Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII - No. 21 | 267 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MAY 24, 1954 | PRICE: 10 CENTS

Negro People Win Victory In School Fight

By George Breitman

The long fight against Jim Crow segregation in the public schools won an important legal and moral victory on May 17 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that such segregation is unconstitutional. But the fight is not yet finished or won.

The Court decided unanimously that the pernicious 58-year old "separate but equal" doctrine is unconstitutional when it is applied to public schools. This knocks out one of the props of the Jim Crow system. Its effect will be to strengthen the movement of the Negro people and their allies to get rid of other legal props and to increase their confidence in their ability to achieve the abolition of the Jim Crow system as a whole.

But saying that segregation is unconstitutional is not the same thing as effectively prohibiting it. The Court ruled that school segregation is illegal, but it put off any ruling on WHEN or HOW this illegal practice should be stopped. Some hard fights will have to be fought and some difficult obstacles will have to be cleared away before Jim Crow will actually be driven out of the schools.

The Court had the power to rule on May 17 that since segregation violates the Constitution, it should be discontinued at once. In that case children in the South would have been given the legal right to attend mixed schools at the beginning of the new term in the fall of 1954.

But the Court did not exercise this power. Instead, it refused altogether to make any ruling on the time when segregation should be ended or the method that should be used to end it — postponing these questions until next fall, when they will be put back on the court docket and argued all over again. Until new arguments are completed and a new Supreme Court decision is reached, the Southern die-hards are relieved of all responsibility for making any changes in the Jim Crow school setup, and are given an extended breathing spell in which to work out techniques for evading the Court's rulings.

One of the questions to be re-argued is: Should a decree be issued requiring that "Negro children should FORTHWITH be admitted to schools of their choice" or should the decree merely "permit an effective GRADUAL ADJUSTMENT . . . from existing segregated systems to a system not based on color distinctions"?

That is the question of WHEN. The question of HOW is even more important because it will help to determine whether or not the proposed anti-segregation decree will be effective and fool-proof in abolishing segregation in real life, and not merely on paper.

The Court also still has to decide what "specific issues" the decree should contain, and who should issue the decree — should it be issued by the Supreme Court itself, or should it be turned over to the lower courts in the South (which are more subject to the pressure of the Southern ruling class)?

This will give the Dixiecrats an opportunity to renew the argument that they have made all along — that the Supreme Court has no power to formulate a decree that would alter state laws, and that if Jim Crow schools are unconstitutional it is up to the state governments to alter their school systems so that they come within the law.

It is a foregone conclusion that there will be endless delay and evasion if the right to "interpret" and "enforce"

(Continued on page 4)

McCarthy Protects Fascist "Cells" in Government Depts.

Stalls Probe as GOP-Democrats Duck Fight, Play into His Hands

By the Editors

MAY 20 — Determined to protect his underground fascist cells which honeycomb the government, McCarthy succeeded in winning a one-week moratorium in the Army-McCarthy hearings at the very point when he and his lieutenants were scheduled to go on the witness stand.

It is possible, considering Eisenhower's strategy of appeasement, that the would-be American Hitler will even succeed in eluding the witness stand altogether. But even if he takes the stand, he doesn't face accusers who charge him with his real crime — his plot to worm his way to power and establish a fascist dictatorship in America.

How does McCarthy get away with it? The fact is that the Republican and Democratic leaders in Washington are too steeped in complicity with McCarthy, too bulldozed by his blackmail, and too addicted to political quackery, to understand that the cancer eating the capitalist government in America dooms them too.

But the liberals and the labor officials, together with the Stalinists, continue to look to the capitalist politicans for salvation. They alternate between extravagant hope and equally extravagant disillusionment.

First, when Eisenhower proclaimed his decision to "defend" the executive branch of government, May 18, the liberals hailed it as the latest "beginning of the end" for McCarthy — "firm stand" — "sign of aggressive Presidential leadership," etc.

Next, when Eisenhower's decision was gleefully seized by McCarthy's Committee to suspend the hearings for a week as a preliminary move to scuttling them completely, a great howl of anguish went up from the anti-McCarthy press. The urbane language of the editors of the New York Times gave way to what sounded almost like stridency in those staid columns: "incredible decision" . . . "plays directly into the hands of Senator McCarthy" . . . "stupid and harmful." And it scored Democrats as well as Republicans in its exasperation over the attempt to quash the hearings.

Next, after Eisenhower's press conference, May 19, when he said "much as I would like to see this thing settled" and "make no mistake: I am anxious to see it cease," the liberals went with joy because he also said, "let the chips fall where they may, let's get the facts out."

LIBERAL VIEW

The alternate moods of the liberals over the day-to-day ups and downs of the hearings flow from their inability to understand: (1) How to fight fascism. (2) How to mobilize the only force that can stop fascism — the organized working class.

Instead of seeing the struggle with McCarthyism as the struggle with the American form of fascism, they picture it — at this late date! — as a fight between the legislative branch of government and the executive.

But the fight is not that at all. The McCarthy-Army hearings revealed, even from the liberal standpoint, that it is a conflict between two types of executive authority — McCarthy's vs. Eisenhower's.

McCarthy's secret spy network functions under his executive authority. This fascist vermin boring within all government agencies, owe allegiance to their "fuehrer" who stands as a rival to the officially constituted executive authority. During the hearings McCarthy said "I receive information from people ten, fifteen, twenty times a day."

As far back as four years ago McCarthy was already constructing his secret apparatus of a government within a government.

On Feb. 9, 1950, on the day following his speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, McCarthy boasted in a radio interview at Salt Lake City: "I have many other sources of information . . .some of them right in the State Department."

Carey McWilliams in the Nation, May 22, traces the development of McCarthy's spy net over the last four years. He recalls, for example, that during McCarthy's investigation of the

(Continued on page 3)

Revive Moves to Send Troops to Indo-China

By Daniel Roberts

More hot wars, more Korea-like police actions, more sacrifices of American lives — this is the program of the Eisenhower administration as it confronts the rising revolutionary movement for national independence in Asia.

This is the meaning of the revival of the administration's plan to commit American troops in Indo-China. The new talk about sending ground forces to the jungle battlefields was revealed by Joseph and Stewart Alsop in their syndicated column of May 17.

"What is now under discussion," they state, "is no one-shot intervention, but full-scale, permanent intervention in the (Indo-Chinese) war. Furthermore, the discussion is anything but academic."

The Eisenhower administration may not succeed at this time in carrying out the plot because of the deep popular opposition to such a move. But what emerges clearly is that the imperialist aim of suppressing the colonial revolution in Indo-China and elsewhere has not been altered. Wall Street refuses to recognize the just claims and aspirations of the Indo-Chinese people. Instead, the Eisenhower administration continues to prepare for military action in an attempt to beat back the freedom-seeking Indo-Chinese.

The main strategy of the representatives of American imperialism is the creation of a South East Asian military alliance — deceptively named a "South Asian Defense Community." The purpose of this alliance is to create machinery for use against new colonial revolutions. The alliance would create a standing police force ready to move against any new "communist threat," which is how American imperialism designates any mass struggle of workers and peasants for their political and economic emancipation.

Ultimately, the aim of the projected alliance is to dragoon the working people of South Asia as well as of the United States and Western Europe into a war to reimpose imperialist domination in China, North Korea and Indo-China.

American imperialism has suffered a major defeat in Indo-China. The Vietminh-led revolution is moving forward from its great victory at Dien Bien Phu and is now surging into the vital Red River Delta — where the majority of the Indo-Chinese live.

Already one sizable portion of the Delta region is in the hands of the Vietminh and another portion, extending to the gates of Hanoi — major city of Indo-China, is formally held by the French during the day-time but held by the Vietminh forces at night.

In Hanoi, itself, a powerful underground army stands ready to move against the French at the first signal for battle.

It is this great organized power of the Indo-Chinese revolution (stemming from its overwhelming popularity with the Indo-

(Continued on page 3)

Plan New War Spending As Depression Answer

More war spending is to be Eisenhower's real answer to unemployment and depression, according to several leading Big Business magazines and newspapers. Thus, the Republican administration has the same basic program to solve capitalist economic crises as its Democratic predecessors, the Truman and Roosevelt administrations.

Washington's interest in Indo-China has more than the "defense of democracy" in mind. John G. Forrest, financial commentator of the N. Y. Times, wrote on May 16 that "our interest in a Southeast Asian alliance raises some conjecture as to the possibility of an upward revision in the defense budget. Requests now before Congress have been cut to about $30 billion, $5 billion less than the appropriation made last year.

"Any increase in spending would have a chain reaction on the domestic economy. Taxes and prices, in particular, would feel the impact."

The reference to taxes and prices is a reminder that greater spending for armaments and war preparations, or for actual war in Indo-China, would mean bigger taxes and a new inflationary spurt in prices that would give an across-the-board slash in living standards to the American workers.

The propaganda build-up for more military spending is being stepped up. Business Week and the weekly U.S. News and World Report almost simultaneously issued extensive and prominent reports emphasizing the fact, as the May 15 Business Week put it, that "defense spending may have to be boosted a long way."

UNEMPLOYMENT AND ARMS

Business Week says: "There is now a real possibility that Eisenhower . . . will order military spending stepped up" and that "an arms program . . . could quickly tip the scales back on the side of inflation."

Such an inflation, boosting prices and profits, is what the Administration has in mind to meet unemployment, a problem about which government economists "remain worried," says Business Week. **In fact, "the economists didn't like the 250,000 drop in factory employment (March 10 to April 10). They also point out that June will loose a flood of students into the labor market . . ."**

According to the May 21, U.S. News and World Report, "you can just about forget the idea of much more business recession." And why? "Arms build-up, quite probably, will now be forced."

U. S. News states quite candidly that war spending and war production is all that can keep the American capitalist system operating: "Cutback in arms is the main cause of the present recession." But the situation is not hopeless: "Outlook, if arms cuts end, will be for higher activity in 1955."

That outlook, spelled out, means "inflation, or at least a bias in that direction." It will also mean a "bias" in the direction of war and war casualties.

World Trotskyists Hail Victory At Dien Bien Phu

PARIS, France, May 11 — The International Committee of the Fourth International, speaking in behalf of the membership of the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, today saluted the victory won by the Indo-Chinese people over the troops of imperialism at Dien Bien Phu.

The victory at Dien Bien Phu, said the International Committee, "constitutes an historical event of the greatest importance, setting back the plans of aggression of American imperialism in Asia, as well as thwarting the treacherous maneuvers of the Kremlin, which seeks to strike a compromise with Washington at the expense of the Asiatic revolution."

The International Committee congratulated the French section of the Fourth International "for the indefatigable campaign which it is pursuing for the attainment of peace in Viet Nam, for the withdrawal of the French Expeditionary Corps, and the recognition of the Ho Chi Minh government."

The International Committee called for an intensification of the campaign "for the defense of the Chinese and Viet-Namese revolutions against imperialism, for the withdrawal of all imperialist troops from Viet Nam, Malaya, Burma, Formosa and Korea, for the right of the Asiatic peoples to dispose of themselves, and for the recognition of the governments of the Popular Republic of China and of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam."

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News

By Myra Tanner

Final week-end mobilizations in the Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign yielded excellent results and helped us increase the total points on the scoreboard this week by more than 50%.

In the last big push of the campaign St. Paul stepped into first place and wins the honor of being top branch in the country in our concentrated effort to sell anti-fascist literature. Youngstown and San Francisco took second and third place respectively.

St. Paul and Minneapolis, the twin cities of Minnesota, together succeeded in reaching 1,345 workers with the anti-McCarthy pamphlets alone in the two-month period of the campaign. This is a good beginning in the big job that must be done to warn the American workers of the fascist danger and to equip them with a program to fight it.

On May 15 the Twin Cities held a victory celebration in the Minnesota State Headquarters. Winifred Nelson, Campaign Director for St. Paul, in her report of this enthusiastic gathering, quotes Vincent Ray Dunne: **"This is the greatest literature campaign in the history of our Party; Minnesota has done its part."** And Minnesota's part is always an outstanding contribution to the success of a national campaign.

Ralph Martin, Campaign Director for Minneapolis gave the Twin Cities a complete breakdown of the total sales of literature and pointed out the importance of the work done so far. He stressed the need for still more work in the future in order to insure the annihilation of fascism. Comrade Martin explained to everyone present that both in quantity and quality of work done on literature in this brief campaign there has never been anything like it in our Party.

(Continued on page 2)

Highlights Of My Tour

By Murry Weiss

Ever since I joined the American Trotskyist movement in 1932, Minneapolis and St. Paul have had a special significance for me. For the revolutionary youth of that time, the names of Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund, C. R. Hedlund and later Farrell Dobbs, Harry De Boer and many others became legendary, especially after the heroic truck-driver strikes of 1934-36.

To us, the Minnesota SWP was an outstanding example of the fusing of advanced Marxist thought with the experience of powerful mass movements of American workers. It was proof to us that Marxism is in reality the most native "American doctrine" and that true American Marxists can find a road to the masses as militant and tested leaders of their day-to-day struggles.

It was therefore with excitement that I got off the train on my first visit to the Twin Cities during my national anti-McCarthy tour.

But what struck me most forcibly throughout my visit was the absence of any "resting on tradition" among our Minnesota comrades. Personally, I become depressed and uncomfortable among people who once performed great deeds but now preoccupy themselves reminiscing about the old days without tying in the lessons with current struggles. I found none of this among our Minnesota comrades. Pride in the great fighting record? Consciousness of the lessons assimilated? Yes. But no trace of self-satisfaction.

On the contrary. The comrades of the Twin Cities branches of the Socialist Workers Party impressed me as alert, eager for all new opportunities — a forward-looking group of revolu-

(Continued on page 2)

Quits Draft Board Over Court-Martial

Albert L. White resigned from the Perry County, Miss., draft board over the court-martial conviction of Cpl. Edward S. Dickenson on charges of aiding the Communists while a prisoner in North Korea. White charged: "The Army lied to him and if it will lie to one it will lie to another. The Army told Corporal Dickenson if he would give up communism and come back to the United States he would be given his freedom. Instead he gets ten years of hard labor and his citizenship taken away from him. I don't call that freedom."

McDonald Proposes United Labor Conference

Another top CIO official has proposed a conference of all unions to put pressure on the White House and Congress to take action on problems vitally affecting the American working people.

David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers, told the CIO's unemployment conference in Washington on May 12 that a call should be issued for a conference of the CIO, AFL, railroad brotherhoods and the United Mine Workers to put "maximum pressure on Congress and the Administration to carry out the purposes of the Full Employment Act of 1946."

Previously, Emil Rieve, president of the CIO Textile Workers Union, had expressed the view at the TWUA convention on May 5 that if certain proposed "neo-fascist" Taft-Hartley amendments were passed by Congress, "I would propose . . . to immediately call a conference of unions affiliated to the CIO, the AFL, and independents, and lay plans for drastic measures."

NO POSITIVE ACTION

Neither McDonald nor Rieve, whose unions represent a good third of the CIO membership, pressed at the CIO conference for any immediate positive action. CIO President Walter Reuther talked big as usual without coming forward with any plan to mobilize the labor movement of America for real action.

The CIO conference wound up ineffectually with hasty visits of the delegates to their various congressmen to complain about the unemployment situation. **But this is a poor substitute for the mass mobilization of millions of workers in meetings, demonstrations, marches, etc., to put real heat on the Big Business government.**

POLITICAL ACTION

Reuther's program of action summed up to an appeal for the workers to vote in November to retire "about three dozen reactionary politicians" from Congress — that is, to return reactionary Democrats in place of some of the reactionary Republicans now in Congress.

What's needed is a giant Congress of Labor, with rank-and-file representatives of all unions, to convene in Washington as quickly as possible to draft an economic and political program and to organize to put it through.

The first plank of this program should be the establishment of an independent labor party, based on the unions, to put real representatives of labor and the minorities in Congress in place of all the present members from both capitalist parties.

DAVID J. McDONALD

"For America" -- Or for M'Carthy?

By L. P. Wheeler

Is a third capitalist party headed by the fascist Senator from Wisconsin, Joseph R. McCarthy, coming into being? Widespread speculation on this possibility was provoked by the formation of the "For America" group in Chicago on May 7.

The new political organization was formed by a group of millionaires, right-wing Republicans, Southern Democrats and the hard core of the old isolationist, America First crowd around Col. Robert R. McCormick, ultranationalist publisher of the Chicago Tribune.

Hamilton Fish, a red-hunter of the thirties who blazed the witch-hunting trail McCarthy is following today, seems to be McCormick's key man in the new organization.

Robert W. Wood, former President of Sears Roebuck, was designated Co-chairman along with Clarence Manion. The list of sponsors and executive board members reads like a rogue's gallery of pro-McCarthy capitalists and politicians. Included are: Robert Harris, Texas oil and farm tycoon; Frank C. Rhathje, Chicago banker; Daniel F. Rice, Chicago broker; Eugene F. McDonald, Jr., President of the Zenith Radio Corp.; Chauncey McCormick, director of the International Harvester Corp.; and C. E. Tuttle, Baltimore investment broker.

The May 7 meeting which launched "For America" took place behind closed doors in the swank Chicago Club. A program was issued to the press. It is heavily weighted with social demagogic planks aimed at appealing for popular mass support. One of the publicists of "For America," Frank Hughes, wrote an article in the Chicago Tribune, March 5, outlining this program: "The most frequent complaint (of the people) is against internationalism—against foreign aid spending, high taxes, continued military conscription, the 'uneasy truce' in Korea, the unbalanced budget and 30 cents dollars, and the fact that Eisenhower Republicans are carrying on the same foreign policy that was voted out with Truman and Acheson in 1952."

McCARTHY APPROVES

Where does McCarthy stand in relation to this political set-up? He told newspaper reporters that he had advance knowledge of the formation of "For America." And he said the new organization is composed "of a good bunch of Americans from the names I've read."

But McCarthy hasn't become formally identified with the "For America" outfit and it isn't likely that he will, at least for the time being. According to the announcements of Hamilton Fish, "For America" will not function as a third party in the 1954 elections but will "fight within both parties" for candidates that support its program. This fits in with McCarthy's strategy for the elections.

McCarthy hasn't finished with his attempt to grab control of the Republican party machine. While his sharpening struggle with the administration was dramatically highlighted by the Army-McCarthy hearings, this struggle hasn't been definitively resolved. If the Republican high command decide to patch up the break with McCarthy to restore a "common front" for the '54 elections, they will be able to do so only by making substantial concessions to the fascist senator.

In that case the internal factional war between the fascist wing of the Republican party and the old-line machine will enter a new stage. The formation of "For America" could very well be intended to serve the McCarthy forces as a means of blackmail in internal party bargaining.

Hamilton Fish threatens that if the results of the "fighting within both parties" policy are not satisfactory "it could result in a new party" for 1956. This also fits into the strategy of the McCarthy machine. As the fascist faction carries on the fight within the Republican Party, it must hold in readiness the embryo formation of a new party machine.

The "For America" outfit has some glaring defects from the McCarthy viewpoint that may figure in the reason for his failure to become affiliated to it. It is obviously the political tool of a group of reactionary capitalists and bankers. No matter how much social demagogy it employs, this fact stands out like a big wart on the nose of this new "grass roots" organization.

But we are dealing with a stage of preliminary maneuvers and feelers and before the much talked of "realignment" takes new and definitive organizational form, a good deal of reshuffling can be expected.

"REALIGNMENT" TALK

It is a curious fact that the talk of "realignment" of American politics on the part of the fascist elements has a certain symmetry to the "realignment" talk of the liberals and labor officials. Frank Hughes in his March 5 Chicago Herald Tribune dreams of a new political alignment: "Perhaps a new party lineup which would place Communists, Socialists, internationalists and New Dealers in one easily identified camp, (concentration camp? — L.P.W.) leaving the other side of the field to their opponents."

McCarthy voiced the same idea in his recent Milwaukee interview: "I think it would be very healthy sometime to get a realignment of parties so there would be no extreme right or left wing in either the Republican or Democratic Parties."

The anti-McCarthy labor officials speak of the same kind of realignment (from their own point of view.) At the UAW-CIO convention in March, 1953, a Reuther-inspired resolution on political action said: "We must mobilize and unite all truly liberal forces to bring about a new realignment of political forces in America. Out of this there can come a clear demarcation between political parties standing for people and progress as opposed to a party representing property, privilege and profits."

The McCarthyites are working for a realignment either in the Republican Party or in a third party that will express most efficiently the labor-smashing plans of their fascist movement.

But what is Reuther working for? He and the other labor officials day dream about a coalition party of labor with the "true liberals." But what kind of a party would that be to put up against the political formation of the fascists? It would not be different from the present liberal wing of the Democratic Party plus a segment of the Republican Party.

In the reactionary camp, the capitalists would have a machine for the destruction of the labor movement. And at the opposite pole? There the capitalists would also be represented — with the paralyzing force of capitalist liberalism dominant — with its capitulations to McCarthy and its own reactionary assaults on labor demoralizing and draining the power of the anti-fascist camp.

What is imperatively required is a class realignment in American politics. That is, the working class must liberate itself once and for all from the debilitating grip of the capitalist political machines.

The answer to the shaping up of a fascist political machine is the creation of an independent Labor Party. Such a party would be able to deal smashing blows to the fascists; and, most important of all, such a Labor Party would be able to eradicate the economic and social conditions which breed fascism.

BOUND VOLUMES Available

1952 Militant $5.00
1950-51 F.I. $6.00

For orders and prices on previous years, address:

The Militant
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send $1.50 for six months subscription or $3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name .....

Street ..... Zone .....

City ..... State .....

☐ $1.50 Six months ☐ $3.00 Full year ☐ New ☐ Renewal

What Stops Peacetime Development of Atomic Energy

By Roy Brown

President Eisenhower's proposals on atomic energy made to the United Nations General Assembly last December are still on the international discussion agenda. They crop up periodically in the press.

Eisenhower made the usual threats against the Soviet Union, boasted of American atomic might — but figuratively held out the hand of international cooperation to the Soviet Union — if the latter should be willing — to turn the power of the atom to useful, non-destructive ends.

If Eisenhower really meant what he said, it would indeed represent a sharp turn in American policy. Eisenhower's stated aims were to reduce the world's destructive atomic stock piles, encourage world-wide investigation into peacetime use of atomic materials, and show that "the great powers of the earth, both of the East and of the West, are interested in human aspirations . . . rather than in building up armaments of war."

To these ends he proposed an international conference with the Soviet Union on atomic arms problems, and contributions by the U. S. and the USSR of atomic materials to an international agency (under the UN) which would develop atomic energy for peaceful, beneficial world use.

The Eisenhower administration even points to deeds to back up its claim to be ready to inaugurate the era of peaceful atomic power. Last October the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission loudly announced the impending construction, for the first time, of a full-scale plant for producing industrial power from atomic materials. The press gave wide publicity to this announcement.

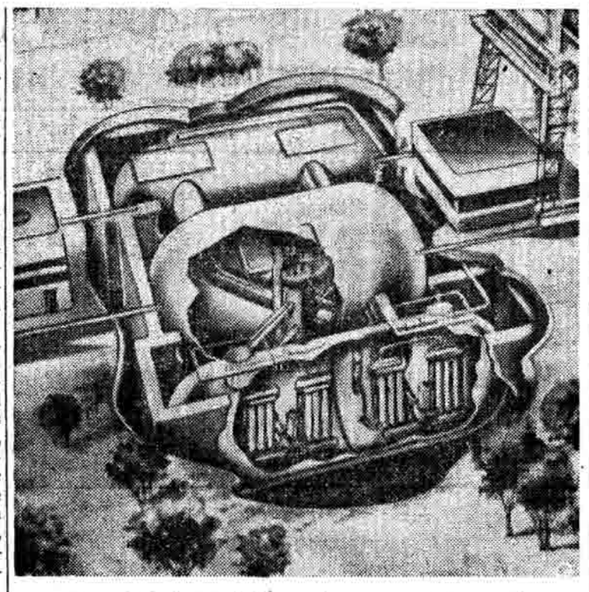
WHAT THE RECORD SHOWS

But is American capitalism ready to call a halt to the atomic-hydrogen-bomb race? Let us look at the record.

In August 1945, U.S. planes exploded atomic bombs over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, exposing to a shocked world a new power which could destroy lives on a mass scale.

In the almost nine years since then, billions of dollars have been spent by the U.S. government for atomic research and development. The overwhelming bulk of these expenditures has been for expansion of destructive uses of the atomic bomb. Bigger bombs, better bombs, smaller but more efficient bombs. In 1951, 16 test bombs were detonated by the United States.

Development work moved to the still more terrible hydrogen bomb. In November 1952, an island in the Pacific was annihilated by this latest fruit of American atomic research. And now a whole series of tests this spring have shocked the entire world with the perspective they reveal of total destruction should mankind be plunged into World War III.



An artist's sketch of the atomic reactor and heat exchanges to produce steam at the nation's first control station nuclear power plant, to be built at Shippingport, Pa., near Pittsburgh.

What has been done in America in this same period to develop the enormous potential of useful peacetime atomic power? Only driblets of token effort.

Scientists and engineers have known for many years that industrial power from atomic energy is feasible. For instance, the atomic plant producing plutonium for atomic bombs develops great quantities of heat in the atomic conversion furnace. In a program of rational utilization, the atomic "piles" would be operated primarily to generate this heat for useful power, to drive machinery, produce electricity, heat buildings — or at the very least, the piles would be made centers for study of means of utilizing this heat beneficially.

ENERGY WASTED

In the war program of American capitalism, the heat of the atomic "piles" is a useless by-product to be discarded. Over the years, the energy output of the plutonium works at Hanford, Wash., has been wasted by running the generated heat into the Columbia river.

But was this situation perhaps only an unfortunate, unplanned result of hasty construction during World War II? Not so. In the case of the recently constructed giant atomic plant on the Savannah river, engineers have pointed out that easy and relatively inexpensive provisions could have been made to utilize the abundant power produced, taking advantage of lessons learned from the older Hanford atomic pile.

Instead the Savannah plant ignores the atomic power ready at hand and wastefully discards the enormous quantities of heat, just as at Hanford. **At Savannah the atomic plant drains the power supply of the country of millions of kilowatts for its operation, while the plant itself produces and throws away millions of kilowatts of energy.**

This insane wastefulness is a consequence of the policy of the Atomic Energy Commission to concentrate on the production of atomic weapons, while deliberately pushing aside the development of peacetime atomic energy.

RESEARCH ABROAD

What is the situation in atomic power development in other countries?

England, though far smaller in industrial and technical resources than the United States, has advanced far more rapidly in the development of atomic power. At the experimental station in Harwell, atomic power has been used to heat buildings for over a year. England is already constructing one atomic power plant and is reported ready to start a second.

Even the smaller countries of Europe, too poor to support construction of atomic power plants, have combined to further atomic research for peaceful ends. A European pool for atomic research has been formed by England, France, West Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Italy, Switzerland, Greece, and Yugoslavia.

This pool utilizes research atomic reactors in England, France, Norway, and the Netherlands, and will also study reactors being constructed in Belgium and Sweden. Information and results are made available on a non-secret basis to all countries, including the United States and the Soviet Union.

Why now, after years of shameful lagging, do Eisenhower and the Atomic Energy Commission show sudden interest in peaceful industrial atomic power?

The answer is actually very simple. The Russian developments in the hydrogen bomb field have aroused fears on the part of American capitalism that the Soviet Union may be catching up in the international atomic competition. The proclaimed new concern of the Atomic Energy Commission for industrial atomic power is an integral part of the war preparations of American Big Business.

The new atomic power project (actually the renovation of an old, discarded project for an atomic-powered aircraft carrier) was announced by Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray in a speech in Chicago last October. The Wall Street Journal reported Murray's speech in part as follows:

"Mr. Murray tied in this new government atom power plant with the cold war as a race in peaceful atom development to keep ahead of Russia. He said if Russia should get ahead of us in this field it might have disastrous results because it might make people think that while we were preparing for war the Reds are preparing for peace, and second because it might so impress the world that countries might turn to Russia for technical know-how . . ."

Nothing could be plainer. Eisenhower talks about useful atomic power plants because of fear that the Soviet Union may gain the prestige of being the first to develop useful atomic power. The Soviet Union might thereby increase its attractiveness to the peoples of the world who fear atomic war, and simultaneously expose the American war-mongers' lack of interest in atomic energy except as a war weapon.

IN THEIR TRUE LIGHT

We can now see the Eisenhower proposals in their true light. They are only a cheap and hypocritical maneuver in the war preparations of American Big Business.

So long as the United States possessed, or believed it possessed, a monopoly on the atomic bomb and on the hydrogen bomb, no such idealistic aims were put forward. Only in the face of Soviet advances does the Eisenhower administration suddenly proclaim a concern for furthering peaceful atomic power in place of the arms race.

The Eisenhower proposals have two aims:

(1) They attempt to take the initiative away from the Soviet Union in propaganda on who will lead the world to peaceful atomic power. They attempt to cover up the hitherto brazenly open concentration of the U.S. on atomic war weapons, in the face of growing Soviet atomic technique.

(2) They propose an accumulation of atomic materials from the Soviet Union and the United States — at first small but undoubtedly to be expanded later — under a United Nations agency. This means control by the U.S. and its satellites, and would be the introduction of the finger and hand of American capitalism, under guise of international control, into Soviet atomic operations.

...Highlights of My Tour

(Continued from page 1)

tionists. They live for the future. They are busy with big projects and great perspectives. The few days I spent there were among the most enjoyable of my life.

As an old hand at branch organizing, I was delighted at the functioning of their organization. They conduct their affairs with the effortless ease of master craftsmen. Everything happens as it should happen, but the organizational wheels turn quietly, smoothly and with precision.

Behind the effective result lies painstaking planning and attention to detail. It is clear that the vast experience of our Minnesota comrades in the great strike struggles of the Thirties and in decades of party building has been put to excellent use.

I don't believe the meeting and social affair organized for me were any less carefully organized than a picket demonstration on a crucial day of a strike. And the meeting showed it.

The party hall was filled to capacity. Everything came off in the best style. The audience, which felt the atmosphere of a serious and well-organized movement the moment it entered the impressive Minneapolis headquarters, was extremely attentive and asked many interesting questions when I concluded my talk.

Then the evening continued in a social affair of relaxation and lively, informed discussion. The large crowd stayed on till the late hours. The branch comrades stayed still longer. Not, I confess, to discuss but to do some old-fashioned group singing around the refreshment bar. It was a memorable night.

SEATTLE NEXT

I left hospitable Minnesota with a feeling that the visit had been too short. But I had to be on my way. The next stop was Seattle. There I found the party in the midst of a fierce battle with McCarthyism in the trade unions. **The pattern was the same as in other parts of the country: collusion of management, right-wing union officials, company stooges and McCarthyites in frame-up attacks against militant unionists.**

It was clear that the Seattle militants were giving a good account of themselves in this struggle. After my meeting I talked to a group of these workers. I learned from them that the militant unionists in Seattle are on their toes preparing for the appearance of the Velde Committee. They are determined that the labor movement should give Velde's McCarthyite Committee a hot reception.

IN THE BAY AREA

In the San Francisco Bay Area I had a very busy and productive visit. During my short stay, I spoke at three meetings and to a number of smaller groups of workers and students. I also attended the NAACP Freedom Rally of 5,000 people in Oakland where Franklin H. Williams, West Coast Regional Director of the NAACP, made his red-baiting attack on the Militant.

The NAACP West Coast Regional office had issued a leaflet with its own version of the McCarthyite "subversive" list on it. The list included the Militant. This leaflet was distributed outside the meeting.

Nevertheless, our squad of Militant pluggers sold more than a hundred copies of the paper before the meeting started.

A young Negro worker, a GI, who had attended our San Francisco meeting the night before, decided to come along with us to the NAACP rally. Despite the red-baiting leaflet published by Williams, this worker joined in the sales effort and sold 17 copies of the Militant. I heard that he joined the party shortly thereafter.

LOS ANGELES ACTIVITIES

Los Angeles was of course a big home-coming occasion for me. I spent three full weeks there. In addition to the mass meeting at the Embassy Auditorium, followed by a house party the same night, a local membership meeting, and a banquet at the party headquarters the next week, I spoke at a youth meeting and a special meeting of trade unionists. On top of these official meetings I had numerous smaller meetings and appointments.

I warn the next comrade who goes on tour not to regard an extra long stay in Los Angeles as a rest after a hard journey. Of course they give you the feeling that you're having a wonderful time. It isn't until you are on the train that you realize they have slyly extracted your last ounce of energy. The devilish thing about the business is that they make you like it.

But seriously, I found the Los Angeles organization in splendid condition. It is beginning to recruit more rapidly and develop a new and larger circle of friends. They outdid themselves in working for a successful tour and as a result they conducted the largest meeting of the tour.

Now I'm back in New York at my desk in the Militant editorial office. I feel that the tour has given me a greater insight into what's happening in the American working class. I have the firm impression that we are on the eve of a great radical awakening. The tour has also taught me a lot about the Socialist Workers Party. And the better you know the SWP the more confident you become of the coming victory of the American workers.

NAACP Backs Kennedy in S. F.

SAN FRANCISCO — The local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has announced the "community" candidacy of Joseph Kennedy for Assemblyman for the 24th district in the June primaries. Kennedy has filed as a Democrat and has cross-filed on the Republican ticket.

This is an attempt by the official NAACP leadership to quiet the growing unrest among the Negro people in this period of increasing unemployment and the wide-spread witch hunt. There has been a loss of faith and a disillusionment among the Negro people in the local NAACP because of its failure to militantly push for jobs, housing and education.

JIM-CROW PARTY LABEL

The NAACP leaders seek to regain their prestige by putting up a Negro candidate, although he is running under the label of Jim Crow parties, Democrat and Republican. These leaders are supported by the Democratic liberals and the Stalinists, who rely on the present local NAACP leadership to corral the Negro vote for the old-line capitalist political machine.

The entry of the Negro community here into the 1954 election campaign points up the growing dissatisfaction with the lack of an effective program. **The fact that the NAACP leadership, churches and civic groups seek to channelize this sentiment into the Democratic Party shows they are afraid of a challenge to their leadership. The Kennedy candidacy is a defensive move of the "Talented Tenth" against mounting dissatisfaction within the Negro community.**

Kennedy, an attorney, is President of the Northern California Area NAACP, Financial Secretary of the NAACP local group here and Regional Chairman of the Fight for Freedom Campaign. His platform formulates the immediate needs and demands of the Negro people of this state. It calls for a state FEP law, state public works for the unemployed, higher unemployment compensation and wider coverage, more public schools and extension of adult education.

CONFERENCE PICKS HIM

He was selected as a candidate by a local NAACP-sponsored conference of delegates from a number of church, civic and fraternal organizations in the Fillmore district. This district is mainly a Negro, Chinese and working-class community. All the participating organizations agreed to back Kennedy.

If the leaders of the Negro community want to really further a program of total integration and equality, they would break with the old-line parties, which have records of nothing but betrayal of the Negro people. **They would have waited until after the primaries and then entered a genuinely independent candidate in the fall elections.**

WOULD STRENGTHEN HAND

Such an independent candidate and campaign would give the entire Negro community immeasurably more bargaining power in the state government. They could go to the powerful union movement for support for their demands. It would have strengthened the hand of the Negro community all along the line from local to federal governments in gaining relief for the unemployed and breaking down the barriers of segregation.

$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Allentown	$ 65	$ 75	115
Detroit	500	545	109
Buffalo	1,500	1,500	100
Newark	400	400	100
Youngstown	150	150	100
Philadelphia	400	392	91
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	998	83
Cleveland	250	205	82
New York	3,000	2,454	81
Boston	500	387	77
Chicago	1,500	1,134	76
Los Angeles	2,500	1,742	70
San Francisco	700	485	69
Pittsburgh	150	100	67
Milwaukee	250	141	56
St. Louis	75	30	40
Oakland	250	67	27
Akron	100	22	22
Seattle	250	35	14
General	260	133	51
Total through May 18	$14,000	$10,995	79

...Anti-McCarthy Campaign

(Continued from page 1)

"Our country is at the crossroads of world-shaking events and the Socialist Workers Party has shown that it is supremely qualified to deal with and guide the destinies of our nation."

Nick, of the San Francisco branch, has the highest individual score of 340 points. Jack, of St. Paul, came in second with 311 points and Steve in Los Angeles is third with 310 points. Congratulations go to these three comrades for their outstanding individual efforts in the campaign.

The three top branches in the sale of the Anti-McCarthy pamphlets are St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Milwaukee. Honors in the sale of America's Road to Socialism go to Minneapolis, Pittsburgh and St. Paul. And the winners in the sale of the Case of the Legless Veteran, the story of James Kutcher's long battle against the witch hunt are: Youngstown, Newark and San Francisco.

From the point of view of rounded participation in the campaign with all three items of literature, the Minneapolis branch was outstanding, having taken second place with anti-McCarthy pamphlets, first place with America's Road to Socialism and sixth place with the Kutcher book.

The anti-fascist literature campaign is now concluded. But, as Ralph Martin of Minneapolis pointed out, the job of selling this literature has just begun. Many more thousands of American workers must be reached with a full explanation of the fascist danger and armed with a program that will assure the victory against fascism in America.

The $14,000 Fund Drive has been extended until June 15. Many branches were grateful for the extension and hope to fulfill their quotas well before the new deadline. This week Youngstown joined the ranks of those branches with quotas paid 100%.

With a contribution to the Fund Drive from a friend in Minnesota came the warm-hearted greeting: **"Enclosed $1 is not much, but all I can do at present. May socialism win over madness in this troubled world. And may truth, justice and love prevail. Best of luck to the struggle. M.M."**

Anti-Fascist Literature Campaign

PLACE	CITY	POINTS
1	St. Paul	1115
2	Youngstown	289
3	San Francisco	718
4	Newark	708
5	Minneapolis	1370
6	Los Angeles	1601
7	New York	1595
8	Allentown	94
9	Milwaukee	222
10	Buffalo	393
11	Boston	268
12	Pittsburgh	71
13	Philadelphia	197
14	Chicago	423
15	Cleveland	70
16	Detroit	83
17	St. Louis	29
18	Oakland	47
19	Seattle	14
	Total	9,367

TWIN CITIES

Spring Picnic

Sun., May 30, 11 A.M. to 7 P.M.

PARKER'S POINT on the Minnesota river. (Go out to the end of Portland Ave., Minneapolis, then follow signs to the grounds.)

All day outing for all the family

Food - Refreshments - Games

(Consult committee on grounds about arrangements for the day.)

LEON TROTSKY

FASCISM — What it is — How to Fight It. 48 pages, price 15c.

A compilation of articles by Leon Trotsky on fascism, including:

1. The Tragedy of the German Proletariat
2. The Collapse of Bourgeois Democracy
3. The Perspective Ahead in the United States.

Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Subscription $3 per year: $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVIII - No. 21 Monday, May 24, 1954

Reuther's Attack on Local 659

For daring to criticize policies of Walter Reuther, United Automobile Workers President and CIO head, the Flint Chevrolet Local 659 has been placed in the hands of a dictator-receiver appointed by Reuther's International Executive Board. Fourteen members and officers of Local 659 — which has one of the proudest records of militancy in the UAW — have been placed under charges and will be given a hearing before a special trial board of the International Executive Board on May 25.

The charges against the 14 include "failing and refusing to conform" to the International Board's directives on matter published in the Searchlight, Local 659's hard-hitting newspaper. This is the real heart of Reuther's case, although a cooked-up charge of financial irregularity is thrown in as an extra smear.

Reuther and his lieutenants claim that the Searchlight's attacks on him contained "anti-union propaganda." We don't want to defend every line and word ever printed in the Searchlight, we haven't read it with a magnifying glass like Reuther has. But we have often been impressed by progressive, solidly pro-union proposals contained in the Searchlight.

Among these is its advocacy of the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, the most immediately effective answer the unions can raise to the growing problem of unemployment. Is it mere coincidence that a union local which has raised this slogan against the opposition of the Reuther machine has been selected for bureaucratic suppression?

We note that UAW Vice President John W. Livingston, who heads the UAW's General Motors department, has complained that the Searchlight had denounced the Reutherite executive board's review board on GM grievance procedure as "anti-union, unethical, unjust, inefficient, incapable, and [makes] the direct inference, if not the direct charge, that the board is in collusion with management."

Reuther's answer to these serious charges — which reflect an opinion held by a high percentage of GM workers — is to gag the union, remove its duly-elected officers, threaten them with trial and expulsion, and put the membership under a hand-picked dictator.

This anti-democratic action occurs, moreover in the midst of savage McCarthyite-type witch-hunt hearings being conducted in Flint and Detroit by the House Un-American Activities Committee. These hearings, run by Rep. Kit Clardy (R., Mich.), have been directed primarily at the auto union. Even Reuther and his executive officers had to admit, in an otherwise generally weasly statement, that these smear hearings "have denied citizens their democratic rights . . . have scorned the Bill of Rights."

Yet it is precisely the moment when the government witch-hunters are trying to weaken the UAW, turn member against member with slanders and red-baiting, that Reuther has chosen to move against Local 659. It is amidst the hysteria and lynch atmosphere created by the Clardy hearings and the incitements of the anti-labor daily press that Reuther has acted.

Obviously, Reuther has deliberately taken advantage of the anti-labor witch hunt to strengthen his personal machine and reactionary policies in the union. He is trying to silence those who are doing no more than exercise their elementary union democratic rights to criticize the leaders. The historic tradition of the UAW cries out against Reuther's action.

McCarthy's Social Demagogy

Fascism does not win a mass following by an appeal to anti-"communist" prejudice alone. This movement to save capitalism through brutal, open dictatorship and the violent destruction of organized labor resorts to the most flagrant social demagogy to win popular support. It promises all kinds of reforms and does not hesitate to issue the most radical-sounding programs.

It was not by accident that Hitler named his party the National Socialist Workers Party. Thus he appealed to the working class, as well as to the lower middle-class that formed his main base, and promised "socialism" while preparing to obliterate the parties that traditionally advanced the socialist idea.

Our characterization of McCarthyism as "American fascism on the march" has brought the query from a number of quarters, "If McCarthyism is fascism in its American form, where is McCarthy's social demagogy?"

It is true that McCarthy has leaned heavily, thus far in his drive for power, on the issue of "reds in government" and "20 years of treason." But this is by no means his exclusive theme and he has shown himself quite able to employ more positive themes in his social demagogy.

Thus, on May 8 in Athens, Wis., McCarthy spoke to a group of Wisconsin dairymen on problems of the farmers and dairymen. McCarthy arrived at the meeting hall four hours late, but his audience waited for him patiently. When he did speak, he waved aside the question of his dispute with the Army and "communists" in government.

Instead, McCarthy dwelt on what was of prime interest to his audience and told them that the farmers were entitled not to "75, 90 or 95 per cent of parity but 100 per cent of parity." He told his eager audience further that "one bankrupt farmer would put seven town or city dwellers on the breadline." And he added that the dust storms from the West "do not bother me as much as the dust storms from the East" caused by "very well meaning people who know nothing about farm problems." Then he put his characteristic finishing touch to this presentation by stating ominously: "We still have in the Agricultural Department hangovers from the Henry Wallace regime."

When it comes to a "radical" program for the farmers, McCarthy is ready to outdo Republicans and Democrats alike in his promises — "not 75, 90 or 95 per cent . . . but 100 per cent of parity." And he implies that the reason the farmers aren't getting this is "hangovers from the Henry Wallace regime," — that is, "reds in government" — whom he'll take care of as soon as he wields dictatorial power.

As the lower-income sections of society feel the increasing pinch of economic crisis, McCarthy will unfold more and more his social demagogy and reveal in this too his close kinship with the methods of Hitler.

The Union Leaders' "Grand Strategy"

The AFL and CIO leaders have worked out similar "grand strategies" for the coming fall elections. It's true their "grand strategy" of supporting pro-war, anti-labor Democrats against the pro-war, anti-labor Republicans did not work out so well in November 1952. But they think they have some of the wrinkles ironed out. They've now figured out, scientifically and mathematically, how to attain their political objectives with a minimum of time, energy, money and votes.

They propose to concentrate their campaigns and resources in districts where they claim the shift of a few thousand votes — based on the 1952 returns, of course — will elect enough Democrats to give the Democratic machine control of Congress next year. Through this device, according to CIO President Walter Reuther, it might be possible to retire "about three dozen reactionary politicians" and tip the balance of power in Congress toward the Democrats.

The AFL leaders, for their part, frankly admit that their political action program has never been able to arouse enough enthusiasm among the AFL's 10-million members to raise more than $600,000 in contributions for political activities. The AFL tops have decided, however, not to advance the kind of political program which will evoke financial sacrifice from the ranks, but to campaign in just a few areas where the vote has been close in the most recent elections.

Let us assume that these political slide-rule calculators prove right in November. Suppose they replace a few Republicans with a few Democrats and give the Democrats a majority in Congress? In what way will the workers be better off? Every single piece of basic anti-labor legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act, every defeat of FEPC and the anti-poll tax measures, every witch hunt law like the McCarran-Kilgore concentration camp act was engineered with the vote of a majority of Democrats. The whole tide of reaction that swept in the Republicans was originally set in motion under Democratic regimes.

This slick scheme of the union bureaucrats to put the Democrats back in power "on the cheap," even if it works, will only arouse false hopes in the workers, the working farmers and Negro people. It will delay the absolutely indispensable program for the building of labor's own party. It will keep the working people — who represent the overwhelming majority of the population — without one single genuine voice to speak for them in Congress. It will encourage the forces of capitalist reaction to push ever harder for laws and government decrees and actions to cripple and smash the labor movement.

Just as the Democrats themselves paved the way for the Republican victory in 1952, so they would help pave the road for McCarthyite fascism if labor again entrusts them with America's future. To fight the fascist menace, labor must forge its own powerful political weapon, an independent Labor Party.

Can Capitalist Forces Destroy McCarthy?

By Murry Weiss

The policy of the labor officials and liberals can never defeat American fascism. The same holds for the Democratic liberals. And likewise for the policy of the Stalinists which is only the policy of liberalism synchronized with the needs of Kremlin diplomacy. The main weakness of the policy of all these "anti-McCarthyites" is its lack of realism.

The record shows that the policy advocated or being followed today by typical bureaucrats of the American labor movement led to disaster each and every time it faced the rise of a fascist movement in Europe. The record is uniform and unbroken — Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain — ignominious collapse, betrayal, rout and demoralization; in a word, defeat.

Ironically, it is always the claim of the Social Democratic, liberal and Stalinist organizers of defeats that they are the most "realistic" and "practical" in the fight against fascism.

But what kind of "realism" is it that can offer nothing but an unbroken record of defeats?

The labor officials are quite sincere in their claims to "realism." They figure that their success in becoming powerful labor officials proves that they are practical, hard-headed operators. But the qualities that enable a caste to rise to bureaucratic eminence have nothing to do with the qualities that are required to lead the fight against a fascist menace.

To become a labor bureaucrat it is above all necessary to know how to suppress independent rank and file movements of the workers. To lead a struggle against fascism, opposite qualities are required — the ability to arouse the initiative, self-reliance, spirit of self-sacrifice and militancy of the working masses.

DOMINANT FACT

In this epoch, realism requires first of all recognition that the struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is the dominant fact of our times. When this class struggle reaches such an acute stage that the continued rule of capitalism along the old lines is impossible, then the issue is posed: either the workers will overthrow capitalism or the capitalists will crush the workers with fascism.

But the capitalist-minded labor bureaucrat is incapable of adopting this realistic standpoint. The bureaucrat cannot believe that time has run out on the policy of class collaboration. He feels that since he has gotten by without a class struggle policy for so long he will be able to muddle through this crisis like all the others.

The labor bureaucrats in America don't bother about making a theory out of this. They leave that difficult problem to others. There is a large and variegated assortment of intellectuals who serve as "brain trust" for the bureaucracy. The little group of Social Democrats around the New Leader, the ADA liberals and the Stalinists offer their services. Far down the line stand the Shachtmanites, and now a new little group of "thinkers" has joined up as "ideologists" for the American labor bureaucracy — the American followers of Pablo who call themselves the Socialist Union.

This group broke with the Socialist Workers Party last November. While they were a faction of the SWP they boasted of their realism and capacity to see reality. It was clear to us then that they were not talking about Marxist realism. Their subsequent stand on McCarthyism has confirmed our estimate.

CURIOUS VACUUM

On this key question, where the test is an acid one, they have demonstrated a curious vacuum in thinking which obviously represents a transition from the realism of Marxism to the "realism" of the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists.

For five months they bungled and fumbled trying to formulate some position. They alternated between silence and mushmouthed statements which could be read any number of ways except the Marxist way.

Now in the fifth issue of their magazine, the American Socialist, they try to get off to a fresh start by opening a discussion on McCarthyism. On a page entitled "Opinions," two views are published, one by D. S. and the other by "one of the editors" H. B.

D.S., who is identified as a "graduate student," congratulates the editors for their "caution" on the subject of McCarthyism. He says, "such caution is just about unique in radical and liberal circles these days, but that doesn't make it wrong or embarrassing in my opinion." D.S. apparently believes caution is a close cousin of realism even if it expresses itself by an inability to arrive at any conception of the most important political phenomenon in the United States.

Having assured the editors that it is neither wrong nor embarrassing to be cautious, D. S. throws caution to the winds: **"Under present conditions, it would be incorrect for us to insist that only labor can halt McCarthy. It is true that fascism —once the main capitalist forces are behind it — can be stopped only by labor. But McCarthy himself, as of now, can be halted, even destroyed, by capitalist forces."**

"AS OF NOW"

One thing is clear in this passage. "As of now" D. S. has adopted the same position on McCarthyism as the liberals, labor officials and Stalinists. The logic of this position is that we should not only stop insisting "that only labor can halt McCarthy" but that we should get behind the "capitalist forces" that can destroy McCarthy, and help them do the job.

This position is the logical consequence of the claim that McCarthyism is not fascism. By lumping together the distinctive fascist movement with the "old line" capitalist political machines, D. S. walks into the trap of supporting liberal capitalism and the labor bureaucracy's policy.

D.S. says, "it is true that fascism — once the main capitalist forces are behind it — can be halted only by labor." We are offered this innocent-sounding phrase as a statement of the fundamental position of Marxists on the fight against fascism. In reality this phrase boils down to its essence the whole policy of the labor bureaucrats, liberals and Stalinists. What does D. S. say? He says that the capitalists can stop fascism before they decide to get behind it.

This is a terrible fallacy.

The fascists begin, as McCarthy is beginning, without any substantial support in the ruling group of capitalists. Given the default of the working class in resolving the social crisis, the fascists develop their movement step by step to the point where they convince the "main forces" of capitalism that they offer the only way out for them. Such a moment is already an extremely advanced situation implying the successive failure of the working class to solve the crisis by socialist revolution. The fascists have already mobilized a mass movement of millions.

AND THEN?

The hackneyed formula voiced by D.S. would turn the working class towards support of the capitalist "destroyers" of McCarthy — until the eleventh hour. And then? Then it may be too late. The whole problem of fighting American fascism is to prevent it from becoming so powerful as to command the support of the "main forces" of capitalism. Our problem is to crush McCarthy and his movement now, while it is still in the incipient stage, before it has crystalized and gained an organized movement of millions backed by the decisive sections of monopoly capitalism.

But how can we stop McCarthy now? The only way is to bring to bear the independent power of labor. And this independent power must be mobilized around the program of workers' power. That is the only way to prevent a repetition of the tragedy of the German working class here in the United States.

But perhaps D.S. is speaking only for himself. Not at all. The companion article in the same issue of the magazine by editor H. B. underwrites and underscores every basic point in the article by D.S. In addition, H.B. spells out a "realistic" program of action against McCarthyism which leaves no doubt as to its identity with the program of the labor bureaucrats.

H.B. admits that McCarthyism is a danger — but not as a fascist movement: "The events of the past few months testify to the almost unanimous rejection of the capitalist rulers of McCarthy as fascist, although he is still almost unanimously accepted as spearhead of the police state." (Emphasis in original.)

Starting with this estimate of the capitalists' views, H.B. grants them the power to decide how and when McCarthy is to be used. According to him they can turn McCarthy on and off like a faucet. If only Eisenhower, Stevens and Brownell could believe H.B. they would be relieved of much of their problems.

Of course the capitalists would like to utilize McCarthy to develop their police state without handing over the power to his fascist movement. But it is precisely the events of the last few months that have demonstrated they cannot have their wish. The McCarthyites have shown that they have an independent fascist political machine. **They have a movement, which no matter what ups and downs or reverses it suffers, will finally be disposed of only by the working class.**

The German capitalists would have liked to use Hitler to establish a firm police dictatorship without relinquishing power to him as a fascist. But the more they played with this scheme the more powerful the independent fascist movement of Hitlerism became. The leadership of the German working class participated in this game and left the road to Hitler's victory wide open.

The reason H.B. gives for adopting the line of the "peoples fronters" is highly instructive. He says, "Fascism can be defeated only by great class struggles which assume advanced form." (H.B. is too "realistic" to talk of class struggles assuming the form of a workers' struggle for power. — M.W.) "But the present situation is not one of mass radicalization, nor class-against-class deadlock, nor advanced social crisis." (Now H.B. reveals himself to be a master-realist.) "To wait around for such struggles, or to exhort labor to initiate such struggles, means to wait and demand forms of combat which will not be forthcoming right now. The present mode of combat is more pedestrian."

Thus we have H.B.'s tight little schema all wrapped up in a neat package and labeled "realism." In the first place the fascists are conveniently "contained" by the old-line political machines. We are assured first that there is no danger of "a fascist movement in the shirted-racist-demagogic form." In the second place, the conditions for defeating fascism are not present, so what shall we do? H. B. doesn't propose to "wait around" or "exhort labor." He is too much of a realist.

H.B. is scornful of those who "have the outlandish view that the radicalization in the U.S. is so great or so imminent that the ruling class has accepted fascism and the situation which lies immediately ahead is one of final combat between fascism and socialism."

PEDESTRIANISM

H.B. obviously wants to cover his "pedestrian" program with an attack on the program of the Socialist Workers Party. For the sake of convenience he distorts grotesquely our analysis.

We have never said that the capitalists have "accepted fascism." We say that the American capitalists are fascist-minded in the sense that they are determined to smash the labor movement. But for the capitalists to swing behind McCarthy and stake all on his drive to power, the McCarthyites will have to muster considerably more power than they have at this time.

What does H.B. counterpose to our formula of fascism or socialism? His "realistic," "pedestrian" proposals turn out to be the same as the program of the "progressive" labor bureaucrats. He counterposes to the perspective of struggle for workers power as the only means of preventing the mass growth of the fascist movement — a labor party.

In this way H.B. shows that he understands neither the struggle against fascism nor the struggle for a labor party. A labor party would be a gigantic step forward in the fight against fascism precisely because it would open the road to rearming the American labor movement with the program of socialist revolution and with the consciousness that the realistic alternatives are workers power or fascist power.

H.B.'s kind of labor party would be worthless in stopping McCarthyism just as the independent political parties of the European workers were worthless in the struggle against fascism because they failed to see the fight as decisive; that is, as a fight between fascism or socialism.

WHAT IS REQUIRED

H.B., like the Stalinists, is blinded by the fact that the program of socialist revolution is not accepted by the American workers today. But the problem is how to change the fact into its opposite. For this, objective forces working in the experience of the masses are required. And in addition — the tenacious efforts of the revolutionary party. Here is exactly where the magazine of "realistic thinkers" enters the path of treachery to the working class.

They have abandoned the struggle for a revolutionary party. That is to say they have abandoned the only truly realistic way of fighting for the survival of the working class against the fascist menace. Thus without even allowing a decent interval to elapse since they split from the SWP, they have launched their effort to enter the ranks of those who do the "thinking" — and apologizing — for the labor bureaucracy.

...Moves to Send Troops Revived

(Continued from page 1)

Chinese people) plus the opposition of the mass of the people in France, England and the United States to imperialist intervention against the movement that forced the Eisenhower administration to back down three weeks ago from its intention of immediately committing American troops.

The set-back to imperialism is so staggering that Secretary of State Dulles even went so far as to intimate that the Eisenhower administration had written off the possibility of rescuing the French in Indo-China.

But despite this enormous setback, the war drive of American imperialism against the national liberation struggle in Asia continues unabated, simply falling back to new lines from which to again move forward when the time is deemed ripe.

That is why the American people must keep raising the demand: No American troops to Indo-China! Withdraw the troops from Korea! Allow the Asian people to determine their own fate!

Scene of Indo-Chinese Victory

This desolate battle scene confronted Vietminh independence troops as they captured the French-held fortifications at Dien Bien Phu in northern Indo-China. The French invaders, fighting a losing war against the revolutionary Indo-Chinese people, set up the Dien Bien Phu fortifications with the idea of luring the Vietminh forces into a massed frontal attack and destroying them with overwhelming fire power, including American war planes and napalm bombs. The power of the revolution defeated the French "operation killer" scheme.

...Protects Fascist "Cells"

(Continued from page 1)

Voice of America, the New York Journal American, a Hearst newspaper, referred to an "underground cell" which consisted of some 75 "patriotic employees" who called themselves "the vigilantes" and declared they stood ready to "tell the FBI or Congress that left-wingers and pro-reds had taken over many key jobs in the agency." Seventy-five McCarthyite operatives in one small government agency!

This is part of the sinister development that confronts Eisenhower's administration, and not the "encroachments" of the legislative branch of government.

The rotted structure of the capitalist state is infested with fascist termites.

PROMISE TO RESUME

Sen. Mundt has promised to resume the hearings. Can we expect that this time, after a week's mulling over the bad publicity the Republican party has received and the black eyes that have been given Eisenhower, McCarthy will finally be trapped and destroyed by the committee which he dominates? By a committee operating on McCarthy's "ground rules"? Without the real charges against McCarthy even voiced?

The Army is represented by the milk-sop known as Sec. Stevens. He is the face of the administration. He goes limp and does not dare to charge anything more than the ten-cent fact that McCarthy's aides sought special favors for Pvt. Schine.

The fact that McCarthy is seeking to infiltrate the military caste and bring it under his political domination for the purposes of establishing a fascist dictatorship in America isn't even whispered.

And on the committee sit three wooden figure-heads of the Democratic Party. All of them voted Feb. 2 for the $214,000 that McCarthy demanded from the Senate to continue operations. Do the Democrats McClellan, Jackson and Symington take the opportunity to answer McCarthy's frame-up charge that their party while in power committed high treason for twenty years? Not at all. And yet the "twenty years of treason" charge is the heart of McCarthy's current demagogy. It is copied right out of Hitler's Mein Kampf. **It is the program around which McCarthy is now assembling army officers, FBI agents, and a vast army of federal, state and local officials and police to his banner.**

FASCIST "POPULARITY"

Under these conditions what can be expected from the hearings at best except a stalemate?

There is much talk about McCarthy's decline in popularity as a result of the hearings. Two important factors must be borne in mind:

(1) Fascism does not win by persuasion or "popularity" in the old sense. Beginning with a fanatical band of followers, it bludgeons its way to power. At first the fantastic lies and bullying provoke wide revulsion. But as the social crisis deepens, and the liberal and labor official opponents fumble and bungle and offer nothing but the worn-out record about "it can't happen here," the fascists begin to impress the middle-class masses with their invincibility.

It is this that creates the real "popularity" of the fascists — their unobstructed successes in the battle with the demoralized old political machines of capitalism and the labor bureaucracy. These successes begin to create the illusion among the frustrated and disoriented middle class, and even sections of the working class, as well as the mass of government officials, that for all its foul methods, the fascist movement is the real power and will "get something done." This illusion is fostered by the lavish demagogy the fascists use when the right moment comes.

Isn't it clear already that McCarthy's following are not impressed by his "veracity" but really don't care? What they are impressed with is his brutal drive — the audacity of his lies — his dynamism and "invincibility."

TOUGHENED BY BATTLE

(2) The fascist forces, both in the government and among the masses, have become consolidated and toughened over what they view as McCarthy's "ordeal." Under fire, they feel that their "leader" is taking them through their first major battle. The underground cells feel that the "leader" let them down. They feel drawn closer to him.

On the other side, the anti-McCarthy sentiment, which is undoubtedly much larger than the pro-McCarthy, has no organizing center to focus upon. To the extent that it looks to the Democrats and the Eisenhower Republicans, it feels systematically let down and even deceived. This mood can change to skepticism and from that to cynicism and apathy.

The burning need of the hour is to create an organizing center for the anti-fascist forces. It is imperative that this center be completely independent from the treacherous leadership of the liberals. The main feature of such a viable center of struggle against the fascist danger must be the mobilization of the working class.

A council of the labor movement to assess the fascist danger and take measures against it is most urgent. The fatal current policy of the labor officials must be discarded. Every hour of delay is an hour of free preparation time for the fascists.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, MAY 24, 1954 — NUMBER 21

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

In Reply to a Reader

[Note: This writer has received an unusual letter — five pages, typed single-spaced, attacking this column in particular and The Militant in general for our support of the Negro struggle for equality and justice. While it is obvious from the letter itself that its author is extremely prejudiced against Negroes, and his thinking is by no means typical of the readers of this paper, I think it may prove worthwhile to answer him in this column. His letter contains a type of confusion that unfortunately is all too common among many white workers. I know I have had to deal with it where I work, and I am sure many of you also have faced this problem. Your comments on the discussion will be welcomed.]

* * *

Dear Mr. S.:

In concluding your lengthy and, I believe, serious letter of April 28, you attempted to anticipate my response with the following:

"Naturally in your reply to my letter — if you have the courage to reply, that is — you will SMEAR me by calling me a racialist, a Fascist and a McCarthyite. You *will not* consider any of the proven facts which I have included in my letter, but you will go off half-cocked, shouting vile names towards me because I said something unfavorable about your 'sacred cow' — the Negro. You, doubtlessly, will use GUILT BY ASSOCIATION, comparing me to a Hitler or a Coughlin. I will be VILIFIED as a paid or misguided capitalist lackey. (Maybe you Marxists are the misguided — poor malcontents that you are.) While it might be very nice to be a paid agent of the Capitalists, I am of a working man's family and was up to the time of the accident a worker — and am now much poorer. Therefore I think I am on solid ground when I say that racially prejudiced, murderous and drunken members of a minority group who go about attacking, murdering and near-killing others are very definitely violating our civil rights."

First, Mr. S., let me assure you that I shall ignore your vilification and slanderous attack on us since we have neither the space, the time nor the inclination to reply on that level. I am more concerned with understanding — and helping you understand, if at all possible — why you think as you do, and where you are in error.

Toward that end I propose to deal (1) with your notion that we consider the Negro a "sacred cow," (2) your "proven facts" which you cite as evidence that Negroes violate "the civil rights of Caucasians," (3) the related "problems" which you cite to refute the Marxist approach to the Negro question and (4) your questions as to what a socialist United States would be like if our program is successful.

On the first point — if, as you say, you have been reading the Militant for many months you should have learned that we have *no* "sacred cows." In my column, as well as other articles in this paper, you must have read many criticisms of actions, policies, and perspectives with which we disagree — whether by Negro leaders or organizations, labor groups, the government, so-called radical groups, politicians, or anyone else.

As for Negroes, we do not generalize about them as a superior group any more than we accept the generalizations of those who consider them inferior. We consider them human beings, no better and no worse than any others.

What we do generalize, and here we base ourselves on "proven facts," not sentiment or prejudice, is the fact that they are unjustly discriminated against in our society. As a group — with individual exceptions, it is true — they do not enjoy equal rights and opportunities with the rest of the population.

The Negro struggle is for equal rights and opportunities, and that is what we support — not every act of every individual simply because he is a Negro.

(To be continued.)

'Graphic Demonstration'

A sensational example of how easily wire-tapping can be used in frame-ups is reported by I. F. Stone in the May 17 issue of his Weekly. It is an extract from testimony given by Robert Coar, director, Joint House-Senate Radio Facility, U.S. Congress, on May 6 before the special subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee considering legislation to authorize the use of wire-taps as evidence:

Mr. Coar. Some 20 years ago I was District Plant Engineer for the New York Telephone Company, and in that capacity one of my assignments was to make searches for wire-taps. . . Subsequent to that, I have, prior to coming to Washington and shortly after . . . some 19 years ago, done some development work for the FBI in design of wire-tapping equipment. . .

Mr. Collins. Mr. Coar, when you play back and record the information obtained, can that tape recording be altered?

Mr. Coar. Yes, I have a graphic demonstration of that. . . Simply by playing it back on to a plastic tape, recording on the tape and re-recording from the tape back to the wire, there is no way at all that anyone can tell that there have been changes made in what was on the original wire. . .

You may recall that when Winston Churchill addressed the House we made a tape recording of his speech, and he had just had some new teeth put in, and so the reporters missed some of it, and asked if they could come up and hear the recording of the tape.

You may recall that he said: "I came not to ask you for money. I came to ask for military aid. We English are putting out all we can towards this effort." And so on and so forth. Mr. Clark changed it around so that Mr. Churchill in very good voice and without any detecting it said: "I came here to ask you for money. The English do as they please. What we do with your money is our business."

So the reporters came in the room and started to take down this testimony and continued taking it down with a straight face, exactly as we had it on the tape. We stopped them after two or three minutes, because we knew they were busy. It just shows what can be done. And these people were right there in the Chamber when that was said. . .

Senator Wiley. With all this scientific work that has been done you mean that there is no way to know that the second tape is phoney?

Mr. Coar. That is right, sir.

Senator Wiley. Then it all goes to the question of the integrity of who is tapping the wire, the integrity of that fellow?

Mr. Coar. That is right, sir. . .

Notes from the News

'VOICE' BOASTS TOO SOON: Within 35 minutes after the Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools are unconstitutional, the official U.S. propaganda radio network, The Voice of America, had beamed the news to all parts of the world in 35 languages. The broadcast claimed that educational segregation of the Negro children has been "ended" by the "democratic process." The broadcasts have been aimed especially at the colored people in Asia and Africa who are bitterly hostile to Jim Crow America. The "Voice" failed to report that not a single Negro school child has been "de-segregated" by the Supreme Court decision, since it said nothing about how and when the ruling would take effect.

* * *

THEIR CHIEF DIFFERENCE: A May 18 London Times explained: "Indeed, it has been said that the chief difference (between the U.S. and Britain on Indo-China) seems to be that the British have no policy and are keeping quiet about it, while the U.S. has no policy and is talking about it at the top of its voice." Their chief agreement, however, is that Indo-China must not belong to the Indo-Chinese people.

* * *

TWO GUILTY OF NEGRO SLAVERY: Two white brothers, owners of a prosperous west Alabama farm, were convicted in a federal court on May 15 of holding terrorized Negroes in outright slavery. Fred and Oscar Dial were charged with paying fines of Negroes in Alabama and Mississippi jails and then forcing them to work without pay on the Dial farm. One Negro worker, Hubert Thompson, was beaten so badly after he tried to escape that he died, according to government charges. Sentencing of the convicted slave-holders was postponed to June 4 and they are free on bond.

* * *

FAMOUS REVERSAL: One United Press account of the Supreme Court ruling in the school segregation cases called the decision "probably the most important in U.S. race relations since the famous Dred Scott decision of 1857, which held that a Negro was not a citizen." The UP dispatch added: "The Civil War reversed that decision."

* * *

THE AFL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL meeting in Chicago on May 18 rejected the government claim of less than 3½-million unemployed and declared there are now more than 5½-million out of work "and the figure is growing and will continue to grow if something isn't done to stem the recession immediately."

* * *

STATISTICAL SKULDUGGERY: The April Bulletin of the AFL Metal Trades Department states: "There is a lot of statistical skulduggery going on about unemployment. The figures reported by various agencies have shown a vast difference, depending on what that agency is trying to indicate. The major political parties are manipulating the problem, too, with an eye on its consequences in the November elections."

* * *

BACKLOG OF WHOSE SAVINGS?: Frequent references to the huge backlog of savings that will help to stem a depression do not tell who holds most of these savings. A recent nation-wide survey made by the United States Savings and Loan League, representing some 4,000 member firms, reveals that 41% of all American families have no savings accounts at all. Some 50% of those who have savings accounts have less than $1,000 in savings, an amount that could be wiped out in a few months of unemployment or serious illness. Less than 10% of those with savings accounts have more than $5,000 in accumulated savings.

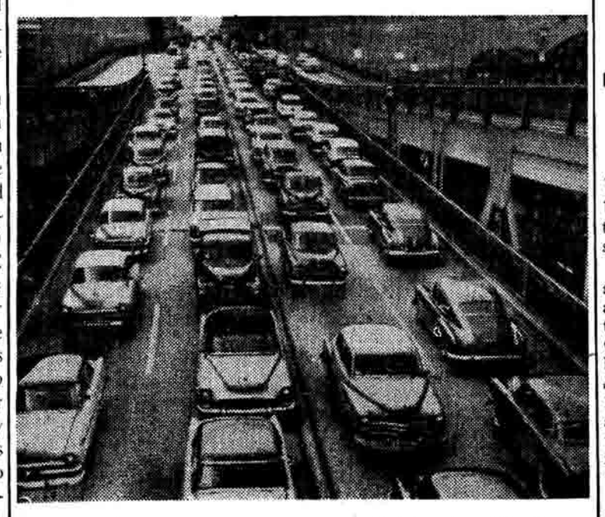
* * *

CATHOLIC HIERARCHY AND M'CARTHY: After carefully testing the political wind, the Roman Catholic weekly America, published by the Jesuit order, has decided to criticize Senator McCarthy. Its current issue states editorially that McCarthy is attempting a "piecemeal and 'peaceful' overthrow of the Presidency." The editorial makes no reference to the recent appearance of Cardinal Spellman, leading American prelate, on the platform with McCarthy at the New York communion breakfast attended by 6,000 New York Catholic cops who cheered the fascist senator, chief guest speaker, to the echo while Spellman beamed and pressed McCarthy's hand.

* * *

AFL STRIKES ATOM PROJECT: More than 10,000 members of 21 AFL unions struck their construction jobs at the atomic energy works at Hanford, Wash., on May 5, in protest against the use of non-union men on the project.

Pittsburgh Transit Strike



Cars line up bumper to bumper in Pittsburgh traffic tie-up as a strike of some 2,700 AFL trolley and bus operators shows how essential the transit workers are to keeping traffic moving. Div. 85, Amalgamated Assn. of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach employes, demanded 30-cent hourly raise, but got zero offer.

UAW Officials Score Clardy's Witch Hunting

DETROIT, May 17 — The House Un-American Activities Committee, which opened hearings in this city May 3, has so far failed to accomplish its intended objective of recreating the "red" hysteria that it whipped up in the unions here during its 1952 witch-hunting excursion.

This failure is due in large measure to a policy reversal of the top UAW leadership, which has taken a stand of public opposition to the committee.

During the 1952 hearings the committee was able to extend the witch hunt into the ranks of the UAW primarily as a result of the cowardly and criminal attitude of UAW President Walter Reuther, who folded his hands while the committee levelled a smear attack on his union's largest unit, Ford Local 600. **Reuther then put a receivership on the local and suspended its officers.**

This time, bowing to the strong demand for stiff opposition to the witch hunters, Reuther has taken a stand that, despite serious faults, comes closer to the elementary conception of union solidarity in the face of attack.

On May 2, Reuther, UAW secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey, and vice-presidents Gosser and Livingston, blasted the committee headed by Rep. Kit Clardy (R. Mich.) for "carrying on a campaign of immoral intimidation." They scored the committee for denying "citizens their democratic rights" and for attempting to "smear genuine anti-Communist liberals and independent organizations — including labor unions, ministers and other groups and individuals."

Asserting that "the UAW is determined not to become a party to the erosion of any of our basic liberties or democratic safeguards assured by the Bill of Rights," the UAW heads said, "It is the declared policy of the UAW-CIO, that no member or employee will be prejudiced in any degree in his relationship to the union merely and solely because he claims the privilege of the Fifth Amendment. We will resist through the procedures of our collective bargaining agreements any discharge or other discipline of any member of the union by his employer on the sole grounds of having claimed the privilege."

The UAW's frontal attack on Clardy and his committee was buttressed by a newspaper advertisement published by 75 local lawyers. The ad defended and explained the right and necessity of utilizing the Fifth Amendment against the committee's frame-up methods of "questioning."

Unfortunately, Reuther still has not mustered the gumption to go as far as the lawyers. While he has now declared that no union member shall be victimized for exercising his constitutional rights, he still tries to appease the witch hunters. The UAW statement urges that witnesses not use the Fifth Amendment because it has been employed by "hoodlums" and "Communists."

Aside from the government stool-pigeons, all of the subpoenaed witnesses at the hearings have been "unfriendly." As a result of their refusal to answer questions, two local school teachers have been fired and three University of Michigan professors have been suspended.

The suspensions at the university have touched off a strong student-faculty protest movement, with editorials in campus papers, petitions, meetings and letters to the local press condemning the victimizations.

Trumbull Park, Chicago --'It's Like Being in War'

By L. F. Brown and C. Houston

Trumbull Park, Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A. — concentration camp — 1954! Unbelievable? We spent an afternoon there, visiting six of the 12 Negro families now living in the project that has been the scene of racist terror.

We called Mrs. Barbara Johnson, one of the Negro residents and she arranged to meet us at the corner of 95th street and Cottage Grove Avenue — 29 blocks from the project. The police drove Barbara Johnson, her 11-month-old son, Tony, and ourselves to the project in a patrol wagon. This is the way Negro families must enter and leave Trumbull Park.

We entered the project on Bensley Avenue, the street the Donald Howards lived on. The Howards were the first Negro family to move to Trumbull Park. They moved away from the project on May 3. Barbara informed us that Negroes are no longer allowed to walk on this street, even though the patrol wagon stopped one block west to let us out.

"JUST LOOK FOR COPS"

"There's my house," Barbara said, "where the police are standing. You'll have no trouble locating the other colored families here; just look for the cops. Oh! Don't be surprised when they stop you for your names and addresses. You have to give it to them before you can come into our houses and when you leave too."

Barbara was right. There are four policemen stationed at the home of each Negro family, two in front and two in back. Police shanties are scattered all over the project grounds.

We asked Barbara how long she and her husband Eddy have lived there.

"Just a few days short of eight months," she replied. "The first six months we were here, we were determined not to be driven out. But if something isn't done pretty soon both Eddy and I will end up in a mental sanitarium."

We wanted to know if having the police stationed at her door gave her any feeling of security.

"Oh, a little," she said. "People do stop to think a little bit before they do anything when they see the police there. But the police don't really care what happens to us. If some one wants to do something, they suddenly get deaf and blind."

POLICE AT DOOR

There was a loud bang on the door. Barbara jumped to the window. "Who is it?" she called.

The police were trying to open the door. "We're looking for someone," one of them said.

"That happens all the time," Barbara told us. "The other night I was fast asleep, and a terrific knocking on my door woke me up. It was one of the cops. When I opened the door he said, 'Are you home?'"

"This is just like being in a war," she continued. "You never know when a bomb might come through your window. You have to be ready to grab your children and run from the house any time of the night and day."

The phone rang. It was her husband Eddy.

"Eddy calls two or three times a day from work to see if we're all right," Barbara said.

She was bitter about the whole situation. "Others are free to walk the streets. We have to go everywhere in a paddy wagon. I always thought this sort of thing only happened down south."

Sues Red Channels For $150,000

A suit for $150,000 damages is being pressed by Joe Julian, a radio and television actor of New York, against the publishers of Red Channels.

Julian testified before a Supreme Court jury May 19 that his earnings had dropped from $18,000 a year to less than $1,600 last year after he had been erroneously listed as a speaker and participant in two alleged "Communist-front" meetings.

Red Channels is a rabid red-baiting outfit that seeks to drive out of their jobs actors whose ideas might not conform to the McCarthyite pattern.

Who Is Behind Racist Attacks at Trumbull?

Who is behind the mob attacks on Negro families living in the federal housing project, Trumbull Park? Is it spontaneous action from the people living in the area? The answer is no! There are several local fascist groups linked to the disturbances.

Playing the dominant role is the South Deering Improvement Association, an organization composed of property owners from the South Deering section of Chicago. Trumbull Park project is located in South Deering. The SDIA hold their meetings in the field house in Trumbull Park.

Louis P. Dinnocenzo, president, denies his group is instrumental in organizing the racist violence in the project. He claims it is the people's own doing. But the Chicago Daily News estimated that $5,000 has been spent on explosives used in the attacks. Where does it come from? Dinnocenzo, referring to the 12 Negro families living in the project, explained the role the SDIA is playing in the Trumbull Park rioting:

"We are requesting our aldermen and our representatives to do everything possible to get them out," he said. "We're parading around and milling around at night — within the law, like we're entitled to do — to picket."

HOWARD CASE

When Donald Howard, the first Negro to move into Trumbull Park, left the project on May 3, Dinnocenzo hailed the Howards' moving as a victory for "the people of South Deering." He further stated, "The people haven't even begun to fight. When the weather breaks there will be a lot more violence." How do Dinnocenzo and his group know this?

Working with the SDIA in an indirect way is the National Protective Association. John W. Hamilton, president, was once a lieutenant for Gerald L. K. Smith, fascist rabble rouser. SDIA has members in the NPA, and the NPA in turn has members in SDIA.

The Daily Calumet, local daily newspaper in South Deering, openly supports the fascist groups operating in that area. They print obscene remarks about Negroes in their press, and distort facts involving the Negro families in Trumbull Park.

The White Circle League, an almost defunct group brought to life by the racial tension in Chicago, is conducting a "white supremacy" campaign in the form of postcards sent to Negro residents in the project, threatening telegrams to the NAACP, and leaflets, some of which were distributed recently at a large auto plant.

BOMBS EXPLODED

There have been as many as 1,100 police officers stationed in Trumbull Park to prevent rioting. On May 11 two new Negro families moved into the project. People gathered on the streets that evening in mobs. Bombs were exploded. Only four persons were arrested by the police.

In an article headlined "ULTIMATUM FOR MAYOR," the Chicago edition of the Pittsburgh Courier reported on the "promised city-wide demonstration on city hall if the mayor refuses to act . . ." The Courier went on to report, "Blasts against the mayor and the city administration for laxity in law enforcement in Trumbull Park were emphasized in several other quarters this week as civic, labor and church groups stepped up their protests against the affair.

"Doctor Homer Jack, pastor of the Unitarian church of Evanston . . . accused the mayor and his administration of aiding the leaders of the South Deering Association in their conspiracy to intimidate Negroes . . ."

. . . Negro People Win in School Fight

(Continued from page 1)

the Supreme Court's May 17 decision is entrusted to the Dixiecrat state governments. They have been experts at such tricks ever since the Civil War.

Is it possible that the Supreme Court, after unanimously declaring segregation unconstitutional, would really permit the white supremacists to circumvent its ruling and retain segregation?

Such a thought will appear fantastic only to people who are unfamiliar with the real character, method and tradition of the Court. Class interests, political expediency, social pressures and addiction to legalistic hair-splitting determine its course at least as much as concern over abstract principles of justice and fair play.

In 1951, for example, this Court ruled that the Attorney General was acting in an arbitrary and illegal fashion when he placed organizations on his so-called "subversive" list without granting them a hearing. Three years have passed since then, but the Attorney General continues to flout the ruling of the Court — and the Court does nothing about it.

This single example should suffice to convince anyone that it would be neither unprecedented nor out-of-character for the Court to allow its noble-worded May 17 decision to be ignored and circumvented in action too.

A lot has been written on the fact that the May 17 decision was unanimous, but most of it has missed the main point. The justices were unanimous only on one thing — in saying that school segregation is unconstitutional. But they postponed the questions of how and when because they were divided on them, perhaps very sharply. And it is not out of the question that they will make, or already have made, a horse-trade to resolve their differences over them.

It must not be forgotten that some of these justices are great fanatics on "states rights" and that even after signing their names to a denunciation of segregation they will fight hard, when the case comes up again, to hand over the "interpretation" and "enforcement" of the May 17 decision to the state advocates of white supremacy. It is most unlikely that the next Court decision will be unanimous, and it is not at all excluded that a majority of the Court will make great concessions to Byrnes, Talmadge and Co. — especially if they will succeed in working up a big hue-and-cry against non-segregation.

DIXIECRAT METHODS

Dixiecrat Senator Eastland of Mississippi made a prediction that he and his cohorts will do everything in their power to fulfill: "The South will not abide by nor obey this legislative decision by a political court."

The methods that they will use are already well known: Threats of force and violence and economic sanctions against Negroes daring to want to send their children to unsegregated schools; extended, time-killing court proceedings; plans to abolish the public school systems and replace them with "private" schools that would technically fall outside the scope of the Court's rulings.

These are grave dangers, but they are not the only ones. If the "tough" approach fails, the defenders of segregation will fall back on another. And that is to offer the Negro people some type of "compromise" that would fall short of abolishing segregation.

"There is every reason to expect segregation in local schools to survive for a good many years on a voluntary basis," said Harry S. Ashmore of Arkansas, who recently completed a Ford Foundation study of bi-racial education. He didn't discuss the conditions under which Negroes would "volunteer" to remain segregated.

The Supreme Court's failure to specify how and when its ruling will be put into effect "will prove immeasurably helpful to the South," said Dr. John E. Ivy Jr., director of the Southern Regional Education Board at Atlanta, Ga. Why? Because this will permit "the statesmen of the South, **who have no sympathy with either extreme**, to develop a workable plan." One of the "extremes" they have no sympathy for is an end to segregation, and that is what their "workable plan" would avoid.

"I believe," said Sen. Stennis of Mississippi, "that . . . the leaders of the two races can work out satisfactory separate arrangements for many years to come within the pattern of the public school system. To abolish our public school system should be the last resort after all other efforts have failed." His idea is that if local Negroes can be "persuaded" to agree to continued segregation, the federal government would have no reason or way to interfere.

"BY PLACE"

But even if threats, "compromises" and "local arrangements" all fail to save segregation, its advocates have something else to fall back on — the system which Dixiecrat Congressman Smith of Mississippi approvingly calls "segregation by place," also known under the name of "natural segregation."

This kind of segregation is the hardest of all to combat, especially through legal decisions. It is the kind that is becoming the pattern in more and more sections of the North. Since Negroes are segregated in housing and bunched together geographically, the schools in Negro neighborhoods tend to become all-Negro and those in white neighborhoods all-white. No law is needed, but the effect is virtually the same. If this can work in the North, it can certainly work in the South, where residential segregation is much more rigid and complete.

It will take rulings against residential as well as school segregation, and strict enforcement as well as rulings, to fully wipe out Jim Crow in the schools. Neither the Supreme Court nor the capitalist class have any such plan in mind.

The above remarks are not intended to minimize the significance or value of the victory won in the Court's May 17 decision. Whatever happens now, this decision will help the struggle against Jim Crow and weaken the positions of the white supremacists.

But nothing can be gained by over-estimating this victory, and a great deal can be lost if the enemies of Jim Crow think that the fight has already been finished and won. Jim Crow has received a strong blow, but it won't be knocked down or out unless the Negro people and their allies remain alert, keep punching as hard as they can — and keep one eye on the "referee."

Some self-appointed advisers to the Negroes are urging "patience." Let them give this advice to Byrnes and Talmadge if they want to be helpful — but not to the victims of Jim Crow. The more patience shown by the Negro people, the longer it will be before they get justice. They didn't get the legal victory of May 17 by showing patience but by organizing, defying Jim Crow terror in the South, raising money to enable the NAACP to fight the case in the courts, and by letting it be known that their patience is running out. The way to get more victories is by militancy, not patience.

Another article next week will discuss the reasons for the Supreme Court decision and the perspectives opened up for the anti-Jim Crow movement by this decision and the recent developments reducing segregation in the armed forces.