

WHY INDO-CHINESE ARE DETERMINED TO WIN

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII - No. 18



NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY 3, 1954

PRICE: 10 CENTS

Stalinists Help Clear Way for McCarthyism

By Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

The current right swing in the policy of the American Communist Party constitutes a mortal danger to the American working class.

The Stalinist policy has been brazenly announced with great fanfare in the "Draft Program of the Communist Party" published in the Daily Worker, March 7, under the title, "The American Way — to Jobs, Peace and Democracy."

Here is the proclaimed policy of the party that dares to call itself "Communist":

(1) The menace of fascism can be defeated by "a popular coalition movement which unites labor, the working farmers, the Negro people, small and middle-size business and those groups of capital opposed to the McCarthy program of fascism and war."

(2) This coalition must take place within the framework of the capitalist party system because "the two-party system remains the form through which the overwhelming majority of the American people now express themselves in politics."

(3) The organization of an independent Labor Party must be shelved for the next two national elections: "The key to both the crucial 1954 and 1956 elections lies in the ability of organized labor to come forward as a distinct political force even within the framework of the present two-party system . . . Its (labor's) objective must be to bring about a regroupment and realignment within the Democratic Party nationally and within the Republican Party in local areas."

(4) The issue is not socialism or fascism but capitalist democracy or fascism: "The Communist Party emphasizes that the issue at the present time is not Communism. The choice before our people today is peace, security, democracy versus the grip which the monopolists have on the country and their plans for fascism and war."

The Socialist Workers Party declares that this program of the American Stalinists is a program of betrayal of the American working class to the fascist hangmen.

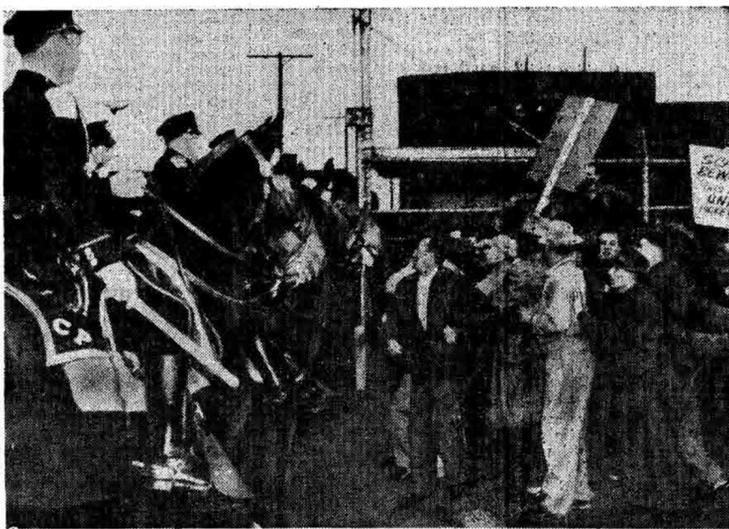
It is the same program followed by the labor bureaucracy of Europe, including Social Democrats, Stalinists and trade union officials, which led to the victory of Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany and Franco in Spain. The Stalinist program for uniting the workers with the "good" democratic capitalists to maintain the status quo against the "bad" fascist capitalists is a blueprint for a repetition of the European disasters in the United States.

In the fight against fascism, the class independence of the workers — their unification around the program and perspective of putting a Workers and Farmers Government in power —

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Power Fight over Pentagon Erupts in McCarthy "Trial"

Cleveland Police Attack UAW Pickets



Mounted police form a solid barrier as they drive back some 3,000 CIO United Auto Workers pickets in Cleveland to clear the way for scabs entering the Park Drop Forge Co. plant. Many pickets were knocked down and two were arrested. The plant has been struck since last Oct. 19.

Fascist Senator Gains in TV Bout With GOP-Democratic Opponents

By Daniel Roberts

The current Army-McCarthy hearings represent the airing of a major power conflict raging between the wing of the Republican Party headed by Eisenhower and the fascist forces grouped around Senator McCarthy.

McCarthy. He is not "just a Senator in trouble" as the liberal chatterbox, Max Lerner, calls him in the New York Post of April 26. He is not simply an adventurer caught off base.

It is true that in the hearing room itself there are only three open fascists under attack — the

trio of hoodlums on "trial" — McCarthy, Cohn and Carr. But this trio is certainly not at bay.

As a matter of fact, McCarthy, the "accused" has the run of the hearings. Supposedly limited by the ground rules to a ten-minute turn of questioning to be taken in rotation, McCarthy breaks in freely at any time. On the pretext of raising "points of order" he interrupts the proceedings with any question, comment or characterization he feels like.

In this he is abetted by Senator Mundt, the chairman of the hearings, who rarely stops McCarthy before he is finished with his interrupting speech and who makes his ruling on the spurious point of order only after McCarthy has put his propaganda across.

McCarthy is his rude and arrogant self in cross-examination and no one lifts a finger to stop him. He tells Senator Symington, who is supposed to be sitting in judgment over him, "Oh, be quiet!" and commands any and all to listen to him attentively whenever he speaks. Throughout he acts completely as the boss of the hearings.

The Republican majority of the investigating committee — McCarthy's own committee, with Dworshak a pro-McCarthy man replacing the fascist Senator — is entirely on his side as is its special council, Ray Jenkins. The latter demonstrates his partiality by the way he questions the witnesses and by his advice to Mundt on McCarthy's "points of order."

In addition to the partiality shown McCarthy by the special investigator and the majority of the committee, the Democratic Senators display utter ineptitude,



McCarthy

although they are supposedly helping the Army in its case against McCarthy.

The procedure followed by these anti-McCarthy stalwarts — McClellan, Symington, and Jackson — is to ask innocuous questions on the first round of examination and to "pass" on the second and third on the noble plea that they want to expedite the hearings. They thereby leave the field free for McCarthy who never passes but confronts his accusers at each turn with new questions, charges, and innuendoes.

The line of examination of the Army witnesses is entirely on McCarthy's grounds. Jenkins seeks to extract from each witness an admission that McCarthy's investigations of "Communism" are of the utmost importance to the nation.

Thus, questioning General Reber, Jenkins asked: "General, you would regard . . . (McCarthy) as a Beria supporter."

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Report New Facts On Murder of Trotsky by Stalin

Additional specific information on how Stalin organized the assassination of Leon Trotsky is reported to have been revealed in detail to U.S. security officers in West Germany by Nikolai Khokhlov, a Soviet secret police captain whose break last February from the Kremlin was made public April 22.

General Leonid Eitingen, of the Soviet Ministry of Interior, was named by the former Soviet agent as the one who selected and trained "Jacques Mornard" for the slaying of Trotsky. Eitingen was executed in late 1953 as a Beria supporter.

Khokhlov, a Soviet police agent for thirteen years, described the operations of that section of the secret police set up to assassinate political opponents of Stalin.

Before his death, Trotsky revealed that information had reached him of the creation by Stalin of such an international assassination squad.

The specific details on the organization of the killing of Trotsky that Khokhlov is reported to have given U.S. officials were not made public. Perhaps the State Department wished to reserve this information in line with its diplomatic jockeying with the Malenkov crew. During the war, it will be recalled, Washington helped cover up Stalin's crimes.

But the few facts that were given to the press further confirm the accuracy of Trotsky's revelations about the murder machine that Stalin set up to silence his political opponents in no matter what country they might live.

Secret Deal Discussed At Geneva Conference

By Joseph Hansen

APRIL 29 — Two screens have been drawn over the Geneva Conference. One is the TV screen occupied by McCarthy. The other is the screen of secrecy behind which the Allied powers are trying to reach an understanding with Moscow and Peking over settlement of the Indo-Chinese conflict.

Eisenhower on April 26 declared that this is "a time of great decisions" and that he hoped a "modus vivendi" might be reached. Next day he accepted a "beany" cap from a group of admiring bobby-sox Republicans and then on April 28 left for Burning Tree for a round of golf.

What the "great decision" was can be guessed from the abrupt stop that was put to belligerent declarations about sending American troops now to Indo-China and from the report by Edmund Stevens in the April 27 Christian Science Monitor that French Foreign Minister Bidault had begun secret discussions with Molotov

"with carte blanche from France's allies, including the United States, to seek an early cease fire on whatever terms are obtainable."

From the Stalinist side, Malenkov also put out an olive branch on the same day as Eisenhower. He noted that there had been "a certain easing of tension" and he again raised the banner of "peaceful co-existence."

TRADE CONFERENCE

Two other developments are worth noting:

(1) Alongside the diplomatic parley at Geneva, a big trade conference between representatives of the Soviet bloc and the Western Powers is being held. The objective is to further lower trade restrictions. These secret discussions are intermeshed with those on Indo-China.

(2) The Indo-Chinese Stalinists are deliberately holding off the capture of Dien Bien Phu. The Stalinist N. Y. Daily Worker published a report April 29 "that the Vietminh could actually have captured the French fortress any time within the last five days but

had held off to await developments at Geneva."

The meaning of this is obvious. The Stalinists are trying to demonstrate their capacity to control the struggle in Indo-China, and therefore their ability to deliver in a deal.

A dispatch from Tokyo April 24 to the Christian Science Monitor made this clear: If the Stalinist Gen. Giap "delays an all out assault . . . it will be because the Communists hope to use the threat . . . to obtain concessions at Geneva."

"TOO GOOD TO BE TRUE"

"This, however, presumes Moscow and Peking maintain direct control down to operational levels in Indo-China and can call the signals as they choose."

"This would be almost too good to be true . . ."

The exact nature of the deal that is being secretly discussed at Geneva is of course obscure. Most frequently mentioned are two variants; partition of Indo-China as in Korea, or the setting up of a coalition government.

Squeeze Is on the Unemployed

By Robert L. Kern

The Eisenhower administration gave its answer this week to the increasing demand for more liberal unemployment compensation to adjust for the great increase in living costs since insurance amounts were set. Officials of the Bureau of Employment Security of the Labor Department charged April 24 that fraud in the collection of these payments is nation-wide.

Instead of requesting new funds to bring unemployment insurance up to better levels, the Labor Department demands \$2,500,000 more to "investigate" unemployed workers whom they allege are getting unemployment insurance "illegally."

A worker collecting unemployment insurance after being laid off from his job is presumably free to turn down offers of employment at a lower wage scale or under worse conditions than those of his last job. This right, which is written into the Unemployment Insurance Compensation regulations is now under sustained attack.

After a few weeks, workers who continue to draw their un-

employment insurance are pressed to accept jobs at lower scales. Many have had to give in to this pressure and thus lower their standard of living. Many others, however, refuse to voluntarily cut their standard. It is these workers that the Labor Department is now threatening.

TYPICAL CASE

I interviewed a typical case this week. This man, aged 31, with a wife and two children to support, has now been on unemployment insurance for ten weeks. His story is not much different from that of thousands of others.

He came out of the army in 1946 and went to work as a machine hand in a middle-sized shop in New York. His starting wage scale was \$1.09 an hour. After a series of union-won raises, his scale reached \$1.72 an hour.

During the Korean war, he worked overtime and through a premium incentive plan in his shop, his earnings were considerably increased. Last year the overtime was cut out and then in February of this year he, along with others, was laid off with no promise of re-employment other than the statement by the fore-

man that a pick-up in orders might be expected around March. This, no doubt, was a reflection of Eisenhower's reassuring statement that he would act in March if things got worse.

OFFERED LOWER PAY

After five weeks of unemployment insurance, he was asked by his interviewer why he didn't take a job at \$1.25 an hour at a shop farther from his home than the old job. He refused.

He told me that it would be too much of a setback to have to go into a new shop at the bottom scale with no seniority and begin a painful accumulation of seniority and possible pay raises. He considered the whole thing to be completely unfair.

In the meantime, he preferred to wait longer on the chance his old shop might rehire him.

WIFE GETS JOB

I asked him how he managed to get by on just unemployment insurance and he told me that his wife took a job in a laundromat. This brought the family income to 55% of what it was a year ago.

This is the kind of worker that

the Department of Labor is now demanding \$2,500,000 from Congress to investigate.

He told me his story without concealing his bitterness. He and his wife planned a year ago to put a down payment on their own home in Long Island. They even dreamed of buying a car. But this is all gone now and the prospects look grim. He could not hold back his caustic comments about the working men who voted for Eisenhower.

Yet, he said with a wry smile, had the Democrats won, the story most likely would not have been different.

Corporate Grip On Economy Grows

"The nation's big corporations are getting a tighter and tighter grip on the American economy," reports the April 16 Labor's Daily. According to an April 15 Federal Trade Commission report, in 1950 the 200 largest corporations accounted for 40.5% of the total value of all manufacturing. In 1935 the figure was 37.7%.

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

This week we received almost \$1,000 on the Fund drive. Reports from the branches indicate that with only three weeks to go, everyone is busy making plans to get quotas paid in full and on schedule.

Detroit recaptured first place from Youngstown this week by only a fraction of 1%. The competition for top spot on the scoreboard of the fund drive is really on now. But it's anyone's guess as to which branch will hit 100% first.

We received \$45 from a comrade in one of the Southern states, \$20 of which "came as a pleasant surprise from an old friend who is a reader of the Militant."

The effects of unemployment on pledges is being felt quite heavily by some branches. This will throw an even bigger responsibility on those who are still working, if we are to reach our goal.

Readers of the Militant are invited to participate in our anti-fascist campaign by helping us realize our goal of \$14,000 by May 15. We need your assistance. Every dollar you contribute will be a blow to the whole fascist menace of McCarthyism.

FASCISTS ACTIVE

The importance of our anti-fascist literature campaign is brought home emphatically, as I look over two pieces of fascist propaganda distributed here in New York. The first is the announcement of a new magazine called "The U.S. Nationalist" to be published in Wilton, Connecticut. The program of the editors is based on McCarthy's charge of 20 years of treason. Demagogically appealing to the opposition of the American peo-

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Highlights Of My Tour

By Murry Weiss

I returned to New York April 20 after 74 days of touring the country to open the current Socialist Workers Party campaign against McCarthyism.

Last Saturday at the New York "Welcome Home" party some of my comrades asked me if I intended to report the midwestern, northwestern and west coast parts of my tour to Militant readers in the same way I had reported the first eastern part. I had planned to write two other "division point" reports from the road in addition to the story I filed from Pittsburgh.

But a Militant staff writer runs into a contradiction when he goes on national tour after writing in an office all year. Getting out in the field, meeting our active workers, talking to unionists, students and all kinds of people on trains and in hotels, provides plenty of fresh material for "copy." At the same time the work of a speaking tour is so demanding that it leaves little time for writing.

The result is that I have stored up a lot of impressions and observations that I will be writing about for some time to come. But I will start with a general round-up report of the tour from the time I left Pittsburgh on Feb. 19, to my return to New York on April 20.

YOUNGSTOWN

The Youngstown headquarters of the SWP where my meeting was held is situated on the main street of what is perhaps the most typical steel town in the United States.

No one lives in Youngstown for the fun of it. The town is populated by steel workers or workers in other factory and ser-

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NEWARK SWP SUPPORTS CIO, NEGRO CANDIDATES

By George Breitman SWP Candidate for U.S. Senator

NEWARK, April 27 — The Socialist Workers Party today announced support of four candidates for the Newark City Council in the election to be held May 11. Two of these are CIO candidates, and two are representatives of the Negro community.

The elections are the first to be held under the new Mayor-Council form of government approved in a referendum last November to replace the City Commission form. As was predicted by the SWP last year, the change-over has shaken up the local political picture and encouraged the emergence of new political currents and alignments.

The most significant was the decision of the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council to run two CIO leaders for the City Council. They are James T. Callaghan, organization director of District 4, IUE-CIO, running for councilman-at-large; and Jerry Leopaldi, president of the big Federal Local 447, IUE-CIO, running for councilman in the East Ward.

This is not the first time the CIO has endorsed CIO members running for office, usually on the Democratic ticket. What is new in the present situation is that the CIO has SPONSORED Callaghan and Leopaldi and has assumed the major responsibility for financing and running their campaigns.

AGAINST DEMOCRAT SLATE

Municipal elections here are supposed to be "non-partisan" — that is, no regular party label appears on the ballot. But this is a mere technicality, and the Democratic machine gets around it by drawing up its own informal slate and then passing down the word to its wardhealers to support that slate and oppose all others.

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# ... Stalinists Help

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is the paramount need. Unless the working class meets the crises of capitalism with a bold socialist program the fascist will succeed in mobilizing the great mass of the middle class into its legions.

But we have more than the European experience to guide us. The "Draft Program" presented by the American Communist Party is the same program that the labor bureaucracy has been following in the United States — with what results?

McCarthyism has thrived on the political enslavement of the American labor movement to the capitalist parties. The net result of the decades of subservience to the Democratic and Republican machines is the birth of an aggressive American fascist movement and the alienation of large sections of the middle class from the labor movement.

"The Stalinist program of class treachery flows from the schemes of the Kremlin bureaucrats, who dream of buying off the hostility of the American capitalists with back-door deals at the expense of the workers. But haven't the workers paid out enough blood for such treacherous "deals" in the past? Didn't tens of millions of workers perish under the iron heel of European fascism? Aren't the mass graves of these workers a sufficient monument to Stalinist and Social Democratic perfidy?"

### Can They Repeat It in America?

But can the Stalinists in the United States actually commit such a betrayal? Aren't they too isolated and hounded themselves to "deliver the goods?"

In the fight against Stalinism, as in the fight against fascism, illusions are impermissible.

Yes, under certain conditions the Stalinists can "deliver the goods." With a turn in the political situation toward mass radicalization, the very factors that have isolated the Stalinists can work in their favor. The Stalinist have been the chief target of the witch hunters. Among radical workers this has already evoked sympathy for them. This is only natural. What is "unnatural" and what is a great danger is the Stalinist misuse and betrayal of this sympathy in pursuit of their "coalition" policy.

Tomorrow (and even today in certain notable cases) the right-wing labor bureaucrats will enlist the willing and eager Stalinists to act as their hatchmen in fighting the development of a genuine left wing in the trade unions. The American labor bureaucrats have done it before and they can do it again.

We must understand that the following chain of possibilities confront us: McCarthyism can avert defeat at the hands of the working class, only if the labor bureaucracy succeeds in maintaining its grip on the trade unions and continuing to foist its class-collaboration policy on American labor.

The labor bureaucracy in turn can maintain its entrenched position only if the left-wing radical wave, now in the making, comes under control of a force that will betray it. Stalinism is such a force.

The Stalinists have deliberately set out to win control of the incipient left wing. Their tactic is to burrow deep into the Democratic Party apparatus. In this arena, under the flag of Roosevelt and The New Deal, they hope to meet the leftward moving workers, who have not shed their illusions about capitalist politics.

At the same time they are making vigorous attempts to refurbish their reputation as true radicals with the Negro people whom they betrayed throughout the Second World War.

Their purpose is to prevent the leftward moving workers and the radical-minded Negro people from breaking away from the two-party system.

They hope to accomplish this perfidious aim by reinforcing the right-wing labor bureaucrats, by revitalizing the illusions workers have in the Democratic Party, and by steering those who do begin to take the road to independent political action back into the Democratic blind alley.

### Role of The SWP

The Stalinists can succeed in this monstrous plan only on condition that the revolutionary socialists give them an open road.

The SWP says frankly that it will never permit the Stalinists to derail the radical vanguard of the American working class. Stalinism is the mortal enemy of the working class. On the open political arena, we will meet head-on the plot of the Stalinists.

We will do everything in our power to expose the treachery of the Stalinists, and to educate the new generation of militants in the labor movement on the truth about Stalinism and its whole filthy record of betrayal.

Above all, in opposition to the Stalinists, we will press for labor to take the road of independent political action. Labor would have established its own party long ago if the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists had not prevented it. In face of the growing menace of fascism the formation of an independent class party of the workers becomes an imperative task and failure to fulfill this task means defeat.

The struggle for an independent Labor Party and the struggle against Stalinism are thus two sides of the fight to smash McCarthyite fascism.

The Stalinists, of course, can be expected to respond with slander and frame-ups against the Socialist Workers Party as they have in the past. This is their way of recognizing that the SWP is the only working-class party that conducts an uncompromising fight against the American capitalists and their agents.

As the SWP continues its campaign against the McCarthyite fascists in the 1954 elections, it will alert ever larger sections of the awakening American working class to the socialist struggle against fascism. For it is only through the socialist working class struggle that fascism can be defeated.

# Why Indo-Chinese People Are Determined to Win

By Harry Ring

News correspondents in Indo-China have devoted many columns pondering over the fact that despite the enormous military advantage the French colonial forces enjoy, the fighters for freedom have them at the point of military defeat. Almost all these columnists now concede that the Viet Minh government led by Ho Chi Minh has the support of the majority of the Indo-Chinese people, and that the principal backing of the puppet Bao Dai comes from only the French imperialists and their American supporters.

The history of Indo-China under French rule explains why the Indo-Chinese people nourish so fierce a hatred of the French and their own native capitalist-landlord class, and why they have rallied with such remarkable force behind the Viet Minh government in the struggle for national liberation.

French missionaries and traders began their penetration of Indo-China 200 years ago. It is now almost 85 years since French imperialism incorporated this area, so rich in natural resources, into its colonial empire.

Even without French exploitation, life would be difficult enough in this 280,000 square miles of land, covered largely by dense mountainous jungles. Three-quarters of the population of some 28 million live on the coastal plain, on one-tenth of the total area. All of Indo-China, but especially the coastal area, is subject to violent rainy seasons and to typhoons originating out of the Pacific. Sometimes the typhoons are accompanied by enormous and devastating tidal waves.

But the difficulties imposed on the Indo-Chinese people by geography and climate are minor compared to those inflicted on them by the plundering French colonialists and by their own ruling class which functions as a local agency of the French.

To insure the "safety" of its Indo-Chinese investments, the French have suppressed the development of any sizeable industry. They have done so to block the rise of either a strong industrial working class, or a native capitalist class capable of independent rule.

Coal, iron, tin and zinc are mined and exported by the French

at fabulous profit. Almost 100% of these products are exported as raw material. As of 1950 there was not a single blast furnace in all of Indo-China.

The French have converted Indo-China into the "rice bowl" of Asia, while the Indo-Chinese people starve for lack of it.

In the dominant field of agriculture, the impoverishment of the masses is most acute. About 700 French planters own 20% of the cultivatable land. A slightly larger number of native landlords control an equal amount of land, granted to them by the French for their "collaboration." They operate this land under a tenant-farm system that keeps the native farmers under an oppressive burden of debt.

At the beginning of the planting season, the tenant is obliged to borrow from the landlord. Six months later, at harvest time, he must repay him in rice at 200% interest. The landlord takes in all 70% of the crop.

The bulk of those peasants who till their own land are confined to plots averaging less than 2½ acres. Only eight percent of the population own more than four acres of land.

The land is tilled with primitive tools of the type used two centuries ago. Irrigation is at a minimum. Fertilizer is virtually unobtainable for the average peasant, even though phosphates are exported in large quantities.

The hardship of life on the land drives increasing numbers of peasants onto the large French plantations and into the mine pits. There the rate of exploitation is fierce. In 1939 native miners earned an average pay of two to four francs a day.

### RECORD POVERTY

The terrible plight of the Indo-Chinese people was summed up in the April 11 N. Y. Times which reported, "... the standard of living remains one of the world's lowest. Food supply per capita is just about 2,000 calories a day (among major countries only India and Burma are below that), and a per capita income of less than \$100 a year."

Because of these ruinous conditions, the history of Indo-China, since 1917, has been one of an unintermittent series of struggles to drive out the French. At the beginning, the nationalist movement was led by the native capitalist class, who sought to

### H-Bomb Victim



One of the Japanese fishermen who suffered radiation burns in the March 1 H-bomb burst, arrives by plane in Tokyo for further treatment. Japanese doctors say they still don't know if he and 20 other fishermen who were burned will live.

### MURDER TROTSKYISTS

On March 6, 1946, Ho signed a "compromise" agreement with the French for the realization of this program. In order to prepare the ground for this sell-out of the independence struggle, the Stalinists launched a drive to physically liquidate the Trotskyists, who had been front-line freedom fighters throughout. This campaign culminated, several weeks prior to the March 6 agreement, with the assassination of Tu Thu Tau, founder and outstanding leader of the Indo-Chinese Trotskyist movement.

### FOUGHT JAPANESE

During the war, the Indo-Chinese masses waged an epic struggle to drive out the Japanese and to eliminate the native ruling class which had swung over to collaboration with the Japanese as easily as their French masters went over to the Nazis during the German occupation of France. It was the Japanese who installed Bao Dai as Emperor.

When the French forces returned to Indo-China in 1945 they found a new power existed in that country, a power that had to

be dealt with. In the course of the struggle against the Japanese, the Viet Minh (abbreviation for League for Independence of Viet Nam) had been organized. By the end of the war Viet Minh was so powerful that the French were compelled to recognize it as the legal government of Viet Nam and Bao Dai was forced to abdicate.

At its inception the Viet Minh was composed of the Stalinist party, the Trotskyist party and two left-wing middle class nationalist parties. At the time, the Stalinists were the most influential political force in the north while the Trotskyist party was the largest in Cochinchina in the south. (In the 1939 elections received 80% of the popular vote as against 15% for the government party and one percent for the Stalinists.)

With the establishment of the Viet Minh government, the Stalinists under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh, emerged as the decisive power in the country. Completely subservient to the Kremlin, which was trying to maintain its wartime alliance with the Western powers, the Indo-Chinese Stalinists, as well as the French Stalinists, put forward a program of "independence within the French Union."

### LAUNCH WAR

On Nov. 24, 1946, French forces suddenly seized the city of Hanoi after bombarding it from the sea at a cost of 6,000 lives. With that treacherous action they opened the present war.

The sell-out that made this possible was shared with Ho by the French Stalinists who were members of the French government at the time, and who, as "patriotic" Frenchmen, supported the war of colonial conquest in Indo-China. From September 1945 to March 1947, when the "cold war" forced them out of the government, the French Stalinist government officials voted on six separate occasions for war funds

French devoted their energies to reinforcing the expeditionary force in Indo-China with men and materiel.

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against the Indo-Chinese people. The French Stalinist did not come out unequivocally for unconditional Indo-Chinese independence until 1950, after Ho's government was recognized by the Soviet Union and China.

Despite these treacherous Stalinist blows, the Indo-Chinese people have grimly continued their war for independence. They have fought so well that the French now face total military collapse and are seeking a way out of the war.

At Geneva negotiations are under way to secure a new "compromise" in Indo-China. The past odious record of the Stalinists indicates their ability to sacrifice the independence fight for such a deal. But the heroic record of the Indo-Chinese people strongly indicates that they will not give up the war until they win their full freedom.

## \$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Detroit	\$ 500	\$ 485	97
Youngstown	150	145	97
Buffalo	1,500	1,300	87
Newark	400	300	75
Pittsburgh	150	100	67
Boston	600	300	50
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	707	59
New York	3,000	1,709	57
Chicago	1,500	810	54
Philadelphia	400	200	50
Allentown	65	30	46
San Francisco	700	314	45
Cleveland	250	100	40
St. Louis	75	30	40
Milwaukee	250	96	38
Los Angeles	2,500	906	36
Oakland	250	67	27
Akron	100	0	0
Seattle	250	0	0
General	260	115	44
Total through April 26	\$14,000	\$7,713	55

## ... Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

(Continued from page 1)

ple to the Korean slaughter, these nationalists proclaim: "That those who wittingly or unwittingly provoked this Republic into the Korean fiasco... should be swiftly brought to an accounting before a court of justice. The lawful punishment of treason is DEATH!"

The second piece of fascist propaganda is a mimeographed leaflet distributed by the National Renaissance Party that winds up an anti-Semitic diatribe with the slogan: "Only Nationalism Can Neutralize and Defeat Jewish-International-Communism."

This fascist literature is attempting to convert popular resentment against the government's wars and social insecurity into fascist violence. This growing popular revolt must be turned against the real source of 20 years of misery, i.e., the capitalist system.

### YOUNGSTOWN LEADS

A thousand more points came in this week for anti-fascist literature sold. Youngstown still holds the lead and St. Paul has recaptured second place.

Milwaukee gets special congratulations for jumping up from eighth place on the scoreboard to fifth place. Paul Miller writes from Milwaukee: "On Wednesday nearly 50 pamphlets were sold by four comrades at State College 18 anti-McCarthy pam-

phlets, and the rest in front of the Public Library."

St. Paul has sold more anti-McCarthy pamphlets than any branch in the country. The Minneapolis branch has top honors for selling America's Road to Socialism. And Youngstown has done an outstanding job with the Case of the Legless Veteran, the story of the fight for civil liberties in America.

The New York Local has taken to the streets with open air meetings against McCarthyism. At the first rally 63 anti-McCarthy pamphlets were sold.

### Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign

PLACE	CITY	POINTS
1	Youngstown	289
2	St. Paul	601
3	Newark	512
4	Minneapolis	542
5	Milwaukee	146
6	New York	713
7	Buffalo	222
8	Philadelphia	156
9	Chicago	200
10	San Francisco	88
11	Los Angeles	305
12	St. Louis	18
13	Cleveland	33
14	Oakland	35
Total		3860

## ... Highlights of My Tour

(Continued from page 1)

vice industries. The middle class is small. Those who live off the labor of the steel workers don't build their homes in grim, smoky Youngstown.

When I was SWP organizer in Youngstown in 1939 a worker said to me, "The devil is known to have surveyed Youngstown as a possible site for hell but rejected it because it was too gruesome."

Today as in 1939 mass layoffs are the chief concern of the Youngstown steel workers. I dealt with the subject in my meeting and showed the relation between the threat of fascism and depression. Many of the Steel Union locals seem to feel that unemployment can be met only by accepting increased layoffs and maintaining the 40-hour week as against keeping everybody on the job on a short work week with a deep pay slash (sharing the misery).

The trouble with the argument about "sharing the misery" versus layoffs is that both solutions tacitly accept the principle that the employers' profits are sacred.

Other union locals, by raising the demand for 30-40, are beginning to adopt the opposite principle; namely, the first concern of the unions is to protect the living standards of the workers. If the capitalists can't produce at a profit let them get out of the way and we will show them how industry can be run at full capacity, with production for use and improved conditions for the workers.

A young steel worker who had attended both the Pittsburgh and Youngstown meetings declared he was joining the SWP after the meeting. So we had an impromptu celebration.

### AKRON

In Akron I had an interesting interview with a reporter from a Democratic newspaper. We were unable to secure any radio time in Akron even though an anti-fascist friend offered to pay for a 15-minute broadcast. By rights we had free time coming to us as a participant in the McCarthy controversy. When I told the reporter of the fear atmosphere we encountered among radio people since McCarthy's stooge, Robert E. Lee, got on the Federal Communications Commission, I could see by the expression on his face the question he was going to ask me; and sure enough it came.

"Mr. Weiss," the reporter asked, "correct me if I'm wrong, but isn't your party on the... er... 'subversive' list?"

"Yes," I told him, "the Socialist Workers Party was arbitrarily placed on a witch-hunting blacklist by Democratic Party's Attorney General Clark in 1947. We never had a hearing and our members, like James Kutcher, the 'legless veteran,' were victimized by this blacklist persecution of the Democratic administration against radicals."

"But I've got news for your readers," I told him, "there is a new 'subversive list' out." McCarthy started the new list. But Republican Attorney General Brownell has aided and abetted him in issuing it. We are not on this new list. Only the Democratic Party is on this list. I don't know who is in worse shape, we or the Democratic Party. We were slanderously accused by the Democratic Attorney General of plotting to conspire to advocate the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence some time in the future. McCarthy, backed by the Republican National Committee, charges the Democratic Party with having sold out the country to the Russians for the past 20 years!"

That ended the discussion on "subversive" lists with this reporter from a Democratic newspaper.

### CLEVELAND

In Cleveland we had a very interesting meeting at the headquarters of the SWP branch. As the crowd was gathering, records from a new album of Wobbly songs were played. Perhaps by coincidence the meeting was attended by more than the average number of former IWW members and other radicals who are at present unaffiliated. The interesting thing to me was the positive response of these independent radicals to our analysis and program of action on McCarthyism. While they maintained a number of important differences and doubts about the program of the SWP, they were eager to cooperate in the struggle against American fascism and readily granted that the SWP had taken the lead in the fight on a fundamentally correct program.

After the Cleveland meeting I carried on a discussion with some of these friends far into the night and I believe the discussion was mutually instructive.

### DETROIT

The Detroit meeting took place in the new headquarters of the SWP branch at 3000 Grand River, one of the best locations in the city. The headquarters is spacious and has many "possibilities." The meeting was well attended by auto workers from a number of plants. The audience had a good representation of women workers, Negroes, housewives and some youth from the campus.

One feature of the meeting impressed me. A special room in the headquarters was used as a nursery during the meeting (which took place on a Sunday afternoon). This made it possible for mothers to attend and the care of children was socialized for the afternoon.

The success of the Detroit meeting was all the more notable because the comrades were right in the midst of a petition campaign to put the SWP on the ballot in Michigan. They were working on that difficult project at a feverish pace. Since then they have successfully concluded the petition campaign. I had no doubt they would when I saw them at work.

### ST. LOUIS

My next stop was St. Louis. I hadn't been there since 1933

during the depth of the depression when I was travelling across the country as an unofficial guest of the railroad companies. During the hard winter of 1933 there were hundreds of thousands of youths wandering across the country, living in freight trains and Transient Camps.

The Transient Camp in St. Louis was the worst in the whole country. It had the filthiest beds and the foulest food. On top of that it was Jim Crow. As bad as the facilities were for the whites, they were immeasurably worse for the Negroes.

So I didn't have many pleasant recollections of the city. But I look back at this visit to St. Louis with a feeling of warmth and pleasure. The small group of SWPers in St. Louis are a model of Trotskyist tenacity and courage. Despite their limited forces and a raging witch hunt in the city, they rented a hall and conducted a successful meeting.

To me it was a demonstration of the stuff our party is made of. There could have been a hundred "reasonable" excuses for not trying to hold a meeting. But the comrades are determined to hold on to all their rights as a political party and to build. It was a great pleasure to speak to them and to feel their determination and spirit.

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# Trotsky's Story -- Tragedy or Triumph?

By George Breitman  
(Last of a series.)

By executing some fast shuffles, as we showed in the previous article in this series, Isaac Deutscher reaches the conclusion in his book, *The Prophet Armed*, that Trotsky and Lenin set political and theoretical "precedents" that "paved the way" for Stalin. He also expresses "absorbing interest" in the question: to what extent did Trotsky "pave the way for Stalin" by "his own character"?

Since this volume does not deal with the period of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism, Deutscher doesn't answer his own question fully here. But he makes some beginnings, throwing out hints about Trotsky's character that have already been eagerly snapped up by reviewers who reduce everything to their own shallow level, find in the most profound social struggles a pretext to indulge in amateur psychoanalysis, and glibly explain the course of Soviet history by alleged "defects" in Trotsky's personality.

Deutscher, of course, is much too shrewd to go that far himself. Elsewhere he has quoted approvingly Plekhanov's statement: "Owing to the specific qualities of their minds and characters, influential individuals can change the individual features of events and some of their particular consequences, but they cannot change their general trend, which is determined by other forces."

Deutscher knows, and will say, that it was "other forces" (social, political, economic) that determined the victory of Stalin. He knows that Stalin won, not because he was more sociable and humble than Trotsky, but because he represented social forces in retreat and in reaction against the revolution (and because his was a character that could adapt to and express those forces, while Trotsky's character couldn't and didn't).

But while Deutscher knows all this, he cannot refrain from making certain criticisms of Trotsky's character which we want to discuss briefly, not because they are new, but because they are genuinely related to Trotsky's role.

## IDEAS AND MEN

(1) As far back as 1904, Deutscher says, Trotsky "exhibited a characteristic of which he would never quite free himself: he could not separate ideas from men."

The real substance of this stock complaint against Trotsky was that he took a serious attitude to serious ideas because he knew they are the indispensable bedrock for any party aspiring to lead a workers' revolution. In other words, he was a principled politician — without deviation from 1917 on — who put program ahead of all other considerations. He worked loyally with people when he found himself in political agreement with them, and did not hesitate to break and fight against even former friends after their political paths parted.

This characteristic offended and repelled centrists, vacillators and political dabblers; to people who were always ready to patch up, compromise or ignore basic differences in order to cement a "practical" bloc, Trotsky's insistence on principles seemed "unworldly," "harsh," "sectarian" or "autocratic" (epithets which were all applied to Lenin and to Marx too). But far from being a fault, this was one of Trotsky's greatest virtues. Instead of hampering him, it saved him.

## ZINOVIEV AND KAMENEV

Zinoviev and Kamenev were Bolsheviks too. But after Lenin's death they thrust principles to

the side and set out to be "practical" politicians, figuring that first they would combine with Stalin to get power and then later would decide on the ends that power would serve. They separated, that is subordinated, ideas to their bloc with Stalin, and this proved to be their undoing. For they found themselves serving ends they had never dreamed of, and when they tried to draw back, it was too late — Stalin had the power. Their reward was political degradation, to say nothing of bullets in the back of the head.

Trotsky too was approached by Stalin for a bloc. But he could not and would not separate Stalin from the ideas and forces he represented, and he rejected the offer. He saved himself as a revolutionist and was able to make further contributions to the movement precisely because his character inclined him to, and his experience increasingly confirmed him in, principled politics.

## OUT OF HIS ELEMENT?

(2) Deutscher writes: "Trotsky's strength, Stalin said, reveals itself when the revolution gains momentum and advances; his weakness comes to the fore when the revolution is defeated and must retreat. There is some truth in this. Trotsky's mental and moral constitution was such that he received the strongest impulses from, and best mobilized his resources amid, the strains and stresses of actual upheaval. On a gigantic stage, which dwarfed others, he rose to the giant's stature. . . . When the revolution was on the wane, however, he was out of his element and his strength sagged. He was equal to herculean, not to lesser, labors."

There is "some" truth in this — this much: In periods of revolutionary upsurge, great leaders always shine most brightly — after all, that is what they have been living, working and preparing for. In periods of reaction and defeat, even the best of leaders are, so to speak, out of their element, thrown on the defensive, reduced to different labors.

Trotsky stood out among men in 1905 and 1917 because he so accurately reflected the revolutionary moods and hopes of the masses. He did not and could not play the same role in the periods of reaction that followed these two revolutions. But we must distinguish — for he did not play the same kind of role in both these periods of reaction either.

## ROLE IN TWO PERIODS

After 1905, when so many revolutionists became demoralized and deserted, Trotsky stuck to his revolutionary guns and, as Deutscher admits, "went on expounding the idea of permanent revolution with an optimism and ardor uncommon in those years of depression." But as Trotsky wrote later in *In Defense of Marxism*: "I had not freed myself at that period especially in the organizational sphere from the traits of a petty-bourgeois revolutionist. I was sick with the disease of conciliationism toward Menshevism and with a distrustful attitude toward Leninist centralism."

Consequently Trotsky, then still pursuing the illusion of uniting the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, was largely isolated from 1906 to 1917. In this pursuit he certainly was out of his element, and he did not fully come into it until 1917 when he became a Bolshevik.

It will be noted that Trotsky explains his isolation at this time mainly by political reasons, while Deutscher emphasizes mainly personal traits. The correctness of Trotsky's explanation is confirmed by the role he played from 1923 on.

The wave of reaction that struck Russia after 1923 was deeper and longer than anything

living men and women had ever experienced. The persecution and terror visited on the Trotskyist opposition was more severe than in the worst days of the Czarist reaction after 1905. Bolsheviks who had not flinched at jail, Siberia or exile in 1906 were broken morally and capitulated to Stalin in 1926. What did Trotsky do?

(3) This is the subject of Deutscher's next book, but in this one he expresses approval for the statement that "it was Trotsky's major weakness that he did not persist in his wisdom, especially when to be wise was to be alone." (Our emphasis.)

This statement alone, in our opinion, is sufficient to disqualify Deutscher as any objective judge of Trotsky the man and his work.

Against all odds, Trotsky stood up against the fierce reaction represented by Stalinism. He rested and fought back in defense of Bolshevism. He resisted all the pressures, spurned all the offers for compromise, refused to yield an inch on principle. He did this virtually alone, against practically the whole leadership of the party, who held the state power in their hands and did not hesitate to use its coercive instruments. If anyone in the history of the revolutionary movement "persisted," it was Trotsky, whom Stalin could neither bribe nor beat into line.

This was not Trotsky's natural "element." But his strength did not "sag" at the prospect. This was not actually a "lesser labor" than leading a revolution — it was merely a different, harder and less personally gratifying labor. But Trotsky was equal to it, and he mobilized all his resources to carry it through to the finish.

## TROTSKY'S TRIUMPH

To Deutscher, Trotsky's story is "tragic." That only shows how little he understands. Trotsky, it is true, was expelled, exiled and finally murdered, but standing high above all these personal reverses, which Trotsky had foreseen was that greater triumph which he snatched from Stalin's hands by discharging his revolutionary duty to the full.

Stalin's aim was to exterminate Bolshevism root and branch. In this he was thwarted. For Trotsky, almost singlehanded, kept the banner of Bolshevism aloft and preserved it from stain; he maintained the continuity of revolutionary Marxism; he gathered together a new cadre and armed it and hardened it. Lenin's great achievement was to organize Bolshevism; Trotsky's was to preserve it in its most difficult days.

When the balance is struck, we believe, history will recognize as Trotsky's greatest achievement not the role he played in the Russian revolution in 1917, outstanding as that was, when all the conditions favored revolutionary activity, but the role he filled in the reactionary years from 1923 to 1940 in patiently explaining the meaning of Stalinism and tirelessly recruiting the forces of the Fourth International who will lead the workers in ridding the world of both capitalism and Stalinism.

A Deutscher couldn't understand that. He's too busy searching for the "revolutionary" sides of Stalinism, and for signs that the Soviet bureaucracy is going to reform itself, to be able to recognize the real path of socialist revolution in our time or the magnitude of Trotsky's work in clearing that path for the revolutionist of today and tomorrow.

It would be wrong, however, to conclude without some remarks

## Takes "Loyalty" Case to People



Abraham Chasanow, 43, sits among a group of his Greenbelt, Md., neighbors as he appeals for public support against "security risk" charges that cost him his Navy Dept. job after 23 years of service. Chasanow charged his ouster was due to anti-Semitism.

about positive aspects of the book. For one thing, Deutscher has done a lot of research, particularly in the earlier writings of Trotsky — literary and cultural criticism, war correspondence, etc. — and he quotes enough from them to make his book worth reading. (And to increase our appetite. When is some publisher going to be astute enough to get these writings translated?)

For another thing, the book has many anecdotes and sidelights that will appeal to readers already familiar with Trotsky's works. For example, Trotsky's autobiography merely re-

records in a phrase the fact that the police arrested the Petersburg Soviet which he headed in December, 1905; Deutscher devotes two pages to the amusing details. Trotsky spent only a few lines on the subsequent trial of its leaders; Deutscher has six pages highlighting the dramatic events.

But for a genuinely objective account of Russian revolutionary history, and for an account that can serve as a guide to people who want to participate in revolutionary politics, we repeat, the reader will still have to turn to Trotsky's own writings, for which there is still no substitute.

## Supreme Council in USSR Reflects Deepgoing Purge

By John G. Wright

As a political body the Supreme Council of the USSR wields no power. It serves simply as a decorative facade and is a mere rubber stamp for decisions previously adopted

by the Kremlin Big Chiefs. But this does not at all mean that little political importance attaches to the composition of the Supreme Council. On the contrary, it is of considerable political importance.

In the first place, the policies of the Kremlin find their expression in the composition of the Supreme Soviet, particularly in the changes that take place. Secondly, to the individual bureaucrat, membership in this body is no empty formality. Being "elected" a delegate means an enhanced status, considerable material privileges and added prestige and power in the localities.

Two facts are outstanding about the newly elected Supreme Council which convened April 20 in Moscow:

(1) The huge turnover of deputies since the last "elections" in 1950; and (2) the predominance, among the 1,347 deputies, of the top echelons of the party, government and industrial-administrative apparatus.

Out of every 100 former deputies only 40 have been re-elected. In other words, the decisive majority of the new Supreme Council consists of newcomers, some 60%. As touches delegates from farm areas, even fewer of them returned, only 35 out of every 100. What happened to the former majority of the Supreme Council, handpicked under Stalin?

**SOME NOT PURGED**  
By no means all of these ex-deputies, who only last August staged ovations for Malenkov, have fallen victims of the purge. Some have been demoted and are under a cloud. However, the very magnitude of the turnover testifies that the blood purge of Beria was not at all restricted to the secret police, but took its toll throughout the bureaucratic apparatus.

Among those who failed to get re-elected, a highly significant

group stands out. It consists of lesser party functionaries, of "worker-notables" from plants and mines, of lesser local officials, collective farm chairmen and the like.

Under Malenkov & Co. the representatives of the Soviet labor aristocracy and the lower party, state and administrative apparatus have been replaced quite consistently by high level officials, party, government and industry alike. The only field of Soviet life where this was not made evident was in agriculture, where the regime made a special show of electing tractor mechanics, farm specialists, among them 15 "celebrated dairymaids," and several illustrious "women pig tenders."

This coddling of "operative people" in the collective farms and the Machine and Tractor Stations is obviously dictated by the gravity of the current agricultural crisis, and is intended as one of the typical bureaucratic methods for overcoming this crisis.

But the very exception in agriculture only further points up the prominence and predominance in the 1954 Supreme Council of the top bureaucratic echelons, from the All-Union level, through the various ministries and administrations of the different Soviet Republics, down to the level of the departments of the various provinces.

There has been no lack in some quarters of painting up the Malenkov regime as "more liberal" than Stalin's, as more anxious to broaden the "base of its dictatorship," and similar fairy tales. It turns out that Malenkov & Co. are afraid to afford even in the Supreme Council a "base" as broad as Stalin used to select! They have narrowed their selection to the top bureaucratic echelons, retaining only a sprinkling of the other layers.

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## Clardy on the Loose in Michigan

After a two-year interval, the House Un-American Activities Committee is returning to the scene of its crimes of 1952 in Michigan. This time the Committee is headed by Rep. Kit Clardy (R.) of Lansing, Mich. The new hearings will begin May 3.

Sensational red-hunting "revelations" are promised by the committee's publicity hounds. As in 1952, the chief target of these McCarthyite inquisitors will be the union movement.

Carl Stellato, President of Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO has revealed that at least seven members of the local have been subpoenaed. And Clardy himself has announced that he will invade the Flint auto locals: "At Flint we will show the Communist pattern in the unions."

The fear-smear machinery has been set in motion to create an atmosphere of hysteria. The Detroit News, April 25, reports that the Detroit Board of Education "has announced that it will suspend without pay, pending a hearing, any employee of the public schools or Wayne University whom the Clardy subcommittee names as a Communist."

Clardy obviously hopes to match the success of the House Committee when it was under Velde's chairmanship in 1952. At that time Walter Reuther, President of the UAW-CIO permitted the Velde Committee to attack Ford Local 600. First he stood aside with folded hands. Then one of his lieutenants acted as a stool pigeon at the hearings. Finally Reuther

stabbed Local 600 in the back. He tried to lift their local union charter.

If Reuther can repeat his treacherous performance of 1952, then Clardy could hope to organize another witch-hunting Roman holiday. But powerful forces in the Michigan union movement have mobilized to prevent Reuther from doing this.

Local 600, after its bitter experience in 1952, has taken a firm stand against the Clardy committee and called on the UAW-CIO Executive Board to take action against its union-busting activities. Other locals have followed suit. A movement is on foot to organize demonstrative protest actions.

This time Reuther will not be able to get away with playing footsie with the McCarthyites. Unemployment is widespread in Michigan. The workers are beginning to realize that the McCarthyite red-baiters are trying to answer their demands for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay, an immediate public works program and increased unemployment compensation with an anti-"red" hysteria.

Even the union officials are beginning to be frightened at the growth of McCarthyism. They can feel the hot breath of the fascist union busters on their own necks.

But it is not enough to prevent Reuther from cooperating with the witch hunters. Now is the time for the Michigan labor movement to take action to smash the anti-labor offensive of the witch-hunting committees.

## Sweetheart -- of the FBI

This sounds like something out of Nazi Germany in the days of Hitler's Gestapo; but the scene is America and the time right now — Daphne Price, a vivacious 19-year-old Canadian girl studying at the University of Michigan, smiled at a graduate student, Edward H. Shaffer, last December. The 25-year-old youth dated her up and she became his girl friend.

But some of Shaffer's ideas startled Daphne. At his apartment other students dropped around to discuss far-ranging questions. "The talk was not what you might call of a subversive nature," she said later, "but it did indicate a different philosophy of life than most American have. . . ."

In the witch-hunt atmosphere of today, Daphne became alarmed that her association with Shaffer might prevent her parents from becoming naturalized American citizens. She went for advice to Robert B. Klinger, assistant counselor of the International Center at the university.

A sinister thing happened. Klinger, the girl reported, "strongly urged" her to go to the FBI. She followed his advice.

The FBI intimated that her position as an alien had been jeopardized by dating Shaffer and that to improve her position she should report back to them about his activities and his friends.

Daphne gave way to the sickening pressure. For four months she spied on her boy friend. She turned in the names of his campus acquaintances and reported what they talked about.

"The talk," she said, "was mostly along philosophical lines but whenever they began applying their philosophical concepts to the solution of practical problems, I would listen harder. Of course, if the talk were about trigonometry or some other harmless subject, I wouldn't report it."

Then in April, as the first signs of spring appeared on the campus, she could no longer endure it. She broke down and confessed to her boy friend the horrible role she had been forced to play for the FBI.

Shaffer did not blame Daphne "entirely" but his indignation over "the secret police coming into my home" drove him to an unusual action. He asked Daphne to write it all down. He had it notarized. Then he took it to the campus newspaper.

The story about the foul campus activity of the FBI made a sensation. It was given front-page headlines in the Detroit papers. Daphne left for Canada and took a job.

But the witch hunters did not let the matter rest there. Rep. Clardy's subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee is snooping for "reds" in Michigan, on the campus as well as the unions, and so they served Shaffer with a subpoena.

That's where the sensational case stands now, with Clardy investigating Shaffer for "philosophical" talk instead of investigating the FBI for turning a campus sweetheart into a stool pigeon.

## Monitored Phones and Tapped Wires

On April 23, during the course of the current Army-McCarthy hearings, Joseph McCarthy blew his top when Army Secretary Stevens revealed that telephone conversations between himself and the fascist senator had been "monitored" by the Army and kept for permanent record. A monitored phone conversation is one that is taken down on tape without the knowledge or consent of the other person. It is therefore a species of wire-tapping.

McCarthy described this "monitoring" as "one of the most indecent and dishonest things I ever heard of."

McCarthy's outburst against "monitoring" indicts McCarthy himself. It is a matter of record that the FBI — on whom McCarthy relies for much of his information — uses wire-tapping as a standard feature of its snooping operations. McCarthy also favors Attorney-General Brownell's measure that would legalize wire-tapping in cases of suspected "sabotage, treason or subversion" and would permit information so obtained to be introduced into court as evidence. In fact, McCarthy offered to sponsor Brownell's measure in the Senate.

The Brownell measure (Keating Bill in the House) represents an attack on democratic rights on the following grounds:

(1) The Attorney General is given the sole right to authorize the use of wire-tapping in specific cases and does not even have to go to court for a warrant. Thus one man may order secret and permanent spying operations to be conducted against any individual purely according to his definition of "treason" or "subversion." This is the same man who is empowered to list organizations arbitrarily as "subversive" without clearly defined standards and with no necessity of granting public hearings.

(2) Even if a proposed amendment should be added to the bill making it mandatory for

the Attorney General to secure a court order in each case of wire-tapping, there is still infringement of basic liberties. An order permitting wire-tapping is not the same as the legal search of a premise which must be confined to the search for definite articles and must be carried through at a definite time. Wire-tapping is akin to posting a permanent policeman in a person's house. It represents a continuous violation of the right of privacy. The Anglo-Saxon conception of law, which holds that a person's home is his own castle, is thus replaced by the standards of the police state.

Even a person's telephone conversations with his lawyer would not be immune from tapping, although the privacy of such a conversation is recognized in every court.

(3) Phone-tapping evidence is recorded by means of tape-recordings. This places enormous possibilities for frame-up in the hands of the FBI. As Richard L. Strout says in the April 1 Christian Science Monitor, "In a totalitarian country it is as easy as not to splice such a tape so as to edit out phrases without a trace — the dropping of an inconvenient 'not,' for example, could reverse the meaning of a sentence."

The victim has little recourse against such fabricated evidence since it is infinitely harder to unmask than the forgery of his handwriting. All he could oppose to the doctored tape would be his own recollection or the recollection of a possible witness.

The Brownell sponsored measure already has the OK of the House Judiciary Committee and has been sponsored in the Senate by Senator Pat McCarran. The liberal and the labor movement must be as prompt and as firm in denouncing this threat to their civil rights as McCarthy was in protesting the invasion of his prerogatives. They must organize to defeat this new police state measure.

## Pabloites Split on Eve Of Iceland Convention

News of the latest desperate adventures of the Pabloite faction in the Fourth International comes from the Icelandic section. The supporters of Pablo, constituting a tiny minority, "splintered" from the section two days before the national convention of the party.

Unable to operate in the open arena of democratic discussion between those representing Trotskyist and those representing Pabloite pro-Stalinist revisionism, this discredited minority faction in Iceland, following the instructions of Pablo, bolted to form an unprincipled alliance with a group of disreputable factionalists who had walked out of the movement almost a year ago.

Having executed this maneuver, the Pabloites next began to trumpet the "news" that in reality they had the "majority" of an important branch in the Iceland section.

This was intended to lay the

ground for the next step — the false claim that the "splinter" constitutes the entire Icelandic section. The Pabloites have repeatedly pulled this type of publicity stunt in different sections of the world Trotskyist movement.

Three months ago, the Icelandic section opened the discussion on the new betrayals of Stalinism in the East German workers' uprising and the French general strike of last summer and the Pabloite theory of a revolutionary mission for Stalinism.

In response, the Pablo clique in Paris issued a ukase directing the section to suspend the three leaders of the majority for their opposition to Pabloism and their support of the orthodox Trotskyist faction.

This was Pablo's way of opening a theoretical discussion: remove the leaders of the section (who incidentally represent the opinion of 90% of the rank and file.) This move was so raw that

the Icelandic Pabloites didn't dare to give it open support at first.

The discussion that developed afterward was so devastating to the morale of the tiny Pabloite minority that they were jerked out of the party on the very eve of the national convention.

Now we will no doubt hear of "official" representatives of the Icelandic section acting at Pabloite rump gatherings which in turn will be passed off as "official" meetings of the Fourth International.

These organizational methods, borrowed entirely from the Stalinist school cannot prevent the truth from becoming fully evident to the Trotskyists throughout the world.

The Pabloites are resorting to Stalinist methods to split the Trotskyist movement. But the genuine Trotskyists everywhere will defeat these methods along with the revisionist politics they represent.

# The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

## Equal Rights for the Indo-Chinese People!

Despite countless tons of lying propaganda, Wall Street never succeeded in selling the American people the idea that there was any justification for U.S. intervention in Korea, for the brutal slaughter of the population, the destruction of towns and villages. To this day no one has been able to show how the "cause of democracy" was advanced one iota by the Korean War.

The propaganda about Indo-China is even less convincing. It's such a clear-cut case of a colonial war against imperialist exploitation that even the French, who are supposed to be saving the Indo-Chinese for Western Culture or Christianity or something, refer to it as the "dirty war." Everyone abroad, and a good many newspaper reporters in this country, admit that the U.S. is financing the war and blackmailing the French into continuing to front for Wall Street until the American people can be whipped into accepting the war as theirs.

But things are not working out according to Wall Street's plan. The American workers are plenty worried about unemployment and the threat of depression but they do not want the false, blood-soaked prosperity of another

Korea, and they certainly don't want World War III and H-bombs.

They elected Eisenhower president less than two years ago as much in protest against the Korean War as for any other reason. They cannot be roused to any patriotic fervor for working, sacrificing and dying to save the wealth of the Far East for Wall Street.

Besides, in spite of McCarthyism and the witch hunting of the Eisenhower administration, the democratic tradition, is still a part of the American heritage. Labor still negotiates and argues in terms of "fairness," protests "unfair labor practices" of employers, "unfair" intervention of police and courts against unions.

And the chief rallying cry of the most oppressed part of the working class, the Negro workers who have never shared the democratic rights of the rest, is "equality."

So, although the Indo-Chinese say it in a language few Americans speak, their struggle for freedom from French rule or any other imperial rule is understandable to the workers of a nation which was born in a similar revolution against British imperialism. They sympathize with the Indo-Chinese demand for equal rights to determine their own destiny. They are demonstrating that by their nationwide opposition to converting Indo-China into another Korea.

# Nothing But Stairs

By Joyce Cowley

When you talk about lives destroyed by capitalism you probably think of casualty lists or perhaps the blazing hell of the napalmed cities of Korea. Or you think of disaster headlines that hit your eye and heart in letters two inches high. The only time ordinary people make headlines is when they are killed in a spectacularly brutal manner. Families dying in a tenement blaze — youngsters of fourteen knifed in gang battles on the city street — miners trapped in a black tunnel, frantically tapping for help.

But sudden death is not the only form of destruction. Millions of other lives are slowly blunted and deformed by the everyday struggle to exist, until they are finally broken and cast aside.

There's no steam heat in the building where I live and I use an oil heater. Oil and ice are delivered by a friendly old man who lives upstairs. When I went up there to order oil he asked me in for a glass of wine and told me he had lived there forty years. He married, had five children, they grew up, left home and had families of their own — while he carried oil and ice on his back up six flights of stairs, in this building and all the other buildings along the block.

He's at work when I get up in the morning and he usually is just getting through when

I come home at night. He was standing on the stairs when I came in the other evening, about half way up the second flight. He was stooped, as always, from a lifetime of carrying heavy loads on his back. His hands shook a little and he looked up, the way you look up at the last stretch on the top of a hill when you're dead tired and wonder if you can make it.

I didn't feel sure that he would make it and I wondered if I should help him out. I didn't want to. It makes an old man feel even older when he needs that kind of help. He saw my hesitation, smiled cheerfully and nodded his head. That meant he could make it himself.

This is the reward for a lifetime of hard work. No rest, no security, just more work and a persistent fear. The night will come when he can't get up those stairs.

Then, if he's lucky, one of the children will make room for him in an already overcrowded apartment. If not, he may spend some bleak years in a home for the aged. Or chronically ill, lie in a narrow cot at a city hospital — if he can get in. They're crowded too and you have to wait your turn to die.

Now when I think of the evils of this economy and its criminal destruction of human beings, I see it summed up in the stooped figure of a man nearing seventy, his life used up and his strength failing, with nothing ahead of him but more flights of stairs.

# Notes from the News

"UNIONS MAY SUFFER," is the warning issued by Labor's Daily on passage of the Texas bill outlawing the Communist Party and all other "subversive" organizations. The new law provides for prison terms up to 20 years and fines up to \$20,000 for anyone that "advocates or teaches any activities intended to overthrow or destroy the constitutional form of government." State Rep. Dug Crouch, a legislative opponent of the measure, is quoted by Labor's Daily April 14 as predicting that the law "may well mean the end of liberty in Texas, for under its provisions, a blackjack swinging cop can break down the door to a citizen's home to see what he is reading."

LEGION REDBAITS ACLU. In an effort to bolster McCarthy's recent smear attack on the American Civil Liberties Union, the May issue of the American Legion Magazine features an article by red-baiting specialist Ralph de Toledo, purporting to demonstrate that the ACLU "is of tremendous value to the communist movement. In the guise of serving civil liberties, it disseminates . . . the kind of propaganda which best serves communist purposes by spreading dissension, confusion and misinformation." The article reprints a Legion convention resolution demanding that the government investigate the ACLU and "if warranted, institute prosecution under the Smith Act and or McCarran Acts."

INTERVIEWS GI IN INDO-CHINA. Scripps-Howard writer Jim Lucas, in an April 5 dispatch from Indo-China reports an interview with an American GI serving there as a plane mechanic for the French. He says the GI admires the French, but doesn't like the way they treat their prisoners. The GI told him: "A man is a man. You treat him like a man. I've seen how these French treat their prisoners. Let one loaf a little, and they whip him on the head with a coiled rope. He's usually some little guy that doesn't understand much French anyway."

FEARS ITALY IS GOING RED. The president of the Junior International Chamber of Commerce, returning from a world tour, told an AP correspondent April 11, that communism is gaining strength in Italy "despite the church and United States aid." "Italy may be the first country to vote itself into communism," he said.

AMERICAN EDUCATION. The armed forces are rejecting 30% of the draftees in eight Southern states for not meeting minimum educational requirements, according to the April 9 Cleveland Plain Dealer. Basing itself on a National Education Association survey, the paper reports that in South Carolina the number rejected is a staggering 56%. Average yearly pay for teachers in six Southern states is below \$2,800. Average pay of a Missouri teacher is \$1,741. Last

year more than 4 1/2 million American children between the age of five and seventeen were not attending any school.

"CAREFUL ATTENTION," says the Justice Department, is being given to an NAACP charge of Jim Crow in Las Vegas, Nev., public housing. The Las Vegas NAACP reports that Negro families are excluded from two public housing projects in that city, and are segregated on a quota basis in still another project — where they occupy only units facing the Negro section of town.

CHAPLIN FILM SHOWING BARRED. The City Censor in Memphis, Tenn., who doesn't like Charlie Chaplin's character, informed a local Unitarian-church he would send cops to shut them down if they went ahead with plans to show an old Chaplin short, "Carmen." Church spokesmen said the film was canceled so as not to "involve the church in a dispute with the city." The 88-year old censor has also banned Ingrid Bergman's films.

"BLOODY HARLAN." The savage class warfare of 1937 in the coal-mining area of Harlan, Ky., may well break out again, predicts the April 27 Wall Street Journal, which reports plans of the Harlan coal operators to break the union in order to reduce wages. When the union contracts come up for renewal they intend to propose that wages be slashed from \$23 to \$14 a day, knowing in advance that the union will reject the "demand" and strike. At that point they propose to open the mines, run in scabs, and unleash a reign of murder, shooting, bombings and gassings as they did in 1937. The union emerged victorious from that struggle and the operators concede that it will be "one hell of a fight" this time, but appear determined to try it again.

FIRST U.S. CASUALTY IN INDO-CHINA. The United Press reported April 27 that Viet Minh anti-aircraft guns seriously wounded an American civilian pilot flying supplies to French forces at Dien Bien Phu. This is the first American casualty report from Indo-China so far.

LABOR'S DAILY TO EXPAND. The Executive Council of the International Typographical Union announced April 22 that it was suspending publication of five local dailies published by the ITU in cities where its members have been on strike against the regular dailies. At the same time the Council said Labor's Daily, its principal publication, will soon have an expanded number of pages and features and that its news bureau, Labor News Service, with offices in Washington, D. C., will also be expanded. Suspension of the five local dailies was attributed by the Council to the reluctance of local business men to advertise in them and to the failure of the ITU membership to vote assessments said to be necessary for their continued publication.

# ...McCarthy

(Continued from page 1)

Carthy's investigations) as work than which there could possibly be . . . (none) more important . . . in so far as the security of the nation is concerned, would you not?" and pursued this line of interrogation when the general displayed reluctance to give unqualified support to this characterization of McCarthy's role.

Similarly, Jenkins pursued Army Secretary Robert T. Stevens, seeking to exact a statement of appreciation from the latter for McCarthy's investigations conducted at Fort Monmouth.

In the context of this line of questioning the Army's charge of privilege-seeking, laid against McCarthy, appears as a penny-ante matter. On the other hand, the interruption of McCarthy's probe of the Army occasioned by Stevens' accusations and the present hearings appear as something sinister.

## OBLIGING SERVANT

The scope of McCarthy's power is further revealed by the great lengths to which Stevens went in seeking to placate McCarthy by befriending him and his two hoodlum assistants, Schine and Cohn.

Thus Stevens testified that since last November he did the following things:

- (1) Attended McCarthy's wedding; (2) entertained McCarthy and his staff at the Merchants' club during the Fort Monmouth hearings and arranged for them to use all the facilities of the club during that week at his expense; (3) lent his private plane to McCarthy and his staff for a trip to Boston; (4) flew with them on a special trip in his private plane to Fort Dix because Roy Cohn and McCarthy wanted to visit their side-kick, David Schine; (5) visited Allen Dulles in Central Intelligence Agency to ask for a spot there for Schine; (6) interceded with Schine's commanding officer to arrange a special week-end pass for him.

Confronted by McCarthy's main accusation that he had opposed the Committee's investigation of the Army and sought to have it stopped, Stevens could neither fully deny it nor counter-attack.

## FEARED MCCARTHY

In truth, the Army chiefs and the Eisenhower administration wanted the investigation called off. They viewed it as an invasion by McCarthy aimed at disruption of the traditional bureaucratic lines of command and development of a McCarthyite machine in the military caste. Stevens' charges of privilege-seeking were designed to discredit the McCarthy committee and legitimize a hands-off demand.

The very denial of a commission to Schine despite the tremendous pressuring by McCarthy and Cohn was supposed to symbolize the will of the administration to keep control of the military caste and its routine affairs and repel McCarthy's bid to build a rival center there for himself. A definite section of the Army brass is undoubtedly McCarthyite in sentiment and the administration finds it necessary to hold that section in line.

However, the administration's surrender to the McCarthy committee at the time of the questioning of General Zwicker; Stevens' record of fawning before McCarthy; the administration's fear of decisively attacking McCarthy — which cannot be done without exposing the whole fraud of the witch hunt — all this prevents Stevens from seriously confronting McCarthy in the hearings as power against power. McCarthy cannot help but emerge the gainer.

If the hearings are viewed from the side of their impact on the public then here, too, it is clear that McCarthy emerges as the stronger force. His rudeness, his utter disregard of all rules, his show of strength have the undoubted effect of stiffening the support of his backers. It is winning him new adherents among all those layers of the middle class who are looking not for a program of struggle but for a strong force that will lead the way.

To be sure, McCarthy's brazen performances create anti-McCarthy sentiment as well. The hearings create both McCarthyites and anti-McCarthyites. However, there is a very great difference between the two. The McCarthyites have a hero around which to rally; namely, the leading participant in the hearings who commands an organized movement to boot.

But the anti-fascists cannot find in the Army chiefs, the Democratic Senators or the Eisenhower administration a polarizing center for their anger and their aspirations. The anti-McCarthy sentiment is left helpless.

It is imperative that the labor movement supply to the anti-fascists that which neither the Democratic or Republican parties can offer — namely, an effective polarizing center of leadership in struggle against McCarthyism.

# Promise Probe of Housing Swindle



Discussing Senate probe of irregularities in FHA dealings with builders, housing chief Albert Coles (center) confers with chairman Homer Capehart of Senate Banking Committee and Sen. Burnett Maybank. Capehart promised a "thorough" probe of the reported \$75 million in swindles.

# URGE BOYCOTT IN BEER TO AID NEGRO WORKERS

NEW YORK, April 26 — Dozens of angry Negro workers crowded the headquarters of the Brooklyn NAACP last week and mapped a joint NAACP-Harlem Brewery

Workers campaign to smash the system of job discrimination practiced against them by the companies and the Teamsters union.

Spokesmen for the workers reported that only 25 Negroes are employed as truck drivers, helpers or bottlers in all the breweries combined. They charged that 2,400 Negroes would be employed in a total work force of 9,000 if they were hired in proportion to the amount of beer purchased by Negro consumers.

It was further charged that through the shape-up system, which is supported by the companies and the Teamsters, Negro workers are flagrantly victimized by discrimination. Men are hand-picked for jobs and usually for every 25 or 30 workers only one Negro is selected. White workers also suffer from this system because selections are usually made on the basis of a favorite few instead of a first come — first on the job basis.

The Urban League's attempts for over a year to persuade the companies and the Teamsters to change their hiring policies have been rebuffed.

As a result the men have decided to launch a boycott campaign against the beer companies. Consumers will be asked not to buy beer from Rheingold, Schaefer, Pils, Ballantine, Schlitz, Budweiser and Pabst until they hire Negroes in proportion to their purchasing power in the community.

At the same time the public will be urged to buy Ruppert Beer because this company has hired more Negroes than all the other companies put together.

The NAACP and Harlem Brewery Workers will also push for non-discrimination clauses in future contracts negotiated between the Teamsters and the breweries. If such clauses are not included, the workers are prepared to file unfair labor practice charges.

They are also demanding that several hundred Negro workers be given Group 2 status under contract seniority provisions. This would entitle them to receive union books and would give them permanent job seniority. Membership in the union automatically means assurance of steady year-round employment.

provide the money for an adequate housing and slum-clearance program. The truth is also that such a housing program (along with other progressive legislation) is blocked in Washington by both the Democrats and Republicans and their huge expenditures for war preparations.

Labor candidates in the Newark elections ought to state these facts openly. While running for office in Newark, they ought to expose the capitalist politicians in both old parties in Washington who prevent decent housing in Newark. And they ought to draw the necessary conclusion that now is the time to form a national as well as local Labor Party to take power and solve the housing and other problems.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE

Another weakness of the Callaghan-Leopaldi campaigns is that they have, up to this point, put too much reliance on the help they hope to get from the Newark Citizens Committee on Municipal Government, and not enough emphasis on the fact that they are labor candidates.

The Citizens Committee is a non-partisan coalition formed last year to conduct the fight for adoption of the Mayor-Council form of government. Originally it included the CIO, AFL, Chamber of Commerce, Americans for Democratic Action and other local organizations. It follows a general ADA line.

After winning last November's referendum, the Citizens Committee decided to go into politics in the May 11 election, becoming in effect the nucleus of a local third party reform movement. At this point the Chamber of Commerce withdrew from the committee. The only mass strength left in the committee was the AFL and CIO.

While supporting these four candidates, we must point out that their programs do not go far enough, and that they still have not made a political break with the two-party system even though they are running against the candidates of the old parties. This weakens and limits the effectiveness of their campaigns.

Callaghan and Leopaldi, for example, call for more low-rent housing in Newark. This is good and necessary. But the truth is that Newark by itself cannot

zelwood, a teacher and a lawyer advertised as speaking for the viewpoint of "business", and recommended a number of candidates for councilmen in the five wards (including Leopaldi, but not Turner).

In order to get the Citizens Committee endorsements for themselves, Callaghan and Leopaldi committed themselves (with the CIO's permission) to support of the committee's full slate. But the CIO, to its credit, has taken a stand at least partially independent of the Citizens Committee, while remaining affiliated to it.

Last night the CIO Council rejected the Citizens Committee's candidate for mayor, voting not to endorse anyone for that post. It also rejected the Citizens Committee's "business" candidate, endorsing instead a CIO member who is running on his own initiative, without CIO sponsorship.

In the Central Ward it voted to endorse Turner, in opposition to the man backed by the Citizens Committee. And it endorsed Hazelwood.

After the Citizens Committee's slate was picked, the AFL Essex Trades Council withdrew from the committee and endorsed some of the candidates on the regular Democratic slate. This left the Citizens Committee with only one strong affiliate, the CIO, and the CIO is spending its money on its own candidates.

Thus the Citizens Committee has not been able to make much of an impact in this election. Although the members of its slate are supposed to be campaigning jointly, the truth is that all of them, including the CIO candidates, "have been campaigning strictly on their own," as the April 17 Newark News put it.

While getting little help from the Citizens Committee, Callaghan and Leopaldi are trying to make themselves "more palatable" to non-labor voters by minimizing and relegating to the background the fact that they are

# Packinghouse Rally in Chicago Cheers 30-40

By Al Simmons

CHICAGO, April 25 — Over 10,000 packinghouse workers participated in an hour-long demonstration in the Chicago stockyards last Tuesday. The meeting, called by

District 1 of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, gave militant notice to the packers that they will have a serious fight on their hands unless they grant the workers' contract demands for a substantial wage increase and a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay.

The demonstration was called as a "Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial." It was utilized by the leaders of the union to prepare the ranks to vote for the Democratic Party in the November elections. But the workers gave their loudest applause to the resolution containing the demands for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay and for a wage increase.

The keynote of the rally was sounded by Charles Hayes, acting district director of District 1, and Herbert March, organizer of Armour Local 437. They put forth the following ideas:

(1) Eisenhower's preparations for war in Indo-China are designed to cover up the fact that the administration has no program to solve the growing unemployment problem.

(2) The Republicans are taxing the workers to death.

(3) The Eisenhower administration is responsible for the retention of the Taft-Hartley Act.

(4) McCarthy and his witch hunt are responsible for splitting the ranks of labor and serving the interests of the bosses.

(5) If labor is going to accomplish anything, it will have to fight to return to Roosevelt and his New Deal policies.

All of these propositions are true, except the last one. But they were only partial truths because they were used to cover up the anti-labor policies of Roosevelt and Truman.

Hayes and March blamed Eisenhower for the present unemployment of 6,000,000. Right. But how will it help the workers to return to Roosevelt's New Deal, which never got unemployment down below the 9,000,000 mark until World War II?

They accused Eisenhower of threatening a plunge into World War III. Right. But they said nothing about the fact that Roosevelt dragged the U.S. into World War II and that his Fair Deal successor Truman dragged us into the Korean civil war. Didn't the Democrat Truman set a "precedent" on Korea which the Repub-

lican Eisenhower is following today? Is the Democratic Party putting up even a small fight against the proposed intervention into Indo-China?

They said Eisenhower taxes the poor and helps the rich? Right. But isn't that the same tax policy Roosevelt and Truman followed?

They said Eisenhower wants to keep the Taft-Hartley Act. Right. But didn't a majority of the Democrats in Congress vote to adopt that anti-labor law?

They said McCarthy's witch hunt is anti-labor. Absolutely right. But didn't the Democrats start the witch hunt, the "subversive" list, the "loyalty" purge, the persecution of political opponents through the Smith Act trials? Wasn't it Roosevelt who signed the Smith Act? Wasn't it the Truman administration that hounded one of the founders and organizers of the CIO packinghouse union, Refugio Martinez, causing his deportation and untimely death? Wasn't it a New Deal administration in Chicago that was responsible for the cold-blooded Little Steel Memorial Day Massacre of striking steel workers?

The packinghouse workers and the rest of the labor movement want a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay, an end to wars and threats of war and preparations for war, to high taxes, Taft-Hartleyism and witch hunts. They can win these things too, but not through either the Democratic Party or the Republican Party. Both these parties mean war and depression.

And any union leaders who cover up this fact, who remain silent about the crimes of the Democrats while denouncing those of the Republicans, who tell the truth about the GOP in order to snare the workers' votes for the Democrats, are committing a real disservice to the cause of labor.

The road the American workers have to follow if they want to create a better world is not backward to Roosevelt and support of capitalist politics but forward to the formation of an independent Labor Party. Support of the Democratic Party led the labor movement into its present impasse. It will never get out until it quits supporting the Democrats and goes into politics on its own.

This is a serious mistake. Some CIO leaders think it is "sectarian" to make their CIO sponsorship the main axis of the Callaghan-Leopaldi campaigns; but this idea is all wet. Whatever they may say or do, Callaghan and Leopaldi are viewed by the public and the press primarily and above all as CIO candidates, and they will win or lose on that basis. They won't get more votes by acting half-ashamed about their CIO sponsorship, but they may lose some. Their success will depend on how much they can inspire the rank and file workers, AFL as well as CIO, with the idea that their candidacies represent something new, clean and independent in politics.

A STEP FORWARD

Despite these shortcomings, we favor the election of Callaghan and Leopaldi as a step away from the two-party system and toward an independent Labor Party. And despite the inadequacies in the programs of Hazelwood and Turner, we favor their election because it would correct an injustice to the Negro people and because they too are opposed by the old party machines.

The election of these candidates would be a blow against the two-party system and an encouraging move toward the formation of an independent Labor Party based on the unions, the Negro people, housewives, youth, working farmers and the lower middle class.

A Labor Party, equipped with a militant program, could run its own candidates for office in Newark, in Trenton and in Washington, kick the Republicans and Democrats out of power, and begin to solve the problems of war, unemployment, McCarthyism, Jim Crow, Taft-Hartleyism, high prices, high taxes, high profits and general insecurity.

While getting little help from the Citizens Committee, Callaghan and Leopaldi are trying to make themselves "more palatable" to non-labor voters by minimizing and relegating to the background the fact that they are

ground the fact that they are