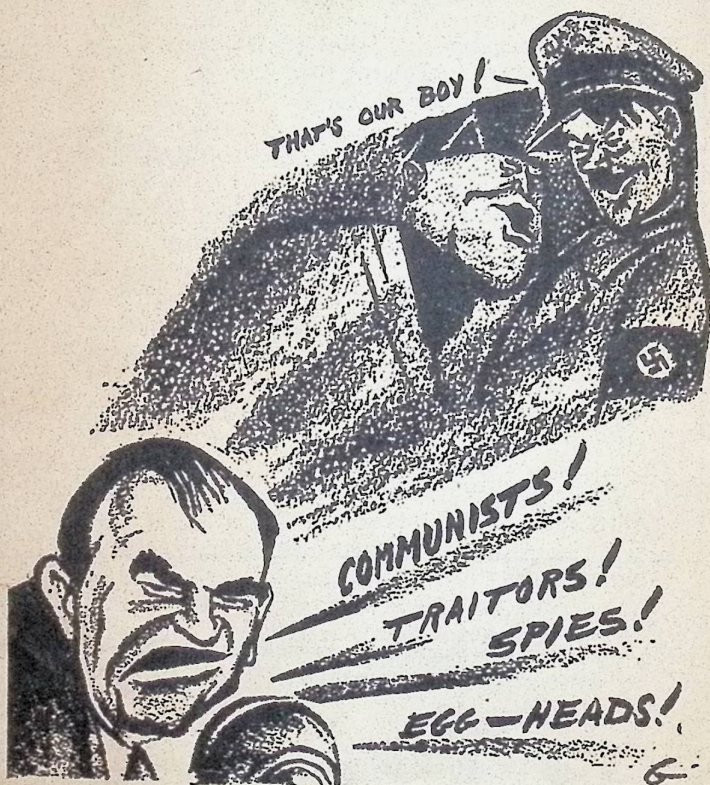


.25 JM

# McCarthyism: American Fascism On The March



Pioneer Publishers

10 cents

PIONEER



PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

Published December 1953

Second Printing, February 1954

## CONTENTS

The Grave Danger of the Fascist Menace .....	3
Statement by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party	
What About the "Communist Menace"? .....	5
<i>An Editorial</i>	
Box Score of the McCarthyite Witch Hunt .....	7
Fascists See Their Biggest Chance Since the 30's .....	8
Life-and-Death Struggle for Negroes and Minority Peoples .....	9
The Men Behind McCarthy .....	10
<i>By Art Preis</i>	
McCarthy's Use of the Hitler Big-Lie Technique .....	13
<i>By Murry Weiss</i>	

The material in this pamphlet is reprinted from the Dec. 7, 1953  
issue of the weekly newspaper **THE MILITANT**

Set Up, Printed and Bound by Union Labor  
in the United States of America





# The Grave Danger Of the Fascist Menace

Statement by the Political Committee  
of the Socialist Workers Party

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 plunged 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 everywhere.

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!*

---

## **What About the "Communist Menace" ?**

### **An Editorial**

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.

---

## Box Score of the McCarthyite Witch Hunt

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, black-listed, 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 stoolpigeons who finger the best 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 Their Biggest Chance Since the 30's

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 gained nation-wide 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.

---

## Life-and-Death Struggle for Negroes and Minority Peoples

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 dur-

ing 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 McCarthy

By Art Preis

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

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 McCarthyism 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. . . ." opined the chief representative of the Vatican in the United States.

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 has repaid this sup-

port 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."

The Catholic hierarchy's support for McCarthy follows the well-known pattern of its relations 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."

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 dictator to the skies. To this very day, as 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 — thorough-going 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 unloosed at the recent hearing on the Harry D. 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?

The fact is that all the reactionary fascist groupings in America are combining around the figure and image of McCarthy. He is being widely talked of among them as a candidate for President in 1956. The Washington staff of the Scripps-Howard newspapers, in its Nov. 7 weekly round-up, reports that the right-wing of the Republican party is divided into two groups, one of which is discussing forming a new party, and the other seeking to "capture GOP machinery." But "both groups talk of running Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy for President in 1956."

Early in November there gathered in Omaha, at a so-called "Freedom Congress," more than 150 organizations of the fascist and professional patriotic variety to join their forces to build a McCarthy fascist wing in the Republican party. The leadership represented such types as Frank Holman, a former American Bar Association president; Brig. Gen. Bonner C. Fellers; Rep. Ralph W. Gwinn; Col. Archibald B. Roosevelt, who acted as chairman; Myran Fagan, a lieutenant of Gerald L. K. Smith; Bill Hendrix of the Florida Ku Klux Klan; Vern P. Kaub of the American Council of Christian Laymen and numerous others of the same stripe.

Fuse all these people, from the "all-white, all Protestant" Ku Klux Klan lynchers to the former Catholic Christian Fronters and Coughlanites, into one homogeneous fascist party behind McCarthy; grease this movement with big money and the support of the Catholic hierarchy, FBI apparatus and the military officer corps — and the fascist juggernaut will be built and ready to crush the American people and their liberties.

# McCarthy's Use of the Hitler Big-Lie Technique

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, rubbed 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 "judgment" from the high throne of his Gestapo power against Truman's interpretation of the White case sent a chill down the nation's spine. But the full meaning of Hoover's "shadow government behind the government" became clear only after McCarthy's speech in which the Wisconsin senator indicated he was bidding to become the Hitler of America. Hoover, the FBI head, then appeared cast in the role of a potential Himmler.

What must be grasped, above

all by the workers, is the fact that after the smoke cleared, the little game of power politics started by Brownell and the Republican high command was overshadowed by something these gentlemen hadn't anticipated. McCarthy emerged, in broad daylight, 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.

## AIMS FOR WHITE HOUSE

Is there any doubt that McCarthy is aiming at the Presidency? Last May, when the liberals voiced alarm over the obvious McCarthy drive for the Presidency in 1956, one of the intellectual theorists of American fascism, James Burnham, wrote an article defending McCarthy's right to the Presidency. Burnham quoted McCarthy as saying diplomatically, "I have no wish or ambition whatsoever to be



President." In American politics this is a customary opening gambit in the game where the White House is the stake.

Burnham, reporting McCarthy's views on Eisenhower, made a subtle play to set up the Wisconsin demagogue as a judge on the record of the Republican President: He is "doing a good job" but only "on the whole." This was last May.

In his radio-TV harangue, McCarthy still grants that Eisenhower is "doing a good job." But the unspoken criticisms of last May have now taken on substantial form: "Our (Republican) batting average has not been too good. . . . Let us examine a few cases where we (the Republicans) struck out. . . . Now let us examine the failure of my party." All this ends with a challenge: "Now what are we going to do about it? Are we going to continue to send perfumed notes, following the style of Truman-Acheson?"

In other words, the position of McCarthy on Eisenhower has shifted a bit. While "on the whole" Eisenhower is doing all right, he is not doing so well on the most important part — fighting the "Communist" menace. Place McCarthy's latest speech in the context of recent right-wing Republican conferences which openly speak of McCarthy for President and which speculate about forming a separate party versus "boring from within the Republican Party," and we can see what the aim of this fascist candidate is: capture of the White House.

"There is no reason on earth," said McCarthy, "why this fight to expose and remove Communists and traitors from positions of power should be a contest between America's two great political parties." No indeed! Not

when there is a strong man, standing above political parties, and uniting all the witch-hunters in one great "bi-partisan" force. And such a force may well be called "bi-partisan" but its real political name is fascism.

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 unmistakable, 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 I shall 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!

#### McCARTHYIZING 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 stool-pigeons, professional red-baiters and strikebreakers, Ku Klux Klanners, lynchers, vigilantes, hooligans 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 Mc-

Carthy. 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 demagogue 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 filth.