Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

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Democrats Play Into Hands Of McCarthy on Army Probe

Eisenhower Lies About No Need To Fear H-Bomb

By Art Preis

In a special April 5 broadcast intended to allay the mounting terror here and abroad over disclosure of the world-destroying power of the H-bomb, Eisenhower lied: "I assure you we don't have to fear . . . we don't have to be hysterical."

If there is no reason to fear, why did they try to hide the blood-chilling facts about the H-bomb exploded on March 1? Why did the Atomic Energy Commission keep silent until now about the results of the first hydrogen blast in Nov. 1952?

Only after the horrifying facts had leaked out piecemeal — following the outcry in Japan about the burning of 23 fishermen 80 miles from the center of the March 1 detonation — did the White House and AEC finally decide to give us "the truth."

What we have been told officially is still not about the latest bomb, immeasurably more powerful and deadly than the first, but about the "baby" H-bomb "device" that "only" wiped out a coral island, leaving a mile-long, 175-foot deep crater in the ocean floor.

We are given this obsolete — and long-known — information only because "a clamor to let the public know the power of the hydrogen bomb was rising," admits the March 31 N.Y. Times. But Eisenhower and his AEC aides are not giving us the full truth. They admit to something horrible — they can hardly deny it — in order to minimize and cover up a worse danger. They are like the old-fashioned dentist who jabbed a pin in your rump just when they yanked on your tooth. The sudden sharp pin-prick was supposed to distract you from the agony when your tooth was wrenched.

Thus, when Admiral Lewis L. Strauss, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, issued his statement and comments on March 31, he said that an H-bomb can be made "large enough to take out a city . . . any city." Now, that would seem to be a candid admission and a pretty terrifying prospect.

But to say that the H-bomb can "take out any city" is actually to conceal the really awesome scope of destructiveness of a single H-bomb of the March 1 type. For it can do a lot more than take out "any city." **Even the 1952 "baby" device was revealed to have a mushroom spread of a hundred miles. Everything under that umbrella would be subject to a deadly shower of radiation, not to speak of broiling heat.**

"The 1952 blast was exploded at ground level," observes the April 1 Scripps-Howard report, "which probably would not be the method used in a wartime attack unless a specific, pinpoint target was the objective. Exploded in midair . . . the area of total destruction and severe damage would have increased by several multiples . . . The destruction produced by heat and the injury by the intense, instant radiation of the fusion bomb would have been correspondingly increased in area, only slightly diminished in intensity."

Commenting on Strauss' statement, science expert William L. Laurence of the N.Y. Times wrote on March 31: "However, destruction by fire would be much greater than destruction by blast. The limit of incendiary action would cover a diameter of fifty miles, or a total area of almost 2,000 square miles."

London, the world's largest city, is only 693 square miles. Los Angeles, fifth largest, is 451; while New York, seventh on the list in area and with the most population, is 319 square miles. **A "baby" H-bomb not only could "take out" New York City — kill every single inhabitant — it could "take out" virtually the whole state of New Jersey.**

The March 1 bomb was supposed to be 10 megatons power (a megaton equals the explosive power of 1 million tons of TNT) or double the Nov., 1952, explosion. But, admitted Strauss, "the yield" of the March 1 bomb was

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"HOW WILL YOU BURY 9,000,000 CORPSES?"

By Joseph Keller

If an H-bomb war begins, chances are you're cooked — literally. You'll have no place to hide, nowhere to run. Better get that into your head now. Pray you'll be somewhere near the center of the thermonuclear blast so you'll be pulverized in a flash. Out around a hundred miles from the center you'll still die, but slowly, from heat waves and radioactivity.

Your one chance for survival — the one chance for the survival of civilization — is to fight for socialism, to end the rule of the capitalist class and establish the power of the working class through a workers and farmers government. The only way to control the H-bomb is control of the government by the working class and its organizations.

There's been a "radical change in civil defense thinking" since news of the latest H-bomb explosion leaked out, writes Gabriel Pressman in the March 26 N.Y. World-Telegram. At least in America's largest city, New York, the official policy "is moving toward one goal: To educate people, so, if they are lucky enough to survive an H-bomb, they'll know how to live amid the wreckage." That's the biggest "if" there ever was. Because if an H-bomb lands in the middle of Manhattan Island there won't be any wreckage, there won't be any survivors. Allen Keller in the World-Telegram quotes a city official:

"We were thinking in terms of marginal survival, of blood banks and plasma and aid to stricken communities. I think we need to admit that now the public must learn it will need little more than shovels and baskets."

Even that shows they still don't grasp what an H-bomb will do. It won't leave any baskets; it won't leave any people — even scraps of people. It will only leave one big smoking radioactive crater in the ground.

Some Army and civil defense officials are still pretending there's some kind of defense possible against the H-bomb — if they could only think what it is. Thus, Lieut. Gen. C. R. Huebner, New York State Civil Defense Director, reported: "There is no reason to be defeatist and maintain nothing can be done to deal with the effects of the new weapon . . . the actions to be taken are essentially the same as in the case of an atomic blast."

Will hiding under a table — or even down in a subway — save you from a bomb that can pulverize the island of Manhattan — blow the island itself right out of the water?

Joseph and Stewart Alsop, columnists, wrote in the March 24 N.Y. Herald Tribune that Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson admitted that unless mass evacuation of all threatened cities

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Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

Those liberals who thought McCarthy was licked by the polite admonitions of Eisenhower must have gotten a rude shock when they read about McCarthy's hate session with New York cops at the Catholic communion breakfast on April 4. They read the story of how a fascist demagogue mobilizes his trigger-happy troops for future fascist violence.

Speaking of Professor Wendell H. Furry of Harvard, who committed the "crime" of using the United States Constitution in defense of his civil liberties, McCarthy shouted in typical gangster language: "He will be taken care of." And the fascist-minded cops yelled: "You said it Joe." "Keep giving it to them." And "You're only warming up."

With sessions like this McCarthy is mobilizing the fascist gangs of America for the assault on labor and the minorities tomorrow.

We, too, have a mobilizing job to do. The anti-fascist forces must be alerted. Resistance has to be organized to these ugly shouts from high places. The anti-fascist victory must be assured. The first preliminary steps contained in the present campaign of the Socialist Workers Party acquire increasing importance and urgency.

The $14,000 Fund Drive which will help to build the anti-fascist party of America is the first job. This fund must be raised in full and on time. Everyone can contribute to this part of the fight.

Detroit shows the way. Com-

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Don't Let Them Drag Us into Indo-China War

Eisenhower and Dulles threaten to turn the Indo-China war into another Korea. They are talking in most belligerent language. American military personnel, disguised as "technicians," are already aiding the French invaders in Indo-China. This country is supplying two-thirds of the money and arms to keep the invasion going. Wall Street would long ago have sent troops too, if the administration did not fear popular reaction, particularly after the demonstration of the people's hostility toward the Korean intervention. "There is much fear we are being sucked into the Indo-China war," wrote Scripps-Howard foreign editor Ludwell Denny on April 5. He added: "Recognizing the lack of enthusiasm for its get-tough-in-Asia policy, the administration is now trying to convince Congressional leaders of the extreme seriousness of the Communist pressure in Indo-China. . ."

Serious for whom? Not the American, French or Indo-Chinese people. This war on the part of France is just a naked imperialist grab, an invasion to steal the country from the Indo-Chinese. The Vietminh government was recognized by treaty back in 1946. The French tore up this treaty and treacherously attacked the Vietminh.

Thus, the Vietminh war for independence began years before the Mao regime took power in China. The Indo-Chinese people have the same right to take help from China, or anywhere else, to win their freedom that the American colonists had to take aid from Royalist France in our own revolutionary war of independence.

The Indo-Chinese people are overwhelmingly against the French butchers. The French don't even dare to arm their own puppets. ". . . No matter how they doubletalk it — they want to hold their colonial interests there. They know that one of the quickest ways to lose out (barring Communist victory) is to have a strong, nationalist Vietnamese army organized," states the Scripps-Howard Washington column on March 27.

"The majority of the Vietnamese people want peace at almost any price, and a large proportion, now as in the past, seem to want the Vietminh to win," admits the N. Y. Times report from Saigon on April 4.

Jim Lucas, another Scripps-Howard correspondent, reported that in Indo-China, "as far as they (French) are concerned, this is an American war." He tells of French correspondents complaining: "We French are no longer fighting in our own interests. We are fighting because you Americans will not let us stop."

Don't let them drag us into Indo-China. Halt this terrible crime. Not a cent, not a gun, not a man for this monstrous imperialist aggression.

Expect Big Leap In Jobless After June Graduations

Based upon what Business Week calls "dubious samples," the Census Bureau's figures on unemployment still show a rise for March, usually a month when the number of jobless declines several hundred thousand. The latest report, issued April 2, revealed an additional 54,000 listed as unemployed, bringing the total to a peak of 3,725,000.

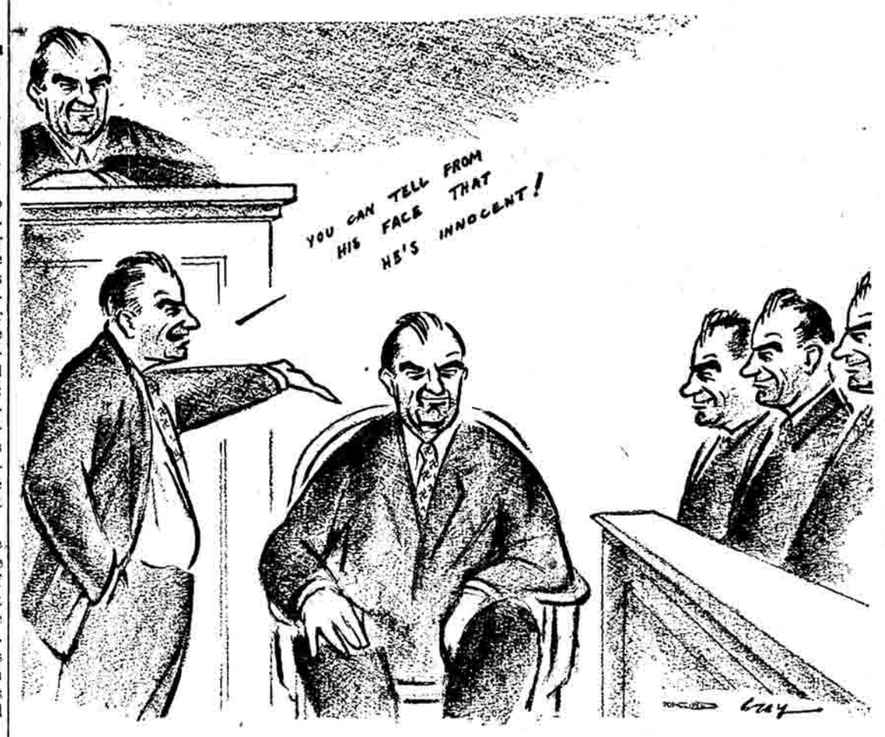
It is quite evident, however, that considerable finagling was done to keep the figures below the 4,000,000 mark. The real total is very likely considerably more than 5,000,000 and above the March, 1950, figure of 4,123,000.

Eisenhower is using the March decline in the rate of unemployment increase to deny the need for government measures to provide jobs. The April 2 Wall Street Journal points out however, that the "jobless total is almost sure to top four million by July, maybe sooner . . . **Reason a July jump is almost certain: A bumper crop of 1,356,000 high school graduates, plus 279,000 from colleges. Job-hunters among them will be counted idle until they find work."**

Administration propagandists are trying to represent every slightest hesitation in the downward trend as "business rally." In steel, it was announced that the drop had "hit bottom" when it was found that the industry had performed the miracle, for the week ending April 3, of raising steel ingot production — by 1 point to 69% of capacity, highest since March 7.

Department store sales, a good index of consumer purchasing, continue their big drop. For the week of March 27, they were 11% below a year ago. Similarly freight carloading dropped another 1.4% to 17.1% below the corresponding week in 1952; and 15.90% below the 1953 figure. **As for auto output, an AP dispatch from Detroit, April 3, reports the industry is basing "planning on a conviction that the competitive era will be a long one."**

McCarthy Agrees to Probe, Provided . . .



Against Thought-Control In the West Coast NAACP!

A Protest by Editorial Staff, The Militant

April 6, 1954

West Coast Regional Office, NAACP
San Francisco, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

We demand a public retraction and apology for the infamous and slanderous attack you have made against The Militant. We also believe that you owe an apology to the members of the NAACP and the American people at large for using the most contemptible McCarthyite methods in the attack on this paper.

On March 28 at a Fight for Freedom Rally sponsored by the NAACP in Oakland, Calif., your officers distributed a leaflet listing six organizations and publications which were accused of "attempting to mislead the Negro community." Five of these were Stalinist or Stalinist-dominated; the other was The Militant.

This list has now become known in the Bay Area as the "NAACP's subversive list" or "Williams' subversive list" (after Franklin H. Williams, secretary-counsel of your office, who inspired it).

With this name goes the odium that is attached by every serious opponent of McCarthyism to the whole concept of "subversive" listing.

Your office may not know it, but several national conferences of the NAACP have denounced and called for the withdrawal of the Attorney General's "subversive" list as a violation of democratic rights and traditions.

By imitating the McCarthyites, who pin the "subversive" label on their opponents without evidence, your office has weakened the fight against "subversive" lists in general, and has disgraced the creditable record of the NAACP on this vital question.

LEAFLET'S CHARGE

Your leaflet claims: "They say they are 'working for your civil rights' but they work among us in the interest of the Communist Party or other subversive and un-American movements."

The Militant strongly objects to being linked in this manner to the Stalinists. Although we defend the democratic rights of all persecuted groups, including the Stalinists, we are and always have been politically opposed to the Stalinists because of their false and treacherous policies. During World War II, for example, the Stalinists called on the Negro people to bury their fight for equality and advocated the suppression of The Militant because we urged the Negro people to continue the fight against Jim Crow without compromise.

Our record in this fight is without a blemish, and began long before there was an NAACP West Coast Regional Office. No one can point to a single struggle of the Negro people that we did not support without reservation. Despite our differences with the NAACP leaders, freely expressed in our columns, we have defended them

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Share Guilt With GOP On Sears

By George Breitman

APRIL 6 — On April Fools' Day the Senate investigating subcommittee unanimously selected Samuel P. Sears, Boston attorney, as special counsel of the committee's projected probe into McCarthy's dispute with the Army. Both the date and the man were symbolic of this probe, which was promised almost a month ago and still hasn't got started.

The special counsel is supposed to run the probe for the committee, and to run it impartially so as to bring to light the facts that will make possible a judgment on the veracity of McCarthy's and the Army's charges and countercharges.

The first public statement Sears made after being appointed on April 1 was: "I have not taken a position publicly or privately" on McCarthy or McCarthyism.

McCarthy himself probably never told a bigger lie.

In short order the following facts were dug out of the newspapers: In 1952 Sears tried to raise funds to re-elect McCarthy. He said he was glad McCarthyism "has taken a place in the dictionary." He offered $1,000 to anyone who could prove that McCarthy had ever unjustly victimized anyone. He joined in McCarthy's smear attack on Harvard University for not purging its faculty and student body. McCarthy, who raised no objection to Sears when his name was first submitted for his approval, said after the appointment that he did not recall if he had ever met Sears. But as recently as last month Sears was recommended by McCarthy's wife to defend McCarthyism in a public debate. Sears accepted the offer, and the debate did not take place only because he decided that it would not look good at a time when he was hounding Massachusetts congressmen to get him "drafted" as an "impartial" counsel.

ROLE OF DEMOCRATS

For almost a week Senator Mundt, acting chairman of the committee and himself an impartial McCarthyite, tried to wave aside all these embarrassing facts. But the whole setup had become too raw, and on April 6 the committee was compelled, again unanimously, to accept Sears' "resignation."

Mundt, at least, did this reluctantly, for he is a McCarthyite and thinks it is only fitting and proper for a fellow McCarthyite to run the probe of McCarthy. But how about the Democrats on the Senate committee? What was their role in the Sears affair, and what is the explanation for it?

In the first place, Sears was suggested by a subcommittee of three, consisting of Mundt and two Democrats, McClellan and Jackson. In other words, the Democrats had a majority of this subcommittee and Sears' name would never even have been considered by the committee as a whole if the Democrats had objected. In the second place, all three Democrats on the committee itself voted for Sears.

WHY NO CHECK?

What happened? Didn't the Democrats, who claimed to be making an "intensive" nationwide hunt for a counsel "with the diligence of a district attorney and the fairmindedness of an eminent judge," even think of questioning Sears on his record before voting for him? Didn't they think of making an independent check on his political activity in Boston, where it is well known?

If they didn't think of these elementary precautions, then it is certain that they are extreme-

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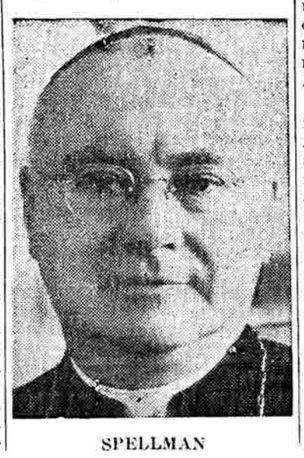
Cops Heil McCarthy as Cardinal Beams

By Fred Hart

Some 6,000 Roman Catholic police in New York City, following an 8 A. M. mass celebrated by Archbishop Francis Cardinal Spellman at St. Patrick's Cathedral, crammed into four Hotel Astor ballrooms on Sunday, April 4, to yell and stamp in a riotous ovation to fascist Senator Joseph McCarthy. Many of these fascist-loving cops were fresh from strikebreaking duty on the city's vast waterfront. There they had been pushing, intimidating, manhandling, beating up, riding down and arresting union dock pickets, a majority of them Irish and Italian Catholic workers.

The occasion for the cops' display of pro-McCarthy frenzy was the 36th annual communion breakfast of the Holy Name Society of the Police Department, Manhattan, Bronx and Richmond boroughs. His Eminence the Cardinal himself was there to beam on the demonstration for America's would-be Hitler and Franco, who was the main speaker and star attraction, and to praise McCarthy's talk.

McCarthy was introduced to the cheering, stomping, whistling cops by Msgr. Joseph P. McCaffrey, retiring Police Department



SPELLMAN

chaplain and pastor of the Holy Cross Church. The priest presented the most sinister figure in American politics as "one who has devoted . . . his life to exposure and uprooting of Communists out of every phase of our national life, education, business, industry and the government." Some one yelled, "The Army, too!"

McCaffrey defended McCarthy from the "Left Wing" and from Americans "misled" by "slanted and biased segments of our press, radio and screen." He said the Senator's mistakes, "which have been few" (cries of "No! no!" rejected the imputation that their Fuehrer could make even a "few mistakes"), had been magnified a thousandfold and his numerous achievements minimized.

Following McCarthy's typical diatribe against "reds" and "Communists," McCaffrey remarked that the howling audience had "signified its appreciation" of McCarthy's speech "and certainly he has mine."

Spellman, who ostentatiously shook McCarthy's hands, added his own tribute, stating that as McCaffrey had said, it was "unnecessary to say anything about the remarks, the address, of Senator McCarthy." He added, "I do wish to say one word, if I may. Senator McCarthy has told us about the Communists and about the Communist methods. I want to say I'm not only against communism — but I'm against the methods of the Communists."

This deliberately cryptic remark was never clarified by Spellman. It is an instance of Jesuitical double-talk. It gave the OK to McCarthy while letting Catholics opposed to McCarthy argue that the Cardinal was "really" chiding McCarthy indirectly by his emphasis on "Communist methods" — that is, presumably, anti-democratic methods.

During his European trip last year Spellman answered fears about McCarthyite fascism by stating: "The anguished cries and protests against 'McCarthyism' are not going to dissuade Americans from their desire to see Communists exposed and removed . . ."

On March 25, the Associated Press reported that Spellman had said the Roman Catholic hierarchy would make no "official pronouncement" on McCarthy because "we don't preach sermons about politics." But the authoritarian hierarchy does not customarily put into writing, pass resolutions or "preach sermons" on things of this nature. If Spellman had wanted to, however, he could have stopped McCarthy from being invited to the communion breakfast by the merest private intimation of displeasure.

This doesn't mean that the Catholic people are all behind McCarthy. Far from it. Certainly, the Catholic workers, among the worst exploited in America, are not behind McCarthy. But a powerful, if not decisive, sector of the Catholic hierarchy is more or less openly backing McCarthy.

Notebook of an Agitator

A New Declaration of Independence

Fascism is a product of the crisis of capitalism and can be definitively disposed of only by a solution of this crisis. The fascist movement can make advances or be pushed back at one time or another in the course of this crisis; but it will always be there, in latent or active form, as long as the social causes which produce it have not been eradicated.

Looked at from this standpoint, the threat of American fascism is not a short-term problem, and by no means can it be eliminated at the next election — or, for that matter, at any other election. The American fascist movement, and the workers' struggle against it, will be a long-drawn-out affair, from now to the final showdown, which in the end can be nothing less than a showdown between fascist capitalism and the workers' revolution.

If the default of the labor movement has given American fascism, in the incipient and preventive form represented by the McCarthy movement, an advantage at the start, it still represents nothing more than an episode in a long struggle which will have many ups and downs. The real movement of American fascism is only now in its preliminary stages of formation; and the counter-movement of the workers against it is not even started yet.

Protracted Conflict

At any rate, American fascism, in its McCarthyite form or under some other aegis, is bound to provoke a militant resistance from the workers as soon as it passes over from its present preoccupation with a hunt for spies and "subversives" to a direct assault on the labor movement. Thereafter, the fascist movement will not develop on a straight ascending line. There will be zigzags on one side and the other, advances and setbacks and periods of stalemate. In this protracted conflict the labor movement will have time to get a clearer picture of the real nature of the problem, and to mobilize its forces for an all-out struggle.

At the present time, the myopic policy of the liberals and the labor leaders is concentrated on the congressional elections next fall. A Democratic victory is counted on to deal a death blow to the McCarthy aberration. "McCarthyism is becoming a danger all right, and it begins to look like a fascist movement; but all we need is a general mobilization at the polls to put the Democrats back in power." Such are the arguments we already hear from the Democratic high command, the literary liberals, the labor leaders and skulking in the rear of the caravan, with their tails between their legs — the Stalinists.

A Democratic Victory

This would really be laughable if humor were in place where deadly serious matters are concerned. The Roosevelt New Deal, under far more favorable conditions, couldn't find a way to hold back the economic crisis without a war. A Stevensonian version of the same policy, under worse conditions, could only be expected to fail more miserably. A Democratic victory might arrest the hitherto unobstructed march of McCarthyism while it reforms its ranks. It might even bring a temporary moderation of the fury of the witch hunt. But that's all.

The fascist movement would begin to grow again with the growth of the crisis. It would probably take on an even more militant character, if it is pushed out of the administration and compelled to develop as an unofficial movement. Under conditions of a serious crisis, an unofficial fascist movement would grow all the more stormily, to the extent that the labor movement would support the Democratic administration, and depend on it to restrain the fascists by police measures.

Such a policy, as the experience of Italy and Germany has already shown, would only paralyze the active resistance of the workers themselves, while giving the fascist gangs a virtually free rein. Moreover, by remaining tied to the Democratic administration, the labor movement would take upon itself a large part of the responsibility for the economic crisis and feed the flames of fascist demagogy around the question.

Something to See

That would be something to see: The fascists howling about the crisis, and stirring up the hungry and desperate people with the most extravagant promises, while the labor leaders defend the administration. The official labor leaders are fully capable of such idiocy, as they demonstrated in the last presidential election. But with the best will in the world to help the Democratic administration, they couldn't maintain such a position very long.

The workers will most probably accept the recommendation of the labor leaders to seek escape from the crisis by replacing Republican rascals by Democratic scoundrels in the next election. But when the latter become officially responsible for the administration, and prove powerless to cope with the crisis, the workers will certainly draw some conclusions from their unfortunate experiences. The deeper the crisis, and the more brutal the fascist aggression fed by the crisis, the more insistent will be the demand for a radical change of policy and a more adequate leadership.

From all indications, the workers' discontent will be concentrated, at first, in the demand for a Labor Party of their own. This will most probably be realized. It will not yet signify the victory over fascism — not by a long shot — but it will represent the beginning of a counter-movement which will have every chance to end in victory.

A Turning Point

The break with the Democratic Party will be an implicit recognition that the fight against fascism is fundamentally a fight against capitalism in the period of its agonizing crisis of disintegration and decay; and that there is no hope of victory for the workers in alliance with one of the parties of this same capitalism, and still less under its leadership, as at present.

The formation of a Labor Party, based on the trade unions, will represent the American workers' Declaration of Independence. It will be a great turning point in American history. All developments will be speeded up after that.

It would be a great mistake, however, to speak of a prospective Labor Party as the solution of the problem of fascism. As in 1776, the new Declaration of Independence will signify not the end, but the beginning of the real struggle. The final outcome will depend on the program and the leadership. These will become the burning issues of an internal struggle for which the Labor Party will provide the main arena.

It is from this point of view — clearly stated at all times — that we advocate the formation of a Labor Party and do all we can to hasten the day of its appearance.

— James P. Cannon

Deutscher Worthless as Guide to Action

By George Breitman

In the fall of 1917 the Bolsheviks began to discuss whether or not to organize an uprising to turn all power over to the Soviets. Lenin and Trotsky favored the uprising and pushed for it; Zinoviev and Kamenev, frightened and doubtful, drew back and opposed it.

"Regardless of its immediate conclusion, history has perhaps not said the last word" on this historic argument, says Isaac Deutscher in his biography of Trotsky, **The Prophet Armed.** "After the event, it is easy and natural to say that the advocates of the insurrection were right, and its opponents wrong. In truth, each side presented its case in such a way that the rights were strangely blended with the wrongs and the realistic assessment of historical prospects was offset by momentous errors."

Lenin and Trotsky, he judges, were right in estimating that the insurrection would be easily accomplished, and Zinoviev and Kamenev were wrong in foreseeing a disastrous adventure. But on the other hand, among the chief motivations of Lenin and Trotsky was their belief in the imminence of the European revolution, which they predicted and expected and looked to for support in their own revolution. Zinoviev and Kamenev, Deutscher says, correctly scoffed at this contention as a harmful exaggeration.

"IT MAY BE WONDERED"

As any fool knows, the European revolution did not take place during or after World War I. And Deutscher, who knows it too, sums up the situation this way:

"Thus those who were supreme realists when summing up the Russian situation (Lenin and Trotsky) became illusionists when they turned towards the broader international scene, and those who saw Russia only dimly through a mist of timid skepticism (Zinoviev and Kamenev) became then the realists . . . it may be wondered whether Lenin and Trotsky would have acted as they did, or whether they would have acted with the same determination, if they had taken a soberer view of international revolution and foreseen that in the course of decades their example would not be imitated in any other country."

Deutscher, at any rate, is still wondering about it. Being "sober" himself, and not an "illusionist" like Lenin and Trotsky, isn't it fairly safe to conclude that if the decision had been up to him, the Russian revolution would not have taken place?

We mention this because it illustrates the difference between the "objective" bystander-commentator and the active revolutionary fighter. To Deutscher the Bolshevik attitude toward European revolution in 1917 and later was "the great illusion," "a veil of dreams and fantasy" whose "frustration was subsequently to break and crush" Trotsky, etc. Hindsight makes Deutscher look awfully smart.

DIDN'T MERELY PREDICT

But for Lenin and Trotsky, European revolution was neither an academic question nor the theme of a few pages in a book. For them it was an aim. They didn't merely predict a European revolution — they **worked** for it, conducted all their diplomacy to facilitate it, used all their resources to promote it. Zinoviev and the other skeptics, including the Russian Deutschers, could do nothing to speed the European revolution they did not believe could happen; Lenin and Trotsky did everything that was possible.

Was the prospect of a European revolution a fantasy in 1917? The capitalist rulers of Europe did not consider it fantastic a year or two later; the armies of counter-revolutionary intervention they sent to Soviet Russia were intended to crush the revolution before it would spread to other countries, as they "soberly" expected it to do. Was the German revolution of 1918 a fantasy? Or the revolutionary situations in Germany in 1919, in 1921, in 1923, to say nothing of the postwar collapse of capitalist governments in other European countries?

HOW THEY VIEWED IT

In addition to expecting the European revolution, Lenin and Trotsky viewed the question as one that would be settled in action, in the class struggle. That's what actually happened. The revolutionary situation they forsaw in Europe broke out at the end of the war, and they tried by their example, and whatever aid they could extend, to help transform those revolutionary situations into successful revolutions.

It is true that these revolutions which threatened, and some of which began, were defeated. But guarantees of victory are seldom available on the eve of revolutionary struggles, and even when proffered should not be accepted as final; such questions are settled only in the struggle. The revolutionary optimism of Lenin and Trotsky and, even more, their revolutionary activity were, from the viewpoint of socialism and the working class, a thousand times more correct, productive and realistic than the doubts and abstentionism of their faint-hearted critics.

Their policy destroyed capitalism in Russia, shook European capitalism so badly that counter-revolutionary intervention against Soviet Russia after World War I was paralyzed, and created conditions which led to the abolition of capitalism in other countries, during and after World War II. The policy of their opponents, in which Deutscher is still looking for merits in 1954, would have been disastrous to everyone but the capitalists.

ON THE COMINTERN

If Deutscher is still wondering about the 1917 uprising in Russia, he has no such doubts about the formation of the revolutionary Communist International in 1919. The whole business was an egregious error to him.

The error, as he sees it, flows again from the Bolsheviks' simple-minded misreading of the European situation at the end of the war. They just couldn't get it into their thick heads that there wasn't going to be a successful revolution outside of Russia. Anyhow, Lenin called an international conference in Moscow in 1919, "either to proclaim the Third International or to make preliminary arrangements for this."

The Bolsheviks, according to Deutscher, wanted to set up the International at once but awaited the opinions of the other delegates before making a decision. The German delegates said it was too soon to form an International — they were still too weak. But an Austrian delegate, who arrived in the middle of the debate, "gave a startling description of Europe seething with revolution." That settled it: "Thus, fathered by wish, mothered by confusion, and assisted by accident, the great institution came into being."

"IT IS DOUBTFUL"

Deutscher's sympathies are clearly with the German delegates who wanted to wait: "It is doubtful whether Lenin and Trotsky would have founded the International at this stage if they had had a clearer perception of the condition of Europe." (But there is nothing doubtful about the outcome if Deutscher had cast the deciding ballot.)

"Nothing," he assures us, "had been further from (their) thoughts than the intention of giving an assortment of small political sects the high-sounding label of the International." (Deutscher, who prides himself on his unique ability to count although he neglects to indicate exactly how big an organization must be before he will consent to dignify it with the label of International, here telegraphs the attitude that he is going to express in his next book toward the formation of the Fourth International by Trotsky in 1938.)

And yet, one page later, Deutscher tells us calmly: "Even so, their expectations were not altogether groundless; within a year the new International did, in fact, gain a formidable hold on the European labor movement."

How it could have done so without having been formed a year before, Deutscher does not explain.

Strangely enough, the "confusion" of the Bolsheviks is demonstrated in real life to be the best and most effective kind of revolutionary realism, and the "objective" Deutscher, for all his hindsight, is shown to be a rather worthless guide to any reader interested in participating in revolutionary politics.

More next week.

Mrs. Moss Back on Job – Temporarily

Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, victim of Sen. McCarthy, is temporarily back at her old job in the Pentagon after a period of suspension. But the Signal Corps is still to make a final decision in her case, although the only witness against Mrs. Moss was an informer who admitted never having seen her. With her is Sgt. Donald Pritchard.

$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Detroit	$ 500	$ 403	81
Newark	400	261	65
Buffalo	1,500	950	63
Pittsburgh	150	90	60
Chicago	1,500	643	43
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	475	40
Milwaukee	250	95	38
Youngstown	150	50	33
Boston	500	152	30
New York	3,000	860	29
St. Louis	75	20	27
Philadelphia	400	90	23
San Francisco	700	164	23
Los Angeles	2,500	534	21
Cleveland	250	45	18
Allentown	75	5	7
Akron	100	0	0
Oakland	250	0	0
Seattle	250	0	0
General	250	45	18
Total through April 5	$14,000	$4,882	35

...Anti-McCarthy Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

rade Stall writes on April 1: "Don't let the date fool you. When I write that we've collected $403 on our Fund Drive, you can believe me. Detroit is not going to give up first place without a struggle. $10 of the above amount, by the way, came from a sympathizer who has promised more."

Detroit, Newark, Buffalo and Pittsburgh are all ahead of schedule with more than 50% of their quotas in as we pass the halfway mark of the Fund Drive. Congratulations.

All of the branches are busy with the Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign. Scores are beginning to come in and it is clear that we shall succeed in reaching many thousands of workers with the analysis of what McCarthyism is and how to fight it. The second edition of the first pamphlet on McCarthyism is almost completely sold and the second pamphlet, **Stop McCarthyism,** is now available.

The scoreboard on the Literature Campaign gives credit to the branches for anti-fascist literature sold since the start of the national campaign on March 15. The place of each branch on the scoreboard is determined by the points in relation to the number of campaigners selling the anti-fascist literature.

On this basis Newark is the star performer with a total score of 444 points. St. Paul runs second with 239 points. Winifred Nelson from St. Paul sends the following report: "This morning we did some wonderful neighborhood work in the Negro community. Four of us sold 100 anti-McCarthy pamphlets in a couple of hours, and the response was very inspiring! We found a fighting spirit on the subject of McCarthyism, and very, very few people who were on the side of McCarthy."

The first task in our anti-fascist campaign is to alert the American workers to the danger of fascism. But that is not enough. It is necessary to show the socialist alternative to fascism. **America's Road to Socialism** by James P. Cannon is therefore a very important part of our anti-fascist campaign. Cleveland is top scorer in sales of this pamphlet, with Minneapolis running a close second.

Newark has the lead in selling **The Case of the Legless Veteran,** the story of James Kutcher who leads the fight for civil liberties against the witch hunters. New York runs in second place.

All campaign directors should include in their reports the name of the comrade who has top score in points for each city. The information now on hand puts Winifred Nelson of St. Paul in the lead with 61 points.

6,000 AFL shipyard workers at the Camden yard of the N. Y. Shipbuilding Corp. staged a sit-down strike April 6 to force the reinstatement of 60 company-suspended local union officials. The men were suspended in reprisal for a half-day stoppage held April 2 protesting company speedup and stalling on settlement of grievances.

Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign

PLACE	CITY	POINTS
1	Newark	444
2	St. Paul	239
3	New York	494
4	Minneapolis	190
5	Cleveland	33
6	St. Louis	14
7	Los Angeles	95
	Akron	
	Allentown	
	Boston	
	Buffalo	
	Chicago	
	Detroit	
	Milwaukee	
	Oakland	
	Philadelphia	
	Pittsburgh	
	San Francisco	
	Seattle	
	Youngstown	
	Total	1,509

...Democrats Play Into McCarthy's Hands

(Continued from page 1)

ly stupid or they can't be very serious about the projected probe of McCarthy. If they did think of these things, then they owe an explanation of why they did nothing about them. In any case, they certainly demonstrated that they can't be relied on to fight McCarthyism effectively, whether they want to or not. It's no thanks to their vigilance that Sears wasn't able to carry through his attempted whitewash of McCarthy.

The truth is that, willfully or not, the Democrats have been playing into McCarthy's hands. When he began to stall for time, they accommodated him. When he demanded that his own committee should conduct the probe, they agreed. When he insisted that the counsel to be chosen should "not be personally obnoxious to the Army or Senator McCarthy," they consented, thus giving him veto power over the entire probe.

How can McCarthy possibly suffer a serious setback from the proposed probe if the Democrats accept all his basic demands for its operation?

"GULLIBLE?"

Max Lerner, the liberal columnist who last month was whipping himself into a state of ecstasy with his own prophecy that "the beginning of the end" had arrived for McCarthyism, has calmed down a little and now confesses, after the "Sears fiasco," to feeling "bleak." He says the committee Democrats "ought to have red faces," they "must feel like the wrong end" of a horse, they are "gullible," etc.

But these are the same Democrats whom he and the other liberals and labor leaders helped to elect to office. These are the same Democrats whom he looks to for leadership in the fight against McCarthyism. If the Democrats are so "gullible" that they don't know enough not to hire a McCarthyite, then why should anyone have an ounce of confidence in their ability to handle bigger and harder jobs — like really stopping McCarthyism?

There's actually much more than "gullibility" behind the Democrats' behavior in this case. For one thing, they are afraid of McCarthy. Nobody in either capitalist party is eager to tangle with him; his path is strewn with too many political corpses. Only one Democrat in the entire Senate dared to vote against his appropriation in February after he threatened to denounce those who did as members of the "communist conspiracy."

For another thing, the Democrats are not basically opposed to McCarthyism. Accepting his argument that "communism" must be suppressed at home and abroad, they are compelled to tag along behind him, demurring only over his definition of "communism" when he defines it to include the Democrats. Like Eisenhower, they see a "good side" to McCarthyism — and that is why they want at most to curb McCarthy, and not to destroy McCarthyism.

That is the fundamental explanation for their conduct, together with the hope some of them have that their party can make political capital out of an Eisenhower-McCarthy rift in the coming election campaign.

HELPING McCARTHY

If this situation continues much longer the probe may never take place, to the vast relief of many Democrats and Eisenhower Republicans as well as McCarthy. Or if it does take place, it may peter out inconcusively, like previous probes of McCarthy. Either outcome would be a strategic and moral victory for McCarthy, who has been trying to minimize and bury the dispute. It must not be forgotten that McCarthy does not need a formal vindication in this situation; all he needs to show is that nobody in Washington is able to put a real crimp in his drive for power, and that can be demonstrated in a variety of ways, including the burial of the probe.

The inability of the investigation to get going is itself striking testimony to the great power exercised over American political life by the fascist Senator from Wisconsin. But a big reason for his strength is that his opponents in the capitalist parties keep pulling their punches against him out of cowardice or the belief that they will have to make use of McCarthyism themselves in the future.

The lesson of the Sears incident and of the whole probe is that the Democrats cannot be depended on to carry through a genuine struggle against McCarthyism, and that as a matter of fact they are an obstacle to such a struggle. If the labor movement and its allies don't begin to absorb this lesson soon, McCarthyism will inevitably grow stronger and bolder. Fascism will be stopped not by the cardboard soldiers of the Democratic Party, but by the labor movement, mobilized in its own party and armed with a militant program.

LATEST ISSUE OF F.I. ANALYZES M'CARTHYISM

A rounded Marxist analysis of the rise of McCarthyite fascism is featured in the winter issue of the quarterly Marxist magazine, Fourth International.

Written by Murry Weiss, now on a national anti-McCarthy speaking tour sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, the article elaborates on the crucial fact that, "While rising out of the general atmosphere of the witch hunt, McCarthyism is yet different from it."

That difference does not lie simply in the quantitative extension of the scope and pace of the witch hunt, the article demonstrates. "The point is that capitalist reaction has developed a split personality," ". . . alongside the 'police statification' of the structure of capitalist rule has come the first significant signs of the emergence of a fascist mobilization."

An important feature of the article is the inclusion of a little-publicized press conference held by McCarthy when he first came to Washington in 1946. The subject of that interview was the militant coal miners strike then taking place. In that interview McCarthy did not attempt, as he now does, to conceal his fiercely anti-labor views. His opinion on that strike boiled down to the idea that the miners and their leader, John L. Lewis, should be drafted into the Army, ordered to mine coal, and courtmartialed if they refused to do so. "All this talk about you can't put 400,000 miners in jail is a lot of stuff," opined the man destined to become number one contender for American fuehrer. "They won't go to jail. They will mine coal first."

Also included in a varied table of contents are the following articles: "Trotsky or Deutscher?" by James P. Cannon. "Sternberg vs. Karl Marx" By Myra Tanner. "The Soviet Union under Malenkov" by John G. Wright." Social Relations in U.S. Today" by Arne Swabeck. "It is Necessary to Drive the Bureaucracy and the New Aristocracy out of the Soviets" by Leon Trotsky.

The magazine is now published in an extremely attractive new format. The use of a three-column layout in place of the previous two-column makes for quicker and easier reading. This is further aided by the use of a better quality paper and the interspersing of cuts thoughout the pages of the magazine. A separate gloss finish cover is printed in a handsome two-color combination. From both the viewpoint of variety of contents and improved technical appearance the new Fourth International has greater sales appeal than before.

Single copies at 35 cents, and a year's subscription at $1.25, may be ordered from Fourth International, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

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Good News from Michigan

An important gain for anti-McCarthyism has been registered with the certification of the Socialist Workers Party for a place on the Michigan ballot in the November elections.

This was won in the face of regulations designed to make it extremely difficult for minority parties to appear on the ballot. A minimum of 14,463 signatures had to be obtained throughout the state to comply with the legal requirements.

The energy and enthusiasm with which the members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party tackled this project is demonstrated by the fact that the campaign, which resulted in the filing of nearly 16,000 signatures, was accomplished in less than half the time required in 1952, even though 50% more signatures were required this year.

This splendid accomplishment is a tribute to the militancy and devotion to principle of the Socialist Workers ranks in that state. At the same time it is a significant expression of a developing consciousness among Michigan workers and members of minority groups of the need to support a workers party. Petition gatherers have reported that the number of workers who were reluctant to sign because of the prevailing atmosphere of intimidation were more than compensated for by those who demonstrated with their signatures that they refuse to be intimidated.

Most important of all, this ballot victory is a signal demonstration that the witch hunt can be fought effectively and that gains can be registered against it.

The certification of the SWP comes as the climax of a hard-fought two-year struggle against the Michigan Trucks law, a police-state measure designed to strangle the legal expression of minority political opinion under the guise of combatting "subversion."

The successful rallying of the organized labor and liberal movements in opposition to this undemocratic law won a place for the SWP on the ballot in 1952. Last February they won an important court decision that the provisions of the law do not apply to the SWP, thus paving the way for the present ballot certification.

The presence of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot in Michigan means that a clear-cut, effective program of struggle against the triple menace of McCarthyism, unemployment and horrifying H-Bomb warfare will be presented to the workers of this key industrial state.

At the same time this victory will greatly strengthen the coming national election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. We can now confidently predict that this campaign will be a stimulating contribution to mobilizing the anti-McCarthy, anti-depression and anti-war forces throughout the country.

... Against Thought-Control

(Continued from page 1)

and the NAACP against all their white supremacist enemies.

Our distributors and readers support every progressive struggle of the NAACP, and many of them are among the most loyal and devoted members of that organization. On some occasions the NAACP first learned about certain Jim Crow injustices and atrocities from The Militant, and thanked us for our services in bringing them to their attention. All this is a matter of record, which we can prove from our files.

Consequently, it is deceitful for your leaflet to imply that The Militant is trying to "mislead the Negro community" when we take part in the civil rights fight and present our socialist program to promote that fight.

SLANDEROUS LABEL

And it is slanderous for your leaflet to label us "subversive and un-American."

By what authority did you dare to make such an accusation? You were not assigned such a function by the members or branches or conferences of the NAACP when you were appointed or elected to your posts. Nobody authorized you to pass on the loyalty or other characteristics of The Militant.

The National NAACP has correctly condemned the Attorney General's "subversive" list because it is arbitrary, because no evidence was ever given for the designations, because no listed organization ever has been given a hearing at which it could defend itself.

Your own "subversive" list is no better. It is just as arbitrary, just as high-handed, just as much a violation of decency, to say nothing of democratic procedures.

THE MICHIGAN CASE

In 1952 the Attorney General of Michigan, operating under the notorious Trucks Act which has been denounced by the NAACP, stuck the "subversive" label on the Socialist Workers Party, a political organization whose program The Militant defends.

The Socialist Workers Party, aided by a citizens committee which included prominent officials of the NAACP in that state, took the fight to court. After almost two years of litigation, the Michigan Attorney General was forced to publicly admit in court on Feb. 19, 1954, that he lacks "sufficient proof to establish the fact, if it exists," that the SWP is "subversive." As a result, he agreed to discontinue efforts to bar the SWP from the ballot.

Do you have any more "evidence" to support your monstrous charge against The Militant than the Michigan Attorney General had against the SWP? Do you have any evidence at all against either The Militant or the others on your list? If not, then you are duty bound to withdraw the charge. We promise you that we will not rest until you have done so.

PUBLIC DISSERVICE

Your leaflet adds: "Check and double-check BEFORE you sign petitions, attend meetings, serve on 'DEFENSE' committees or join or contribute to questionable organizations." You call the publication of this leaflet a "public service."

No, actually it is a grave public disservice. What such statements do is to contribute to the spirit of hysteria and conformism that the would-be fascist dictators of this country are trying to spread. By creating fear and caution in this manner, you weaken not only democratic traditions, but the struggle for Negro equality.

Only last June the national conference of the NAACP, in its resolution condemning McCarthyism, warned, "Already there is discernible a pattern which tends to link the advocacy of full equality for Negroes and other minorities to subversion or 'un-Americanism.'" It condemned the "atmosphere of inquisition" in which people become fearful that they may be labeled "red" or "subversive" if they sign petitions, attend meetings or join organizations fighting for Negro equality.

Your leaflet, encouraging timidity and suspicion, reinforces this "atmosphere of inquisition." Instead of helping the NAACP to grow in numbers and effectiveness, your leaflet tends to frighten people away from the NAACP — which, as you know, is considered "subversive" by the white supremacists.

BOOKBURNING?

The 1953 national NAACP conference resolution against McCarthyism specifically singled out bookburning as an instrument of thought control and racist reaction. Franklin H. Williams, it is reported, violated both the spirit and letter of that resolution at your Oakland rally when he warned the audience against The Militant and urged those who had purchased the paper before coming into the hall to throw their copies in the ashcan on the way out.

Who authorized Williams to tell the Negro community what papers to read or not read? Where did he get the effrontery to try to interfere with the right of NAACP members to buy and read whatever papers they please? It's true that Williams didn't tell the audience to burn The Militant, only to throw it away unread; but McCarthy didn't care what happened to the State Department's books either, as long as they would be kept unread.

We don't ask Williams to endorse The Militant. We don't ask him to agree with what it says. We don't even ask him to read it. But we emphatically demand that he stop misusing the authority of his NAACP post to foist his reading habits and prejudices on others.

WILLIAMS BORROWS

Incidentally, Williams did not invent "the ashcan for The Militant." This was invented by the Communist Party, and has been a fixture at their public meetings for more than two decades. It is a scandal to see it transferred to an NAACP meeting too.

Williams merely borrowed this "device" from the Stalinists, just as he borrowed the "subversive" tag from the McCarthyite witch hunters. Like the McCarthyites and like the Stalinists, he tries to discourage the people from even reading views different from his own. It is his personal right to do this, but he does not have the right to use the authority of the NAACP's name to aid him in this shameful game.

CAN'T APPEASE FASCISTS

We know why Williams issued his "subversive" list. He is frightened by the malignant growth of McCarthyism, which emboldens the worst anti-Negro, anti-Jewish and anti-labor sentiments and movements. Instead of working harder to defeat McCarthyism, he hopes to make himself and the NAACP "respectable" and to escape the blows of McCarthyism by imitating it and joining it in attacking political opponents on the left.

But McCarthyism will never be stopped that way. No matter how moderately the NAACP behaves, Byrnes of South Carolina (who is guilty of "McCarthyism at its worst," as Walter White said) continues to attack the NAACP and to "hope" that it will be dissolved or destroyed. Appeasement of fascism never helps anyone but the fascists. The American Civil Liberties Union's repeated attacks on communism don't stop McCarthy from repeating the lie that the ACLU is a "communist front." Williams' "subversive" list won't satisfy the fascists, who have the NAACP on their own list, and it can do nothing but damage to the cause of the NAACP.

DEMAND RETRACTION

For the above reasons, we demand that the West Coast Regional Office publicly retract its slanderous attack on The Militant, and put an immediate stop to the publication and distribution of the leaflet in which it appeared.

We hope that the members of the NAACP branches on the West Coast will discuss this question at their meetings, oppose Williams' "subversive" list, let their opposition be known, and take steps to insure that there will never be a repetition of the scandal that has been committed in the name of their organization.

If the West Coast Regional Office does not act to correct the injustice and the damage inflicted on this paper, The Militant will be compelled to take other measures to achieve this end.

Editorial Staff, The Militant.

Pabloism Fails to Meet McCarthy Test

By Joseph Hansen

Certain great turns in politics put every political tendency to the acid test. These are the turns that pose the fate of a nation or people or class pointblank, such as war, revolution, and counter-revolution. In the United States, the development of McCarthyism represents such a turn.

As the rise of Hitler forced the German political parties to give answers that determined their own fate as well as that of Germany for decades to come, so in America with McCarthy. If there is a difference, it is only in the fact that the issues are now far more crucial than in Hitler's time, involving the fate of civilization and even mankind itself far more directly and immediately.

The test is not confined to tendencies within the United States, but extends to the whole world. The volcanic explosion of American imperialism has forced all countries to concern themselves about American politics. The possibility of a super-Hitler dictating policy in the most warlike power the world has seen make this concern all the more necessary and timely.

DECISIVE TEST

How has the world movement founded by Leon Trotsky stood up under this test? The answer to the question is of decisive significance. For though in the vast scale of class forces this movement as yet represents but a small quantity, nevertheless **qualitatively** it is a matter of nothing less than the socialist consciousness of the working class; that is, comprehension of the historic destiny of the working class and the knowledge and will to achieve it when all the conditions mature.

The program of the Trotskyist movement, the program of revolutionary socialism, offers the only realistic alternative to the threat of barbarism raised by the war plans of Wall Street and its drift toward fascism. The precious political capital accumulated over the years by the Trotskyist movement offers the brightest promise for the future. The present cadres constitute the nuclei that will unfold into great mass parties in the coming period of showdown struggle. In many areas the Trotskyist movement already wields considerable influence. **The response of the Trotskyists to the threat of McCarthyism, their reaction to one more great test, can thus signify final success or defeat in the working class struggle against McCarthyism.**

TROTSKYIST RESPONSE

The world Trotskyist movement in the majority has measured up to the challenge. As our readers are well aware, the Socialist Workers Party is engaged in a major campaign to alert the labor movement and its allies to the fascist menace and the need to stop McCarthyism by independent political action. The SWP launched this campaign the moment the fascist senator demonstrated that he had assembled a sizeable mass following that had become differentiated from the Republican and Democratic parties and which he was mobilizing in a bid to take over the Republican Party and capture the White House.

In addition, the Militant, so far as we have been able to ascertain, was the first newspaper in the United States to call attention to the fascist potential represented by McCarthy and his following. This was in an article in the issue of April 10, 1950, assessing the popular response to McCarthy's Feb. 9, 1950, super witch-hunt speech about "205 card-carrying communists" in government. **That was the speech that first won national notoriety for the obscure junior senator from Wisconsin.**

The major turn in the development of McCarthyism that occurred around the Harry Dexter White case was at once noted by the Militant. In the systematic campaign it has sustained since then, articles in every issue have contributed to the better understanding of this menacing movement. The Marxist analysis, to which writers of the Militant have submitted McCarthyism, has enabled us to relate its similarities and differences to European fascism, thereby making it possible for the anti-fascist movement in America to tap the rich experience of the European labor movement on this crucial question. The Militant's analysis of the specific phenomenon of McCarthyism in turn constitutes an important addition to the body of Marxist thought on the problem of fascism in general.

REACTION ABROAD

While the brunt of assessing McCarthyism and working out a specific program against it fell naturally on the American Trotskyists, who are face to face with the problem, Trotskyists throughout the world have taken a stand on the question.

Speaking for the orthodox majority of the Fourth International, the International Committee hailed the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party against McCarthyism, giving the American Trotskyists full moral and political support.

Trotskyist opinion in the colonial world is indicated by the stand taken by the editor of Samasamajist, English weekly of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International. Commenting on a speech by James P. Cannon at an anti-McCarthy rally of the Los Angeles Local of the SWP, which Samasamajist reprinted March 18, the editor declared: "The following speech . . . should give our readers a clear idea of the fascist menace in the U.S. spearheaded by Senator McCarthy. The SWP was the first party to warn the American people what McCarthyism really is. Its analysis of McCarthyism as the American form of fascism is based on sound Marxist reasoning, and is not the type of foolish abuse indulged in by Stalinists. The SWP is engaged in a nationwide campaign to rally the U.S. labor movement to resist this menace to its security."

In Latin America, Trotskyist opinion is eloquently expressed by the action of the Mexican magazine, Que Hacer, in translating and publishing the first anti-McCarthy pamphlet put out by the SWP. The editors of Que Hacer say in an accompanying note: "The struggle against McCarthyism, Yankee expression of fascism, has in the Socialist Workers Party of the United States one of its most combative sectors. Que Hacer begins publication in this issue of various documents and articles published by the party itself under the title: McCarthyism: American Fascism on the March!"

BUCKLE UNDER TEST

That should be sufficient to indicate the reaction of the world Trotskyist movement in the main to McCarthyism. However, it must be frankly acknowledged that a Minority have not measured up to this historic test. A current headed by Pablo, coming under the influence of alien ideologies such as Deutscherism and Stalinism, proved to have lost their Marxist reflexes when confronted with the living reality of the rise of a fascist movement in the United States.

Pablo himself, who is glib enough on almost any problem confronting the Trotskyist movement, no matter how obscure and complex it may be, has not written a single article on this burning question. The Pabloite attitude toward McCarthyism can be judged from the January-February issue of Quatrieme Internationale. In 72 pages of fine print not one article attempts to analyze McCarthyism or comment on it, not even an editorial.

Except for one phrase, McCarthyism could be said not to exist in the world viewed by Pablo and his chief lieutenants. The one phrase occurs in a note dealing with the United States that announces the split of Pablo's ideological American followers from the Socialist Workers Party. The first issues of their magazine, which the European Pabloites salute, are noted to contain "study-articles on the state and perspectives of the American workers movement, the danger of McCarthyism, the situation in the USSR, etc."

From this we may deduce that Pablo considers McCarthyism a "danger." But what kind of danger it is and what should be done about it, he neglects to inform us. We might also deduce that the American Pabloites devote one quarter of the space in their magazine to study-articles on the state and perspectives of the American workers movement, one quarter to the danger of McCarthyism, one quarter to the situation in the USSR, and one quarter to "etc."

But this deduction, unfortunately, does not check with the reality.

SILENCE AND CONFUSION

The first issue of the American Pabloite magazine carried an article by Geller on McCarthyism. The author proved incapable of distinguishing between the witch hunt in general and McCarthyism in particular.

He asked: "Is McCarthy a rising American Hitler? Is McCarthyism an American version of fascism?" But he failed to answer these not unimportant questions. He promised, "We intend to return to a discussion of this problem. . ." Then apparently he got interested in other matters and forgot about his promise.

The second issue ran an article by Clarke, "The Secret of McCarthy's Formula." But this theoretician did no better than Geller in letting us in on the secret of what Pablo thinks McCarthyism is and why.

The third issue overlooked McCarthy completely.

Calling attention to this spectacular loss of touch with the reality of American politics, in an article a month ago in the March 15 Militant, I held this to be evidence of political gangrene in Pabloite thinking about McCarthyism.

This apparently stung the American Pabloites, for in the following issue of their magazine they tried to demonstrate that a little gangrene in your thinking doesn't prevent you from turning out an article. This one is unsigned and therefore probably a joint product of editors Cochran, Clarke and Braverman.

"KAMPF"?

The title, "McCarthy's 'Kampf' — A Warning Signal," might lead one to expect that the editors had decided to accept the analysis of the Militant showing that McCarthy is an American Hitler. But not so fast . . . the editors are not yet ready to say that McCarthyism is an American form of fascism.

True, they call McCarthyism a "diabolical force," a "serpent," "forces of evil," and similar harsh epithets. Epithets, however, are not an acceptable substitute for Marxist determination of a phenomenon. In fact the epithets assembled by Cochran, Clarke and Braverman can be found in any bourgeois journal worried about the methods of the fascist senator.

They correctly recognize that the powerful eastern wing of the capitalist class are pressing toward a military-police dictatorship — the Militant has campaigned on this for a number of years, trying to arouse labor to the danger — and they recognize that "McCarthy does not fall into this category."

Precisely here, as we wait to hear what category this living reality does fall into, our three musketeers leap to the saddle and dash off in a cloud of dust.

WHAT IS IT TODAY?

If McCarthy should take over the Republican Party, they say, then the GOP would change and "could become the spearhead, when unemployment and mass unrest develop, of a broad fascist movement." But what is McCarthyism today? No answer.

Then, as if answering someone in their own ranks who thinks McCarthyism is American fascism, they talk about the "mass fascist movement" of the future which can be built only with "radical demagogy" and "storm troop riff-raff." **In other words, asked to analyze the present stage of American fascism and tell us what it is, they start talking about a future stage. This is a convenient way of debating, as every sophist knows, but it is not very helpful in determining the character of McCarthyism.**

So far as the living reality of events is concerned, they are thus some four years behind the times. They would do well to go back to the April 10, 1950, Militant, try to assimilate what it said about McCarthy, and then take another look at the present position of the fascist senator. This suggestion is intended simply as friendly advice on how to get a better appreciation of the little word, "difference."

Finally, just to make sure that no one took their use of the word "Kampf" as indicating that they differentiate McCarthy from other witch hunters and classify him as the current candidate for America's Hitler, they equate "McCarthyism, Brownellism, Deweyism." The machine politician who is governor of New York because of his strict GOP regularity, the hack lawyer appointed to Eisenhower's cabinet, and the Wisconsin senator who is organizing a nation-wide fascist movement and who represents a qualitatively new stage in the witch hunt, are all balanced between equal signs. Their own logic required that they should have at least added J. Edgar Hoover of the political police and Eisenhower, the brass hat candidate for military dictator.

To equate McCarthyism, Brownellism and Deweyism is sufficient in itself to reveal the absolute bankruptcy of the American Pabloites so far as method is concerned. They are incapable of differentiating. That at bottom is why they are unable to characterize McCarthyism and demand of the senator that he develop his social demagogy and put shirts on his followers and clubs in their hands before they will recognize him as head of an American fascist movement.

CHARACTER OF GROUPING

The oscillation of the American Pabloites between indifference to McCarthyism and confusion over the character of the movement is not without interest. It is a reflection of the character of the grouping.

As commentators they are under no necessity to take a responsible attitude toward political program affecting the action of the working class. In that they differ from a party which, because of its living links with the working class, must bear responsibility for what it says and does; and therefore is impelled toward serious analysis and serious proposals.

The American Pabloites could have published articles representing the conflicting points of view they have among themselves over the character of McCarthyism, without coming to any decision about which view represents the group's common opinion as determined by the majority. That would have been perfectly consistent with the character of an assortment of commentators and wiseacres.

What happened instead was a cancellation of the opposing views, first in the form of silence, then in the form of an article that equates to zero. This is perhaps rarer than the usual solution among such groups to such problems but it is nevertheless quite in character. It avoids responsibility.

And why did the American Pabloites act like commentators and not like a party? It is due to a change in their thinking, a loss of confidence in the role of the party. This was one of the main differences that led them to split from the Socialist Workers Party, as we said at the time.

The course of the American Pabloites enjoys of course the complete approval of the cult head. His prescription for American Trotskyists of "fusion with the genuine left tendencies that will develop in the future through various channels" by orienting toward the Stalinists and the Stalinist periphery in the U.S.A. meant the liquidation of the SWP. This was vigorously opposed by the majority of the party. When the minority split to carry out that line, their suicidal course was applauded by Pablo.

Thus one of the first big consequences of Pablo's efforts to break up the SWP as well as the sections of the Fourth International is failure to meet a great historic test, the acid test posed by McCarthyism. Faced with the menacing rise of American fascism, Pablo and his followers can only alternate between speechlessness and scribbling routine epithets.

World Events

By Paul Abbott

STALINIST BETRAYAL IN INDO-CHINA? When French Gen. Paul Ely recently told Pres. Eisenhower and the Joint Chiefs of Staff that there was "no hope of victory in Indo-China," at least with present forces at the disposal of French colonialism, the Eisenhower administration prepared to convert Indo-China into another Korea. As the well-known columnists, Joseph and Stewart Alsop, put it in their April 4 column, "Although neither Congress nor the country seems to realize it, America now stands publicly committed to united military action to win the Indo-Chinese war, if this becomes necessary."

Most of the reporters who relay to the public what comes over the State Department grapevine, say this means a decision to send American troops to Indo-China.

The Alsop brothers, however, suggest another possibility — another way of defeating the freedom-seeking Indo-Chinese people who now see victory over the hated French colonial despots within grasp.

They report that "At Berlin Secretary Dulles had several most significant private and informal talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov. Dulles took the opportunity of these talks to give Molotov a most solemn warning on the subject of Indo-China." The essence of the talks was that if necessary American troops would be sent to prevent a victory in Indo-China.

"A possible, indeed a probable result of these warnings," continue the Alsops, "has already been seen in Peking. In a deeply meaningful speech made some weeks ago, Chen Yun a member of the Chinese Politburo, hinted that it might be necessary to abandon the Indo-Chinese Communists to their fate in order to keep the peace in Asia."

The Alsops speculate: "In the light of this speech by Chen Yun, it seems possible that the great offensive against Dienbienphu was ordered by the Indo-Chinese Communists as a last, desperate effort to win the war before their friends betrayed them."

Viewing Dulles' move as calculated to assist those in the Stalinist bureaucracy who want to accede to the pressure of Wall Street, the Alsops continue: "If such a betrayal is being considered by the Red Chinese and Russians, the Dulles speech will make the case for it much stronger."

* * *

THE INDO-CHINESE PEOPLE ARE NOT THE ONLY VICTIMS Dulles seeks to lay on the altar of imperialist conquest. His speech March 29, which in effect committed the U.S. to sending troops to Indo-China without consulting either Congress or the people, was also designed to keep the French fighting in what has become known as the "dirty" war.

"The desire in France to 'bring the boys home' and to 'end the killing' exceeds that which developed in the United States during the Korean war," reports Joseph C. Harsch in the March 31 Christian Science Monitor.

The Navarre Plan, he said, projected successful conquest of Indo-China by 1955 on two conditions: (1) "that the Chinese Communists do not increase their flow of military supplies to the Indo-Chinese Communists; (2) that France itself be "willing and able" to fight another year.

Thus one of Dulles' diplomatic aims has been "to attempt to dissuade the French from accepting a too easy Chinese offer at Geneva" and keep on fighting while Washington underwrites the costs of the war and the Eisenhower administration attempts to soften up the American people on sending their boys to the battlefields in Indo-China.

* * *

THE FRENCH CAPITALISTS, frightened at the mounting pressure in France to end the war on Indo-China are seeking a face-saving deal with Moscow and Peking at the coming Geneva conference. According to Gordon Walker in the April 2 Christian Science Monitor, "It now is learned from most reliable sources directly concerned in the outcome that one of the measures is an attempt by the Laniel government to establish secret negotiations with Communist China."

The aim is "to offer Peking certain important concessions in northern Indo-China" in order to get "acceptable terms at Geneva." The French hope that the Chinese Stalinists "with a secret pledge of concessions" **"might even be willing to cut off aid to the Vietminh forces in favor of a return to the status quo."**

In addition a secret deal "might also present the United States with a fait accompli in the event that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, as the French now apparently believe, is planning to 'wreck' the Geneva talks."

It can be "presumed," says Walker, "that Premier Laniel decided upon a course of action designed to force the United States into recognizing the need for an immediate negotiated settlement in Indo-China when the conferees meet at Geneva."

* * *

WHILE EISENHOWER BRANDISHED THE H-BOMB at the Soviet bloc and Dulles committed the U.S. to plunging full scale into the French war of colonial conquest in Indo-China, the self-same GOP administration was taking steps at London that appeared at complete variance with these belligerent moves.

U.S. Foreign Operations Administrator Harold E. Stassen, British President of the Board of Trade Peter Thorneycroft, and French Undersecretary Maurice Schumann agreed to relax the ban on trade with the Soviet Union and its European satellites.

The decision to open the gates to trade fits in with the view that there will be no "immediate explosion in the cold war," writes Carlyle Morgan of the London News Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor. "The long pull calls for more emphasis on diplomacy and other methods of relaxing East-West tensions and somewhat less on purely military preparations against attack."

The three powers, while deciding to greatly shorten the list of goods whose shipment has been barred, agreed to keep the present bans on trade with New China and North Korea.

Thus, balancing H-Bomb threats with concessions in the cold war, the Eisenhower administration attempts to put maximum pressure on the Soviet bloc for the vilest counter-revolutionary aims not hesitating to risk precipitating World War III in the process. It demands outright betrayal of freedom struggles, such as the American people waged in 1776, and much more besides. And, unfortunately for the socialist and national liberation movements, the Stalinist bureaucracy can be depended on to go far in responding, as Wall Street's political representatives are well aware.

"Senator McCarthy is the greatest man in America," opined Texas oil baron H. R. McCullen, as he rejected out of hand a petition signed by 1,571 University of Texas students urging withdrawal of his invitation to be the fascist senator to be the principal speaker at a civic ceremony on April 21.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, APRIL 12, 1954 — NUMBER 15

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Two Views of Caracas

If you read only the daily newspaper accounts of the recent Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas, Venezuela, you received a very one-sided view of what happened. Most of them hailed as an important diplomatic victory the achievement of U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in getting the conference to adopt, with one negative vote (Guatemala's), a declaration that whenever it appeared that any one of the hemisphere nations was in danger of infiltration from "international communism" the rest would consider measures to prevent it.

If you read the American Negro press reports, you found a very different — and much more accurate — picture of what took place.

As one editor put it, "Dulles, using a clever mixture of innuendo and veiled threats, was able to secure a 17 to 1 vote in favor of the U.S. proposal . . . but it soon developed that the support he received from the 16 smaller nations was anything but enthusiastic. After the measure had passed, spokesmen from the supporting nations, almost to a man, got up on the conference floor to 'explain' their reasons for supporting the U.S. Many of them had refrained from supporting an all-out resolution against communism, and had been won over when Dulles initialled his proposal as referring to 'international communism', which he defined as 'that far-flung, clandestine political organization which is operated by the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union'."

But, as Louis Lautier, nationally syndicated Negro press columnist, observed, "the Latin American countries which joined with the United States to deal with the danger of Communism must look with distrust at their powerful neighbor to the North because of the United States' reservation to the resolution condemning racial discrimination and its abstention from voting on the resolution calling for complete elimination in the Americas of colonies under European sovereignty."

Henry F. Holland, U.S. Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, said the vote of the U.S. on the resolution against racial discrimination would have to be "limited" because its individual states had "competence" over "certain features" contained in the resolution.

When all reports are in, the plain, unvarnished truth of what happened at Caracas is that the ruling class of the United States told the Latin American countries that while they could expect intervention in their internal affairs if they take any action against capitalism, they should not think they can affect U.S. reactionary policies of support of Jim Crow and European colonial rule.

Our South American neighbors will be glad to know that they have millions of sympathizers and allies in the United States who do not support the imperialist and white supremacist policies of Wall Street's government.

Higher Learning

By Joyce Cowley

Miss Bernice Fitz-Gibbon, advertising director of Gimbel's, spoke at a workshop on employment problems for women liberal art graduates. The audience was made up of Deans of Women and placement office chiefs from more than a hundred colleges. Her advice in brief was that the college girl needs less shorthand and more sex appeal.

"Preoccupation with pulchritude on the part of the employer may not be noble and high-minded, but it is a fact," said Miss Fitz-Gibbon. "It's sex. You can't fight it. You might develop a few slogans to put over your more exciting products such as: 'Here's Holyoke's hottest — Handle with Asbestos Gloves' or 'Barnard graduates Have the Equipment' or 'Smith Girls are Girlier Girls'."

I'm beginning to feel a little confused about the purpose of higher education. I've never been in college myself, but I thought that girls went there to study languages, literature, mathematics and science. I was not aware that this would enhance their good looks. I know girls who never got through high school who have the equipment, too. In case you aren't properly endowed by nature, it would seem quicker and cheaper and more to the point to buy falsies than to spend four years at Wellesley or Smith.

With a true eye for merchandising, Miss Fitz-Gibbon continues by urging colleges to "package and promote their products" so their graduates can grab the "lush, posh" secretarial jobs. She urged them to stop sending college girls to "fusty, dusty" publishing houses and "musty" museums.

I don't know if Kate Hevner Mueller, associate professor at Indiana University, was influenced by Miss Fitz-Gibbon, but she has a similar approach to educational problems. Miss Mueller too spoke at a meeting of the Deans of Women, advocating a college course on women and for women to "emphasize their nature." It should be taught, she said by women with "Dior dresses, seductive voices and jaunty husbands." The instructor would be called a "feminologist" and would no doubt turn out the kind of products Miss Fitz-Gibbon admires.

If this trend continues, young girls will conclude that there's very little reason to go to college. Being a woman, if you're born one, requires only slight concentration and certainly not a degree in liberal arts. More than a hundred years ago women fought for the right to higher education which men claimed was too heavy a strain on the delicate nervous system of the female. Those pioneers who faced ridicule and scorn, who labored and sacrificed to establish the first colleges for women, would be startled to see them degenerating into employment agencies to place properly packaged graduates in lush jobs.

Incidentally, I've worked in offices a good many years and have never seen a job of the type Miss Fitz-Gibbon describes except on the television show "Private Secretary." Like thousands of other office workers, I type, take shorthand and do a day's work. This may be because I lack the proper equipment and wrappings, but it's more likely such jobs are a fantasy in the minds of an advertising executive, a feminologist and a TV producer.

Notes from the News

FACT STEALS INTO CAPITALIST PRESS. An April 2 AP dispatch, reporting an increase of Republic Steel plant facilities in Chicago, was inadvertently headlined in the N. Y. World-Telegram, "Republic Steal Expands."

* * *

FAILURE TO COMBAT ANTI-SEMITISM rising out of McCarthy's Fort Monmouth "spy-hunt" was charged against leading national Jewish organizations on April 4 by Harry Green, co-counsel for more than half the 42 victims of that witch-hunting expedition. All but three of those suspended without a shred of tangible evidence brought forward against them are Jewish. Speaking at an Asbury Park, N. J. Synagogue, Green declared: "We Jews are getting soft in our well-to-do manner of living. We are not going to have liberty as we now enjoy it unless we are willing to take a chance of getting hurt."

* * *

RACE-HATING GOV. BYRNES is complaining that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been "misrepresenting" his declaration of three years ago that "we will abandon the public school system," if the U.S. Supreme Court should ban segregation. The Governor says he never declared that he would do so "personally" and stresses the fact that his original statement said they would shut down the schools "reluctantly." The NAACP has rejected his charge against them as "puerile and lacking in substance."

* * *

UNION CONTESTS GE's McCARTHY-INSPIRED FIRINGS. Suit has been filed in United States District Court by the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers to bar General Electric from firing employees for refusal to answer frame-up questions before Congressional snooping committees such as McCarthy's. A number of GE workers have already been suspended or fired for their refusal to "cooperate" with McCarthy.

* * *

BALTIMORE DENTAL JIM CROW MAINTAINED. The Baltimore City Dental Society, an affiliate of the American Dental Assn. last month voted 100 to 70 to continue its exclusion of Negro dentists from membership in the organization. The action was in repudiation of an "appeal" by the head of the State's "Interracial Relations" commission. The commission head expressed disappointment at the rejection of the request, but said he considered the vote "encouraging."

* * *

CLEVELAND UNEMPLOYMENT HITS KOREAN VETS. Figures released March 23 by the Ohio State Employment Service reveal that 525 Korean vets in the Cleveland area had filed jobless pay claims in the previous week. In the same week of last year there were 78 such applications.

* * *

TAFT-HARTLEY CONVICTION. Ben Gold, president of the unaffiliated Fur and Leather Workers union, was convicted in a federal court on the charge of making "false statements" in filing a Taft-Hartley "non-communist affidavit." Gold had resigned his membership in the Communist Party prior to signing the oath so that the union would not be penalized under the law's reactionary provision. The government's case against Gold was reduced in essence to the charge that he "didn't really mean it" when he resigned. Gold now faces a maximum penalty of five years imprisonment and a $10,000 fine. His attorney, Vito Marcantonio, announced the verdict will be appealed.

* * *

PRAVDA, IZVESTIA and other Russian language periodicals have been removed from the library of the Army Language School in Monterey, Calif. Insisting that the removal was for a routine check, the school commandant denied the statement of a subordinate who told the press that orders had come from the Pentagon to get Communist publications out of sight "so we won't get another blast from McCarthy."

* * *

"CLOSE AND CONTINUING RELATIONSHIP" WITH FAMILY. Wm. J. Aulisio of Pontiac, Mich., a veteran of 9½ years in the Army, has appealed for Congressional aid in fighting his discharge from the service. The Army accused him of being a member of, or "closely affiliated" with the Communist Party back in 1940. They claim he signed a CP election petition and maintains a "close and continuing relationship" with his mother, father and brother, who, the Army says, are "reported to have been members of the Communist Party or closely affiliated therewith." The Army adds that it does not question Aulisio's loyalty. In appealing to his Congressman, Aulisio said, "I am helpless to try and combat the allegations."

SWP Stages Large Rally At U. of Cal.

BERKELEY, April 1—Yesterday's open-air meeting by the Socialist Workers Party at Berkeley's Sather Gate was the largest held in the last two years. The University of California student audience, ranging from 300 to a peak of 500, heard Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers Party speaker, outline a fighting program to stop the assaults on academic freedom.

Reviewing the record of the witch hunters spearheaded by McCarthy in stifling the free exchange of ideas, Roberts cited as a case in point the "contact" man system that has been established on the campus here.

Under this system an agent has been officially installed on the campus to check all "subversive activities" of the students and professors alike. Everyone on the campus is urged to turn over "information" on possible "subversives" to him for forwarding to "proper authorities."

One effect of this system of intimidation was pointed to by a student at the meeting who said, "The students here are very interested in discussions such as this, but they won't support a meeting other than a open-air one where it is more difficult to be 'tagged.'"

"STUDENTS FOR AMERICA"

The bulk of the audience was seriously interested in Roberts' views and a good number were sympathetic to them. But those most vociferous in the discussion and question period were the supporters of Students For America, an aggressive McCarthyite grouping that attended the meeting in full force. Their apparent strength on the campus flows in good part from the failure so far of the other campus organizations to take a firm stand against them.

The McCarthyites have challenged all other student organizations to debate them on the issue of "Communism in Government." So far all the organizations are still discussing acceptance of the challenge and none have as yet acted on it. If they are not vigorously opposed these "Junior G-Men" can only continue to appear to be a power on the campus.

The unusually spirited and successful Socialist Workers rally, where the alternative of fascism or socialism was posed in clear, hard-hitting fashion, was a splendid demonstration of how to fight the campus witch hunters effectively.

..."How Will You Bury Corpses?"

(Continued from page 1)

is carried out, an H-bomb attack on just 67 cities would result "conservatively" in 9,000,000 killed; 22,000,000 hospital cases.

"Just as a practical matter," Peterson asked, "how in hell are you going to bury 9,000,000 corpses?"

A PRACTICAL MATTER

But just as a practical matter how are you going to evacuate big cities — New York's 8,000,000 people, for instance — in time to get a safe distance from an H-bomb explosion — a minimum of 100 to 200 miles or more? How would you even know when a bomb was going to be dropped?

"Informed Congressional leaders conceded unhappily . . . that it will be nearly two years before they can guarantee even an hour's warning to coastal cities of a possible bomb attack." (Scripps-Howard, April 1) Yet the proposal for "evacuation of cities" is based, according to its author Peterson, on the assumption that "a reasonably healthy person can cover ten miles in two hours on his feet, particularly if incineration acts as an incentive."

How long is it since you've walked 10 miles in two hours? Have you tried it recently with a baby or two in your arms? Imagine what would happen if 8,000,000 people tried to rush out of New York City all at one time. Every street would be hopelessly blocked in a few minutes. Hundreds of thousands would be trampled to death. And how will they know they are not running towards the center of explosion? Besides, a bomb dropped in Philadelphia, 90 miles away, could set New York on fire.

You won't escape by running. You won't escape by ducking. You won't escape by praying. You'll escape only if the people take the bomb from the capitalists' hands.

Federal, Local Strikebreaking Forces an End to Dock Walkout

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, April 6 — Threatened by the federal government with wide punitive measures, its picket lines broken by the New York police and the American Federation of Labor, the International Longshoremen's Association called off its 29-day strike.

Protesting NLRB refusal to certify the unaffiliated International Longshoremen's Association as the bargaining agent for New York dockworkers, ILA members picket the White House. Some 1,100 longshoremen from New York and New Jersey took part in the 5-hour demonstration.

The strike committee was faced by the threat of the government to keep the ILA off the ballot in a forthcoming union representation election. Bitterly denouncing "the unprecedented and illegal threat by a government agency," the union leadership nevertheless could see no way out but to call the strike off.

Strikebreakers organized by the AFL and protected by the New York city police had continued to work during the strike and many rank and file longshoremen felt that these strikebreakers would replace them on the job. The gangster element in the ILA pushed for an end to the strike as they faced more legal indictments and fines.

The courts had whittled down the union's picket lines to 12 in Manhattan and New Jersey and 8 in Brooklyn. Four federal grand juries were busy preparing indictments, and current court action confronted the union with the possibility of over $1,000,000 in fines. The union, subsisting on loans from John L. Lewis' mine workers union, was in bad financial straits. The members could collect no unemployment insurance and were pressured by these agencies to return to the docks and **scab.**

Over 60 dockers who had been arrested during the strike and had their work permits suspended by the Waterfront Commission are left out in the cold. This state regimentation body has the final say on whether or not a man works on the dock. This latest action illustrates the union-busting power of the state hiring hall.

The AFL, working in collusion with Governor Dewey, helped put over this nefarious and hateful instrument that is now fastened upon the longshoremen. The ILA faces a new NLRB election. It had won the last election over the AFL; the setting aside of this election by the government precipitated the present struggle.

In the last stage of the strike Joseph Curran of the NMU and the leaders of the CIO Marine Engineers warned the shipowners of their sympathy for the ILA walkout. But this verbal and token support came so late and so weakly that its effect was virtually negligible. Should the AFL ever secure control over the New York waterfront the position of the CIO maritime unions will be a precarious one.

RESIST VICTIMIZATION, SPEEDUP AT M'CORMICK

CHICAGO, March 28 — Thirty-two workers at the McCormick Tractor Works have been suspended for two weeks for resisting a 29% speedup in production. The 32 — among the oldest workers of the company, and all in the key department 37 which completes the final assembly of tractors — were picked to test company plans for a general speedup. The resistance on the assembly line has sparked the most significant rise in union fighting spirit since the disastrous 1952 strike.

Local 101 of the independent FE-UE, smeared by the red-baiters as irresponsible left wingers, has maintained the loyalty of the workers despite company violation of the contract and public attacks by the Velde witch hunters. The company timed its speedup plans with the recent arrival in Chicago of the Velde Committee. Mobilizing its army of time-study men and supervisory stooges, the company moved in for the kill. Rumors were circulated that thousands on the unemployed list were waiting to be called, to replace those who resisted the speedup.

The union answered with a mass meeting to support the 32 suspended workers. The meeting last Sunday was the largest since the 1952 strike, with an attendance of over 900. It showed clearly that the workers understand the issues — a basic attack against their living standards, lay offs and a murderous speedup. The meeting voted unanimously to support the suspended assembly line workers, and called on all workers to contribute $1 a week to provide compensation for them.

It was a real "speak bitterness" meeting. Worker after worker took the floor to express pent-up grievances. One of the the highlights was the talk of a worker in the links department: "We are making 1200 links now. Our foreman has told us we are going to make 1400. I know one worker who tried to make 1400 — and he's dead. The company doctors called it heart failure, but all of us in the department know the real cause. Too many people at Tractor wait until they drop dead before they wake up. Then it's too late." Another worker, after reciting grievances in his department, concluded, "I told you the time would come when this hall would be full again."

The battle against the speedup continues around the key assembly line. The company has replaced the suspended workers with men from the long list of unemployed. These workers have been unemployed for a long time. Many have already drawn their maximum compensation, and were pressured into taking jobs on the assembly line. But slaves make unwilling workers. The box score last week showed 31 tractors produced by 105 men, each guarded by one foreman. According to the company's speedup schedule, 105 men should produce 46 tractors.

In the meantime, a state of siege exists at the Tractor Works. The union bulletin reports, "Yesterday, you couldn't tell Tractor Works from the county jail. Concealed long range cameras were set up at all entrances. Tape recorders were set up where they thought union leaders would talk. The guard house was issued live ammunition. Some 40 general foremen were transformed into company gunmen to surround the 38 confused men who were recalled in hopes they would speedup on the jobs of the suspended assembly workers."

The company's aim is evidently to precipitate a walkout, and then use the unemployed list and the witch-hunting Velde committee to smash the union. The McCormick struggle illustrates the pattern planned by Big Business all along the industrial front in this country.

At the Tractor Works, where a great proportion on the unemployed list are Negroes, the bosses also see an opportunity to divide the workers along racial lines. It is to the credit of the union that it fully understands the danger involved in this corporation-inspired scheme and is trying to combat it. A statement in the union bulletin, entitled "To the Men Who Went In From Those Who Didn't," reads as follows:

"We know about the brush-off you get at the factories. We've been through the big stall at the unemployment insurance office. We're dodging the landlord and losing our cars. Some wives have babies on the way. But all this wasn't caused by the union men and women at Tractor. The company, the big profiteering corporations who exploit our discrimination, caused it. Now they want to give us a crumb, two weeks' work, to kill jobs. To hell with it. Let's visit and talk . . . Issued by the hundreds of laid off Negro workers who didn't go in."

Ohio CIO Parley Maps Moves to Raise Jobless Pay

YOUNGSTOWN, April 5 — **The Employment Security Conference called by the Ohio CIO Council in Columbus last Saturday demonstrated the concern of union members over the economic storm sweeping through the industrial cities of this state. The auditorium of Central High School was jammed with a crowd of almost 3,000 local union officers and members.**

The conference was used as a rallying point for the new initiative petition proposal of the Ohio CIO. This plan calls for the labor movement to secure 109,000 signatures on a petition to increase the state's unemployment compensation to $50 a week and to eliminate some of the harshest disqualifying provisions of the law. If the Legislature refuse to act on the petiiton, the proposition will be put on the ballot in the next general election.

Both Jacob Clayman, state PAC chairman, and James Griffin, state CIO president, lashed the Ohio compensation law as one of the worst in the country. They showed that a family on relief receives a greater allowance than one forced to live on compensation.

In his plea for political action on the petition, Clayman said the labor movement controlled or influenced three million votes. It must have occurred to many present that with such power labor could elect its own state government.

CIO President Walter Reuther coupled an attack on the Republicans with what almost appeared as a damning analysis of U.S. capitalism for its failure to function in peacetime. He said that the only defense from the H-bomb is peace; that the war against "communism" can't be won with guns; and he struck several time at war and the costs of war.

The turnout at this conference seemed to impress Reuther that he cannot shrug off the recession any longer and that his "anti-communism" is not enough to satisfy workers concerned with the latest sinking spell of U.S. capitalism.

Although Reuther's speech was received enthusiastically, the workers left the conference still in the dark on how to take some immediate action against layoffs, speedup and inadequate income. The initiative campaign is at best a two-year proposition, and does not offer relief to workers who want to strike back NOW at wholesale firings and wage-slashing.

The banner under which the speakers sat had the slogan, "Unemployment is Un-American." The CIO members go farther — they think it is downright subversive.

The death sentence imposed on Wesley Wells, Negro prisoner at San Quentin, for throwing a cuspidor at a guard, has been commuted to life imprisonment. California's Governor Knight and the State Supreme Court reprieved Wells after a movement to save him began to attract widening support in the labor and liberal movement. The reprieve decision denies Wells the right to future parole application. When informed of the decision, Wells said, "I hope . . . my friends will continue to work for my freedom."

. . . Eisenhower Lies about H-Bomb

(Continued from page 1)

"about double that of the calculated estimate" — that is, it was four times as powerful as the first explosion, or 20 megatons.

According to Walter Lippmann in the April 1 N. Y. Herald Tribune, "The most recent of the Bikini bombs, had it fallen in the Irish Sea, would not only have caused a gigantic massacre but it would have come very near to destroying an organized social order in the British isles."

William H. Stringer, chief of the Washington News Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor, reported: "It is assumed by military planners here that one H-bomb on London could put Britain out of action militarily. One H-bomb on Paris could have almost as decisive military effect on France. One H-bomb could put the whole Ruhr Valley industrial complex out of action in Germany."

In short, just three bombs could finish off the three leading capitalist countries after the United States. How many such bombs would it take to reduce most of America to smoking heaps of radioactive dust, a landscape pockmarked with vast craters looking like the dead face of the moon? In an article, "Is the H-Bomb Going Wild?", the April 9 U.S. News and World Report tells us a few things about the latest model H-bombs that Eisenhower and Strauss are trying to keep from the general public.

Direct-blast damage "covers a larger area than anticipated," some 40 miles in all directions from "target zero," or a circular area 80 miles in diameter. A central area of 24 miles in diameter would be completely pulverized. But, continues this conservative report, "a wholly new hazard, that of 'secondary radiation,' extends the danger area far beyond the limits of the bomb blast."

This radiation, carried by the wind, can "cause casualties at least 175 miles from the explosion, possibly much farther." **The article notes that radioactive dust from the March 1 bomb blast has already drifted from the mid-Pacific to the United States "in measurable amounts. Radioactive snow has fallen in Montana and Wyoming . . ."**

This businessmen's magazine offers us the consolation that the bomb "cannot yet destroy the earth with one blast, or set off secondary reactions that could, but the trend seems to be in that direction." The theory is "widely held among scientists" that "radioactivity could be gradually raised to dangerous high levels by repeated H-bomb explosions" so as to poison "the earth's atmsophere."

Hardly was this statement off the press, than William L. Laurence reported in the April 7 N.Y. Times that it is "certain that the most dreaded weapon of all — the cobalt bomb — also can be successfully built." Such a bomb is designed to produce "a deadly radioactive cloud 320 times more powerful than radium." Laurence adds:

"This cloud can travel with the prevailing winds over distances of miles, destroying all life in its path. **The bomb could be exploded from a ship in the Pacific, for example, hundreds, even thousands, of miles from the coast and the cloud would travel with the winds toward the United States West Coast and the rest of the North American Continent."**

The U.S. cannot "win" an H-bomb war. If the U.S. had a thousands times more bombs than any other nation, that would not save us from total destruction. Norman Cousins, editor of the Saturday Review, observes in an article in the April 3 World-Telegram Magazine, that "only a relatively small number of hydrogen bombs . . . can produce wholesale devastation. The United States has no adequate defense against hydrogen or atomic attack . . . Because of the concentration of its population and industry, the U.S. carries a higher war hazard than any major nation in the world." Let some maniac in the White House — an ambitious general or a fascist political adventurer like McCarthy, say — order the H-bomb dropped in a "preventive" war, and we'd be obliterated.