of Jews as communists and their embrace of Judaism as an American religion. We do know, however, that Hoover was proud of the Judaism chapter in Masters of Deceit, in which he sought to demonstrate the incompatibility of Judaism and communism, and we can glimpse how it helped him both to stigmatize Jewish communists and also to position himself in the role of Judaism’s defender. When he received the letter from the concerned Milwaukee housewife whose dentist was “quite a fanatic on the subject of communism and what groups of people make up the party in this country,” he replied personally (or at least he appeared to, though the letter might have been written by bureaucratic underlings). In his letter, Hoover told her that he could not be sure about the number of Zionists in
the Communist Party, but he referred her to *Masters of Deceit*—a highly telling response, for if she happened to read that book, she would have been presented with evidence that there were Jews in the communist leadership. But as an American citizen of "Jewish faith," perhaps she would also have been reassured by the book's claim that such Jews were not really Jews and that Hoover and his FBI were resolved to defend Judaism against them.
CHAPTER 7. HOOVER’S JUDEO-CHRISTIANS: JEWS, RELIGION, AND COMMUNISM IN THE COLD WAR


15. FBI “Charlie Chaplain,” April 5, 1951, File 100-15641, Part 8 of 10, p. 80, Department of Justice, FBI Records: The Vault (vault.fbi.gov).


30. For one recent example, see Marjorie Garber and Rebecca Walkowitz, eds., *Secret Agents: The Rosenberg Case, McCarthyism, and the Fifties* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
31. ZOA file, 10 of 10.
32. [Redacted] to Hoover, January 8, 1948, ZOA file, 1 of 10, p. 25.
33. Hoover to [redacted], April 20, 1961, ZOA file, 7 of 10.
35. File 9-15269, Department of Justice, FBI Records: The Vault (vault.fbi.gov). The file contains mainly missing page reports, entirely blacked-out pages, and some newspaper clippings. Hoover’s name is signed on the bottom of several otherwise all-blacked-out documents.
40. Historian Kevin Schultz has called the late 1940s and 1950s the “triumphant years” of the American trifaith image; *Tri-Faith America: How Catholics


44. “Statement of Rabbi Rothschild and William Schwartz, Jr.” Southern Israelite, October 17, 1959, i.


46. Hoover, Masters of Deceit, 223.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.