

Brownell Seeks Witch-hunt Purge In Private Plants

By Harry Ring

Enactment of legislation permitting employers to fire any worker who "might" commit sabotage or espionage at some future date was one of the key demands presented by Attorney General Brownell in his national TV and radio appearance of April 9.

Under his proposal the present government "loyalty" purge system would be extended to all plants with government contracts, and that includes virtually every company of any consequence, at a time of "national emergency," which can be established at any time by presidential decree.

Brownell's union-busting formula, which would give employers legal sanction to fire militant unionists at will, is a direct extension of the McCarthyite policy already adopted by such powerful corporations as General Electric and International Telephone & Telegraph. A number of GE workers have already lost their jobs for refusing to "cooperate" with McCarthy.

Brownell wants to give to all employers the "legal" right to do what McCarthy and GE have been doing without legal authority and in violation of union contracts.

MAIN TARGET: LABOR

In a fresh demonstration that the Communist Party is in reality but the springboard for attack on the ultimate target — the unions, Brownell also proposed to bring the organized labor movement

under the scope of the McCarran International Security Act. Until now some people have been lulled by the false notion that this police-state law would be confined to use against "foreign agents" and "red parties."

With Brownell's latest proposition, the Subversive Activities Control Board would be empowered to determine if unions were "dominated" by Communists. Any union so declared would be immediately outlawed.

The elasticity of governmental definition of "communist domination" would inevitably stretch to cover every union body that insisted on discharging its obligation to its membership by waging a fight for decent wages, hours and conditions.

This proposal is already embodied in the notorious Butler Bill, which has been widely denounced as a nakedly anti-union measure.

The House of Representatives on April 8 voted 378 to 10 in favor of a bill covering Brownell's proposal to permit the use in federal courts of evidence obtained by wiretapping. In an effort to cut off some of the opposition the measure has aroused, they

(Continued on page 2)

Factory Layoffs Continue to Rise

Although Eisenhower's prediction in February that we could expect an economic upturn in March proved 100% wrong, he's bounced right back with another optimistic statement. On April 7 he said he could discern "rather encouraging signs" in the economy. The President would do better to stick to golf. He is unlikely to come closer to par in his April economic prediction than in his February one.

What the administration is trying

ing to convert into a hopeful sign is nothing more than the anticipated pickup in farm employment in the spring. But the decisive factor — industrial employment — showed a further decline in March. Last month there were 160,000 more manufacturing layoffs.

STEEL AND AUTO

Moreover, new claims for unemployment compensation, which had dropped to slightly below 300,000 weekly in the last week in March, increased in the week ended April 3 to 339,000.

The severe conditions of unemployment in steel and auto — the country's two most basic industries — continue unabated. On April 8, the CIO United Steel Workers reported more than 15% of its membership out of work, a total of 189,000 layoffs. A poll taken in January had showed 118,000 then deprived of work. Another 257,026 steel workers are now on a short week, getting less than 40 hours' pay.

Michigan unemployment, mainly auto workers, rose by mid-March to 216,000, or nearly 8% of the work force. The "critical" or "danger" point, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, is 6%.

"30 FOR 40"

These figures underscore the need for organized labor to take serious action to combat unemployment and protect the workers from its ravages. Central to this problem is the demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay which is winning ever wider favor in union ranks.

Edith Konikow 1903 - 1954

As we go to press, we receive the sad news that Edith Konikow, a veteran American Trotskyist and fighter for socialism for more than two decades, has died after a prolonged illness. Her death occurred April 13 from a stroke, the second in the past year.

Comrade Konikow was born in Boston on Aug. 15, 1903. She joined the revolutionary socialist movement in 1932 as a member of the Communist League of America, a forerunner of the present Socialist Workers Party. She was a leading member of the New York Local for many years.

A special memorial meeting in her honor will be held Sunday, April 18, 2 P.M., at 116 University Place, New York City.

Next week's issue of The Militant will carry a full tribute to the life of this sterling revolutionist.

Local Wisc. Unions Back McCarthy-Recall Drive

By James E. Boulton

MILWAUKEE, April 6. — Two CIO leaders here have called on the labor movement to join the fight against McCarthyism by supporting the anti-McCarthy recall petitions being circulated throughout the state. Their action was in contrast to the State CIO policy of "hands-off the recall petitions."

In a letter sent to the local unions, Stephen Kreznar, president of Local 5501, Communication Workers, CIO, appealed "to you and to your members to participate in the recall of Senator McCarthy and to join in the protest movement against McCarthyism. Only if labor assumes its responsibility can the menace be destroyed."

Local 5501 last week adopted one of the most vigorous anti-McCarthy resolutions passed by any union in this area. (The full text is reprinted on this page.)

Last Saturday Herman Steffes, former state CIO president urged his union, the powerful Nash Local 75 of the UAW-CIO, to defy state and county CIO leaders, if necessary, to support the recall movement, and to constitute Local 75 as an organizing center of

the labor forces behind the fight against McCarthy. His proposals were unanimously adopted.

LABOR SUPPORT VITAL

The recall petition was launched on March 18 by Leroy Gore, editor of the Sank City Weekly, a former supporter of McCarthy. The "Joe-Must-Go" movement has evoked a broad response, but labor support in the industrial counties is vital to the successful collection of 404,000 recall signatures within 60 days.

State CIO leaders, taking their cue from the Democratic Party bosses who have pledged no contest in the event of a recall-election, are doing nothing. Their policy can be summed in the phrase: Let the capitalist politicians decide. But local sections of the labor movement are beginning to get into action.

Among them are the Dane County (Madison) Political Educational League, with delegates from the CIO, AFL and Farmers Union; the Chippewa Valley Industrial Union Council; and a Madison local of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. As of this date, close to 175,000 signatures have been reported.

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267

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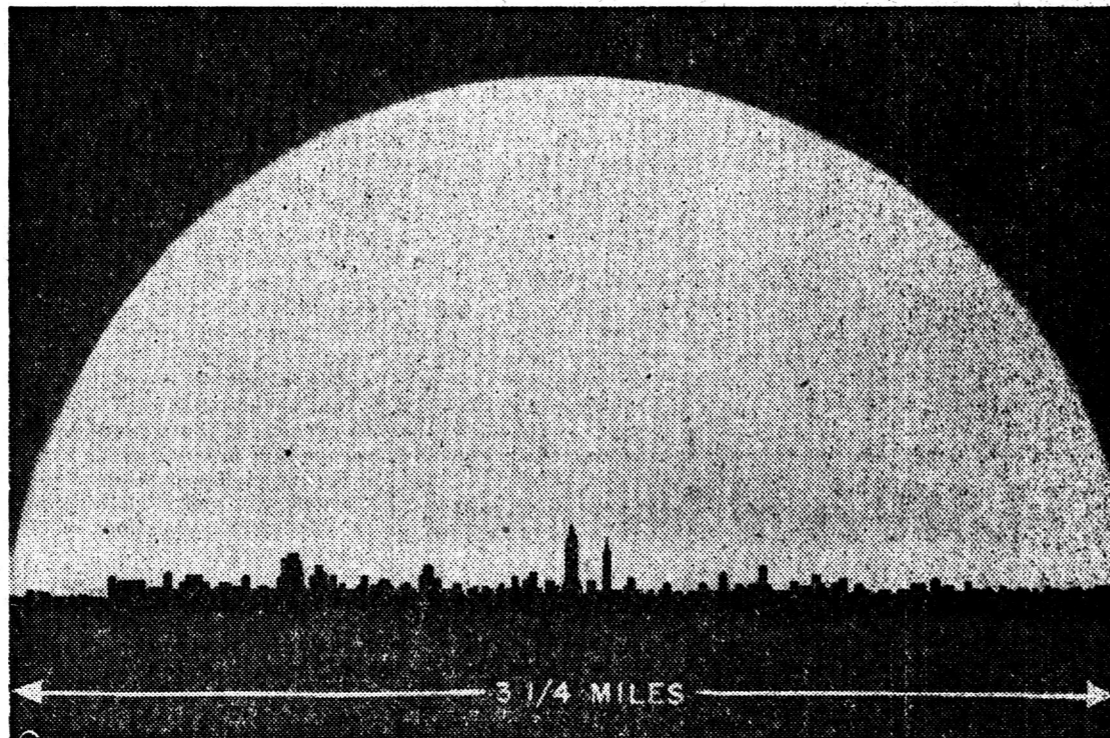
Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Govt. Threatens to Drag U.S. Into the Indo-China Civil War

Area Covered by H-Bomb Fireball



Artist's conception shows area that would lie within the awesome fireball of an H-bomb similar to the blast set off on Einewetok in 1952. With the Empire State building in New York City as ground zero, the flaming center of the explosion would be 3 1/4 miles in diameter, extending from the Washington Sq. section uptown to Central Park.

NO COOPERATION WITH M'CARTHY, UNION URGES

MILWAUKEE — The following resolution has been adopted by Local 5501, Communication Workers of America, CIO:

We, the members of Local 5501, CWA-CIO, have had ample opportunity to observe McCarthyism and to note what it is and what it has accomplished. This is our evaluation:

McCarthyism is a vicious, anti-American movement supported financially and morally by the most anti-labor and reactionary quarters. It is based on fear and smear, the big lie and the partial truth, destruction by headline and the attack against the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution. McCarthyism, if unchecked, would mean the end to civil liberties, the destruction of the American trade union movement, and the conversion of the United States into a garrison or fascist state.

We, the members of Local 5501, hold dear to us the American heritage of freedom of speech, association and assembly. We believe that it should be the unquestioned right of every person to invoke his rights under the Constitution without being smeared or declared guilty. It is but a short step from the crime

of the advocacy of ideas to the crime of thinking and protesting, to the crime of appearing to think and appearing to protest. It should be the right of every individual to hold unpopular beliefs and to join a party of his own choosing if we are to retain our rights to criticize legislators and legislation. It is a grave mistake to believe that McCarthy represents the interests of the workers, the farmers and the small businessmen.

Now, therefore be it resolved, that Local 5501 go on record for the destruction of McCarthyism and the support of McCarthyism's victims. A Committee for the Defense of Unionism shall be formed to implement this resolution. It shall consist of Executive Board appointees and shall act under its direction.

Be it further resolved, that Local 5501 refuse to cooperate with McCarthyite committees. These committees with their Peglerite mentality and methods are organized solely to destroy the unions and to clear the road for fascism.

Why Did These Children Die in School Disaster?

By Theodore Kovalesky

BUFFALO. — A little before noon on Wednesday, March 31, the sixth graders of the Cleveland Hill Elementary School were sitting in their music class. A young practice teacher had just gone to the piano, and the regular teacher stood at her desk. There was the usual whispering and giggling that had to be quelled. There was the usual covert drawing of a fast military plane by an air-minded youngster in the rear. Eleven and twelve-year-old life was going on as usual.

Then something happened. Nobody is quite sure of what it was, although everyone in the Buffalo area has been putting forth ideas ever since. But nobody knows for sure.

In general, it was this way: Suddenly there were flames. Suddenly the whole room was full of them. Suddenly the youngsters, bored or attentive, happy or engrossed in some childhood brooding a moment before, were on their feet wild with terror. A few children rushed toward the door but were driven back by the flames. The others swarmed to the windows, but the windows were stuck and would not open.

HEROIC ACTS

In that moment of terror and agony many things happened. Children and teachers smashed the windows. Teachers lifted and pushed children through the broken and jagged frames. Other children pushed their classmates through the smashed panes, out into the snow. In split seconds there were dozens of swift heroic acts.

One teacher, flames searing at her legs, threw children from the window until she could see no more in the billowing smoke. Then she jumped, believing them all safe. Another teacher, rushing to the room, saved two youngsters, weeping because her own daughter was back there somewhere or other in the midst of the holocaust. One little boy, whose body was later found in the ruins, pushed classmate after classmate from the window.

Afterwards when sick-hearted firemen went poking through the charred debris they found ten little bodies clustered at the place where the windows had been. And in the days that have followed, four more youngsters have died in the Buffalo hospitals, with another half dozen painfully lingering between life and death, so that no one can tell what the final toll of death and tragedy will be.

(Continued on page 4)

Demand that Wall St. Imperialists Keep Hands Off the Asian People

By the Editors

By the time you read this, American troops may be killing and dying once more in Asia. Wall Street's government is whipping up sentiment for direct U.S. military intervention against the Indo-Chinese people, who have fought heroically for eight years for independence from French imperialism.

"The showdown may come within a week," warned the Scripps-Howard Washington staff on April 10. It reports the Eisenhower regime is committed to "saving" Indo-China "at all costs." Simi-

larly, the March 31 Wall Street Journal states ominously that "Indo-China will not be allowed to fall into Communist hands — whatever the cost." It adds: "If the cost is no longer a factor, there is no stopping place."

No stopping place! That can mean only one thing — another Korea. It means more hundreds of thousands of casualties, broken homes, grief for American families. It means millions of Indo-Chinese men, women and children burned to death with napalm bombs and blasted to bits by U.S. "strategic bombing" and another country wrecked from end to end as Korea was.

This country has actually been warring against Indo-Chinese independence from the start — since the end of World War II in 1945. Up to now, Wall Street imperialism has been content to let the French people do the bleeding and dying. But the money for every bullet and every bomb, plus billions worth of war material itself, has been supplied by Washington from the pockets and labor of the American people. Through lend-lease, then Marshall Plan funds and then, since early 1950, through direct military supplies earmarked for Indo-China, the U.S. capitalists have been providing the sinews of war to



DULLES

their enfeebled French class brothers.

Dulles and Eisenhower now seek to justify their policy of intervention on the grounds of "aggression" by the Chinese Communists. They must think the American people are just a bunch

of hoobs to hand out such obviously false and easily refuted propaganda. Everybody knows that the struggle for independence in Indo-China had been going on for nearly five years before the Mao regime in China even took power.

The truth is that this hypocritical cry of "aggression" against China is a cover-up for U.S. aggression against the Indo-Chinese revolution, through financing and equipment of the French invasion, for years before the Chinese could have sent a single bullet to the Indo-Chinese.

DULLES' BIG LIE

It is only because the French butchers, in spite of their superiority in arms and in numbers of trained soldiers, are being beaten to a standstill and face utter defeat that the U.S. capitalist rulers are proposing to save them "at all costs." But the popular sentiment in both France and England is now so overwhelmingly and bitterly opposed to continuation of the Indo-Chinese war that Secretary of State Dulles is compelled to rush in person to England and France to cajole and threaten them into "united action" to continue the attempt to enslave the Indo-Chinese and steal their resources-rich country.

In his efforts to win the "aggression" label on China, and thus justify U.S. intervention in Indo-China, Dulles lied to the Senate that the Chinese were participating as combatants in Indo-China and are "losing awfully close" to acts which he had previously threatened would bring "grave consequences" not only to Indo-China but to China itself.

None was more surprised and astonished by this brazen falsehood than the French authorities themselves. Thus the April 7 N. Y. Times reported from Hanoi, Vietnam, in direct contradiction to Dulles, that "high French military authorities here say they have no evidence that the Communist Chinese have taken part in the fighting at Dienbienphu. They say the French never have killed or captured a combatant with the Viet Minh that they could definitely identify as Chinese."

REVOLUTION LIKE 1776

Besides, what right has this country to tell the Indo-Chinese people, two million of whom have died in the fight for independence, where, and from whom and what kind of aid they are permitted to take? The American colonists didn't hesitate to take help — including troops — from royalist France to defeat George III and his Redcoats. The Indo-Chinese people are defending themselves against armed robbers and murderers and have the right to call for help from any source — including the powerful American labor movement.

The source of the strength of the Indo-Chinese struggle against the French invasion is the revolutionary fervor of the Indo-Chinese people and the overwhelming popular support for the Viet Minh government. Senator Kennedy (D. Mass.), denying that Chinese participation in the war is responsible for the French defeats, declared: "I believe it is because the forces of the Viet Minh have become so powerful (that they are pressing hard on the French, and therefore it is to assist in a civil war that the call for united action [by Dulles] has been made."

Kennedy snubbed the truth. Jim Lucas, Scripps-Howard war cor-

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

The struggle against McCarthyism is a life and death struggle for the labor movement. Many unions have begun to realize this and are beginning to stir into action. This is demonstrated in the steps taken by two unions in Wisconsin (see article, "Page 1"). But no matter how serious a battle someone always supplies the comic relief. The comedian's role last week was played by the sponsors of an anti-McCarthy rally in Brooklyn: Americans for Democratic Action, Democrats, World Federalists, and Norman Thomas.

These would-be leaders of the anti-fascist struggle gathered all their strength, took a fighting stance, and sent a resolution to Eisenhower saying: Look here, like, "McCarthy has not only challenged and defied the authority of the executive branch of government, but has repeatedly snapped his fingers in the face of the President."

After reproaching McCarthyism for "cheapening the struggle against Communism," these embattled warriors moved to action: "Therefore be it resolved, that we 'urge President Eisenhower to take more forthright action to assure . . . that the President and not Senator McCarthy sits in the White House.'"

Thus we have it: The latest (Continued on page 2)

SWP PICKS CHESTER FOR PHILA. CONGRESS RACE

PHILADELPHIA, April 12 — The Socialist Workers Party last Monday filed petitions nominating Robert Chester as candidate for Congress from the 4th Congressional District in Pennsylvania.

2300 signatures were filed with the State Bureau of Elections. In this solidly working class and Negro district, the SWP candidate will appear on the ballot, because of a legal technicality, under the name of the Militant Workers Party.

In an obvious attempt to intimidate voters on the eve of the period designated for collection of signatures, all of the city's papers carried big headlines about a proposal to investigate all signatures on Communist Party election petitions collected in 1940. Despite this, the SWP signature campaign was carried out with little difficulty.

FOREMOST ISSUES

The issues that most concerned prospective signers were unemployment and McCarthyism. Hundreds of the people approached voiced fears of a depression, especially Negro workers, who have felt the growing layoffs more than whites.

Antagonism to McCarthyism was also foremost. Many said they were thankful to be able to sign a petition for a candidate who is fighting McCarthy. One person, mistaking the words of the solicitor, said, "If you're for McCarthy, get away from me!" When it was explained that Bob Chester and his party are against McCarthy, not for him, he quickly signed and asked to be informed of SWP public meetings.

Commenting on the petition campaign, Chester said: "The fact that we were able to collect these signatures without any real difficulty is another proof that the witch hunt has not had the effect on the American people that McCarthy and his gang have desired. The people of Philadelphia have again shown that they are interested in hearing a socialist answer to the problems that confront them. By signing our petitions they have helped to

(Continued on page 2)

Notebook of an Agitator Distortions on Bolshevism and Stalinism

Fascism and the Labor Party

Our campaign against McCarthyite fascism is an agitational campaign to arouse the labor movement to the advancing danger, and to stimulate a counter-mobilization of the workers. Along this road we participate wholeheartedly in every practical action regardless of its official auspices. Such actions have a logic of their own and can lead, in a step by step process, to a final settlement of accounts with fascism and the social system which turns to fascism as a last resort.

The struggle against fascism is an affair of the working class, and the revolutionists would only defeat their own purpose by sectarian abstention from anti-fascist mobilization of the class. The Militant is certainly correct in calling for a general Congress of Labor, to consider the question of a united anti-fascist struggle of the entire labor movement, and in advancing the slogan of a Labor Party as the general formula for the political independence of the workers in this struggle.

There is good ground for confidence that the workers will prevail in the final showdown, and that fascism will never come to power in America. But there is no ground for the assumption that the workers' victory will be quick and easy, or that a mere demonstration of organized labor's opposition would scare the fascist menace off the map.

The German Lesson

The workers of Germany were politically organized in two great mass parties. Moreover, the Communist and Social Democratic parties of Germany, who shared the allegiance of almost the entire working class between them, were at least formally committed to a socialist program. They collapsed under the blows of fascism just the same, precisely because they hoped for the miracle of victory without a real struggle. That would surely happen in this country too, even with a Labor Party supported by the entire trade union movement, if it should offer no more resistance to fascism than plaintive objections and parliamentary opposition.

I believe it is correct to say that a real first step toward a serious struggle against American fascism could hardly be anything less than the formation of a Labor Party. As long as the trade unions are allied to the Democratic Party and thereby, in effect, dependent on capitalist politicians to protect them against the onslaughts of a fascist party dedicated to a capitalist counter-revolution — they have not even begun to fight.

Keep the Goal in Mind

For that reason, it is perfectly correct to put the slogan of a Labor Party in the center of our agitation and to concentrate all agitation around it. But in doing so, we have no need to over-simplify the fundamental problems posed by the beginnings of a fascist movement, and to think that we are doing our full duty if we stop at that. We must look far ahead — from the beginning of the struggle to the end — and keep the goal in mind in all that we do and say. We have to be with the

workers in all their practical actions and in all their struggles. But we will be no help to them if we simply follow along, keep quiet about the workers' present illusions and thereby foster them.

If we see the impending struggle in its true shape as a drawn-out affair, we must recognize that coming developments will work powerfully to realize the slogans of the present. After that, new events will prepare the conditions for a wide-spread acceptance of the more advanced slogans required at a later stage of development. As a revolutionary party, we ought to foresee these developments and formulate the necessary slogans in advance.

Two Tasks

Looking to the future, as measured now only in years rather than in decades or generations, it can be expected that a Labor Party will take shape and command the allegiance of millions of workers from the start. This will represent a real beginning of the anti-fascist mobilization of the American working class, which will just be another name for the mobilization against capitalism, of which fascism is the final resort. But our agitation, and our participation in practical actions leading to this preliminary mobilization, will have real importance and significance only to the extent that we keep the whole line of future developments in mind and prepare ourselves and others to meet them.

If the slogan of a Labor Party based on the trade unions is the most correct and necessary general slogan of agitation at the present time, the simultaneous explanation of the inescapable trend of development toward a revolutionary showdown, and the building of a party of conscious revolutionists based on this perspective, cannot be put aside in the meantime. The two tasks go together; and taken together, they constitute the most important work of preparation for things to come.

— James P. Cannon

By George Breitman

One of the key political questions of our time is the relation between Bolshevism (the theory and movement representing revolutionary Marxism in its modern form) and Stalinism (the theory and movement representing the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy). For different reasons, most spokesmen of capitalism and all spokesmen of Stalinism agree in the view that Stalinism is the logical and revolutionary continuation of Bolshevism.

The capitalists propagate this view because the identification of legitimate Stalinism with Bolshevism helps them to discredit the latter and to discourage revolutionary workers from taking the Bolshevik road. The Stalinists propagate it because it helps them to keep or win the allegiance of workers seeking a revolutionary Marxist policy and party. Nevertheless this view of the relation between Bolshevism and Stalinism is completely false, and has been refuted by the events of the last 30 years during which Stalinism destroyed the Bolshevik party, murdered the Bolsheviks, helped capitalism to prevent or crush proletarian revolutions in many countries and in general became a counter-revolutionary force in mortal opposition to Bolshevism.

We're not arguing the point here, merely stating it. (Readers not familiar with the question are referred to the writings of Leon Trotsky, especially his pamphlet, *Stalinism and Bolshevism*, which demonstrates that "Stalinism grew out" of Bolshevism, not logically, however, but dia-

lectically; not as a revolutionary affirmation but as a Thermidorian negation. It is by no means the same.)

HIS BASIC IDEA

The question is most pertinent when we consider Isaac Deutscher's books on the Soviet Union, including his recent biography of Trotsky, *The Prophet Armed*. Because the basic idea that he too is trying to put across is that Stalinism is a logical and fundamentally revolutionary continuation of Bolshevism.

Objectively, as we have shown in reviews of his previous books, Deutscher is an apologist for Stalinism and an enemy of Bolshevism represented today by Trotskyism. By this we don't mean to charge him with being a Stalinist, or a crude apologist for Stalinism. Not at all.

Unlike the Stalinist hacks, he makes no attempt to conceal the many Stalinist crimes against the working class; he presented these crimes in detail in his biography of Stalin. Unlike the hacks, he does not deny Trotsky's leading role in the Russian revolution; in fact, his avowed aim is to "restore" Trotsky to his proper place in the annals of the revolution, from which the Stalinists tried to expunge him; he pays tribute to Trotsky's vision, talents, etc., and even berates him for "belittling" his own role.

OCCASIONAL SLIPS

On the whole, Deutscher's writings show the marks of intensive research. He says his approach, "presupposing sympathy and understanding (of Trotsky),

is, I trust, as free from denunciation as from apologies." He does not level any direct attacks on Bolshevism, which distinguishes him so sharply from most current historians of the Soviet Union that some reviewers have concluded he must be a "Leninist" or "Trotskyist."

It is only on rare occasions that he slips and gives explicit expression to his real attitudes. (One glaring example is his identification of the dictatorship of the proletariat with totalitarianism, as in his criticism of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution: "to advocate the proletarian dictatorship as the direct objective of revolution in Russia . . . need not necessarily have meant a monolithic state, but . . . inevitably implied an approximation of it.")

DISTORTS WHOLE PICTURE

The differences between Bolshevism and Stalinism are seldom flatly denied by Deutscher; in fact, he generally states them. But after doing so, he also generally proceeds to blur and minimize them. He achieves this by drawing analogies between the methods of Lenin and Trotsky on one side and of Stalin on the other, by presenting events and theories in such a way as to make it appear that Lenin and Trotsky (usually out of good motives) set the precedent for Stalin's crimes, by giving his sharpest and final emphasis to the alleged similarities rather than to the differences between them.

The result is to distort the whole picture. It's as if Lincoln's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in a progressive and revolutionary civil war were cited as "precedent" and "justification" for McCarthy's violations of civil liberties today.

Let us discuss only one of the many examples of such distortion that abound in *The Prophet Armed* — the question of "revolution by conquest."

POLISH WAR

In 1920 Poland invaded the Soviet Union as part of the general imperialist anti-Soviet crusade. The Red Army beat the Polish forces back to their own borders. The question then arose: Should the Red Army pursue them to Warsaw, or stop at the frontier?

Lenin favored pursuit, first because only a decisive defeat would remove the Polish threat, second because he believed the Polish workers were preparing to make a revolution and would welcome the Red Army as an ally in overthrowing their rulers. Trotsky favored stopping, because such a policy would intensify anti-war and anti-capitalist sentiment and action inside Poland and because he believed that the Red Army's entry, instead of speeding up revolutionary developments in Poland, would promote patriotism, chauvinism and anti-Soviet feeling. Stalin wavered between the two positions.

There was no question of principle involved in this dispute, only of military and political strategy and tactics. All the Bolsheviks believed that revolutions must be made by the workers in their own country, and that it was permissible under certain circumstances for the Red Army to act as an auxiliary for revolutionary workers in other countries.

Lenin's policy was adopted, but because it was based on a wrong estimate of the situation inside Poland it proved disastrous, as he himself later admitted. The Polish reactionaries emerged strengthened, and the Red Army had to withdraw from Poland.

FERMENT AND FESTER

Now what does Deutscher say? "Although it had failed it was bound to have a deep influence on the party's outlook. The idea of revolution by conquest had been injected into the Bolshevik mind; and it went on to ferment and fester." Result? "In 1945-6 and partly even in 1939-40 Stalin began where he, and in a sense he and Lenin, had left off in 1920-21." And so he sees a "thread of unconscious historic continuity which led from Lenin's hesitant and shame-faced essays in revolution by conquest to the revolutions contrived by Stalin the conqueror."

Thus Deutscher, tearing events out of their context, puts on a par Lenin's efforts to help a revolution that he believed was on the verge of breaking out, with Stalin's expansionist policy, which was motivated in great part by a desire to crush and prevent the spread of genuine working class revolutions in other countries. Lenin's attempts to help revolutionary workers overthrow their oppressors and Stalin's suppression of workers (by agreement with the imperialists) — these are essentially the same thing to Deutscher, who sees in the first a "precedent" and a "justification" for the second, although in their actual contexts they are opposites. Deutscher does the same thing with the policies advocated by

Trotsky during the controversies of 1920-1, mentioning but then ignoring the specific circumstances that motivated them, and reaching this conclusion: "A similar subtle thread connects Trotsky's domestic policy of these years with the later practices of his antagonist. Both Trotsky and Lenin appear, each in a different field, as Stalin's unwitting inspirers and promoters."

Thus Bolshevism is made responsible for its polar opposite and chief antagonist, Stalinism, and the real irreconcilability of the two is softened and obscured, at least in Deutscher's pages.

"DILEMMA"?

Along the way Deutscher also says: "Trotsky did not live to witness the momentous chapter which Stalin's revolutionary conquest has since written in modern history. His attitude toward the early symptoms of the trend was inconclusive. He was for revolution and against conquest; but when revolution led to conquest and conquest promoted revolution, he was confronted with a dilemma which, from his viewpoint, admitted no satisfactory solution." (Our emphasis.)

This is one of his more barefaced lies. There was no dilemma and nothing inconclusive about Trotsky's attitude toward Stalinist expansionism in 1939-40. The Soviet state, he wrote, had the right to defend itself against imperialism, even to the point of occupying capitalist territory, and despite his opposition to Stalin's policies, he remained a revolutionary defender of the Soviet Union to the end. For the countries seized, he advocated revolutionary working class action to transform them into independent workers states, and when they were incorporated into the Soviet Union by bureaucratic measures he favored defending them against capitalist restoration just like the rest of the Soviet Union.

At the same time Trotsky con-

tinued to advocate the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy, condemning the methods used by Stalin to gain control of these countries as reactionary because they repelled the workers of the world and lowered instead of raised their revolutionary consciousness and initiative.

When Deutscher talks about a "dilemma" he is referring to the distinction Trotsky correctly made between the interests of the Soviet Union and the world revolution on one hand and those of the Soviet bureaucracy on the other. Deutscher thinks Trotsky was inconsistent because he did not give up his opposition to Stalinism after it began to execute its "revolutionary" conquests, which for Deutscher and others became the starting point for a re-evaluation of Stalinism as a fundamentally revolutionary force, now carrying out the program of Lenin and Trotsky in "unexpected ways."

(It is this re-evaluation, by the way, that gives Deutscher so much prestige in the eyes of the Pabloites, who are re-evaluating Stalinism themselves, and it explains why they follow his revelations with bated breath and why they are now giving out with lyrical praise of *The Prophet Armed*.)

"NO IMPARTIAL AUTHOR"

As Samasamajist, the Ceylon Trotskyist paper, remarked on March 4: When Deutscher says that Stalin was for "revolutionary" conquest, "That's the theme that will pay well. The Stalinists will not mind that. Nor will the imperialists — it helps their war plans. Deutscher gets publicity (and cash). And who suffers? Trotsky . . . (Deutscher), who is now an armchair observer of events, is no impartial author. As we said, he says things that are suitable to both the imperialists and the Stalinists."

Some further remarks on Deutscher's book will appear next week.

No Panacea

But even while advancing and popularizing these slogans, which sooner or later will be accepted and supported by millions, we ought to explain their limitations as well as their advantages. The assertion that the Labor Party "will stop McCarthyism," which makes its way into our agitation now and then, is an oversimplification which ought to be guarded against. A Labor Party would represent a gigantic step forward in the struggle against fascism, but is not in itself a panacea for victory.

A fascist movement is an inherent necessity to the capitalist system at a given stage of its disintegration. Nothing will "stop fascism" short of the overthrow of capitalism. This is the simple truth of the matter; and if our party doesn't tell this truth constantly it would have no reason to exist. There are plenty of others to sow confusion and foster illusions, and they are not entitled to any direct or indirect help from us.

... Seeks Plant Purge

(Continued from page 1) added, over Brownell's vigorous objection, a virtually meaningless "safeguard" requiring a court order prior to each wiretapping invasion of the rights of individuals. The measure stands a strong chance of Senate approval.

Enactment of the wiretapping law will open the flood gates for a sweeping governmental campaign of snooping into the privacy of U.S. citizens. For years the FBI has flagrantly violated existing anti-wiretap laws. If this statute is adopted all the stops will be pulled. "Mr. Whiskers" will become "Mr. Ears" with a vengeance.

Union officials, liberal and minority group spokesmen, as well as the ordinary citizen branded

"suspicious" by a neurotic neighbor, will all become fair game for the eavesdroppers. The Federal courts, which have already demonstrated their complete pliancy in the powerful hands of the FBI, will need special staffs to grind out the "permits."

BE-CITIZENSHIP

Brownell also reiterated Eisenhower's proposal to strip citizenship from convicted "subversives" and again pressed the demand for the legal death of the protection against self-incrimination afforded by the Fifth Amendment.

His boastful recitation of the administration's witch-hunting record presented a good piece of the ugly picture of victimizations and political frameups being

perpetrated by the government. Sixty-seven members of the Communist Party have been convicted since 1948 of "conspiracy" to advocate the violent overthrow of the government. Of that number, he proudly pointed out, 38 were imprisoned since the Republican came into office.

In not one of these cases, all brought under the Smith Act, was any overt act even charged, let alone proved. In every single case the "conspiracy" consisted solely of holding and publicly expressing unpopular political views.

The shocking extent to which such a frameup system can be extended was revealed in Brownell's frank admission that the government no longer even bothers to claim actual "disloyalty" as the basis for the wholesale fringes of so-called "security risks."

"Communists do not rely solely on persons who are disloyal and those who are avowed members of the Communist Party to steal Government secrets," he asserted. Included in the hundreds of victimized government employees, he revealed, were those whose "personal habits" were deemed to be such as to make them targets for "communist blackmail."

Those individuals who in recent weeks have taken heart from Republican anti-McCarthy declarations will do well to carefully consider Brownell's speech. In effect he declared to every reactionary segment of America, "Stick with us, boys. We've got the ability and the know-how to enslave the American people with or without McCarthy."

The CIO United Steelworkers union announced April 6 that 189,000 of its members, including 7,700 in Canada, are now jobless. This does not include the still undetermined number working less than 40 hours a week. Last January the union listed 118,000 unemployed.

\$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%	
Detroit	\$ 500	\$ 416	83	
Buffalo	1,500	1,100	73	
Newark	400	271	68	
Pittsburgh	150	90	60	
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	657	55	
Boston	500	275	55	
Youngstown	700	314	45	
San Francisco	400	176	44	
Philadelphia	1,500	643	43	
Chicago	3,000	1,303	43	
New York	250	95	38	
Milwaukee	2,500	759	30	
Los Angeles	75	20	27	
St. Louis	250	50	20	
Cleveland	75	5	7	
Allentown	100	0	0	
Akron	250	0	0	
Oakland	250	0	0	
Seattle	250	0	0	
General	250	55	22	
Total through April 12		\$14,000	\$6,299	45

... Anti-McCarthy Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

word in the analysis of McCarthyism (it is guilty of finger-snapping) and the latest demand (for clarification of who sits in the White House).

The speakers at this meeting spent most of their time protesting their innocence of McCarthy's smear charge that they are aiding "communism," and belaboring to the audience with boasts about their own unsavory records of witch-hunting. They demonstrated the danger of McCarthyism only by the extent of their abject fear.

But enough of these shivering, sniveling liberals. We socialists don't look to the Republicans who spawned McCarthy to fight the menace of fascism. The socialist campaign is directed toward the mass of workers and the minority people who alone have the will and the capacity to fight fascism effectively.

Two weeks ago the Militant reported the victory of the campaign to get on the ballot in Michigan. This week's good news is the story of our Pennsylvania victory. Robert Chester, who is the socialist candidate for Congress in Philadelphia summed up the experience of the signature getters when he pointed out that a real change is beginning to take place in the thinking of the workers. Everyone who went out with petitions came back enthused by the warm greeting they had received on the streets. The most frequent reply reported was, "If this is against McCarthy, I'll sign it."

This was the biggest week for contributions in the fund drive that we have had since the campaign began. \$1417 was sent in this week. Everyone is clearly pushing ahead to conclude this campaign in full and on schedule. Comrade P. Stall writes for the leading branch, Detroit, "We will surpass our quota by at least \$5. And we hope to get more money from friends. We're still flying high and aim to stay that way."

We received \$10 in the mail this week with a very short note: "Donation to your Fund Drive. An Old Friend." This contribution is gratefully received as an

Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign

PLACE	CITY	POINTS
1	Newark	486
2	St. Paul	454
3	Youngstown	100
4	New York	581
5	Minneapolis	261
6	Philadelphia	107
7	Los Angeles	290
8	Cleveland	33
9	St. Louis	14
10	Oakland	30
	Akron	
	Allentown	
	Boston	
	Buffalo	
	Chicago	
	Detroit	
	Milwaukee	
	Pittsburgh	
	San Francisco	
	Seattle	
Total		2356

expression of friendship as well as for the help it gives.

Scores on the anti-fascist literature campaign came in from three more branches this week: Youngstown made third place, Philadelphia got a start in sixth place and Oakland entered in tenth place. The total points for all the branches jumped from 1509 last week to our present score of 2356.

St. Paul sold 155 anti-McCarthy pamphlets this week. Winifred Nelson, who has the top score for any individual nationally with 118 points, writes: "Saturday we sent our Anti-McCarthy Caravan to Wisconsin. We found a good deal of Anti-McCarthy sentiment in the Senator's home state and an immediate response to the slogan, 'Joe must go!'"

St. Paul has top score in the sale of the pamphlets on McCarthyism, with New York and Minneapolis close behind. Cleveland still has the lead with America's Road to Socialism by James P. Cannon and Newark has done the best job with James Kutcher's book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*.

THE MILITANT ARMY

St. Paul Literature Agent Winifred Nelson reports the start of a Minnesota Militant campaign in the Twin Cities. Comrades plan to visit subscribers whose subs will expire in April, May and June for their renewals.

"In addition to this," she writes, "Militant subscribers are very excellent prospects for literature sales. Although we visited many of them in January and February we still have subscribers who have not had a chance to buy the new pamphlets."

"The St. Paul Militant scoreboard already shows 106 points, with Paul the star. Bill B. has five points and Jack one. Paul brought in three one-year renewals from his shop."

Philadelphia Literature Agent George Lorca reports an encouraging response on the campus to introductory copies of the Militant with leaflet attached. Twelve letters from two schools have been received expressing interest in knowing more about the Militant. At the final meeting of the Friends Forum three comrades sold 10 Militants, seven anti-McCarthy pamphlets and one Road to Socialism pamphlet.

Literature Agent Helen Sherman reports some of the work done recently by Minneapolis Militant salesmen. "Bill, Fanny and Norman have been selling the paper and pamphlets and distributing meeting notices regularly in and around a Negro housing project. As a result new people have attended the socialist

forum and Fanny got a new six-month sub to the Militant. Chester brought in a new sub from a worker contacted through selling single copies of the paper and anti-McCarthy pamphlets in an apartment house area. Anyone who goes out to sell our current literature is bound to make friends and get positive results. The new one-year sub enclosed is for a young worker and veteran who attended the Weiss meeting on McCarthyism."

Milwaukee sends in another new sub this week — the result of work by the comrades in selling over a hundred copies of "America's Road to Socialism."

New York Literature Agent John Tabor reports a sale by Manny and Elaine of nine Militants and eight anti-McCarthy pamphlets at a forum on Latin America. Regular sales at some of the colleges and high schools have netted a total of 10 Militants and 25 anti-McCarthy pamphlets.

San Francisco Literature Agent Gordon Bailey writes, "The Militant has been looking very good these last few weeks — very lively and timely. We sell out our bundle each week. Nick sells 12 on a regular route in the housing project. George sells five to people he meets at work. Jack covers the State Employment office regularly where he sells from eight to 10. He expects to build up sales there as the same workers come down week after week for their checks. We have also tried selling outside churches on Sunday mornings. This is a particularly good place for selling anti-McCarthy pamphlets. There is a good response to the Militant too. I sold all I had, 10 copies, in very short order last Sunday."

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Monday, April 19, 1954

McCarthy and Oppenheimer

Those who claimed last month that McCarthy was "through" are now getting a rude awakening. Temporarily on the defensive in his dispute with the Army, the fascist Senator stalled for time. This maneuver received the cooperation of both Republicans and Democrats on the Senate investigating committee. After appointing a notorious McCarthyite as their committee counsel and then replacing him with a right wing Republican lawyer from Tennessee, they set April 21 for the opening of their probe. On McCarthy's request, they postponed it to April 22. But it is not at all sure that the probe will begin that day. The question of procedure is still being debated. If it is not satisfactory to McCarthy, committee chairman Mundt admitted there may be still further delays.

These delays gave McCarthy the opportunity to employ the tactic he has learned so well from Hitler — when you are challenged on one front, shift to another, raise new charges, and make a bigger stink than ever; keep maneuvering until you can hit on a new issue so sensational that it will divert attention away from your weak positions and enable you to recover your public prestige.

That's precisely what McCarthy has done. From his supporters in the FBI, and perhaps even in the White House, he received the tip that the Eisenhower administration had initiated "loyalty" purge proceedings against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist who "built the A-bomb," because of his associations in the 30's and early 40's and because of his opposition on "moral grounds" to building the H-bomb.

This was a perfect issue for McCarthy at a time when the whole country was swept with fears arising out of the latest H-bomb explosions. The H-bomb was delayed for 18

months by communist traitors in the government, he charged on the national Murrow TV hookup — the implication being that he, McCarthy, is being "persecuted" because he wants to save the country from the machinations of such traitors.

The ease with which McCarthy succeeded in shifting the issue indicates that he will be able to emerge from the coming Senate probe, when and if it is held, without any substantial reduction in his power.

The reason McCarthy is able to score such successes is that he receives help, directly or indirectly, wittingly or unwittingly, from the very capitalist politicians who are supposed to be fighting him. The Republicans and Democrats on the Senate investigating committee gave him the time to create the diversion, and Eisenhower's own witch-hunt moves against Oppenheimer gave him the framework for his demagogic exploitation of the H-bomb-traitors issue.

Furthermore, "The Eisenhower administration in Washington is seeking not a total victory over but the political containment of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy," as Washington correspondent Joseph C. Harsch wrote in the April 13 Christian Science Monitor.

The traditional capitalist politicians will certainly never achieve a "total victory" over McCarthyism when they don't want one. But they are not likely to contain McCarthyism either, not for long anyhow. The traditional politicians in Germany thought they could tame and use Hitler too, but it turned out the other way — he tamed and used them. We predict that the present Senate probe of McCarthy will prove no more damaging to his real power than the previous probes of McCarthy that were started and then allowed to peter out.

Labor's Duty on Indo-China

With that precise nicety of "impartiality" for which the conservative trade union bureaucrats in the service of the U.S. State Department are noted, AFL President George Meany has delivered himself of an opinion on the grave Indo-China developments. He told 600 AFL and CIO leaders at a luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy on April 10 of the "dangers" of "appeasement" in Indo-China. He was against "appeasement" in Indo-China. He was against "appeasement" in Indo-China. He was against the "Communists" who are fighting for Indo-Chinese independence from imperialism; he was likewise opposed to the French colonialists seeking to deny independence to Indo-China.

When Meany says he is opposed to "appeasement" the "Communists" in the Indo-China struggle he is stating nothing more than his opposition to genuine independence for that violated country and people. The people of Indo-China are overwhelmingly in back of the Viet Minh regime that is leading the struggle. Even the capitalist press admits this. Not to support this struggle, in spite of its leadership, is to renounce the inescapable duty of the labor movement to support freedom struggles of the colonial peoples against foreign imperialist oppressors.

If independence means anything, it means the right of the Indo-Chinese to self-determination. It means their right to any political and economic system they choose and to relations with any country they see fit. It is not for us to dictate to the Indo-Chinese what kind

of a government they shall have and what form of social order.

The question before the labor movement, the most powerful and progressive organized force in this country, is whether or not we are going to support another Korea, whether we are going to let Wall Street's government drag us into another war of intervention against a popular revolutionary movement, backed by the workers and peasants, and in support of the class of rich capitalist exploiters and landlords.

Suppose French imperialism, for obvious tactical reasons, rigs up some kind of "independence" for its puppet regime in Indo-China in order to cover up continued brutal and bloody foreign domination? Will Meany then drop his mask of "impartiality" and start shouting openly for all-out war by the U.S. on the real independence fighters, who have battled for the cause of freedom for eight long years? That's almost as long as the American revolutionists of 1776 — the "Reds" of their day — fought the British overlords.

The real responsibility of Meany and every other American labor leader, as well as every union organization, is to speak out in the most determined and forceful manner against the whole drive of the bi-partisan Republican-Democratic war clique to drag us into the Indo-China slaughter. Our duty to the American and world working class is to mobilize a nationwide fight to stop the sending of "technicians," money and arms to the French marauders in Indo-China and to demand that the imperialists get out of Indo-China and stay out.

Why They Bypass the UN

Secretary of State Dulles' efforts to line up imperialist "united action" to quell "communist aggression" in Indo-China have raised the question of why his efforts are not being made through the channels of the United Nations, the body established presumably for the purpose of "quarantining aggression." After all, when the Korean war broke out, the U.S. lined up UN sanction for intervention almost overnight. But in the case of Indo-China, the UN has become forbidden territory.

The fact that the United States has shown no inclination to approach the UN and that the French have consistently opposed any discussion of Indo-China in the UN, is a clear demonstration that their case is so tissue-thin they fear to have the issue raised even in the U.S.-dominated UN.

The French intervention in Indo-China is of so nakedly an imperialist character that it has aroused the opposition of the entire Asian world. So strong is the feeling on the issue that governmental representatives of leading Asian countries in the UN, despite their strong dependence on the U.S. for economic aid, would not dare to go along with any move for UN support to France in Indo-China. Some would even feel constrained to speak out against it.

Especially after the experience in Korea, when the UN was quickly stampeded into support for dictator Syngman Rhee, there is little inclination by other nations to swing behind some new military adventure of the Korean type.

One reason why the UN has been bypassed was indicated by the Christian Science Monitor last May 4. "One complicating factor is that this struggle is all within Indo-Chinese territory: and that the French, to date at least, have been reluctant to carry the aggression to the United Nations, lest the UN becomes more interested in investigating French colonial policy than in meeting aggression in Laos."

We have no grounds for believing that the UN, which is a creature of the imperialists, would oppose U.S. intervention against the Indo-Chinese people. But it is significant that the U.S. rulers and their French allies fear to entrust the matter to the UN.

The U.S. was able to cover up the brutal imperialist character of its invasion of Korea by obtaining UN sanctions. For the projected intervention in Indo-China, however, Eisenhower and Dulles can find no better cloak than the two other leading colonial powers — Britain and France — and two small dependents, the Philippines and Thailand.

There is no guarantee, of course, that the U.S. State Department won't coerce the other UN countries into finally consenting to U.S. intervention in Indo-China. Under extreme U.S. economic pressure most of the UN countries might give reluctant consent. But it would require such brazen blackmail and risk such exposure of the real aims of the U.S. imperialists, that the White House and State Department feel it best to ignore the UN.

Pablo Approves Malenkov Economic Policy

By Joseph Hansen

If we are to believe Pablo, a miracle has occurred in the Soviet Union. The Malenkov regime has gone Trotskyist, at least in economic policy.

This sensational news can be found in the January-February issue of Quatrieme Internationale in an article written by Pablo himself, "Apropos the New Economic Policy of the Post-Stalinists." Pablo's argument runs as follows:

"The new orientation given by the epigones of Stalin to the economic policy of the USSR and the 'People's Democracies' in Europe is now vaunted as occurring under the banner of a more balanced, more harmonious development of the transition economy of these regimes. It seeks new relationships among the three fundamental branches: heavy industry, light industry, agriculture. It places stress on the necessity of a more rapid development of agriculture, rendering possible parallel to industry a development of consumers goods..." (Quatrieme Internationale, p. 16.) This does not sound far different from some of the speeches coming out of Moscow, but the next argument, we must admit, has not yet been voiced by the heirs of Stalin:

"The conception of a 'harmonious economy' guaranteeing the continuous well-being of the working masses which the team of epigones is now calling for, was in reality advanced from the beginning by Trotsky and the Russian and International Left Opposition." (Ibid., p. 19.)

The conclusions Pablo draws from these two premises are even more sweeping:

"After around 30 years of following an empirical economic policy in the USSR due not only to the fact of inexperience in the domain of the concrete building of socialism and of the contradictions of the objective situation, but also to the bureaucratic nature of the leadership, the latter sees itself obliged — once again under the pressure of events, of reality, of the masses — to undertake a new economic course which appears generally to adopt the main lines of the economic thought of the Left Opposition and of L. Trotsky in particular." (Ibid., p. 20.)

NO SLIP OF THE PEN Pablo means precisely what he says. For those who might still be inclined to think that all this is possibly only another of those unfortunate slips of Pablo's pen, I offer the following passage which immediately follows the paragraph quoted above:

"If (the leadership) recognizes, in the facts, the necessity of new balanced relations between heavy industry, light industry, agriculture; the necessity of conceiving the real collectivization of the latter as being determined primarily by the proletarian state's means of coercion, but by the capacities of stitized industry and a just economic behavior of the proletarian state (in its role of industrialist, merchant

and banker) in regard to the peasantry; the necessity of a stable monetary standard, as well as of the commercial methods and practices which are part of the conception of the NEP, in order to establish the bond between agricultural economy and industrial economy, so that the important developments of the latter (including the branches of light industry) can lead to a normal, non-forced integration of collectivized agriculture in the over-all plans of the economy and the real balance between production and consumption."

While you are catching your breath before the next stretch, let me remind you to take off your hat. You are in the presence of the living thoughts of Pablo.

LESS SOCIAL TENSION?

"Such an economic orientation," continues our thinker, "cannot but favor a more normal evolution of Soviet economy and lower meanwhile the social tension between the different layers of the population."

"Transferred to the plane of the 'People's Democracies' and of China, it can spare these countries the violent shocks, the sharp turns, the irregular rhythm which marked the evolution of the USSR itself, and in these places avoid its errors."

"But, in so doing, the bureaucracy in fact recognizes the bankruptcy of the theory of socialism achieved in the USSR as well as the theory of 'socialism in one country' in general."

That should be enough, I hope, to show that this is no slip of the pen, but Pablo himself bowing before the new course and the new genius of the Kremlin.

WHY OPPOSE MALENKOV?

If what Pablo says is true, wouldn't it be necessary for the Fourth International to haul down its banners calling for the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy? Wouldn't it be necessary to end the Trotskyist opposition to Stalinism — "Junk the old Trotskyism," to cite the slogan of Pablo's lieutenant Clarke — and support the Stalinist bureaucracy, perhaps with some mild but thoroughly loyal advice about the statesmanship of going a step further and granting a democratic reform or two for the benefit of the masses? And if this course were likely to be resisted by the ranks of the Fourth International, wouldn't it be advisable to introduce it in piecemeal fashion, camouflaging it if necessary while a secret faction is organized to help put it over?

These are not rhetorical questions. They flow inevitably from "the new reality" — if "the new reality" is as Pablo pictures it. In fact, Pablo has already answered these questions in the affirmative by his whole course in the faction struggle he precipitated in the world Trotskyist movement.

What is the truth about the economic policy of the Malenkov regime? Is it really essentially

different from the policy followed for "around 30 years" by Stalin? Does it actually represent a colossal reversal, bringing Kremlin policy into conformity with "the main lines of the economic thought of the Left Opposition and of L. Trotsky in particular"? Or is a smaller reversal involved the reversal of Pablo from orthodox Trotskyism to pro-Stalinism?

BACK TO 1921

Pablo tries to establish that it is the Stalinist bureaucracy that has changed. His method of doing this is curious to say the least. He elucidates what he considers to be the "Correct Comprehension of the NEP," the New Economic Policy which the Bolsheviks had to initiate in 1921. And this constitutes the bulk of his article.

The NEP, as every student of Soviet history is aware, represented a retreat in the policy of nationalization. Considerable concessions were granted bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements in the USSR. These were needed at the time to stimulate economic revival after the years of World War I and the subsequent exhausting civil war.

The retreat was imperative because of the betrayal of the socialist revolution in Western Europe by the Social Democracy which forced the newly born workers' state to continue to rely on its own inadequate resources while defending itself from a sea of foes. Pablo, however, does not deal with this. His factional political needs require him to split the economics of the NEP away from its politics.

Let us continue. Trotsky called attention to another facet of the NEP. On taking power, the Bolsheviks were forced against their will to nationalize industry at too fast a pace. This political necessity, Trotsky warned, should not be considered the norm for countries of more advanced technology and culture where the political resistance of the capitalists after the workers take power can confidently be expected to be far less than was the case in Russia. But in Russia too it would have been superior — had it been politically feasible — to nationalize only as the workers learned to manage industry themselves. The NEP, besides a retreat, involved a re-adjustment of the bureaucratic distortions that were politically unavoidable in the unprepared workers' management of so-called "War Communism."

What interests Pablo is the universality of Trotsky's point about the advisability of a transitional stage after the workers come to power, a stage in which they try to make the change-over from capitalist management to workers' management as smooth as possible. Pablo expands this into a far-reaching conclusion:

"With the historic retreat and the experience acquired since in other examples, certain of the principles and of the characteristics of the NEP appear from

here on out as part of the absolutely inevitable initial phase of the economic policy to which the proletarian state will resort before attaining the stage of a victory including the advanced capitalist countries, and even after, during a period before the national economies are based on an international planned economy." (Ibid., p. 17-18. Emphasis in the original.)

That sounds obscure and abstract until you recall that Pablo is of the firm opinion that we still have "several centuries" of deformed workers' states before us. In that context he presents us with a "law" that applies to all workers' states for generations to come, whether degenerated, deformed, or normal. It is a "law," therefore, that applies with full force to the entire Soviet bloc today.

On Pablo's historic timetable, Trotsky's point about the readjustment aspect of NEP still applies to the Soviet Union. After all, 30 years is only about one-seventh of several centuries, roughly speaking. Thus when the Stalinist bureaucracy after "around 30 years of following an empirical economic policy" announces that it intends to follow "a new economic course" that corrects the old "errors" by achieving a harmonious balance, Pablo concludes that "the main lines of the economic thought of the Left Opposition and of L. Trotsky in particular" have finally been adopted by the Kremlin. This gives us ground for hope that after the initial floundering around the Kremlin will stay on the beam for the next 170 years.

It also demonstrates what the Pabloites mean when they say that the time was never so propitious as now for the spread of Trotsky's "ideas." It explains too why the need for constructing revolutionary parties has lost all meaning to them.

WHAT ABOUT TODAY?

This scholastic exercise in spinning sweeping abstractions from part of what Trotsky had to say about the NEP of 1921 does not provide us with much substance about the world of 1954. Is the Stalinist bureaucracy still faced with the problem of the NEP? Is that the key question in the Soviet Union today? And for the next 170 years?

(And as for going Trotskyist in economic policy, has the Malenkov regime really done more than affirm some benevolent intentions toward the masses? So far as facts are concerned, the most the Pabloites have been able to give us is the speeches of the Moscow bureaucrats. Are these trustworthy? True enough, mass dissatisfaction is high in the Soviet Union and the bureaucracy is under considerable pressure to make concessions. But do promises of concessions equal concessions themselves? And do concessions equal adoption of the economic thought of "L. Trotsky in particular"?)

The truth is that the Soviet Union happens right now to be

racked by one of the severest agricultural crises in its history. As in previous crises, the Stalinist bureaucracy has attempted to meet the situation by purges, selection of scapegoats and frantic efforts to patch things up. All of this "empirical economic policy," as in previous crises, is accompanied by fantastic promises that take in not a few "friends" of the Soviet Union abroad.

What the promises about a harmonious economy (in one country governed by a counter-revolutionary bureaucracy) reduce down to was expressed recently by Voroshilov: "The task has been posed that in two or three years it will be possible to buy all the necessities in every city and every rural district. The task, comrades, is not an easy one, but it will be accomplished." (Pravda, March 11.)

By "necessities" Voroshilov means not only the autos, TV sets, butter, steaks, silks and perfumes sought by the bureaucrats, but the shoes, oleomargarine, salt, matches and kerosene for the family lamp sought by the workers and peasants. Patiently wait another two or three years, says the Stalinist bureaucrat, and it will be "possible" to buy "the necessities." That's the "new course" that Pablo interprets in the official magazine of the Fourth International as an adoption of the economic thought of "L. Trotsky in particular."

NOT REALLY NEW

Despite its seeming novelty, Pablo's expression of confidence in the economic policies of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not really new. Listen:

"Our platform stood the test splendidly. From a fighting document it became the platform of the party."

Those were the words of Karl Radek. (The Militant Dec. 21, 1929.) The platform was that of the Left Opposition to which Radek had belonged. The "party" was the Stalinized apparatus to which Radek capitulated. Smilga on the eve of his capitulation to Stalinism even wrote a document "On the Defense of the Platform of the Bolshevik-Leninists."

What proved decisive for many capitalists in those years, besides the slander, economic pressure, torture, prison, concentration camps, etc., was the left turn taken by Stalin. His announcement of a five-year plan, which had long been advocated by the Left Opposition, was taken by them to mean that Stalin had adopted "the main lines of the economic thought of the Left Opposition and of L. Trotsky in particular."

Trotsky, calling attention to the political conditions that were part of the package deal, observed: "Under these conditions, no one sees in the new five-year plan the expression of a considered and more or less assured course to the Left. No one, unless it be the capitulators." (The Militant, Nov. 30, 1929.) Pablo's dupes should mull that over.

ASK, "WHO AND WHY?"

Of the principal rationalization of the capitulators — that Stalin had adopted the platform of the Left Opposition, at least in its "main lines" — Trotsky said: "It is a poor statesman who takes a political line in short fragments, not asking himself what elements are carrying out that line and for what reasons. Having got into an economic blind alley, the Stalinist cadres, gritting their teeth, are carrying out a left zig-zag, which by force of circumstances and of the struggle itself has carried them much farther to the left than they wished." (The Militant, July 1, 1929.) This left turn did not bow Trotsky over on all fours before the bureaucracy. But then Trotsky was not a capitulator like Radek and — Pablo.

In extension of some of the 1929 capitulators, it should be recalled that Stalin's new economic course, in contrast to Malenkov's current rightist political line, was accompanied by the Comintern's "Third Period" ultra-leftist politics. This was taken by innumerable people to signify that in addition to Trotsky's economic thought Stalin had adopted Trotsky's political thought as well. Therefore, what was the point of maintaining the Left Opposition if its ideas, both economic and political, were finding fertile response in the bureaucracy itself?

Trotsky, however, warned: "The present-day policy represents no less a danger and in certain aspects a greater danger than the policy of yesterday." (The Militant, March 15, 1930.) That same warning applies in 1954 with incomparably greater force after 30 years experience with counter-revolutionary Stalinism.

Let the ranks of the world Trotskyist movement ponder that warning as they read the shameful arguments Pablo uses to justify his public capitulation to Malenkov in the official magazine of the Fourth International.

Strike of Forced Laborers in Soviet Camps

Among the Kremlin's measures of "relaxation," preparatory to the Berlin Conference, was the repatriation of a certain number of German civilians who had been deported to the USSR. Among these was the journalist Brigitte Gerland. She was arrested in 1946 in the Russian sector of Berlin for having collaborated with the Western press. She spent seven years at Vorkhuta, the principal Siberian coal center, situated beyond the Arctic Circle. There, in 60 camps, around 500,000 forced laborers were prisoners of the NKVD. She has just published some extremely interesting information.

According to Brigitte Gerland, these prisoners were divided into three principal groups. Ukrainian peasants formed one of these groups; they became guerrillas in 1939 when Poland was partitioned, fought first the Russian forces, then the Hitler forces, then again the NKVD troops. Deported, without any political or ideological organization, they were the least prepared for any sort of resistance to the conditions at the camp.

The second group was composed of "believers" ("Veruchtschi"), condemned for "religious agitation"; these propagandists of the Gospel, belonging to different religious sects, are members of underground movements which survive in the USSR in spite of repression, and are nourished on the rebirth of religious illusions, inevitable under a regime of totalitarian oppression.

"PURE LENINISTS" Finally, the third group was composed of intellectuals, students from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev or Odessa, and is the nucleus of a particularly intense political life; those among them

who deserve special mention are the "children of the 1937 generation" — sons and daughters of the old Bolsheviks whom Stalin slaughtered by the thousands at the time of the great purge. The children, brought up in state institutions, who had to overcome a thousand difficulties to get into the university, finally met in the camps, where they enjoyed freedom at last to exchange their ideas without constraint, and to work out a common political line. Their programs claimed to be the "pure doctrine of Lenin"; repudiating the regime of Stalinist oligarchy, they are not in the least attracted by parliamentary capitalist democracy; according to their formulation, they will not let themselves be bought by autos and nylon hose; they are fighting for a socialist society, in which intellectual liberty will have its place, thanks to the decentralization of the state. Power will belong to collective organizations of workers and peasants whose model, in accord with Lenin's teaching in State and Revolution, they see in the Paris Commune — instead of in the democratic Soviets of 1917, whose true history they evidently do not know.

One of their groups was active in Moscow from 1948 to 1950, organizing small discussion groups and distributing leaflets, until the NKVD arrested several hundred of them. They were condemned to forced labor after a dramatic secret trial.

AFTER 1948

After 1948, the political prisoners were separated from the ordinary prisoners and were isolated in special camps where they were watched closely. This concentration of political prisoners naturally favored their ideologi-

cal development as well as the birth of resistance movements. The change in material conditions helped also; in 1948, the food situation in the USSR was considerably improved. A special order increased the daily ration of bread in the camps from 400 to 800 grams a day, and meat, fish, margarine appeared. From then on, it became possible to live in the Siberian work camps, instead of dying more or less rapidly because of the frightful working conditions in clearing away the snow or carting bricks at 40 below in the polar night, for 12 to 14 hours out of 24.

Having reached an agreement with the "believers," the students set out to win the administration posts inside the camp. This was facilitated by the respect for their higher culture felt by the semi-literate guards who had been put in charge of the camps by the state ministry of security. They especially reserved for themselves the posts of "brigadiers," prisoners who organized the work of the "brigades" outside the camps. Thanks to their ability at keeping the papers in order at all times, in such a way that the norms of the plan always appeared to be filled 100%, little by little they were able to improve the working conditions. So successful were they that after 1950, refusal to sign gave place to hope and fighting spirit at Vorkhuta, and underground organizations multiplied within the camp.

AFTER STALIN'S DEATH

The death of Stalin aroused great hopes; but nothing changed. The amnesty affected only the civil prisoners. General Derwewko, commandant of all the political camps, declared that "the millions of 'political crim-

inals" will not be released, for they constitute too great a danger to the security of the state."

The fall of Beria awoke new hopes which proved equally vain.

Then the idea of a strike, which had been much agitated for in the secret councils, began to take hold. The group of "intellectuals" and that of the "believers" were agreed on it. The Ukrainian group was opposed; then, in July 1953, a young Ukrainian killed a well-known informer. Under the "law against terror in the camps," he was condemned to death and executed within 48 hours. Immediately, 680 Ukrainians stopped work; the students hastily organized strike committees, pickets, and distributed thousands of leaflets copied by hand. The strikers demanded the freeing of all the prisoners, declaring themselves ready to stay at the work area for five years longer, but as free workers.

On July 20, 1953, the 7,000 prisoners of the first mine pit had stopped work. By July 23, 25 pits were in the strike; on July 25, all 50 pits — about 250,000 prisoners, or half the population of Vorkhuta.

High functionaries of the NKVD arrived by plane from Moscow; at first, they promised various concessions — permission to write twice a month instead of once a year, right to receive an annual visit... As the strike continued, they resorted to force; August 1, 1953, 120 leaders of the strike were shot. But the strike continued, and was still going full force when the author left Vorkhuta on August 4. Brigitte Gerland could see from the station, where military reinforcements were arriving, an inscription in huge red letters: Liberty! (Translated from La Verite, French Trotskyist paper).

By Jean Blake

The 'Fight for Freedom'

The West Coast Regional Office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People struck a terrible blow against the Negro struggle on March 28. At a Fight for Freedom Rally sponsored by the NAACP in Oakland, Calif., the officers of the organization distributed a leaflet labeling six organizations and publications, including the Militant, as "subversive and un-American." Franklin H. Williams, secretary-counsel of the West Coast NAACP, reportedly warned the audience against the Militant and urged those who bought copies to throw them in the ashcan.

Last week's issue of this paper carried a copy of the letter of protest sent to the NAACP by the editorial staff of the Militant. It demanded a public retraction and apology for the slanderous attack on this paper; promised to defend the Militant's reputation and rights by every principled means; and explained how the McCarthy-type actions of Williams contribute to weakening "not only of democratic traditions, but the struggle for Negro equality."

I'd like to add a word on what Williams did to the "Fight for Freedom," the NAACP's campaign to win complete emancipation for American Negroes by 1963, the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

First, he discredited the NAACP. He raised a question in the minds of members and friends of the organization as to whether the campaign is firmly based on the traditional position of the NAACP that "civil liberties are indivisible" and must be extended equally to all.

One of the first reactions I heard to the news of "Williams' subversive list" was: "The NAACP is just like all the other opportunist groups — will sell out anyone else's civil rights for a few crumbs for themselves." I found it necessary to caution this person against the danger of falling into the error of judging a group by the faults of an individual: in this case, blaming the whole NAACP for the unprincipled action of Williams.

Secondly, in the Fight for Freedom, as in any other serious fight, it is most important never to forget who is the enemy. At a time when freedom for all is being curtailed, when traditional civil rights are being turned into their opposite, when attempts to win emancipation from the Negro ghettos are being met with bombings and violence in Cleveland and Chicago, when race-haters are flocking to the McCarthyite lynching bee — at such a time to suddenly turn and launch an attack on the Militant is, at best, criminal stupidity.

In the Fight for Freedom, Brother Williams, the enemies are the white supremacists and all who are against democratic rights and their extension . . . remember?

To repair the damage to the NAACP and make it possible to close ranks for the united effort necessary to struggle successfully against the fascist threat to all civil liberties, an about-face must be made from the course on which the West Coast NAACP office has embarked.

The NAACP must disavow Williams' "subversive" list and reaffirm its traditional goal of advancement of colored people, not adaptation to the current form of reaction.

Schools vs. Jails

By Joyce Cowley

Politicians, courts and investigating committees have made a number of proposals in recent weeks designed to regiment New York City's teen-agers. If these measures are passed, young people will be subjected like criminals to constant supervision and intimidation by the police.

The City Council has proposed a curfew to keep all youngsters under 18 off the streets after ten at night. Teen-agers returning from work or evening classes would need special permits to be out after this hour. Violations would be punished by fining parents or sending them to jail. This law would make it impossible for 16 or 17-year olds, many of them holding down full-time jobs, to go to a movie in the evening. A vote on the curfew was postponed until Mayor Wagner's committee on delinquency had a chance to study it.

Another City Council proposal, backed by majority leader Sharkey, Commissioner Moses and businessmen, would make parents pay for acts of vandalism committed by children. Child welfare and civic organizations opposing the bill point out that punishing parents creates antagonism in the family and intensifies emotional conflicts.

The Kings County Jurors Association made a proposal that all school children be fingerprinted in order to identify leaders of juvenile gangs. They also called for "sterner classroom discipline, protection of teachers and the addition of more policemen to the force." They attacked progressive education and "self expression."

Parents organizations immediately condemned the Grand Jurors' recommendations. Harold Siegal, executive secretary of the United Parents Association, called it "degrading and

defeatist" and said it "smacked of a police state. It is shameful that responsible citizens should fall back in such a helpless way on a show of force."

Joseph Lyford, director of staff of the Public Education Association, stated that "no parent is going to tolerate proposals that will turn our schools into police stations and cell blocks." He suggested the "addition of several thousand teachers and guidance counselors rather than the creation of a policemen's army."

The courts, too, are eager to stop "coddling" youthful offenders. This week three young men, one 21 and the other two 17, were condemned to the electrical chair for robbery and murder. These two boys of 17 are the youngest criminals ever sentenced to death in New York state. One of them was not directly involved in the crime but acted as a lookout.

But cops and judges face one very serious obstacle to the "get tough" policy. There aren't enough jails. Justice Hill of the Children's Court reports that "jails are overflowing and culprits cannot be held in custody even a single night. Young muggers, arsonists, thieves and vandals of both sexes cannot be punished because there aren't any more available detention pens."

All over the country there is an acute shortage of two types of facilities for young people — jails and schools. Politicians in City Hall, Albany and Washington seem more concerned about the jails. They've got a program to "adjust" youngsters to society that's a lot simpler than better housing, new schools, guidance and recreation. "I believe," Mayor Wagner said, "that the police officer on foot patrol is the greatest deterrent to crime ever devised in this age of scientific miracles."

Notes from the News

OPPOSES NEW "KOREA." Carl Stellato, president of the powerful Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Auto Workers, declares in a lead article in the April 10 issue of the union's paper, Ford Facts, "We think the American people should be on guard to see that we are not dragged into another 'Korea' in an effort to pull French chestnuts — which have already been burned — out of the fire."

PEANUTS. Emil Lindhal, president of the Nassau-Suffolk CIO in New York, mailed a peanut to every Congressman in Washington to demonstrate what their tax-cutting program means in the way of savings for working people.

DOGS GET MORE HELP THAN VETS. "Around 52% of the beds in VA hospitals today are filled with mentally-ill veterans," largely because of lack of a psychiatric screening program at the time of discharge from the service and the absence of a followup program to aid in readjustment to civilian life, charged Mrs. Daisee Haberman, national president of the Jewish War Veterans Auxiliary, in an April 4 speech in Cleveland. At the close of World War II, she said, the army spent astronomical sums on its canine corps to rehabilitate the 10,000 dog-members before releasing them to civilian life. "The same type of readjustment program is denied servicemen," she charged.

FEARS H-BOMB, KILLS HUSBAND. The United Press reported April 8 that a Columbus, Ohio housewife shot her sleeping husband to death because "The H-Bomb is coming and none of us will be alive."

ACLU BOARD GETS SHARP REBUKE. The national board of the American Civil Liberties Union drew a scathing attack from its Northern California Branch for its issuance, in clear violation of the expressed wish of its membership, of a "policy statement" denouncing the Communist party as "an international conspiracy to seize power." The April issue of the Northern California ACLU-News editorially declares: "It is not the business of the ACLU to pass judgment on the

Communists, the Chamber of Commerce, Labor Wall Street, Socialists, the FBI, the Republican and Democratic parties or any other groups. The ACLU has the limited, non-partisan purpose of intervening when and only at the point where there is a violation of civil liberties. If any person within the ACLU wishes to fight the foregoing or any other groups they should do so outside the ACLU." The editorial expresses the opinion that the national board is "apparently suffering from hardening of the arteries."

NO TIME FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF. Nearly 200 "anti-communist" bills have been introduced into Congress since January, 1953. They range from measures to outlaw the Communist Party to bills to deny veterans benefits and government loans to "subversives."

CLEVELAND EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS DIM. There are now 30,000 jobless in Cleveland, the highest number since August, 1950, and the layoffs are continuing, according to the March 29 Cleveland Press. Basing itself on a State Employment Service survey, the paper reports that the bulk of those unemployed are unskilled and semi-skilled workers, who are finding it increasingly difficult to find new jobs. In few cases do employers anticipate calling back all of those laid off. "This year is an employers market," says the Press.

FOOD DISTRIBUTION TO PITTSBURGH JOBLESS MUSHROOMS. The County Purchasing Agent in the Pittsburgh area, now organizing the distribution of free federal surplus foods to families of workers hit by unemployment, says "We are now being flooded with requests for aid." His original estimate of 41,000 families in need of such aid was quickly upped to 100,000 after locals of the United Mine Workers, United Steel Workers, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen and AFL Central Labor Union made known the urgent needs of their membership. The March 25 Pittsburgh Post-Gazette reported that union spokesmen have demanded representation on the boards established to handle the food distribution.

Labor Party Is Key to FEPC Fight

By Sam Jordan

ST. PAUL — My union got a letter asking for a delegate to attend a NAACP conference on FEPC and unemployment. So I went.

The conference was to prepare community pressure on the state legislature for a state FEPC law in 1955. One union delegate said that unfair practices in hiring are tied up with unemployment and the two problems should be attacked together as political issues. But the NAACP officials wanted no talk about unemployment. They wanted to limit the discussion just for a state law on fair employment practices.

The officials wanted a non-partisan approach, with support from the Republicans, Democrats, churches and lodges — from anyone against unfair employment practices. With all this support they would approach the Minnesota legislature in 1955 and demand a state FEPC law.

Another delegate opposed this approach. He said these are political problems that must be solved by a Labor Party. I didn't speak, but this is the way the problem looks to me:

To fight discrimination in hiring is like fighting a disease. First you find the cause, and then you eliminate it.

The NAACP officials talk as if unfair hiring is caused by prejudice, ignorance on the part of the bosses. We must educate the bosses to recognize our rights, the officials imply, and everything will be all right. Everyone, even the Republicans, can help us educate the bosses, the officials say.

If we had waited for all the respectable people to protest what the bosses were doing to us, like the NAACP officials want to do, we workers would still be unorganized. Now we know our demands are political and we must support a political party to win them.

Discrimination, like low wages, is not caused because the boss is thoughtless or prejudiced. During the war the bosses hired Negroes. During layoffs discrimination reappears. Prejudice is only an excuse to hide the real reason why the Negroes are the last hired and first fired. The bosses use discrimination as a good way to weaken the unions.

In times of unemployment when the workers need to be united the most, the bosses use discrimination to divide the workers among themselves. Frightened for their jobs, the workers begin to fight among themselves for work. The bosses promote racial hatred so the white workers won't object when the Negroes lose their jobs.

So you see, unemployment and discrimination are tied together. We must fight them as one problem.

But under capitalism there is always unemployment and insecurity. A slowdown in the war preparations has resulted in the recent layoffs and the severe plight of the Negroes. We need a political party with a program that can give us jobs without war scares. We really need a Labor Party with a socialist program.

Sears Goes, Jenkins Comes



Boston attorney Samuel P. Sears (center) had to withdraw as counsel for the Senate probe of McCarthy after it was revealed that he was an ardent McCarthyite. Shown with him are acting committee chairman Mundt (R, N. D.) and Sen. Jackson (D, Wash.), committee members who replaced Sears with another right wing Republican, Ray Jenkins of Tennessee.

STEEL WORKERS STRIKE AGAINST SPEEDUP MOVE

BALTIMORE, April 7 — Close to 10,000 CIO steelworkers struck against Bethlehem Steel Company at the Sparrows Point plant here last weekend, in protest against the firing of a worker in the hot strip mills.

The men in the hot strip mills have been working a four-day week the last two months. In true depression style the company began a speedup program, demanding five and six days' tonnage in four days. Together with this they anticipated laying off several hundred more workers, violating an agreement with the union "to provide work" wherever possible.

Rank and file resentment against this speedup started an organized "slowdown" in the hot mills. Their resentment was shared by workers in the six finishing mills who began to suspect that the same fate was in store for them. Fears were expressed that this was a move by the company to "stock up" for a long strike June 30 in order to destroy the union.

A key man in the 68 hot mill was discharged by the mill superintendent last Thursday for failing to speedup. This became the signal for a walkout in the hot mills, which have a long tradition of union struggle. Word spread to the finishing mills, where people began saying, "If we let them get away with firing one man now, they'll be firing right and left later." By Friday on the second shift all the finishing mills, represented by Local 2609 of the CIO United Steelworkers, had walked off the job in support of the hot mill workers.

More than 2,500 men and women showed up at a mass meeting called by the union Monday morning. Impressed by this turnout, the local president solidified himself with the brothers from the hot mills, calling them men "with red blood in their veins" who "by the sweat of their brow had earned decent working and living conditions."

He served notice on the company that no "goon" would drive the steel workers back to conditions of 25 years ago. He got the biggest hand when he warned the company that if they attempted to fire any member, "we will man the gates." He advised the members to go back to work, with the clear mandate of an armed truce under which only "normal working conditions" would be tolerated.

The workers returned to the job with renewed confidence in their strength and a determination to work at a normal pace.

Two amendments aimed at ending discrimination and segregation in federal housing were defeated in the House of Representatives April 2. The votes were 110 to 87 and 113 to 74.

Farm Children Lack One Good Meal A Day

By R. Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, April 3 — Starvation stalks farm workers in the great central valley of California, it was reported in Kings County today. It is estimated that from 10 to 15% of the 5,000 elementary school children are going hungry because their parents, migratory farm workers, can find no work. This situation came to light when the School Superintendent, Gerald L. Jacobs, asked the County Supervisors for additional funds to furnish free lunches at the school cafeterias. "I want to be sure these children get one square meal a day," he said.

This is happening while President Eisenhower negotiates a treaty with Mexico allowing unrestricted immigration of Mexican nationals for work in the fields. This new treaty with Mexico was the culmination of a long series of events which finally led to a victory for the corporation farmers. When the treaty for importation of Mexican nationals expired last fall the Mexican government refused to renew the treaty without safeguards for their people. Eisenhower's answer to this was the recruitment of "illegal entrants" for work on the farms. By a unilateral act of the U.S. Government they sought to legalize what was illegal before. This

tremendous pressure from the North forced the capitulation of the Mexican government on the question of guarantees on wages and working conditions for Mexican nationals.

Why do the Associated Farmers and other organizations of the large commercial farmers demand an oversupply of farm labor? They claim that their crops are perishable and must be harvested at just the moment they ripen. Because there is a grain of truth in this contention the legislators in their demand for an oversupply of labor. However, the truth of the matter is that the crops could be harvested with a greatly reduced labor force. This was demonstrated during the last war when thousands of farm laborers deserted the fields to work in industry.

HIDDEN SUBSIDY

The real reason behind the drive for an oversupply of farm labor is the desire of the corporation farmers to reduce the already low living standards of the farm workers. With a large reserve army it is possible to cut wages and pit one section of the farm workers against another. At the same time the amount of work any one worker can expect to get is cut down, with the result that they have a smaller an-

nual wage. This in turn throws them on relief that much faster. This relief which the farm worker must get every year in order to live is a hidden subsidy that the general public pays to the corporation farmers. The results are twofold: the pauperization of large numbers of farm workers, who have no hope of anything better, and the enrichment of the corporation farmers and the concentration of land in ever-larger holdings.

News stories of farm workers in distress are an annual occurrence in the farm areas. Usually they are held up as horrible examples of shiftlessness. This year, with unemployment general, this note has been lacking. The distress of migrant farm workers is no less real because of this. This recurring hunger in the midst of fertile fields is part of a social system that condemns large sections to want and hunger in the midst of plenty.

With a rational system of planning for production the farm economy could be put on a sound basis where all who labor in the fields would be guaranteed an annual wage large enough not only to supply daily wants but to cover a comfortable standard of living. The spectacle of thousands of families wandering over the face of the land in search of work must be stopped.

Brownell's List Lambasted by Pa. Legislator

By James Kutcher

On Feb. 17 and March 29 a congressman from Pennsylvania named Herbert P. Eberharter got up in Congress and attacked the Attorney General's "subversive" list. He

is a Democrat, but he calls himself an "old-fashioned" lawyer who finds it hard to understand the "newfangled concept" involved in the "subversive" list, and most of what he has to say on this subject makes very fine reading.

In his first talk Congressman Eberharter said, "Mr. Brownell announced that he had determined to list this organization (National Lawyers Guild) as subversive. At the same time he noted that he was going to serve notice on the guild of his intention to list the organization so that it could then have a hearing before him."

"I must admit that I learned my law in the old-fashioned way and have not yet caught up with these new innovations. The way I learned law, decisions were supposed to be made after notice and hearing and not before. . . ."

"I think it is necessary for the House seriously to ponder this question. Can we trust this partisan, politically minded attorney general, or for that matter any other attorney general, with the power to label any organization as subversive? . . ."

"To my mind, for the attorney general to label and slander any organization that has done nothing illegal, because the attorney general does not like the way that organization operates or because it opposes some position taken by him, amounts to a gross arrogation of power. I think it time that we put a stop to this attempt to govern the country by smear and labeling."

Returning on March 29 to the "hearing" procedure announced by Brownell, he noted: "The Attorney General says to the organization, 'I've got something on

you — if you want to, you can come in and prove to me that you're 'O.K.' . . . Indeed, the procedure sounds more like a plea for mercy than a hearing. The organization is practically adjudged guilty to begin with, and if it crawls enough to please the Attorney General, he might have the grace to grant them absolution."

"Which brings me to the last aspect of this so-called hearing procedure. Who is it that makes the final decision as to whether or not the organizations are subversive or O.K.? Why, Mr. Brownell, himself, the man who started the whole business in the first place. . . ."

(He's wrong on this last point. The whole business wasn't started by Brownell, but by his Democratic predecessor, Tom Clark. Brownell is only continuing what the Democrats began.)

WARNING ON MCCARTHY

Turning then to McCarthy, the congressman warns: "We can indeed shortly look forward to the time when the Democratic Party and half of the Republican Party are added to the subversive list, because they fail to win the approval of this particular individual."

"That is, we can look forward to that time, unless those of us who do not like it rise up here and say, 'We have had enough,' and will not let this thing go one step further. I hope many of my colleagues will give support to the position I have taken."

There isn't much chance of his colleagues doing that, but I hope the American people will hear or read Congressman Eberharter's views on this question, and will say, "We have had enough."

... WHY DID THEY DIE ?

(Continued from page 1)

And now, the reasons? The town of Cheektowaga, a suburb at Buffalo's eastern boundary line, has a beautiful new school in the Cleveland Hill sections. It is a clean-looking, airy yellow brick building only a few years old. But adjoining it was another building, a long, low barracks-like structure of wood, the school's annex. It was this annex, with its jammed windows and poor ventilation, its faulty heating system and lack of adequate fire exits, that went up in a plume of flame and carried off with its black smoke the lives of its little students.

Something or other started the fire. There was recently painted scenery for a school play in an adjoining room. A small hole was found in the exhaust system of the furnace (found by the experts digging for clues when the ten were dead and the other four were dying in their hospital beds). The school's stationary engineer, a distraught man who loved children, has been suspended.

But the reasons, the real reasons? What is the narrow immediate cause? What is the spark that sets off the powder magazine . . . if the magazine is not there already, waiting for the spark, for any spark?

The reasons go deep into the framework of society. The wild animals of the jungle protect their young with all the fury that tooth and claw can provide. But in the jungle of capitalist society the young are allowed to die like this. This is not to say that the individual parent cares less for his child. Every parent in the city of Buffalo and in its surrounding towns shuddered when the horrible news came over the air and in the press. But the society in which we live permitted this disaster to occur.

There have been surveys. They have shown that schools all over the land are firetraps. They have demonstrated that the allocations of funds set aside for education and educational facilities are pitifully inadequate. Board of Education funds in city after city have been slashed while politicians have voted themselves increases in salary.

STORY OF H-BOMB

And perhaps there is another reason, not a conscious one, but one buried deep in the minds of those who rule this stage of things. The day that the Buffalo newspapers screamed out the terrible headlines proclaiming this catastrophe, they carried also the story of the hydrogen bomb. The architects of destruction in Washington sang out glowing accounts of the magnificent des-

tructive powers of this weapon. With lyrical inspiration they told of how any city in the world could be reduced to charred ashes and radioactive dust. (Weep for 14 children whose lives have been burnt away in a firetrap school, but as you weep feel, if you can, a surge of pride in the hydrogen bomb with its label, "Made in America.") Life has grown very cheap under capitalist society. Millions, billions are spent in the development of weapons of incredible horror, while pennies set up safeguards for the young of that society.

SWP DEMANDS INQUIRY

When the tragedy occurred the Socialist Workers Party sent an immediate press release to both of the big newspapers of the city of Buffalo, the Courier-Express and the Evening News, demanding an immediate public inquiry into the disaster. But both papers (who have not hesitated to print red-baiting smears against the party) did not see fit to print it. Meanwhile a secret investigation went on with only crumbs of news leaking out occasionally to the public, while bereaved parents, almost hysterical with grief, assailed the secrecy.

The SWP called also for the inquiry to be conducted by labor and civic groups "with the right of every citizen, who either has children in the public schools or pays taxes for their maintenance, to be fully heard," so that the possibility of a whitewash might be averted.

At the time of this writing, as we have said, bits of information have come out. There will be a final report. The black ruins which today stand under guard in the snow will be cleaned away, and some mechanical safeguards will be added. But no serious improvement can take place until the grasping hands of capitalist politicians have been wrested from their control of the underpaid, understaffed, inadequate school system.

And this cannot happen until the workers themselves take over control of this system and all the rest of society as well and run it in the interests of all of mankind. At that time the lives of children — and of adults as well — will come to have more value in this world than they do today.

Louis P. Marcante, New Jersey AFL president, urged the Eisenhower administration to do something about unemployment, or else "the Republicans will lose control of the country and we may bring forth a leader who will make Franklin Roosevelt look like a conservative."