

A UNION LEADER FALLS FOR McCARTHY

(See Editorial, Page 3)

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Fascist Menace Grave, SWP Warns America

Urges All-Out Labor Offensive to Smash McCarthyism

McCarthy's attack on Truman and Eisenhower reveals that McCarthy is now bidding for leadership of the Republican party, for an electoral victory on the issue of "McCarthyism" in 1954, and for nomination to the Presidency in 1956.

The victory of McCarthyism would signal the crushing of the labor movement, the conversion of the U.S. into a land of concentration camps, and a reign of terror against political dissenters and minority groupings that would make the horrors of Hitlerism seem like amateur beginnings.

For it must be clearly understood: McCarthyism is the American form of fascism.

This new native fascist movement is developing by leaps and bounds within the Republican party. It has strong backing from the most reactionary wing of the Democrats. It is the reappearance of the fascist movement that brought Mayor ("I Am the Law") Hague and Father Coughlin to the fore in 1939.

McCarthyism is the evil spawn of the witch hunt that has raged in America unchecked for six years. The witch hunt was deliberately fostered and set in motion by Big Business and its political representatives as part of the preparations for atomic war. The aim of the witch hunt was to gag all opposition to the war drive and to help prepare the ground for major blows against labor.

In the foul witch-hunt atmosphere, McCarthyism feeds on the feeling of insecurity that is widespread,

especially in the middle class, despite the prosperity accompanying war preparations. Resentment at rising living costs and high taxes, bitterness over the Korean conflict, alarm over the signs of possible depression, dread of atomic war, worry over continual international crises, emotional upsets caused by the war propaganda, spy scares, and the witch hunt, frustration over perspectives — these are the feelings McCarthy appeals to.

Just as Hitler tried to mobilize such sentiments against "the Jews," so McCarthy is trying to direct them against a national scapegoat prepared by the Democrats and Republicans — "the communists" and those "associated" with them.

The fascist danger is grave.

It is graver than in 1939 when Big Business flung America into World War II and put its fascist club on the shelf for the time being.

The world position of U.S. capitalism today is much worse than in 1939. Consequently to meet these foreign difficulties, Big Business is readier than in 1939 to resort to fascist rule.

Compared with the fascist movement of 1939, McCarthyism is more powerful, having a bigger, more united following, stronger financial backing and far more influential political positions. It rides the momentum of a witch hunt that has blighted free thought in America and spread fear every-

At the first major signs of depression, the fascist movement gathered around the Wisconsin demagogue can grow at phenomenal speed.

If the labor movement fails to stand up in time and fight McCarthyism, this fascist movement can come to power in America. That is the cold, brutal truth.

It is necessary right now to recognize the danger for what it is: McCarthyism is American fascism on the march.

Labor must immediately work out a program to meet this menace.

We propose:

(1) An abrupt break of all ties with capitalist politicians. An end to the witch hunt in the unions. A decision to swing labor's power and influence against the witch hunt in every walk of life.

(2) Immediate steps to form an independent Labor Party. A national Congress of Labor should be called at once to consider the problem of fighting McCarthyism. This Congress should work out practical plans for an all-out campaign to put labor's own candidates in office in 1954 and a Workers and Farmers Government in power in Washington in 1956.

Smash McCarthyism before McCarthyism smashes us!

— Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

McCarthy Speech Employs Hitler's Big-Lie Method

By Murry Weiss

The fascist technique of the Big Lie has rarely been used with greater effect and more ominous consequences than in the frame-up smear of Harry Dexter White and ex-President Truman by Attorney General Brownell. This was demonstrated by McCarthy in his speech to tens of millions over the radio-TV networks on Tuesday Nov. 24.

You can't beat the Big Lie and the Big Liar at his own game. The liberals and labor officials can't understand this. But McCarthy, in effect, robbed their noses in that fact in his notorious speech.

Who was the real gainer from Brownell's reckless, all-out use of the spy scare to affect the outcome of a Congressional election in California? The Republican Party? Brownell? Eisenhower? In the final reckoning the real gainer was McCarthy and McCarthyism.

The spectacle of J. Edgar Hoover, the Director of the FBI Secret Police, handing down a

Social Climate Aids Growth Of Fascism

Fascist movements thrive in a climate of social instability and economic insecurity. The sweeping overturn of the Democratic regime by the more openly reactionary Republicans more than a year ago reflected the social instability and unrest born of the Korean war, high prices and mounting taxes.

Despite the Korean truce, the atmosphere of war tension continues. The U.S. Consumer Price Index, reported on Nov. 25, showed its eighth straight month of continuous rise to a new high. The threat of new taxes, particularly of the sales or "manufacturers excise" variety, hangs over us.

SIGNIFICANT PARALLEL

To these is now being added that most important ingredient of all for the nourishment of a fascist movement — economic insecurity. McCarthyism's big leap forward within the past three months parallels the end of the Korean war boom, the sharp decline in farm incomes and the spread of unemployment.

Commenting on the significance of the Oct. 13 upset of the Republicans in the Wisconsin 9th District Congressional election, the Oct. 26 Militant noted: "Even a slow economic downside and a 'small' depression today can set off sweeping political trends, reversals and new tendencies. It's not written in the stars that such trends must be completely back to the Democrats, repudiated last November."

Another beneficiary of the first significant signs of economic decline is McCarthy and his fascist movement. The sequence of political developments since the Wisconsin upset bears this out strikingly.

The Nov. 7 election returns in New York, New Jersey and other important states bore out the evidence of the Wisconsin vote that the Republicans were suffering a big drop in popularity. The primary cause of this was the growing indication of an economic downturn. Memories of Hoover and the so-called "Republican" depression lie close to the surface of the popular mind and find quick political expression.

BROWNELL'S AIM

The Republican high command, through Attorney General Brownell, sought to divert attention from the economic problems and to steer the shift away from the Republican Party by resorting to the McCarthyite technique of the "communist" smear and the "spy" scare directed at former President Truman.

It was not the old-line Republicans, however, but the McCarthyites who made the most hay. McCarthy was able to capitalize most on the "communism" and "spy" issue that Brownell and the Republicans had raised in response to the economic turn.

BOX-SCORE OF WITCH-HUNT INROADS ON AMERICAN RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES

What has McCarthyism already accomplished in the United States? Here is a partial box score on how America has been turned into a land of fear, a land where the stoolpigeon has become the glorified symbol of "Americanism," a land of trial by accusation and execution by headline.

In government: The witch hunt politicians vie with one another in purging workers from government employment. An unknown number of silenced victims have been dismissed without trial, without the chance to face their anonymous accusers, without opportunity for effective defense.

In the schools: Freedom of thought, the right to read and study all contributions to human culture, the right to teach without subscribing to the political views of the witch-hunters, have all been circumscribed. The stifling atmosphere of thought-control reigns on the American campus.

In the professions: Every nook and cranny of the professional

world is permeated with the "guilt by association" witch hunt, smear atmosphere. Careers have been ruined at the whim of the red-baiters. Artists and scientists have been driven to suicide.

In industry: Tens of thousands of workers have been fired, blacklisted, driven from their trade and disgraced. For what reason? Because Attorney General Brownell and his Democratic predecessors listed a number of working-class organizations as "subversive" without giving them a hearing. Workers accused of belonging to these organizations are fired and then given the "opportunity" to prove their "loyalty" before the same people who fired them. The plants are swarming with FBI stool-pigeons who finger the unionists.

In the unions: A full-scale witch hunt is raging. Union bureaucrats, following the McCarthyite cue, get rid of their opponents by smearing them as "reds." Employers and union officials cooperate in this dirty business. The FBI, welcomed by officials,

grinds its witch-hunting axe in union offices.

Among the churches: A vast segment of the Protestant clergy has been smeared wholesale as "reds" by the McCarthyites as part of the drive to put every institution in the country under control of the witch-hunters.

Among the minorities: The witch hunt formula holds that any interracial group is automatically "subversive," any person who attends "mixed meetings" is dubbed a "subversive." The McCarthyite mob is shot through with Klansmen and race baiters: waiting for the opportune moment to unleash race hate in America on a scale never before seen.

These are some of the "accomplishments" of unchallenged and unobstructed McCarthyism. Remember that guilt rests on both capitalist parties, Democratic and Republican. Remember that Truman started the witch hunt. Remember this the next time a union bureaucrat calls on you to support capitalist politicians.

FASCISTS SEE BIGGEST CHANGE SINCE THIRTIES

American labor has already had considerable experience with fascist movements. Back in the Thirties, when the CIO was born in struggle against the despotic corporations, the Mohawk Valley Formula for breaking unions and strikes was introduced.

Under this formula, a systematic campaign of terror plus propaganda was launched against the workers on strike.

Every agency was used. Shopkeepers, vigilante gangs, police, militia and private company armies were launched into action around a red-baiting campaign. All these forces were moved in a concerted murderous attack against the workers.

The Mohawk Valley Formula was quite effective. It cost the workers many lives. But the revolt of the production slaves was too powerful. The CIO won and the corporations had to retreat.

In the late Thirties, fascist organizations like Father Coughlin's "Social Justice" group and Pelley's Silver Shirts came into prominence. Mayor ("I am the law") Hague of Jersey City gain-

ed nationwide notoriety as a potential fascist leader. The German and Italian fascists also sponsored organizations in the U.S.

The labor movement was much alarmed at all these manifestations of fascism in America. On the initiative of the Socialist Workers Party some militant actions were conducted against them.

On Feb. 20, 1939, 50,000 workers in New York demonstrated against a Madison Square Garden Rally of the fascists. The SWP had issued the call for this demonstration.

A few days later thousands of workers came out in a similar demonstration in Los Angeles. The role of the SWP was hailed by a group of Los Angeles steel workers in a telegram which stated: "Dura Steel metal workers contingent, members of Local 1421 of the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, congratulate Socialist Workers Party . . . in taking the initiative in organizing the splendid demonstration against fascist thugs on Washington's birthday in Los Angeles."

After World War II, American fascist activities took a spurt forward around the racist demagogue Gerald L. K. Smith. Again the SWP was in the forefront of the struggle against these native fascists. Many powerful demonstrations were conducted by the labor movement and the Smith rabble were routed.

Smith's plan was to head up a post-war fascist movement and use the returning veterans against labor. But this sinister project was decisively smashed by the massive strike wave of 1946 which found the veterans on the picket lines everywhere.

These previous fascist movements were scattered. They lacked coordination, a national central figure and heavy financing. But many of these early fascist organizations are now mobilized under McCarthy's banner. McCarthyism has welded them together. McCarthyism is by far the most powerful and ominous fascist threat the American workers have yet faced. It contains all the vilest features of its predecessors. It means slavery concentration camps and even worse for the workers and minorities if it is not stopped.

Racial Minorities Face Life-and-Death Struggle

The Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Jewish and other minority people have a life-and-death stake in the fight against McCarthyism. McCarthyism is aimed at destroying the American labor movement.

The minority people have a fundamental interest in the labor movement. They helped to build it and they are deeply concerned with its defense and progress. Every gain made by the minorities toward economic, social and political equality is dependent on the continued existence and strengthening of the labor movement.

Who is in the McCarthyite gang? Every anti-Negro, anti-Semitic, race-baiting fascist group is mobilized under McCarthy's banner. They are only waiting the signal to unleash bestial prejudice, and push the McCarthy forces toward power through a campaign of anti-labor and racist hysteria.

McCarthyism uses the fascist technique of scapegoats. This is a familiar system to the Negro and other minority people in the United States. What is the McCarthyite movement if not a gigantic lynch mob waiting for the "leader" to throw them a scapegoat? Once the system of scapegoats operates on the vast scale it has achieved under McCarthy's direction, every member of a minority group is a potential target. The "leader" can choose his moment and pick off each

group one at a time if he is permitted.

If one minority stands idly by watching another being attacked, the road is open for an attack on all. This was demonstrated during the last few weeks. When the witch hunt opened it singled out one small political minority as its target — the "communists." Now the whole Democratic Party, with the exception of its most reactionary wing is included in the term "communist."

Even former President Truman has been smeared. The fact that he was one of the instigators of the witch hunt didn't save him.

The labor officials thought they were immune because they played the witch hunt game within the unions themselves. Now they are also under attack because of their association with the New Deal Fair Deal, Democrats.

It is suicide to wait and hope for a miracle. A giant Congress of Labor with representatives from every union local and minority organization in the country must be organized to take defensive measures. The fight against the McCarthyites cannot wait. Later may be too late.

The Men Behind Sen. McCarthy

By Art Freis

Who are the men and forces behind McCarthy? The answer to this question throws revealing light on the aims and direction of the chief candidate in America for the role played in Germany by Hitler, in Italy by Mussolini and in Spain by Franco.

These three — the most notorious and successful fascist bidders for power — were each backed and financed by the same elements: (1) big money interests; (2) the Roman Catholic hierarchy; (3) sections of the official police and military apparatus; (4) a mass movement of lower middle-class and declassed persons fearful of economic ruin, responsive to social demagoguery and ready for violent action against their imagined "enemies," like "communists," unionists and racial minorities.

These very same elements are now rallying, to one degree or another, behind McCarthy. Their combination already represents a powerful force. Their rabid support of McCarthy supplies confirmation of the truly sinister menace of McCarthy and McCarthyism.

McCarthy appears to have sly-

ed, for the time being at least, the problem that has confronted all aspirants to fascist dictatorship — large-scale financial backing. Last September it was disclosed that McCarthy had lined up some big dough to pay for a regular personal television program starting, according to the original plan, in January.

It has since been confirmed that his sponsors are a group of fabulously rich Texas oil barons, headed by H. L. Hunt, who is reputed to have a fortune of over \$200 million. These oil multi-millionaires, anti-Labor and anti-Negro to the bone, are reportedly backing McCarthy heavily.

Hunt is notorious as the biggest contributor to "Americans for America," an organization derivative from America First, an openly fascist organization that was led by Gen. Robert E. Wood, head of Sears, Roebuck and one of the country's influential capitalists.

Wood is honorary national chairman of "Americans for America," which is throwing its weight and money behind McCarthy. The national chairman is Edward A. Hayes, a former national commander of the American Le-

gion. Prominent among "Americans for America" sponsors is Frank E. Gannett, wealthy chain-newspaper publisher.

VATICAN SPOKESMEN

No small part of McCarthy's growing power and influence is the increasingly open backing he is receiving from the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Boasting of control over 18% of the American people, the Catholic priest caste is able to direct millions toward support of McCarthy and thereby ensure him a considerable mass base from the start.

Recently, Cardinal Spellman himself, while in Belgium, undertook the open defense of McCarthy against the criticism of many Europeans who correctly see in the Wisconsin Senator the man most likely to establish American versions of the Buchenwald and Auschwitz concentration horror camps. "The anguished cries and protest against 'McCarthyism' are not going to dissuade Americans from their desire to see Communists exposed and removed. . . ."

The Catholic hierarchy's support for McCarthy follows the well-known pattern of its relationship to McCarthyism. An even more explicit commendation of McCarthy was made

last May 31 by a leading spokesman for the authoritarian Catholic hierarchy, the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society and pastor of St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church in Brooklyn. This prominent priest boasted that "out in the forefront of those ferreting out communism is that . . . great Catholic, Senator Joe McCarthy."

MCCARTHY RECIPROCATES

McCarthy has repaid this support of the hierarchy by pushing or opposing Senate bills in accordance with Catholic hierarchical interests. He has been closely associated with the politics of the infamous China Lobby, in which Catholic influences and interests have loomed very prominently. He played a key role in securing recognition for Franco's Spain, which the hierarchy had been actively seeking since Spellman returned from his visit to Spain in 1944 with his proclamation that Dictator-Butcher Franco was a "Christian gentleman."

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# Beer, Liverwurst, And a Bit of Dulles

By Manuel Rodriguez

"Boy oh Boy! Did he tell that man off, did he put that man in his place, Wowee!" My liberal neighbor, Gabby Bray was beside himself with joy.

"Did who tell who off? Calm down. Have a beer; what's all the excitement about? I haven't seen you this happy since Stevenson was nominated Democratic candidate for President. I dragged Bray into my front room and forced him to sit down.

He hopped up and began dancing around the room. "Dulles, Dulles, did you hear him? He just massacred McCarthy. I tell you Manny, this is it. Now it's settled; now all the Democrats can get together with the clean Republicans and put that madman in the corner where he belongs, way out in right field."

"Listen, Gabby," I shoved a glass of beer at him to get him to stop talking for a minute. "When are you going to stop getting hopped up every time you see a mirage on television? I thought you were burned up at Dulles and Eisenhower and the whole Republican outfit. Weren't you over here last week screaming your head off about how Eisenhower's boy Brownell smeared your hero Truman?"

"Oh no you don't, Manny, not this time. You can't throw your Marxist wet blanket on this one. Listen to this: 'We do not intend to throw away those precious assets by blustering and domineering methods.' That's Dulles talking. Don't you understand? Dulles is telling off McCarthy after McCarthy made that crack about sending perfumed notes to our allies. Now the air is clear."

"Oh?" I said. "Sure, now the Republicans will split and McCarthy will be out in the cold. Dulles said we wouldn't bully our allies. And you should have seen him. Serious, determined, sincere. Why his voice shook."

Gabby took a deep swig of beer on that point about sincerity, so I plunged into the opening.

"Isn't it Dulles' State Department that is pushing Canada around in this arrogant demand that they hand Gouzenko over to one of the McCarthyite committees?"

"Yes, but that's different," Gabby said, "After all that's a security problem and we have to get all the information we can."

"Well, listen to this," I said. "The Canadian government says that it gave every scrap of information to the FBI and the State Department that it got out of Gouzenko. They say that Gouzenko can be interviewed any time by American authorities. What's all this business about dragging him down to one of those TV show trials?"

"That's just it," said Gabby triumphantly, "there must be a good reason, otherwise what's the point?"

"Well, there is a point, Gabby," I said, "The State Department and the McCarthyites both want to spread the witch hunt to the whole world. They want to be able to move in on any country, Mexico, France, England and pull the same witch-hunt stuff as in the United States."

"Why would they want to do that?" Gabby had his mouth full of liverwurst sandwich so now he chose his words more carefully.

"For the same reason they started the witch hunt here. And remember Gabby, it was the Democrats and Republicans who started the witch hunt. Both of them."

"Don't start harping on that again," Gabby said from behind the liverwurst.

I continued, "The reason they want to spread the witch hunt to other countries is to help prepare for war. The American capitalists are getting ready for war and they want to crush all opposition in advance — not only here but among their allies."

"There you go again," Gabby said, swallowing the last bit of sandwich. "War. Why should we want war? We're the richest nation in the world. What do we need war for? It's Russia that wants war."

I overlooked Gabby's identification of himself with the DuPonts in the "We're the richest country" business. (He's got \$237 in the bank, so he thinks he's a capitalist.) "The United States is a 'have not' nation Gabby. The American capitalists must drive to war because of this."

"Are you kidding?" Gabby shouted. "What's this 'have not nation' stuff? That's what Italy and Germany and Japan were before World War II. What haven't we got?"

"It's not 'we' who haven't got the things that are driving us to war," I told him. "The things 'we' haven't got will force us to organize a Labor Party and vote socialist in elections. It's the things 'they' haven't got that's raising hell. They, the Wall Street crowd, haven't got the Soviet Union, China, Indo-China, Eastern Europe, and they haven't got peace and security for capitalist exploitation all over the world. I'm telling you, the United States is a 'have not' nation."

Gabby looked at me as irritated as if he'd bitten his tongue. Then he brightened up. "Listen Manny, I gotta run. Barry Gray goes on at midnight, I can't miss that. Thank's for the beer."

"And the liverwurst," I yelled after him. "And the liverwurst," he agreed.

# Canada Gives Lie to FBI's Hoover

By Joseph Keller

Washington's Congressional witch-hunt hearings play, in a certain sense, the function of the frame-up show trials under Stalin and Hitler, although the victims here do not end up, as yet, with a bullet behind the ear or beheading with an axe. Disgrace, loss of jobs, imprisonment for "contempt" or "perjury" are the penalties paid by persons entrapped in a Congressional inquisition.

These political frame-up trials without benefit of jury — for that is what the Congressional hearings really amount to — resemble police-state trials not only in being politically motivated but in their techniques. "Confessions" are based almost exclusively on "confessions" of other persons. There are no cross-examinations of witnesses by the defense. Above all, there is a minimum of material evidence such as documents and letters.

In the Moscow purge trials and Hitler's Reichstag fire trial of 1933, wherever material facts subject to independent outside verification were permitted to slip into the "evidence," such as specific dates, places, persons or events, these facts were almost invariably proved falsifications.

Thus, when Pyatakov, in one of the Moscow trials, "confessed" he had flown in mid-winter to see Trotsky in Norway and had landed at an airport near Oslo, it was revealed by the Norwegian government and press that no planes could or did land on that snow-bound airport for months before or after the time Pyatakov claimed he made his trip.

We have just been provided with a similar explosion of one of the very few bits of material evidence offered by Attorney

General Brownell and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover in the case of the late Harry Dexter White, whom the Republicans allege was a "spy" who was "knowingly" put in a high government post by Truman.

The Canadian government has publicly, and demonstratively, given the outright lie to Brownell and Hoover in connection with their claim that Canadian authorities supplied the FBI with one of the two main pieces of "evidence" that White was a "spy."

### PEARSON'S STATEMENT

Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, refuted Brownell and Hoover in a special statement before the Canadian House of Commons in Ottawa on Nov. 25 and in an unprecedented nation-wide radio broadcast that same day. He disclosed that the "evidence" cited by Brownell and Hoover was actually "information" planted with Canadian and British security officials by the FBI itself.

When White was proposed for the International Monetary Board, the British — not the Canadians, as Brownell and Hoover claimed — merely relayed the FBI's own claim back to Washington as "a reminder" of White's alleged "spying."

Brownell and Hoover now represent the FBI's own cooked-up report, transmitted back through a British agent, as "independent evidence" and "proof" from the Canadian government that Harry Dexter White was a "spy."

This extraordinary revelation of the FBI frame-up methods resulted from the sole attempt of the Department of Justice frame-

up artists to submit documentary "evidence" of their unsubstantiated charges against White and of Truman's alleged cover-up of White.

After Truman's radio speech answering Brownell's original smear, Brownell made public a document written by Hoover and sent on Feb. 1, 1946, to Truman's aide General Vaughan. This was a covering letter to a report on White compiled by the FBI and submitted to the White House. Brownell merely paraphrased the report itself, omitting a "key sentence," according to Democratic leaders, to the effect that it was "impossible to prove" the charges against White. Hoover's letter, however, contained the statement that the charges against White in the unpublished report were substantiated by "sources high-placed in the Canadian Government."

Reporting on Pearson's denial of this statement, the Nov. 26 N. Y. Times said that the members of the Canadian House of Commons "rocked with laughter as the Minister asserted that information sent by the unidentified agent about Mr. White had originally come from the FBI."

"The fact is," declared Pearson, "that the only information which Canadian authorities had on which they could possibly warn our American friends about Mr. White's alleged espionage came from the FBI. We have never secured any information — never been able to secure any information — on this matter from Mr. Gouzenko [an employee of the Soviet embassy in Canada who deserted to the Canadian government and gave information on alleged Russian spies] or any other source."

However, Pearson continued, security forces in Ottawa were informed in the winter of 1945-46 that "as a result of information which the FBI had obtained, it appears that White might, in fact, be a Soviet agent." This story was handed exclusively to the Canadian and British security agents so that they would "be on the alert for any evidence of a corroborative nature which they might find here and now was found."

Referring to Hoover's letter and claim of Canadian information, Mr. Pearson said:

"The source of this information, this reminder — for that is all it was — and upon which Mr. Hoover appears to have based his letter, was a personal telegram from a security official not of the Canadian government [the British government was the only other involved] who was stationed in Ottawa to maintain liaison with Canadian security authorities on behalf of the security services of a friendly third power [obviously Great Britain]."

Thus, the Canadian government has thoroughly demolished one of the two major props of the FBI charges against White. The other prop — alleged "confessions" of alleged former Soviet "spies" —

likewise crumpled by independent investigation.

In his testimony before the Jenner Committee in the Senate on Nov. 17, FBI Chief Hoover made a lengthy introduction to his statement (published in full in the Nov. 18 N. Y. Times, page 23) in which he complains over and over again of the difficulties the FBI found in getting any proof of its charges against White that could have stood up in a real court of law. He also hid his lack of proof behind the pretext of keeping secret his sources of information.

Hoover thus spoke of "self-confessed Communist espionage agents" who, however, "must for the time being remain undisclosed." He bewailed the fact that "corroboration in each instance was most difficult to secure" and that it was "difficult to develop the full facts, particularly when those in possession of them declined to make full disclosures."

### INFORMER'S CONFESSION

However, he did cite one source of information on White — Elizabeth Bentley, the much publicized self-claimed member of a Soviet spy ring who, according to Hoover, informed the FBI on Nov. 7, 1945, of her claimed career as an espionage agent for the Kremlin. Miss Bentley, it turns out, was the sole source of information on White, according to Hoover, aside, of course, from his "Canadian information," when he wrote his first memorandum to the White House.

Of Bentley Hoover said: "She has been subjected to the most searching of cross-examination; her testimony has been evaluated by juries and reviewed by the courts and has been found to be accurate."

This is something less than the truth. In fact it is a downright lie.

As I. E. Stone's Weekly recalled: "The unwary reader would never guess that she was subjected to cross-examination in only one case growing out of her sensational spy ring story to the FBI in Nov. 1945. This was the case of William Remington, only one of 30-odd government employees named by Bentley."

In June 1947, she testified before a special grand jury before which Remington also voluntarily gave testimony. Neither he nor anyone else named by Bentley were subsequently indicted by the grand jury. She then took her story before a Senate committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1948. The publicity thereby gained launched her at last on her profitable career as anti-Communist writer and lecturer.

But when she was asked to appear before a Loyalty Review Board on Remington's case she twice accepted and twice failed to appear. After her third failure, Remington was cleared. In 1950 a second grand jury refused to issue an indictment. And it was not until a third grand jury took up the Remington case and Bentley's accusations that he was in-

### Denied Right to Query Accuser



Robert Goodwin (right), a General Electric Worker at Lynn, Mass., shown being removed from Boston hearing on orders of Senator McCarthy after Goodwin demanded right to cross-examine Wm. H. Teto (left) who called Goodwin a "Communist." Teto, who claimed he had been an FBI spy for 13 years, was revealed as a convicted bad-check passer. After the war he blossomed out with two cars, a Lincoln and a Packard, plus a home that a Boston paper called fit for a "\$30,000 a year executive."

# What Churchill Liked About Stalin

By Myra Tanner

On November 29 Churchill celebrated his 79th birthday. London papers printed full-page eulogies to him as the "man of the century." Churchill is praised, not only as a leading organizer of World War II but as one of the first to recognize the "Soviet menace." In his six-volume memoirs, "The Second World War," Churchill stresses his early concern and preparations for the anticipated conflict with the Soviet Union.

Churchill is a thoroughly class-conscious leader of the capitalist class and undoubtedly one of its most far-sighted representatives. Yet in the final volume of his memoirs, "Triumph and Tragedy," he has only glowing praise for the Soviet tyrant, Stalin. He describes with nostalgia his pleasant relations with the Russian despot. The conferences of the "Big Three" were spiced with intimate chats, flattering toasts, and festive dinners.

Churchill recalls that at Yalta where Stalin played host to his imperialist allies, "Every effort was made by our hosts to ensure our comfort, and every chance remark noted with kindly attention. On one occasion Portal had admired a large glass tank with plants growing in it, and remarked that it contained no fish. Two days later a consignment of goldfish arrived. Another time somebody said casually that there was no lemon-peel in the cocktails. The next day a lemon tree loaded with fruit was growing in the hall. All must have come by air from far away."

A naive reader of these juicy accounts of convivial get-togethers might think that the great gulf between "communists" and capitalists had been overcome. But actually no more was involved than the simple fact, that Churchill understood well that Stalin was no "communist."

This friendship had solid grounds. Both Stalin and Churchill were in power and both were ruthless men. Churchill understood Stalin's need for concentration camps, for frame-ups in dealing with political opponents, for introducing in the Soviet Union the fascist technique of the big lie. Churchill ruled an empire which had used all these methods against its colonial victims.

Besides, Churchill's "friendship" for Stalin paid off in a big way for this Tory overseer of the British empire. As World War II drew to a close, the problem of the re-conquest of nations that the Nazis had occupied was very pressing. In Greece, for example, the British desperately needed the help of Stalin to reinstate their puppets. The liberation of Greece did not await the Allied armies. Under the leadership of the ELAS, the People's National Army of Liberation, headed by Stalinists, the Nazis were beaten back. By October, 1944, the Nazis began to withdraw from Athens.

### STALIN DOES HIS PART

The only organized force in Greece was the victorious army of the people. Churchill could not hope to mass the military strength necessary to dominate this important base on the Mediterranean without the help of Stalin. And that was readily obtained. The ELAS was told to disarm and disband and to enter into a coalition with the Greek monarchist-fascist, pro-British forces that had to be reassembled by Churchill. The people of Greece, with their wounds still fresh from their heroic battles with the Nazis were shot down in cold blood by the British.

Churchill's latest revelations about the responsibility for the massacre of the Greek partisans confirm to the hilt the exposes made by the Militant at the time.

The naked imperialist aim of the British is clearly seen in the following order sent to General Scobie by Churchill: "It would be well of course if your command were reinforced by the authority of some Greek Government, and Papandreu is being told by Peper to stop and help. Do not however hesitate to act as if you were in a conquered city where a local rebellion is in progress." (Churchill's emphasis.) Stalin tied the hands of his own followers and lined them up before the tanks and machine guns of his gangster pal.

In the "democratic" world where the victory against Nazism seemed to be the object of all the fighting, a wave of revulsion followed this order to shoot down the Greek partisans.

"The vast majority of the American Press violently condemned our action, which they declared falsified the cause for which they had gone to war," Churchill says. "... The State Department in the charge of Mr. Stettinius, issued a markedly critical pronouncement, which they in their turn were to regret, or at least reverse, in after years. . . . The Times and the Manchester Guardian pronounced their censures upon what they considered our reactionary policy. Stalin however adhered strictly and faithfully to our agreement of October, and during all the long weeks of fighting the Communists in the streets of Athens not one word of reproach came from Pravda or Isvestia."

In February of '45, Churchill expressed his gratitude to Stalin publicly in a message to the House of Commons: "I know of no Gov-



STALIN

ernment which stands to its obligations, even in its own despite, more solidly than the Russian Soviet Government."

Greece was only one attempt made by Stalin to prove his friendship for the imperialists. Churchill makes clear in his memoirs that Stalin promised to deliver up the Chinese people to the U.S. puppet, Chiang Kai Shek, and promised to preserve the Balkans for capitalist exploitation. But two factors which the allies didn't take into consideration in their secret, conspiratorial bargaining, worked to end this unity of thieves.

First, the imperialists could not be satisfied with Western Europe and the "spheres of influence" occupied by British and American troops. Their rapacious need to expand requires complete domination of the world, including Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself. And secondly, the colonial people and the workers of Europe in one revolutionary upheaval after the other began to take their destiny in their own hands.

dicted, not for espionage, but perjury. It was in the trial that followed that Miss Bentley was finally cross-examined. It did not strengthen her reputation for "reliability."

She admitted under cross-examination that the third grand jury had been stacked in her favor. She revealed that the special prosecutor in charge, Thomas E. Donegan, had been her personal attorney in a suit for back pay. During the trial itself, two women appeared who had been employed by the publisher of Bentley's book who testified that the foreman of the grand jury, John Brunini, had collaborated with Bentley on her

book at the very time the grand jury was drawing up the Remington indictment.

It was not until Remington had been tried three times that he was convicted on a charge of having prejudged himself in the first trial and was finally railroaded to prison.

Thus, the "reliability" of Hoover's only witness against White in 1945 was not established until seven years later, after three grand jury hearings, three loyalty review board hearings and three trials against only one person, Remington, who was never convicted of espionage, the charge Bentley actually made against him.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

Reports from the third national mobilization in the series of sales celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Militant indicate good distribution of the paper in door-to-door work. Over a thousand single copies have been sold to date. The total subscription sales sold so far is 121.

Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "This week's sales of five subscriptions and 60 single copies of the Militant is the high point to date in the Minneapolis Campaign to circulate and sell the paper. Chester, Ray, and Ralph brought in their sales. Twelve Militant salesmen, each handling five copies of the anniversary issue of the paper, accounted for the 60 points in sales. Chester and Ray led on the local scoreboard with 83 points each; Ralph is second with 53 points and Harry and Fanny with 52 points each, are tied for third place. Chester in addition to getting subs, sold 'The Socialist Workers Party; What It Is and What It Stands For' to two Militant readers. To visit with our friends and talk to them about the outlook and program for socialism is one of the most rewarding aspects of Militant work."

Wimfred Nelson reports the experiences of St. Paul subgetters. "The number of single copy sales this week, 25, represents some experimental work — going out three different times, as a matter of fact. On Sunday we sold five copies door-to-door. Tuesday, seven copies of the anniversary issue were sold on the campus, some of them to journalism students.

"Other Militants were sold to three student coaters whom our salesman overheard in a heated discussion on what was wrong or right for the workers. Another student refused, then stood around and listened for a while, finally coming up with a dime to say, 'I'll take one too.' The third bit of experimental work was done by one of our salesmen this morning, who went door-to-door on two sides of a city block where we had done no previous work, and sold three four-week local delivery subs. This sort of work is really worth more than just the few points achieved — it's making new friends for the Militant."

Literature Agent Dick Carter reports some new Militant readers obtained in St. Louis. He writes "Yesterday I went to the old neighborhood where I usually sell and also some nearby territory which turned out to be good. One reader promised to subscribe and to sell a subscription to a friend of his. He invited me to see him at his home next Saturday."

Dolores Seville writes, "The week ending Nov. 25 we sold 24 copies of the Militant here in Oakland. We have some subs on tap also which we expect to get later. The 24 were sold as follows: Leo, 10; Leonard, 4; and Dolores, 3; all at the USC campus. The remaining copies were sold house to house in a few minutes by Dolores, three copies; Leonard, two; and Bill, two."

Seattle Literature Agent H. Baker reports 19 single copies, one six-months sub and a one-year sub sold in their third mobilization. "The leading salesman is still Leon with 73 points. Frank is second with 52 points. George has 51 and Ann has 44. Dan's team is leading with 253 points and George's trailing with 182."

Jean Simon reports 27 copies of the Militant sold by Cleveland comrades and 10 by George of Akron at the CIO convention in Cleveland last week.

Chicago is offering a prize to the comrade who goes out the most times during their campaign to sell the Militant. Work is divided among four teams. Literature Agent Alice Wiley describes the areas of work of each team:

"One team will go to a selected south-side area of white workers where door-to-door work is being done. This will be an experimental team. A second team will go to a selected south-side Negro area. This will be a continuation of work we started several months ago door-to-door and feel it should start to pay off in subs. The third team will be a small one to continue work started last year in a Negro project that had been successful. There will be renewals and more door-to-door work there. Our fourth team will devote its time to renewal work not covered by the other three."

Tom Denver reports another good mobilization in New York last Sunday. Comrades sold six six-months subs and 76 single copies in door-to-door work in one of the housing projects and on renewals. Two more new subs were sold in the project.

Literature Agent Janet MacGregor reports an excellent response to the Militant on Detroit's first mobilization in the campaign. She writes, "In our discussions on the campaign here we decided to concentrate on a large housing project for new readers and to work on the current renewals. We want to try out the route system that has been so successful in other areas.

"Our first mobilization was last week-end. Two comrades went out to the housing project and sold 24 copies of the paper and one new, six-months sub. They found the response better than it has been in the last couple of years. No one they visited refused the paper! Everyone was friendly and wanted us to come again. People are talking about war and full employment — or peace and depression, and asking why must this be. Our socialist answers and the Militant were welcomed by all.

"Fred, Al, Frank, Kev, and Winters did some call-back work Sunday. At a grocery store where Fred was getting a renewal, a housewife who was listening asked Fred why wasn't there a union formed for housewives. She will read the paper there and if she likes it will buy a sub of her own. A total of three one-year subs and two six-months subs were obtained."

Scores so far in the campaign are as follows:

New York	1,375
Twin Cities	739
Los Angeles	576
Seattle	487
Cleveland	396
Chicago	356
Detroit	337
Philadelphia	333
San Francisco	227
Buffalo	156
St. Louis	142
Newark	127
Milwaukee	124
Boston	104
Oakland	66
Youngstown	26
Akron	10
General	52

The first four pace setters with scores over 100 are Jean S. of Cleveland with 159 points; Ethel B. of New York with 146 points; Harold R. of New York, 109 points; and Cathy of New York with 104 points. Other high scorers are Dick, St. Louis, 90; Ann M., New York, 83; Chester, Twin Cities, 83; Ray, Twin Cities, 83; Clara, Philadelphia, 82; and Art S., New York, 80 points.

### NEW YORK Friday Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on McCarthy Reaches For the White House Speaker: Joseph Hansen Friday, Dec. 11, 8 P.M. Militant Hall 116 University Place Questions, Discussion, Refreshments Contribution 25 Cents

### Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on THE CRISIS IN BRITISH GUIANA Speaker: George Lavan Friday, Dec. 11, 8:30 at 52 Market Street

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# The Baffling Case of the Orozco Murals

By John F. Petrone

The lot of the liberal is seldom a happy one. Poor Hamlet came to a bloody end partly because it took him so long to decide whether "to be or not to be." The liberal is torn by the even more terrible dilemma arising out of his desire "to be and not to be." In normal times, therefore, he serves as the butt of jibes from both the right and the left. In the time of McCarthy, his problems are aggravated; he is not only ridiculed but hounded and even purged if he fails to recant all his former notions and line up actively behind the new conformity.

What to do? An example of how the liberals tend to act under such pressures is provided by the case of the Orozco murals at the New School of Social Research in New York City.

Orozco, one of the greatest Mexican artists, painted some murals for the New School when it moved into its present building on 12th St. more than 20 years ago. The murals by Orozco and Thomas Hart Benton in this building have been widely admired and have drawn many visitors. The New School was always proud of them — until recently.

The Orozco murals, it seems, contain panels about different countries. One of these is the Soviet Union, which shows pictures of Lenin, Stalin and some Red Army troops.

Until recently, nobody paid this mural any more attention than was paid to, say, the panel about India which pictures Gandhi. But with the intensification of the cold war, Orozco's Soviet panel began to arouse some unfavorable comment from faculty members, students and visitors. The Orozco murals are in a room now used as the cafeteria, and the New School administration began to hear a few grumbles. "Why do I have to look at Stalin's face while I am eating and trying to digest my food?"

### WHAT TO DO?

How many people felt this way, there is no way of saying. Anyhow, the administration, which is

noted for expressing its devotion to the principles of democracy and freedom, both academic and artistic, got worried about the situation and cast about for a solution.

What to do? Tell the complainers that if they didn't like the mural they needn't look at it? Or tear down the offending mural?

Both must have seemed like extreme measures. What was needed was the famous "middle way." And like most things needed, it was found:

Last spring the administration covered up the Soviet panel with a big curtain.

Did this step fully satisfy the complainers? Didn't the thought of what was behind the curtain continue to have a damaging effect on their stomachs? The

answers are not known. But the complainers had won a moral victory for God, country and ulcer, and they subsided.

But before the school administration had a chance to write even one moralizing editorial for the school bulletin about the superiority of the middle way, a new clamor arose. It came from students who objected to the curtain as the same type of censorship that was practiced behind the Iron Curtain and that their teachers had encouraged them to hate and protest.

Furthermore, these students, proceeding in accord with the general advice about resisting totalitarianism that they had received from their teachers, protested vigorously. They formed a committee, and they drew up a petition, and they went around the

school and stood in front of it collecting signatures demanding that the curtain over Orozco be removed. The New York papers picked up the story, and the school administration was exceedingly embarrassed.

What to do? Take the curtain down and thus reassert its liberalism? Or leave the curtain up and repel the believers in true academic and artistic freedom?

For almost half a year the administration grappled with this problem, seeking the middle of the middle way. The answer was finally supplied in the Nov. 9 New School Bulletin, in a letter to the students committee, signed by that well-known liberal, William H. Davis, who as chairman of the War Labor Board, mediated between capital and labor in the last war and now serves as chairman of the board of trustees at the New School.

### SOLOMON-LIKE SOLUTION

Yes, says Davis in this priceless document, the board "fully recognizes that these murals are an important work by a great painter and an historic document in the development of his art. There is no slightest question that the New School should preserve them regardless of any controversy on any subjective or ideological grounds."

On the other hand, Davis continues after this bow to the left, it is a "fact" that the murals do give "offense" to some people. "This is a practical issue with which the Administration is confronted within the New School building. If the room in which the murals are, were not required to be used as a cafeteria, no problem would arise and there would be no disposition to cover any part of them. If and when the cafeteria can be moved to another place, the curtain will be taken down. Meanwhile, it serves exclusively to eliminate a cause of conflict in the cafeteria."

Then, immediately after this bow to the right, comes the payoff:

"As it is, anyone who wants to see the curtain part of the mural can do so by lifting the curtain. It is preserved without

being a cause of continual annoyance to those whom it does annoy and it is not suppressed since any student, instructor or visitor sufficiently interested in Orozco's art to take the trouble to look at it can do so."

### FLAWS IN THE CURTAIN

Now what could be fairer than that? If you don't want to look at the mural, they supply a curtain to keep it from offending you. If you do want to look at the mural, they supply a curtain that you can lift. (And, no doubt, if the students agitate enough for it, they will even supply a sign on the curtain letting those who haven't read Davis' letter know that they have the right to lift it.) Who can point to a more liberal union of wisdom, justice and tact to all concerned?

But nothing in this world is perfect, as liberals themselves are fond of explaining, and perhaps even this brilliant demonstration of the middle way has some flaws. For example:

What will happen if someone lifts the curtain in such a way as to reveal the contents of the mural to one of the offended ones as he chews his hamburger? May this not become "a cause of conflict in the cafeteria?"

What will happen if some people who dislike Gandhi — perhaps Moslems or partisans of British imperialism — demand the covering of the panel on India? After all, they have the right to be offended too. There is no reason why they should be forced to turn their eyes away when this hardship is not imposed on opponents of the Soviet panel.

Or what about people who happen to strongly dislike Orozco's style of painting — or people who don't like to eat in a room with any kind of mural — can they get the murals covered altogether? Or is this a privilege reserved only to those who hate the Soviet Union?

To be and not to be — to be loyal to democratic principles in words and not to be strong enough to resist the pressure of reaction in practice — there you have the real essence of liberalism in the time of McCarthy.

## Is This the Same Gorman?

A shameful editorial appeared in the November issue of the Butcher Workman, official magazine of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters. The President of the union, Earl W. Jimmerson, and the Secretary-Treasurer, Patrick E. Gorman, proclaim they have changed their minds about McCarthy!

The editorial is called "Is This the Same Joe?" The two union officials write: "Until now we have never had great respect for Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin. No liberal minded person could agree that his attempts to brand all progressives in our nation as Communists was anything more than muckraking." Then follows the change of mind:

"In recent weeks, however, from a strictly patriotic viewpoint, we must agree that Senator McCarthy is doing a most commendable patriotic service. . . If this latest expose on the part of Senator McCarthy (of alleged radar spies) is proven true, then the nation owes him a debt of gratitude. . . There should be a revamping of the whole personnel employed by our Government in planning the defense of our nation. . . after all we are Americans first and everything else second. . . only the most dyed-in-the-wool patriots should hold such jobs. . . much as we have opposed his procedures in the past, we would not be patriots if we did not urge him to proceed with full speed."

This eulogy to McCarthy is being circulated after the radio-TV speech of McCarthy on Nov. 24. This is what makes it particularly shocking. The N.Y. Times published a news story on Nov. 29, under the headline "Butcher Magazine Changes Its Mind and Supports McCarthy." Presumably the magazine was off the press early in November but the Times considered the editorial fresh news in the light of McCarthy's latest harangue.

It is important to note that Patrick Gorman is not some obscure McCarthyite union official from some unknown union local. He has the reputation of being in the "left" wing of the labor bureaucracy. He is a Contributing Editor to Norman Thomas' Socialist Call. Up to now the Amalgamated Meat Cutters have been opposed to reactionary anti-labor McCarthyism at least as much as the average AFL union.

What happened? Have Jimmerson and Gorman lost their minds? Don't they know what they are playing with? Don't they know that this is fascism, the mortal enemy of the labor movement?

Gorman and Jimmerson are placing their necks in the noose, smiling idiotically at McCarthy as this hangman adjusts the knot. If it were merely a question of personal suicide, the world could probably survive the loss of Jimmerson and Gorman. But they are involving the fate of unionism and the lives and freedom of hundreds of thousands of workers. That's why this obscene flattery of the foul McCarthy is treachery.

What does this scandalous episode reveal? It shows how powerful the fascist movement has become. Under the shock

wave of the explosion of McCarthyism the unstable middleclass type of labor official can be swept off his feet. He imagines that he regains his equilibrium by leaning on the fascists.

We witnessed the same sickening spectacle in Germany and Italy. Even after the fascist executioner of labor, Mussolini, took power, prominent labor leaders in Italy played the suicidal game Gorman is now trying.

Let us recall that immediately after his march on Rome Mussolini invited the General Secretary of the Italian Federation of Labor, D'Aragnone, to enter his government. And the General Secretary accepted! Mussolini didn't follow this plan through but not because D'Aragnone changed his mind.

The servility of the leaders of the Italian Federation of Labor didn't save the unions. They were dissolved at the end of 1926. Even then the Gorman appeasement mentality led these "labor leaders" to publish a manifesto declaring: "The fascist regime is a reality, and any reality must be taken into consideration."

The same type of incidents occurred in Germany under Hitler. These illusions of the bureaucrats were cruelly paid for in workers blood — and for that matter in the blood of those labor officials who didn't have passports and havens to flee to.

What momentous event caused Jimmerson and Gorman to change their minds — rather, to lose their minds? According to their own statements it was all based on a big "IF."

They say in their editorial: "If this latest expose. . . is proven true," then "the nation owes him a debt of gratitude." But why did they start playing guessing games? All of McCarthy's past "exposes" turned out to be cheap frauds. It turned out that McCarthy was practicing the technique of the Big Lie with its brood of little lies fathered by the hit-and-run lie. Thus before McCarthy's victims could answer one lie they found themselves smothered in a new series of headlined lies.

And how did it turn out in the "if" case Gorman and Jimmerson were talking about — the radar spy scare of Fort Monmouth? The same way. Even the United States Army proved that McCarthy was lying.

Gorman and Jimmerson may have written their editorial before the Brownell spy smear of Truman in the Harry Dexter White case. If the shock of the ghastly meaning of McCarthyism, revealed in the Truman smear, serves to pull these labor officials up short we would be highly gratified. Even the most serious mistake can be corrected if faced honestly.

The lesson of the incident is, however, here to stay. The labor movement cannot afford any more mistakes like that. A thorough analysis must be made of McCarthyism. A fighting program must be developed against it. In this respect the statement of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party (page one) deserves the most careful study and consideration by all sections of the labor and radical movement.

## What About the "Communist Menace"?

The Big Lie which McCarthy uses like a machine gun to back everyone up against the wall is that the "great menace" in the world and in the United States is "communism."

When the reactionaries and fascists speak of communism, they mean:

Union organization of working people to better their conditions and get higher wages. When the CIO was being organized every capitalist newspaper screamed about the "red menace."

National emancipation of the colonial people. When the people of China kicked out the landlords and capitalists and the dictator Chiang Kai-shek, every mouthpiece of Wall Street screamed about the "red menace."

When the people of Guatemala tried to take back the land that was stolen from them by the United Fruit Co., Big Business screamed about the "red menace."

When tens of millions of people throughout the world turn from war, fascism, depression, disease and poverty and seek to establish socialism, this too is called a "red menace."

The capitalist liars try to discredit the emancipating movement of the workers and colored people by identifying it with the bestial oppression of the workers in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe under Stalinism. This is an old trick. Rulers always use the crimes of certain leaders of the working class to smear the movement these leaders betray.

Stalinism is no more representative of socialism than "King" Ryan is representative of genuine unionism.

The socialist struggle against capitalism is not a menace to humanity, although it is a menace to the 60 billionaire families who rule America.

The lie about the "communist menace" is exposed every time the capitalists feel endangered by socialism and turn to make deals with the Stalinists to save their hides. Then they praise the Kremlin.

But what about "spies"? That's the biggest hoax ever perpetrated. Every country has spies including the United States. In a world torn by class struggle and imperialist rivalries there will always be spies. Doesn't England have spies in the United States — and for that matter doesn't the U.S. have spies in England? But there is no witch hunt against all Englishmen and their associates.

The problem is not spies but a spy scare, a carefully organized, premeditated and cold-blooded campaign to panic the American people while their liberties are taken away. The corporations figure that if you're frightened about spies and terrorized about being smeared you won't put up much of a fight against wage-slashing and union-busting.

Let's put an end to this monstrous perversion of the truth. Labor officials and liberals don't have to agree with socialism to oppose the witch hunt. You don't have to be a socialist to see what a dangerous trap it is to accept McCarthy's main premise that the major danger facing America is the "communist menace."

The real danger is Big Business and the fascist movement arising under its encouragement.

## Greek Monarchs on Display



Heir to the bloody Glucksberg dynasty, King Paul of Greece (center), in admiral's uniform, and his spouse Queen Frederika, shown with Adm. C. Turner Joy at the Naval Academy at Annapolis on their current U.S. show-tour. Her majesty, German-born, was an ardent supporter of Hitler, a fact slicked over by the American capitalist press and government.

# McCarthy Employs Technique of Big Lie

(Continued from page 1)

light, at the head of an independent fascist force. This is now fact number one on the political scene for the working class to reckon with.

In his speech, McCarthy wielded the club of the Big Lie over the head of Truman and as he put it, the "Truman Democrats." But then he turned around and brought the club down on Eisenhower's head. This pivoting maneuver — a blow at Truman and a blow at Eisenhower — illustrates the independent role of McCarthyism as the American brand of fascism bidding for all-out support from Big Business. McCarthyism operates within the Republican Party (and the Democratic Party as well) but it is no longer simply a subordinate wing.

Truman was the main instigator of the witch hunt and its Big Lie — that "Communism" is the menace in the world and in the United States. The witch hunt was intended to help prepare capitalist war against the Soviet bloc and the rising trend toward socialism visible throughout the world. Today that remains the object of the witch hunt. The question is: who is the best witch hunter?

So far the laurels in this foul and sinister business go to McCarthy. While Truman started the witch hunt, McCarthy is carrying it beyond the limits set by Truman, the liberals and the labor bureaucrats. McCarthy is breaking through the barriers and restraints of the old democratic forms imposed by the traditional structure of capitalist democracy and its two parties.

### THE WHITE CASE

The intentions of the soft-headed liberals and labor bureaucrats don't determine the course of political development. Neither do the intentions of the Republican strategists. This was strikingly illustrated in the White affair. The Republican high command took up the witch hunt weapon against the Democrats to win an election and to forestall defeat in 1954. They ignored the biblical injunction: "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."

Observe how their original intentions were fulfilled in a totally unexpected manner. Brownell, the "clever" politician, had in mind a double play. On the one hand he would deal the Democrats a body blow by using the spy smear against them. On the other hand he would outflank McCarthy, steal his thunder, use the technique McCarthy had streamlined, and clip the Wisconsin Senator's wings in the process.

Things turned out differently. McCarthy spread his wings. Brownell's maneuver succeeded with a vengeance. It helped the Republican party only in the sense that it strengthened the power of the McCarthyite forces within the party. Assuming that Brownell

acted with the OK of the President, as has been reported, the maneuver ended with McCarthy outflanking Eisenhower.

Since his election as the Big Business President, Eisenhower has faced a choice: Either out-McCarthy McCarthy, or be pushed aside. The General temporized and resorted to half-measures. He missed his moment. Thus he became the captive of the McCarthyite wing of his party.

Now Eisenhower is deeply entangled in the spy smear of Truman. He cannot effectively check McCarthy. When he tried a feeble reservation at a press conference, he was brusquely reproved by McCarthy: "I read that President Eisenhower expressed the hope that by election time in 1954 the subject of Communism would be a dead and forgotten issue. The raw, harsh, unpleasant fact is that communism is an issue and will be an issue in 1954."

To make his meaning un-mistakable, McCarthy spelled it out with painful simplicity: "Democratic office seekers . . . have been proclaiming that McCarthyism is the issue in this campaign. In a way, I guess it is."

Then he explained that if the "American people believe as I do, that treason, dishonesty and stupidity should be exposed wherever and whenever found, regardless of the party label, then their answer is to keep the Republicans in power" in 1954.

In that way, McCarthy argued, the American people would be voting for McCarthy "because Republican control of the Senate determines whether or not we continue as chairman of the investigating committee."

Thus McCarthy told Eisenhower that not only will "Communism be an issue" in 1954, but the issue will be posed in plebiscite form: For or against McCarthy!

### MCARTHYZING THE GOP

McCarthy has no reason at this time to break with the Republican Party. According to all indications he will pursue the tactic of trying to McCarthyize the party, make himself its symbol in 1954 and its presidential candidate in 1956.

Eisenhower can be kept in line, McCarthy figures, by blackmail if necessary. Every technique used to smear Truman would work even better against the General.

Take for example the fact that Berlin was occupied by the Red Army after World War II although Eisenhower's forces were in position to take it first (See Churchill's Memoirs.) Wouldn't this be a juicy tidbit for a first class smear?

The independence of the McCarthyites is not based solely on their being the most logical and consistent red-baiters. If it were

a matter of logic alone, McCarthy could be beaten down by the party bosses. The fact is that McCarthy has a movement behind him that is not controlled by any old-line political machine. And the fact is that he now has impressive financial backing.

McCarthy's movement is made up of frustrated, insecure and frenzied elements of the middle class who are prey to the demagogic offering of a scapegoat for all their difficulties and worries. "Communism" is the scapegoat. The mass base of McCarthy's support includes every fascist and would-be fascist group gnawing at the vitals of America. The rags and remnants of the Coughlin movement, the Silver Shirts, Christian Fronters, America Firsters, G. L. K. Smith supporters, Legionnaires, Catholic War Veterans, scabs, FBI stooges, professional red-baiters and strikebreakers, Ku Klux Klaners, lynchers, vigilantes, hoodlums and gangsters, are in McCarthy's movement.

### "HUMAN DUST"

This "human dust" is ready and anxious for a mission. McCarthy is their man. They have united all the fragments and chips of fascist grouplets around him. He alone "acts" while others talk. He is crude. He lies and twists and distorts. He blackmails and smears. He destroys people with one blast of a headline. All this is raw meat to the McCarthyite mob. It is precisely these things that endear him to the rank-and-file fascist material who have been waiting impatiently for their leader to appear.

This is the first condition for McCarthy's independence, this middle-class and de-classed mass base.

The second condition for his growing independence is the absence of any real opposition. No one among the liberal and labor leaders really opposes McCarthy. They can't oppose him as long as they agree with his formula — "Communism" is the menace.

Thus in the absence of an independent political mobilization of the working class, McCarthy has a clear road to continue the mobilization of an independent fascist force.

### OMINOUS DEMAGOGY

McCarthy's speech was full of social demagoguery. He appealed to the hatred of the American people for the Korean war. He played on their fears and worries: "The shameful mess in Korea," "future war," "many young men have died . . . because of stupidity, blindness and treason," "huge tax burdens." These appeals to the griefs, anxieties and burdens of the people are the hallmark of the fascist demagoguery bidding for power. As yet it is a cautious theme, for McCarthy is not as stupid as his crude red baiting would make him appear. But it is an extremely ominous sign.

The bitter truth is that it "is happening here" before our eyes. The labor movement must awake to the danger. Leaders of labor who look the other way and play McCarthy's game within the unions are traitors and scoundrels.

It is clear now what the victory of Big Business in the 1952 elections signified. It meant opening the road to American fascism.

The only answer is independent political action. We must crush the American fascists before they crush us. Such is the inescapable choice. Let us face it and sweep back the reactionary fascist fifth.

### Happy Marriage?

On Nov. 28, Benjamin Fairless, Chairman of the United States Steel Corp., said: "Labor and management are inseparably bound together in a state of economic matrimony."

On Dec. 1, the United Steelworkers of America, CIO, struck two of the nations largest car manufacturers. Thirty-three thousand workers in 73 plants walked out.

PHILADELPHIA Fri. Night Forum presents a talk on What Does McCarthy Want? Speaker: Art Sharon Friday, Dec. 11, 8:30 P.M. Militant Labor Hall 1303 West Girard Avenue Questions, Discussion — Admission Free

TWIN CITIES Sunday Forum Jim Crow and the Supreme Court Speaker: Dorothy Schultz St. Paul SWP Organizer Sunday, Dec. 13, 3:30 P.M. 10 So. 4th Street Minneapolis Questions, Discussion, Refreshments Militant Readers Invited

By Jean Blake

In speaking at a public forum after the last national election, this writer had occasion to "tangle" with a tired radical over a point of view that I have since found it necessary to dispute many times. Briefly, it is this:

The main struggles for democracy and against capitalism are taking place abroad, and should have the complete support of every class-conscious American worker. In this country the working class is so thoroughly corrupted by its relatively superior position, its high standard of living and its lack of a popular socialist tradition or working class political action that the struggle for socialism here is a hopeless proposition. Only when socialism has been victorious in Europe and Asia, and American capitalism has been defeated and the workers ground down, will the perspective for socialist revolution in the U.S. open up. Meanwhile the struggle against reaction here is futile.

I won't take the time here to take issue with all the things that are wrong in that point of view, except to mention the fairly obvious fact that we in the Socialist Workers Party have nothing in common with it — or we would not be putting our efforts into building a party whose chief perspective is the socialist transformation of America by the American working class.

The aspect of that defeatist point of view which I want to deal with here is what it has in common with the line of the capitalist rulers of this country. They, too, divert the struggle on the home front to foreign fields. They, too, say the main battles for "democracy" are taking place abroad, and

that all struggles and issues in America must be subordinated to the war against "totalitarianism" and defense of "our" interests throughout the world.

While it is true the administration and the ex-radicals have different ideas as to what we must fight for, they both agree it is some place else, not in America.

We, on the other hand, feel that our best contribution — the best contribution of the American working class — can be made right here at home, in the hundreds of battles for democracy, in defense of the rights and standard of living of the working people and doubly-exploited minority groups that are going on all the time.

Two recent cases — too insignificant to those who only want to fight for democracy some place else — are examples of these battles. One involved an Air Force officer, Radulovich, who was ousted because his father and sister were considered suspect. He took his grievance to the American people and received enough support to compel his reinstatement.

The other case, equally important, involves a Negro Air Force lieutenant, Thomas Williams, who was punished by his superiors for refusing to submit to Southern Jim Crow rules and sit in the rear of a bus. His grievance also must be taken to the American people. He, too, must be defended in his struggle for his democratic rights.

Those who do not support the battles for democracy on the home front now will be in no position to recognize or play any role in the decisive struggles in America or the world at any time.

How to Run a Railroad

By Art Sharon

Sixty workers of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad have just given a demonstration of how well things will go on this line the day after it passes from the hands of its present private owners.

The C&O management engineers thought it would probably take three years to plan how to convert the C&O steam engine shop at Huntington, West Virginia, into a Diesel engine repair plant. But the 60 workers, disregarding the management engineers and working on their own, figured out in six weeks a plan which has now been adopted for the conversion.

This feat amazed the management of the C&O and even elicited editorial comment from the N.Y. Times. America's most influential capitalist paper held that this proved that the "experts" were not infallible. Their surprise reflects their ingrained prejudice. Principle number one in their book of faith holds that workers do not have the capacity to exercise control and management over any part of the industrial machine.

What the C&O workers accomplished is of high order, as anyone acquainted with the technical difficulties will readily understand. That they were able to accomplish the job in such short order did not surprise them nor will it surprise other workers who read about it. You need only listen to the sarcastic and many times acid opinions that are expressed by workers

on the managing and planning capacity of the "brains," as management is labeled.

What is surprising however is the fact that so many people still fall victim to the paid and unpaid propagandists who warn that the railroad just cannot operate unless it is owned and controlled by private owners.

But as any child knows, the men who own the railroad are not the most likely candidates for genuinely responsible positions in any part of the railroad's organization. Their one skill is completely and totally unnecessary for running a railroad. What foreman would dare trust even a traffic flag at a railroad crossing to a man who knows nothing except how to become personally wealthy without doing a tap of productive labor?

The C&O, we believe, is in good hands so far as the work goes. These 60 workers and their several thousand fellow workers on the railroad will never miss the parasite owners when they are gone.

On the contrary, their departure from ownership and control will release a creative energy that will make past performances seem like mere warm-ups.

This little example of the C&O workers the other day speaks louder than words. Out of such examples and experience workers learn that you don't really need a boss breathing down your neck to get things done.

Notes from the News

REVEALING FIGURES on the distribution of world income were released to the press by Rockefeller Foundation's Twentieth Century Fund Report. The Report was issued in November after five years of study by Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Woytinsky. The United States with about 7% of the world's population receives 40% of the income. This income is double the amount of Asia's (excluding USSR) which has over 50% of the world's population. The income share of the U.S. rose from about 25% in 1938, to 40% in 1948. The following are comparative per capita income figures for some of the countries: U.S., \$1,525; Great Britain, \$777; France, \$418; Germany, \$331; Italy, \$225; Bolivia, \$55; Philippines, \$41; Ecuador, \$40. The per capita income of the Soviet Union was estimated at \$181. All the income figures are based on 1948 statistics. Based on 1947 statistics, the United States and Canada are credited with 50% of the world's production and the USSR with 10%.

FEAR OF CANCER OR DEPRESSION? Which is the cause for the 1953 decline in cigarette smoking — "health fears" based on widespread reports that smoking is a cause of lung cancer, or "softening of the nation's economy"? Cigarette manufacturers are debating this question. The 1953 decline in cigarette smoking is the "first noteworthy dip in more than two decades," according to the Wall Street Journal of Nov. 24. Some manufacturers blame the "medical ads" such as Phillip Morris'. "The cigarette that takes the FEAR out of smoking." It is claimed that such ads enhance health fears already rampant. Most manufacturers blame depression tendencies for the decline. John Whitaker of Camels Corp. says: "These things run in cycles, and they're always tied in with general economic conditions. Recently there have been more layoffs, less overtime, so people are spending a little less on tobacco."

FARMERS INCOME DOWN, PRICES UP. The Farmers Union Herald, published in St. Paul, Minn., spikes newspaper propaganda which tells people to "Cheer up, lower farm prices will mean lower food prices." Such propagandists are "talking through their hats." We just got the figures the other day that show that while farm prices are down 17%, the cost of living has gone up, ten we have a story in the St. Louis Post at most the same time that reports food processors have had the goldminest profit year in their history.

"A LONG TERM REVOLUTION" is taking place in American farming, according to George Shea of the Wall Street Journal. In his Nov. 30 column, Shea says: "This revolution is the trend to fewer and larger farms. . . . The 1950 count of the nation's farms was slightly under 5.4 million, more than one million fewer than thirty years before. The decline, furthermore, was all in the small farms, those of 180 acres or less having fallen 30%, while those of 500 acres or more rose 40%. . . . The result is that big farms are becoming the mainstay of food and fibre production. The 1950 figures showed that less than 4% of U.S. farms having hens sold a third of all eggs put on the market. For the whole agricultural industry, fewer than 1% of farms produce more than half of all marketings."

DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST RACIST ARSONISTS were organized Nov. 23 by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Long Island. Clarence S. Wilson, a Negro, is building his home in the lily-white Deauville Gardens section of Gopique, L. I. The wealthy bigots in this area are responsible for two arson attacks on Wilson's new and incomplete structure. The first attack took place Nov. 14. The town chief of police, Percy K. Hempstead, admitted that "it could be arson" and promised a nightly patrol. Early Sunday morning, Nov. 22, a second blaze destroyed part of the structure causing hundreds of dollars of damage. The police patrol was nowhere in sight at the time of this outrage. Undaunted by these attacks Wilson said he was determined to build his home and take residence as soon as possible. "This doesn't concern me," he said. "It concerns the rights of any citizen to live peacefully in any neighborhood he desires. The future of other generations and their chance to live peacefully may well depend on what I do now. I am not afraid and I won't be intimidated. Some have to die so that others may live."

JIM CROW BERMUDA, the site of the Big Three Conference was attacked by the President of the NAACP, Walter White, for its "racial discrimination in hotels and other places of accommodation." White demanded that the conference be moved to an island "which does not have discriminatory laws and practices." A White House assistant replied to the NAACP demand with the excuse that it was the "British Government which suggested Bermuda as the scene."

THE MILITANT

Stevedores Protest Gov't Blacklisting

NEW YORK, Dec. 1 — Nearly every pier in the harbor area here was shut down today in a spontaneous rank-and-file protest strike. Several hundred longshoremen, refused clearance to work on the docks by the new Bi-State Waterfront Control Commission Hiring Hall because of alleged past police records, brought all pier movements to a halt.

This action brought prompt response from the United States Attorney General's Office in Manhattan which complied with demands of the shipping bosses that action be taken against the strikers under the Taft Hartley Act. Subpoenas were issued against picked longshoremen who allegedly are violating the Taft Hartley injunction that has been in force on the waterfront since September 30.

The threat of Taft Hartley punitive retaliation brought officials of both the old ILA and the new ILA-AFL to demand immediate return to work by the men.

Despite the fact that the ILA-AFL had originally supported the state hiring hall control, it now blames the hated fink-hall set-up upon the old ILA. The old ILA opposed the state hiring hall up until a few weeks ago when it dropped its opposition and advised its longshore members to register.

The old ILA mob, now headed by Captain William Bradley of the Tug Boat Division of the ILA, who replaced the discredited Joe Ryan, is fighting for survival against its new competitor, the ILA-AFL. Any united action that could have stopped the ominous control now exercised by the government was paralyzed by the warfar between the two longshore organizations.

Once before in maritime history a government move to dominate hiring of seamen through the issuance of a government "fink" book was defeated by determined and unified action. This was in 1936 when the militant West Coast seamen of the time refused to accept the government-issued record book of hirings and firings.

The current rank-and-file protest action in New York reveals the willingness of the great mass of longshoremen to take action against government-controlled hiring, but here once again the road block lies in the corrupt and well-entrenched leadership of the longshoremen unions.

EE — Educational Equality — are initials appearing on buttons, auto stickers, etc., in a fund-raising campaign for the battle against school segregation. NAACP lawyers will re-argue the case before the Supreme Court on Dec. 7. The EE campaign was started by the Pittsburgh Courier. Checks should be made out to the NAACP and sent to the EE Editor, Pittsburgh Courier, Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

Held in Klan Flogging



Mack E. Arnette, 61, of Lake View, S.C., posts bail in Wilmington, N.C., after he was arrested with 13 other alleged former Ku Klux Klansmen in FBI raid. They are charged with kidnapping and flogging a Lake View woman and her brother two years ago. The "all white, all Protestant" Kluxers are now rallying to McCarthyism.

FORD UNIT PUBLISHES ANNUAL WAGE FACTS

"The Annual Wage" issue of Forum Facts, published by the Tool and Die Unit of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, contains the most factual and informative material on the guaranteed annual wage presented by any union publication that has come to our attention. It is of special interest because the recent CIO convention adopted the guaranteed annual wage as its major economic objective and both the CIO auto and steel unions are making this a central demand in their next wage negotiations.

Forum Facts contains the type of material that will arm rank-and-file unionists and local officers against the numerous gimmicks and loop-holes in the various types of guaranteed annual wage plans now proposed, already in existence or put into effect in the past.

Urging the auto workers to be "on guard against Philadelphia lawyers' negotiations," four officers and bargaining committee members of the Tool and Die Unit raise the questions: "What do we have to give up, if anything, to acquire the Annual Wage, the workers ask? Will we have to agree to additional company security and no-strike clauses? How will it affect our classifications? How much will the company contribute without any ifs, ands, or strings attached? Those are big questions; nobody has yet furnished the workers with answers to them."

TERM LOOSELY USED Forum Facts points out the loose use of the term, "guaranteed annual wage." From the term,

6 N.Y. Papers Shut Down by 400 Union Men

By Tom Denver

NEW YORK, Dec. 2 — Six newspapers, the News, the Mirror, the World Telegram and Sun, the Journal American, the Times and the Post, were shut down tight last Saturday, Nov. 28, when they refused to meet the demands of the AFL Photo-Engravers Union for a \$15-a-week package increase.

The 400 union members hit the bricks, and 20,000 members of the CIO American Newspaper Guild and AFL printing trade locals honored their picket lines. The world's largest and richest city saw its daily newspaper circulation of some 5,000,000 copies completely cut off by Monday.

Recently elected Democratic mayor Robert Wagner, who rode to office on a "pro-labor" line, issued a statement in which he voiced concern over the strike: "The great business enterprises of our city on the eve of the Christmas shopping rush, are losing their traditional principal avenue of approach to the general public in the form of opportunity to advertise."

PUBLIC GRATEFUL The fact of the matter is that the general public seems grateful to the Photo-Engravers. Since last Saturday New Yorkers have been

spared the screaming headlines about war, the witch hunt, murder and lurid sex, not to speak of the high-pressure ads that remind you of the high cost of living.

And it is certainly refreshing to see a strike struggle in which the capitalist press doesn't have a word to say in behalf of the bosses.

The only major paper not directly affected by the strike, the Herald-Tribune, got out one issue Monday and then suspended publication. The editors said they didn't want to obstruct collective bargaining. But the report is that the Publishers Association didn't want to give the Herald-Tribune a golden opportunity to build up circulation at the expense of the other papers.

It is a real testimonial to the strength that lies in organized labor's strong arm when 400 determined workers, backed by 20,000 union brothers and sisters, can effectively tie up some of the biggest propaganda organs of capitalism in the city where Wall Street is located.

In the Unions

By Joseph Keller

The terrific political power labor could wield if it had a party of its own is hinted at by the little-publicized results in the elections last month in the area around Lewistown, Pa. The facts are reported in the Nov. 21 Textile Labor, paper of the CIO Textile Workers Union.

"About 80 of the 100 triumphant candidates in the elections . . . belong to CIO unions. Rank-and-file workers now hold office as city councilmen, school board directors, tax collectors, justices of the peace and other 'grass roots' posts. . . ." says Textile Labor.

A half dozen members of TWU's own American Viscose Local 6, including its President Harry Blessing, were elected to office in a normally Republican stronghold. One TWU member, Kelly Rapp, was elected chief burgess (mayor) of Mount Union, second largest city in Huntington County.

Unfortunately, these results, the work almost exclusively of the unions and the local CIO Political Action Committee, goes unmentioned to the credit of the Democratic Party, the wing of the capitalist two-party set-up that was repudiated by the American voters in November '52. What a shame the PAC activity was not harnessed to labor's own program and party, completely independent of the old-line businessmen's parties.

The AFL and CIO Peace Committees, which were set up early this year to discuss the possibilities for organic unity, will resume their joint sessions Dec. 16 in Washington. They have not met since they reached agreement on a non-raiding pact last June. Meanwhile, both the AFL and CIO conventions have ratified the pact.

Several of the international unions, especially Dave Beck's AFL Teamsters, have not signed the pact and are not going along with it. This fact was sharply noted in a resolution of the CIO convention deploring raiding. "Therefore, how successful the no-raiding pact will be in practice remains a big question.

Many union officials and members appear to hold the view that organic unity in and of itself will solve most of labor's problems — or go a long way to doing so. The value of labor unity lies, however, in the program that the united forces pursue. We have said before that an army, no matter how mighty, marching in the wrong direction is marching to defeat. A united union movement bound by a militant economic and political program, independent of the bosses, is the only way to ensure victory.

The Men Behind Sen. McCarthy

(Continued from page 1)

tions with fascist movements on the European continent. In 1923, Pope Pius XI supported Mussolini, referring to Il Duce as "the man sent by Providence." The Pope signed the 1929 Lateran treaty with Mussolini and accepted from the fascist government 750 million lire in cash and 1 billion lire in state bonds.

The Vatican's relations with the Nazis were scarcely less cordial. Pope Pius XII, then Cardinal Pacelli, signed the Concordat with the Nazi regime. German bishops and cardinals celebrated "victory masses" when Hitler's troops overran Belgium and France. The Vatican similarly blessed Franco's troops as "defending the rights of God and of religion" and called Fascist Spain the "model Christian state." Likewise, the Vatican described Petain's collaborationist regime in France during the war as the beginning of France's "spiritual rebirth."

GOVT HONEYCOMBED WITH MCCARTHYITES

McCarthy — also like Hitler, Mussolini and Franco — counts on backing from important agencies of the government, particularly police and military agencies like the FBI and Army command. McCarthy has been one of the principal spokesmen in the Senate for the most reactionary elements of the officer caste, like Generals MacArthur and Van Fleet, who pressed for continuation of the Korean war and its extension into China. McCarthy himself hailed Syngman Rhee's attempts to blow up the Korean truce and praised the bloody South Korean dictatorship to the skies. To this very day, an

in his Nov. 24 TV speech, McCarthy continues to demand hostile, provocative, war-like acts against China calculated to explode a new and bigger war. McCarthy is precisely the type of politician which the military caste — thoroughgoing believers in authoritarian martial rule — want in the White House.

The other ominous element of government support for McCarthy is the FBI, transformed in 1939 into a secret political police by Roosevelt's executive order and now closely approximating in activities and methods the Nazi Gestapo. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has on a number of occasions indicated his sympathies for McCarthy. His ravings about the "godless forces of Communism," "Red Fascists" and "infiltration of an alien way of life," such as he unloaded at the recent hearing on the Harry Dexter White case, parallel in content and tone McCarthy's own rantings.

It has been repeatedly asked how McCarthy lays his hands on information that is supposed to be the "confidential" property of the FBI. The fact that he does get such information indicates that he has backers in the very top circles of the political police.

McCarthy has the money, the propaganda agencies, the religious backing and the police and military agencies that every successful fascist group has relied on. But does he have the final and most decisive element — a mass following?

RIFRAFF FOLLOWING The fact is that all the reactionary fascist groupings in Amer-

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