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# McCARTHY; THE AMERICAN FASCIST

By RICH ANCO

United States Republican Senator, Joseph R. McCarthy, self-styled, rip-roaring Red-hunter, purger of traitors, and purifier of public life, is coming to the end of his fourth year as standard bearer for "America's Minute Men." He has support and he is gaining support, make no mistake about that.

But day by day and month by month the rumbling of a growing opposition to what he and his apprentices are doing is being heard—louder and louder. People everywhere are digging in their heels and calling a halt to the irresponsible purges of McCarthy, Jenner, Velde and Co.

Fortunately, the enemies of McCarthy are beginning to consolidate themselves, to express a boldness and courage which have been sorely needed in the last three or four years.

Underlying this is a deep confidence in the vigor and health of free institutions. "Our democracy was not created by indoctrination but by practice, and in the long run it will be preserved not by indoctrination but by practice. If we, as university students, can shape a democracy that is vital and growing, then there is nothing to fear.

## AMERICAN HYSTERIA

With McCarthyism, the old-fashioned democratic tradition of Voltaire—"I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it"—is being swallowed up. It is disappearing in the hysteria and confusion which today thoroughly permeates American life.

The deepening atmosphere of uncertainty, suspicion and divided opinion in American have made possible the tactics of McCarthy. He is taking advantage of, and is in fact contributing to, an increasingly nervous and panicky public opinion.

The net effect of McCarthyism is to create suspicion and hostility, and to turn citizen against citizen. Unless stopped, it will destroy the faith of each man in his fellow—a credo which is the foundation of democracy.

## OPEN BACK DOOR

It goes without saying that Americans and Canadians see Communism as a threat. They have lived in political democracy and do not want to lose its advantages to any authoritarian system.

But there is, I might remind you, a Chinese saying that in guarding against the tiger at the front door you should not let your attention be distracted from the wolf at the back door. We must take care of both the wolf and the tiger.

An editorial in the *Saturday Evening Post* warns that it would be "well to remind ourselves sometimes that a poor way to ward off communist tyranny is to imitate it—even just a little."

McCarthy has become the arch character assassin. He has lied, distorted and vilified; he has improperly received and used classified information; he has made promises which he has not fulfilled; he has used discreditable and disreputable sources of false information; he has destroyed the tradition of decency and faith in one's fellow man; he has prejudiced the interests of the entire western world.

## PERMITS NO GREY

McCarthyism is gradually succeeding in dividing public opinion into two camps, into black and white, into for and against. To the McCarthy supporter there is no room for the independent thinker, the "free" researcher.

In the present state of hysteria, one must be for the Communists or against the Communists. And this usually turns out to mean for McCarthy or against McCarthy. This is the point of complete absurdity to which the whole question of the "Red threat" has gone. To many Americans it is impossible to be both anti-McCarthy and anti-Communist.

The pressure of McCarthyism is growing. And as the pressure

builds up it is creating the "wolf pack psychology," join the pack, or be turned on and torn apart by the pack. But thank God, there are people of courage and integrity who stand up against this pressure.

## FOUR YEARS AGO

McCarthy had his big beginning back in 1950 (Feb. 9). In a speech at Wheeling, West Virginia, he charged that there were 205 Communists "known to the secretary of state as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department."

Eleven days later he denied saying this. He, instead, charged

ed the number to 57, qualified it by saying they "appeared to be card-carrying members or certainly loyal to the Communist Party," and made no mention of the fact that the secretary of state knew anything about them. As, an indication of the reckless abandon with which McCarthy quotes figures, the "57", was later replaced by "81 cases" and "more than 200."

The Whelling speech revealed however, that there was plenty of favorable publicity in the Communist issue, no matter how phony it was. From that time on, McCarthy hammered it relentlessly, finding new angles as soon as the edge wore off earlier.

## SMOKE BUT NO FIRE

He missed no chance at personalizing himself, and he was never bothered by "dirty political tactics." His attacks on Owen Lattimore hit the headlines while Lattimore was away in the South Pacific. A brilliant rebuttal of these attacks was made by Lattimore when he returned, but they did not hit the front pages with the sensationalism of the original charges.

In fact, when all the smoke of the phony McCarthy fire is blown away there is really no fire. No startling expose of Communist infiltration has resulted, save for a very few individuals. On the other hand, immeasurable damage has been done to the personal reputations of a very great number.

## WHAT'S BEHIND MCCARTHY

Investigations of McCarthy himself have borne little fruit. While they have not brought his expulsion or electoral defeat, they have, however, uncovered a past that is not so purely American. Six questions which "should speak for themselves" were presented to the U.S. Senate.

They asked whether it was proper for McCarthy to receive \$10,000 from the Lustrum Corporation when its future as a producer of pre-fabricated housing was controlled by one of his committees; whether funds to fight Communism were diverted to his own use; whether he used members of his own family to hide speculative gains; whether self-interest motivated his activities on behalf of sugar, housing and China lobbies; whether transactions with the Appleton State Bank violated tax and banking laws; and whether he violated 1944-46 Senatorial campaigns.

McCarthy has effectively dodged answering these charges and has repeatedly called them Communist-inspired.

## ACADEMIC PARALYSIS

Investigations by the Committee of Un-American Activities have, since 1950, spread themselves into education. The fear paralysis has gripped American universities and has regimented staff and student debate to the point where Communist topics are taboo.

The political opinions of professors and lecturers are being purified of "radicalism." The "right line of thinking" has been forced on them through fear of public persecution. By infamous loyalty oaths in the schools,

mass though control has become an American reality.

These campus witch-hunts have drained the very vitality of the universities and are making them machines for the automatic production of mental morons.

They pre-suppose that students cannot choose "right" from "wrong"—that students are stupid. And most startling, they pre-suppose that if all were left open to free discussion the principles of communism would be so attractive to the university members that the collapse of American society would be inevitable.

To this I can only say—and with every ounce of sincere belief in me—that young students are not dopes. Today's students are the most serious-thinking in all history. It is the investigator who is the dope; it is the investigator who is doing more damage to the university community than any Communist opinion in it could ever do.

It is too bad that Velde, Jenner and McCarthy the not men of better sense and manners. A leading Unitarian, the Rev. A. Powell Davies, raised a novel point when he called them "morally unfit for such an undertaking... What will be the effect upon young people... when they see their teachers 'investigated' by men who are reckless with accusations and careless with truth?"

The staff, and their students, must be allowed to recognize that, regardless of whether the theories of Communists are right or wrong, they are the theories which shape the lives of millions of people under Communist rule. To that extent they are not only theories but political actualities, and must be dealt with as such.

It will be the death knell of our Democracy if we allow the McCarthys to establish a party line of knowledge in such matters.

## THINK INDEPENDENTLY

Research must not be bounded by any kind of political doctrine. When the presentation of unpalatable knowledge becomes dangerous to the individual, the state itself is endangered. We cannot for our own safety, intrust the expert study of Marxism only to reactionaries who are opposed to all forms of liberalism as well as Marxism.

Owen Lattimore puts it this way: "I realize even more keenly than before that my obligation is to do everything I can... to establish, beyond question, beyond dispute, and beyond further challenge, the right of American scholars and authors to think, talk and write freely and honestly, without the paralyzing fear of the kind of attack to which I have been subjected."

## BOOK BURNING

Another manifestation of McCarthy's attack on the schools has been his campaign of book burning. In this respect, the Senator almost, and I repeat, almost, made President Eisenhower his biggest opponent.

In a press conference Eisenhower is reported to have said: "Don't join the book burners. Don't be afraid to go in your library and read every book..."

But the President, at a later meeting, backed down from this heartening position. It was not surprising, after this incident, to hear people asking who really was the executive in the U.S.—Ike or Joe.

The book purge was begun in February, 1952, following attacks on the State Department's Information Service by McCarthy. To try and avert his wrath, the state department issued a directive forbidding the use by the libraries or the Voice of America, of material by Communists, follow travellers, or controversial persons. This last phrase was changed to "and so on."

A new directive was produced in March (1952) but it has never been published in full.

Actually only about eleven books were burned. But the term "book burning" has been associated with the removal of certain books from the library shelves.

"It was supposed that the book burning madness had ended with the death of Hitler," writes J. V. McAree. "Certainly nobody supposed that it ever would be revived in a free Democracy. Yet that is what is happening..."

McCarthy's two travelling "foreign ambassadors of Americanism," Ron Cohn and Gerard Schine, were the book inspectors. Among the authors whose books were banned are: Dashiell Hammett (Thin Man), Upton Sinclair (The Jungle), Bert Andrews (Washington Witch Hunt), Harriet Stowe (Uncle Tom's Cabin), Vera Dean, Walter Duranty, Edgar Snow and a score of others.

In disagreeing with book burning, Dorothy Thompson, columnist, describes a great library, "one that exists for knowledge and inspiration," as a building where books can be found "by fascists, racialists, imperialists, reactionaries and radicals of every hue; Catholic and Protestant apologetics; idealistic and empirical philosophers; saints and skeptics; plays, novels, poems glorifying the American scene and others depicting its most squalid aspects."

This is not the spirit prevalent in the U.S. Information Service, and it has been knocked out principally by McCarthy.

## ATTACK IN RELIGION

In religion McCarthy has found another area of attack. But it is here that he has also burned his fingers, for public opposition and presidential pressure combined to force him to accept the resignation of his right hand aide, J. B. Mathews.

While executive staff director of McCarthy's sub-committee investigating Communist influence, Mathews charged that "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus in the United States today is composed of Protestant clergymen." In the *Mercury* he restates this allegation: "The Communist Party has enlisted the support of at least 7,000 Protestant clergymen over a period of 17 years."

These statements carried an immediate result for McCarthy. It dealt him the heaviest blow of his controversial career. President Eisenhower denounced such "scattergun" attacks as Mathews had made, calling them "alien to America." One-hour-and-six-minutes after the Eisenhower statement was in the hands of the press, McCarthy accepted Mathews' resignation.

In September, when participating in Martha Routree's TV program, *The Big Issue*, Mathews could not name one leading Protestant who was an espionage agent, nor could he, under oath, name 15 living, leading Protestant clergymen who were card-carrying members.

Answering the Mathews attacks Bishop Oxnham said: "It is significant that no Protestant nation has been seriously infiltrated by Communism. It is not the churches that should be investigated. It is high time that Americans realize that this attack on the clergy is the vanguard of an un-American coalition of reaction that is determined to destroy the free spirit in American education. Amer-

ican politics and American religious life. The free mind is basic to free enterprise as well as to other freedoms.

## MANY FROZEN BRAINS

Supporters of McCarthy have hailed him as the great American. An auto dealer, Temus Bright, erected a monument in front of his place of business and on it he had inscribed "Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, American."

But at one time that very same monument carried a lipstick drawing of a swastika. In this way the enemies of McCarthy have dubbed him the great un-American.

McCarthyism has not yet been successful in establishing thought control, but it is using well-tried propaganda methods in its efforts to do so. Throw a bomb which emits clouds of nauseous smoke and then turn in a false fire alarm. Next use the simple propaganda device of the repetitive lie. Insist over and over again, even weeks after complete evidence has disclosed the false alarm, that where there is so much smoke there must be some fire.

McCarthy has done great damage to the reputation of the U.S. in foreign countries. Adlai Stevenson reported this observation, and scores of other have concurred with it.

But the very serious damage is at home where McCarthy has cooled so many feet and frozen so many brains.

## RELIABLE ACCUSERS?

The extent to which McCarthyism has penetrated the very personal lives of American individuals and their personal thoughts is well illustrated in this newspaper dispatch:

ALBANY, N.Y. July 16 (CP) — The Albany Knickerbocker News today fired reporter Janet Scott for "gross misconduct" in refusing to tell a Congressional committee whether she was a member of the Communist Party. Two witnesses before the Senate Un-American activities committee described Miss Scott as a member of the party. She has worked for the newspaper and its predecessors for 27 years.

Why should any person be forced to reveal his political party membership when it means probable public persecution? Moreover, just how respectable and reliable are the "heroic" accusers?

The witch hunting group of which McCarthy is a part is recruited from ex-Communist, pro-Fascists, American Firsters, anti-Semites, Coughlinites, and similar fringe fanatics of the political underworld. Why are their opinions any more acceptable than those of the "accused"?

Huey Long, a cynical and unprincipled politician, long ago warned us that if fascism ever came to America it would come disguised as 100 percent Americanism. By the same token, one hundred and fifty percent denunciation of vaguely and imprecisely defined "Reds" may be a disguise for those who would destroy Democracy.

On one occasion, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt described McCarthy as "the greatest menace to freedom because he smears people without the slightest regard for facts."

## PARALYSIS OF FEAR

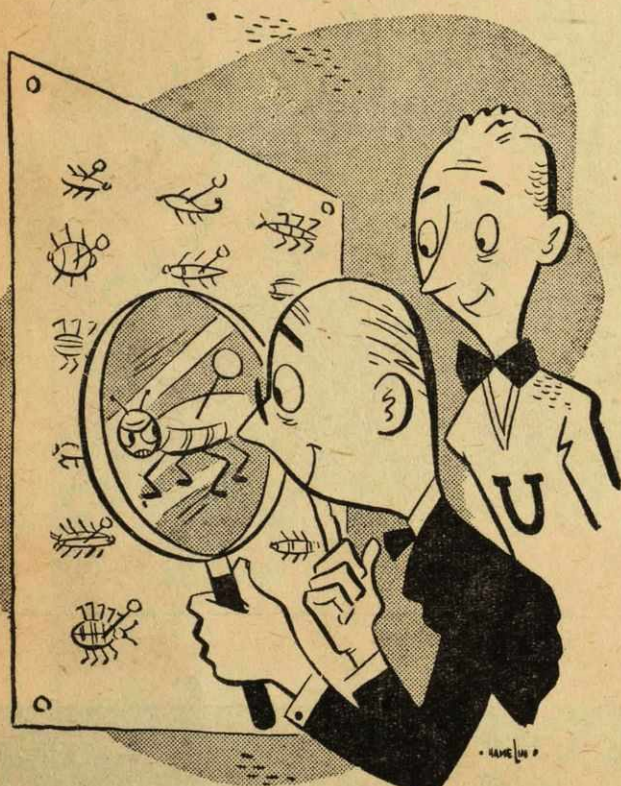
The standards that the witch hunters are trying to impose on us are the standards of mob-thinking. We must fight this. We must break the paralysis of fear and win our way back to the traditional freedom to think and on the basis of independent thinking to express independent opinions.

The right to express an individual opinion is only secure if it includes the right to express a minority opinion; the right of minority opinion is secure if it includes the right to express an unpopular opinion.

We must defend the right of any man to his opinion even if it offends powerful men, criticizes public authority, or denounces those hungry for dictatorial power.

Charles Malik of the Lebanon, philosopher and diplomat, said at Harvard: "There have been very few times in history when the West was so challengingly called upon to come out with where it stands, as it is today."

Indeed, we must take a stand. But we cannot, and must not, stand on the side that supports McCarthyism.



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