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DRAFT RESOLUTION on the POLITICAL SITUATION IN AMERICA

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DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN AMERICA

Since the defeat of MacArthur's armies at the Yalu river, the most important development in world politics has been the rise in the United States of the fascist movement headed by McCarthy. If this movement succeeds in taking power and smashing the American labor movement, it will signify the eclipse of civilization, for the outbreak of World War III-- an inter-continental war waged with atomic weapons -- would not then be long delayed. In such a war even humanity itself might suffer annihilation. If on the other hand the working class mobilizes to put a halt to McCarthyism, the momentum of their effort would place on the order of the day the victory of a Workers and Farmers Government in America. That would signify the end of McCarthyism and along with it international capitalism and all its horrors. It would mean the opening of the planned economy of socialism on a world-wide scale. The struggle against McCarthyism thus is of decisive significance for the entire world.

The main source of the strength of McCarthyism derives from the unfavorable position in which American capitalism finds itself internationally. To understand the rise of McCarthyism we must understand first of all the decline of American power on a world scale.

America's International Position

Twenty years ago, Leon Trotsky in forecasting the outbreak of World War II explained what impelled Germany and the United States upon the road of war: "For Germany it was a question of 'organizing' Europe. For the United States it is a question of 'organizing' the world." (War and the Fourth International.) It turned out that Germany came too late upon the scene to succeed. The same can now be said of American imperialism.

Germany, Japan and Italy were smashed in World War II. Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, etc., emerged in such ruined condition that they were able to escape proletarian revolution only thanks to Stalinism and the Social Democracy. Thus capitalist America came out of the war with overwhelming superiority. As a result Wall Street has been able to enforce its will in the main on both its defeated foes and its ruined allies. But by incorporating these powers in its structure and moving its border in effect to the frontiers of Eastern Germany and North Korea, the U.S. included in its foundations all the weaknesses of capitalism as a world organism. Its absolute strength is therefore undermined. At the height of its superiority it finds gangrene setting in at its extremities.

At the close of World War II, American imperialism turned to the job of settling accounts with the Soviet Union. But the accomplishment of this objective has been delayed by a whole series of major events. First of all, the victorious American armies disintegrated as they and their folks at home decided it was time for them to "come home." Secondly, the cooperation of the Stalinists was needed to head off the revolutionary upsurge in Europe which was close to taking power in a number of countries. This called for deferment of the attack on the Soviet Union.

The victory of the Soviet Union in the war had profound revolutionary repercussions. Thanks to the planned economy, the USSR

recovered from the devastation of the war at phenomenal speed, emerging as the second power in the world. Along with this, the greatest series of colonial uprisings since the establishment of the capitalist empires, drastically weakened the position of the metropolitan centers. China, the great prize of World War II, smashed the imperialist grip and emerged as a new factor of immense potential weight in world politics. The revolutionary upsurge of the European workers has been contained but not crushed. The pressure of the workers on the European bourgeoisie translates into resistance to the unlimited dictation of Wall Street. The breaking of the American monopoly on atomic weapons further altered the relation of forces in disfavor of Washington. The weakened position of world capitalism was graphically demonstrated by the setbacks suffered in Korea and in Indochina.

Thus although the United States has reached the pinnacle of its power in an absolute sense and scored a number of counter-revolutionary successes -- thanks primarily to the treacherous role of the Social Democracy and of Stalinism -- nevertheless, in relation to the Soviet bloc and the colonial areas as a whole, it has suffered a decline.

The main consequence of this development, which was wholly unexpected to Wall Street, has been the continual deferment of World War III. At present a stalemate exists, which the Kremlin covers and paints up with its slogan of "peaceful coexistence" while Eisenhower responds in kind with his slogan of "modus vivendi." In recognition of the new balance of power, Washington and Moscow have been moving since the truce in Korea toward a temporary deal, a possibility that we foresaw even before the outbreak of the "cold war."

Such a deal, which is not likely to be a formal one, would not eliminate the jockeying for position which has been going on since the end of World War II. This would continue despite the lessening of tension that both Moscow and Washington desire at present. Only in connection with the suppression of revolutionary forces would these opponents see eye to eye and offer genuine cooperation in maintaining the status quo.

Nor would the deal block the drive of American imperialism toward another war. First of all it is under economic compulsion to open up the Soviet bloc to capitalist investment and exploitation. Secondly, it feels that the mere existence of planned economy -- despite anything the Stalinist bureaucracy may offer in partial concessions -- constitutes a standing challenge. From the imperialist viewpoint, to acquiesce in continuation of the status quo would mean eventually the spread of nationalized economy to new areas. The freedom of planned economy from depressions constitutes still another threat, for it stands as a contrast to the instability of capitalism in the eyes of the masses. Thus mere maintenance of the status quo means an economic race in which American imperialism clearly understands it is at a disadvantage in the long run. Hence the fear of the Soviet Union in the minds of America's rulers.

These considerations lead to the inescapable conclusion that American imperialism will continue its present course toward the rearmament of Germany and Japan, the stabilization of its military

bases abroad, the consolidation of its grip on the Western Hemisphere and the securing of its home base by chaining the labor movement hand and foot.

Nor would the deal succeed in blocking new revolutionary upsurges and colonial uprisings. The great strike wave in Germany in August 1954, following the general strike in France and the East German uprising in 1953, are only harbingers of what can be expected to happen in Europe. And new volcanic eruptions such as occurred in China in the post-war period can be expected to again shake that vast belt circling the globe from the Philippines, around the coast of Asia, across Africa to the Andes. This means continual upsetting of the equilibrium, continual alarms, the rushing of counter-revolutionary brigades to put out conflagrations, the deeper and deeper involvement of the United States in the revolutionary process that world capitalism itself is generating.

The worsened position of America on the international scene has given a qualitatively different sense of insecurity to the people, particularly the middle classes, from that felt in previous periods of crisis. An essential ingredient of the preparations for war is psychologizing the masses. This has been going on since 1946. (In reality since 1917, with a muting of the anti-Soviet propaganda just before and during the World War II alliance.) But the continual postponement of the war underscores Wall Street's weakness, therefore arousing fresh doubts and uncertainty about the country's leadership. In addition there is utter lack of faith in the perspective of imperialist war, a consequence of the disappointment and disillusion following two world wars. Binding these doubts together is the dread of what an atomic conflict might mean. Yet there is no escape except war, to believe the capitalist propagandists, for America, they claim, is being hemmed in and subject to attack by an advancing, fanatical enemy who is so powerful and adroit that he has honeycombed the whole country with spies. Thus the psychological conditions have become ripe for the fascist explanation of how the foe succeeded in getting the "secret" of the bomb, how "we lost China," and why America -- which never lost a war up to now -- has become so weak it can't win even in Korea. The conditions are also ripe for the fascist leader who offers a sure-fire cure. This is the setting in which McCarthy, the would-be Super Hitler, has appeared with his demagogy about "20 years of treason."

Precisely when the Stalinists with their class-collaborationist line shout the loudest about a real possibility for "peaceful coexistence" between capitalism and the planned economy of the Soviet Union, capitalism in its death agony advances a new terrible figure from its chamber of horrors, a figure that promises to overcome all obstacles and definitively settle accounts with "communism"; that is, organize and lead imperialist America in conquering the world as Hitler organized and led Germany in conquering Europe.

The Threat of Depression

The world crisis of American imperialism tends continually to become converted into a domestic crisis. This is evident at the most fundamental level, the economy itself, as well as in the political sphere.

Since 1946 American economy has teetered precariously between two tendencies: deflation and inflation. The threat of economic crash is met by armaments expenditures that stave off the day of reckoning. The steep decline of 1949, for instance, was overcome primarily by plunging into the Korean civil war. This demonstrated that mere preparation for war has become insufficient to prop up production and employment. Only expenditures on the scale required by war itself can overcome the tendency to slide into depression.

After the Korean truce, the economy at once began to decline. At the beginning of the year unemployment started mounting and has now reached well above 5,000,000. A large section of the working class is on part-time work. An even larger section has been deprived of the overtime needed to maintain the standard of living of most working-class families. The declines in steel, auto, textile, coal and other industries are much steeper than in 1949.

The recession has struck most heavily at the less privileged layers of the working class -- the Negroes and other minorities who were hired last, the youth without long seniority. Working women are being forced out of their jobs even where they hold seniority.

This economic slump, which is deeper and more ominous than any America has suffered since the end of World War II, indicates in faint outline what the consequences of a major depression will be.

The capitalist class shows mixed reactions. Much of the self confidence of the propagandists who proclaim eternal prosperity as a unique characteristic of American capitalist economy has been knocked out. Pessimism and gloom grip a large section of the capitalists most deeply affected.

At the same time, the capitalist class is eagerly seizing on the recession to mount an attack against the labor movement. The first demands have been raised for wage cuts or an end to bargaining relations with unions. The drive for anti-labor legislation has been stepped up, tending to fuse directly with witch-hunt measures.

This situation was foreseen in the resolution of the May 1953 plenum meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party: "Even a minor shakedown would permit the employers, sure of support from government agencies, to take the offensive against the unions, tighten the screws upon the personnel in factories and offices, further hack away at union conditions and organizations and increase the speedup. The monopolists will seize the chance to try to pound the powerful labor movement in submissiveness and regiment it still more for the next phases of their war-drive." (Major Developments Since Eisenhower's Election.)

The official attitude of the administration is that "everything is going according to schedule." They refuse to meet with the heads of the labor movement to consider the unemployment situation and they postpone from month to month any drastic measures to halt the unemployment trend. Evidence mounts that Big Business, which now rules directly through the Eisenhower administration, is disposed to favor a "limited economic shakedown" and to utilize it as a battering ram against the labor movement.

While the current economic recession can become the starting point for a major economic decline, it must not be identified with such a decline. The fact is that a big section of the population is still riding the unprecedented economic boom that began with the entrance of America into World War II.

This is particularly true of the wide petty-bourgeois level, including layers of the working class, that has been enjoying a hitherto unknown standard of living. Millions of families that were on relief rolls in the depression, now own farms, homes, automobiles, TV sets, etc. None of them are cushioned against the effect of a major depression and live in dread of losing what they have gained. The fear of another economic catastrophe like that of 1929-39 has already proved sufficient to convert them into a vast recruiting ground for fascism. It is there that McCarthy finds his main base of support. His demagogic explanation of what is troubling America sounds plausible to them. More important, he appears to them as a fighting crusader, willing to carry his program through to the end.

The farmers began indicating their uneasiness by the volatile character of their vote in 1948 and in 1952. The war prosperity that came to them after a quarter of a century of stagnation and poverty, aroused them to profit while they could. They expanded, mechanized their farms, and modernized their homes. Television helped end their isolation and pull them into the main stream of the country's political life. The repeated indications of the unstable character of the economy and its wobbling on the edge of depression -- manifest in the past two years in a decline of 20% in farm income -- has thoroughly alarmed them. This, added to their bitter anti-war sentiments, has prepared them to break out of the traditional two-party set-up.

As they have shown before, the American farmers are inclined to radical solutions in times of stress. If the labor movement fails to bring forward a positive and dynamic program pointing to the genuine road out of the economic crisis, it is certain that under the impact of a major crash, the majority of this important sector of American society would turn to McCarthy, or at least acquiesce in giving him a try.

Thus we find that the decline of prosperity, like the relative decline of America's world power, tends to bring fascism to the fore, investing it with far greater danger than in the years preceding World War II when it first arose as a native American phenomenon.

The Political Crisis

Symmetrical to the weakening of its international position, American capitalism has become increasingly malignant in its domestic politics. With the opening of the "cold war" in 1946 under Truman, American imperialism became the chief organizer of the world counter-revolution. It is not possible to revive, bolster and sustain every reactionary force abroad, from the Japanese Mikado, Chiang Kai-shek, and Syngman Rhee in Asia to the former Nazis, Franco and the Vatican in Europe, without affecting the ideology of the home front. The anti-democratic views and moral corruption of these allies tend to become fashionable in America -- all the more so in view of the losses abroad and the appearance of fresh obstacles requiring further postponement of war. The rantings of a Chiang Kai-shek or Syngman

Rhee on the need for a supreme effort to reduce the anti-capitalist countries to an open arena for imperialist exploitation strike a responsive chord. Their views become a factor in American politics.

And while organizing counter-revolution abroad, Big Business at home opened a reactionary drive to prepare the domestic front for World War III. American imperialism had sufficient resources in World War II to buy off the labor bureaucracy and a section of the working class, thereby blunting the opposition to war and gaining effective allies in keeping it under control. These resources are now gone. The sacrifices that would be demanded of the workers in the projected atomic conflict are of an order qualitatively different from anything demanded of the workers in the past. The ruling class does not count on buying off this opposition or seriously expect that the labor bureaucracy can contain it. Consequently they are resorting more and more to the club.

The unions are marked as the major objective, but the dollar plutocracy is not so stupid as to begin with a head-on struggle against such a force. Their strategy is "one at a time." They have carefully singled out unpopular victims to whose defense the labor movement would be least likely to rally, and given them the works first. At the same time they have moved step by step to construct a police state capable of strangling all democratic institutions and traditions and transforming the trade unions into an integral part of the police-state apparatus. The norm of democracy in America is thus disintegrating. The disintegration has gone so far that for the first time in American history a political party has been outlawed.

The beginnings of the witch hunt can be traced back to 1940 when Roosevelt signed the Smith "Gag" Act and personally gave the word to persecute the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Local 544 of the Teamsters. However, the need to appear as champions of democracy in the war, coupled with the support that both the labor bureaucrats and Stalinists gave the war, caused the Roosevelt administration to defer a wide-scale witch hunt.

With the fall of Japan, a new chapter opened. The administration sought to begin its drive against the labor movement by driving a wedge into it, inspiring certain labor leaders to carry the ball first.

An attempt was made as early as 1945 to use the AFL as a bludgeon against the "Communistic CIO." This was short-lived. John L. Lewis, who appeared to be spearheading this maneuver, came into conflict with the government and the rest of the AFL bureaucracy. But it was sufficient to open the witch hunt in a most important area -- the unions themselves.

The Murray leadership of the CIO responded by opening a preventive witch hunt of its own in the CIO. The Stalinist trade union leaders cooperated with Murray in this in the early stages, hoping to salvage their posts and positions by going along with the relatively mild edicts of the Buffalo CIO convention in 1946 ending the autonomy of the CIO councils.

But with this infringement on trade-union democracy, the sluice gates were opened. The inner CIO witch hunt gained momentum, finally engulfing every union and resulting in the expulsion of the Stalinist-dominated internationals.

The witch hunt became the main political instrument in the drive against the democratic form of government. This was accompanied by administrative orders and a wave of federal and local anti-labor legislation beginning with the Taft-Hartley Act in 1946, all of which was aimed at shackling the unions and reducing the Bill of Rights to a scrap of paper.

In the country as a whole, Truman's so-called "loyalty" order of 1947 -- the domestic parallel to the launching of the "cold war" abroad -- gave enormous impetus to the witch hunt. From the government, the hunt for "reds" spread to the waterfront and to industries engaged in production of war materials, and from there to industry as a whole. The purge swept Hollywood, radio, TV, the schools and the churches. The government bureaucracy itself became a major hunting ground as the hysteria over the "red" danger charged the national atmosphere.

But a witch hunt has a logic of its own. It can be kept going only by providing fresh sensations, each more startling than the last. Otherwise it tends to die down. Since the witch hunt is an essential element of the drive to psychologize the people for war and for smashing the unions, Big Business cannot permit it to die down. And so the fresh sensations are provided. America is even given the electrocution of "spies."

At a certain point, however, the fantastic premises of the witch hunt begin to appear to be true, especially to a nervous middle class. A desire thereupon arises in this section of the population for a drastic solution to the obsessing fear. Each new sensation, proving the "correctness" of the new outlook on reality, deepens this need. The witch hunt thus becomes ready for a qualitative change. Or to put it in different terms, the witch hunt becomes ready for division, the birth of something new.

In 1950 the first major signs of a qualitatively different kind of witch hunt appeared when Senator McCarthy made his notorious speech at the Wheeling, West Virginia, Republican Womens Club attacking the U.S. State Department for softness over "Communist infiltration." The appearance of the obscure Wisconsin demagogue on the national scene was noted by us at the time as the possible beginning of a "super witch hunt." The atmosphere in which the speech was delivered was "made to order," we said, "for the rise of a fascist movement that can quickly overtake traditional politics in the United States."

Since that time the witch-hunt drive has shown increasing signs of splitting into two fundamental segments -- the witch hunt of the capitalist regime as such which develops organically so to speak from the old structure of bourgeois democracy towards a police state, and the witch hunt led by McCarthy that has as its fundamental aim replacing the bourgeois democratic structure with a fascist regime founded on the destruction of the old democratic institutions and above all the destruction of the trade unions as independent working-class organizations.

In November 1953 this development was dramatically projected on the national arena when McCarthy in a radio-TV speech answered ex-president Harry Truman. Brownell's smear of Truman as the protector of Harry Dexter White, an alleged Russian agent occupying a high government position, had been properly characterized by Truman as "McCarthyism." After Truman's rebuttal, McCarthy took over, hurling his challenge November 24 at both the Democrats and Eisenhower Republicans and clearly delineating the independent fascist course of his faction for the 1954 elections.

These fireworks illuminated the whole national political scene, showing the emergence of a fascist nucleus in the administration and in the Republican Party and the crystallization of an incipient fascist movement in the United States.

As McCarthy predicted at the time, "communism," or to speak more accurately, the formidable growth of his fascist movement, became the key issue in the 1954 elections. The development of McCarthyism has placed a question mark over the continued existence of every democratic institution in America, including not only the unions, but all political parties outside of McCarthy's faction. The death agony of the capitalist system, having caught up with the United States, finds its symptoms most glaringly displayed in the form of an acute political crisis from which no one, Republicans, Democrats, labor bureaucrats or any one else can escape. McCarthy is forcing America to confront its great historical alternative -- fascism or socialism.

Our Analysis of McCarthyism

In response to the emergence of McCarthyism in November 1953 as a dominant issue in American politics, the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party developed an analysis and program of action for struggle against this fascist menace. The main points of the analysis are as follows:

The election of Eisenhower was a result of the prolonged refusal of the labor bureaucracy to lead the working class on to the road of independent political action and -- in the absence of any political threat from the labor bureaucracy -- the determination of Big Business to take direct control of the government apparatus. The victory of the Republican Party opened a new stage in the political development of the United States. Breaking the 20-year coalition between the labor bureaucracy and the capitalist state cultivated under Roosevelt and Truman, it ended the equilibrium that had been achieved. All the reactionary, anti-labor tendencies in the country were enormously accelerated.

The coalition, the aim of which was to tie the labor bureaucrats -- and through them the trade unions -- to the state, was different from similar coalitions in Europe. The workers had no mass political organization of their own, and the labor bureaucrats were granted no government posts. This peculiar feature of the American version of coalitionism (or "Peoples Frontism") underlined the contradiction between the enormous potential strength of the unions and the feeble political weight of the labor bureaucracy in the structure of capitalist politics. The very weakness of the labor

bureaucracy made more certain their docility as junior partners and tied them all the tighter to the state, occasional protests notwithstanding.

The political neutralization of the American working class by this process permitted the swing toward capitalist reaction to gain extraordinary momentum and weight. The point was quickly reached where the "coalition" itself could be dispensed with. And in turn the end of the coalition further accelerated the speed and depth of capitalist reaction.

The end of the coalition did not halt the efforts of Big Business to integrate the unions into the state apparatus. It simply changed the form. Whereas under Roosevelt and Truman it proceeded by and large through agreement and acquiescence of the union heads, under Eisenhower the tendency has been to utilize repressive anti-labor legislation and intimidation of the union bureaucrats. This meant fresh acceleration of all the reactionary, anti-labor tendencies in the country.

New impetus was given the witch hunt; and, in moving toward a new equilibrium of class forces, the most favorable conditions were established for the growth of a fascist wing within the Republican Party.

As a product of the witch hunt, McCarthyism continues to set the pace for the hysteria, but it is more than a witch-hunting excrescence of the capitalist state apparatus. It is a native American fascist movement in the early stages of formation. Having stepped out on the political arena as the murderous foe of the working class, it will not be subdued or contained by the old capitalist parties, even though they take fright, or by the well-meaning liberals or by any other force except the working class itself.

The mass base of McCarthyism is found principally in the middle class but also extends into sections of misguided, backward workers, many of them not organized in unions, segments of the extreme right-wing elements in mass production plants, declassed elements and bourgeois-minded student youth.

The McCarthyites have attracted a fringe of intellectual "theorists" and apologists. This is indicative of the depth of the crisis in the petty-bourgeois intellectual circles. From among the renegades of Marxism as well as from the ranks of the young bourgeois intellectuals, a cadre of fascist publicists and brain trusters is being selected.

The framework of a national fascist organization has already formed around McCarthy. All the fascist groups that flourished in previous periods but could never find a major national leader or focal point have rallied to McCarthy's banner. The Gerald L.K. Smith movement, the Coughlinites, the Christian Fronters, the Ku Klux Klan, the Minute Women, sections of the veterans organizations, vigilante groups, herds of professional scabs, sections of the underworld and the like are now linked by common devotion to the would-be American Hitler, Senator Joseph McCarthy.

The evidence is considerable that McCarthy has wide support among the police, particularly in the larger cities. And of course the sheriffs and deputies of the lynch-ridden South and South West are natural allies of the rising McCarthyite movement.

In the legislative branch of the government, McCarthy has about 15 Senators, including Jenner, Mundt, Dirksen and Butler. These are not necessarily fascist politicians. Some are merely reactionaries playing McCarthy's game for the moment. But they help further the fascist movement and constitute a strong segment of the apparatus at McCarthy's command.

In the executive department, McCarthy's influence is extensive. The Army-McCarthy hearings revealed to what lengths the professional military caste are prepared to go in conciliating the fascist Senator and cooperating with his aims. Even more illuminating is the growing encroachment of McCarthy's lieutenant Scott McLeod in the State Department. This fascist has set up a super-secret police apparatus that acts as a rival administrative command to Dulles himself.

On the financial side, McCarthy is supported by a group of fabulously wealthy oil tycoons of Texas. This is one of the most ominous signs of the growing power of the fascist movement. This section of the capitalist class not only supplies vast monetary resources, it constitutes a point of contact with other capitalists who can be recruited as backers of McCarthy. While they are a relatively new sector of Big Business and far from the decisive power in the capitalist class, their power is growing and they constitute the initial recruits for fascism in America's ruling class.

All attempts of the Democrats and Republicans to curb, crush, outflank or brush aside McCarthy have ended in fiasco. The Army-McCarthy hearings, for instance, which resulted from the need of the Eisenhower administration to draw a line on the encroachments of McCarthy's independent power, cost nothing more to the fascist demagogue than the sacrifice of his Jewish Democratic attorney as a scapegoat.

On the other hand, the hearings counted as combat experience for McCarthy's mass following. All evidence shows that the basic core became hardened and drew more closely around the banner of the fascist demagogue. It is true that some marginal supporters were repelled by the crudity of McCarthy's conduct. But the idea that this constituted a major setback for the fascist movement is nothing short of insane. The rise of Hitler likewise had its passionate division of the middle class for and against, with innumerable shifts and upsets. As a matter of fact, the very posing in the hearings of the question "for or against McCarthy?" constituted a major advance for American fascism. Moreover, the hearings brought into focus for millions the indispensable personal symbolism of the leader in the national political arena. There it will stay until the working class settles the issue definitively.

The struggle that broke into the open at the Army-McCarthy hearings showed most clearly that McCarthy's movement is not just another political clique that can be disposed of by the capitalist

machine politicians once it transcends the limits of what is permissible in the code of bourgeois democratic politics. It is a new type of machine with independent power resting on a mass base of its own.

The hearings revealed both the depth of the cleavage between the two wings of the capitalist witch hunters and the inability of the Eisenhower Republican and Democratic opponents of McCarthy to really smash the fascist's power. The basic reason for this impotence is that while an intolerable antagonism exists between the bourgeois state in its democratic form (even though it has been considerably modified in the direction of reaction) and the fascist form, nevertheless in the period of the death agony of capitalism, the bourgeois democratic government itself prepares the ground, sows the seed, cultivates and nourishes the development of fascism. The working class alone can cut this development short and save America from the catastrophe of a fascist dictatorship. But for this the workers must take power and extend democracy into the heart of industry on the basis of the socialist reconstruction of American society.

McCarthy's role as the architect of an American fascist movement is perhaps nowhere more vividly manifested than in his use of the blackmail technique. Blackmail is a favorite weapon of fascist demagogues. McCarthy who has studied Mein Kampf very carefully, has taken a cue from Hitler, who was also able to make powerful use of the corruption that flourishes among democratic capitalist politicians in order to make them play the Nazi game in critical situations.

Like Hitler's charge of "14 years of shame and treason," McCarthy's charge of "20 or 21 years of treason," which he levels against the Democrats and somewhat more carefully but nevertheless plainly against Eisenhower, is the pivot of fascist demagogy. The treason charge marks the boundary between the official witch hunt and its unofficial fascist offspring. In a sense it constitutes the witch hunting of the witch hunters. While the official witch hunters boast about having crushed the domestic "communist menace," although continuing to whip up the hysteria over an alleged communist menace abroad, the McCarthyites charge that the U.S. government has been infested with conscious and unconscious Russian agents for two decades and more. They claim that the highest military circles deliberately handed half of Germany and all of China to Moscow. They claim that the government is still honey-combed with spies and traitors.

The treason charge provides the peg for two further points that are crucial to the development of fascism. First, it is the basis for full fledged social demagogy as the crisis deepens. It already appeals to the disoriented and disturbed layers of the middle class, since all their woes, anxieties, fears, economic troubles, can be blamed on treasonous conspirators who sold America out to the Russians. It gives McCarthy the basis to parade before the people as their tribune and the avenger of the wrongs done them.

Second, the treason charge offers a convenient formula for taking power. As the fascists gain in strength they can step up the hysteria over this accusation. Use of the treason formula along this line

was already apparent in the Army-McCarthy hearings. McCarthy called on the officers and government functionaries to funnel confidential information to him on anything involving "security." As the outraged McCarthy opponents pointed out, he asked these officials and civil service employes to violate their oath of office. McCarthy's reply was simple. The oath of office can be observed in essence only by violating its form because of the treasonous conduct of government heads due to laxity, stupidity...or worse. This appeal for recruits was undoubtedly effective among careerists and those with fascist inclinations.

The unity of the developing fascist movement and the official witch hunters is revealed basically in their common defense and advocacy of capitalism. More immediately their unity is revealed in common agreement on the witch-hunting formula: that is, that a "communist menace" exists and that it must be cut out root and branch. Their difference is expressed in disagreement over how this is to be achieved. The official witch hunters give lip service to democratic and parliamentary forms; the fascists advocate rougher methods. Thus a rivalry exists in the witch-hunting field between the Eisenhower-Truman wing and the McCarthyites. Since the McCarthy wing does not hold power, while police-state legislation has been actually passed, first under Truman then under Eisenhower, it may seem that the greatest danger to democratic rights and civil liberties comes from the old-line political machines. This conclusion, however, is a mistake.

In the rivalry for preeminence in the witch-hunting field, the fascist tendency is the final winner. Truman's witch hunting, for example, turned out to be simply preparation for the ascendancy of Brownellism which did not hesitate to turn the witch-hunting guns on Truman himself. Brownellism likewise simply prepares for the ascendancy of McCarthy. All the witch hunting of the Eisenhower regime has not saved Eisenhower himself from becoming McCarthy's target. In fact Eisenhower's witch hunting constituted essential preparation for his own victimization.

The mechanics of this process is quite simple. Having conceded McCarthy's basic formula of the "communist menace," the official witch hunters are caught in a dilemma. If they do not step up the witch hunt, if they fail to continue to load the statutes with police-state measures, they are obviously being "soft on communism." McCarthy is the gainer. On the other hand, if they become more rabid and enact new savagely anti-democratic laws, they confirm McCarthy's basic formula and thereby enhance his prestige. To attack him then gives him the aura of a martyr. Doing McCarthy's work does not weaken him, it strengthens his entire position. The history of Hitler's rise in Germany is especially rich in lessons in this ABC of politics.

To think that Brownellism is a graver menace than McCarthyism is to grossly underestimate what would happen in America with McCarthy in the White House. This does not mean that Brownellism must be taken as a "lesser evil" than McCarthyism; the whole point is that McCarthyism must be fought by undertaking to oust both Republicans and Democrats from office and replacing them by a Workers and Farmers Government.

The cleavage between what has been most recently called "Brownellism," after Eisenhower's attorney general, and McCarthyism, is a cleavage between the Bonapartist and fascist tendencies that have appeared on the American political scene. Just as we characterize McCarthyism as incipient fascism, so we must designate the drift toward police statism in the ruling structure of American capitalism as budding Bonapartism.

In his analysis of the political situation in Germany immediately before Hitler took power, Trotsky characterized Bonapartism, or the "caricature of Bonapartism," as "a regime of military-police dictatorship." He defined the conditions for the rise of Bonapartism in the epoch of capitalist decline as follows:

"As soon as the struggle of the two social strata -- the haves and the have-nots, the exploiter and the exploited -- reaches its highest tension, the conditions are given for the domination of bureaucracy, police, soldiery. . . . To be sure, such a government does not cease being a clerk of the property owners." (The Only Road, p. 13-14.)

Trotsky distinguished between the Bonapartism of the immediate pre-fascist period and a relatively stable Bonapartism of capitalist rule as follows:

"The Bonapartist regime can attain a comparatively stable and durable character only in the event that it brings a revolutionary epoch to a close; when the relationship of forces has already been tested in battles; when the revolutionary classes are already spent; while the possessing classes have not yet freed themselves from the fear: will not the morrow bring new convulsions? Without this basic condition, that is, without a preceding exhaustion of mass energies in battles, the Bonapartist regime is in no position to develop."

Elements of Bonapartism in the capitalist government have been growing in the United States since the emergence of the American working class as a colossal power in the Thirties. With the appearance of industrial unions, the United States became a house divided. Every major pulsation of the working-class struggle has tended to pose the question of who will be master. Every struggle, no matter how restricted its initial form, has tended to become a show-down struggle between the two powerful antagonists, American capitalism and the working class.

Under these conditions Bonapartist tendencies became quite marked. Roosevelt's infamous formula: "A plague on both your houses" during the Little Steel strike of 1937 when the workers were hit by a strike-breaking assault (Mohawk Valley Formula) was an expression of precisely this tendency.

During the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, the tendency toward Bonapartism -- in particular American forms -- can be traced in the feverish growth of the central state apparatus, the increased power of the military brass, the emergence of the secret political police (FBI) as a major independent entity within the government, the increase of the President's "emergency" powers (even to commit the country to war as in the Korean "police action"), and finally in the officially sponsored nation-wide witch hunt.

The partiality of the American capitalists for "Brownellism" at present, and their current hostility toward the "path of McCarthy" is shown by their yearning for an "economical road to fascism," or, as Trotsky characterized the Bonapartist policy of the French bourgeoisie in the pre-World War II period, "fascism on the cheap."

In our definitions of both McCarthyism and Bonapartism, where we draw heavily on the European experience, it is necessary to guard due proportions. What we have is an anticipatory mobilization of the political forces threatening to atomize the American proletariat. These forces show a marked maturity even before the full consequences of the social crisis have appeared in the United States. The maturing of the tendency toward a "preventive" reactionary settlement with the working class stems, as we have indicated, from the desperate position of American capitalism in the world arena on the one hand, and on the other from the labor bureaucracy's strangulation of the independent class movement of the workers.

Perspective of American Fascism

We say that American fascism is "incipient." By that we do not intend to minimize the danger. The fascist movement always remains incipient until a major default by the working class in one or more revolutionary situations permits the fascist movement to develop into a more advanced form. This occurs when successive defaults alienate the middle class to such extent that the fascist demagogue can mobilize the ruined and crazed section into effective shock brigades for a counter-revolutionary civil war against the working class.

McCarthyism has not reached that stage and there is every reason to believe that the American working class can be mobilized to crush it before it ever reaches that stage. But there are a number of features about American fascism that are different from its European forerunners. That such a formidable mobilization of the fascists has already taken place before the social crisis of American capitalism has led to the mass radicalization of the working class as a polarizing center for the middle class, is a fact that must be assessed and understood.

The powerful initial flush of American fascism stems from the weakened world position of the United States. The reflex of the ruling class, transmitted through a witch hunt of unprecedented scope, intensity and duration, has served to channelize the deep disturbances in the middle class in the direction of McCarthyism. This is one of the consequences of a default in leadership by the American working class due to the paralyzing role of the labor bureaucracy. After the rise of the CIO the bureaucrats managed to block formation of an independent Labor Party that would have attracted the middle classes. During World War II, they supported Roosevelt and his war policy, once more refusing to take the road that could have attracted a middle class that was uneasy over the slaughter and its consequences. Finally, in the Korean experience, the labor bureaucrats again supported Truman and the war-mongers in the teeth of mass opposition to the adventure, not only among the workers but among the middle class, primarily the farmers. These successive defaults of leadership made possible the present turn toward McCarthyism by considerable sections

of the middle class who find no other means, in the absence of working-class leadership, from expressing their discontent and nervousness.

Thus taking the political scene as a whole, the mass character of McCarthy's following in a certain sense constitutes an anticipatory counter-formation to the coming radicalization of the working class, a radicalization that can be expected to take explosive forms.

With a sharp upsurge of radicalism among the workers this initial advantage enjoyed by American fascism can be rapidly reversed. The McCarthyites would become isolated. The greatest danger then would be the wave of illusion, assiduously nurtured by the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats, that fascism had been defeated and that a new coalition with the liberal capitalists would bar its resurgence.

What about a different variant; namely, a "cold" victory for the fascists? If McCarthy, for instance, captures control of the Republican Party and becomes its presidential candidate, say in 1956, would this open the possibility for a fascist regime to come to power? Would this mean that the working class had been denied its historic opportunity to establish a Workers and Farmers Government?

It is not excluded that McCarthy and those around him can be absorbed by the Republican machine. If they do so merely as individuals then we would have witnessed the dissolution of a group of leaders of incipient fascism into the basic bourgeois democratic political machine which has more and more tended to set up a bonapartist police-state regime characterized by the enormous power of the military and of the secret political police. This type of withdrawal was seen in the case of Mayor Hague, a potential candidate for the role of American Hitler in the late thirties. But if McCarthy follows this course, the role of fascist leader will fall to someone else who will pick up the strings by denouncing McCarthy's "treason and betrayal."

Another possibility is that McCarthy in the White House utilizes this position to mobilize the middle class against the workers and their organizations. This would give him maximum "legal" cover for an all-out fight to consolidate his power and carry out his fascist program. For the working class it would mean a desperate struggle to safeguard the Bill of Rights from subversion by the highest official in the land. The historic opportunity of the working class to put a Workers and Farmers Government in power would then occur in a different form and under more difficult circumstances than if they had mobilized earlier.

At present, however, the tendency of development is along different lines marked by the growing cleavage between the Bonapartist wing and the fascist wing.

A temporary deal with the Soviet Union would deepen this cleavage, as the economic and social crisis in America grew more profound. The outbreak of war, on the other hand, would give the Bonapartist elements, Eisenhower-Brownell, etc., the upper hand and enormously strengthen the trend toward a police state. The distinctive fascist tendencies might even be smothered by such a turn of events. At the next stage, when the hopeless war brought ruin and devastation and frightful suffering, the polarization of the country into a fascist and a revolutionary proletarian camp would proceed with terrific speed.

The Struggle for Workers Power

The struggle against the fascist menace cannot hope to succeed along any road except that of bringing the working class to power.

The dominant section of the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie of the heavy industries and finance, will not do more than delay in turning to the fascist solution for their difficulties. The delay itself arises out of distaste for the overhead costs of fascism and fear over precipitating a struggle that may end in a working-class victory. Both theory and historic experience attest to the fact that all qualms and fears are pushed aside when the economic and social crisis of capitalism reaches profound depths. The American bourgeoisie will not prove different in this from their European cousins. The backing which the Texas oil barons have already provided McCarthy is an anticipation of what is in store.

The liberal capitalists, found primarily in the light industries and among the merchants, will not act much differently. When the chips are down they can be expected to go along, perhaps with greater hesitation and deeper fears. Fortunately, the capitalist class despite its great political weight constitutes only an insignificant minority of the population.

As already indicated, the middle class is incapable of an independent role. In the final analysis it can only back the working class or the capitalists. The problem is to win its allegiance. If the working class mobilizes and gives a convincing demonstration of its readiness to meet the fascist danger head on and open up the political frontier beyond which lies socialism, the middle class can be confidently expected to provide its quota of fighting contingents. This development alone would prove disastrous to the forces of McCarthyism.

The real key to the situation lies with the working class.

For 14 years American capitalism has enjoyed an unprecedented boom. While the bourgeoisie converted the blood of the battlefields of World War II and Korea into the profits of the home front, their prosperity enabled them to grant concessions to the workers that contrast favorably with the preceding period of deep depression and unemployment that rose as high as 20,000,000. The concessions have had a conservatizing effect, particularly among the militants who were in the forefront of the great organizing struggles of the CIO. As Engels said of the skilled workers of Great Britain in the 19th century, a certain "bourgeoisification" has set in -- acceptance of bourgeois standards, a desire to live for the day, a scramble for comforts and conveniences at the expense of great ideals. This mood was powerful enough to even affect a section of the revolutionary vanguard, appearing as a revisionist tendency in the Socialist Workers Party, one that was fortunately defeated in a sharp factional struggle.

There is no doubt that if American capitalism could guarantee an indefinite boom, this conservative mood would deepen and spread throughout the working class. That perspective, however, is excluded. The American capitalists cannot repeat what the British capitalists accomplished in the latter decades of the 19th century.

The fact is that the American workers are far from contented with their lot or satisfied about the future under capitalism. The threat of atomic war and of depression, fear of the witch hunt and anti-labor drive, uneasiness over the rise of McCarthyism, all contribute to keep them on edge.

Their basic readiness to strike out on new paths that promise fundamental change has been well indicated by the wide support of the slogan calling for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. At the first sign of depression the slogan seemed to spring up from the grass roots, particularly in the worst stricken industries like auto. Militant sections of workers mobilized behind this slogan in opposition to the labor bureaucracy whose answer to the unemployment plague is a witch-doctor's brew of ambiguous "plans" like the McDonald-Reuther "guaranteed" annual wage scheme and support for the Democrats.

The opposition of the workers to war was manifest in the widespread criticism of the demand of the Democratic Party for continued involvement in Korea. It was manifest again in the nationwide outcry against plunging America into the French colonial war against the Indochinese when it was proposed by influential figures in the Eisenhower administration last spring.

Among the less skilled layers of the industrial workers the economic slump has induced receptivity to radical ideas. This was noticed by petition circulators of the Socialist Workers Party in Michigan and New York. While most workers were far from prepared to accept the program of the SWP, they indicated their friendliness to the petition circulators and showed serious interest in such action slogans as 30-40.

Even the symptoms of a trend toward the Democratic Party can be taken as a distorted expression of the tendency of workers to react politically to the threat of depression which they now associate with Eisenhower. While the Democratic Party is a blind alley, a shift by the workers to the party that is "out" signifies under these circumstances a desire to protest politically.

But the economic slump has not yet gone deep enough to produce a qualitative change in the mood of the working class as a whole. This is yet to come. The witch hunt is still in the ascendancy. The labor bureaucracy is still unopposed by a left wing of national strength. The working class has not yet moved into the political arena. This summary, of course, must be taken in its entirety with all its contradictions, above all recognition of the molecular processes now working to fundamentally alter the picture.

Attention to the complicated forces shaping the mood of the workers is of enormous importance. A party that claims to be revolutionary but does not watch with keenest attention every indication of what is happening in the working class is worthless. But transcending a particular mood is the objective situation to which the working class must face up sooner or later. This requires its own analysis and the development of a corresponding program that, while connecting with the masses in their current mood, really anticipates and prepares for the eventual upsurge. This task falls to the revolutionary vanguard who are capable of rising above the current mood, resisting adaptation

to it, determining through scientific method what comes next, and fighting for the correct response.

Objectively, the working class has no choice but to take the road of independent political action. Anything else means its destruction in the general collapse of civilization in atomic war. This need is summed up at this stage in the slogan: For an independent Labor Party.

One of the most important means for realizing this slogan in life is the call for a United Conference of Labor on a local and national scale. At every critical turning point the working class will feel the need to mobilize its strength from coast to coast. The idea of unifying the power of American labor at one stroke in the battle with Big Business can become irresistible and sweep the labor movement overnight. Every militant must be alert to skillfully and patiently developing every tendency along this line in anticipation of the sharpest changes in its favor among the masses.

A deepening depression will very likely be the factor that touches off a mass movement in this direction. It will provide the working class with the means to mobilize the whole populace, the youth, the farmers, the minorities and the working women in a fight for an economy of plenty. It will pose almost from the beginning the decisive issue of socialism.

If the workers, on the other hand, fail to develop such a program and struggle for it vigorously and with real determination to win, the door will swing wide for fascist demagogues to peddle their phony nostrums and recruit new sections of the middle class to their movement.

The struggle against McCarthyism must not be conceived as a narrow, specialized struggle exclusively concerned with the passing issues arising from this or that action of the Wisconsin demagogue or his Congressional opponents. The main trouble with all the movements against the witch hunt and McCarthyism -- all the special committees and even the large-scale protests of educators, artists and scientists -- has been the absence of working-class leadership. The struggle against fascism really embraces the class struggle against the capitalists on every front.

For example, the struggle against another imperialist war is identical in essence with the struggle against fascism. The working class must expose the demagogy of the American fascists in opposing "foreign involvement." McCarthy hammers away at the "blood guilt" of the Democrats to whom he ascribes the blame for the loss of American lives in Korea. But behind the deliberately ambiguous and hazy foreign policy advocated by the fascist senator is visible the rabid war-monger who is prepared like Hitler to stake the fate of all humanity on a mad foreign adventure. McCarthy wants to exploit the deep-seated anti-war sentiments of the American people, appealing to the mothers and families of the casualties in order to mobilize a fascist movement.

The McCarthyites can afford to indulge in anti-war demagogy all the more, since their real foreign policy calls for putting the working class under fascist discipline and smashing all democratic insti-

tutions at home preliminary to tackling the basic tasks of American imperialism abroad.

The working class must meet the fascist "anti-war" demagogy with a program of genuine struggle against the war-makers and their system. The workers must elaborate a program to show the people of America that labor in power would end the cold war and the provocations and the threat of atomic destruction. Labor in power would offer its hand in cooperation to the workers and peasants of the world, end imperialism forever and establish the socialist fellowship of mankind living in peace.

In combatting the fascist machine McCarthy is busily constructing, the workers must pay special attention to the fascist effort to establish a secret, conspiratorial clique of officers in the military caste. Against Eisenhower, who has not taken a single serious step to counter this menacing operation, the workers must press for democracy in the armed forces, depriving McCarthyites and potential McCarthyites from exercising life and death power over the rank and file. The unions particularly should refuse to tolerate organization of a secret network of officers armed with power to mobilize the military for anti-labor purposes.

* * *

The struggle against McCarthyism is the most serious issue that has as yet faced the American working class. It involves the fate of the unions and the lives of tens of millions of workers and their families. Even more, it involves the fate of America and the fate of all humanity. In such a great struggle with such far-reaching implications it is necessary for the workers to rise to their full stature. This means that the world outlook of the working class must transcend the issues that have hitherto occupied its main attention. In combatting McCarthyism, the American workers represent the long-range interests of the country as a whole and of all mankind. It is necessary right now to begin thinking in those terms. The rising capitalist class led mankind out of feudalism. Now it is the turn of the working class to lead mankind out of capitalism into the superior order of socialism.

The workers must take a vital interest in those sections of the population that extend beyond the working class in and of itself. The struggle against fascism requires the mobilization of the minorities, the women and the youth. Their special interests must therefore receive attention in the anti-fascist program.

The minorities, particularly the Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican and Jewish people will be the main targets and victims of a fascist victory in the United States along with the trade unions. The fight against discrimination and segregation and for full equality thus becomes an integral part of the fight against fascism.

The Negroes feel most keenly the whip of unemployment as a threat to all the economic gains they have made during the past years. The economic slump has given fresh impetus to their struggle for political representation and for effective Fair Employment Practices legislation. There are many indications that they are far in advance of the rest of

the labor movement in willingness to fight for emancipation from their super-exploited status.

This has not yet taken the conscious form of widespread proposals to organize a Labor Party. But the Negro fight for political representation is a powerful component in that movement.

The struggle of the Negro people against racist terror in both the North and the South is a major front in the struggle against McCarthyism. Here the action stage has been reached. In all the incidents, from the Moore assassinations in Florida to the Trumbull Park bombings against Negroes who dare to move out of the ghettos, the fascist enemy is directly before us in the form of organized bands of terrorists sponsored and inspired by real-estate interests and other capitalists.

The central slogan against racist terrorism must be solidarity between the labor movement and the Negro people in militant defense of the victims. Workers must not permit the labor movement anywhere at any time to stand by with folded hands while a minority is attacked and terrorized by hoodlums and police. The central task of the militants in these fights is to get action from the mass organizations of workers, thus throwing into the balance against the fascists the powerful forces of labor.

Working women constitute a tremendous revolutionary potential in the United States. Millions drawn into industry during the war and its aftermath have passed through a profound experience. Torn out of the rut of household drudgery they have felt what wage exploitation means and learned what solidarity with their fellow workers in struggle is. This constitutes an economic revolution for these women and the beginnings of a cultural and political revolution as well.

But the change in status of these women has not been recognized by capitalist society which continues to tie them to household slavery in their off hours while at the same time threatening to "free" them from their jobs at the first signs of depression.

The dual role of many working women as keepers of a household and wage workers places a terrible burden on their shoulders, predisposing them to the most radical conclusions. Women in industry talk of these problems continuously and bitterly. They feel that society and most men do not recognize their difficulties, callously imposing heavier and heavier burdens upon them.

The number of married women who have gone to work is so great that probably the majority of working class women consider themselves no longer as exclusively housewives but as either part of the labor force or potentially so.

One of the reasons the question of women's rights has become so acute in the United States is that the change in their status has placed on the order of the day the task of completing the revolution. The expense and care connected with the birth and rearing of children has become a responsibility of society in place of the family unit. The whole development of American society cries out for acceptance of this responsibility.

Child care centers established during the Second World War were a concession to this need. They were granted under the emergency of mass withdrawal of young men from the labor market into the armed forces. What is needed now as a minimum measure is government guarantee of a livelihood and adequate care for every woman during pregnancy, child birth and the rearing of her family. America, the richest country in the world, can easily afford this first step toward the genuine liberation of women. In fact, it should not be regarded as a "cost" but as a measure that would shortly lead to a great increase in America's labor power and therefore America's productive capacity.

If the working class fails to struggle for this program, fails to mobilize men and women in united action for its realization, the fascists will be sure to raise it as a major issue just as Hitler did. Already there are an alarming number of women who are sympathetic to McCarthyism. This sympathy stems from a feeling that McCarthy is a true representative of the "small people," that he is fighting all the evil powers in Washington which have let the women down so cruelly.

The labor movement cannot hope to gain or hold the allegiance of women with the present policy and present ignorant and backward leadership. As a social crisis deepens, the accumulated despair and grievances of the women will become a mighty revolutionary force. They will surge to the forefront, take the initiative, push into the union meetings, lend militancy and fierceness to the battle. Will they be repelled by the official leadership of the unions and driven into the ranks of the McCarthyites? That is one of the most crucial questions facing the working class in its showdown with American fascism.

Nowhere is the alternative facing America -- fascism or socialism -- posed with such sharpness as in the struggle for the youth. The fascist movement seeks to capture the imagination of the youth with its dynamism. It is noteworthy that the McCarthyites have set up a national organization, Students for America, which is obviously centrally financed and directed. And no greater error could be made than to think that McCarthyism will not prove attractive to American youth and that no counter appeal of greater attractiveness is needed.

The capitalist system offers nothing but a dismal and dark future to the young generation -- depression or war. Every spark of daring is stifled; curiosity, eagerness for bold projects smothered; every avenue closed for their energy and talents. Of all sections of the population, the youth feel the national atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity the keenest.

Seeking a way out, they often fall into wild excesses due to desperation, frustration and lack of understanding from adults. Middle class and student youth are peculiarly susceptible to these moods and in the teen-age groups the rise of delinquency has become a prominent national phenomena. But these same moods can easily take the most militant political form. There lies the danger -- and the opportunity.

The fascists have already made such inroads in the youth that may even be said to hold the initial advantage. But this is a consequence entirely of the state of leadership of the working class. The ossi-

fied bureaucratic caste that hounds every militant, that throws up its hands in alarm at every progressive impulse of the rank and file -- the dull, stodgy, unimaginative labor official is utterly incapable of attracting the youth to the anti-fascist banner.

The struggle for the youth is above all a struggle to arouse the militancy, fighting power, and audacity of the workers organizations. A new leadership must be forged that will boldly take the American workers toward power, blazing the trail toward a new America and a new world in which youth will come into its own. To the call of that leadership, the youth of America will respond with all the enthusiasm and heroism that youth is capable of. The fascists will recoil before these fighters for socialism.

The revived and revitalized American labor movement will have genuine and not demagogic attraction for the youth. It will possess color, fire and unbounded energy because of its revolutionary program and fighting leadership.

The struggle against McCarthyism must be conceived as a nationwide struggle in which the working class represents the interests of the people and of the country as a whole. At the end of their historic road, the capitalist class revive the most bestial forms of government. The traditional banner bearers of democratic slogans, the liberals, after perspiring over the inroads on democratic rights, deploring the trend and offering endless warnings about how McCarthyism hurts American prestige abroad, end up by jumping on the witch-hunt wagon themselves and trying to seize the driver's reins. The legislation outlawing the Communist Party was stamped through Congress under the "leadership" of such traditional liberals as Humphrey, Lehman and Morse. In that way the defense of democratic rights and civil liberties, a great historic achievement of the capitalist system in its struggle against feudalism, passes from the capitalist class to the working class.

The old slogan of the Industrial Workers of the World, "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All," now gains a new content. In the very process of defending their own democratic rights, the workers defend the democratic rights of all.

Such traditional slogans as freedom of thought, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, the right to a place on the ballot, equal rights before the law and in the courts, thus become central slogans in the struggle against the American form of fascism.

With these political issues, the working class gains new points behind which to rally the middle classes, the Negroes and other minorities, the women and the youth in the fight to save America from fascism.

The Problem of Leadership

In 1938 Leon Trotsky wrote: "The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat." (The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International.)

That, in one sentence summed up the Marxist estimate on the eve of World War II. The estimate was more than verified. Today, in face of the preparations for an inter-continental war with atomic weapons, it not only still holds true, it has become a problem of life or death for perhaps all humanity. Its full acuteness is apparent above all in the United States where a threatening native fascist movement has arisen. The general crisis of leadership has become the particular crisis of leadership in the struggle against McCarthyism.

Will the American workers prove capable of raising up from the ranks a left wing determined and able enough to break through the bureaucratic crust that has hardened over the volcanic energies of the labor movement? Historic experience says yes. The American people have proved their dynamic capacities in two revolutions, 1776 and 1861. The working class itself showed what it can do by organizing the basic industries against the most hardened, brutal and reactionary set of big capitalists the world has known. What the American workers did on the economic field in building the CIO they will do on the political field, only better.

The bulk of the workers are still tied through the bureaucracy to the two-party system, mostly to the city machines of the Democratic Party. This long-drawn-out experience is now nearing its conclusion. The absolute incapacity of the so-called "pro-labor" wings of the two parties to stop either the police-state trend or the McCarthyite fascists will provide shock after shock. The deepening economic crisis will deal such stinging blows that even the most lethargic worker will feel impelled to move.

With the end of the political lethargy, the labor bureaucracy as we know it today will be blown sky high. Those incapable of separating themselves from the two-party system will share its doom. The more flexible ones may turn to such pseudo-independent formations as the Liberal Party or the American Labor Party, or they might try to organize a reformist political formation of the classic European type. But this too under the stress of the struggle with fascism will prove to be a relatively short stage in the political education of the working class. Millions of workers seeking a theory and a program around which to build a new leadership will turn to the radical movement as they have in the past.

What will they find there? The decisive criterion then, determining which grouping is elevated to leadership and maintained in leadership, will be the program it forged in the past, particularly its program for struggle against McCarthyism.

The Socialist Party will have succeeded by then, we may expect, in carrying through Operation Burial which has been the main point on its agenda for a number of years. It may be dismissed from further consideration.

Of the other radical groupings outside the Socialist Workers Party, the main reaction to McCarthyism has been sterility. The Shachtmanites of the Independent Socialist League proved to be an ossified sect on this question, incapable of seeing fascism in the McCarthyite movement because it does not have precisely the same "stigmata" as European fascism. They thereby read themselves out of

consideration as potential leadership in the struggle against the American form of fascism.

The De Leonists of the Socialist Labor Party wrote two or three articles recognizing in theory the fascist character of McCarthyism. Having thus performed their "duty," they dropped further consideration of the matter to get on with the more important business of reprinting the pre-World War I writings of De Leon, a laudable enterprise but not one exactly calculated to prove their own capacity to lead any action whatsoever against fascism.

The Cochranites of the American Socialist Union, more impotent in theory than the De Leonists, are incapable of making up their minds what to think about McCarthyism. They have not even discovered yet that it is a practical as well as a theoretical problem. Obsessed with fear that they are only another sect, they prefer to limit themselves to "commenting." This is an expression of their tendency to retire to the sidelines of the class struggle, a tendency that is coupled with adaptation toward Stalinism and toward the labor bureaucracy. The impotence these political bankrupts have displayed over the problem of McCarthyism is fresh evidence that they are not to be taken as serious contenders for leadership in the ruthless political war that labor is forced to wage in its own defense against the McCarthyite menace.

This leaves as candidates from which to choose only Stalinism and the Socialist Workers Party.

How does Stalinism shape up as an anti-fascist force? Since its policies in the United States are not independent but hinge on the foreign needs of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, the first step of a realistic assessment requires an examination of its international role.

At the close of World War II, a great revolutionary tide swept Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. Primarily because of the Soviet victory over German imperialism headed by the Nazis, the Stalinists gained a reflected prestige and were thrust to the forefront by the masses under the delusion they would repeat what the Bolsheviks did in 1917. Instead of leading the masses to victory, the Stalinists did everything in their power to stop the revolution.

In Eastern Europe they were eventually forced to carry out over-
turns of capitalist property relations, but in such circumstances that the blows they dealt the world socialist revolution far overshadowed the progressive kernel in their action.

In Yugoslavia they tried to deliver the partisan movement to the allied powers, but failed because of circumstances beyond their control.

In China the movement was so powerful and elemental that it threatened to sweep over their heads. They chose the lesser evil of modifying their policies and were carried to power. With that exception, world Stalinism has managed to restrain and in some places completely smother revolutionary movements.

In Italy, the Stalinists, favored by a great mass influx into the Communist Party that made it the largest in the world outside of the Soviet Union at the end of World War II, could easily have taken power -- not once but repeatedly. Instead they took posts in the capitalist government and helped stabilize this jerry-built structure that had been put up by Anglo-American imperialism.

The same holds true for France, where the workers surged forward repeatedly trying to force the Stalinists to take power. Again the Stalinists took government posts for no other purpose but to hold back the revolution on one hand and bargain with Wall Street on the other. As in Italy, once capitalism had reached a certain stability, they were booted out of office on orders from the U.S. State Department.

In East Germany another facet of Stalinist counter-revolutionary policy came to the fore when the workers in June 1953 rose against the government. The profound meaning of this event is not confined to its importance as a landmark in the mass political revolution of workers directly under the control of the Kremlin. The nakedly counter-revolutionary character of Stalinism was exposed before the eyes of the world and of the American working class as Soviet tanks were moved against the rebellious workers and their leaders were hunted down and purged. The bourgeois lie that Stalinism is a revolutionary movement was never more clearly unmasked than when the East German workers attacked and shook the puppet Stalinist government to its foundation.

These outstanding examples of Stalinist counter-revolutionary policy in Europe are matched by similar examples in the colonial areas.

In Korea, for example, the Kremlin followed a treacherous policy. Help was doled out to the North Koreans in dribbles. The main burden of the war was left to China. This policy resulted in a truce that left Korea bisected, with American imperialism holding half the country as a beachhead for further counter-revolutionary operations.

In Iran, Stalinism permitted an exceptionally favorable revolutionary situation to pass by while maneuvers with Mossadegh -- slavish support of the class enemy covered up with the pretentious label of a "Peoples Front" -- opened the door to a counter-revolutionary royalist coup. The Iranian working class and peasantry paid for this Stalinist treachery with the lives of their best fighters. And American imperialism consolidated another counter-revolutionary strong point on the very borders of the Soviet Union.

In Guatemala, the Stalinist leaders of the workers and peasants mass movement led the revolution into the same kind of trap under the influence of the Kremlin. They followed a "Peoples Front" policy with the national bourgeoisie at the expense of the independence of the workers movement. They depended on the Arbenz regime and its army to defend the revolution. As was inevitable, at the critical moment the army joined in the coup plotted by the U.S. State Department. Smashed the Arbenz government and installed a puppet of the United Fruit Company in power.

Then at the Geneva Conference the Kremlin delivered the Indo-chinese colonial revolution against French imperialism as down payment on a "coexistence" deal with Washington. The Stalinist betrayers robbed the Indochinese workers and peasants of a conclusive military

victory that was in their hands after eight years of heroic fighting, and forced them to concede to the imperialist scheme of chopping up Indochina and leaving a major beachhead for the troops of imperialist France.

This counter-revolutionary foreign policy of the Kremlin is a reflex of the reactionary role of the bureaucracy inside the Soviet Union. The bureaucracy looks out for its own narrow interests, its privileged position in the Soviet economy, and while this depends on the existence of state planning, it also depends on keeping the masses atomized politically. Hence the police rule.

Some concessions have been granted to the masses by the Malenkov regime, but they are of limited character, aimed at buying more time and staving off a political revolution that would restore workers democracy to the Soviet Union. The concessions are balanced by repressions in the tradition of Stalin.

Revolutionary socialists defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, but their defense has as its symmetrical complement organization of political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Wall Street follows a dual policy toward Stalinism. It takes full advantage of the crimes and blunders of Stalinism, squeezing every possible advantage from the concessions proffered by the Kremlin in accordance with its policy of betrayal and "peaceful coexistence." At the same time Wall Street methodically prepares for World War III, a full-scale military assault on the Soviet bloc.

The Kremlin too tries to follow a dual policy of threats and cajolment, but in practice the stress is on concessions at the expense of the working class and the colonial peoples and even at the expense of the defense of the Soviet Union itself. In reality, the Stalinist policy of "peaceful coexistence," a direct continuation of the utopian and reactionary theory of "socialism in one country," serves only to give world capitalism time and space to recuperate from revolutionary shocks and to prepare for war.

The baneful effects of the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with capitalism are clearly apparent in the United States. Here, in abject subordination to the Soviet ruling caste, the Stalinists have followed a "Peoples Front" line since 1935, with the exception of the brief period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. During World War II they carried it to such extremes as to engage repeatedly in open strikebreaking. They even hailed the first victimizations under the Smith Act in 1941 when the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party were put on trial and railroaded to prison for opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism.

This record gained for the Stalinists the odious reputation in the labor movement they have to this day. This would be enough to sink them were it not for the persecution inflicted on them by the government which tends to attract sympathy for them as victims of the witch hunt. Oppressed workers can't help but imagine that where such ferocious sentences are inflicted on grounds the Stalinists are revolutionists, there must be at least a little flame of rebellion. This is an additional reason for defending the Stalinists in their right to think as they please; that is, to speak, to meet in public, to

organize and engage in political activities. The defense of democratic rights permits no exceptions.

Despite the persecution, however, the Stalinists are not revolutionary socialists. Their program in the struggle against McCarthyism is an exact replica of the program of all wings of the labor bureaucracy -- have faith in the Democratic Party. There is this difference. The Stalinists alone have systematized and persistently advocated this suicidal course among radical workers. The labor bureaucrats as a matter of course have adopted the policy of supporting the Democratic Party and the "pro-labor" Republicans. Many of them acknowledge the parallel between McCarthy and Hitler and then blithely proceed to parallel the policy of the labor fakery in Europe who allowed Hitler to march to power without lifting a finger until they found themselves in exile or in the concentration camps. But the Stalinists have carried this perfidious policy into the ranks of the radical workers and fought to substitute it for the instinctive tendency to seek independence from the capitalist parties.

The Stalinists have designated McCarthyism as the American form of fascism. However, their designation, while correct as a label, is robbed of all Marxist content because of two factors:

1. The Stalinists tend to regard all extreme manifestations of bourgeois reaction as "fascism." In addition they use the term fascism to smear their revolutionary opponents.

2. The Stalinists fail to make a class analysis of McCarthyism. In place of the Marxist criteria they substitute democratic shibboleths -- "forces of democracy" and "forces of reaction." They make the designation of fascism a meaningless epithet. Instead of seeing the struggle against fascism as the task of the working class, a task that can be carried out only through workers power, they assign the liquidation of the fascist menace to bourgeois liberalism and call upon the workers to act as the loyal supporters of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Thus they pave the way for defeat, just as their European counterparts paved the way for defeat in the struggle against Hitler and France.

In the Progressive Party the Stalinist machine is beating down opposition to all-out support of the Democratic Party. In the unions wherever they can, the Stalinists are courting right-wing officials for a coalition in fighting for support of the Democratic Party. Such a coalition when achieved turns out always to be a reactionary bloc against the genuine left wing. There is nothing the Stalinist traitors will stop at to create a modus vivendi with the labor bureaucracy.

The Stalinist line must be exposed and fought with the utmost vigor. It would be criminal to underestimate the capacity of the Stalinists to disorganize and derail the great radical awakening of the American workers that is sure to come. Their corrupting influence among the radical workers is already a major obstacle to the organization and development of the left wing in the unions that must be built to stop McCarthyism. By their support of the Democratic Party, the Stalinists, despite the best intentions of sincere workers in their ranks, objectively serve the cause of American fascism.

The Socialist Workers Party

The revolutionary vanguard does not merely observe the historical process as if it were a clock set to go off at a predetermined time. Socialism must be won through the intervention of the human will. In politics this is represented by the conscious, self-sacrificing, tireless work of those who have gained a Marxist understanding and who are organized in a disciplined party. Enormous historic responsibility rests on those who have achieved this level.

The burning task of our generation is to create revolutionary parties capable of leading the new upsurges throughout the world and guaranteeing their victory. Failure to accomplish this means the triumph of the most bestial fascist reaction and the ruin of world civilization in atomic war.

The American sector of the revolutionary vanguard has an especially important job. This follows from the preponderance of the United States in the world system of capitalism. As the Theses on the American Revolution adopted by the Twelfth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party in 1946 stated:

"The role of America in the world is decisive. Should the European and colonial revolutions, now on the order of the day, precede in point of time the culmination of the struggle in the U.S., they would immediately be confronted with the necessity of defending their conquests against the economic and military assaults of the American imperialist monster. The ability of the victorious insurgent peoples everywhere to maintain themselves would depend to a high degree on the strength and fighting capacity of the revolutionary labor movement in America. . . The revolutionary victory of the workers in the U.S. will seal the doom of the senile bourgeois regimes in every part of our planet, and the Stalinist bureaucracy if it still exists at the time."

This thought has already received verification. The intervention of American imperialism on the side of Chiang Kai-shek in the civil war in China and on the side of Syngman Rhee in the civil war in Korea and on the side of imperialist France in the Indochinese colonial war are vivid illustrations of the inter-relation of the world revolution and the American revolution.

Life has yet to disclose in action the decisive revolutionary role of the American working class, but it is nonetheless true that the fate of the world revolution will be determined finally in the United States.

American capitalism can continue to play its counter-revolutionary role only if it can prevent the American workers from entering the struggle. It will not hesitate to utilize McCarthy's services in trying to assure this, but willingness to bring fascism to power is not exactly the same as success in the enterprise.

The fact is that the world crisis of capitalism is catching up with America. As the American Theses declared: "U.S. capitalism can no more escape from the revolutionary consequences of world capitalist decay than the older European capitalist powers."

This objective process, visible in one form or another in all fields, finds its reflection in countless ways in the minds and attitudes of millions of people. Its appearance on the political level is already apparent in the development of McCarthyism. A counter-reflection in the proletariat will surely not be long delayed! What is required of the revolutionary vanguard as the process develops is patience above all, firmness of purpose, tenacity in sticking to principles, refusal to be stampeded, and clear realization of what historic importance the building of a combat party today has for the future of America and mankind.

In its response to the great issue that now dominates the politics of America, the issue of McCarthyism, the SWP once again demonstrated its claim to leadership in the struggle against the fascist danger. Our campaign, which has constituted the main axis of our propaganda in the past year, has had repercussions far beyond the immediate periphery of the SWP. Even the most cursory survey of the labor and liberal press demonstrates this fact. This is due to the impact of our analysis in a milieu frightened at the growth of McCarthyism but lacking the theoretical basis with which to approach it. They suspected it was fascism but needed the confirmation of the orthodox Marxists to be completely sure even though they are far from prepared to accept the Marxist conclusion as to what should be done about it. The acceptance of the conclusion will come as the SWP acquires a mass base.

No other party measured up to this challenge. Confronted with the decisive test of appraising the development of fascism in its native American form and of working out a program to meet it, all of them proved bankrupt. This is confirmation enough that the SWP is measuring up to its main responsibility.

We were capable of doing this, not because it was written in the stars, as certain wiseacre critics would have us say, but because we took Marxist method seriously, studied it, learned to apply it, and did not forget the lessons our Marxist teachers, primarily Trotsky, taught us. We approached McCarthyism not as something new under the sun but something understandable in the light of the great accumulation of experience of the revolutionary vanguard in dealing with similar phenomena in Europe and in America in the late thirties. By that we demonstrated the value of a revolutionary heritage and the value of continuity in leadership.

But the analysis of McCarthyism and the blocking out of a correct program to combat it constitute only a beginning, important as it is from the qualitative side. What comes next?

Our main problem is recruitment in the face of a witch hunt. The obstacles are familiar enough -- fear, anxiety about becoming an outcast, reluctance to buck what appears to be common public opinion. However, a revolutionary party is capable of making tactical adjustments. The main one is to seek in the witch hunt itself avenues of recruitment. The witch hunt is by no means generally accepted. Most people simply endure it. Among a significant minority the witch hunt arouses indignation and protest. It acts as a spur and goad, arousing them to concern about larger problems than those immediately facing them. After all, why should an American take it lying down? Why

shouldn't he find freedom worth fighting for? What right has anybody got to dictate what he should read? Rebels, looking for a satisfying solution to social and economic evils that hit them, are not inclined to meekly accept the witch hunt. They want to enjoy with complete freedom their democratic right to find out what mankind's great thinkers have to say about those evils. And if they find a cause worth devoting their lives to, they will not give that up because an American imitator of Hitler thinks they should. Such natural fighters against thought control belong in our ranks, even though they don't know it yet. Our task is to seek them out.

This combines naturally with the struggle against all the repressive legislation passed by federal and local bodies intended to proscribе radical political parties in America. The same fight that the party puts up to maintain its position on the ballot also attracts rebel thinkers to the party. And the very process of an election campaign brings the party to the attention of tens and even hundreds of thousands of people who would otherwise not hear of us. As a result many are attracted toward us and the best ones become contacts and recruits. Election campaigns are thus a most important supplement to the daily personal work done by party militants. In the struggle against McCarthyism, the seeds an SWP candidate sows at large can have results of enormous significance. The fact is that the SWP is emerging on the electoral arena as the only consistent fighter for socialism. This alone is worth all the effort and sacrifices required to take advantage of the opportunities in this field.

The main plank in our election platform is the fight to stop McCarthyism, and the main proposal we advance is formation of an independent Labor Party. The time to start fighting for an independent labor ticket in the 1956 presidential elections is right now. The arena for the fight is every union local in the country.

In the winter and spring of 1954-55, following the national elections, hundreds of city elections will take place in every part of the country. We must start right now to become fully acquainted with the issues, the political forces and ballot technicalities involved in these elections. We must watch with closest attention the reactions and attitude of the Negro communities and other minorities toward these elections. Often the city level becomes the main arena in which these minorities try to advance their independent political interests. Wherever possible we must boldly propose the entrance of labor on an independent slate in cooperation with the minorities.

The struggle for independent political action by labor and the minorities on the local level can have enormous progressive content -- but only if the party itself is absolutely clear about its attitude of principled opposition to the capitalist political machines. It is not a question of finding candidates whom it is permissible to support critically, it is a question of participating in and encouraging every movement that makes a break from capitalist politics. It is this trend that we want to help, for it means tearing the working class free from the fatal policy of the labor bureaucracy. Our aim is to link all these local manifestations of independent political action into a broader movement capable of launching a Labor Party in time to challenge capitalism in the 1956 elections.

To work effectively in this arena we must become an integral part of the currents breaking from capitalist politics. An example of this was given by the Newark branch last summer. Its effective participation on a principled and active basis in the campaign for independent Negro and labor candidates deserves close study by the whole party.

Another field that offers big possibilities for the growth of party influence is in the struggle against racist terror. The Socialist Workers Party has always been in the forefront of struggles against Jim Crow and terrorism. In its campaign against the Trumbull Park outrages, the Chicago Local of the SWP is following our great tradition on this crucial front.

The central slogan of our fight against terrorism remains as before the welding of an alliance between the Negro people and the labor movement to defend the victims of the hoodlums. Whenever a struggle develops such as the one at Trumbull Park, we must do everything possible to get union backing and union defense squads for the Negro families under attack.

As McCarthyism develops and reveals more and more its racist attitudes, it will be seen that the mobilization of hoodlums at housing projects or in terror raids and bombings constituted the initial trial runs for fascist violence at a later stage in the Mussolini and Hitler style against the unions themselves. This underscores the importance of getting the unions to mobilize against the race terrorists. It is really a question of preparing union self-defense today against the fascist strong-arm squads of tomorrow. The field of action is the Trumbull Parks all over America.

From the women in the unions and in industry, from the working-class housewives, some of the best recruits to the party can be gained. The SWP already has the most devoted and experienced cadre of women revolutionists in the history of the American radical movement. Their political calibre has been demonstrated repeatedly, outstanding instances being their role during the imprisonment of the party leadership during the war and in the difficult faction struggle to defend Trotskyism from the revisionist concepts of Pablo and Cochran. As an expression of the revolutionary fibre of the SWP, we may note the high number of women who are in the forefront of party activity as candidates, speakers, organizers, administrators and writers.

In every sector of the party and at every level of party work the women participate side by side with the men in full solidarity and equality as soldiers in the fight for socialism. This example of what life in the party is like is bound to attract many new women recruits who will train themselves for leadership in the fight to smash McCarthyism and win socialism for America.

The fight for the youth against the McCarthyite menace is of top-rate concern to the SWP. The task of building and renewing the youthful cadre of the revolutionary socialist party is the first condition for success in overcoming the inertia and passivity of the labor bureaucracy and the conservative strata of privileged workers.

We must go to the Negro youth, the youth in the assembly plants, in the colleges and in the high schools as well.

The objective difficulties that prevent large-scale recruitment of working-class and student youth must not become the excuse for failure to work tirelessly on small-scale possibilities that can lead later to wider prospects. Let the recruitment of one young worker, of one teen-age youth, of one young Negro be considered by each branch as a major achievement deserving the closest attention of the party leadership.

The factories are swarming with young workers gaining their first experiences on the job. Many of them are in unorganized sweat shops. Others are at the bottom of the seniority lists. The party must find its way to these young workers. Taking them as they are, with all their inexperience, backwardness, illusions about other ways out than the class struggle, we must shape them into revolutionists.

The fact that the youth already in the party were in the forefront of the struggle against Cochranism is a favorable augury for the future, but the fact remains that the age-level of the party is too high. We must turn more consciously to the task of recruiting young workers. In many cases this requires reorientation in habits and thinking -- but it must be done. We must come closer to the underprivileged youth, potentially the most revolutionary level of the working class.

The party continues to orient toward the trade unions as the main arena for its activity and for recruiting. The trade unions, particularly the mass-production CIO unions, represent the organized power of the American working class at the present stage of its consciousness. Our struggle within the unions is to raise this consciousness to the revolutionary level demanded by the objective situation. Within the unions we base our activity on the policy and perspective set forth in the resolution on Class Struggle Policy in the Unions.

The SWP fights for the allegiance of every radical worker in the United States. We do everything in our power to win them to our banner. This especially includes those who have been misled by the Stalinist traitors. Every opportunity to break the radical workers away from Stalinism and to inoculate them against it must be exploited to the full.

New opportunities for gains from the Stalinist ranks are being laid by the right turn of American Stalinism. This turn, with its crude betrayal of the independent class interests of the workers, lays the basis for a new and deeper crisis in the Communist Party and also the Progressive Party which has become nothing but a front organization for American Stalinism.

We seek to win workers of other political persuasion to our banners because we are convinced that the SWP is the only genuinely revolutionary party of the American working class. The struggle of the SWP to become the leadership of the American workers carries with it the hope of humanity for socialism.

On the basis of a clear understanding of this principle of the independence of the revolutionary party, the SWP seeks common action with other working-class parties in defense of democratic rights and civil liberties. Stalinism has so poisoned the political atmosphere in the labor movement that readiness to join in common defense of

victims of repression and the class struggle, once one of the finest traditions of the radical movement in America, has become a rarity.

The danger of fascism now makes it imperative for every current in the radical movement to unite in common defense measures. The acid test is willingness to overcome revulsion at the Stalinist record in this respect in order to defend the principle of democratic rights as infringed in their case. On this issue, the SWP has already set an example. Although we were the first to point out the danger of Stalinism and were for many years alone in combatting its pernicious influence, we never conceded this task to the class enemy who would utilize it for his own reactionary purposes. When the Stalinists were singled out as victims of the witch hunt, we were the first to rally to their defense even though they had joined the witch hunters when we were the victims.

In combatting the witch hunt, it is necessary to inspire the widest possible defense movement. This cannot be done if "exceptions" are made about the victims. What can be done is indicated by the Kutcher case which succeeded in arousing support from labor organizations throughout the country. This particular case is still active and much can be done to keep it active by continued publicity and sales of Kutcher's autobiography. Similar cases involving other political tendencies should be pressed along the same general lines.

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For 26 years American Trotskyism has kept Marxism alive in this country and arduously constructed a combat party. The pressures in this period were immense. Such sustained effort against such adverse circumstances has few if any parallels in the Marxist movement. Now the greatest test of all faces the party -- the test of a rising native fascist movement. Will we succeed in meeting it?

The quality of the cadre that has already been assembled is assurance that we will. This cadre has been tested in fire and shaped under blows that would have smashed anything less firm. It will hold up in the new great struggles that lie ahead.

As in Europe, fascism begins with the initial advantage. But unlike Europe it faces a seasoned party that has been in training for decades for precisely this struggle. We have seen the enemy; we have recognized him; we will defeat him.

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