

New H-Bomb, Gas Threaten World Destruction

Socialism Seen Only Alternative To Annihilation

By Joseph Keller

Which would you rather have? Socialism, with a high standard of living for all, educational and cultural opportunities, racial equality, permanent security and peace?

Or death by atomic radiation and deadly nerve gas for you, your wife and children, mother and father, brothers and sisters? That's the choice we face today.

If you think the "right" of a handful of capitalist billionaires to make profits from the exploitation of human labor and to control the means of production for their own personal benefit is more sacred than anything else, then you're for wiping out the human race.

For that's what capitalism — the private profit system of class privilege — is preparing to do. That's what Wall Street is ABLE to do with the new H-bomb and the new G-gas revealed within the past two weeks.

AN "ATOMIC DEVICE"

On March 1, the Atomic Energy Commission told us that an "atomic device" had just been exploded in the mid-Pacific, "the first in a series of tests." Ten days later, the AEC disclosed that 28 American technicians and 236 inhabitants of the Marshall Islands, at what was considered to be a safe distance from the Bikini atomic test area, "were unexpectedly exposed to some radiation" but had suffered no burns.

Then on March 16, an Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo disclosed that a Japanese fishing boat had returned to port with a crew of 23 men covered with radiation burns received when "snow-white ashes" fell on them 90 minutes after the March 1 "atomic device" had been set off and 80 miles from the site of the explosion. But this revelation of a weapon effective at 80 miles distance was only the beginning.

On March 17, "Congressional sources" disclosed that the "device" that had hurled its shower of radioactive poison 80 miles was a new thermonuclear hydrogen bomb with a destructive power equivalent to 12,000,000 to 14,000,000 tons of TNT. This is 600 to 750 times as powerful as Truman's bomb that blasted Hiroshima in August 1945 and caused a quarter of a million casualties.

The March 1 "atomic device" actually shook Kwajalein Island, 176 miles away. It was said to be three to four times as powerful as the first hydrogen "device" set off at Eniwetok, Nov. 1, 1952. The latter, it was revealed by Congressman W. Sterling Cole (R., N.Y.), chairman of the joint Congressional atomic energy committee, "completely obliterated the test island" and "tore a cavity in the floor of the ocean — a crater a full mile in diameter and 175 feet in depth."



This is the "old-fashioned" A-bomb of the type that wiped out Hiroshima in 1945. The H-bomb that was set off in U.S. tests at Bikini on March 1 was 600 to 750 times as powerful as the A-bomb, spread radiation 1600 miles.

Such a bomb, if exploded over a city, would cause "an area of complete devastation" using the word "complete" in its most precise meaning — six miles in diameter, and a damage area "covering 300 square miles."

But the second, the March 1 "device," it has now finally come out, was not only several times as powerful as the first, but spread its dangerous radiation to a distance of — 1,600 miles. That's right. For on March 22, scientists at Kyoto University in Japan revealed that on March 3

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Build a Labor Party Now!

GOP Goes Easy on McCarthy To Gain Aid in '54 Election

Fascist Senator Moves Toward Counter-Attack

By Joseph Hansen

When Eisenhower took time out between golf games to level a heavy frown at the methods of McCarthy, a wave of hope swept the liberals that this meant the beginning of the end for the fascist demagogue.

But McCarthy refused to oblige either Eisenhower or the liberals by curling up dead from the shame of it all. Instead he went to work with a meat axe.

His instant reaction to the charge of the Army Brass that he and his attorney Cohn sought special privileges for their crony Schine, was to cry, "Blackmail!"

And while the Republican and Democratic opposition gaped at the audacity of the counter-charge and congratulated themselves on how this time McCarthy had really overreached himself and played right into their hands, the Wisconsin pupil of Hitler set out to counteract the intended setback and if possible convert it to his advantage.

The cry of "blackmail" was aimed at astonishing, bedazzling and scaring his Democratic and Republican foes. ("My God, what if his charge of blackmail is true?") Before these heroes could recover their wits, McCarthy swung his meat axe again. A "secret witness" was ready to back him up, he said.

Then he took to his oil company plane to make a series of personal appearances in key areas. His foes interpreted this as running from the fight. They thereby simply revealed their own stupidity.

REASSURES FOLLOWERS

McCarthy was concerned about his basis of support, which lies outside the regular political machines. His first problem was to reassure his followers, hearten them, demonstrate in action that in this crisis they could depend on him to stand up and fight. In return he asked them to put the heat on any members of his Senate Investigations subcommittee who might "desert" him in the weeks ahead.

To demonstrate his fighting capacity under fire and therefore again justify the confidence that his fascist-minded followers place in him, McCarthy shook Eisenhower by the scruff of the neck before his audiences: "I don't give a tinker's damn" about criticism of "methods" no matter "how high or how low" the critics in either party. (Chicago, March 17.) Directly referring to

Eisenhower, "I will not be a rubber stamp." (Chicago, March 18.) To the wild applause of his deluded followers, he rose from "a sickbed" in Milwaukee March 19 to level a 20-count indictment for "criminal stupidity" — or, at worst, treason" against the Democrats. This speech was also aimed at softening up his opposition in the Republican Party, a design that was not without results as we shall see.

On March 20, still advertised as "sick," he spoke in Oklahoma City, promising a personal "exposure" of "Communist infiltration" of the press, radio and television. Here he appealed to his following among the Democrats, voicing his regret that their party was not in the hands of such "pillars of strength" as Jim Crow Senators George of Georgia, Byrd of Virginia, Stennis of Mississippi and his own counter-part in the Democratic Party McCarran of Nevada.

Back in Washington on March 21 he made the headlines with the novel proposal that the lie-detector be used on all witnesses in the investigation of the dis-

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Texas Legislators Consider Death For 'Communists'

The State Legislature of Texas is considering a new law providing the death penalty for "communists" and all others "no matter under what name" who are deemed to seek the "forcible overthrow" of the State or Federal Government.

First proposed by Gov. Shivers, the measure was introduced in a special session March 16.

Consideration of such a law in a state where unionism and opposition to Jim Crow is equated by the McCarthy-loving oil and cattle barons to "communism" foreshadows the gas-chamber and concentration-camp future that will darken all of America if McCarthyism conquers power.

Business Forecasters Admit No Upturn

By Art Preis

Spring has officially sprung, but the economic climate grows harsher. "There is a growing conviction that the way out of the recession may not be so rapid as has been predicted," says business columnist Herbert Koshetz in the March 21 N.Y. Times. "It would appear . . . that the nadir (lowest point) has not been reached and the prospects of a reversal, which many economists held would occur in midyear, is somewhat more remote."

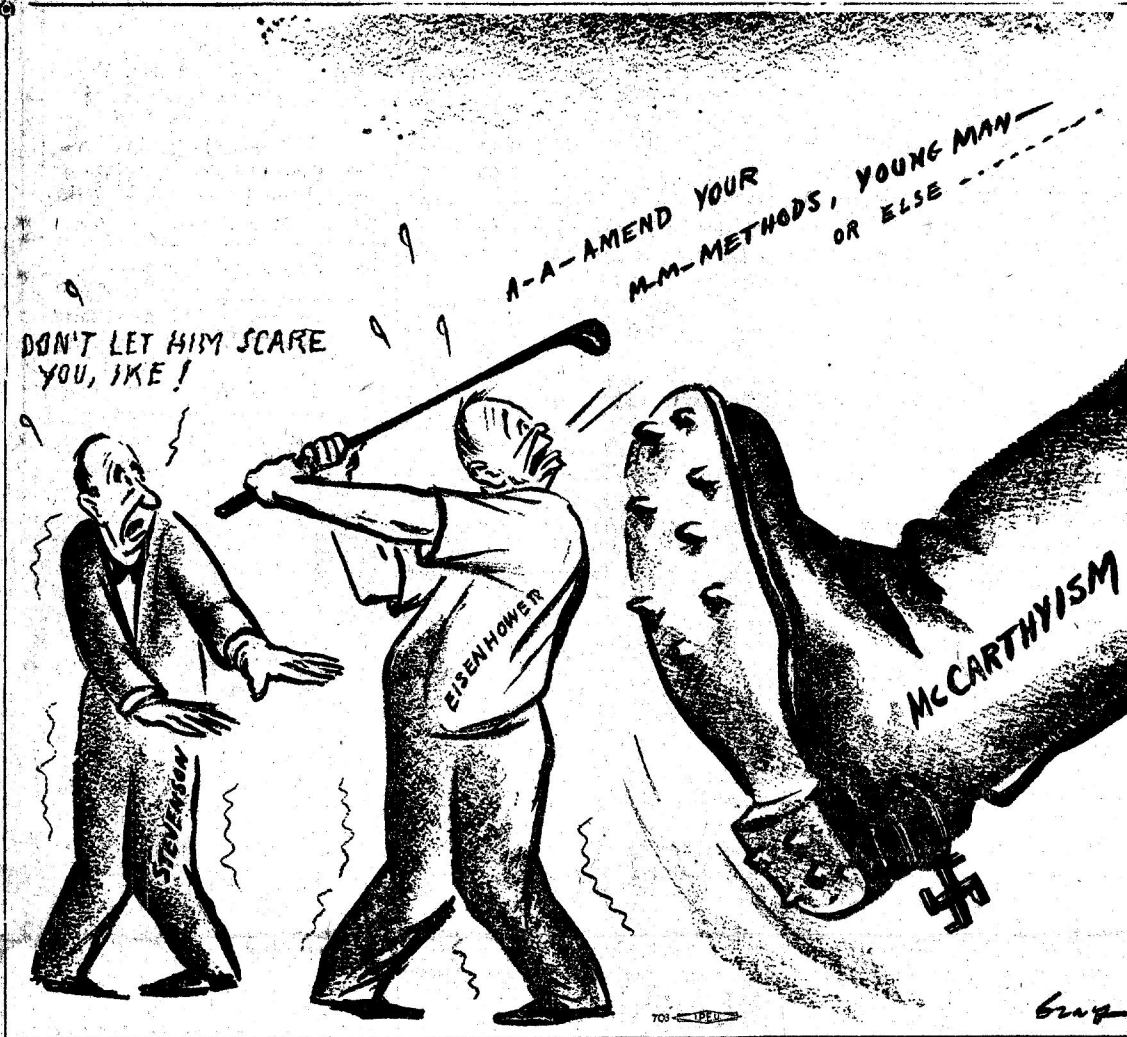
Administration spokesmen, like Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks on March 22, continue to rattle like dry seeds in a hollow gourd about the U.S. economy being "in excellent shape." But business publications devoted to telling the capitalists the real score talk differently. The March 20 Business Week affirms:

"It's not a bad recession in comparison with, say, 1937-38." The comparison, you see, is no longer with the "Truman recession" of 1949, which has been

surpassed, but with the so-called "Roosevelt depression." After a slow four-year rise from the 1929-33 low of 14 million unemployed to 8 1/2 million by August 1937, the economy dropped two-thirds of the way back in seven months. Of the current downslide, which bears comparison with the above cited second most precipitate decline in U.S. history, Business Week adds:

"On the figures now available it's hard to see any promise of a strong upturn, short of a vigorous program of government intervention. Capital spending is drifting down. And unemployment is rising."

We have better indicators of the unemployment situation than the Department of Commerce's phoned-up figure of 3,671,000 jobless in February. The Labor Department's Bureau of Employment Security has revealed that unemployment continued to rise in March, contrary to the normal seasonal trend of other years, and that by mid-March it "was being felt in almost all the na-



PA. CIO URGES AFFILIATES TO SEEK SIX-HOUR DAY CONTRACTS THIS YEAR

Another major union body has gone on record for the shorter work week with no loss of take-home pay. Delegates to the annual convention of the Pennsylvania CIO voted unanimously in Pittsburgh on March 18 to urge that its affiliated unions seek to incorporate into new contracts this year a six-hour day, 30-hour week "with no reduction in pay."

A similar program for combating growing mass unemployment has received wide publicity in recent months under the slogan of the "30-hour week for 40 hours' pay" as advanced by leading locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers, like Ford Local 600 and Flint Chevrolet 659.

The 1,200 Pennsylvania CIO delegates stated in their resolution that some economists now put unemployment at "the alarming figure of five million." They added:

"Workers are faced with the immediate problem of unemployment because they are producing more and more goods, but are able to buy less of what they

produce . . . the trade union movement will be the first to bear the brunt of attack in the drive for speed-up and wage cuts."

Delegates from numerous steel locals played a prominent part in the convention and in the enactment of the shorter work-week resolution. Earlier in the convention, CIO and United Automobile Workers President Walter Reuther had spoken without reference to the six-hour day. Steelworkers' President David J. McDonald had made a vague remark about the possibility of having to raise the six-hour day slogan sometime in the future, but has not raised this as an issue for contract negotiations of his own union this spring.

The spread of the "30 for 40" idea in the CIO auto workers is indicated by the resolution adopted by the Trim Shop Unit of Dodge Main Local 3 and published in the Dodge Main News, March 13. The Trim Shop is the largest in the Dodge Main plant. It is now down to 1,500 workers

from a work force of 5,000. Some 20,000 members of the entire local have been laid off.

Stating that "all indications point to a worsening of the situation" and that "in the face of mass unemployment the Dodge Main management continues the vicious speed-up drive," the resolution calls for "Fighting for 30 HOUR WORK WEEK—WITH 40 HOURS' PAY NOW, as an immediate means of creating more jobs." (Original Emphasis).

The resolution further calls on Local 3 to "take the leadership" in organizing "a cavalcade of unemployed on Lansing to demand (1) \$60 per week unemployment benefits. (2) Extension of the 20-week benefit period to 52 weeks. (3) Immediate moratorium on all debts and installment loans for the unemployed."

Another feature of what the Dodge Main News calls a "fighting resolution" is the Trim Shop Unit proposal for "Organizing Councils of Unemployed on a neighborhood basis, to aid our brothers in distress."

Liberals Crowing Too Soon

By George Breitman

Some people who were steeped in gloom and despair a couple of weeks ago, because they thought McCarthyism was unstoppable, are now almost swooning with delight, because they think "the beginning of the end" has arrived for McCarthy.

This new mood is best expressed by Max Lerner, liberal columnist of the N.Y. Post: "Now the time is here when we can say it with definiteness, McCarthy and McCarthyism are crumbling . . . He will not survive it (the Schine affair) politically . . . This is not the end yet. But it is the beginning of the end . . . McCarthy has now lost the power to terrify a whole people. He is no longer an 'asset' to his party, even in the wildest calculations of his partisans. He gambled for total power in a republic that has always rejected totalitarianism, and he has lost his gamble. Let him depart from the stage of our attention, and take his little bedraggled band with him." (March 14).

Such optimism, in our opinion, is as exaggerated, unrealistic and unwarranted as the pessimism that it temporarily replaces.

Even if McCarthy suffers a genuine reversal in his present battle over the Army — and it is by no means sure that he will — that will not end or even begin to end McCarthyism. Lerner, who has often compared the fascist Senator from Wisconsin with Hitler, ought to know that better than most of his readers.

HITLER'S REVERSES

Hitler too experienced many ups and downs in his drive for power. As late as November, 1932, he was defeated in the presidential election, his party losing two million votes and one-seventh of its seats in the Reichstag. The German Lerner went wild with joy and predictions. The Social Democrats brayed: "Ten years ago we predicted the bankruptcy of National Socialism; it is written in black and white in our paper!" On Jan. 21, 1933, one of its leaders wrote: "We no longer perceive anything but the odor of a rotting corpse. Fascism is definitely dead; it will never rise again."

But ten days later, or less than three months after the election in which Hitler was defeated, President Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancellor and the Nazi bloodbath began.

McCarthy has not yet suffered an election defeat of any kind, let alone the kind that Hitler was able to recover from so quickly.

IN JAIL TOO

Hitler knew even worse days than that. In the early years of his movement he organized a putsch which ended in disaster, and he was sentenced to five years in prison for trying to overthrow the government by force and violence. When he came out of prison, after serving only 8 1/2 months, his movement was demoralized, isolated, reduced to literally a handful, and — worst of all — ignored by the public. That was in 1924, nine short years before he became the head of the government.

McCarthy is not even faced with imprisonment in his present dispute; even now, when his power is supposed to be "crumbling," there isn't a single Democratic or Republican official in Washington with the nerve to demand

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Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

The ups and down of McCarthy's career in government will not obviate the necessity to mobilize the American people for an anti-fascist struggle. The liberals will learn all too soon that their premature cries of victory against this menace were only hollow expressions of wishful-thinking. It will take more than a frown from Eisenhower to stop the spread of McCarthyism.

In the developing economic crisis Big Business means to smash the labor movement. To accomplish this, the capitalists will make a three-pronged attack: a barrage of anti-labor legislation, a smokescreen of witch-hunting hysteria and mobilization of fascist gangs to pit against the organized workers movement.

The only serious struggle against fascism is that which aims to rouse the labor movement to action. And that is why the present anti-fascist campaign of the Socialist Workers Party is so important. At present we are trying to get the party on the ballot in Michigan and Pennsylvania. The success of both these efforts will provide us with an opportunity to present our full anti-fascist program to the working class in the election campaign this fall. We shall reach many hundreds of thousands who are looking for a solution to the growing problems of unemployment and the fascist danger.

The Detroit branch still leads in the \$14,000 Fund Drive. Newark nosed ahead of Buffalo for second place with 55% of its quota in. These three branches are all ahead

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MURRY WEISS Tour Schedule

Oakland, San Francisco: March 26-29
Los Angeles: March 31
New York: April 29

Milwaukee, Twin Cities Greet Weiss

Murry Weiss, National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, now on a coast-to-coast anti-McCarthy speaking tour, received a warm welcome from anti-McCarthyites in the fascist Senator's home state of Wisconsin.

Addressing a well-attended meeting in Milwaukee, March 10, Weiss congratulated the local SWP branch on its vigorous anti-McCarthy activities and its plan to help launch a recall movement against America's would-be Hitler. Such a petition drive was recently initiated by the Sauk City Prairie Star, whose editor reports an extremely gratifying response throughout the state.

On March 16, Weiss spoke at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters in Minneapolis. The meeting was attended by over a hundred workers, students and housewives.

Lively interest was expressed by the inter-racial audience in a question and discussion period that lasted for almost an hour. The enthusiastic spirit of those present was indicated by their contribution of \$90 to the SWP's anti-McCarthy fighting fund.

The hall was bannered all around with anti-fascist slogans, which read, "The Fascist Menace is Real — Stop McCarthyism!" and "Joe McCarthy — America's Hitler on the Make!" A special drawing by Laura Gray, militant cartoonist, showed Weiss throwing a punch at the fascist Senator.

Following the meeting, a social hour of dancing and refreshments was held. Many of the workers and students who were attending their first socialist meeting stayed for further discussion with the speaker.

Of special interest to Twin Cities workers, with their famed militant tradition, was the Socialist Workers Party demand for the convening of a Congress of Labor to smash McCarthyism.

Notebook of an Agitator

Perspectives of American Fascism

The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party against the ominous upsurge of McCarthyism, and its characterization of the McCarthy movement as American fascism in incipient form, has been misunderstood by some people who don't want to think, as well as by others who prefer to misunderstand us in order to misrepresent us.

Up till now we have not heard any cogent arguments against our campaign and its motivation. The most we can make out so far are some mutters and murmurs of dissent, to which we will give a preliminary answer while our critics and opponents are clearing their throats and getting up the nerve to speak more distinctly.

One of these muted criticisms appears in a clouded sentence in one of the documents of the Pablo faction, which Joe Hansen is taking apart in serial articles in the Militant. Remarking that the Socialist Workers Party has "sounded the alarm on the fascist danger in the United States" — an accusation which cannot be denied — this document represents the campaign as a sign of our "pessimism," a conclusion which at the very best can be characterized only as a misunderstanding.

There is an obvious contradiction in this recognition of our campaign and the conclusion drawn from it. The words are full of pessimists about the future of America in general, and about the prospects of American fascism in particular, but they are not organizing any campaigns. It is not in the nature of pessimists to do anything of that sort. Pessimism is not merely a gloomy view of evils to come, but a capitulatory reconciliation to them in advance. The real pessimists are simply keeping quiet — concerned to prolong their own grub-like existence, and hoping to adapt themselves to whatever comes by acquiescence and conformity.

The attitude of the SWP is the opposite of all that. The character of a party is not indicated by what it sees and points out but rather by what it does about it. To accuse the SWP of "sounding the alarm on the fascist danger in the U.S." is only to pay to the party the indirect and unintended compliment of saying that it calls for a struggle against the danger. Pessimists don't sound any alarms or organize any struggles. They just run for cover. Pessimism is just another name for quitter and capitulator.

An "Exaggeration"?

Some other critical murmurs we have heard, which have not yet found their way into print, represent our campaign as an "exaggeration" of the fascist danger, and an apprehension of its imminent victory. That is another misunderstanding. To sound the alarm against the danger of fascism in the United States — and to state frankly that its victory is possible — is by no means to be taken as an admission that fascism is already in power, or close to it. Neither is it to be taken as a prophecy that fascism is destined to conquer eventually.

That will be decided in the struggle. The aim of our campaign is to "alarm" the labor movement to the reality of the danger, and from that, to the necessity of organizing the struggle on the right basis while there is yet time. The workers still have time to organize the counter-movement, but they don't have forever; and the sooner they recognize the central reality of the whole problem — that the issue will be decided in struggle — the better chance they will have to be the victors.

A fascist movement does not arise from the bad will of malicious demagogues. Neither is a radicalized labor movement created by the propaganda of revolutionists. Both are products of the incurable crisis of capitalism, which renders it unable to maintain a stable rule through the old democratic forms. One way or another — these forms must be changed.

The latent crisis, which has been artificially suppressed and disguised by war and military expenditures, promises to break out with redoubled fury in the coming period. This will spell impoverishment and misery for tens of millions of people, and it will generate an enormous discontent with the hopeless state of

affairs. The unflinching result will be a widespread desire for a radical change.

This mass discontent and desire for a change can take one of two forms, or both of them at the same time.

The workers are the strongest power in modern society. If they show a resolute will to take hold of the situation and effect the necessary revolutionary change, the millions of desperate middle-class people — impoverished farmers, bankrupt small businessmen and white collar elements — who have no independent power of their own, will follow the workers and support them in their struggle for power. This was demonstrated in the Russian Revolution of November, 1917.

On the other hand, if the workers, as a result of inadequate or pusillanimous leadership, falter before their historical task, the allegiance of the middle classes will rapidly shift to the support of the fascists and lift them into power. This alternative outcome of the social crisis was demonstrated in Italy and Germany.

Who Will Win?

How will things go in this country? The most "optimistic" way to answer that question is to tell the truth and to say once again: It will be decided in a struggle. Experience of other countries has already shown that a fascist movement and a movement of labor radicalization, which arise in the first place from the same cause, make their appearance at approximately the same time. But they don't develop at the same rate of speed. The "subjective" factor, the factor of leadership, plays a big role here.

In Italy, and later in Germany, the movement of labor radicalization had a big jump on fascism at the start. In these two countries fascism began to become a mass movement and a formidable power only after the workers had failed to carry through their revolution when they had the chance — in 1919-21 in Italy, and in Germany from 1918 to 1923. The tumultuous rise of the fascist movement in those two cases, and its eventual victory, was the answer to the workers' default and the penalty for it.

Here in the United States we see a somewhat different development of the two antagonistic forces — fascism and workers' radicalization — and a different rate of speed in their development. But these are only tentative manifestations which are not yet by any means decisive. The extraordinary thick-headedness of the labor bureaucracy in this country, and the lack of a revolutionary party with a base of mass support, have given incipient fascism the jump on the labor movement.

A form of preventive fascism, of which McCarthy is indubitably the chief representative, has already got a head start and has widespread ramifications of support inside the governmental apparatus as well as outside it. To recognize that fact is not to conjure up imaginary dangers but simply to recognize the obvious reality of the situation.

And this recognition of reality is the first prerequisite for the organization of an effective counter-movement. McCarthyism, as it appears today, is undoubtedly an incipient fascist movement, but that's all it is. The beginnings of a fascist movement aiming to take power in this country, and fascism already in power, are not the same thing. Between the one and the other lies a protracted period of struggle in which the issue will be finally decided.

Whoever recognizes that and "sounds the alarm," and thus helps to prepare the struggle of the workers, is doing what most needs to be done at the present time. Such a campaign is by no means a manifestation of pessimism, but the best antidote for it.

Power is on the side of the workers, and all the chances of victory are in their favor. But they will never gain the victory without the most resolute struggle. The first condition for that is an understanding of the irreconcilable nature of the struggle and what it's all about. The fate of America, and thereby of all mankind — that's what it's all about.

— James P. Cannon

The Real Aim of the Caracas Conference

By Fred Hart

Secretary of State Dulles, Wall Street's whip at the Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, was described as returning to Washington "with a happy smile of triumph" and in a "victory mood." What had he won and against whom?

Dulles' objective was nailed precisely by Guillermo Toriello, Foreign Minister of Guatemala, the small Central American country of three million people that Dulles made his whipping boy at the conference. The aim of the Wall Street banker and State Department head, said Toriello, is "the policy of the big stick and dollar diplomacy in Latin America" and the "internationalization of McCarthyism."

EXPORT MCCARTHYISM

Both the timing and emphasis of the conference were indeed an attempt by Dulles and the Eisenhower administration to project McCarthyism on an international scale. Thereby, Dulles hoped to answer McCarthy's charge that the State Department is "codding Communists" and to show himself even better at McCarthyism than McCarthy.

On Dulles' insistence, the first order of business at Caracas was an "anti-Communist" resolution drafted by the State Department's delegates. For two solid weeks Dulles and his aides threatened and pounded the delegates of the weaker countries until he lined up all but three — Mexico, Argentina and Guatemala. The conference adopted a resolution that, in effect, gave advance approval to U.S. intervention in any Latin American country whose form of government and economic policies do not meet with Washington's approval.

This resolution was couched in the McCarthyite language of "anti-Communism." It called on all Western Hemisphere countries for "necessary measures to protect their political independence against intervention of international communism, acting in the interest of an alien despotism."

As explained by N.Y. Times correspondent Sam Pope Brewer, this resolution is not aimed at

Hits Wall Street Imperialism



Guatemalan foreign minister Guillermo Toriello (right) confers with another delegate at the 10th Inter-American Conference in Caracas that began March 1. Toriello stated the aim of Wall Street monopolies is to impose "dollar diplomacy" on Latin America through "internationalization of McCarthyism."

defense against military attack. It is directed at the internal politics of Latin American countries — at "any control of an American government by Communists," which comes under the heading of "an aggression which is not an armed attack."

This "unarmed aggression" formula for U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries was originally included in the Inter-American pact signed at Rio de Janeiro back in 1947. Why was another Inter-American conference needed for the exclusive purpose, so far as Washington is concerned, of reiterating a program long ago foisted on the colonial and

semi-colonial countries of Latin America? The conference and resolution were designed to stress Washington's determination to bring to heel, by direct intervention if necessary, any country that fails to line up with U.S. imperialism and its world policy or that maintains a domestic policy in conflict with U.S. imperialist interests. It is aimed particularly at countries like Bolivia which in the recent period has introduced land reform and nationalization measures that hit at U.S. interests which had long exploited the Bolivian people.

Although the U.S. delegation at Caracas made much of the

Guatemala situation, it is really the Bolivian revolutionary development that is U.S. imperialism's gravest concern. Wall Street does not regard Stalinist influence in the Guatemala labor movement as any real revolutionary threat. As Milton Bracker wrote in the March 3 N.Y. Times, the regime of President Jacobo Arbenz Gusman "is neither Communist nor dominated by Communists . . . The chances of a Red coup are regarded as most unlikely . . . is a non-Communist and not necessarily democratic, overturn originating in . . . circles within the Army. The real problem of communism in Guatemala is not a Communist revolt or seizure of Executive power."

The Stalinist aim, affirms the Times correspondent, is merely "to heckle, goad, sting and constantly harass the United States . . ."

In Bolivia, the Stalinists have no important influence in the labor movement. The leadership is constituted by far more left elements, with genuinely revolutionary aspirations. The leading workers party is the Trotskyist POR which has been fighting for workers' power and socialism. The U.S. recognizes the revolutionary threat in Bolivia and is exerting all pressure and influence to beat it down. By combined threats and concessions, it has induced the petty-bourgeois Estenssoro government to drive the Trotskyist party into illegality.

McCarthyism in the United States is aimed at smashing the labor movement and destroying the rights of Negroes, Jews and other minorities. The "internationalization of McCarthyism," as reflected in the Caracas conference, is aimed at smashing all struggles of the Latin American peoples for economic and social betterment, political freedom and release from the bonds of foreign domination.

It was not by accident that the vilest dictatorship and military regimes in the Western Hemisphere, Cuba, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Colombia and Venezuela, took the lead in pushing the U.S. resolution on "communism."

An article in the August 1952 International Oil Worker, organ of the CIO Oil Workers International Union, vividly described the brutally anti-labor regime of Venezuela, host of the Caracas conference.

"Right on the doorsteps of the United States," wrote the oil union's paper, "a vicious military dictatorship is persecuting and torturing our brother oil workers . . . We refer to Venezuela, where a military junta is carrying on brutalities and tortures which we doubt have been matched in the 20th century except by Hitler . . . Union leaders have been tortured in bestial fashion in the prisons of Caracas . . . Venezuela is one of Wall Street's richest colonies. We become sick at the stomach when we think of the fact that American oil companies are in the midst of the act in Venezuela."

To cover up the stench of dictatorships like that in Venezuela lining up as the most eager supporters of Dulles' resolution of intervention, the conference passed another "human rights" resolution. Even the cynical and hypocritical N. Y. Times felt impelled to anticipate the sardonic comment this would arouse by admitting: "It is anomalous to see dictators like Perez Jimenez of Venezuela, Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, Somoza of Nicaragua and Odria of Peru blithely signing a document recognizing such rights as freedom of speech, assembly, press and freedom from arbitrary arrest . . ."

But it was no less an "anomaly" for the U.S., while railing against "alien despotism," to be the single country to refuse to vote for a resolution calling for the complete elimination of the Americas of colonies under European — British, French and Dutch — rule. And the U.S. delegates had no words for the "alien despotism" in British Honduras which on March 20 set up an appointed dictatorship with "wide emergency powers . . . aimed at offsetting a possible Leftist victory in the colony's forthcoming general election," as reported by Reuters.

... McCarthy's Counter-Attack

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to face his committee. The prospect of cross-examination by chief inquisitor McCarthy would of course give these job-hungry, career-minded bureaucrats strong reason to pause and think it over carefully before speaking up against the most powerful witch hunter in the country. Whether he wins this brazen demand remains to be seen.

His opponents responded to this calculated barrage of charges, insults and lies by hotly defending themselves and trying to answer with ridicule, like sheep bleating indignantly at the encircling movements of the wolf that eventually sets them milling into frightened stampede.

Worse than this, they handed the fascist senator a major concession. They left the investigation of his relations with the Army in the hands of his own committee; that is, in McCarthy's own competent hands.

By March 22, McCarthy was ready to press from this new vantage point, insisting on the right to act not only as judge but also as prosecuting attorney against any witnesses assigned

are saying can be judged from the comments of columnist David Lawrence, one of McCarthy's more sedate followers: "Maybe those who are ganging up on Sen. McCarthy nowadays . . . will succeed in making him a martyr — and then a hero. This is, of course, far from their intent." But what they are doing is "overreaching themselves . . ."

The character of the capitalist opposition to McCarthy is glaringly revealed in the case of Sen. Flanders of Vermont. Flanders got up in the Senate March 9 to denounce McCarthy. His speech was reported as a "devastating analysis," the result of the senator's own inner cogitations with his upright New England conscience.

On March 10 Eisenhower demonstratively endorsed Flanders' speech. The endorsement was reported by Roscoe Drummond as "the latest in a series of carefully considered steps aimed at putting the reins to Sen. McCarthy . . ."

Ten days later Flanders put the reins on himself. On March 20 in an address at Middlebury, Vt., this candidate for the mantle of a leader in the struggle against McCarthyism praised McCarthy's speech in Milwaukee the night before. He called McCarthy's 20-count indictment of the Democrats for treason and criminal stupidity "magnificent for the Republican Party." There were not many of the indictments, he claimed, that the Democrats could deny. "It looks like Senator McCarthy has finally hit the saddest trail," he said. And relieving his New England conscience, he warmly patting McCarthy on the head: "All will be forgiven if he continues to perform as he did last night."

Flanders, it must be emphasized, was the senator chosen by the liberal Republicans to carry the ball against McCarthy. He lasted precisely one speech and 11 days, collapsing from the strain even before the "investigation" of McCarthy opened.

The performance of Sen. Flanders is one more warning to the labor movement. You cannot depend on capitalist politicians to stop McCarthy! Unless you change your course, you will suffer the fate of the German labor movement which also depended on politicians like Flanders to stop Hitler.

Labor must learn to depend on its own mighty forces to end the fascist threat. That means taking the road of independent political action. Only along that road will the men be found capable of handling the Hitler-type politician now running fast and loose in the nation's capital.

McCarthy has not "lost his gamble." All that is involved right now is one relatively small pot, and he may win even this one. The big and decisive pots still lie ahead.

The real "beginning of the end" will come only when the labor movement and its allies, realizing that the real menace to their liberties and interests is McCarthyite fascism, organize an independent Labor Party to take power on a program capable of solving their problems.

... Liberals Crow too Soon

(Continued from page 1)

to suppress him, but only to contain him within conventional limits," Joseph C. Hirsch astutely observed in the March 12 Christian Science Monitor. The White House still wants to use McCarthy; all it wants is to curb him a little so that he will be more like "a member of the team."

But if it comes to the worst and it is shown that he was guilty of all these things and others, his political position will still remain strong. His falsehoods have been exposed before; newspapers have printed details about his dishonest financial dealings; his associates never smelled like a rose, and anyhow he can always dump Cohn as a scapegoat; it's common knowledge that all politicians try to get favors, including military commissions, for their cronies.

"So what?" the followers of McCarthy will demand. "I am not interested in the method, but in the results, and McCarthy is still my man because he's the one who is most determined to wipe out the communists, whom all the other politicians agree should be wiped out. Besides, where blackmail is concerned, the other side is probably no better than McCarthy; if they weren't trying to pressure him into calling off his investigations of the Army, then why were they holding so many meetings with him?"

The second fact that is generally overlooked is that McCarthy, in Lerner's own words last month, represents "a new breed, with a new brand." His present difficulties would probably be enough to finish the career of an ordinary politician of the old breed, who depends largely on "party regularity," seniority, patronage, etc. But McCarthy is different. He doesn't expect to come to power in the traditional or conventional way. His aim is to organize such a powerful mass movement, in or out of the two-party system, that even his capitalist rivals won't dare to remain in his way. His clashes with the nominal leaders of his own party, which would probably be fatal for most politicians, only establish his "independence" in the public eye and serve in the long run to enhance his prestige by differentiating him from the traditional type of politician.

This will be an enormous advantage to him in the future, when millions of people, dissatisfied with the failure of traditional politics to solve the problems of the coming social crisis, will be looking for a new kind of leadership.

Thus, even if he is defeated in the present dispute, it will not be on fundamental grounds, and it will not be an irreversible defeat, any more than Hitler's setbacks were.

McCarthy has not "lost his gamble." All that is involved right now is one relatively small pot, and he may win even this one. The big and decisive pots still lie ahead.

Moreover, the very nature of the present attack on McCarthy is evidence that his political survival is not at stake. The challenge in the Schine case is not to his basic thesis that "communism" must be destroyed at all costs, but to his veracity, his honesty, his associates, and his efforts to save one of these from Sunday KP.

That's why McCarthy will find himself offered plenty of escape-outlets from the present dispute, if he doesn't come out on top altogether, and that's why he is not even faced with the question of political survival.

As for the Democrats, their opposition to McCarthy is no more fundamental or irreconcilable. Like Eisenhower, they don't object to McCarthyism just long so as it isn't turned against them. Witch hunts are fine in their eyes — they claim the credit for starting them — all they want is not to be victimized themselves.

Agreeing with McCarthy that "communism is a menace" and must be suppressed, they leave him with the initiative to decide just what "communism" is and how it should be suppressed. McCarthy's mass following thinks, in the words of one letter-writer last week, "I am not interested in the method, only in the results." The line of the Democrats, which continually feeds this sentiment by their own efforts to exploit "anti-communism," makes it impossible for them to seriously isolate McCarthy from the millions who look to him for leadership.

LOS ANGELES
Anti-McCarthy Meeting
MURRY WEISS
presents
A Fighting Program Against McCarthyism
Chairman:
JAMES P. CANNON
Saturday, April 3, 8 P.M.
Embassy Auditorium
829 S. Grand Ave., North Hall
Admission 50c
Unemployed Free

Banquet in Honor of Murry Weiss
Saturday, April 10
1702 E. 4th St.
For reservations, call ANgeles 9-4963

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum
presents a talk on
American Youth — Are They Going Anywhere?
Speaker:
Joyce Cowley
Friday, April 2, at 8:30 P.M.
at 52 Market Street

\$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Detroit	\$ 500	\$ 399	68
Newark	400	220	55
Buffalo	1,500	750	50
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	440	37
San Francisco	700	164	23
New York	3,000	669	22
Boston	400	92	18
Philadelphia	400	73	18
Chicago	1,500	226	15
Los Angeles	2,500	337	13
Allentown	75	5	7
Pittsburgh	150	10	7
Milwaukee	250	15	6
Akron	100	0	0
Cleveland	250	0	0
Oakland	250	0	0
St. Louis	75	0	0
Seattle	250	0	0
Youngstown	150	0	0
General	250	30	12
Total through Mar. 22	\$14,000	\$3,370	24

... ANTI-MCCARTHY CAMPAIGN

(Continued from page 1)

of schedule, for 38% of the time of the campaign has elapsed.

This week's congratulations must go to the San Francisco branch which jumped from the bottom of the list to fifth place. San Francisco writes that most of the \$164 sent in this week was donated by friends of the party. Boston made seventh place. Allentown and Pittsburgh also made a beginning. We now have only five branches that have yet to make a start.

Los Angeles sent in \$150 on their quota this week and with it, a check for \$50 to help the Detroit branch out during its petition campaign. That was LA's way of expressing its approval of the bold decision to enter the Michigan electoral fight. That's a pretty good way to say: "Best wishes for the success of your campaign."

The first week of the Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign has gone by. The Newark branch has already to its credit 817 points. Newark Campaign Director, R. Franklin writes: "This literature was sold at three union meetings, one Progressive Party meeting, and one SWP meeting. This happened to be a good week when there were meetings being held which we were able to cover. We don't know if we will do as well other weeks, but we will try our best."

Before this campaign began many of the branches had already done a big job in selling anti-fascist literature. The entire first edition of the anti-McCarthy pamphlet was sold out and all but 600 copies of the second edition have been sent to the branches.

The new Anti-McCarthy pamphlet is now at the printers and will be available soon.

It is interesting to note that on the basis of branch orders for anti-fascist literature in the past few months, in relation to the forces available for literature work, we have the following picture: In orders for the first and second edition of the Anti-McCarthy pamphlet: Chicago was first, San Francisco, second and Los Angeles, third. In orders for The Road to Socialism: Milwaukee took first place with Pittsburgh and Youngstown competing for second place. Newark took first place in orders for The Case of the Legless Veteran with Youngstown and San Francisco following close behind. Pioneer Publishers was unable to fill orders for this book and gave priority to the home town of James Katcher. Orders are now being met.

This information does not tell us accurately of work done. But it offers some indication of pre-campaign activity and preparations for the campaign itself.

The scoreboard on the Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign will begin in next week's Militant. The deadline for reports on literature sales is Monday. Newark has started the ball rolling. It's up to the rest of the branches to keep it going.

There are but 2,155 hospital beds available in Korea for tuberculous patients, although an estimated 1,600,000 Koreans are suffering from the dread disease, according to Dr. C. R. Joy, a CARE representative in that country.

Subscriptions: \$5 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.00 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 10c each in foreign countries.

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An 'Objective' Biographer 'Restores' Leon Trotsky

By George Breitman

In the preface to his new book, *The Prophet Armed*, Isaac Deutscher undertakes to explain why he wrote the biography of Leon Trotsky, of which this volume is the first half.

"For nearly thirty years," he says, "the powerful propaganda machines of Stalinism worked furiously to expunge Trotsky's name from the annals of the revolution, or to leave it there only as the synonym for arch-traitor. . . . The work of the tomb-robbers has, in this present instance, been so persistent that it has strongly affected the views even of independent Western historians and scholars."

To counteract the lies of Stalinism and the neglect of Western historians — this is indeed a worthy and commendable aim. But there are many ways of accomplishing it. One way would be to reprint the many works of Trotsky himself, including his autobiography, and to get printed in English for the first time his many works that have never been translated. After all, Trotsky was among other things a literary genius.

Couldn't Deutscher have prevailed on some publisher to do this, and couldn't he have used his influence as a "Russian expert" to start a campaign along these lines, even perhaps a money-raising program for such publication?

Whether such a thought ever occurred to him, Deutscher does not say. But he admits to feeling a trifle "apologetic" for covering material that Trotsky himself wrote about so volitionally. "For after a close and critical examination I still find Trotsky's *My Life* as scrupulously truthful as any work of this kind can be. Nevertheless. . . ." (This is Deutscher's favorite technique: every statement that can be construed as favorable must be followed at once, wherever possible, by a "Nevertheless" or a "But." That is the very essence of "objectivity" in the eyes of his liberal admirers.)

"Nevertheless, it remains an apology produced in the middle of the losing battle its author fought against Stalin." An "apologia" — that sounds bad, not the kind of thing any self-respecting "objective" person writes. Furthermore, an apology produced in the middle of a battle in which the author was involved. That also doesn't sound too good — everyone knows how hard it is to avoid subjectivity in the middle of a life-and-death battle — and detracts considerably from the favorable effect of the admission that Trotsky was scrupulously truthful in his autobiography.

"In its pages," Deutscher continues, "the living Trotsky wrestled with his tomb-robbers. To wholesale Stalinist denigration he responded with a peculiar act of self-defense which savored of self-glorification." We will return in a short while to the "self-glorification" charge, although we must admit that we have been utterly unable to figure out what "peculiar act" Deutscher is talking about. Anyhow, his next lines are:

"He did not and could not satisfactorily explain the change in the climate of the revolution which made his defeat both possible and inevitable; and his account of the intrigues by which a narrow-minded, 'usurpatory,' and malignant bureaucracy ousted him from power is obviously inadequate."

Here we must pause to examine another of Deutscher's cute little tricks. Trotsky, he says, didn't and couldn't explain why Stalinism triumphed. Is that true? No, it is one of the biggest falsehoods of the year. Then how

could Deutscher hope to get away with it? Because he is very cleverly referring to *My Life*, written in 1929, and expecting that most readers will take it to be a reference to all of Trotsky's writings.

Trotsky began the explanation in the 1920's, that is, when Stalinism was coming to power in the Bolshevik party, and part of it is contained in *My Life*. Then Trotsky continued and completed the job of uncovering the international and domestic social, economic and political causes for the rise and victory of Stalinism in several of the most important of his books during the next eleven years. Here we need cite only *The Revolution Betrayed*, *Stalin*, and *In Defense of Marxism*.

No one in the whole wide world did more than Trotsky to clarify the Soviet degeneration; this was one of his greatest contributions to Marxist theory. Deutscher himself unwittingly testifies to this fact on almost every page he writes, for almost everything he writes on this subject is borrowed from Trotsky's analysis (a stronger word than "borrowed" could be used because he usually borrows without giving credit to the source) — so much so, that he is sometimes mistaken for a "Trotskyist" by uncritical readers who do not realize that he bowdlerizes and distorts most of what he borrows so that it will serve his anti-Trotskyist purposes.

Deutscher, we repeat, adds nothing or nothing of value to Trotsky's analysis, but he is not above using a device to make it appear that he, Deutscher, is applying the theoretical explanation that Trotsky "did not and could not" satisfactorily make. (The Stalinists, as we can see, are not the only ones in the tomb-robbering business. But at least they don't make the pretense of "restoring" Trotsky's reputation.)

His critique continues: "In *My Life* Trotsky sought to vindicate himself in terms imposed upon him by Stalin and by the whole ideological situation of Bolshevism in the 1920's, that is, in terms of the Lenin cult. Stalin had denounced him as Lenin's inveterate enemy, and Trotsky was consequently anxious to prove his complete devotion to, and his agreement with, Lenin. His devotion to Lenin after 1917 was undoubtedly genuine, and the points of agreement between them were numerous and important. Nevertheless. . . ."

In other words, Trotsky, who was a Leninist from 1917 on, and the outstanding defender of Bolshevism from Lenin's death to his own, refuted Stalin's lies by telling the plain truth. After Trotsky became a Bolshevik, he regarded Lenin as his comrade, teacher and leader, and acted accordingly. He never was a hand-raisers, and he had no more use for cults than Lenin had. He generally reached the same conclusions as Lenin during their six years of collaboration in the Soviet leadership, because they had a common approach to problems; when in the course of discussion they differed, Trotsky did not hesitate to express his opinions frankly in the Bolshevik tradition. He never concealed the truth about his differences with Lenin before 1917, or after; they are there in black and white for everyone to read in his books.

"Nevertheless, Trotsky blurred the sharp outlines and the importance of his controversies with Lenin between 1903 and 1917, and also of later differences."

By this Deutscher really means that he and Trotsky have different evaluations, of the significance of Trotsky's differences with Lenin. What those differ-

ences are, whose evaluation is correct and the political meaning of Deutscher's evaluation will be dealt with in next week's article.

"But," he continues, "another and much stranger consequence of the fact that Trotsky made his apology in terms of the Lenin cult was that in some crucial points he belittled his own role in comparison with Lenin's, a feat extremely rare in autobiographical literature. This applies especially to the account of the part he played in the October uprising and the creation of the Red Army, where he detracted from his own merits in order not to appear as Lenin's detractor. Free from loyalties to any cult, I have attempted to restore the historical balance."

Thus Trotsky, accused on the previous page of some unnamed "peculiar act of self-defense which savored of self-glorification" is here indicted for the opposite sin of belittling himself. How fortunate the modern age is in having this even-handed dispenser of justice to set Trotsky straight on both these distortions!

After this shocking exposure, in which Trotsky is caught, red-handed and barefaced, actually attributing the first place in the leadership of the Russian revolution to Lenin (just as Engels attributed the primary in their collaboration to Marx), how can anyone doubt any longer that Deutscher is more "objective" than Trotsky? And how can anyone now doubt that Deutscher was driven to write this book by the stern necessities of historical balance?

FREE FROM WHAT?

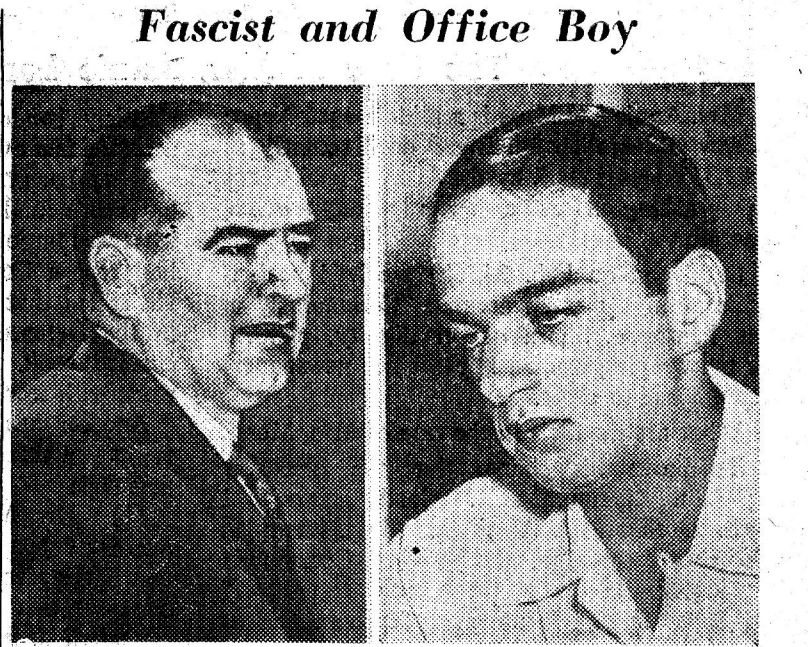
But amusement over these ludicrous pretensions should not lead us to overlook the serious side of Deutscher's preface — namely, his assertion of freedom from "loyalties to any cult," including "the Lenin cult."

In his book on Stalin, Deutscher also used this expression, "the Lenin cult." In the context there it referred to Stalin's disloyal, factional misuse of Lenin's mantle to silence and crush the opponents of Stalinism. Understood in this sense — as the Stalinist perversion of Leninism — the term was not wholly objectionable.

But now Deutscher seems to be giving it a broader meaning (or maybe he is only explaining the meaning he originally had in mind) when he uses the term against Trotsky as well as Stalin. Since Trotsky was genuinely a Leninist, and not one who twisted quotations from Lenin to mask an anti-Leninist policy, "Deutscher's declaration of independence from 'the Lenin cult' must be understood as his declaration of independence from Leninism itself."

This judgment is supported by many other passages in the book, and we will return to it in a future article. Up to now Deutscher has been careful not to state explicitly the standpoint from which he approaches his trilogy and so far as we know, he has not answered anywhere the stupid claims of stupid reviewers that he is a "Leninist" or "Trotskyist." His present declaration is useful because it helps the reader in "placing" Deutscher's true standpoint.

This is a matter not only of historical but also of current political importance. Deutscher's books can be better understood if we bear in mind that right now, while the struggle against the Stalinist perversion of Leninism is still being waged in and out of the Soviet Union, Deutscher declares his freedom of all "cults," that is, of all groups engaged in the struggle, including the Leninists.



Fascist Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) and his chief investigating counsel Roy Cohn (right), have been accused in Army report of trying to get preferential treatment for Cohn's sidekick and former McCarthy investigator Pvt. G. David Schine. A so-called probe of the charges and counter-charges will be held by McCarthy's own committee. (See articles, Page 1.)

World Events

By Paul Abbott

CEYLONESE STALINISTS TURN TO RIGHT. A secret document of the Ceylon Communist Party has come into the hands of Samasamajist, English Weekly of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Section of the Fourth International. The document, written in the Sinhalese language, is entitled "Report on the Political Situation."

Dated Jan. 1, 1954, the report tells about a meeting of the Central Committee Dec. 9-11 that considered the political situation in South-East Asia and Ceylon. The Stalinist chieftains see Ceylon being rapidly dragged into the danger of war under pressure of American imperialism. Mass consciousness, in their opinion, has advanced beyond the desire to defeat the UNP, principal party of the capitalists, to the belief that the UNP can be defeated. Yet their conclusion is that a turn must be made toward the Ceylonese capitalists. They propose a "Democratic Front to save Ceylon from Fascism."

Certain "errors" of the Ceylon CP's own policy in the past are sharply corrected. The current aim of the CP is no longer a "People's Democratic Government"; i.e., a government on the model of the so-called People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. Instead they seek an "Anti-Imperialist Democratic Government."

"We thus have," says Samasamajist, "an abandonment of the Anti-UNP Front for an Anti-Fascist Front and the abandonment of the People's Democratic Government slogan for the Anti-Imperialist Government slogan. Further, we have, in the very next paragraph of this key section of the Report, the abandonment also of any struggle for working class leadership either of this broad front or of this broad government. The document roundly declares: 'A government of this nature (an anti-imperialist democratic government) can be set up without working class leadership of this (anti-Fascist) front.'"

The report doesn't even stop there. In the program proposed for this government, there is no anti-capitalist measure whatsoever.

The demand for nationalization of industry has disappeared. No nationalization measure is proposed even against foreign capital.

"It is an anti-imperialist program which is not anti-capitalist!" comments Samasamajist. "Not even anti-foreign capitalist! It is indeed an anti-imperialist program which is pro-capitalist. It is a capitalist program of democratic reform."

On the central question of the working class struggle in Ceylon, the CP's relations with the Trotskyists, the CP report declares that things have changed since a section of the Lanka Samasamaja Party split away and joined the Stalinists. "We shall not henceforth call for a united front with the NLSPP or summon them to united front talks." This is an abandonment of the previous position.

Thus the new "front" proposed by the CP excludes the principal working class party in Ceylon. "Not the working class but the

capitalist and middle classes are to be the basis and core of their 'Left' front!" says Samasamajist. The Report ends with the complaint that activity of the CP membership is low. It demands that instead of "staying asleep" they should bestir themselves to join in the mass struggles which arise.

NEW CRISIS HITS FRENCH STALINISTS. August Lecoer, who held third place in the French Communist Party, has been ousted from his post as Party Secretary and replaced by Marcel Servin.

The downfall of Lecoer was made known through a report by Jacques Duclos to the Central Committee March 5 which was published in *L'Humanite* the following day. Duclos charged Lecoer with having used the editorial "we" instead of "I" in confessing "errors" of an "opportunistic" type thus seeking to evade taking full responsibility. Among the crimes charged against Lecoer was proposing a "political line which runs counter to the decisions" of the 12th Party Congress "which, in the long run, is tantamount to reducing the Communist Party to the status of a secondary force to serve as a support for certain political bourgeois groupings."

The French Trotskyists issued a special eight-page issue of their paper *La Verite*, addressed largely to militant workers of the Communist Party, explaining the truth about Duclos' attack on Lecoer.

According to *La Verite*, Duclos' real aim is precisely what he charges Lecoer with — offering the CP as a support for certain political bourgeois groupings. "The obstacles on this road, no matter how high their place, are broken without hesitation. The needs of the alliance with the bourgeoisie are pressing; it is necessary, very quickly, to give assurances to the good French enemies of German rearmament, so that they will overcome their distaste at benefiting from Communist votes. It is necessary, very quickly, to give assurances to Laniel himself, so that he will no longer fear the Communist danger when he opens the Geneva Conference and will thus feel sufficiently strong to free himself from American control. Everything must be placed at the service of this policy, above all the organized working class, the domestication of the proletarian base of the Party must therefore be total."

In a period of revolutionary effervescence a man who tends toward independence and towards establishing his own control in key sections of the party must be liquidated.

While Lecoer was a product of the bureaucratic machine, says *La Verite*, he remained aloof from the counter-revolutionary thugs of Stalinism. He still believed in the class struggle and even believed in taking the offensive against the bourgeoisie. For the Stalinist bureaucracy he became a public danger. It was necessary to break him in order to break all those in the ranks who still think in terms of the class struggle.

Headed for Another Korea?

With each new Washington dispatch, it becomes increasingly clear that the Eisenhower administration is seriously weighing direct intervention in the French war on Indo-China. So far it has been the deep-rooted opposition of the American people to such intervention — the kind of opposition that was instrumental in forcing the truce in Korea — that has stayed Eisenhower from making the fatal plunge into that distant jungle battlefield on the other side of the Pacific.

After eight years of bitter war to regain imperialist domination of Indo-China, the French face defeat so imminent and catastrophic that they are now banking almost solely on getting out by negotiating some kind of truce through the mediation of Moscow at the Geneva Conference scheduled for the end of April.

From the beginning the French were able to wage their reactionary war only through the military and financial aid extended first by Truman, then Eisenhower. That aid, costing U.S. taxpayers \$1,000,000,000 a year, represents 78% of the war burden.

Despite this colossal aid from powerful America, the French have not managed to entrench themselves. The Vietminh freedom fighters, pitifully lacking in arms, but imbued with indomitable determination to win independence for their country, have inflicted ruinous blows on the French and their play-boy puppet Bao Dai.

The Vietminh people have wrested 70% of their land from control of the hated French invaders. Bao Dai's control of the remainder is considered by both French and American official quarters to be extremely shaky. Wholesale defections to the rebels by native troops dragooned into the French camp are evidence of the unpopularity of his rule.

The military situation of the French has now deteriorated so badly that correspondents openly speculate about the possibility of actual collapse before the Geneva conference is convened late in April.

In France itself, popular opposition to the war is so profound that Foreign Minister Bidault was compelled to inform the U.S. that unless a way is found out of Indo-China, the Laniel government will fall.

Confronted with the possibility of a victory of the Indo-Chinese people, the Eisenhower regime, afraid at present of throwing American troops directly into the war, are determined to take every possible measure short of actual direct intervention to stave off that victory.

With each new worsening of the French military situation, American aid has been stepped up. But this inevitably increases the danger of direct American involvement.

American companies have been given an OK to contract with the French for American pilots. Chennault's Civil Air Transport is now hiring out non-combat supply-drop pilots. Meantime, the Eisenhower administration is considering making such pilots available for combat duty as part of a non-official "international brigade." Now under advisement is a decision to make U.S. warships available to support French ground troops and to blockade Chinese supplies to the freedom fighters.

The dilemma of the Eisenhower administration is thorny for the Republicans but explosively dangerous for the American people who don't want another Korea. Eisenhower realizes that defeat faces foreign imperialism in Indo-China as it did in Korea. Direct intervention is highly unwise because of American public opinion. Yet Eisenhower finds it distasteful to stand by and see the Indo-Chinese people win. The "loss" of Indo-China would open the Eisenhower wing of the Republican Party to fierce attack from the McCarthyites similar to that levelled at the Democrats for "losing" China.

The French imperialists, battered at home by mass dissatisfaction over the attempted conquest, want out. They hope at best for a deal whereby the Chinese Stalinists would cease aiding the Vietminh forces in return for economic and diplomatic concessions that in the final analysis must be granted by Eisenhower.

They have in mind Churchill's deal with the Kremlin bureaucracy whereby the Greek partisans were betrayed at the end of World War II to the British invaders.

Regardless of the course that Eisenhower's intervention in Indo-China finally takes, the fact remains that the continued, stepped-up program of pouring planes, private pilots and Army "specialists" into the struggle poses the danger of the American people being "inched" if not plunged Korea-style into the war.

The American people must make crystal clear that they will not permit themselves to be dragged into a reactionary colonial war for the sake of the profits of Wall Street and its capitalist cousins. We must echo the sentiments of the French worker, reported in the March 20 *Christian Science Monitor* as saying, "That dirty war! It had better end. Who is it helping? Only the special, wealthy interests who make money out of Indo-China!"

Fulbright Rebels

On March 13, Senator Fulbright (D., Ark.) charged that McCarthy's subcommittee "gets any confidential information it wants" from FBI files, and gets it "whether the information has been authenticated or not."

He named Attorney General Brownell as responsible for giving McCarthy access to the FBI's vast collection of "every kind of gossip, hearsay, and undocumented evidence of all kinds."

In view of the use of such material by McCarthy, the Arkansas Senator declared that he would no longer give personal evaluations of persons under investigation by the FBI "if they are going to be turned over to McCarthy."

"Now Brownell says it is a civic duty to cooperate," Fulbright said, "but I don't see

how I am performing any civic duty by telling them whether I think this or that man is loyal."

It would be dangerous enough if McCarthy were getting accurate, proved facts from the FBI, Fulbright thought, but unprocessed gossip is something else. "In this atmosphere that McCarthy has created, you can go back and crucify a man for something he did 20 years ago. I am not going to be a party to that."

Fulbright deserves commendation for deciding to go by his conscience and stop passing on gossip to the FBI. His refusal to cooperate any longer with the political police who collect garbage for the "confidential" files of the FBI is a step forward.

Now how about the other 95 members of the Senate and 435 members of the House of Representatives?

"Plain American Guts"

A long overdue editorial declaration on the need for militant opposition to McCarthyism appeared in the March issue of the United Automobile Worker, organ of the powerful CIO United Auto Workers union. It is called "Plain American Guts."

This is the first official editorial statement on McCarthyism in that important voice of labor since April 1953, when the editor tried to prove that he was a better anti-Communist than McCarthy by arguing that "Every time Joe opens his mouth, he scores a point for Malenkov." On how to fight McCarthyism that shameful editorial ended with the editor retiring to an ivory tower equipped with a TV set; "What can we do about him? Well, for one thing we could watch wrestling. . . ."

The present editorial points out that the rise of McCarthyism has revealed a serious weakness in America and declares in part: "This weakness runs all the way from a labor editor who, when starting to write an anti-McCarthy editorial, feels it necessary to protest how anti-Communist he has always been, to the fellow who writes to that editor . . . to tell him he is endangering the country's security by writing that anti-McCarthy editorial."

"In between the editor and his correspondent are all sorts. People who are afraid of being regarded as 'soft' on Communism. . . . People who now are beginning to feel that perhaps Jefferson, Paine, Adams and George Washington were, after all, a bit too radical (didn't they engage in a conspiracy to overthrow an

existing government by force and violence?). People who believe that today no American's Americanism may be taken for granted. . . . but must be proved to the satisfaction of the New Inquisition.

"We think it is about time we said to hell with all this." Criticizing the Republicans and Democrats for failure to take a strong stand against McCarthy, the editorial concludes, "Our trouble is not so much McCarthyism as it is cowardice in the face of McCarthyism. We can't think of anything more un-American than cowardice."

These are brave words. But still — only words. Where and when has the official leadership of the UAW displayed any of the courageous and resolute opposition to McCarthyism that they now finally demand of others?

Since the editorial does not indicate how the UAW leadership intend to live up to their new creed of being men instead of mice, we take the opportunity to point to an example they may well consider: The longshoremen of San Francisco organized a militant work stoppage not long ago that ran witch-hunting Congressman Velde's inquisitorial committee out of town. They showed in action the kind of "plain American guts" that the UAW leadership says it now stands for.

Reuther and his associates have a splendid opportunity to measure up to the standards set by the San Francisco longshoremen when the scheduled Congressional inquisition in Detroit rings the UAW doorbell. We await the test with interest.

World the Dollar Built

By Art Sharon
THE WORLD THE DOLLAR BUILT. By Gunther Stein. Monthly Review Press, N. Y. \$4.00.

This book could use a more solid foundation. Stein examines the most important contradictions of our time — the fate of the American economy and its effect upon the world. But he does so from a narrow empirical basis.

This method has limited efficacy. Presenting bits of dramatic evidence from the daily press to show the course of American imperialism "out of their mouths" cannot serve as a substitute for a soundly buttressed analysis. Since the quotations are from 1949-50 the book is dated. Stein's method flows from a false political understanding. For example, he takes the ludicrous position that the cold war was the result of a misunderstanding between the Truman administra-

tion and Stalin. Presumably had Roosevelt lived his superior gifts would have made such a misunderstanding inconceivable. Stein's principal article of faith is a firm belief in "peaceful coexistence" between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Likewise he skates on very thin ice and occasionally breaks through when he tries to indicate the avenues of reform open to the rulers of the American capitalist society. The hard-headed masters of capitalist society, according to him, need only pay close attention to New Deal type blueprints to avoid depression and crisis. This is spinning fancy tales out of very poor stuff.

However, the mass of quotations — a result of very careful scanning of the press, are useful as material for analysis. In that sense it is a handy book for speakers and writers in discussing the developing economic crisis.

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

The Case of Mrs. Annie Lee Moss

Mrs. Annie Lee Moss is a middle-aged Negro widow and mother employed until recently as a \$3,335-a-year clerk by the Army Signal Corps in Washington as a telegraphic-typewriter operator.

Suddenly, on Feb. 24, she received nationwide notoriety as an accused "Communist" in the Pentagon. Shorn of her dignity, pictures of the weeping woman appeared in newspapers from coast to coast.

What are the facts in the case of Mrs. Moss? To prove his charge that the Army is "coddling Communists" McCarthy announced Feb. 23 that Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, identified as a card-carrying, dues-paying Communist during the 1940's, was handling "top secret" messages in the Pentagon code room "as of today."

The Army countered with a statement that Mrs. Moss "never" had access either to secret codes or unencoded secrets. But they fired her.

The "evidence" against Mrs. Moss was testimony of Mrs. Mary S. Markward, a former FBI stool-pigeon in the Communist Party, that Mrs. Moss was a member of the CP in Washington during World War II.

McCarthy added, under questioning, that he didn't know whether Mrs. Moss is a Communist today, but that there is evidence "concerning Communist activities" on her part as late as September, 1951.

Mrs. Moss was brought in to the hearing room. McCarthy suggested she was too ill to take the stand. But she was not too ill, apparently, to be threatened with perjury action if she should deny the charges. Then the fascist demagogue announced that he had evidence from other sources which "clearly established" that she was a Communist Party member.

Publicly condemned before she could say a word in her own defense!

When her attorney protested, McCarthy said her case actually didn't amount to much, but what was important was the fact that the Army had kept a Communist in its message center. He added that it was peculiar that somebody in the Defense Department would choose "a custard cook, and a Communist at that" to work with secret messages.

Another hearing of the McCarthy committee, at which Mrs. Moss finally appeared, revealed:

(1) Mrs. Markward, the FBI stooge whose testimony convicted Mrs. Moss, admitted she had never seen the woman at any Communist meeting. She merely knew the name was registered as a party member in good standing.

(2) Roy Cohn, chief committee counsel, said an unidentified witness at a secret meeting corroborated Mrs. Markward's testimony, but Cohn did not know whether the witness was available to testify before the committee because that unnamed witness was in contact with the FBI.

(3) Mrs. Moss, in sworn testimony, publicly denied she had ever paid any Communist Party dues to anybody, that anybody had ever asked her to join the Communist Party, that she knew anybody named Mrs. Mark Markward, or that she knew the other Annie Lee Mosses listed in the telephone directory.

If Mrs. Moss can be condemned by such hearsay evidence, fired on the basis of un-revealed "corroborating" evidence by unnamed accusers, who is safe? What democratic safeguards remain? — How far are we from fascist norms of "justice"?

"Salt of the Earth"

By Trent Hutter

When producer Paul Jarrico and director Herbert J. Biberman filmed Michael Wilson's "Salt of the Earth" in 1953 in collaboration with the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the New Mexico authorities tried by force and violence to prevent them from making the picture on location; and the U.S. Department of Justice sought to deport Mexican Actress Rosaura Revueltas (twice winner of the Mexican Best Actress award) who played the feminine lead.

An anti-capitalist union movie in an America dominated by the witch hunt — that was a bold challenge. But the picture was completed and is now being shown in New York.

It deals with the New Mexico zinc miners' struggle against racial discrimination and against insufficient safety measures in the mines, and with "the women's fight to throw off the old peasant traditions and gain equal status with the men," as the critic of the N. Y. Herald Tribune puts it. It deals with resistance against a Taft-Hartley injunction and with united mass action as the only means to win a prolonged strike.

And although the leadership of the union that sponsored the film is strongly influenced by Stalinism, the movie is not contaminated by Stalinism: It is honest, does not mention any typical Stalinist slogans and advocates a militancy foreign to Stalinism.

Some members of the cast are professional actors. The rest, headed by Juan Chacon, real-life president of Local 890, IUMMSW, are non-professional. They give a most impressive performance because their hearts are in it.

The bourgeois critics cannot deny that "Salt of the Earth" is powerful; but, of course, they cannot admit that it is true. . . . it uses the

semi-documentary technique very well indeed to dramatize human dignity and courage in harsh circumstances. . . . At the same time . . . it seems to be aimed . . . at creating resentment and confusion. Its conflict is so loaded in favor of the workers that its picture of conspiracy among bosses, police and law is absurd as a sample of modern American injustice. . . . (Otis L. Guernsey, Jr., in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, March 15.)

But the critic reluctantly admits, "The work is capable throughout. . . . There is a severe beauty in the location photography of a desperately poor community"; adding, however, that it is "a corruption of screen journalism." I leave it up to those who see the picture to say where the corruption of journalistic talent is to be found — in "Salt of the Earth" or in the columns of the N. Y. Herald Tribune.

By producing similar pictures on a large scale, the unions could counter to a considerable extent the pro-capitalist propaganda of the Hollywood moguls. Why shouldn't the worker activists of this country, allied to those artists and intellectuals whom the witch hunt has not intimidated, use every possible popular medium to make their voice heard? One good movie is more effective than many pamphlets.

If you are sick and tired of Hollywood's sugary lies, so rarely interrupted by a genuine work of art, see "Salt of the Earth." Its beauty is the beauty of truth, its drama a drama of our time, its heroes the working people of America, its message the toilers' united front, their courageous defiance of oppression and demoralization. "Together we can push everything up with us as we go." And symbolically, the picture's heroine is named "Esperanza" (hope); for her hope is the hope of mankind.

Notes from the News

NEGRO-HATING GOV. BYRNES of South Carolina has been branded "guilty of McCarthyism at its worst," by Walter White, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, White made the charge on March 21 in answer to Byrnes' vilifying assertion that the NAACP and the Ku Klux Klan are an "equal menace to peaceful relations between the races."

SIX-YEAR STRETCH FOR LEGAL "ERROR." Robert McCray won his release from a New York prison March 15 after proving that he had unnecessarily served an extra six years because of a "clerical error." McCray, sentenced to 15 years to life under New York law as a fourth offender, learned to read and write while in prison. He then began studying law books and reviewing his own case. He discovered that one of his four offenses was actually a misdemeanor, incorrectly listed as a felony. Commenting on the extra time he put in, McCray said, "I have both lost and still I have made a gain. I've learned to respect the rights of my fellow man."

THE GENERAL'S HOBBY. Maj. Gen. Roderick Allen, who was widely criticized last week when it was revealed that \$1,200 of U.S. tax money had been expended to build a luxury kennel and runway at Fort Dix for his pet dogs, declared, "If the Army asks me to pay for it I will gladly do so." "I had no idea such a price was put on the construction," he explained. "Dogs are my specialty, the same as persons who have such things as gardens."

CHARLESTON JIM CROW KNOCKS OUT "PORGY." A civic benefit production of the world-famed Negro folk opera, "Porgy," has been cancelled in Charleston, S.C. after the all-Negro cast refused to appear before a segregated audience. "Porgy," with Charleston as its setting, was toured through Europe by the federal gov-

ernment to demonstrate the integration of the Negro in the "American way of life." The Charleston production was planned for the Jim Crow County Auditorium after a public school offered its auditorium but only if Negroes were barred from the audience and white players enacted the roles in black face. Charleston College offered its auditorium on the basis of playing to white audiences one night and Negro audiences another. The County Hall was then obtained on the Jim Crow basis which the cast rejected.

SHADES OF '29? A New York broker leaped to his death from his fourteenth floor office in the Woolworth building on March 17. He left no note of explanation.

COMPENSATION TO CHRYSLER WORKERS for expenses incurred in answering a Chrysler call-back when there was no work was demanded March 17 by the CIO United Auto Workers. Many of the Workers travelled hundreds of miles in answer to the call-back. In a letter to Chrysler, UAW Sec'y-Treas. Emil Mazey said a large number of the workers had been originally recruited from the South and had returned to their homes following the layoffs when "they were unable to obtain jobs in Detroit because more than 140,000 of their fellow workers were also seeking employment." Pointing out that "Hundreds of these workers are destitute and without the means of returning to their homes," Mazey castigated Chrysler's "shocking disregard for the rights and problems of American workers."

GIRARD COLLEGE, an institution for orphaned boys in Philadelphia, city of "Brotherly Love," has rejected the applications of six Negro youths on the excuse that the will of the Philadelphia business man whose funds established the school provides that admissions be limited to "poor, white male orphans."

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THE MILITANT

... H-BOMB, G-GAS

(Continued from page 1) the Geiger counter in their laboratory jumped from an average of 40 to 50 to a peak of 225. The U.S. Navy's Hydrographic Office on March 19 issued a "Notice to Mariners" enlarging the "danger area" around Bikini to a radius of 450 miles. That's 635,850 square miles — an area just about the combined size of Texas, New York, California, Pennsylvania and Illinois. That's the danger area they fixed on the basis of the "small"

second blast. But they have a third big one scheduled for April — April Fools Day? — which is expected to be three times as powerful as the last one. How many thousands of miles will its killing radiation spread?

An ironic foot-note to this monstrous threat of total destruction of the world with a few score H-bombs was the demand in Congress for an inquiry as to whether there were any "avoidable errors" in producing the March 1 bomb that set off a "tremendous blast . . . three or four times greater than was expected," according to a March 19 AP dispatch. They'll probably discover it was a "communist" plot to discredit H-Bomb warfare.

But H-Bombs so powerful their destructiveness can no longer be measured or anticipated are not the worst weapons that American capitalism, preparing for world conquest to save its crisis-ridden system, is devising to let loose on humanity. Something even deadlier has been secretly in the making — a nerve gas that can kill every living thing within a cubic mile with a bomb no bigger than a quart fruit jar.

First news of this weapon of utmost frightfulness was made public in the March 20 Rocky Mountain News, Denver daily of the Scripps-Howard chain. It reported that "Denver's Rocky Mountain Arsenal is making the deadliest weapon known to man — the lethal nerve gas or G-gas . . ."

A tiny drop of the liquid from which the gas is made will kill a man in 30 seconds on contact with the skin. It paralyzes the nerves and deadens the brain. According to Maj. Gen. E. F. Bullene, chief chemical officer of the Army who disclosed the terrifying secret, a mere seven tons of bombs containing the gas could kill every living thing within 100 square miles. Denver is approximately 70 square miles.

G-gas, said Bullene, is "odorless, tasteless and invisible." Its victims first lose their sense of balance, fall down twitching, go into convulsions, become unable to breathe and the heart soon stops. "It's the same thing that happens to a bug when modern insecticides hit it," observes the Rocky Mountain News. It will wipe out human beings like so much vermin. And "the vapor could creep silently over an entire city with no one the wiser until it was too late."

But the American people cannot console themselves with the belief that if Wall Street attacks with G-gas, there can be no retaliation. Just as the Soviet Union has detonated a thermonuclear device — an H-Bomb — so "it is known that Russia has the gas, first developed by Hitler's scientists," reports a March 20 Associated Press dispatch from Denver.

The American people, together with the rest of the world, face doom unless they can wrest the power to hurl the H-bombs and G-gas bombs from our Big Business rulers, end the war-breeding profits system and build socialism, the classless society of planned production for use, without profits.

ACLU Leaders Buckle under Heat From McCarthy

By Harry Ring

The frantic efforts of the official leadership of the American Civil Liberties Union to escape the blows of McCarthyism by loudly proclaiming its own "anti-Communism," is apparently having little effect on the fascist senator, who continues to attack the ACLU as a "communist front."

In our last issue we reviewed the crisis that has developed in the ACLU as the result of the efforts of a right-wing majority on the national Board of Directors — in flagrant violation of the expressed will of the membership — to abandon the fundamental principle of uncompromising defense of the Bill of Rights to which the organization has been dedicated for the past 34 years.

Despite the fact that the membership at a conference held in New York Feb. 12-15 clearly registered its opposition to such self-destructive tactics, the ACLU leadership in a renewed effort to establish its "purity," has released another red-baiting attack on the Communist Party, which can only provide ammunition for the supporters of the reactionary McCarran "subversive" registration act to which the ACLU is officially opposed.

The Board of Directors declared in a March 22 news release that it "recognizes the dual nature of the operations of the Communist movement in the United States at the present time. While that movement seeks to give the impression of being a political instrument . . . it is actually an international conspiracy to seize power . . . wherever it can."

The statement then cravenly assures that "Like all patriotic citizens the Board of Directors of the ACLU expects the government diligently to seek out and punish law-breakers, especially those guilty of treasonable acts against our country, and to provide for the integrity of federal employment. But . . . due process . . . procedure . . ." etc.

If the ACLU is to successfully defend itself against McCarthy's attacks, and to continue to serve as an important defender of civil rights, the membership of that organization must resolutely stay the hand of a leadership whose cowardly course can only prostrate it before the rising fascist menace.



EDWARD R. MURROW, CBS radio and TV commentator, who exposed McCarthy with films and recordings of the latter badgering witnesses. Murrow's program won considerable popular response. (See articles on Page 1.)

Curran Critics Face Expulsion From the NMU

By Art Sharon

The stenogram of the recently concluded National Council meeting of the CIO National Maritime Union and the current issue of that union's paper, the Pilot, make clear the sad fate of anyone who takes seriously his right to run for union office in opposition to Curran's gang.

The opposition grouping in the NMU's top leadership have tried to observe the rules and procedures established by the union's constitution. So concerned were they to keep the tone of their fight as moderate as possible, that they have up to this moment even refused to oppose Curran, president of the union. Instead, they centered their fire on his lieutenants, Vice Presidents Duffy and McDougal, and National Treasurer Hedley Stone. They obviously want Curran to remain neutral.

This has done them no good. Curran played his old game with

them by first appearing neutral until he could size up the fight. At the National Council meeting he opened up an attack to accomplish his next objective which was to split the opposition.

Officials who came to the meeting with considerable grievances against Curran's lieutenants, were informed in unmistakable terms that opposition to these lieutenants was opposition to Curran himself. At the same time Curran kept his attack somewhere within the framework of a family quarrel in order to leave the door open for the retreat of the weaker oppositionists.

CAVE IN

That was accomplished. Boston agent, Sven Peterson, Port Committee official David Ramos, Norfolk agent Carvello and others who would have liked to join a fight for a little more elbow room in the unions, provided victory was guaranteed, quickly mended their political fences and deserted their friends.

The stage was now set for the next move. Curran turned the union's paper into his faction organ and blasted the opposition group as an outside force disloyal to the union and guilty of treachery. No proof, no trial, no right to present their views in the union's paper. On the contrary, they were forced to open up their own headquarters and issue their own material to reach the membership. This was then seized upon as further proof of disloyalty.

When we predicted in the Militant that the opposition would be forced either to capitulate or be expelled, it might have been objected that Curran would not dare expel officials who after all were merely asserting their democratic rights and clearly did not differ with Curran over any policy.

PACE EXPULSION

This week Curran confirmed our estimate and left no doubt as to the fate of the opposition. In the current issue of the Pilot, Curran directs a bitter blast against the opposition and ends with the promise that if they should by chance get elected, he would resign but that "when the votes are counted, another gang of would-be disrupters will have been driven from the union."

It should be clear that the right to oppose Curran or any of his machine in an election carries with it the penalty of expulsion.

This then is the sad fate of union leaders who themselves played a leading role in expelling previous oppositionists and whose witch-hunting record is as good if not better than Curran's.

(More Next Week)

SEASON OPENS ON MCCARTHY AROUND THE LUNCH BUCKET

By Tom Denver

Baseball season opens in a few short weeks, but as far as the workers in the New Jersey plants of the Wright Aeronautical Co. are concerned, it's open season on McCarthyism right now.

Members of Local 669, UAW-CIO, can be heard blasting McCarthy in the corridors, around their lunch buckets, and right on the job.

The following lunch-time discussion is a typical example of how the majority of these workers view the fascist demagogue: "You know," said an old worker, holding up a glaring newspaper headline on McCarthy, "that guy's a worse communist than they are. Did you see what he did to that poor Mrs. Moss the other day? He accused her of being a red, then after they blast her they find out there are three Mrs. Mosses and they're not sure they have the right one."

"He's a real phoney," said a younger worker. "He's even got a fake war record." He dug a clipping out of his wallet. "I cut this out of yesterday's New York Times which is supposed to be a real conservative paper. According to this, he didn't get a medal for being wounded in action. He probably twisted his ankle somehow and asked for a Purple Heart."

"He's always talking about reds in the unions," the old worker cut in. "I've been working a long time and I never met a communist. If I did I didn't know it. I still say he's the worst communist of all."

"Nah," said a third worker. "He's more like Hitler and Mus-

solini."

"Another fellow joined in. 'Yeah, that's right. He's doing the same thing that Hitler did in Germany.'"

"Listen," said a fifth worker seriously. "In Germany conditions were a lot different. People were out of work and starving and everything."

"What are you talking about?" said the old worker derisively. "Things aren't so darn good here either. You name me one guy in this plant who didn't make a thousand dollars less last year than he did the year before!"

"Something's got to be done about this guy. He's no good," said the third worker.

"Did you know that the New York City CIO Council has passed a resolution opposing McCarthyism?" said a new-comer to the discussion.

"Resolution hell!" said the young worker, still holding his clipping from the Times. "What the heck good are resolutions? That's all they ever do is pass resolutions."

New York Tickets For 'Salt of Earth'
Tickets for the limited New York showing of "Salt of the Earth," powerful film sponsored by the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, are available at box-office prices at the New York office of the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, Phone AL 5-7852.

How Stalinists Play McCarthy's Game

By John F. Petrone

Before 1933, when Hitler came to power, three different policies for stopping the Nazis were advocated in the German working class.

The Trotskyists advocated a working class struggle for power through a united front of the Social Democratic and Communist Parties and the labor movement.

The Social Democrats opposed such a united front and adopted the policy of the "lesser evil." In the 1932 elections they supported the reactionary militarist, President Hindenburg, against Hitler.

The Stalinists also opposed a genuine united front and denounced the Social Democrats as "social fascists." This policy alienated the Social Democratic workers and played into the hands of the Nazis, whose danger the Stalinists minimized. At times the Stalinists even collaborated with the Nazis in demonstrations and parliamentary votes against the Social Democrats.

The bankruptcy of both Social Democracy and Stalinism was fully revealed in January, 1933, when Hindenburg, the so-called "lesser evil," himself appointed Hitler chancellor. The Nazis then proceeded to use the state power to crush the working class, which had been politically disarmed, disoriented and demoralized by the policies of their leaders.

In the United States today, when McCarthyism represents a grave and growing fascist danger, the Stalinists are again following a false and treacherous policy.

With slight variations, they have adopted the same "lesser evil" policy that proved so disastrous in Germany. It is masked with radical-sounding phrases, but it is the same policy that paved the way for Hitler.

"Stamp out McCarthyism," says William Z. Foster, Stalinist national chairman in the March 17 Daily Worker. How? "In the coming November elections the labor and progressive forces should defeat every McCarthyite who appears on any ticket and elect strong anti-McCarthy candidates."

This sounds attractive and militant — until you ask some vital questions: HOW can the McCarthyites be defeated in November? WHO are the "strong anti-McCarthy candidates" whom the Stalinists want to elect?

These questions are not answered in Foster's article. But the answers were supplied in a draft program of the Communist Party entitled "The American Way — to Jobs, Peace, Democracy," printed in the March 7 Worker.

What the Stalinists mean by "strong anti-McCarthy candidates" is — Democrats, and even Republicans. All these capitalist politicians have to do is make some anti-McCarthy gestures or statements, and they are assured of the Communist Party's support.

necessity for the formation of an independent Labor Party to really come to grips with the fascist menace.

But the Stalinists are willing to grasp to their bosoms even Democrats who voted for the McCarthyite appropriations, and they are opposed to labor breaking with the Democrats and starting a party of their own in 1954.

"The two-party system," their draft program declares, "remains the force through which the overwhelming majority of the American people express themselves in politics." In 1954 and 1956, it insists, labor must "attempt to fight out the issues within the ranks of the Democratic Party" and to "help bring about a regrouping and realignment within the Democratic Party nationally and within the Republican Party in local areas."

Thus if the labor movement follows the advice of the Stalinists, it will remain a captive inside the two-party system and will continue to elect capitalist politicians, especially Democrats, who turn around after being elected and grant big appropriations for McCarthy to continue his witch hunting activities.

Instead of "stamping out McCarthyism," this policy will continue the political conditions that produced McCarthyism in the first place.

In 1952 the Stalinists were still criticizing liberals who wanted to support Stevenson and the Democrats as a "lesser evil" than Eisenhower and the Republicans. Such "radicalism" has been junked by the Stalinists this year.

What they advocate today is "a popular coalition movement which unites labor, the working farmer, the Negro people, small and middle business, and those groups of capital opposed to the McCarthyite program of fascism and war."

Who specifically are "those groups of capital" the Stalinists want the workers to unite with? The draft program didn't name them. But Foster's article makes it clear: Adlai Stevenson, E. R. Murrow, Senator Flanders, the Army leadership, broadcasting companies — all these, he notes approvingly, gave "a number of resounding belts in the jaw" to McCarthy.

No matter that these people are all rebarbarians themselves. No matter that they all agree with McCarthy's objective of stamping out "communism" at home and abroad. No matter that in the long run they will all unite with McCarthy against any working class challenge to the capitalist status quo, as Hindenburg united with Hitler. The "resounding belts in the jaw" they delivered to McCarthy qualify them for admission to the class-colaborationist coalition advocated by the Stalinists as an alternative to a Labor Party.

Since 1952 the Stalinists have moved further to the right. Expectations that the "resounding belts in the jaw" which the Stalinists have received from the Democrats would force them to become more radical have been proved badly mistaken. Instead of fighting harder against their Democratic persecutors, the Sta-

linists are fighting harder to portray them as a "lesser evil" and to shake hands with them again — and to get the workers to do the same.

The Pabloites predicted last year and the year before that the Stalinists "can go only to the left," and scurried off to meet them in a fraternal rendezvous. But the Stalinists were not there — they are in the Democratic Party. And they are cuddling up to the Democrats again, in cynical disregard of the real needs of the struggle against McCarthyism, because class-collaboration and not class-struggle serves the interests of the "peaceful coexistence" program of the Kremlin bureaucrats (who, the Pabloites also predicted, would go to the left).

(This is the reality that the Pabloites were so fond of invoking, and it will not be changed by Pabloite George Clarke's junking of the term "Stalinist" and his designation of the East European states as "communists.")

The Democrats say that the way to stop McCarthyism is by voting Democratic this year.

The liberals say the same. The labor leaders agree. So do the Stalinists.

And so did McCarthy in his speech on the Harry Dexter White case last November! For McCarthy knows that McCarthyism will never be stopped within the two-party system, and that it will take a new party, based on the labor movement and its allies, to really end the threat of fascism in this country.