

## WHAT IS McCARTHYISM?

(See Editorial, Page 3)

# THE MILITANT

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## High Court Gives Employers New Anti-Labor Club

The U.S. Supreme Court has given a new powerful anti-union weapon to the labor-hating corporations. On Dec. 8, the court ruled by a six to three vote that "disloyalty to employers" is legal grounds for dismissal of workers under the Taft-Hartley Act.

"There is no more elemental cause for discharge of an employee than disloyalty to his employer," pronounced Justice Harold Burton, speaking for the court majority.

This decision was made in the case of nine technicians of a television station at Charlotte, N. C., members of an AFL Electrical Workers Local. During a strike in 1949, they distributed a handbill criticizing the station's program and facilities. They were fired for "disloyalty."

In a union appeal to the Court of Appeals in the District of Columbia, an NLRB decision in favor of the company was reversed. Now the Supreme Court has reversed the lower court. In doing so, it has given legal status to a formula that employers have used since the beginning of capitalism in firing unionists and strikers.

Has there ever been a strike in which the scabs who cross the picket line have not been described by the company and the capitalist press as "loyal employees," while the union men have been called "disloyal trouble-makers" and "reds"?

### SHARP DISSENT

In a sharp dissent from the majority of the Court, Justice Frankfurter, joined by Justices Black and Douglas, noted that "many of the legally recognized tactics and weapons of labor would readily be condemned for 'disloyalty' were they employed between man and man in friendly personal relations. . . . To float such imprecise notions as 'disloyalty' and 'loyalty' in the context

of labor controversies as the basis for the right to discharge, is to open the door wide to individual judgment by board members and judges. . . ."

Every employer considers an employee "disloyal" who is not ready to devote himself body and soul, day and night, to making profits for the employer. Under the Supreme Court ruling the worker is supposed not only to be robbed daily of the surplus value he produces, but to be "loyal" to the capitalist who robs him.

### WHAT THEY MEANT

This Supreme Court decision now helps make clear what all the current witch-hunt shouting about "loyalty" really means. It means "loyalty" to the corporations and the Big Business ruling class. For their part, the corporations are making "disloyalty to the government" equivalent to "disloyalty to employers" and grounds for firing militant unionists, as General Electric has recently announced. Thus, "disloyalty" — either to the capitalists or their government agents — becomes an all-sided, all-inclusive formula under cover of which to break unions.

Who isn't covered by this total formula? The worker who wants to get higher wages even if this means cutting company profits is "disloyal." The worker who joins a union when his boss tells him not to is "disloyal." The worker who refuses to conceal and lie about the company's inferior or adulterated products is "disloyal." Workers who shut down a plant and cut off the employers' profits are "disloyal." And they are "disloyal" if they criticize government policies or advocate higher taxes on corporate profits.

## ELIZ. BENTLEY SPILLS BEANS ON WIRETAPPING

Back in Jan. 1950, following disclosure of FBI illegal wiretapping in the Coplon case, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover tried to minimize the criminal activities of his secret political police by stating that at the time "fewer than 170 persons were having their telephones tapped in violation of Section 2071 of the Federal Criminal Code."

Since Hoover's damaging admission of FBI lawlessness, the Department of Justice and the FBI have been attempting to get Congress to pass a law legalizing wiretapping by the FBI.

They claim that the secret police should be allowed to listen in legally on the private phone conversations of the American people because the government needs "wire-tap evidence to prove its espionage cases," in the recent words of Attorney General Brownell.

The idea that real spies would do business over a telephone, or if they did would speak in language comprehensible to any eavesdropper, is fantastic. This is confirmed by none other than Elizabeth Bentley, whom Brownell and Hoover cited as their chief witness against Harry Dexter White.

Bentley, who claims she was once part of a Russian spy ring and has lived for years on her juicy pickings as a professional stoolpigeon, was asked about wiretapping on "Meet The Press," Dec. 6, by Raymond P. Brandt of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Her startling answer did not get into the press. Here are the significant portions of the NBC transcript of the program:

### DAMAGING ANSWERS

Q. Attorney General Brownell recommended to the Jenner Committee that there be legislation on wire-tapping. In your contact with these people [alleged spies] do you think wire-tapping, had (it) been legalized would have helped make a stronger case against them?

A. Probably not in the case of my Soviet agents, because we were so frightened of telephones

### Rate Kutcher Book One of Year's Best

James Kutcher's book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, was chosen as one of "the most interesting books published in 1953" by Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton. The selection is included in the Christmas Book List published in the Nation of Dec. 12.

Prof. Wilson's opinion of the book was more fully expressed in a recent letter to Kutcher, quoted in last week's Militant. He called it "a good piece of work, told effectively and with a most attractive modesty and dry sense of humor that should win you an appreciative audience. . . . I hope that thousands of Americans" will read it.

we never said anything over them. That's been my own experience.

This answer, so at variance with what Brownell and Hoover have claimed, surprised Brandt. He repeated the question.

Q. The real agents did not use the telephone?

A. We used the telephone, yes, but our code was so mixed up that an outsider could not have gotten and understood it.

Although the answers vary (they were too frightened to use the phone and they used only code language over a phone), both contend that wiretapping would have provided no proof of espionage.

Brownell and Hoover want the wiretap law not to catch foreign spies, but to snoop on political opponents and dissenters.

# GE Adopts M'Carthy Formula For Union-Busting Campaign

## At Segregation Hearing



Hundreds of people lined up outside U.S. Supreme Court in hopes of getting one of the 50 available seats at the hearing on the constitutionality of racial segregation in public schools. The court may withhold a decision for months. Attorney General Brownell's brief evaded the crucial segregation issue.

## Los Angeles Papers Incite Lynch Hysteria

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 13 — The Mexico-American community here has been aroused over an attempt by the Hearst press to whip up a lynch hysteria against them because of an incident in which a wealthy manufacturer died as a result of an altercation in downtown Los Angeles.

The facts of the incident can be summarized very briefly. A group of Mexican-American teenage youth became involved in an argument with several marines last Sunday evening in downtown Los Angeles. A bystander, William D. Cluff, 56, a wealthy businessman, injected himself into the dispute on the side of the soldiers. In the ensuing scuffle Cluff dropped to the pavement and when the ambulance arrived he was dead.

Chief autopsy surgeon Dr. Frederick E. Newbarr, who examined the body, reported that Cluff died of a massive cerebral hemorrhage "precipitated by a sudden elevation of blood pressure" and denied that the hemorrhage was caused by a blow. He added that Cluff was found to have diseased blood vessels at the base of the brain and an enlarged heart and death was probably due to the excitement attendant on the altercation.

These are the bare facts as

### OPEN THE SLUICES

For days after, the columns of the Herald-Express were studded with epithets. The word "pachuco" (a slang expression applied to Mexican-American youth) was equated with "rat pack," "mad dog," "yellow jackal," "wild-eyed punks," etc. "The time has come," raged the Herald-Express in a front page editorial, "for the Los Angeles Police to be given a free hand in driving from our city streets the young thugs who have created an intolerable situation."

"Law-abiding citizens must be

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## San Francisco Dockers Force Velde to Retreat

By Paul Williams

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 12 — Six thousand longshoremen "hit the bricks" last week, Dec. 3, when Velde's House Un-American Committee opened a red-baiting attack against their union. Local 10, of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (independent) had served notice to Velde when he arrived in town that it would not tolerate witch-hunt attacks on the union.

Velde, an ex-FBI cop, and now one of the wheel horses in McCarthy's witch-hunt stable, started his hearings Dec. 1. The hearing was preceded by the usual press build-up designed to create panic and fear. Velde announced his committee was "deeply concerned with the red menace" in the Bay Area. The press was full of rumors of subpoenas and sensational revelations of "red" control of waterfront unions.

Elaborate preparations were made for the hearings. The San Francisco City Hall chambers were placed at the disposal of Velde. The stage was set for what many believed would be another victory for the McCarthyite witch hunt.

But things turned out differently. The action of Local 10 of the Longshoremen's Union, warning they would strike at the first hostile move against their union's security, set the stage for a battle between the McCarthyites and the labor movement.

When Velde, after some preliminary sparring, cautiously opened the smear attack on the Longshoremen's Union through the voice of a stoolpigeon witness, the union acted without hesitation. It paralyzed the waterfront in a 24-hour protest strike.

Despite the fact that the whole San Francisco Bay Area labor movement did not rally in solidarity action with the Longshoremen, the protest stoppage of the ILWU had a profound effect.

The Alameda CIO Council also went on record against the Velde Committee as an enemy of democratic rights.

This action of the CIO unions in the industrialized East Bay Area showed how widespread the sympathy of the workers was for the militant lead taken by the longshoremen.

When the San Francisco long-

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## Here's the Way To Fight Fascism

An Editorial

The San Francisco Longshoremen's Union has taught the labor movement and the anti-McCarthyites of the whole country a valuable lesson.

There is much talk against McCarthyism, but very little action. The San Francisco longshoremen acted and thereby showed how the fight against McCarthyism must be waged.

The McCarthyite House Un-American Activities Investigating Committee, headed by Congressman H. H. Velde, barged into San Francisco like a pack of bloodhounds. Ex-FBI agent Velde singled out the labor movement as the main target of his witch-hunting attack.

Velde was given a hot reception. The Independent Longshoremen's Union of San Francisco, the battle-wise founder and backbone of the modern labor movement on the West Coast, warned Velde that any overt move against their union's security would be met with strike action. They made clear that they would tolerate no tampering with their union hiring hall.

The Alameda CIO Council in the East Bay area followed suit and blasted the Velde committee as a foe of civil rights.

When Velde, after some hesitation, began to rebait the Longshoremen's Union, the reply was swift and decisive. The waterfront was paralyzed by a 24-hour protest strike. Hundreds of longshoremen massed at the doors of the witch-hunt committee.

With this kind of inspiring, militant leadership, the whole anti-McCarthyite movement in the San Francisco Bay Area went into action. The warehousemen organized a powerful protest meeting. Large meetings of students, professionals and civil liberties groups took place all over the area.

Instead of the usual field day for hysteria and fear, an impressive counter-movement gave courage and voice to the great majority of people who hate the witch hunt.

The result was a serious set-back for the Velde committee and a step forward in the struggle against McCarthyism. Out of 36 witnesses called to testify, 31 were unfriendly. Velde had to threaten to clear the hall and actually did at one point. The hearings were scheduled to last 11 days. They were cut short and concluded after five days.

The Bay Area example can well be followed by the national labor movement. McCarthyism can be routed by the independent, unified action of labor and minorities. But to accomplish this it is necessary to learn the lesson of action from the San Francisco longshoremen. Their conduct is the kind that built the labor movement. It is the only kind that will defend it against McCarthyism.

Amid the universal fear and crawling before the witch hunters, the San Francisco longshoremen have sounded a courageous note of defiance. We hope that it will be heard throughout the labor movement and that it will find an early echo.

## Senator's Drive Gains In Power

By Art Preis

Senator Joseph McCarthy, leading candidate for the American Hitler, is pressing his offensive to capture the White House by 1956 and establish a fascist state. He has been demonstrating within recent weeks an ominous growth of power in private industry as well as in the apparatus of the federal government.

Following McCarthy's personal hearings in Boston on "Communist infiltration" of General Electric plants, that huge corporation quickly announced it will purge all employees on whom the McCarthyites put the smear finger. Workers who stand on their Constitutional rights not to answer the "when are you going to stop being a Russian spy?" questions of the Congressional witch-hunters will be victimized.

McCarthy has also publicly challenged Eisenhower himself on foreign policy without a single Republican member of Congress daring to take up the cudgel for the President.

Moreover, McCarthy's first nationwide action in his drive to mobilize a mass movement for his fascist aspirations — his telegram and letter drive on the White House for a blockade of China — served to reveal the decline of popular support for Eisenhower, who in 1952 won a sweeping victory over the Democratic regime that had held power in Washington for 20 straight years. While Eisenhower and Dulles were flailing at the air on this move, McCarthy was off elsewhere, grabbing headlines and pushing his drive on other fronts.

"GE is 'McCarthyized'" is how the Dec. 11 Labor's Daily headline describes the adoption by the country's largest electrical equipment firm, with 131 plants and 230,000 employees across the country, of the McCarthyite formula for purging militant unionists and destroying unions.

R. J. Cordner, GE President, on Dec. 9 proclaimed that the company will fire all those who "admit" being "Communists" or engage in "any form of espionage or sabotage." But the company won't stop there. It will summarily suspend for 90 days and then, if no government clearance is given, will dismiss any worker who refuses to answer McCarthyite questions cleverly framed to entrap innocent persons.

McCarthy himself promptly nailed GE's acceptance of his union-busting scheme as "fine" and said the anti-labor corporation "certainly should be commended." He indicated that he aims to extend his formula throughout all industry, stating: "If the Government does not keep employees on the job who refuse to answer questions about Communist activities under protection afforded by the Fifth Amendment against self-incrimination, there is no sense in not carrying the same principle over into firms doing work for the government."

Thus, McCarthy plans a monstrous extension of the purge that began with the government employees under Truman's 1947 executive order, extended into all the schools, colleges and professions and now, finally, is thundering down on the unions and the workers in private industry.

McCarthy showed his mushrooming power inside the government when his arrogant public thrust at Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles did not evoke a peep of protest from Republicans in Congress. Instead, even those presumed to be close to Eisenhower remained either "neutral" or voiced openly their approval of McCarthy's views about "Communism in govern-

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## Anti-Semitism Tinging Radar "Spy" Case

By Manuel Rodriguez

A little boy, the son of a scientist at the Fort Monmouth, N. J., radar research center, came home from school tearful and a little roughed up: "They told me they don't want to play with any spy's kid." His father was among the 40 spy-smear scientists at Fort Monmouth who have been given a taste of McCarthyism.

Not one charge, insinuation, smear or innuendo broadcast by McCarthy against the 40 suspended or declassified scientists has been proved after months of scare-headlines and promises by McCarthy of shocking and sinister revelations to come.

McCarthy began his investigation back in October with statements about "a case of current espionage of an extremely dangerous nature." The McCarthyite press took up the theme and gave these hand-outs the "full treatment." The stories in the N. Y. Daily Mirror, for example, gave the impression that radar secrets were going all over the world and that dozens of spies were being rounded up.

But after months of screaming, not one suspicious fact, let alone a spy, has been uncovered. Secretary of Army, Robert T. Stevens announced Nov. 13, that the army

was "unable to find anything resembling espionage." McCarthy slashed out at Stevens. The frightened Secretary of Army hastily beat a retreat. He let it be known that he referred only to the Army's investigation — as for McCarthy's, he was "unable to say."

### "WILL STAND CONDEMNED"

A prominent figure in Army circles dared to attack the Fort Monmouth farce. Former Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor, American prosecutor at the Nuremberg trials, speaking to the officers and cadets at West Point on Nov. 27, said, "Unless the Senator can prove these grave charges (of espionage at Fort Monmouth) — and there is as yet no reason to think that he can even begin to — he will stand condemned as a dangerous adventurer."

McCarthy's response to this attack was swift and sure. Less than two weeks after Gen. Taylor's West Point speech, McCarthy issued a subpoena to Taylor and launched a preliminary smear against him.

Taylor asked: "Who has stood up for the integrity and good name of the U.S. Army? The sad fact is that no one has."

But it is not a question of the "good name of the U.S. Army." The brass is quite willing to

defend that against any and all helpless people. It is a question of standing up against the career-breaking demagogue.

It is absolutely true that no one among the capitalist politicians has stood up against McCarthy. Certainly no one among the Army brass has. As a matter of fact, the Army started the spy scare at Fort Monmouth under the instigation of McCarthy. Then he took it out of their hands and used it to serve his own political interests.

As the investigation proceeded, the kind of "evidence" McCarthy was using to smash the careers of these scientists gradually came to light. For example, one scientist was accused of "attempting to transmit" information to an enemy power. When the facts on this were established, it turned out that a routine request had been received from a Czechoslovak source for an article which had been made public by the Army. Even then, influenced by the witch-hunting atmosphere of the country, the scientist who received the request prudently referred it to his superior. From this McCarthy deduced, "attempting to transmit" information to an enemy!

Walter Millis, in the Dec. 8 N. Y. Herald Tribune, speaks of the "witch - hunting, bigotry,

cowardice, race prejudice . . . strong elements of racial and religious bigotry and prejudice" in McCarthy's "investigation." This is actually an understatement.

### ANTI-SEMITISM

One of the most ominous overtones of the spy-smear of the 40 scientists is the anti-Semitic inference involved in the whole affair. According to Mitchell Levitas, of the N. Y. Post, who exposed the whole Fort Monmouth Hoax in a series of articles, "Of 40 scientists now suspended or declassified, 35 are Jews and one is a Negro. This proportion is in contrast to the percentage of Jews among the total number of engineering personnel at Fort Monmouth. Out of 600 specialists only 100 or 125 are Jews — less than 25%." But the scientists smeared by McCarthy are 88% Jews.

Levitas reports that this anti-Semitic element in the McCarthyite investigation was very disturbing to the defense attorneys. All the rabbis in the community and a number of Jewish organizations met Sunday, Nov. 15 to consider this question. Rabbi Hershen, for 14 years the Jewish Welfare Board chaplain at the fort, called upon Maj. Gen. Kirke B. Lawton, Monmouth com-

mandant, "to inquire whether there was a possibility of an anti-Jewish motive behind the suspensions."

Levitas says, "Rabbi Hershen was told there was no such reason, except that perhaps many of the men went to the 'wrong college.' The 'wrong college' is City College of New York with a large Jewish student body reflecting the large Jewish population of the city. Anti-Semites are notorious for their Jew-baiting of this college, its students and graduates."

There is another aspect to the City College question which figures in the Fort Monmouth investigation. Julius Rosenberg went to City College. The McCarthyites have been tireless in trying to smear everyone that attended the same classes or lived anywhere near the executed Rosenberg couple.

Herein lies the gravest danger of all. The Rosenbergs were the first major blood victims of the witch hunt. But their sacrifice only aroused the thirst of the witch hunters. The very failure of McCarthy's "investigations" to produce spies becomes a pressing motive for the chief witch hunter to find a new batch of blood victims. He needs them above all to terrorize and silence those who dare oppose him in his bid for power.

## "BLOODY" JEFFREYS -- A McCARTHY OF 1685

By Lynn Marcus

The odious reek of McCarthyism is not new to history. Our Bill of Rights, including the Fifth Amendment, was written because of our ancestors' experience with the McCarthys of their time. We may understand the real meaning of the witch hunt better by comparing the McCarthys of our time with one of the foulest and most corrupt judges in the history of English law, Sir George "Bloody" Jeffreys, Chief Justice of England under James II.

England in 1685 was in the depths of a period of reaction. Justice had become a museum piece. Thousands of innocent Catholics were executed, together with their friends and families, on the charge of taking part in a "Jesuit conspiracy."

To convict the innocent, legions of professional informers, like the notorious perjurer, Titus Oates, were always ready to appear in court or write a "revealing" book. Anyone accused of being a Catholic was given merely the formality of a trial and then beheaded, hanged, or burned alive. The witch hunt against the small and unpopular Catholic minority widened, becoming directed against the larger group of Presbyterian and Baptist small businessmen and workers.

### THE REAL CULPRIT

The terrible irony of it all was that the real "Jesuit conspirator" was James II, himself. The king was paid an annual pension by England's mortal enemy, Louis XIV of France — for services rendered to France.

"Bloody" Jeffreys had tried hard for high position under James' older brother Charles II. But even that boon companion of pimps and prostitutes would have nothing to do with him. Why, then, did James II promote Jeffreys from a minor judgeship to the position of Chief Justice? In the words of the historian, Macaulay: "Work was to be done which could be trusted to no man who revered law or was sensible of shame."

Jeffrey's job, and he did it well, was to direct a reign of terror against the English tradesmen, working class, and poor farmers. James, while himself selling out his country to its enemies, used Jeffrey and the issue of "loyalty" to keep the country suppressed with smear, the whip, the axe, the rope, and the stake. Under James II and Jeffreys, judicial murder was the order of the day.

From behind the "Congressional Immunity" of his office, Jeffreys abused defense counsel, refused to allow defendants to testify in their own defense or cross-

examine accusers. If an accused denied a charge, Jeffreys would howl, "Thou impudent rebel, to reflect on the King's evidence! I see thee, villain. . . I see thee already with the halter around thy neck!"

Anyone who criticized this kind of justice was smeared. The Jeffreys of that day, like the McCarthys of our own, held that anyone who disagreed with Jeffreys' methods of dealing with "subversion" was "obviously subversive." However, Jeffreys was not so occupied with these crimes that he did not have time for bribe-taking and extortion on a grand scale.

The dates are different; the plot is in part the same. To-day, in place of James II, we have the corrupt Wall Street bosses, with their conspiracy to drag us into atomic war. In place of "Bloody" Jeffreys and his infamous tour-side-shows of legalized horror, we have the McCarthyite Congressional goon squads. In place of the "Jesuit conspiracy" and the "Presbyterian conspiracy" we have the "Communist conspiracy."

Unless McCarthyism is stopped, we too may expect legalized murder of the innocent.

### WALL STREET'S AIM

Some of America's ruling 60 families may despise the McCarthys personally. But we should not be fooled — James II despised his henchman, Jeffreys.

It is Wall Street that sent the old goons of yesterday against the workers — the same Wall Street that is sending the McCarthyite inquisitors out in new attacks on the labor movement. And the aim is much the same: to suppress all opposition to low wages, impoverishing taxes, and the atomic war which Wall Street is preparing for us. For this work, Big Business fosters McCarthyism, as James II fostered Jeffreys, and, as in our time, German Big Business fostered Hitlerism.

The English people in 1688 ended Jeffreys and the reign of James II. Out of the victorious struggle against the McCarthys of that time came the tradition of civil rights which the McCarthys of to-day would destroy. It is up to the American working class, potentially the most powerful political force in the country, to lead the fight. The working class that has defeated Wall Street on the picket-lines of the past will be victorious over the Jeffreysism that has been re-born in America.

## World Events

By Paul Abbott

**IN GREAT BRITAIN** an estimated 4,000,000 workers in key industries are demanding pay increases to meet the rising cost of living. On Dec. 2 the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions staged a 24-hour nation-wide token strike in support of a demand for a 15% wage boost. It turned out to be the largest and most effective strike action since the general strike of 1926. The National Union of Railwaymen has called an unlimited strike to begin Dec. 20 if their demand for a 15% increase is not met. James Campbell, the union's secretary general, said: "This is not just a talking strike or anything like that. The last time we went on strike was 27 years ago in the general strike."

**ITALIAN UNIONS** reported that 6,000,000 men walked off their jobs in a 24-hour nation-wide protest strike Dec. 15. The action was taken to emphasize demands for fringe benefits. This is the second of a series that began with a 24-hour strike of 1,000,000 civil servants Dec. 11. A third strike, involving the nation's farm hands, has been called for Dec. 21.

**HO CHI MINH**, head of the Indo-Chinese government which French imperialism has been trying to smash since the end of World War II, has made two offers to the Paris authorities for peace talks. The first offer was made through a cable published in the Stockholm newspaper Expressen Nov. 29. The second offer came over the Viet-minh radio Dec. 10. The French despots have not indicated whether they are ready to negotiate although it is reported that their military position has been steadily deteriorating.

**MRS. JANET JAGAN**, wife of the Prime Minister of British Guiana who was despotically thrown out of office by the British after they landed troops in the South American colony, was arrested Dec. 13 together with nine other members of the Progressive People's party. The

authorities appointed by Churchill charged they had held a meeting without permission of the people. Jagan flew to England some time ago seeking help in reinstating his democratically elected government. Later he went to India where he is now.

**VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON**, while visiting Iran on his around-the-world tour, was given the heaviest security guard for anyone since Mossadegh was ousted from office. The road from the airport to the Shah's palace was lined with soldiers every 100 feet. Troops and police watched crowds for any sign of a demonstration that might break out in consequence of the extreme unpopularity of the Eisenhower administration for its help to the British in the oil dispute and to the Shah in his recent coup d'etat.

**THE TERROR IN IRAN** has now spread to other parties beside the Stalinist-dominated Tudeh. Police of the British — and American-backed Shah — closed down the only important opposition paper in Teheran. The editor, Dr. Mozafar Bahai, head of the Toilers party, had demanded the arrest of government leaders for the "horrible massacre" Dec. 7 of university students. Police announced 11 arrests Dec. 15 of persons charged with distributing leaflets denouncing the government's decision to resume diplomatic relations with Britain. On the same day, the government suppressed demonstrations that had been planned. According to a Dec. 15 dispatch to the N. Y. Times, "it was clear" that the government "was prepared to adopt as stern repressive measures against its non-Communist opponents as it has used against the Tudeh (Communist) party."

The sweep of reaction in Iran followed a betrayal by the Iranian Stalinists, who slavishly followed Kremlin orders restraining them from installing a workers and farmers government during the two years they enjoyed the backing of the majority of the Iranian people.

## Did Stalinists Support McCarthy?

Editor:

I was told that the Communist Party at one time supported the election of Senator McCarthy. Is that true? I would appreciate if you would reply in one of your issues. Thank you.

L. B.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

One source that can be cited on this question is the book, "McCarthy, The Man, The Senator, The Ism." In Chapter 17 the authors, Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May, report that in the 1946 election in Wisconsin the Stalinist vote helped to elect McCarthy. The account must be read critically. It should be noted that in 1946 the nature of McCarthy as a fascist leader was by no means evident. Granting that they threw their vote to McCarthy in 1946, the crime of the Stalinists was to support a capitalist politician. That is always injurious to the interests of the workers. — Ed.

## Points to Strange Difference Coughlin Has With McCarthy

Editor:

The Dec. 7 Militant which directs McCarthy and his backers raises some interesting questions.

I cannot make head or tail of McCarthy's ranting about "blood trade with Red China" at the present time when sections of Big Business, which finance McCarthy, seem to be seriously considering opening up profitable trade with China.

The auto manufacturers in particular are eyeing China trade. GM's man, Charles E. Wilson, is

Secretary of Defense, at Eisenhower's elbow. Is GM anti-McCarthy? Gen'l Wood of Sears Roebuck & Co. is mentioned by the Militant as one of McCarthy's prime backers. Certainly Sears Roebuck, which does a volume of business in Japan and the Philippines, could appreciate a vast Chinese market.

Most intriguing of all is the "position" of the Catholic Church. While "that great Catholic" Joe McCarthy, strikebreaker Spellman's hero, fulminates against trade with China, Father Coughlin, the veteran fascist makes his first public appearance in 13 years, obviously with the Pope's approval and . . . proclaims himself in favor of trade with China!

Then take the feud between McCarthy and Dulles-Eisenhower. Is this and the China-trade mish-mash a genuine split between conflicting sectors of finance capital, a popularity contest between demagogues, or just a cynical division of labor, working both sides of the street?

Lastly, if McCarthy is a fascist, how is it that he has not yet directed any serious barages at the minorities and the labor movement, as all fascists worst of the name are bound to do?

R. V.  
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Fascism, by its very nature, does not openly represent the policy of Big Business on all questions. Fascism has come to power in Europe while proclaiming anti-monopoly, anti-capitalist slogans. The stated program of fascism is based on demagoguery and hysteria. Thus, on the question of trade with China, direct correspondence between the utterances of McCarthy or Coughlin and the basic policy of Big Business need not necessarily follow.

history. Also in Berkeley, the "Student Civil Liberties Union" packed Styles Hall with a panel of professors speaking against the Velde committee.

In Oakland, the auditorium of Willard High School had an overflow meeting, sponsored by the "East Bay Committee for American Activities." The Alameda County CIO sound truck was actively used in the organization of the student meetings on the University of California campus.

The hearings didn't go too smoothly for Velde. The audience was hostile to him. Time and again he had to resort to threats to clear the hearing chambers.

**BALKY WITNESSES**

Following the usual pattern, Velde brought some former "radicals" out of the woodwork. They were patiently coaxed by the committee into "telling all." Yet, even this backfired somewhat. One of Velde's main witnesses against the Longshore Union insisted on clearly establishing the highly democratic and militant character of the union. . . this, in spite of the committee's constant prodding to do otherwise. Reaching onto the campuses, Velde achieved a brief success by victimizing teacher Robert Mass

of San Francisco State College, Assistant Prof. Niebold of the University of California and a nursery teacher in a Walnut Creek co-op nursery school.

Mass issued a statement to the press denying participation in any activities of a "violent conspiratorial" nature. He refused to testify before the committee, or to even give them information about his former radical affiliations, although he had freely given this to the school authorities. His grounds were that once he talked to Velde, he would lose his legal rights and be forced to become a stoolpigeon or else be sent to prison for contempt of Congress.

This example demonstrated quite clearly, as did many other examples that came out of the hearings, the growing determination of all who have not become creatures of the witch hunt to refuse to cooperate in any way with the Congressional inquisitors.

The broad opposition to Velde, sparked by the longshoremen's action, was surprising to all political parties and organizations that had been sitting back waiting for the axe to fall.

Even though the boss press

## GE Adopts McCarthy's Formula

(Continued from page 1)

ment" being the issue in the 1954 election and his demand for reprisal on Allied countries that did not cease trade with China.

Senator William F. Knowland of California, the Republican Senate floor leader who is supposed to be Eisenhower's principal spokesman in Congress, on Dec. 8 echoed almost word for word McCarthy's TV statement denying Eisenhower's contention that "Communism would not be an issue" in the 1954 election. The California Senator also pointedly "made it plain that he was wholly dissatisfied with the Administration's efforts to date to end Allied — and principally British — trade with China," reports the N. Y. Times.

That Knowland is no exception to the rule was revealed in a Dec. 7 Associated Press dispatch from Washington, which reported: ". . . Republican congressional leaders are keeping discreet silence in the controversy between Senator McCarthy and the White House. It was obvious that some of the senator's most influential GOP colleagues agreed privately with his statement that the United States should stop all aid to free world nations which trade with Communist China."

But this is not the only reason they were silent. They fear McCarthy's growing power to destroy them with the "Communist" smear. This is affirmed by Arthur Krock, chief Washington commentator for the N. Y. Times and one of the most informed journalists in the capital. He observed in his Nov. 29 column that all Republican candidates

for the Senate in 1954, especially in constituencies where the Senator has a supporting bloc, "have been put on notice that they must base their campaigns on the necessity of keeping him in control of Senate spy hunts — or else."

In proclaiming McCarthy and McCarthyism the main issue in the 1954 Congressional elections instead of the Administration's record, states Krock, the Wisconsin Senator "has placed some of his colleagues in a very uncomfortable position."

They are "fearful of the consequences" of not following McCarthy's line. One of these, according to Krock, is the "high-minded and able" Senator Saltonstall of Massachusetts "who is probably as repelled as any citizen by some of McCarthy's methods of inquiry" but who is being told by his "political strategists . . . that in asserting his own claims he must not seem to derogate the Wisconsin Senator and his works."

McCarthy's agents are spreading throughout all the government agencies and departments. His influence covers Washington like a giant spider web. There is newly-revealed evidence of his penetration into the State Department, the Federal Communications Commission, the Treasury Department, and the Department of Justice, particularly its secret political police, the FBI.

It is reported that none other than Scott McLeod, head of the State Department's security system and the man who has the say-so over who in the department is "security risks," is a McCarthy man.

When the major TV and radio

networks knuckled under to McCarthy's demand for a half-hour of free time to answer Truman, it was disclosed that Eisenhower had appointed as his Commissioners of the Federal Communications Commission one man endorsed by McCarthy and another, Robert E. Lee, McCarthy's political henchman and personal choice. These FCC men can do to any radio and TV company what McCarthy has been doing to GE employees. The networks gave McCarthy free time under his blackmail threat — which he can make good — that he would ask the FCC, controlled by his agents, to "review" the status of any station failing to broadcast his address.

The pay-off now is that Internal Revenue Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews — who is supposed to be investigating McCarthy's shady financial practices, including how he managed to bank \$172,623 in four years while drawing a total of \$60,000 in Senate salary and expenses — is an intimate pal of McCarthy's. On Dec. 10, Andrews drove McCarthy in the former's Cadillac to a meeting of 500 in Richmond, Va., where the tax commissioner introduced McCarthy as "one of the great Americans of our time . . . a soldier, patriot and statesman."

McCarthy's power inside the government is combined with what Washington correspondent Lyle C. Wilson, of the United Press, has described as a "very large following" among the populace. It is this combination of factors that makes him the most dangerous expression to date of American fascism.

Moreover, Big Business is itself not united on many critical questions of foreign policy. Coughlin's support of "trade with China" is a good example of fascist demagoguery which appeals to the interests of the Detroit auto workers who are suffering layoffs. Trade with China would increase auto production. Coughlin's "difference" with McCarthy on this question is easy to understand once we grant the possibility of a number of fascists contending for leadership. — Ed.

## Would Like to See McCarthy Shown as Polished and Shaven

Editor:

I would like to commend and thank the editors and staff of the Militant for the very fine issue of Dec. 7 devoted primarily to McCarthyism and the growth of fascism in the United States. The articles covering all aspects of the question — what is fascism, why McCarthyism falls into this category, review of the trend toward fascism, and most important, what can be done — were excellent.

However, I have one minor criticism; not of the articles but of the front-page cartoon. Gray has portrayed McCarthy as an unshaven, unkempt, generally disreputable character. I feel that such a characterization can be dangerous and can lead to an underestimation of McCarthy and McCarthyism.

McCarthy is very smooth, polished and conscious, as his tactics to date have indicated, and it would be a serious mistake to consider him in any other light. McCarthy should not be pictured as a wild-eyed rabble rouser on the fringe of lunacy to be lightly brushed aside. The Dec. 7 issue

of the Militant does not do so with the possible exception of this one cartoon.

J. Booth  
Chicago, Ill

## Urges Labor Party Be Formed Now

Editor:

Glad to notice the attention you are paying to the formation of a Labor Party. With 15,000,000 votes, what on earth is labor waiting for?

Your recent editorial on the matter was excellently done. Com. C. E. G.  
Fairview, N. Y.

## Was Assembly Line An Unhappy Idea?

Editor:

In the course of neighborhood visits to get new subscribers to the Militant, we talked to a worker in the electronics industry who is on strike. He told us that his plant turns out 500 television sets a week, and that since these cannot all be sold, he will probably be laid off before long. He said, "I'll tell you what the trouble is. The assembly line does it. If they had never invented the assembly line, there would be more work because it would take longer to make the sets."

We said that we felt the solution was the 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. He thought that was a good idea, but he kept returning to the idea that modern technological advances were what caused unemployment.

Could you please answer this worker on why the assembly line and such modern methods are actually a benefit to the workers in that they could shorten their working time considerably?

C. W.  
New York

## Dockers Force Velde to Retreat

(Continued from page 1)

shoremen struck on Dec. 3, they marched to the Civic Center to hold a stop-work meeting. Germaine Bulcke, vice president of the ILWU, reported that more than 2,000 longshoremen participated in the demonstration. They were massed in the Civic Center, at the doors of the City Hall, in the corridors and hearing chambers.

Two Greyhound bus-loads of pickets came over from Oakland, where Local 6 of the ILWU had voted a solidarity action with the San Francisco longshoremen. A bus-load of pickets came in from Stockton representing Local 54 which had also voted its solidarity.

In the days following the Dec. 3 protest strike, four meetings against the Velde committee took place in the Bay Area. These meetings provided an eloquent demonstration of the mounting public opposition to McCarthyism and the undemocratic methods of Velde.

In San Francisco, the "Californians for the Bill of Rights" held a well-attended meeting.

In Berkeley, the "Students Committee Against Velde" held a session that filled Barrington Hall with the largest audience in its

history. Also in Berkeley, the "Student Civil Liberties Union" packed Styles Hall with a panel of professors speaking against the Velde committee.

In Oakland, the auditorium of Willard High School had an overflow meeting, sponsored by the "East Bay Committee for American Activities." The Alameda County CIO sound truck was actively used in the organization of the student meetings on the University of California campus.

The hearings didn't go too smoothly for Velde. The audience was hostile to him. Time and again he had to resort to threats to clear the hearing chambers.

**BALKY WITNESSES**

Following the usual pattern, Velde brought some former "radicals" out of the woodwork. They were patiently coaxed by the committee into "telling all." Yet, even this backfired somewhat. One of Velde's main witnesses against the Longshore Union insisted on clearly establishing the highly democratic and militant character of the union. . . this, in spite of the committee's constant prodding to do otherwise. Reaching onto the campuses, Velde achieved a brief success by victimizing teacher Robert Mass

of San Francisco State College, Assistant Prof. Niebold of the University of California and a nursery teacher in a Walnut Creek co-op nursery school.

Mass issued a statement to the press denying participation in any activities of a "violent conspiratorial" nature. He refused to testify before the committee, or to even give them information about his former radical affiliations, although he had freely given this to the school authorities. His grounds were that once he talked to Velde, he would lose his legal rights and be forced to become a stoolpigeon or else be sent to prison for contempt of Congress.

This example demonstrated quite clearly, as did many other examples that came out of the hearings, the growing determination of all who have not become creatures of the witch hunt to refuse to cooperate in any way with the Congressional inquisitors.

The broad opposition to Velde, sparked by the longshoremen's action, was surprising to all political parties and organizations that had been sitting back waiting for the axe to fall.

Even though the boss press

played down the overflow crowds that came to all the protest meetings, it was becoming apparent that Velde was getting a little more than he had reckoned with. Individuals who had, up to now, stayed in the background, convinced that McCarthyism was unopposed, suddenly came forth to speak their piece; and they found support in places where they never thought it existed.

Velde ended the hearings on the fifth, instead of on the announced eleventh day. He talked of returning to Washington for "urgent Congressional duties." The committee left with a vague threat to "return again sometime in the future."

## Incite Lynchers In Los Angeles

(Continued from page 1)

prepared to back up police officers in the use of forceful measures," echoed the open-shop Los Angeles Times. This refrain was repeated over and over again by the kept press, radio and television. Those who led the campaign against police brutality last year were blamed for making the streets of Los Angeles unsafe for "respectable" citizens.

### CALL FOR VIOLENCE

"In fairness to the police," asserted the Herald-Express, "they have been actually prevented from taking steps to make our city safe by organized criticism of their so-called brutality." The Herald bragged, "we have become 'too soft,'" and added, "The lash and the club would do a lot of good . . . it's time to take off the gloves and let these criminals, teen-agers though they be, feel the mailed fist."

The import of this lynch campaign was well understood by those concerned. Last year the Mexican-American community, backed by the labor movement, civil liberties and minority groups, waged a successful campaign against police brutality. The use of "clubs and mailed fist" against national and racial minorities had been a common police practice. An aroused community succeeded in curbing such brutality.

The yellow press, smarting under the "restraint" imposed upon the use of lawless physical violence against minorities, have pounced upon a sensational incident in an effort to reestablish the rule of the "lash and the club." And all of this in the course of a mock celebration by the same press and radio of "Civil Rights Week."

The stocks of the "Big Five" brands of cigarettes plunged to new lows on the New York stock exchange as new studies by medical authorities added to the growing body of evidence linking cancer of the lungs to cigarette smoking.

A book on "How to Stop Smoking," however, is enjoying phenomenal sales, having gone into its ninth printing recently.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

This week reports are in from the fifth in the series of mobilizations organized by Militant salesmen throughout the country to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the paper. A total of 212 subscriptions and 1,724 single copies have been sold so far in the campaign.

New York campaign Director Tom Denver reports an excellent response to last week's issue of the Militant. "A group of comrades sold 103 copies at the New School. Twelve copies were sold at a District 65 meeting. House-to-house work and other sales brought the total to 405 copies in one week. Comments from friends and readers of the paper indicate that the Militant's analysis of McCarthyism fills a genuine need."

Literature Agent Janet MacGregor reports continued good reception to recent issues of the Militant in Detroit. She writes, "On Saturday Edie, Sherry, Bob, Elaine, A. Winters and Bea went out to the project and sold 49 copies of the paper and one six-months sub. Most of us were covering our friends of last week's mobilization and giving them the second issue. Others were speaking to new people."

"Most everyone is talking about the layoff here and looking for the answers to the high cost of living. We found the articles on the 30-hour week, the NACCP work, Jomo book review, and the article on women made it very easy to sell the paper. It was an excellent issue all the way around for every type of reader."

"On Sunday Elaine and John Allen went to a union meeting to sell the paper. Since it was snowing, some of the union fellows told Elaine to go inside the union hall. The response was so favorable, she sold the last copy she had."

"Pat Stall and Kev were also out on Saturday to a housing project and they sold 13 copies of the paper and one six-months sub. They found the subscriber a fellow who was just waiting for someone like us to get around to him. Both of them felt it was one of the best days they had seen in Militant selling."

"Frank and Fred did some call-back work and got a six-months sub. They found one other fellow who is laid off from work, but wants the paper and as soon as he has the money will let them know. Frank and Bea were also out to visit some old friends and sold some copies of the Militant and Fourth International."

"Even after we had sold all of our papers at the housing project on Saturday, Al Winters and I found that people were stopping us and asking what we had been selling. One fellow who was a coal driver had a long talk with Al and he said if he sees us next week there he will buy a copy. I ran into an insurance salesman who had recently quit the factories because he couldn't live on the short work weeks and lay off. We had a long talk with him too and he wanted a copy of the paper but we had just sold them all. It sort of reminded me of the stories Dunne has told of selling socialism everywhere."

The Seattle comrades moved ahead of Los Angeles this week to take fourth place on the national scoreboard. Literature Agent H. Baker sums up on recent sales: "In the month of November we sold 120 single copies door to door, 24 at union meetings and 18 at one of the local churches. The comrades who have sold the most single copies are our new friends, Ann and Leon. They sold 15 on recall work this Sunday and have

a good route established having gone back to some of these same people now for five Sundays."

Literature Agent Marianne Moore also reports a good response in door to door work. She writes, "We did pretty well in our Militant sales in Pittsburgh the past two weeks. We were able to sell 50 copies house to house in a fairly short time. Please keep our bundle at the increased amount!"

Milwaukee Literature Agent Francis Barrow writes, "Since the Anniversary Campaign began we have held regular Sunday mobilizations with a lot of comrades going house to house with the paper. We have built up a substantial list of readers for call backs. Also we sell regularly at union meetings. Our three top comrades on the campaign scoreboard are Al C. with 66 points; Fred H., 46; and Paul R. with 39 points. Commendations go to Kenneth K. for coming up with Militant sales and a possible sub during his first time out."

From St. Louis Dick Carter reports, "Selling single copies is not difficult and I am building a route of steady customers, many of them young workers."

"New York had better start looking to their laurels!" writes Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman. "The Minnesota Militants are coming down the home stretch in this campaign on their heels. It looks like Los Angeles, Seattle, Cleveland and Chicago will be giving us a run for our money in the effort to nose out the great Eastern competitor. We don't discount Detroit, by any means, which is already up in seventh place — and having a great deal of success with Militant sales according to Comrade Janet's inspiring report."

"Minneapolis Militant salesmen brought in nine subscriptions and sold 32 single copies of the paper for this week's score of 344 points. It's a good time to go out into neighborhoods and make new socialist friends by selling the Militant, distributing leaflets for meetings, and getting subs — that is the conviction of Fanny, Bill, Helen, Bob W., Ralph, Donald and Chester."

"Alice brought in the most subs this week — three renewals, all from Militant readers who bought subs for the first time in last spring's campaign. Other subs were sold by Chester, who is leading on the local scoreboard with 216 points; by Ray and Ralph, who are in second and third places, and by C. R., Charles and Louise."

The national scoreboard follows:

New York	2,361
Twin Cities	1,270
Chicago	941
Seattle	685
Los Angeles	628
Detroit	606
Cleveland	526
Buffalo	330
Philadelphia	333
Newark	243
San Francisco	223
Milwaukee	176
Oakland	163
St. Louis	161
Boston	130
Youngstown	52
Pittsburgh	50
Akron	10
General	182

Chester of the Twin Cities continues to hold first place among the pace setters nationally, with 216 points to his credit. Cleveland subgetter Jean S. is second with 159 points and New York's high scorer Ethel B. holds third place with a score of 151. Other top Militant salesmen are Ray, Twin Cities, 135 points; Pat, New York, 120; Winifred, Twin Cities, 116; George, Seattle, 114; Harold R., New York, 110; Dick, St. Louis, 109; and Frank, Seattle, 107 points.

### Just Out!

## America's Road to Socialism

a new pamphlet

By JAMES P. CANNON

- 1: America Under Eisenhower

# Once Again -- Stalinism's Betrayal in France

By Murry Weiss

Since the August general strike in France, evidence accumulates showing the depth of the betrayal of this momentous workers struggle by the Social Democratic and Stalinist leaders. The causes and consequences of the betrayal of this historic general strike are also illuminated by the further course of events.

A profound difference in attitude toward the French general strike became one of the great issues in the struggle between the orthodox Trotskyists of the world and the Stalinist-conciliatorist faction of Pablo. This is as it should be. Differences in theory among Marxists have always received their acid test in the laboratory of the class struggle. The colossal French general strike of August was such a laboratory test of the difference that had been growing between Pabloism and Trotskyism.

Pabloism pictures Stalinism as a kind of unwilling vehicle of the revolution. In effect the Pabloites accept the doctrine that Stalinism, despite its past betrayals and criminal acts, has been caught up inextricably in the world revolutionary process and regardless of subjective Stalinist intentions is performing a revolutionary function.

Events and facts do not conform with this "new" theory. First, the East German general strike of June 17 struck a body blow to the theory. The counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism has never been so nakedly revealed as in the opening stage of the political revolution of the East German workers against Stalinism.

Next, the monstrous betrayal of Stalinism in the French general strike of August pulled the props from under the Pabloite conception.

Then the events in Iran, where the Stalinist Tudeh party betrayed a first class revolutionary opportunity and allowed it to become transformed into a catastrophic defeat for the Iranian workers and peasants, added to the evidence.

On top of this, the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinists in Bolivia, the cynical betrayal of working-class independent political action in the United States where the Stalinists are orienting toward the Democratic party, the unmasking of the repressive nature of the Stalinist "new course" in Eastern Europe, have all contributed to the undermining of the theory of a "new" progressive Stalinism.

What is at issue with the Pabloites is not differences over secondary peculiarities in the post-war evolution of Stalinism, but a conflict over a basically new evaluation that substitutes petty bourgeois prostration for the powerful orthodox Trotskyist conception.

The test of the French general strike makes this unmistakably clear.

## BONDY'S ANALYSIS

In the Oct. 12 issue of the New Leader, Francois Bondy, described as "a veteran Swiss journalist and leading member of the Congress of Cultural Freedom," writes on France's "Hour of Decision." Bondy is a Social Democrat of the New Leader school. In other words, he belongs to the school that depicts Stalinism as a bearer of the program and practice of world revolution.

These gentlemen seldom miss an opportunity to hammer away on the theme that the Stalinists, always and everywhere, are conscious revolutionaries bent on overthrowing capitalism by Leninist methods.

But Francois Bondy tells the readers of the New Leader that this was not the case in France. The anti-revolutionary conduct of the Stalinists in France was so obvious that the Swiss Social Democrat had to take note of the facts even though they violate the pet thesis of the Social Democrats as to the nature of Stalinism.

Bondy states bluntly, on the basis of the facts as he sees them, that the French Stalinists are a power piece, in the Kremlin's diplomatic game with the French government. He shows how the French Stalinists can be moved effectively on the diplomatic board because they can "offer, indirectly, a great deal — namely social peace."

Then he goes on to demonstrate how the Stalinists proved this in the French general strike. "They were careful not to let the crisis progress beyond the boiling point," Bondy says. And he adds, "Strange behavior indeed."

POST-STRIKE POLICY  
Bondy establishes the fact that the Stalinists soft-pedaled all the revolutionary aspects and potentialities of the general strike and confined themselves to maintaining their position in the mass organizations of the workers.

Then he traces the post-strike policy of the French Stalinists.

"It seems, rather clear," says Bondy, "that the French Communists are prepared not to make trouble for even a 'reactionary' government, so long as it adjusts its foreign policy toward the Kremlin. And to those who desire a government more to the left, the Communists place only one condition: renunciation of the European policy."

Why does this Social Democrat characterize the Stalinist policy in France so plainly even though it violates the Social-Democratic picture of the Kremlin and the Stalinist parties as revolutionary forces? The answer is quite simple. The Stalinists are following the same policy as the Social Democrats with this important difference: The Social Democrats maneuver with the French capitalists to support the American imperialists. For these maneuvers they sacrifice the revolutionary interests of the French workers. The Stalinists on the contrary, maneuver with the French capitalists to support the Kremlin and betray the revolutionary interests of the French workers for that purpose.

The real policy of the French Stalinists — and not the fictitious policy the Social Democratic legend assigns them — must be dealt with because it represents a real threat to the orientation of the international Social Democracy. They are afraid that the French capitalists will find the Stalinist offer tempting and take them up on it.

DEEPEN ERRORS  
The Stalinist conciliatorism of the Pabloites was deepened by the results of the French general strike. Having flopped over to the role of apologizing for the Stalinists, they took one step after another to justify this course. Thus they attempt to cover up the monstrous betrayal of the Stalinists with a hundred-and-one sophisticated rationalizations.

SITUATION IN FRANCE  
The situation in France remains pre-revolutionary in character. Notwithstanding signs of a reactionary mobilization all evidence shows that the French workers will have another chance to solve the crisis, through taking power. This next chance must not be missed!

say that the present "chauvinist" policy constitutes preparation for a new betrayal. Thereby the Pabloites cover up the betrayal of the Stalinists and become a party to it. Such is the inescapable political conclusion a revolutionary militant must draw.

## WHY "BETRAYAL"?

Why do we characterize the Stalinist line during the general strike as betrayal of the working class? For Trotskyists this is a basic question. The Stalinists pursued a course during the strike that corresponded to the interests, not of the French and international working class but to the interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy. That is the inescapable, stubborn fact.

But the interest of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the international working class are contradictory. This becomes glaringly evident when the class struggle assumes its sharpest form as it did in August in France. When the Stalinist bureaucrats, during a situation which demands revolutionary policy and leadership, guide themselves by the narrow bureaucratic interests of their caste — that is class betrayal.

All talk about the leftward development of the French Communist workers and the revolutionary opportunities this opens is meaningless unless the fundamental nature of the politics of the Kremlin, as manifested in the general strike, is thoroughly understood.

The Pabloite talk about the "inadequacy" of the Stalinist policy during August, of the "failure" of the Stalinists to "project a revolutionary orientation" is false and misleading. It is not a question of inadequacies and failures. It is a question of calculated betrayal, of following the dictates of the Kremlin and of losing thereby a revolutionary opportunity.

## 4th International Rallies Against Pablo

The Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, has recently been affected by an internal crisis. The power and mass influence of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Asia and Western Europe overwhelmed a small faction in the leading committee led by Pablo and caused it to veer in the direction of becoming a "left" wing of Stalinism.

Such a political symptom is extremely dangerous. If it engulfed the International it would mean its certain death as a revolutionary force. But the Fourth International can not easily be derailed. The genuine Trotskyists are now meeting Pabloite revisionism in a struggle that has every promise of success.

We are pleased to report that the Fourth International is moving ahead with sure and firm steps to assert the will of the overwhelming majority of the world Trotskyist movement against the usurpation of the Pablo action.

The French, British, Swiss and New Zealand sections have formed an International Committee of the Fourth International. They have issued a declaration to all sections reaffirming the basic Trotskyist program and calling on the cadres of the world movement to struggle for the life of Fourth International against ruin at the hands of the Pabloites.

The International Committee charges the Pabloites with the crime of covering up the current betrayals of Stalinism and attempting to foist a dictatorial rule on the International in the interest of the new revisionist doctrine of Pablo.

The International Committee condemns the Pabloites for having dared to speak to the

East German workers in the name of Trotsky's Fourth International as nothing but lukewarm "critics" of the Stalinist counter-revolutionaries and for having refused to demand the withdrawal of the Kremlin's troops from East Germany although Moscow used these troops to suppress the East German workers.

The International Committee condemns the Pabloites for covering up the betrayal of the Stalinists in the French general strike of last August, and the betrayal of the Stalinists in Iran in the same month.

The organization of the International Committee signifies that the Fourth International has once again proved its historic viability. It shows that no force on earth external or internal, can destroy it.

Reactionary enemies and cynics may try to gain comfort from this struggle within the Fourth International. These people cannot understand that the International is a living revolutionary organism that can mature and measure up to its historic responsibility precisely through such internal struggles. They are part of the hard school of preparation for the greatest step forward humanity has yet taken — the world socialist revolution.

We hail the formation of the International Committee of the Fourth International. Because we are compelled to remain outside the International organization due to the reactionary Voorhis Law of 1940, we are all the more interested and concerned with the development of the Fourth International. The International Committee insures the line of revolutionary continuity that extends from Lenin, through Trotsky and into the future victory of socialist mankind.

## What Is McCarthyism?

The term "fascism" is accepted by a fairly wide section of the labor and liberal movement as a description of McCarthyism. But the acceptance of this term unfortunately is not accompanied by the necessary understanding of what it implies.

We, unlike the Stalinists, do not label any and every reactionary capitalist politician as "fascist." Fascism is a definite form of capitalist reaction. It differs vitally from other forms. It can be a costly error to lump all capitalist politics in one convenient basket for the sake of using strong words.

The fascist movement arises when capitalism has suffered such a prolonged and unresolved social crisis that the middle class, unable to find leadership from the workers, turns to the fascist demagogue.

This demagogue utilizes the very anti-capitalist sentiment of the middle class to hurl it against its natural ally, the workers, in the interest of monopoly capital.

The rise of fascism always implies the inability of capitalism to rule by the old democratic methods and the absence of a resolute working class leadership to usher in the new socialist system of production and political rule of the workers.

The United States has experienced a profound social, economic and political crisis for many decades. In the Thirties this manifested itself in two forms. First, in the dramatic appearance of the industrial working class on the union arena through the organization of the CIO. Second, in the growth of a whole rash of native fascist movements, (Hague, Coughlin, Pelley, Smith, etc.) This was a result of the failure of the unions to move

forward on to the political arena by organizing an independent Labor Party.

The Second World War cut across these developments. For the middle class it provided an economic outlet in the war prosperity. It assuaged the discontent of the working class by providing full employment. The post-war prosperity continued to provide a measure of equilibrium to the internal mechanics of American capitalism.

But as the world revolutionary movement spread and confronted American capitalism with insoluble difficulties, the political situation in the United States changed step by step.

The mounting witch hunt and tendencies toward formation of a police state are symptoms of the serious crisis in the system. The whole country is pessimistic about economic prospects. The slightest economic dip sends a groan of apprehension throughout the country. The farmer is no longer prosperous, the worker is beginning to suffer lay-offs. The capitalist fears what they might do.

Under these conditions the symptoms of the late Thirties are returning with a vengeance. The McCarthyite movement, growing out of the witch hunt, begins to take on marked fascist characteristics.

We are paying for the long delay in the organization of a Labor Party. The political equilibrium of the country is upset and it tends to fall to the right as long as only timidity and craven subordination to the shattered Democratic party appears on the working class left.

These are some of the implications of the recognition of McCarthyism as a fascist movement. A broad discussion of these implications is urgently needed in the labor movement.

## Coughlin Raises His Head

When the Militant declared on Dec. 7, that the fascist menace in the U.S. is grave we didn't fully realize the rapidity with which events are moving. As we were preparing the Dec. 7 issue, Father Charles E. Coughlin, the outstanding fascist demagogue of the Thirties, reappeared on the scene, speaking to the Friday club in Detroit on Dec. 4.

This speech confirms our diagnosis of the gravity of the fascist danger. Coughlin is a practiced fascist demagogue. Just note the program Coughlin opened up with in his new crusade against "Communism":

He came out for the guaranteed annual wage, trade with India and China, and the lifting of all taxes from production line workers.

Each one of these points appeals to the needs of the Detroit auto worker. With mounting unemployment in the auto industry the workers feel that trade with China would boost employment in the auto field. The annual wage is the demand of the CIO. And what could be more appealing and popular than the lifting of taxes?

We have McCarthy as candidate number one for American Hitler. But we also have Coughlin. And Gerald L. K. Smith is beginning to stir again in New York.

We warn that unless labor acts in time,

the fascists will be in position to move swiftly into the political arena with the first major turn toward depression.

The fascists, once they get rolling, will quickly take on all the trappings and techniques that are required by an American fascist movement. The danger is to wait until fascism gets rolling in high gear.

The task is to crush fascism in the egg. Detroit is a dynamic center of the American labor movement. Can the Detroit unionists let the challenge of Coughlin go unanswered? Can they afford to ignore Coughlin, hoping that he will be defeated by indifference?

The Socialist Workers Party is emphatically opposed to such a suicidal policy. We propose that the labor movement move quickly and decisively on the McCarthyite-Coughlin menace.

There is no time to waste. Every day we wait means more victims in the costly and desperate struggle to come.

Illusions, soft-headedness, smug bureaucratic complacency will be paid for in workers blood.

Let the voice of the rank and file be raised and let the officials of the unions know that the workers demand action right now against McCarthyism and all its allies.

## An Answer to Slander Against Ceylon LSSP

One week before the Cochran-Pabloite minority split away 18% of the Socialist Workers Party by an organized boycott of its 25th Anniversary Meeting in New York, the splitters were forced into a debate on their pro-Stalinist orientation. The subject was the role of Stalinism in the French General Strike of last August. The Cochran-Pabloites undertook to cover up the Stalinist betrayal.

During this debate, the two main minority spokesmen, Frankel and Bartell, slandered the Ceylon Trotskyist party, the Lanka Samasamajia Party (LSSP), by falsely identifying the LSSP policy in the Ceylon August Hantel (general strike and community stoppage) with that of the Stalinists in the French strike. Murry Weiss, as speaker for the Trotskyist majority, exposed this slander of our Ceylonese comrades, whose party has likewise been split by a pro-Stalinist minority who cited Pablo's views as justification for their own.

The Dec. 3 issue of the Samasamajist, organ of the LSSP, carries an analysis that confirms the position taken by Murry Weiss. It is a devastating answer to the slander that the Ceylon Trotskyists acted no differently than the French Stalinists.

The Samasamajist article, "The Defense of Capitalism — French CP's Right Turn," first explains the basis for the French Stalinist policy in French Communist Party leader Maurice Thorez's statement: "We are determined to associate ourselves with all Frenchmen wherever they may be, who are opponents of the Bonn and Paris agreements." (Original emphasis.)

This is the enunciation of a "national front" policy instead of a class struggle program. The Samasamajist comments: "Already Mr. Daladier, wartime Premier of France, has accepted the Stalinist offer of class collaboration. This alliance with the right-wing conservative Daladier requires only the co-operation of Gen. de Gaulle to complete the sordid picture of Stalinist treachery in France."

This treachery "has been characteristic of Stalinist policy in France, especially since the end of the last imperialist world war," when the Stalinists joined the DeGaulle government "to give it stability" and a Stalinist Minister of Defense "sent French troops into Indo-China to crush the colonial revolution there."

But "never was the reactionary role of Stalinism more apparent than in the French General Strike," writes Samasamajist. "This coincided with the mass upsurge in Ceylon and affords a significant comparison between the Stalinist leadership of the French movement and the Trotskyist, that is to say the revolutionary, leadership of the struggle of the Ceylonese masses."

## SFALINIST CRIMES

The French Stalinists "vigorously stifled any signs of revolutionary initiative on the part of the workers and the rank and file of the CP. When the entire regime



THOREZ

was paralyzed by the completeness of the strike, when the question of seizing power was posed by the might and will of the proletariat, the Stalinists deliberately refrained from raising even one political slogan. Indeed when the French Trotskyists, who conducted themselves magnificently during the Strike, raised the banner of Revolution and called for the formation of a Workers' and Farmers' Government, they were bitterly attacked by the Stalinists. It was wrong, they said, to pose the question of power; the movement was not political but purely economic. It was, they maintained, for the purpose of preventing cuts in wages and pensions that the workers rose!"

This absolutely accurate statement of the two positions in France requires only one further fact to make the picture complete. The Pabloite minority grouping in France issued a public declaration to the Stalinists in the Renault plant attacking the Trotskyist majority, the International Communist Party (PCI), and defending the policy of the Stalinist union leaders in limiting their demands to the economic issues.

## THE FOUNTAINHEAD

"The source of this (French Stalinist) policy of betrayal," says Samasamajist, "is the Kremlin. Ever on the look-out for the opportunity to pervert the movement of the revolutionary masses to its own benefit in its diplomatic maneuvers with the western imperialists, it has consistently prevented the development of these movements in the interests of the 'peaceful co-existence' of imperialism and bureaucratic totalitarianism. In order to pursue its policy of appeasement, it has betrayed the working class movement in France and Italy, where the Stalinists dominate the left. . . . Apart from France and Italy the most classic example of this treacherous policy is Iran."

But the position in Ceylon is "vastly different," the Samasamajist points out. "Thanks to the existence of a far more powerful

party (the Lanka Samasamajia Party) to the left of it, the Ceylon CP has been hampered seriously in its efforts to follow the Kremlin directives for collaboration with the progressive capitalists," that is to say any capitalist party that is willing to remain neutral in the forthcoming war against the Soviet Union."

## THEIR PRICE

The Stalinists in Ceylon are willing to support any capitalist government, "if that government follows a policy of neutrality in the cold war and the hot war as well when it comes."

"It is for this reason that the Stalinists oppose the Lanka Samasamajia Party's demand for an Anti-Capitalist Government and refuse to form a United Front with us for achieving this objective. Instead, they are calling for a United Front of the SLFP [left-liberal capitalist party] and the 'progressive capitalist' branch of the UNP [the ruling United Nationalist Party] on the one hand, and the working class parties on the other, for the purpose of installing a 'progressive capitalist' government which will follow a policy of neutrality. Such a proposition . . . is thoroughly opportunist and treacherous to the cause of the mass movement."

This "thoroughly opportunist and treacherous" policy, when followed by the French Stalinists, was characterized by Frankel merely as "inadequate." And, he stated flatly, the Ceylon Trotskyist policy did not differ much from it. As if in direct reply to this base lie, the Samasamajist replies:

TROTSKYIST POLICY  
"The great August struggle, which was led by the Lanka Samasamajia Party on an anti-capitalist basis, posed before the masses the question of what kind of government was capable of solving the present capitalist crisis. It was the call for an Anti-Capitalist Government that made the August Hantel a struggle for the overthrow of the Capitalist UNP Government and its replacement with an Anti-Capitalist Government. It was this reorientation of the mass mind that violently closed a chapter in our history and inaugurated another. It crystallized in the minds of the people the fact that the UNP is unable to solve their problems because it is a Capitalist government."

The Ceylon Trotskyists conclude: "It is only an Anti-Capitalist Government that can take the necessary measures to lift the burdens from the backs of the working and middle classes. That is why the LSSP strives for a United Front of Working-Class Parties for the replacement of the Capitalist UNP Government with an Anti-Capitalist Government."

Thus, the "only" difference between the Stalinist policy in the French General Strike and the Trotskyist policy in the Ceylonese General Strikes was that the former betrayed the revolutionary aspirations of the masses and the latter advanced and urged on these aspirations.

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