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The Issue of McCarthyism In a Nutshell

By James P. Cannon

(The following introductory remarks were made by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, at an anti-McCarthy rally held by the Los Angeles Local of the SWP Feb. 12, 1954.)

We meet on Lincoln's birthday. A very important date in the history of our country, and one which the American people rightly hold in reverence.

Lincoln, as President of the United States, was the executive leader of the forces of the union in the great Civil War, which smashed the abominable system of chattel slavery and formally emancipated the slaves, unified the country, and created the conditions for its industrial development and expansion.

The great Civil War under Lincoln's executive leadership was a glorious victory for the American people and for all humanity. It is rightly regarded as the Second American Revolution. This Second American Revolution prepared the way for a Third Revolution which, in its turn, will emancipate the working class and finally put an end to all forms of discrimination in society. We do well to honor Lincoln and the glorious war he led to victory.

Lincoln's birthday may seem like a most inappropriate occasion to talk about Senator McCarthy; but I think there is a Freudian law known as the "association of opposites." Perhaps we can speak of Lincoln and McCarthy together under this head. Where the name of Lincoln symbolizes progress, McCarthy is the outstanding demagogue of reaction. Where

Lincoln symbolizes the emancipation of the black chattel slaves, McCarthy is the representative of those dark forces in America whose ultimate objective is to fasten the chains of fascist slavery on the American working class.

Before the Civil War of the Sixties broke out in full fury in 1861, there was a long period of preparation for it, when both sides fought with ideas and arguments and mobilized their forces around these ideas. In those preparatory days, William H. Seward described the debate as an "irrepressible conflict" which could not be resolved by argument alone.

That would be a proper way to describe the present situation in this country. We are witnessing a clash of ideas and arguments, and the preliminary mobilization of forces, for a coming showdown in what is indeed another "irrepressible conflict." It also will not be decided by argument alone.

In the years prior to the Civil War, the Abolitionists, of reverential memory, conducted a great agitational activity to alarm the people to the dangers of the time and to clarify their ideas as to what was really involved in the irrepressible conflict. The modern heirs of the heroic Abolitionists of a hundred years ago, the advocates of the abolition of the capitalist system of wage slavery, are conducting a similar campaign of agitation and explanation, of clarification of ideas as to what is now involved in the new irrepressible conflict. The

clearer we see the picture as it really is, the better we will be prepared for things to come.

There are differences of opinion as to what the shape of things to come will be; but there is almost universal recognition that the present state of affairs has no permanence. We are now coming toward the end of the long prosperity artificially promoted by huge government expenditures for war and preparations for war.

A serious recession is already under way; and the prospect of a deep economic crisis, paralyzing industry and depriving many millions of workers of the opportunity to work and to live, looms directly before us. At the same time we are nearing the end of the stalemate in the cold war, and stand face to face with the prospect of an atomic war on a world scale.

Which will strike first — the depression or the war? The present situation may be described as a race between war and depression, with the winner not yet decided.

Parallel to this race between war and depression, and as a result of it, there is an impending conflict between two different forms of governmental rule and a race between them. The winner in this race is also not yet decided. In order to wage an atomic world war, and to provide the incalculable expenditures which it will entail, more than military preparation is needed. The monopolists who own this country and control its government are both required and determined to reduce the living standards of the workers and make them pay the expenses of the contemplated war.

The barrier standing in the way of this program is the great trade union movement, 17 million strong. Before an all-out wage-cutting program could be put

into effect, this trade union movement would have to be smashed, or at the very least, intimidated and domesticated to such an extent that it would lose its powers of resistance.

A large section of the ruling capitalists are playing with the idea that a depression would facilitate this program. They see in a prospective depression not the untold misery of tens of millions of people, but a golden opportunity to smash the unions and to deprive them of their combative power.

This ambitious program is easier said than done. It requires, among other things, a mobilization of reactionary forces by a tremendous campaign of demagoguery, incitement and intimidation. This campaign is already under way. Although it is first ostensibly directed against "reds" and "subversives," its real target is the organized labor movement of the United States. That is the real meaning of the incipient fascist movement in this country, spear-headed at the present time by McCarthy, the senatorial demagogue from Wisconsin. McCarthyism is a dagger pointed at the heart of the trade union movement, and at all the civil rights and freedoms of the American working class.

On the other hand, if the labor movement is to survive it cannot stand still. It must go forward or perish. And the only road forward is the road, first toward recognition of the mortal danger that confronts the labor movement, and then toward the mobilization of its own forces for an offensive struggle to change the relation of social forces in favor of the workers. That is the road of militant struggle, of radicalization, and in the ultimate show-down, of social revolution — a Third American Revolution which will complete the work of

the First and Second and put the working class in power.

The present period of the new "irrepressible conflict" can be properly described as the period of the clarification of ideas and of the preliminary mobilization of forces, similar to the preparatory period of the irrepressible conflict a hundred years ago. We are in the preliminary stages of a race between fascism and workers' revolution.

The issue is not yet decided. Power is on the side of the workers. They will win if they see the issue clearly, and begin their counter-mobilization in time. To help them to see, to warn them of the danger of waiting too long with a counter-attack, is the purpose of the agitational campaign against McCarthyism which is now being conducted by the Socialist Workers Party.

Pegler Spells It Out -- "Smash the Unions"

An Editorial in The Militant, March 1, 1954

Westbrook Pegler, that bred-in-the-bone McCarthyite, has voiced the true aims of McCarthyism. He has declared himself publicly for fascism — and that's the exact word he uses. He says the purpose of the fascism he advocates is "smashing" all the unions — and that's his precise word, too.

Pegler put this in cold print, not mincing words. It is carried down a whole double-column in the Feb. 24 issue of the widely read N.Y. Journal-American, one of the chief papers of the Hearst chain, and in a number of other newspapers reaching millions.

Let every worker, every union man and woman, every union leader read and absorb the meaning of Pegler's words. They bear the stench of the concentration camp, the torture chamber, the executioner's axe. Smell them. These words are meant for you.

"I am now convinced," brazenly asserts Pegler, "that all that prevents us from smashing the AF of L, the CIO and the 'independent' predators is a sentimental fear on the part of lay citizens and public men that they would be charged with fascism if they ad-

vocate this desirable reform . . . Even laymen and politicians who find it impossible to say a single word of excuse for the abominations of unionism . . . are afraid to plump for state control of unions . . . They are afraid to advocate anything like State management of unions, because that, they say, would be fascism.

"I agree. Yes, that would be fascism. But I, who detest fascism, see advantages in such fascism . . ."

There it is — right on the line. No one can mistake his meaning. As against unionism, he's for fascism and he spells it out — "smashing the AF of L, the CIO and the 'independent' predators," by which he means labor organizations like the United Mine Workers and Railroad Brotherhoods.

And while you're pondering the ominous implications of Pegler's words, you might do well to consider several other sinister events of the past couple of weeks that fit into the developing fascist pattern and give substance to our warning about McCarthyism being fascism on the march.

There is the rise and open foul expression of anti-Semitism — Jew-baiting on the Hitlerite model. From Moline, Ill., on Feb. 21 came the report of anti-Jewish signs being pasted on windows of 35 stores in that area.

The signs, printed in ink, bore the words: "This place owned by Jews." And rubber-stamped over the printing were the words: "Anti-Jew Week, Feb. 21 to 28."

You think that's just the work of screwballs, crackpots or the "lunatic fringe"? Millions of Jews who died in Hitler's gas chambers started out with the same illusion. Those anti-Semitic paste-ups in the Moline area are genuine signs of the times.

Right in the heart of Times Square in New York City, where 2½ million Jewish people reside, the anti-Semite fascists have dared to unfurl their banner. They are distributing in the streets a flamboyant, shrieking two-page

paper, as large as this Militant, howling about the "plot" of the "Asiatic Marxists Jews" to "control the world" and how "by their control of gold the Jewish international bankers get richer while Gentile America gets poorer and poorer."

You may think it ridiculous, but this slimy sheet declares that even "Eisenhower is completely subservient to the Jewish Plotters. . ." And amongst the evidence of this are the facts that "he refused to blockade Red China" and "refused to cut off aid being given to our so-called allies, who are trading with Red China." Why, that's McCarthy's program, you will say. And you're right. In fact, their biggest point of indictment against Eisenhower is: "He is against McCARTHY . . ."

Smash the unions! Wipe out the Jews! But that's not all the McCarthyite vermin now dare to cry aloud in the streets and in the public prints. Death to political dissenters! is their newest outcry. And it is raised by no less a person than Gov. Allen Shivers of Texas, a tool and crony of the oil multi-millionaires who are financing McCarthy's drive to become the American Hitler. This Democrat, if you please, has announced he intends to propose a law in Texas to make "Communists" subject to "suitable punishment — up to and including death." In the McCarthyite vernacular even Truman Democrats and conservative union leaders are "Communists."

Think these facts over carefully and then ask yourself: Why does Pegler — who has always been a fascist at heart — now dare to openly acknowledge that his real aim — the aim of a simon-pure McCarthyite — is to establish fascism, which he bluntly and correctly defines as a movement to annihilate the unions, to "smash" them? Why are the vile anti-Semites beginning to come out in the open and speak as the defenders and most devoted admirers of McCarthy? Why does a political henchman of McCarthy, a Negro-

hating Southern Democrat, now feel that the time is ripe to press openly for the legal lynching of anybody who opposes the rule of the moneyed class and its McCarthyite agents, who are spreading like blood poison through all the government agencies, federal and state?

These fascist elements have been emboldened above all by their latest victory in the Senate. They have seen how the Democrats — including the so-called “liberal” Democrats like Lehman — and the Republicans, including the so-called “liberal” Republicans like Morse — have abjectly capitulated under the lash of McCarthy’s whip.

The fascists have seen how these “liberal” cravens, whose only answer to McCarthy is that they are even better witch-hunters than he, knuckled under and voted 85 to 1 for the appropriations McCarthy demanded to continue his smear-drive in Congress against them.

There is a life-and-death lesson to be learned in this whole development — and organized labor, the racial minorities, the Jewish people, will ignore it at the peril of fascist enslavement, torture and death.

Fascism is on the march in America — and its name is McCarthyism.

The ultimate aim of McCarthyism is to destroy — to “smash” — the labor movement and set up the naked dictatorship of the capitalist class.

McCarthyism will not hesitate to use Negroes and Jews as scapegoats and turn America into a charnel house, with lynchings, legal or illegal, to gain power.

America will suffer the fate of Germany and Italy under Hitler and Mussolini if the American workers put their trust in the Democrats to fight fascism.

Only the independent mass struggle of labor and its allies, through their own independent Labor Party, can smash McCarthyism before it smashes them.

The Stake of America's Artists

By Duncan Ferguson

(The following remarks were made at a conference of the N. Y. chapter of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions on Jan. 30. Duncan Ferguson is a noted American sculptor whose work is represented in several major museums. He was formerly professor of sculpture and head of the Art Dept. at Louisiana State University.)

The struggle against McCarthyism is not something of merely remote, abstract interest to the artist. Every serious artist, in every field — writing, painting and sculpture, music, movies and theater, etc. — has the most direct and personal interest in it. Because McCarthyism is more than witch-hunting, more than official and unofficial censorship, more than invasion of the individual's right to talk and write and think as he pleases. McCarthyism is the American form of fascism, and it is already on the march! And McCarthyite fascism, if it comes to power, will mean the immediate destruction of all free and independent expression for every creative artist, the immediate and complete crushing of all serious cultural life in the country.

That is why the artist, in the interest of elementary self-preservation even if for no other reason, must play his part in the fight against McCarthyism. The memory of what happened to the artists in Germany and to cultural life in general under Hitler should still be green enough for all of us.

But what role can the artist play in this struggle? Well, in the

first place, and as a very general proposition, I believe we can start with this: that in the struggle against McCarthyism the artist must remain faithful to what I suppose has been the oldest and most traditional aim of all artists — to seek out and to tell the truth.

And I don't believe we have been hearing the whole truth in a number of the speeches that were made last night and again this afternoon. The truth about McCarthyism is that it is American fascism. As such, its fundamental aim is not the ferreting out of so-called 'communists,' getting 'liberal' teachers and artists and scientists fired from their jobs, blacklisting Hollywood and TV actors and playwrights.

It does all these things, sure enough, and plenty more in the way of suppressing the free thought and expression of artists and scientists and intellectuals. But these are preparatory blows, and secondary to the one fundamental aim of McCarthyism, which is — to smash the organized American labor movement.

It is not telling the truth, but spreading an illusion, to give the impression, as some of the speakers here have done, that the resistance of the artists and professionals and intellectuals can by itself "make 1954 the year of the end of McCarthyism." McCarthy would deal as contemptuously with such resistance, even if united and organized, as he recently dealt with Albert Einstein's advice to a witness at one of McCarthy's spy-hunt committee hearings "not to cooperate

with this or any other investigating committee." On that occasion, you will perhaps remember, McCarthy sneeringly told the witness that if he didn't want to spend a considerable time in jail he had better consult with his lawyer rather than with Dr. Einstein.

It is not telling the truth, but spreading an illusion, to say as one speaker did, that Truman's "definition" of McCarthyism was "one of the most powerful blows against McCarthy." It is spreading an illusion to use this "definition" of Truman's as the keynote on the program of a conference such as this. It is spreading an illusion to build up Truman and his Fair Deal wing in the Democratic Party as serious fighters against McCarthyism. Don't you remember that it was under this same Truman that the witch hunt started? Don't you remember that it was Truman's Attorney General Tom Clark who issued the first "subversive" list?

It is not telling the truth, either, to extol Roosevelt, as the last speaker did, as a great "liberal" and "democrat" just because it was under Roosevelt that the WPA Art Project was started in the depression days. Yes, I remember the WPA and what it did for many artists in those days.

But I remember some other things about Roosevelt too, things which don't quite qualify him for the label of either "liberal" or "democrat." I remember Roosevelt's role as strikebreaker against the miners during the last war. I remember the innumerable times while Roosevelt was in office that troops were called out to break up strikes by force and violence.

I especially remember that it was under Roosevelt and his supposedly "liberal" Attorney General Francis Biddle that 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and a CIO Teamsters local

in Minneapolis were indicted and imprisoned, under the infamous Smith Act, for their opposition to the war — the same Smith Act which is now being used against members of the Communist Party. (And by the way, I also remember — as no doubt many of you here do too — how at that time the Communist Party applauded and egged on the government in its persecution of these anti-war socialists.)

No, the artists will not be able to play any part in the struggle against McCarthyism if they help in any way to spread any of these illusions. It has to be clearly understood, and it has to be said, that NO section or wing of either the Democratic or Republican party can seriously fight against McCarthyism — and for a simple reason: Because the struggle with McCarthyism is basically a struggle between the workers and the capitalists in the United States.

What then, beyond this general proposition of seeking and telling the truth, can the artists and intellectuals do in this struggle? What can we put forward as a program of action for artists who want to take part in the fight? I would like to suggest three ideas, as at least something to start with:

(1) As an individual, the artist must seize every opportunity possible to raise his voice against any and every encroachment of McCarthyism, and use every possible means of getting his voice heard. Specifically, if the occasion arises, he can emulate Einstein's position of unconditional non-cooperation, recalling the stirring defiance that Einstein threw in McCarthy's face: "Every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e., he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of

the cultural welfare of his country."

(2) Through organized forms, such as artists' groups and societies, the artists can do two things. First, conduct campaigns of education and propaganda to explain the danger of McCarthyism, as American fascism, to the entire cultural life of the country. Second, defend ALL victims of the McCarthyite witch hunt — since each victimization strengthens the forces of McCarthyism.

(3) Encourage and support every move toward the building

of an independent Labor Party breaking completely with all the capitalist politicians. Only such a party, based on the trade unions and including the organizations of the minority peoples, can conduct the kind of struggle that will decisively smash McCarthyism. If the organizations of artists, professionals, scientists, intellectuals, help in building such an independent Labor Party and merge themselves in it, then the artists will be making a significant contribution to the great struggle against McCarthyism.

Negro People's Stake in the Anti-McCarthy Fight

By Jean Blake

American Negroes reacted almost instinctively against Italian and German fascism. Conditioned by second-class citizenship and their experience with the brutality of the Southern ruling class, colored Americans recognized fascism as the ideology of a desperate ruling class.

Negroes were quick to point to the similarity between tendencies in this country, particularly in the South, and the rampant European nationalism, militarism, thought control, theory of the master race, persecution of scapegoats, and destruction of the one force capable of fighting back — the independent working class organizations.

But now, when McCarthyism is providing the most serious fascist threat this country has yet seen, neither the Negro press nor organizations leading the struggle for equality have clearly labeled McCarthy and sounded the alarm.

One reason for this is the crisis in leadership of the Negro struggle. Those who head the National

Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations representing Negro interests are either unwilling or incapable of voicing the demands and policies needed today. Failing to understand that Jim Crow is an inherent part of American capitalism, they act as if it can be eliminated through campaigns for reform of the present system.

Thus their whole political activity consists of drives to register Negroes to vote, and their political program is limited to publicizing the voting record of Democrats and Republicans on relatively better or worse civil rights bills.

How short-sighted this criterion is can be shown by McCarthy's voting record in the 82nd Congress. Out of 12 bills the NAACP wanted passed in 1952, McCarthy voted for three and against six. Not a good record, but not as bad as some others.

This only demonstrates that votes on civil rights bills are as inadequate a basis for evaluating

a Senator as the Tuskegee Institute's statistics on the number of lynchings each year are for judging progress in the Negro struggle. Oppression of colored people takes different forms today, and different standards must be adopted.

More important in analyzing McCarthyism and its relation to discrimination against minorities are these questions:

Whose interests does the McCarthyite movement represent? Who are its supporters, its base?

What effect has McCarthyism had on the Negro struggle already? What will be the prospects for Negro equality if McCarthyism continues to grow?

McCarthy's strongest supporters have been the most reactionary race-baiters in America: the Ku Klux Klan, the followers of Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith — extremist elements who were isolated for a time but are now coming back to life and activity because they have found a leader, a symbol and an organizer in the U.S. Senate.

Jessie W. Jenkins, the only woman leader of the Ku Klux Klan, said: "Despite the awful fact of the powerful Leftist coalition having betrayed our government, as Senator McCarthy has so nobly undertaken to show us, **HOPING TO AROUSE PUBLIC OPINION AND ACTION** — we must surely have a good 100 million GOOD Americans ready to rise to the challenge." (Your Pocket Atom Bomb, 1950.)

Father Coughlin (who said, "I take the road to fascism" in 1936) is now making his comeback in Detroit after 14 years of silence. His public record is long and revealing. In April 1936 he defended Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia on the ground of the "superiority" of the white race, and he opposed anti-lynch legis-

lation in his magazine Social Justice on March 13, 1939.

But the most outspoken race-baiting propaganda today comes from the G. L. K. Smith wing of the McCarthyite movement. At a meeting in Los Angeles on Jan. 26, 1954, Smith hailed McCarthy as a hero and asked God's blessings on him. He also "attempted to whip his clan into an anti-Semitic hysteria" and attacked Negroes in printed literature distributed to the audience. (California Eagle, Jan. 28, 1954.)

One of the "10 high principles" printed on the back of Smith's collection envelopes states: "Fight mongrelization and all attempts being made to force the intermixture of the black and white races." Also distributed was his magazine, The Cross and the Flag, which lauds South Africa as the "land of self-respect" because the Malan government is "trying to save the white race from mongrelization" and is "solving the race problem with segregation."

These are the kinds of people providing the mass base for McCarthyism. Aiding them are a group of rich Dixiecrat oil barons headed by the multi-millionaire H. L. Hunt. And favoring their growth is the capitalist crisis heralded by unemployment and industrial cutbacks, creating the insecurity and unreasoning fear that make it possible for fascism to recruit confused, desperate and hooligan elements.

Already, in Norwalk, Conn., the Hat Corporation of America has pitted Negro and white workers against each other in an attempt to smash a six-month strike. The employers are deliberately feeding racial prejudices by importing colored strikebreakers, many of whom were unable to find employment because of the growing economic crisis and the employers' Jim Crow policies.

Some Negro leaders think they can ignore McCarthyism. But McCarthyism is not ignoring them.

It has already labeled "red" every fighter for democratic rights. At FEPC hearings in Columbus, Ohio, in 1953, the State Un-American Activities Commission had agents present to note who testified for FEPC. Sen. Jenner is probing the Southern Conference Educational Fund for alleged "communistic activities." McCarthy's bookburning campaign resulted in the removal of books by or about Negroes.

The NAACP's 44th annual convention in 1953 warned in a resolution on McCarthyism: "Already there is discernible a pattern which tends to link the advocacy of full equality for Negroes and other minorities to subversion or 'un-Americanism.' . . . In the atmosphere of inquisition which is whirling unchecked in our nation's capital until it now borders upon the proportions and destructiveness of a tornado, it is conceivable that any organization working for interracial democracy may be challenged for its campaign against race prejudice, discrimination, and inequality."

The aim of fascism is to maintain the capitalist profit system at any cost, smashing all customs, traditions and institutions that hamper that aim in any way. But the only way to keep profits up when production can no longer expand under the capitalist organization of the economy is by cutting wages. Since the workers will resist wage-cutting, the capitalists are driven to smash the workers organizations.

Dividing the workers according to race, national origin, religion, sex, age or any other category, and getting them to fight among themselves instead of together against their common enemy — these are methods that the capi-

talists must use increasingly in order to destroy or hamstring the working class organizations. And that is why the Negro struggle cannot be separated from the struggle of the whole working class.

The whole history of this country testifies to the fact that the Negro people suffer the most from the triumph of reaction. They cannot afford to let the McCarthyite fascist movement grow. As the largest, most distinct minority and the traditional victim of discrimination and brutality, they have a special interest in sounding the alarm, educating the other workers and helping them to organize against American fascism.

We cannot wait until the labor leaders awaken to the danger, we cannot sit back inactive until the labor movement takes the lead. A hundred years ago the Negroes could not wait for the white Abolitionists and the President to take the lead in the struggle against chattel slavery. They organized revolts, voiced their demands, took independent action through the Underground Railroad, agitated and educated and spurred on the movement for emancipation. Their independent struggle, and the progressive effects it had on the rest of the people, are part of the American tradition.

Today the Negro struggle requires the forging of a united front of all labor, to strengthen the solidarity of the workers and their allies for another revolutionary struggle against a common enemy.

The struggle for equality cannot be separated from the struggle against McCarthyism. In America fascist concentration camps would be divided by two familiar signs — "White" and "Colored."

Now is the time to act!

Liberals Pave the Road For McCarthy

By the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

Last December the Socialist Workers Party issued a statement calling attention to the grave fascist threat to America presented by McCarthyism, the evil product of the witch hunt that has raged unchecked since 1947. The SWP called on the people, especially the labor movement, to unite in militant defense of our liberties and aspirations against McCarthy's drive for power.

Since then the McCarthyite menace, profiting from the lack of any large-scale organized opposition, has grown larger and bolder. Today it is necessary to repeat our warning, and to add another:

The Democratic Party and the liberals, who claim to be opposed to McCarthyism, are actually helping it by capitulating to it. They are repeating all the crimes and errors that led to the triumph of fascism in Europe.

When Congress reconvened in January, Washington rang with reports of Democratic and Republican plans to "stop McCarthy." These plans received their test on Feb. 2, 1954, when the fascist from Wisconsin arose in the U.S. Senate to demand an appropriation of \$214,000 to finance his witch-hunting activities for another year.

McCarthy did not even bother to conceal his contempt for the liberal wings of the Democratic and Republican parties. Boasting about his methods of spreading smear and fear, he challenged his "opponents" by coolly announcing that he intended to continue these methods without

change. Previously, he had threatened to "expose" any vote against his appropriation as an act of aid to "communism."

The Democrats especially were on the spot. They were faced with a smear if they voted against the appropriation. But they also knew that if they voted for it, McCarthy would use the money to smear them as "the party of treason" just as he has been doing for some time. The question was: Would they show some courage, resist McCarthy's blackmail, and at least uphold their claims of principled opposition to McCarthyism by refusing to endorse funds for his fascist activities?

To their everlasting discredit and shame, all of the Democratic Senators, liberal and conservative alike (with one lone exception), voted along with the Republicans by 85-1 to pass the appropriation.

McCarthy was jubilant. Even more valuable to him than the money was the vote of confidence he got from both capitalist parties. By a single word, Yes, the Democrats and the Republican liberals in effect retracted their thousands of statements denouncing McCarthyism, or at any rate they proved they don't take their own statements seriously.

Immensely strengthened by this vote of confidence, McCarthy set out on a Lincoln Day lecture tour in which he expressed his gratitude to the Democrats by branding their tenure in the White House as "twenty years of treason." This tour was like a triumphal procession, testifying that McCarthy has come a long

way since the 1952 election campaign.

At that time he was tagging along behind Eisenhower's campaign train, groveling for a friendly gesture, with Eisenhower uncertain as to whether he should endorse him. This year the local Republican candidates are clustering around McCarthy, hoping they can be photographed shaking his hand. To them, the Feb. 2 vote was a convincing demonstration that he is the most powerful figure in the Republican Party.

Just a few months ago Eisenhower said he hoped "communism" wouldn't be the main issue in the 1954 elections. But McCarthy contradicted him, and Eisenhower's Republican National Committee sponsored McCarthy's Lincoln Day tour, in which McCarthy's line prevailed, and which set the keynote for the whole 1954 campaign.

McCarthy's rapid rise to the political summits and the liberals' panicky retreat and betrayal together serve notice that the American fascist danger is clear, present and becoming more critical every week. They also provide an alarming parallel with the rise of fascism in Europe.

Neither Mussolini nor Hitler was taken seriously by Big Business when they first appeared on the scene. But when Big Business began to get into deep economic and political difficulties in Italy and Germany, they made greater and greater use of the fascists against the workers and finally called them into office to crush the labor movement.

The Eisenhower - Dewey - Brownell wing of the Republican Party, which reflects the interests of Wall Street, wanted nothing to do with McCarthy at first. But with the start of the present recession last fall, and with the political setbacks suffered by the Republicans last

November, they began to look at him in a different light.

First they set out to imitate him by using the Harry Dexter White case to smear Truman and the Democrats. This was widely interpreted as an attempt to push McCarthy into the background by "stealing his thunder." Whether or not that was the intention, it did not succeed; the chief result of the White affair was to enhance McCarthy's prestige.

Now Eisenhower goes further and lets McCarthy keynote the 1954 campaign on his own terms. It would be a case of total political blindness to deny that McCarthy, who already has the support of the Texas oil interests, is making big strides toward being accepted by the Wall Street interests as well. In a few short months he has recorded tremendous progress in his drive to become the first fascist President of the United States.

In Europe the liberal and labor leaders were paralyzed and panicked by the fascists. When Mussolini and Hitler claimed to be protecting their countries from the "menace of Bolshevism," the liberal and labor leaders did not dare to challenge them for fear that they would be accused of aiding and covering up for Bolshevism. When they tried to compete with the fascists by presenting themselves as the truest and best anti-Bolsheviks, they were easily snowed under in the competition and only succeeded in strengthening the fascist slogan about the "menace of Bolshevism."

The European liberal and labor leaders knew that the only way to defeat fascism was by exposing its fraudulent claim on who was menacing democracy. They knew that the only way to bar Mussolini and Hitler from power was to reveal the Big Business connections and aims of the fascists,

and summon the workers to militant struggle on an anti-capitalist program. But such a struggle might end in the abolition of the capitalist system which they, like the fascists, wanted to preserve at all costs, and they feared the independent action of the workers more than they feared the fascists.

Instead of mobilizing the workers, they "fought" fascism by urging the workers to give their support to the reactionary monarch Victor Emmanuel in Italy and to the reactionary militarist Hindenburg in Germany, falsely representing them as dependable opponents of fascism. The outcome, of course, was that the king appointed Mussolini premier and Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor, and the fascist blood-bath began.

Step by step, the American liberals and labor leaders are following in the footprints of their European cousins. They are silent when McCarthy justifies his actions by the lie that the American people are menaced by "communism" — either because they agree with this lie, or because they are afraid of being smeared as "reds" themselves if they expose it. Their occasional whimpering complaints about McCarthy's "bad methods" carry no weight so long as they accept his main thesis. They are afraid to call the workers to action for the same reason as their European counterparts.

No American should ever forget the act of treachery and cowardice committed by the Fair Deal

Democrats on Feb. 2, 1954. It was a preview of how they propose to "fight" McCarthyism in the future. They are capable only of leading the workers into the concentration camps.

Whom should the labor movement rely on if it cannot rely on the liberal Democrats? On itself. And on its allies, those who have the greatest stake in the fight against McCarthyism — the racial and religious minority groups, the poor farmers, the housewives, the young people, the lower middle class.

They, and they alone, will beat down the fascist menace. All they need is a correct program of action and a leadership able and willing to fight for it boldly and intransigently, and the United States will be spared the horrors of fascism.

We repeat the proposals we made last December:

(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!

For other literature and information, visit the local headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party