

“We Must Picture an ‘Octopus’”: Anticommunism, Desegregation, and Local News in Miami, 1945-1960

Gregory W. Bush, Ph.D.

Recent historical accounts have underscored the complex series of changing social values, political forces, and the varied roles played by the media in intimidating Jews and African-Americans throughout the South in the Civil Rights era following World War II. Historian Raymond Mohl notes that “mainstream black and Jewish organizations in Miami went on the defensive during [the 1950s], seeking more to demonstrate their patriotism and anticommunism than to push for civil rights and civil liberties.” Others have noted the powerful push by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and communist organizers in the Miami area labor movement in the late 1940s that created a backlash, fueling the resurgence of anti-Semitism and a rash of bombings.¹

During the early postwar period, the virulent attack on alleged communists and the groups associated with them became a major political determinant in South Florida, the nation’s preeminent winter leisure capital. Exhibiting the local faces of communism became a competitive obsession for many in Miami’s press in those years. Through a spate of anticommunist episodes, most often initiated by sensational stories in the *Miami Daily News*, local law enforcement officials vied with congressional investigators to appear forceful in ferreting out subversives. By early 1955, a cover article in *The Nation* written by civil libertarian Frank Donner labeled the resulting repression “The Miami Formula.” As if confirming

Donner's fears, the special assistant attorney general for the state of Florida, Ellis Rubin, issued a report two months later that threw a wide net in castigating local leftists. He wrote that to understand the peril of communism "we must picture an 'octopus' with head and body within the forbidding walls of the Kremlin in Moscow, and its numberless tentacles reaching out into almost all the countries of the world. . . . These tentacles seek to destroy by confusion, infiltration, subversion, and division. Their main areas of attack include religion, education, labor, the entertainment industry and government."²

Official language such as Rubin's or news stories, photos, and television newscast linked labor-organizing and desegregation activities to communism in these crucial years when television news was in its infancy. In the early 1950s, television generally followed the lead of the print media in attempting to exorcise the threat of communism. This article will illustrate several ways that local print media stimulated anticommunist campaigns. It will also suggest a more complex picture in relation to the burgeoning civil rights movement: notably that by the mid 1950s, Miami's local television station WTVJ occasionally decoupled civil rights from its anticommunist associations because of the broadcast station's equally significant role in promoting tourism. By 1960, when WTVJ broadcast a lurid fantasy about a communist takeover of the area, called "The Day Miami Died," local television news had come of age as a significant—if sensational—dramatic force of its own.³

Metaphors such as "webs of subversion" or "tentacled sea monsters" were, in part, cultural inversions linked and in many ways continuous to the booster mentality formed during Miami's early history—from 1896 through the 1920s. Following World War II, the aura of consensus that had relentlessly promoted the area as a tourist destination—however illusory that consensus may have been in reality—was extended, transformed, and invoked through both emergent and more traditional media to paint sharply etched pictures of subversives.⁴

The two major daily newspapers generated a repertoire of narrative structures linking local communist activity to the civil rights and labor movements. These stories complemented other contemporary distortions of international news coverage of such incidents as those taking place in Guatemala. Overall, the broad tapestry of news coverage illustrates the ways in which the face of communism was revealed not merely as a threat in Washington but as a close and tangible local threat.⁵

Americans have had a penchant for mislabeling our postwar anticommunist phenomenon, “McCarthyism,” thus reinforcing the view that political perceptions emanated exclusively from Washington-, New York-, or Hollywood-based personalities and events. Reinforcing this myopia has been the paucity of archival materials illuminating the role played by local television and radio broadcasts in the 1950s. Assessments of television’s relationship to anticommunism have generally overlooked its emergent role in the local news chain that, especially in larger cities, linked city or regional events to the broad threat of communism. Nationally televised broadcasts such as Edward R. Murrow’s “See It Now” programs or the Army-McCarthy hearings have often functioned as the primary historical texts on the impact of anticommunism. With its largely untapped treasure trove of newsfilm from the early 1950s, Miami betrays important local idiosyncrasies about anticommunism that need further exploration.⁶

At the end of World War II, Miami remained a segregated southern city, while simultaneously possessing a fast changing and uniquely shifting populace. Hundreds of thousands of military men and women from all around the country lived on Miami Beach during the war; thousands returned to live in the balmy climate of a region fast becoming a year-round resort cooled by air conditioning (mid-1950s) and attempting to exude a more cosmopolitan flavor. The seasonal influx of tourists and migrants from the north, Europe, and Latin America swelled dramatically in the postwar years.⁷

Population figures tell part of the story of an area undergoing spiraling growth and ethnic flux. The Jewish population of Dade County grew from 8,273 in the 1940 Census to more than 54,660 in the 1950 Census; it was concentrated largely in the Shenandoah district of Miami and in Miami Beach. The latter became a haven for northern Jews, many from working-class backgrounds, and some highly critical of the prevalent racial- and class-based local hierarchy. A small number were associated with the Communist Party, the labor movement, and the burgeoning civil rights movement. By 1954, this association saw 135 out of the 138 people with Jewish names who were subpoenaed to appear before a grand jury investigation of communism. Anti-Semitism, as Deborah Dash Moore’s recent account notes, remained a potent force in the area. Nonetheless, while “gentiles only” signs had been widely posted in Miami and Miami



Posing as a law and order group, the Ku Klux Klan was soon included in kidnappings and beatings of persons considered "trouble makers". Ku Klux Klan demonstration, 1948. HASE, Miami News Collection 1989-011-9519.

Beach in the 1920s and 1930s, Miami Beach residents had elected the owner of a chain of movie theaters, Mitchell Wolfson, as the first Jewish mayor in 1943. It was Wolfson who inaugurated Florida's first TV station, WTVJ, in 1949.⁸

Black population growth rates in South Florida had been extraordinarily high through 1930, but according to historian Raymond Mohl, who has done important work on Miami race relations, these rates slowed somewhat after 1930. Blacks were segregated and concentrated in several ghettos, including Colored Town (today's Overtown) and Liberty City, a neighborhood in northwest Miami that began to develop in the 1930s. In these communities poverty was rampant.⁹

The white power structure of the Miami area held the line in maintaining the walls of segregation in the years after 1945. In January 1945, for example, Governor Millard Caldwell "sent a letter to all sheriffs in the state, calling upon them to 'use their good offices' to eliminate idleness." Blacks were widely arrested for vagrancy and had been conscripted into local work gangs during the war. Further, the KKK remained an important force within law enforcement agencies in South Florida throughout the postwar period.¹⁰

By the early postwar period, "Florida was visited with as much violence as any state, including Mississippi," according to historian Gerald Horne.



Bombing of building inhabited by Blacks, 1958. Photo by Ralph Kestly. HASF, Miami News Collection 81-99-95.

On Christmas Eve in 1951, for example, Harry T. Moore, head of both the NAACP and the Progressive Voters League in Florida, was killed in the small central Florida community of Mims by a blast from a bomb planted under the bedroom of his house.¹¹

South Florida's violence victimized Jews as well as Blacks. Several synagogues as well as a Black housing project were bombed in the early 1950s, stimulating the first Dade County Council for Human Relations to seek greater ethnic harmony to the area. Instead of questioning Klansmen, Police Chief Walter Headley released a statement charging that the investigation of bombing "pointed strongly to the conclusion that it was part of a Communist plot to incite racial hatred."¹²

An emerging progressive coalition was perceived to be a real threat to the white establishment in the years immediately following World War II. Florida's Claude Pepper, a fervent New Dealer, remained in the Senate until defeated by George Smathers in 1950, following a bitter campaign. Yet earlier, in 1946, an FDR Memorial rally in Bayfront Park "brought out a large integrated crowd" to listen to speeches by Pepper and other local leaders of liberal and labor groups, including some associated with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.¹³

It was press coverage of separate visits to Miami by Communist Party member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and former Vice President

Henry Wallace in February 1948 that galvanized Miami’s first postwar campaign of repression. On February 17, Flynn spoke to about 150 supporters at the Edwards Hotel in South Beach, appealing for funds on behalf of alleged communists scheduled for deportation to the Soviet Union. Reporters from the *Miami News* sought to infiltrate the meeting, then attempted to take pictures of participants through a window. The following day’s edition of the journal contained photographs of audience members leaving the building; there was little ambiguity that, in the estimation of the *News*, these were the faces of dangerous subversives. Coverage in subsequent days included elaborate descriptions of chase scenes of Communist Party officials who were engaged in an allegedly ultra-secret meeting (who were actually having dinner in a restaurant). Added to this were self-congratulatory comments about the *News*’s exposés provided by local leaders as well as by the

chief counsel of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, who noted that “the boys who broke this story really did...as fine a job as I have seen anywhere since I have been on this job.” Later stories recounted that several members of HUAC had read the recent *News* articles, were alarmed at local communist influence, and planned an investigation of Miami.

“Indications of a shifting of the national Communist party ‘orbit’ from Hollywood, Cal., to Miami are being investigated” was the lead for one story under a banner headline. Front page stories subsequently highlighted fights over the Congress of Industrial Organizations’s attempts to expel local union officials with Communist Party associations.¹⁴

Henry Wallace’s 1948 campaign as the Progressive Party’s presidential candidate to unseat Harry Truman as president, fueled by his calls for peace with the Soviet Union and a broadened social agenda at home,



Pepper, a fervent New Dealer, and in his later career as a long-standing member of the U.S. House of Representatives, a champion of the elderly. HASF 82-120-2.

gained widespread attention in Miami. By March, however, after pressure from the Miami press and negative newspaper columns about Wallace from Eleanor Roosevelt, Pepper began to create political distance between himself and Wallace. In a speech given at the Roney Plaza Hotel during his visit, Wallace acknowledged that he would undoubtedly get the votes of many communists and called for pressure on Washington by Blacks to help pass civil rights legislation. The next day, the former vice president spoke to a crowd in Bayfront Park estimated by the *Miami Herald* to be twelve thousand strong. Decrying the power of what he called the “Wall Street military group,” Wallace added that “the perfection of the three way co-operation between government, industry and the military...will end in a military—big business dictatorship—unless we fight back.” The *Herald* commented pointedly that “a negro girl led in singing of ‘The Star Spangled Banner’ and that ‘negroes’ were present—both in the audience and on the stage.” A new mixture of racial politics and criticism of the emergent anticommunist military policy was being brewed by Wallace—progressive politics that seemed a significant threat to local leaders.¹⁵

Illustrating the ends to which local leaders would go to in eliminating that threat, the University of Miami soon fired three professors closely associated with the Wallace campaign. The three found their expected contracts peremptorily terminated early in May at the only institution of higher education in South Florida. Three thousand students turned out to protest the administration’s action, but the Student Senate failed to take specific action on behalf of the three, summer vacation intervened, students drifted home, and UM’s Board of Trustees affirmed the dismissals.¹⁶

By 1954, following the passage the Florida Subversive Activities Act, Miami experienced another anticommunist campaign. The *Miami Herald* joined the *News* in underscoring its own value to South Floridians by illuminating local communist connections. In February 1953, reporter David Kraslow uncovered what he saw as Communist Party sponsorship of concerts held in the Miami Beach Jewish Cultural Center and decried leftist publications in the Center’s library. Then, in June 1954, *Miami News* reporter Damon Runyon, Jr., published a ten-part series of front page articles in which FBI informer Al Spears revealed the purported inner workings of the Communist Party in the Miami area. In a sensational manner, Spears noted Soviet plans to

create a secret Soviet camp for penetrating the United States to be located at Opa Locka. Other articles provided a capsule history of communism in South Florida, noting the importance of the 1948 speech of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. The paper was memorializing its own anticommunist efforts.¹⁷

The anticommunist rhetoric as well as intimidating actions perpetrated by shadowy law enforcement operatives profoundly intimidated the political left. Anonymous threats were sent to civil rights activists. A subpoena was thrust into the hands of Bobbi Graff, the local head of the Civil Rights Congress, four days after she had given birth, sending her into trauma. Front page news stories trumpeted grand jury investigations of local radicals. Another round of HUAC investigations took place in Miami in early December, while Senate committee hearings in New Orleans—alluded to by Virginia Durr—featured several Miami witnesses. All these developments helped compel many of the alleged subversives to leave the



Mrs. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. In 1948, she appeared at a meeting on Miami Beach appealing for funds for alleged Communists scheduled for deportation to the Soviet Union. HASF 1995-277-13936.

area. It was in this context that Ellis Rubin was promoted by the American Legion to be appointed a special assistant attorney general charged with writing a report on the influence of communism in Florida.¹⁸

Television news coverage generally mirrored the perspective of the mainstream newspapers. Its footage was singularly undramatic, with most shots monotonously showing witnesses going into or leaving a courtroom, shielding their faces from the cameras or, in one instance, being followed down the hallway and out into the street by cameramen.¹⁹

Nonetheless, several factors limited the power of local news coverage by late 1954, a time when McCarthy's power was waning as well. First, anticommunist tactics became overly shrill and embarrassing to some in the local legal community. On September 3, 1954, for example,

Circuit Judge Vincent Giblin held a hearing on Ellis Rubin's charge that lawyer Leo Sheiner should be disbarred for membership in the Communist Party and the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. Giblin's written opinion included comments that labeled intellectuals "pygmies on stilts...who pose as defenders of civil liberties and promoters of international good will...glory[ing] in the 'courage' of witnesses who...invoke the protection provisions of the Fifth Amendment."²⁰

On September 11, *Miami Life*, a newspaper characterized by sensational reporting, published a critical editorial stating that "Judge Giblin in the Sheiner case has literally thrown the Constitution out of the window...[He] appears to be power drunk and is determined, it seems, to conduct his court in the way he sees fit, regardless of regulations or laws...How much longer will Miami stand for this nonsense from the jurist?" Several television debates apparently presented the subject of defendant rights with greater complexity than prior news stories. A series entitled "Know Your Constitution" exhibited supporters of the Fifth Amendment. Similar critiques were heard on WWPB radio by the openly anticommunist interviewer Sam Gyson. What had appeared to be a community consensus behind the witch hunt was becoming threatening to more than a few Miami Jews and Christians alike, perhaps undermining the tolerance and cosmopolitan flavor many wanted to display.²¹

Another contrary opinion offered by a Miamian not initially connected with those under investigation was delivered on June 27, 1954, by the Reverend Joseph Barth. Returning from a vacation in Maine, which followed a story by Damon Runyon, Jr., concerning communist activities within his church, Barth gave a sermon entitled "When Fear Strikes Our Community." Quoting from Paul Tillich and Erich Fromm, Barth commented that "nationally perhaps the check on spiteful scapegoating may at last be beginning. Locally, the tide still seems to be rising." After chastising the town's "yellow journalists," he concluded that his Unitarian church was a place where "(unlike the State Department) sex perverts and statesmen belong and all of them belong together..."²²

On October 8, Judge Holt ordered Rev. Barth and his secretary, Mrs. Helen F. Williams, to show cause why they should not be cited for contempt of court because they had signed an affidavit charging the judge with prejudice. The affidavit stated that the judge had signed

contempt citations against fifteen Miamians linked to the Communist Party a few days prior to their appearance before the grand jury, thus proving prejudice of these cases. The following day, the *Miami Daily News* reported that the orders of Judge Holt were signed prematurely by “clerical error.” Then, in early November, State Attorney George Brautigam, who headed a grand jury investigation of Communist infiltration in the area, was temporarily reassigned away from Miami and on November 19, the Florida Supreme Court threw out the cases of the first fourteen victims on the grounds that they were entitled to use the Fifth Amendment.²³

Writer Louis Harap commented in the December issue of *Jewish Life* that “Miami, advertised as ‘the nation’s playground,’ has become the nation’s nightmare. Fascism is getting a tryout there. Fascist terror has hit tens of families, mostly Jewish—and the end is not in sight.” He suggested that “there can be one form of counter-attack that can be promoted to the greatest possible extent—a boycott of Florida as a resort. Such a boycott of the state’s major ‘industry’ would awaken all elements of the community, including its business men, that officers of the law in Florida cannot destroy the Constitution without protest from the thousands of Americans—and there are many Jews among them—who plan to vacation in the state.”²⁴

A second factor that undermined the anticommunist crusade of the mid 1950s was the need for social calm to attract tourists. This appears to have limited, with some subtlety, the scope of Miami’s linkage of communism to the civil rights movement in the mid fifties. WTVJ, for example, never mentioned the problem of communism in a half-hour 1956 special news report focused on difficulties over segregation in Delray Beach. Local politicians and emissaries from Florida Governor Collins had failed to calm the excited town as white leaders sought to exclude Blacks from bathing beaches. The potential role of local television news was becoming increasingly clear as WTVJ sought to dampen the flames of racial discord—as they perceived it. South Floridians saw the increasingly well known local anchorman Ralph Renick force white leaders to sit around a table and hammer out an agreement averting further racial tensions. TV had become a critical negotiating tool promoting improved race relations, apparently motivated by the need to keep the dollars flowing from northern tourists who would, it was believed, avoid an area beset by racial violence.²⁵

The anticommunist crusade remained episodic in Miami, however, as seen in local reactions to the rising threat posed by communism in Cuba. Further, as seen in the Delray Beach program, television news grew as a central dramatic player. Early coverage of Fidel Castro's accession to power in Cuba, like much of the national media, was often supportive of the revolution. By 1960, however, as Castro's public affinity shifted to the left, numerous WTVJ special reports sought to awaken Americans to the threats posed by communists in control of a country so close to Miami and with agents presumably honeycombing South Florida. In November 1960, for example, the station broadcast a program reminiscent of Orson Welles' 1938 radio show "War of the Worlds." "The Day Miami Died" was written, produced, and filmed by cameraman Fred Mooke with help by Manolo Reyes, a recent emigre from Cuba. Theirs was a sensational account in which real life public figures, including the mayor and news anchor Ralph Renick, were ejected with agents of the thinly veiled People's Revolutionary Army taking their place. While it looks vaguely comical now, the program undoubtedly reinforced fears that webs of subversion were palpable local forces.²⁶

The lingering moral ambiguities of this highly fluid leisure capital, its role at the forefront of mass persuasion throughout South Florida, and its dramatically changing demographic patterns helped produce these intense episodes of anticommunism between 1948 and 1960. Miami may have witnessed greater repression of political radicals than that of any other southern urban area in this period. Altogether, these developments placed severe boundaries on political dialogue in what was sometimes considered a liberal Southern bastion. Daniel Hallin has recently written that "the American news media may, in fact, communicate to the public a conception of politics and of their own political role that strongly discourages active political involvement." Yet under an ideology linking tourism with patriotism, Miami's experience exhibits something even more disturbing: that its shrill political rhetoric and style of reportage coupled with wide ranging legal prosecutions successfully subjugated lingering ethnic, class, and racial tensions under a commodified culture of leisure and spectacle that ensnares us still.²⁷

Notes

- ¹ Raymond Mohl, *South of the South: Jewish activists and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 35; Alex Lichtenstein, “‘Scientific Unionism’ and the ‘Negro Question’: Communists and the Transport Workers Union in Miami, 1944-1949,” in Robert Zieger, ed., *Southern Labor in Transition, 1940-1995* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 58-85; Deborah Dash Moore, *To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Dream in Miami and L.A.* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 172-176; Olive Webb, *Fight Against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 58. Marvin Dunn, in his *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997) curiously overlooks the power of anticommunism in the evolution of Miami’s civil rights movement.
- ² Frank Donner, “The Miami Formula: An Expose of Grass-Roots McCarthyism,” *The Nation*, 180 (January 22, 1955), 65-71; “Report on Investigation of Subversive Activities in Florida by the Special Assistant Attorney General, State of Florida in Cooperation with the American Legion Department of Florida,” March 1955, 5. The literature on gender and anticommunism see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). For discussion of the role of metaphor see Murray Edelman, *Politics as Symbolic Action* (New York: Academic Press, 1971), 75, 71. See also James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage: America’s Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 75; and my book *Lord of Attention: Gerald Stanley Lee and the Crowd Metaphor in Industrializing America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts press, 1991).
- ³ For additional background on Miami’s experience with anticommunism in the 1950s see Jack Nelson, *Terror in the Night: The Klan’s Campaign Against the Jews* (New York, 1993); Louis Harap, “Nightmare in Miami,” *Jewish Life* 9 (Dec. 1954), 4-9; “Tempest in Miami,” *The Nation* 179 (24 July 1954), 61-62; Leslie B. Bain, “Red Hunt in Miami: Who Formed the Posse?” *Nation*, 179 (7 August 1954), 110-112; Frank Donner, “The Miami Formula: An Expose of Grass-Roots McCarthyism,” *The Nation* 180 (22 January 1955), 65-71.

- ⁴ While most of Miami's first generation of leaders who had been influential in defining and promoting community consensus behind tourism had passed away by World War II, a new coterie of businessmen, promoters, newsmen, and political leaders had taken power by the 1930s and 1940s. Men such as Steve Hannagan, Hank Meyer, Mitchell Wolfson, and others exuded an updated ideology of civic consensus. A second tier of younger journalists and prosecutors, such as Ellis Rubin, Damon Runyon, Jr., George Brautigam and David Kraslow, appear to have been strongly motivated to push the anticommunist crusade in Miami.
- ⁵ World events portrayed in local television news during 1954, for example, also included the overthrow and aftermath of the Arbenz government in Guatemala, the prolonged battle of Dien Bien Phu in Vietnam, Republican attempts to gain control of Congress in the 1954 campaign, and southern reaction to the *Brown vs. Board of Education*. On July 11, 1954, for example, when WTVJ was in the midst of its investigations into local communist activity, it noted that the "Red-hunt" in Guatemala "produce[d] a big catch. Thousands of suspected Communists are brought to prison. Their capture is made by special anti-Red squads set up by the junta. At the prison—the captives swap civilian clothes for convict garb—even as the new government seeks to increase their number by gaining custody of some one thousand political refugees who have gained asylum within the city's foreign embassies. Meanwhile—a grisly hunt of another sort continues—the search for the bodies of victims of the ousted red government's atrocities. Mass graves near the capital yield bodies by the score. Most give evidence of torture."
- ⁶ See J. Fred MacDonald, *Television and the Red Menace: The Video Road to Vietnam* (New York: Praeger, 1985); Erik Barnouw, *Tube of Plenty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975); Paul Lyons, *Philadelphia Communists, 1936-1956* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984); Frank Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); M.J. Heale, "Red Scare Politics: California's Campaign Against Un-American Activities, 1940-1970," *Journal of American Studies* 20 (April 1986), 5-32; Don E. Carleton, "McCarthyism in Houston: The George Ebey Affair," *South-Western Historical Quarterly* 80 (October 1976), 163-76. Betty C. Chmaj,

- “Paranoid Patriotism: The Radical Right and the South,” *Atlantic Monthly* 210 (November 1962), 91-97; John A. Salmund, “‘The Great Southern Commie Hunt’: Aubrey Williams, the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and the Internal Security Subcommittee,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 77 (Autumn 1978), 433. Gerald Horne 9, *Communist Front? The Civil Rights Congress, 1944-1956* (Cranbury, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1988); Walter Gellhorn, ed., *The States and Subversion* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952).
- ⁷ “Metropolitan Miami Florida: Fifty Years of Progress (1946) 13, 18, 17; Victor Bennett and Barton Westerlund, “A Survey of the Winter Tourist Industry of Greater Miami,” University of Miami, 1950; “Selling Vacations on Miami Beach,” a pamphlet published by the Miami Beach Hotel Owners Association, 1949). These publications are located in the Mosaic Judaica Collection of Florida, University of Miami. On postwar foreign trade, see article in *Miami Herald*, 13 April 1947, 5D. In 1946, Greater Miami had more than 512 hotels, 2,953 apartment buildings, and 2,378 rooming houses.
- ⁸ Harold Mehling, *The Most of Everything: The Story of Miami Beach* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1960), 129-144; Deborah Dash Moore, *To the Golden Cities: Pursuing the American Jewish Dream in Miami and L.A.* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 173-76.
- ⁹ See Raymond Mohl, “‘South of the South’: Jews, Blacks, and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18 (Winter 1999), 3-36.
- ¹⁰ See Stetson Kennedy, *Southern Exposure* (Garden City NY: Doubleday & Company, 1946), 58, 59.
- ¹¹ Gerald Horne, *Communist Front*, 192; Stetson Kennedy, “Murder by Bombing,” *Nation*, 5 January 1952, 4.
- ¹² Stetson Kennedy, “Miami: Anteroom to Fascism,” *The Nation* 22 December 1951, 46-47; Arva Parks, *Miami: The Magic City* (Miami: Centennial Press, 1991), 149.
- ¹³ Claude Pepper with Hays Gore, *Pepper: Eyewitness to a Century* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987) Ch. 7; Raymond Mohl, *South of the South, Jewish Activists and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945-1960* (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004), 78.
- ¹⁴ John Carlton, “Probe of Communists Here Seen as House Group

Studies Expose," *Miami Daily News*, 21 February 1948, 1; "U.S. Prober Speeds Here for Communist Checkup," *Miami Daily News*, 27 February 1948, 1. See also "Congress Group Orders Probe of Communist Activities here," 26 February 1948, 1. Thanks to Lisa Gibbs for research help regarding the Flynn incident.

- ¹⁵ "Pepper Hits Russia's Aggression," *Miami Herald*, 29 March 1948; "Truman Infers Russia Place for Wallace," *Miami Herald*, 30 March 1948; *Miami Herald*, 20 February 1948. Presiding at the Wallace speech was the Reverend Joseph Barth of the First Unitarian Church, cited for contempt in 1954 for his condemnation of what he viewed as local judicial harassment of leftists.
- ¹⁶ The three purged at the University were Daniel D. Ashkenas, Leonard Cohen, Jr., and Charles G. Davis. See "3,000 Students Attend Rally Over 'Purging' of Professors," *Miami Herald*, 13 May 1948, 1; "Profs' Status is Unchanged, Hearing Held," *Miami Herald*, 21 May 1948, 1.
- ¹⁷ David Kraslow, "Communist Paper Sponsored Concerts Heard at Beach Center," *Miami Herald*, 15 February 1953; Al Spears as told to Damon Runyon, Jr., "I Was a Miami Red," 7 June 1954, 1. See also "Plan For 'Model' Village in Artea Upset by Patriot," 11 June 1954, 1.
- ¹⁸ Mohl, *South of the South*, 73-74; Interview with Max Schlafrock, 5 December 1992; "Investigation of Communist Activities in the State of Florida—Part I," Hearings Before the Committee on Un-American Activities, Eighty Third Congress, Second Session, November 29 and 30, 1954. Part II, 2 December 1954.
- ¹⁹ Selected WTVJ news clips under the category of communism from the summer and fall of 1954, located in the Louis Wolfson II Florida Moving Image Archive. Those viewed include those from news presentations of 3 March, 18 May, 21 May, 10 June, 22 June, 24 June, 29 June, 6 July, 9 July, 15 July, 22 July, 28 July, 29 July 1954. For general background on WTVJ see Gerald Vincent Flannery, "Local Television Editorializing: A Case Study of Editorials of Ralph Renick on WTVJ-TV," Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio University, 1966). For the coming of WTVJ to Miami see "TV Registers Quick Success in Miami Area," *Miami Daily News*, 4 December 1949, 4C. See also the special supplement "Forty Years of Service, 1925-1965," *Miami Daily News*, 14 July 1965. My thanks

to Laura Pincus for sharing her ongoing research on the life of Mitchell Wolfson.

- ²⁰ Louis Harap, “Nightmare in Miami,” *Jewish Life*, 9 (December 1943), 4-9. See also Leslie B. Bain, “Red Hunt in Miami: Who Formed the Posse?” *The Nation*, 179 (7 August 1954), 110-112.
- ²¹ Harap, 5-6; *Miami Daily News*, 16 September 1954.
- ²² Haines Colbert, “Pastor Defends Reds in Flock,” *Miami Daily News*, 28 June 1954, 4.
- ²³ Harap, 5-6; *Miami Daily News*, 9 October 1954.
- ²⁴ Harap, 4, 8.
- ²⁵ The State Legislature’s Johns Committee investigations of links between alleged Communists, civil rights organizations, and homosexuals were only released for public viewing in 2003. See “Veil Lifts on ‘Red Scare’ Panel,” *Miami Herald*, 14 June 1993. For further background see Steven F. Lawson, “The Florida Legislative Investigation Committee and the Constitutional Readjustment of Race Relations, 1956-1963,” in *An Uncertain Tradition*, ed., Kermit L. Hall and James W. Ely, Jr. (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 296-299; George Vickery, “TV Newsmen Makes news by bringing Peace to City Torn by Racial Conflict,” *The Quill* (September 1956) 15-16; Russ Marchner, “Negro, White Leaders Weld Accord in Delray,” *Miami Herald*, 3 July 1956, p. 1; Steve Liewer, “Divisive Beach United Blacks,” *Sun-Sentinel*, 27 February 1994. (Thanks to Douglas Gomery for bringing this to my attention.)
- ²⁶ Telephone interview with Fred Mooke, 21 October 1994.
- ²⁷ Daniel Hallin, *We Keep America on Top of the World* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 34.