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The anatomy of McCarthyism

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THE
ANATOMY
of
McCARTHYISM

by

Mark Logan *and* Sam Douglas

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A POLITICAL AFFAIRS PAMPHLET

TO THE READER

Because of the popular interest it has aroused, and the wide demand for copies of this article exposing the fascist role, tactics, and aims of Senator Joseph McCarthy in the political life of the U.S.A., it has been published in its present pamphlet form as a public service.

Authored by Mark Logan and Sam Douglas, this article appeared originally in the June, 1953 issue of the monthly magazine, *Political Affairs*.

The Anatomy of McCarthyism

By MARK LOGAN and SAM DOUGLAS

A NEW WAVE OF ALARM growing out of a genuine concern for the democratic liberties of the nation is spreading across America. Trade-union leaders, church dignitaries, prominent artists, scientists, educators and some noted political figures are speaking up to challenge "the ministry of fear in our country"* and are urging resistance to McCarthyism.

In a speech delivered at Howard University, James B. Carey of the C.I.O., who not so long ago urged Americans to join with fascists to defeat Communism, warned:

Virtually all the investigations of alleged Communism are conducted by men who are not simply anti-Communist. They are anti-labor, pro-reaction. . . . The menace lies in the fact that the mental set of the professional anti-Communist is essentially one that would eventually suppress all dissent, all free inquiry.**

He charged that the goal was "driven young sheep as we saw Hitler and fascism produce by thought control."

A. Phillip Randolph, president of the A. F. of L. Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and editor of the *Black Worker*, the union's official organ, wrote on March 15, 1953: "McCarthyism is . . . a symptom of fascism. Its methods and tactics negate democracy."

The two-page, center spread, editorial went on to say:

McCarthyism, with a frenzy, fury and fanaticism worthy only of the lowest order of tribalism, would howl down all protests; all criticisms; all dissent; all popular ideas; all independent thought; all political differences.

* Averell Harriman, quoted in the *N. Y. Post*, May 5, 1953.

** *Daily Worker*, April 12, 1953.

As the victims under fire multiply, and as every aspect of public life and liberal thought is menaced, new voices are raised in protest. Characteristic is the note sounded by Senator Herbert H. Lehman on April 29th speaking at the New York State Democratic Party Dinner:

Step by step we have retreated in the last four years. . . . The investigators, who might better be called the inquisitionists, have taken over. . . .

What a spectacle we must present to the rest of the world! We have convinced our own people that this great democracy of ours is honeycombed with traitors, spies, subversives and sexual deviates. . . .

The "sordid antics" of the McCarthys, Jenners, Veldes and McCarrans have directly affected the security and personal liberties of tens of thousands of Americans. Their storm-troop assaults are now battering down those who but a year ago thought they were untouchable. Fear of McCarthyism—but also the growing desire to fight back—therefore arise not only among those who have already come under attack but also from new millions who now recognize they *can* be next.

It is heartening to note that many new forces are beginning to recognize that McCarthyism does not threaten Communists alone. The new voices raised in protest, calling for courage, for an end to retreat, for no further concessions to McCarthy, are a welcome development. Today, it is not the Communists alone who recognize that all who surrender to McCarthyism will be devoured by McCarthyism. All of this represents an advance over yesterday.

Nor are these new voices content with protest. They are asking questions which they had previously shied away from. They ask: how have we come to this pass? How can we halt this ominous development before all democratic liberties are engulfed? Asks Sen. Lehman:

Why this panic? Why have we given over to the McCarthys and Jenners the awful power to prosecute and to judge not only public servants but private citizens, on the basis not only of their beliefs but of their association, past and present?

Why have we so exposed ourselves to international ridicule as to permit our country to be stamped by these Congressional Vigilantes?

Though many of these voices do not yet fully understand the nature and essence of McCarthyism; though the development of the movement is uneven and disunited; though it does not yet project a clearly defined program, the first important steps in reversing the trend are being taken. It would be the height of folly and fatal to the further development of the anti-McCarthy movement to minimize these developments. On the contrary, the defeat of McCarthyism demands that these new trends be encouraged and supported.

II

THE FIGHT BACK movement is under way. However, the future of this movement, its ability to reverse the pro-fascist trend, requires a more fundamental understanding of the nature of the enemy. It requires a more thorough-going examination of the anatomy of McCarthyism, the soil upon which it thrives, the interests which it furthers and how it came to be so powerful.

Senator Lehman asks: why have we permitted our country to be overrun by these Congressional Vigilantes? This is a very important question. But it takes into account only one phase of the attack. It justly lashes out at Congressional Vigilanteism, but ignores the total developing pro-fascist direction of all branches of the government. It sees McCarthyism as an isolated phenomenon, expressing itself through Congressional inquisitions and divorced from the political climate and policies under which McCarthyism flourishes.

What is McCarthyism? True, it is Joe McCarthy. But is it he alone? Is it he, plus his Congressional imitators, the Jenners, McCarrans and Veldes? Can anyone seriously believe that the lone efforts of a junior Senator from Wisconsin could in the course of a few short years so profoundly change the whole political climate of the country? The very absurdity of such a proposition is testified to by no less a man than Truman's Secretary of Air, Thomas K. Finletter. Sharing the same platform with Senator Lehman, he declared:

An evil force is loose in the land. *The leading spearhead and symbol of this force*, at the moment is a Senator. But the evil lies deeper than any one man. A small minority of Americans want to destroy our civil liberties in order (so they say) to protect ourselves from Russian subversion—but in reality I wonder for what personal end or personal power? (Italics added.)

The concept of McCarthy as the “leading spearhead and symbol” is a profoundly acute observation; a view which Communists have long been urging upon the nation. Mr. Finletter is also quite right when he argues that “the evil lies deeper than any one man.” However, though there is some validity to the view that ruthless lust for personal power and profit are involved, this is far from the whole picture or even the most important part of it.

Joe McCarthy is certainly an unscrupulous demagogue and adventurer. That he has profited from his activities, has been attested to by a Senate Committee report (quickly suppressed) which revealed that he has accumulated bank deposits of \$172,623.18 in the last four years (while receiving a government salary of \$15,000 a year). Hardly any one doubts that McCarthy has a tremendous thirst for power and seeks no less than the Presidency of the United States.

However, though this portrait of the self-appointed *fuehrer* is true to life, it does not explain McCarthyism. It simply describes the man who personifies McCarthyism. What then is McCarthyism?

It is a *technique* of the Big Lie; a technique which seeks to effect a state of national paralysis by an unending and mounting stream of fantastic lies revolving around the central lie that our country is endangered by an “internal and external Red menace.” As Comrade Foster has written:

McCarthy’s sharp weapon is Red-baiting. With this he has built his national notoriety. He not merely attacks Communists and other Lefts, but everyone who has in him even a trace of liberalism. Such is the logic of the anti-Communist crusade, which is the Hitler Anti-Comintern Pact brought up to date. Red-baiting is not just legitimate criticism of the Communists, just as anti-Semitism is not criticism of the Jews—both are violently reactionary political attacks. . . . (*Daily Worker*, April 24, 1953.)

McCarthyism is a *method*—a method of terror and frameup, of character assassination and guilt by association. Its victims are bullied and smeared. And those who refuse to be browbeaten, it seeks to destroy.

Mrs. Agnes Meyer gives a vivid example of this method:

The plan is to expose any teachers who look suspicious and may even be guilty of Communist affiliations. Then with the support of an aroused public opinion behind them, our Congressional inquisitors will attack any or all professors whose opinions they dislike. That will be the moment when McCarthy will move into the bullring to do his stuff. As in the past, he will produce his professional ex-Communists such as Budenz to say that professor X was known to them as a fellow-Communist. Before the poor man can recover from shock, his name will flame in every headline, his college branded as harboring Communists and encouraging Communism. Financial contributions will fall off at once. Faculty morale will be shot to pieces. . . . *

But more than this. *It is a spearhead. It is a fascist detachment. It is an instrument of compulsion and pressure, designed to counter and paralyze popular resistance, to soften up and prepare the ground for fascism and to force the nation along this path.* More specifically, and within the framework of the present situation, it seeks to propel the Eisenhower government ever more to the Right and to transform it into a fascist regime. It strives to create a mass base without which fascism cannot come to power in America, any more than in any other part of the world. *McCarthyism is all of this.*

The validity of this characterization emerges clearly as we examine political developments under the Eisenhower Administration. Is there anything in the record of this regime to indicate that McCarthyism pursues an independent policy—a policy which contains principled differences? There is not. And the record easily proves this.

The Eisenhower Administration advances as its basic premise the

* Address to the 79th convention of the American Assn. of School Administrators on Feb. 17, 1953.

theory that our country is menaced by Communism, at home and abroad. Let us put aside for the moment the validity or honesty of this premise, but merely study its consequences.

In foreign policy Eisenhower pursues the policy of "the soldier's pack," of aggressive measures that can only extend the war, of negotiation by ultimatum. Dulles and Stassen are sent to Europe to "firm up" wavering allies in the war camp, while pressing for the remilitarization of Japan and Germany, as the Administration continues to brandish the atom bomb. The agreements of Yalta and Potsdam are renounced in practice, as efforts of the Soviet Union to achieve peaceful co-existence are met with evasions and rebuffs. The adventurist thesis of "liberation" war has alarmed the world.

Each step of the way, anti-Soviet incitements and frameups at home are used to heat up the cold war to prepare the way for the next war-mongering moves.

These are the policies of the most powerful, most war-minded sections of monopoly capital. And they are executed by the Eisenhower Administration, the chief instrument of these monopolists.

And what of domestic policy? With the advent of the Eisenhower Administration, the attack on civil liberties has been intensified. Under the guise of fighting the internal Communist menace, the Department of Justice has added 62 new organizations to the Attorney General's subversive list, thus bringing the total to 254 organizations. Twelve additional organizations have been cited for action under the notorious McCarran Internal Security Law. New loyalty decrees have been announced which remove the last vestige of due process. Attorney General Brownell announced during April that 12,000 non-citizens and 10,000 naturalized citizens were under investigation for deportation.

A host of viciously reactionary bills are now before Congress, including the legalization of wire-tapping and its use as evidence in so-called "espionage cases," endorsed by Attorney General Brownell, and also a bill to destroy the Fifth Amendment and its provisions to safeguard citizens against self-incrimination.

Eisenhower and Taft, Dixiecrat darlings, proved in the opening

days of the new Congress, if proof was needed, that the GOP-Dixiecrat alliance would not only prevent new civil rights legislation, but that new attacks on the rights of the Negro people were under way. Legal lynchings and frame-ups thrive in the political climate of the Eisenhower administration. The FBI has been revealed as having entered into a pact of silence with local police departments (as in New York City) on the growth of police brutality.

In this kind of an atmosphere, it is small wonder that the beginnings of mob actions against other strata of the population are starting to take place. The press in recent weeks reported mob actions from New York, Chicago, against a Jewish Cultural Center in Pittsburgh, and the burning down of a union hall and a miner's home in Grant County, New Mexico. The FBI is not found investigating these instances of force and violence or the Congressional vigilantes that incite such actions.

The most ominous attack in preparation is against the organized labor movement. With Taft given the job of "revising" the Taft-Hartley Law, labor knows what it can expect. The right to industry-wide contracts and strikes is under attack.

Powerful forces from both parties in Congress are pushing the Goldwater-Rhodes Bill (S-254 and HR 3993) which would give the government life and death power over every union in the U.S.

Glen Slaughter, Research Director of the A. F. of L.'s Labor League for Political Education, said of this bill:

In practice it would give a fishing license to the McCarran Act control Board to probe into the affairs of unions everywhere and decide which unions and employees it wishes to purge. It would order out of business any union that ever advocated anything the Communist Party advocated, including income taxes and public schools. No bill in recent years has so closely resembled the thought control so characteristic of totalitarian regimes.

A sober evaluation of the deeds and policies of this Administration can lead to only one conclusion, the conclusion stated in our Party's Draft Resolution, that the Eisenhower regime is the instrument of

and "does in fact strengthen the hand of the most reactionary, pro-fascist, pro-war elements of monopoly capital." Through the G.O.P., its preferred party, the monopolists in their "feverish search for maximum profits . . . seek a way out of the deepening crisis of U.S. and world capitalism through aggressive imperialist adventures, attacking democratic rights and instituting reaction. . . ."

Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., no mean Red-baiter in his own right, has this to say about the Administration:

Let us be clear about it: This government is far from the dignified and responsible conservatism dreamed of by its more hopeful friends. There has not been such a collection of plutocrats, profiteers and pirates in office since the lamented reign of the Great Engineer. Washington today is falling into the hands of men who would eagerly sell the Capitol if they thought they could get away with it. . . . *

And who are these "plutocrats, profiteers and pirates?" They are the men of General Motors, Rockefeller Oil, DuPont war chemicals, the economic royalists of the country.

Will this crew be an obstacle to McCarthyism or do they seek to use it? Are there any fundamental differences that put McCarthyism in conflict with these forces?

Thus the source of McCarthyism, the breeding ground from which it has sprung and on which it thrives is the foreign and domestic policies of the dominant and most reactionary sections of monopoly capital whose main instrument is the Eisenhower Administration.

However, McCarthyism and the Administration are not one and the same thing. The particular tactical role of each is different. The tempo each pursues is different. And some of the methods are different. They are related, yet a division of labor exists. This division of labor is not accidental but flows from and is required by the sharpening contradictions and the growing crisis of monopoly policy.

The growing resistance of the people has further deepened the

* *N. Y. Post*, April 26, 1953.

crisis of policy. McCarthyism serves a very special purpose in this situation. The more powerful groupings of monopoly capital have been moving in an ever more reactionary direction. While they operate mainly through the Eisenhower Administration as a whole, McCarthyism has been serving as the spearhead of these developments. The McCarthyites prepare the ground today for those positions which the monopolists wish the Administration to take over tomorrow—if necessary. McCarthyism has the task of softening up, scattering and paralyzing people's resistance and at the same time of building up a mass base for more pro-fascist policies.

The most casual appraisal of what has been taking place even before the advent of Eisenhower gives overwhelming proof that the "extremist" positions of a McCarthy on one day become the "respectable" policies of the administration on the next day. Today McCarthy smears and indicts. Tomorrow the Attorney General prosecutes. This is true in the Lattimore case and more recently in the deportation action against Cedric Belfrage, editor of the *National Guardian*.

Of no small advantage to the monopolists is the fact that the McCarthyites serve to some degree as a lightning rod, drawing the fire away from the sinister and oppressive acts of the Administration itself.

The McCarthyites are thus valued, utilized and given friendly advice by the real powers in Wall Street and Washington, sometimes openly, sometimes covertly. Dulles works with McCarthy, Brownell works with McCarthy. They are at the moment the main links between the most virulent expressions of McCarthyism—the Congressional vigilantes, and the official policy of the Eisenhower "Zillion Dollar Cabinet."

The Eisenhower Administration not only remains silent and makes no criticism of, but cooperates with and facilitates the advancement of McCarthy. It has added to his personal power with new important Congressional appointments, an enlarged budget, even tolerating him at times as unofficial Secretary of State.

Thus, McCarthyism has become a formidable power in its own right.

Three years ago, McCarthy was virtually a political nobody, but now he's a real power in the land, able to dictate policies to powerful newspapers and broadcasting concerns, to infringe upon the foreign policy prerogatives of the President and to terrorize large sections of the population. . . .

The spectacular advent of McCarthy and McCarthyism go to illustrate the dangerous strength of fascism in the U.S. This reactionary has been able to give leadership to all the fascist and near-fascist forces of the country, and thus to bring them into focus where they can be more clearly seen and appraised.*

The most spectacular and shocking demonstration of his role and growing power was his savage attack on the Churchill proposal for a Big-Power meeting and his call from the Senate floor to sink British ships in trade with China. The fascist McCarthyite technique is now being unleashed in all of its fury in the international arena and the field of foreign policy. This new phase, which came into focus with the Bohlen and Greek ship owners incidents, takes place at a time when peoples' pressure for easing international tensions is growing everywhere, including in our own country; when Soviet peace proposals can no longer be rejected out of hand without exposing the real aims of American imperialism.

McCarthy's fight against Bohlen, his associations with Roosevelt and Yalta, were intended to act as counter pressure to the peoples' mounting peace demands and to create an atmosphere in which any negotiations with the Soviet Union would be considered an act of treason.

This heir apparent of Goebbels now presumes to speak as the voice of America. Yet not one word of rebuke, not to speak of repudiation, is forthcoming from Eisenhower. This highlights the role of McCarthyism as spearhead and as fascist pressure grouping whose purpose is to forestall the possibility of compromise or retreat under growing pressure from the democratic and peace forces.

Frictions, however, do develop and lead at times to momentary

* William Z. Foster, in *Daily Worker*, April 24, 1953.

tactical collisions. The Administration does at times find itself in embarrassing situations. These frictions are due in part to McCarthy's driving lust for power. More important, they arise from the desire of the monopolists to retain at all times complete power of decision as to when they shall advance and when to mark time. As the mass revulsion and resistance to McCarthyism develops, and as all contradictions are intensified, the tactical problems which the bourgeoisie faces become even more complicated. However, this never permits it to lose sight of the valuable role of McCarthyism in their overall drive.

Among the many new voices expressing alarm over the attack on democratic freedoms, there is a growing awareness of the fascist danger. However, because the role of the Eisenhower Administration is not fully understood, the menace of fascism is seen in a limited and one-sided way.

McCarthyism is seen as the only source or at the very least as the main carrier of fascism. They fear that McCarthy will grow even stronger and come to power as the head of the American government. This possibility cannot be ruled out. And those engaged in the struggle against McCarthyism must constantly keep this danger in mind.

However, we must never ignore the fact that today Eisenhower is moving rapidly along the road of McCarthyism; that the gap between Eisenhower and McCarthy will close rapidly unless the people intervene and that the "Eisenhower era" can be both the transition to and the coming into power of fascism.

The virulent and advance guard role, the open fascist character of McCarthyism as well as the level of the resistance movement dictate that the *main fire* in the struggle for democratic liberties be directed against McCarthyism. The movement cannot, however, achieve success without greater recognition that the *main threat* comes from the most reactionary sections of monopoly capital who operate through the Eisenhower Administration and who use McCarthyism as their spearhead.

III

IN THE PRESIDENTIAL elections of last November, most workers, because they feared a G.O.P. victory and the strengthening of the power of Big Business reaction, voted against Eisenhower.

Most labor, Social-Democratic and liberal leaders urged support of Stevenson as an alternative to Eisenhower. Some of these leaders are now counseling support of Eisenhower as an obstacle to McCarthyism. Thus, an Eisenhower Administration, yesterday portrayed as a major threat, is today pictured as not only separate and distinct from, but as a roadblock to McCarthyism.

It is a tragic fact that these reformist leaders of labor and Social-Democrats, as well as many liberal spokesmen, have not learned from the experiences of the German people. From the very inception of the Truman Administration, and to this very day, they have counseled a course of retreat—a retreat which now Senator Lehman notes in his speech of April 20th. They misled the people into believing that the Truman Administration was liberal, serving the interests of the people and fighting Big Business reaction and McCarthyism. They covered up the basically reactionary character of the Administration and the fact that McCarthyism was growing because of the policies of this Administration.

Already under Truman many areas of public life were under attack and the dismantling of the whole structure of bourgeois democratic freedoms got well under way.

One need only mention a few examples to make the point: Originally six organizations were listed by Truman's Attorney General as "subversive." By 1952 the list included more than 150 organizations. The indictments and prosecutions under the thought-control provisions of the Smith Act were initiated. The Communist Party was ordered before the McCarran Internal Security Board with the aim of depriving it of its few remaining legal rights. Loyalty oaths, widespread harassment of foreign-born, frame-ups like the Rosenberg case, were all Truman products. A National Education Association report in 1951

already spoke of the fear of teachers to deal with controversial subjects.

Already in 1951, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and David W. Petegorsky, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, declared in the report, *Civil Rights in the U.S. in 1951*, issued by both these groups:

The excesses of many of the loyalty investigations and the unreasonable character of much of the federal and state legislation have intensified the tendency to identify support of unpopular or controversial causes with subversion. The blacklisting, official or otherwise, of persons suspected of unorthodox opinions or associations has had an intimidating effect. Opposition to segregation or discrimination has too frequently been cited as an indication of disloyalty or unreliability. Thus while the core of leaders in the struggle for civil rights may have remained unaffected by this distortion of their legitimate aims, many persons have refrained or withdrawn from active participation in or identification with the cause of civil rights.

Truman, the "friend" of labor used the Taft-Hartley Law to break strikes and the application of this slave act cost the trade unions over 55 million dollars in major fines and court settlements.

The New Republic, like a number of other active defenders and apologists for the Truman administration, has taken a second look at the Truman policies, and declared on December 15, 1952: "Truman opened the dike to the flood waters of political oppression which are now upon us."

Truman was in fact the main architect of the Cold War and witch-hunt era. Truman was responsible for the Korean war. It was Truman who initiated the large scale use of the Big Lie of the "Red menace" and who hailed a Dr. W. E. B. DuBois into court for leadership in the peace movement, and who put the Hollywood Ten and officers of the Joint Spanish Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee into jail.

In spite of this, Truman and Acheson were made into oft-riddled targets by McCarthyites. Aside from narrow partisan considerations, the sharpness of the McCarthyite attacks against the Truman Administration was dictated by the realities of the situation. The launching

of the cold war atmosphere, coming so soon after the anti-fascist war, after an era of growing Soviet-American cooperation, was bound to provoke mass resentments. The rapid transformation of the political climate demanded extremely sharp measures. The now notorious methods of McCarthy served to speed the process: it acted as a pressure force and at the same time furthered the illusion that the Truman Administration was a liberal one. The Social-Democratic and reformist leaders, by helping to continue this illusion and by supporting the Truman war program, paralyzed the largest sections of the labor movement, and deprived it of its ability to find a real people's alternative to the developing threat of McCarthyism.

The policies necessary to advance the Big Lie had a logic of their own. They not only produced Truman reaction and laid the basis for the Eisenhower victory, thus intensifying reaction, but also spawned McCarthyism. Though the Truman-Acheson Administration was provoked into criticism of McCarthy, it could be little more than shadow boxing. It was a weak-kneed defense of their own partisan and vested interests. And so long as methods, not aims, were being challenged, Truman's only argument could be that "I can fight Communism better than you." And on these grounds he was the inevitable loser.

IV

THOUGH THE anti-McCarthy movement and the will to resist is growing each day, it has not yet come to grips with the crucial issue of the Big Lie and rights of Communists. The failure to do so weakens the movement of resistance, prevents effective joint action, gives aid and comfort to and strengthens McCarthyism. This issue is at the very heart of the question of civil liberties. No movement for democratic freedom can possibly hope to achieve a decisive and lasting victory unless and until it faces up to this question.

The Big Lie in its most blatant and virulent form has always been the secret—and not so secret—weapon of McCarthyism. In this it runs true to form to all fascist and nazi movements. The central thesis of the Big Lie is that Communism is a conspiracy and plots force and

violence; that the Communist Party is an agent of a foreign power; that Communism, both at home and abroad, imperils our nation.

This, however, is only the beginning. Like all peddlers of the Big Lie, the McCarthyites realize that their counterfeit wares cannot stand too close scrutiny. In order to guarantee that no genuine and honest examination of this central thesis take place, they keep padding it and surrounding it with more lies. But more than this. The Big Lie has little chance of success unless all dissent is labeled heresy and all who even dare question the methods of McCarthy are denounced as conspirators. Thus, the division of millions of Americans into various shades of "red" and "pink" has become one of the most effective weapons of McCarthyism.

According to McCarthy's table of classification there are: Communist card holders; Communists without cards; Communist sympathizers; Communist dupes; fellow travelers; *ad infinitum*. The *Washington Post* according to this system of classification, is the Washington edition of the *Daily Worker*, and Bishop Oxnam is "a man of the cloth on Sunday and a Communist fronter on all other days."

Most critics of McCarthy and for that matter most Americans will thus be found in one or another of these categories. What likelihood is there of halting this vicious assault if each man is engaged in defense of his own category and in recriminations against all other categories? What chance is there of defeating McCarthyism if its table of classification is accepted as valid in even one single aspect?

Apropos is a story which appeared in the April 15th issue of *The Advance*, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers paper:

There is a story circulating here (Washington, D. C.) about a squirrel who came upon a rabbit frantically digging a burrow in the ground. The squirrel asked the rabbit, what all the frenzy was about. "My God, where have you been," the rabbit said. "Haven't you heard, McCarthy is going to investigate all antelopes next month? If I were you, brother, I'd be looking for the highest tree I could find."

"Are you crazy?" the squirrel said. "I'm no antelope and neither are you."

“That’s right,” said the rabbit, “but I’m digging anyway. I don’t know how I’d PROVE I’m not an antelope.”

Many anti-McCarthyites however, argue as follows: it’s all right to deprive Communists of their civil liberties. What is wrong with McCarthyism is that it attacks innocent bystanders. Therefore they argue, let the Department of Justice and the F.B.I. take care of the Communists and let’s have an end to the inquisition.

This view is incongruous, dangerous, is based on false premises and is ultimately self-defeating.

First, those who would deny Communists their full constitutional rights, already voluntarily agree to abridge the Bill of Rights for some people, and accept a large part of the Big Lie which is the chief stock in trade of the McCarthyites.

Second, they overlook the fact that the Justice Department has its own table of classification and is prosecuting not only Communists, but also men like Professor Lattimore. They close their eyes to the terroristic methods of the F.B.I. and its system of dossiers, invasions into the private lives of millions of Americans, their use of provocateurs, professional informers and wire tapping—the notorious techniques of the political police.

Whom would these opponents of McCarthyism hand over to the F.B.I.? Who is to determine who is a Communist, a Communist “fronter” and the other categories established by McCarthy and mirrored in Brownell’s growing subversive list? Do they believe in the establishment of a special Department of Thought Control in the Eisenhower cabinet to act as final arbiter on such questions? For that matter, are all anti-McCarthyites agreed among themselves as to who is a Communist sympathizer?

Many honest individuals are finding that the problem cannot be so easily resolved and that the neat formula—let the F.B.I. handle the Communists—is not the cure-all. For example, Dean Ackerman, of the Columbia University School of Journalism, deeply disturbed at the experiences on his campus, declares that he will not voluntarily cooperate

anymore with the F.B.I. and their methods in their wholesale investigation of students. Does Dean Ackerman by this act become a Communist fronter?

The diverse elements that oppose McCarthyism cannot borrow one or more pages of McCarthyism and still hope to remain a cohesive and united force that can strike back effectively.

The growing unity and clarity of the anti-McCarthy movement is threatened by those who, while calling for McCarthy to be driven out of public life, vie with him in how best to destroy the civil liberties of those they consider Communists and Communist "fronters."

Thus, the "anti-Red" constitutional amendment sponsored by Reuther and adopted at the recent Auto Workers' Convention, the line of Sidney Hook, and some of the testimony of James Wechsler before the McCarthy Committee (including the handing over of names of members of his own *N. Y. Post*) can only disrupt, and mislead into impotent channels, the growing people's resistance to McCarthyism.

That some anti-McCarthy forces are beginning to recognize that they must come to grips with this question is indicated in the address of Rev. John Paul Jones, chairman of the Board of the N. Y. Civil Liberties Union, delivered on Lincoln's Birthday.

Dr. Jones points out that Communists are now excluded from the protection of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. He further asserts that the present mood of the American people is one which would throw not only Communists but all "dissenters and objectors" to the wolves: "Give 'em the works—the whole batch of them." But, urges Dr. Jones:

Let us think about it a moment. Leaving aside a vast group of people mistakenly accused, vilified and injured, what about the thoughtful, honest and sincere person who believes in Communism . . . we know that elsewhere in the world, and quite outside of Communist-dominated countries, there are multitudes of people who do not share American assumptions and ideals. And in the world as a whole there are many millions who embrace the Communist dialectic as the key to the future with a fervor and sacri-

ficial devotion that often puts our enthusiasm to shame. It is conceivable that some thoughtful and honest Americans may share the same convictions.

We cannot, within the framework of this article, discuss Dr. Jones' views of Communist philosophy or the state of the individual Communist's soul, which he also treats at great length. It is extraneous to the common struggle for democratic freedoms as he himself asserts.

Dr. Jones is obviously well-acquainted with the stock arguments that are most frequently used to befuddle and prevent many Americans from waging an all out fight against McCarthyism.

In one portion of his address he asks:

But does it not still matter that all Communists, for whatever reason, are committed of necessity to ways of revolution and violence? Yes, it matters greatly. But citizens of a nation which achieved its independence in revolution and violence cannot on principle condone such things only for its ancestors. . . .

Dr. Jones presents here a basically correct thesis, but one which at the same time contains a dangerous fallacy.

The Communist Party is a revolutionary party, but Communists are not "committed" to "ways of violence," either as a Party or individually. William Z. Foster, National Chairman, writes as follows in his *History of the Communist Party, U.S.A.*:

The Communist Party projects and works for a democratic conduct of the daily class struggle and also of the advance to socialism. The preamble to the Constitution of the Party states this policy as follows: "The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and popular liberties. . . ."

Communists are the chief fighters against the two major threats of violence in modern society—imperialist international war and fascist civil war—both of which emanate from the capitalists. . . . The danger of violence in the daily class struggle and in the inevitable and indispensable advance of the workers and the nation to socialism could come only from the capitalist class, which, seeing its profits threatened and itself being deposed from its rich dictatorship, then uses every means possible to thwart

the democratic socialist will of the people. For as the great Marx has truly said, there is no case in history where a ruling class has yielded up its domination without making a desperate struggle (p. 551).

Dr. Jones takes a giant step forward when he dissociates himself from the false view of many would-be champions of civil liberties who hold that the Communist Party is a conspiracy. He justly is wary of this trap when he argues: "For one thing we must be extremely cautious of the neat but oversimplified contention that the Communist Party is not a true political party but a conspiracy. It is too ambiguous and too narrow a characterization."

But it is far more than that. It is completely untrue and without foundation in fact. It is the chief ammunition of those who propose and support measures like the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, and all other repressive legislation. This baseless and self-serving charge has been used by tyrants from time immemorial against all revolutionary movements for social progress.

One need not agree with the socialist solution to mankind's social problems, or with historical and dialectical materialism, to understand that the Communists don't advocate violence or operate as a conspiracy or an agent of a foreign power. One need not agree with Communism to believe in the civil rights of Communists. One need not believe in Marxism to recognize that the danger to American democracy comes from the fascist threat and that defense of the civil liberties of the Communists is the front line of the fight for freedom.

* * *

Yesterday, millions of Americans thought that the attacks were meant for and directed solely against the Communists.

Today, there is increasing recognition of the fact that what goes under the name of an anti-Communist drive is one which is in fact directed against the entire nation.

The growing awakening and resistance is far from uniform. The level of understanding is uneven. Most significant, however, is that the mood for resistance continues to grow. It is of supreme importance that we carefully note and study all trends, understand them, seek to

bring greater clarity in the common struggle as we seek common ground, and thus strengthen and propel ever forward the rallying of the American people in the fight for democratic freedoms. *The main objective of the movement at this moment is to end any further encroachments upon democratic liberties and to bring McCarthyism to a halt.* This is the *concrete* path to curb the fascist development and to prevent the transformation of the Eisenhower government into an open fascist regime. This movement will grow more powerful as it parallels and ultimately merges with the movement for peace. This movement can be successful as the forces of organized labor take their rightful place and play their historic role as leader of the struggle for bourgeois democratic freedom in this period.

The immediate and broadest rallying ground in the struggle for democratic liberties is the fight against McCarthyism. This means the fight against Joe McCarthy the individual, against each and every McCarthyite—the Jenners, Veldes and McCarrans—and against all manifestations of McCarthyism.

We must support and encourage every single individual and movement that is prepared to battle McCarthyism, even though on the most elementary level. So, too must we be on the alert to challenge all conceptions within the anti-McCarthy camp that weaken the struggle and divert it into a blind alley. As the struggle develops, and we play a truly vanguard role, millions of Americans will come to realize the truth of our contention that the Eisenhower Administration facilitates and invites the development of McCarthyism.

The fight against McCarthyism must take place in the shops, in the neighborhoods, in the mass organizations and in the field of political action.

Senator Lehman in the address already cited, declared, somewhat belatedly:

It may be that a frontal attack on McCarthyism is not the way to political victory. But regardless of its effects on our prospects in 1954 and 1956, we cannot compromise with this evil thing. If we can save the cause of freedom by risking defeat in the next election, let us take the risk.

This is the beginning of wisdom. This approach will not only win over McCarthyism but will win elections too. And the key to such victories lies in attacks that are not only frontal, but *united*.

A great and militant united front of struggle, embracing every honest democrat who is concerned with the preservation of American liberties has become imperative if the nation is to be saved from the Gehanna of fascism.

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