

Congress Votes Ban on Political Liberty in U.S.

By Murry Weiss

Aug. 19—The majority of Congress voted to ban more than the Communist Party last week. They voted to ban political liberty and freedom of thought. They took the United States a long way down the road to a police state.

For the first time in American history a political party has been declared illegal by a majority of Congress. The right to think, vote, join or support a party has been declared a criminal act punishable by five years imprisonment and \$10,000 fine.

The same bill that was rushed through Congress outlawing the Communist Party also lays the ground for outlawing unions. All the provisions of the notorious Butler Bill, so bitterly opposed by the unions, were pushed through as an amendment to the infamous measure outlawing the Communist Party.

The Butler amendment provides that if the McCarran Subversive Control Board declares a union to be "infiltrated" or "dominated" by "Communists" the union will be stripped of its bargaining rights, and laid open to the combined attack of the employers, the government and the raiding of "good" unions.

Who bears the responsibility for the passage of this monstrous police state legislation? How did it get past the barricade of the liberal Democrats in Congress who had sworn to fight such legislation to the bitter end?

The fact is that the liberals themselves led the lynch mob against political freedom and the independence of the unions in Congress last week.

Week of the Great Liberal Collapse

August 12 to 19 will go down in American history as the Week of the Great Liberal Collapse. The whole pack of Democratic Party hypocrites, Hubert Humphrey, Herbert Lehman, Paul Douglas, etc. etc., who paraded as defenders of labor and civil liberties, and as stout-hearted opponents of McCarthyism, took off their halos, checked their liberal principles in the Congressional cloak rooms, and plunged into an orgy of witch hunting and union busting legislation that put McCarthy, Jenner, Welker, Butler, and Dies in the shade.

The Week of the Great Liberal Collapse opened with the Senate debating Butler's bill to strangle the unions with the machinery of the witch hunt. At this stage the liberals put up a feeble opposition. They pleaded with the reactionaries not to open a union-busting drive in the name of an attack on Communism. But their proposal to refer the bill to the study of a twelve-man board was defeated.

The liberals made a sudden about face. Hubert H. Humphrey, on Aug. 12, introduced a measure to outlaw the Communist Party. Listen to the voice of liberalism:

"I am tired of reading headlines about being 'soft' toward communism. . . I want to come to grips with the Communist issue. I want the Senators to stand up and to answer whether they are for the Communist Party, or against it. The proposal in the amendment will place the Senators on the line. . . We shall have struck at the

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British Labor Paper Is Witch Hunt Target

By John White

LONDON, Aug. 13 — A wave of protest is sweeping the British Labor Party over the decision of its National Executive Committee to ban a left-wing weekly paper, the Socialist Outlook.

The leaders of the Labor Party have declared that any one "associated with" or "supporting" the Socialist Outlook are ineligible for membership in the Labor Party.

This decision of the National Executive Committee was by no means unanimous. It was fought bitterly by the contingent in the top committee who follow Aneurin Bevan. They understood very well that the suppression of the Socialist Outlook could well be the first step toward suppressing all the independent left journals of the Labor Party, including the Bevanite Tribune.

It appears that even right-wing leaders of some of the big unions were not in favor, possibly because they were aware of the widespread opposition the decision would arouse.

The architect of this attack on the rights of Labor Party members was Herbert Morrison, who fought for it vehemently in the National Executive Committee.

First indication that the Socialist Outlook had become marked as the target of a witch hunting attack in England came last April when the World News, a Stalinist weekly, ran two articles on "Trotskyism in the Labor Party."

These articles listed contributors and supporters of Socialist Outlook, who, it alleged, were former members of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

The wording of the NEC circular to Labor Party members proscribing the Socialist Outlook could have been lifted from the Stalinist articles. It said in part:

"While prominent members of the Labor Party have contributed to this journal (Socialist Outlook), a number of its regular contributors are known for their previous association with the

Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist Party. The Revolutionary Communist Party dissolved in 1949, and advised its members to join the Labor Party and fight for their policy within its ranks."

Thus Herbert Morrison continues the witch hunt against Trotskyists in Britain initiated by the Stalinists.

Morrison's move, timed to coincide with the junket of top Labor Party bureaucrats to the Soviet Union and China, was

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File Petitions In Chicago For Mayhew

CHICAGO, Aug. 16 — Some 12,000 petitions were filed today with the Cook County Clerk to put Howard Mayhew on the ballot as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 2nd Congressional District. The signatures numbered 2,000 more than minimum requirements.

In a leaflet distributed in the 2nd District, Mayhew thanked the signers for their support and outlined the main points he would stress in the campaign:

(1) A 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to combat unemployment.

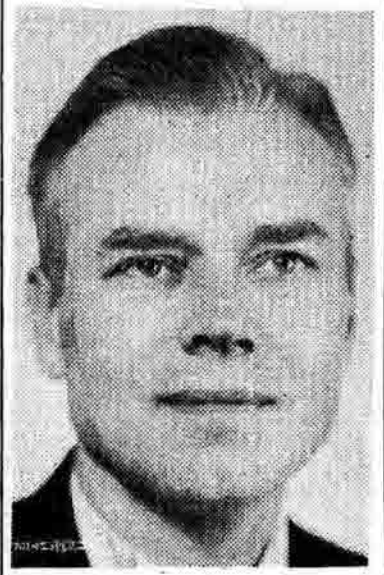
(2) A public housing program to eliminate high rent slums, provide low-cost housing for workers and give jobs to the unemployed.

(3) A united labor defense of all victims of discrimination, to put an end to such crimes as the anti-Negro terrorism at Trumbull Park.

(4) A Congress of Labor to organize the fight against McCarthyism and the war plans of Big Business.

ACTIVE UNIONIST

Mayhew has been active in trade union affairs since 1937, both in the Chicago Newspaper Guild and the United Auto Workers, CIO. A former worker in the Electromotive Plant of General Motors, he served as committee man, member of the executive board of UAW Local 719, and co-editor of the 719 News. He is author of a new pamphlet, "Racial Terror at Trumbull Park."



HOWARD MAYHEW

Millions of Germany's Workers on the March

By Joseph Hansen

AUG. 16 — German labor has moved into the forefront of the class struggle in Europe, definitively ending more than two decades of silence imposed by Hitler's storm troopers and the Allied occupation forces. Not since the years before Hitler smashed their unions have the German workers demonstrated such cohesiveness, power and militancy. About four million — one out of four in the entire labor force — are either already out on the picket line or preparing for strike action.

The first reaction of the German capitalists and their Anglo-American backers to this upsurge was amazement. Only last year they lauded the workers in West Germany for their relative quiescence during the heroic uprising of the East German workers on June 17 against the Stalinist government. The contrast between what the workers in the two parts of Germany were doing, they said, demonstrated the satisfaction of the German workers with capitalism.

But the first amazement swiftly changed to fear of what the present great strike wave portends for the future of capitalism in Germany.

The British journal, the Manchester Guardian, for example, hoped that the dispute in Hamburg which "seems to have touched the present wide agitation off" might be swiftly terminated and thus render "the whole German labor situation less dangerous." (Aug. 12.)

The N. Y. Times, most measured voice of American Big Business, declared editorially Aug. 14 that the "honeymoon" between German labor and capital has ended "with a sudden vengeance that adds up to a serious revolt." In its opinion, "Labor unrest in West Germany has been mounting so rapidly during the past few weeks as now to approach a national emergency, the outcome of which cannot yet be clearly seen."

The Times called for "immediate emergency measures" as well as "consideration" of "long range wage policies for West Germany."

The concern of this voice of Wall Street over the rise of German labor is all the more acute in view of the war plans of America's rulers which envisage rearming Germany and utilizing the country as a springboard for an assault on the Soviet Union. This scheme requires a Nazi-like regime in power and a labor

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German dockworkers and their wives, armed with pitchforks, threaten German police at American housing project site in Bremerhaven. They were demonstrating against U.S. army requisition of their homes through city authorities. This new fighting mood of Germany's working class is shown in a current wave of strikes.

NEGRO BEATEN BRUTALLY FOR DARING TO VOTE

Progress made by Negroes in the South still has not reached the point where a Negro citizen can go to the polls and be sure that he won't be beaten or even killed for exercising this civil right.

The latest illustration is what happened to Izell Henry, 39-year-old bus driver and father of seven children in Greensburg, La.

On July 27, the Pittsburgh Courier reports, Henry voted in the Democratic primary. Until about two years ago it was unusual for any Negroes to be allowed to vote in St. Helena Parish.

Early in the morning after election day a gang of white men called at Henry's home, took him away and beat him severely with rubber hoses and other weapons.

Henry was found in a ditch unconscious, suffering from serious head injuries. Transferred to a hospital in New Orleans, he

had to undergo brain surgery.

The unusual thing about the Henry case is not that a Negro was terrorized for exercising his rights but that two white men have been arrested on suspicion of "knowing something about the beating," according to an assistant district attorney. The two men had brought in Henry's body, claiming they found him in the ditch.

Whether they or anyone else will be prosecuted is another story. That would really be something new in the South, where white supremacists can terrorize Negroes with impunity and where less than one out of 10,000 white criminals is ever punished for offenses committed against Negroes.

At the same time, from Cleveland came the report to the Aug. 15 Times that "a general shipping slowdown on the Great Lakes is getting under way. . . . Not since the depression era of the early nineteen thirties have Great Lakes ports been jammed with idle boats this early in the season. About 20% of the 275 in the ore fleet did not leave port this year."

On Aug. 14, the Associated Press wrote that "auto factory activity is easing off perceptibly" — the low for the year is going lower still. This hardly shows a "lull" in the decline.

"DIM VIEW OF REPORT" The situation in steel likewise fails to bear out the President's contention. A Pittsburgh report in the Aug. 15 N. Y. Times begins:

"Fifty thousand idle mill workers and thousands of other persons employed only part time in this industrial area took a dim view this week of President Eisenhower's report on the economic health of the nation."

The conservative Times, a backer of the Eisenhower administration, concedes that in Pittsburgh "there was not enough

tangible evidence to warrant the conviction that the recession here had halted." The Pittsburgh Business Index was reported at 139.2 for the first week in August, compared to 143.6 for the last week in July, and 195 for the comparable week ended Aug. 8, 1953. Iron Age, steel industry publication, reported steel operations continuing at only 64% of capacity.

At the same time, from Pennsylvania and Kentucky coal mining areas in the Aug. 7 Nation magazine gives a most dismal picture. From the Johnstown, Pa., area, Glenn Sease writes:

"More sinister than the dust cloud that used to hang like a black blanket overhead is the present wholesale shutdown of mines. Thousands of men have been laid off and scores of towns are turning into ghost towns. Everyone is asking: Will the mines ever reopen? Sitting idly, helplessly by, miners fear they see the answer as they watch rails ripped up and the machinery sold."

Only 69,126 persons were employed in the coal industry in Pennsylvania in 1953 as compared to 105,816 in 1943, Sease writes. Since the time Eisenhower took office in January, 1953, there have been 156 mines closed in the state and 16,247 miners thrown out of jobs.

Gerald Griffin writes from Kentucky that "many ghost towns are seen in Eastern Kentucky these days. Coke ovens are crumbling."

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Build a Labor Party Now!

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Reveal New H-Bomb Horror Unforeseen by Atom Experts

Arouses Intense Fear Even in Rulers; Would Doom Whole Countries

By Art Preis

A wholly new dimension of destructiveness, unforeseen by atomic scientists themselves and now concealed by the Eisenhower administration, has been added to the hydrogen

bomb. This previously undisclosed element of annihilation is so fearsome that it has been playing a major role in international political developments. The sensational revelation was made by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, Washington columnists, in their Aug. 11 syndicated article.

The fact of the wide-spread deadly range of the H-bombs exploded last March in the American mid-Pacific tests was partially uncovered at the time. Japanese fishermen and Marshall Island inhabitants, at distances of 80 to 120 miles from the point of explosion, were burned and made deathly sick by "fall-outs" of radioactive ashes. But it was still generally assumed that the principal elements of destruction were the H-bomb's blast and heat waves, which devastate a 300 square-mile area, equivalent to most large modern cities.

LARGER PHENOMENON

These factors of blast and heat, it is now disclosed by the Alsop brothers, are secondary to the new and unanticipated powers of the H-bomb, which "has turned out to be an even more hideous and destructive weapon than was planned and expected." For "it has now been discovered that . . . the heat and blast may be no more than the pericardium of a much larger phenomenon."

This "much larger phenomenon" is the consequence of the fact that the latest H-bombs "ripped a huge chunk of material out of the earth's skin." The pulverized material "ascended into the bomb cloud." But, because of their weight, the "strongly radioactive particles"



fall out over a wide area instead of dissipating into the atmosphere, as does much of the radioactivity unleashed by the H-bomb itself.

"What is not known or understood, however," write the Alsop brothers, "is the strong probability that this widespread fall-out of noxious particles was no mere accident but an inherent characteristic of the new kind of hydrogen bomb."

SCIENTISTS UNPREPARED

Dr. Edward Teller and the other planners of the H-bomb tests were "quite unprepared" for the results produced, say the

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AIRLINES PILOTS FIGHT UNSAFE FLYING TIME

AUG. 18 — The 1,243 pilots of American Airlines have been on strike since July 21 against the company's unilateral change of working rules increasing to a dangerous point the flying time of pilots on coast-to-coast non-stop flights. Under the new rule, the company would have required New York to Los Angeles pilots to exceed the established 8-hour maximum non-stop flying time. West bound pilots have had to fly ten to twelve hours at a stretch because of head winds.

Although the AFL Air Line Pilots Association asked the company to discontinue temporarily the three westbound non-stop flights until a settlement could be reached, the company preferred to go ahead with its new schedule, made without union agreement as required by contract.

The company is obviously determined to change the working rules and to eliminate the 8-hour flying maximum that has prevailed for 23 years. It has gone to the extent of laying off 1,891 non-striking employees and sending layoff notices to 13,821 other ground workers in order to fight the union.

American Airlines used a recent decision of the Civil Aeronautics Board as a pretext for its high-handed action. This CAB ruling permits non-stop flying schedules of over eight hours, although, as the union points out, this is not a compulsory order and all flight times must be negotiated between the union and company, as the contract provides.

A statement of the Air Pilots Association charges that the com-

55,000 on Strike In Rubber Industry

Some 30,000 Goodyear rubber workers, on strike since July 8, were joined on the picket lines Aug. 13 by 25,000 CIO United Rubber Workers members at all Firestone Co. plants. The two largest of the "Big Four" rubber companies have adamantly refused a union demand for a meager 7½-cent hourly wage boost, plus elimination of the geographical wage differentials.

Negotiations with B.F. Goodrich and United States Rubber were in progress while the workers continued on the job on a day-to-day basis. All four companies have made an identical offer of only 5 cents an hour. It appears the companies are seriously considering an attempt to cripple or break the union.

SWP Mich. Campaign Opens with Attack on Peril of McCarthyism

DETROIT, Aug. 16 — The election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party's in Michigan opened last Saturday with a rally at which the socialist candidates for Governor, U.S. Senator and Congressman presented a fighting program against unemployment, war, McCarthyism and Jim Crow.

Labor's stake in the fall elections was discussed by Frank Lovell, SWP candidate for Governor and a veteran unionist.

"At no time since the depression year of 1932 has there been more anxiety in this country," Lovell said. "The reasons for this are not hard to find. Unemployment is growing, speedup and layoffs are the order of the day in industry, the army continues to call up the youth of the nation and everywhere the witch hunt that aims to make this country a land of silent people continues."

"The only insurance working people have against the rising tide of reaction," Lovell continued, "is their own independent organized might. We are now engaged in a struggle for survival. That is why it is so urgent to organize now the forces that can smash native fascism and reorganize the whole of American economy for the liberation of mankind."

WHAT CAPITALISM OFFERS

Calling for the working class to "break decisively with the capitalist political parties," Rita Shaw, candidate for Senator, said:

"The parties of the capitalist class, the Republicans and Democrats, can offer us only the alternatives of starvation and a great depression or annihilation in atomic warfare. We working people must have our own solution which cannot rest upon the maintenance of the capitalist private profit system."

"The Socialist Workers Party is not a party which disappears the day after elections to reappear the next time we want votes. We fight a continuous bat-

Primary Trends Favor Democrats

By John F. Petrone

Will the Democrats win control of Congress in November? The Democratic leaders were more optimistic last spring than they are now. Then they were talking confidently of winning both houses, the lower house by a majority of 40 to 60 seats. Now they are reported to be uncertain about the Senate, and have reduced their claims for the House to a 20 seat majority.

Nevertheless, the trend over the last year has clearly been away from the Republicans and toward the Democrats. This trend was confirmed last November when the Democrats made important symptomatic gains in by-elections (Wisconsin, New Jersey) and the White House thought it necessary to initiate the Harry Dexter White smear of the Democrats to escape a by-election defeat in California.

The Democrats also figure they should benefit from this country's historic voting pattern, according to which the party in power usually loses strength in congressional contests where the presidency is not simultaneously at stake. Eisenhower's personal popularity pulled a number of GOP candidates into Congress in 1952, but his name won't be on the ballot this year.

PRIMARY TRENDS

Certain political trends can be traced by studying the 1954 primary elections, providing it is understood that these primaries give only part of the picture and do not automatically indicate which party will win in November.

More than three-quarters of the states have already held their primaries. Participation was normally low outside of the South, where the Democratic nomination is tantamount to election. There were some upsets, but they were few; most incumbents were renominated. The local party bosses retained control in most places; the national bosses remained behind the scenes, wisely avoiding the kind of rebuff Democratic chairman Mitchell got when California voters, disregarding his edicts, renominated Condon and nominated James Roosevelt for Congress.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS

But where primary contests actually took place, there were some new developments. First and most strikingly, in respect to McCarthyism:

It would be wrong to think that nationally McCarthyism has lost significant electoral ground because of such well-publicized events as J. Parnell Thomas' unsuccessful bid to regain a congressional seat from New Jersey, Jack Tenney's loss of his State Senate post in California and Robert L. Jones' defeat in the Maine State primary.

For one thing, while the Thomas debacle attracted a lot of attention, little notice was taken of the fact that in another part of New Jersey another McCarthyite, T. James Tumulty, had no difficulty in winning a

Democrat Big Shots Meet



Former Pres. Truman, Adlai Stevenson (left), 1952 presidential candidate, and Democratic National Committee chairman Stephen Mitchell (right) shown after their conference in Independence, Mo., where they discussed plans for the recapture of Congress next November. Congressional Democrats are trying to outdo Republicans in pushing police-state legislation.

Democratic congressional nomination.

More important the McCarthyites already in Congress, with virtually no exception, easily won renomination in the primaries, often without opposition.

Yet a new element entered the picture—namely, signs that McCarthyite smear attacks, which proved so annihilating in 1950 and 1952, are beginning to lose some of their effectiveness in defeating candidates, at least in primaries.

KEFAUVER WINS

The clearest example was provided by the Democratic Tennessee primary in August. In 1950 the McCarthyite red-baiting technique, well-organized and well-financed, was used in the primaries to finish the political careers of two Southern Democratic liberals, Graham of North Carolina and Pepper of Florida. (Southern liberals, it is understood, stand to the right of the Northern brothers.) Lucas of Illinois, Tydings of Maryland, and Benton of Connecticut were similarly retired from the Senate, but in general not primary elections.

The same kind of campaign was carefully mapped out this year to remove the liberal Estes Kefauver from the Senate. McCarthy's oil friends poured big money into the state. Managers of the anti-Pepper and anti-Graham campaigns were recruited to direct the campaign of Rep. Sutton. Kefauver was accused of being a "left winger," a "codder of communists," and an "internationalist" who was opposed to "the American way of life." Appeals to white supremacy sentiments were also employed. Kefauver being accused of having "sold out the South" for not denouncing the Supreme Court school decision.

In Arkansas, where no governor has failed to win a second term during the last 70 years, the conservative Democratic incumbent Cherry was forced into a runoff by his opponent Faubus, a man with at least a Fair Deal past, when neither got a majority in the first primary. Cherry made a big issue of the fact that Faubus as a youth had attended Commonwealth College, which has since been put on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. But this smear failed to turn the trick, Faubus winning by a few thousand votes. The Alsops say "these charges are thought to have helped Faubus."

On the Republican side, the humiliating defeat of Robert L. Jones by Margaret Chase Smith in the Maine primary also can be listed as evidence that smears have lost some of their potency

whose "liberalism" is hailed by the Stalinist Daily Worker, also overcame machine opposition to win the gubernatorial nomination.

In general the more conservative candidates in Democratic primaries appeared to be running into difficulties where there was a serious contest.

Sen. McClellan barely managed to win the Arkansas nomination for the U.S. Senate from his Fair Deal opponent, McMath. The timing of the primary may well have been the decisive factor in the outcome. If the primary had been held a few months earlier, before rather than after the Army-McCarthy TV hearings where the conservative McClellan cast himself in the role of a staunch anti-McCarthyite, the liberal McMath might have won.

In the Texas primary the division was not so much between conservatives and liberals as between Dixiecrats and "loyalist" Democrats. Gov. Shivers, who crossed party lines to back Eisenhower in 1952, beat the regular Democrat, Yarborough, by two-to-one in the primary that year.

But this year, although Shivers led Yarborough by a narrow margin, he was unable to get a majority, and was forced into a runoff which will be held on Aug. 28. "Loyalist" Democrats like Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn, who are conservative like Shivers but stuck to the party ticket in 1952, were renominated without difficulty.

DEMOCRATS BENEFIT

The Texas primary shows a clear trend toward the Democrats. The Oklahoma gubernatorial and senatorial primaries mark a strengthening of liberal tendencies. The rejection of extreme Negro-baiting in North Carolina, Alabama and Tennessee also point to the growth of liberal sentiments among Democratic voters. If these trends per-

ist in November they are more likely to benefit the Democrats than the Republicans.

On the McCarthyism issue, a little more caution is in order. The Tennessee, Idaho and Arkansas results signify a certain weakening of the effectiveness of McCarthyite red-baiting, due partly to a growing concern over rising unemployment and falling farm prices. But it must be remembered that most of these manifestations to date have taken place inside the Democratic Party.

It is safe to conclude that Democratic primary voters today are more immune to naked McCarthyism than they were two and four years ago. But is that true of the voters as a whole, including the sizable number of independent voters who usually decide elections? So far, we have no way of knowing for sure, although we strongly suspect that the same forces which produced this shift away from McCarthyism among Democrats are at work and similarly influencing voters who are not enrolled as Democrats.

CAN LOSE ADVANTAGES

Will the Democrats reap the benefits of this shift in the general electorate? That depends on how they handle the McCarthyism issue in the campaign. If they go through with their present announced intention of ignoring it, as reported in last week's Militant, they can lose their advantages altogether. Candidates like Taylor in Idaho, who is opposed by the 100% McCarthyite, Dworshak, will surely go down to defeat if they don't raise the McCarthy issue aggressively.

In summary, we would say that on the whole the primaries confirm other signs of a shift to the Democrats, but it is too early to say that the shift will grow into a sweep that will give them control of Congress in November.

...Eisenhower Report

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bling from long idleness. Buildings have been torn down for the lumber. Most of the people have moved away in search of jobs."

Nothing of this present picture seeps into Eisenhower's report. He does concede that there has been a "rather minor decline," namely, "halted," that "affected seriously some industries, communities and groups..." Among the seriously affected economic categories are "factory employment, particularly in the durable goods industries and 'agricultural prices and incomes.'" In short, just the workers and farmers have been "seriously affected" by this "rather minor decline," already "halted."

The Eisenhower school of economics adds this up, as his report puts it, to "a period of great prosperity and, indeed, 'a time when economic miracles were being wrought.'" How an 8.1% decline in manufacturing and mining output and the "adverse effects of shrinking export markets and unbalanced production" on farm incomes constitute an "economic miracle" is explained by Eisenhower in terms of the decline in military expenditures. "American capitalism under the Republican administration," he says, wrought a "miracle" because it "halted" the decline despite "the difficulties of shifting

...Adopt Political Liberties Ban

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But the Senate, on the insistence of the Democrats, reaffirmed and even made more sweeping the criminal offense clauses. The Wall Street Journal, Aug. 19, says these new amendments, "sponsored by the 'liberals' were borrowed from a proposal first drawn up by Rep. Martin Dies of Texas."

The bill was then passed in the Senate 85 to 1 and sent to the House where it passed 208 to 100. According to the latest reports, the legal difficulties raised by the administration are being ironed out in an attempt to avoid a veto.

ADMIT IT'S ANTI-LABOR

In the debate on the Butler bill Senator Lehman said it would "constitute an extremely serious threat to the great organized labor movement in this country." The bill would place in the hands of an Attorney General who might be antagonistic to labor, a powerful weapon to cripple labor, to break strikes.

Yet Lehman and the others voted for the measure a few hours later when it was tacked on to the bill to outlaw the Communist Party.

For the last few years the liberals have been sounding off on how they have fought all measures to outlaw the Communist Party because that would be thought control. Yet they proposed this very measure themselves and steamrollered it through Congress shouting all the McCarthyite arguments and slogans.

How did all this happen? The answer is brutally simple. The liberal Democrats, charged by the McCarthyites with "treason" and "softness" toward the "red menace" buckled and decided to escape the whip of McCarthyism in the 1954 elections by playing

...New H-Bomb Horror

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Alsops. But they have kept their mouths shut. Dr. Teller even denounced Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, leading A-bomb scientist, as a "Soviet agent" because the latter initially opposed making the H-bomb, warning of its frightful potential. Even Oppenheimer, who was dismissed by the AEC, although declared "loyal," could not envision the real scope of the H-bomb's deadliness.

One of the new bombs—in contrast to the original hydrogen-bomb device set off in Nov. 1952—"would not merely consume the city of Washington in its blast and heat," the Alsops point out. "It would also cover a surrounding area about the size of the state of Maryland with dangerously radioactive matter." Maryland is 200 miles long and 120 miles wide.

But that's not the ultimate range of these bombs. Carried by swift winds or ocean currents the pulverized radioactive earth lifted by an H-bomb can travel hundreds and even thousands of miles.

The Alsops report that the cloud from one of the Nevada A-bombs fell out over Long Island, "but it was no longer noxious and no one knew about it but the Atomic Energy Commission." Can they say how far and in what direction noxious particles from an H-bomb will travel?

MILITANT'S WARNING

Last April 5, the Militant warned of the "world catastrophic nature of the new H-bombs." Our articles gave the most complete description to date of the true nature of the H-bomb's power. By piecing together bits of information from the capitalist press, the Militant reconstructed what had really happened at Bikini. We pointed out the unexpected factor of the tremendously enlarged range of deadly radioactivity created by the new bomb.

At the same time, we charged that the Administration was creating a diversion by suddenly issuing a report on what we called the "obsolete" H-bomb exploded 16 months before. We noted that in all the government statements, including those by Eisenhower and AEC Chairman Strauss, "what we have been told officially is still not about the latest bomb... but about the 'baby' H-bomb device!..."

CHURCHILL'S CHANGE

The April 4 Militant put special stress on "the grotesque spectacle of Prime Minister Winston Churchill blubbering before the House of Commons on March 23, when he spoke of the 'stupendous problems and perils' of the new H-bomb exploded by the U.S...." We added: "This vilest and most cold-blooded leader of the

British imperialists could not contain his emotions because he realizes that an H-bomb war will mean 'total destruction of the British Isles...' as the N.Y. Herald Tribune's correspondent puts it."

Confirming our earlier observations on the political effects of the new H-bomb, the Alsops refer to the recent statement by Churchill to the House of Commons that "tremendous changes have taken place in the whole strategic position in the world which make the thoughts which were well founded and well knit together a year ago utterly obsolete." These "tremendous changes," which the Alsops say are "also agitating the inner circle of the American government," are the unforeseen powers of the new H-bomb, "which were not produced by our first H-bomb test in 1952."

In short, Churchill went along with the original H-bomb and the "strategic position" engendered by it—that is, the strategy of an anti-Soviet atomic war—until the super-duper H-bomb opened the probability that England would be physically exterminated in an H-bomb war. Particularly, as the Alsops further note, because "the H-bomb tested by the Russians last summer was of the new type."

The far-reaching meaning of the new H-bomb phenomenon has already caused the American Civil Defense Administration to tear up all its old plans, report the Alsops. And, "by the same token, Prime Minister Churchill used this new phenomenon to justify abandonment of Britain's great Suez base." The base, which stretches along 100 miles of the canal, is "now too vulnerable to have real value."

SOCIALISM IS ANSWER

But the fears of the rulers of the great capitalist powers are no guarantee that imperialism will not let loose the new H-bomb that can spread a death pall of millions of tons of pulverized radioactive earth over humanity.

Inexorable laws of economic decline, leading to economic cannibalism, drive capitalism into a murderous struggle for markets, raw materials, new fields for investment. In the end, as it has done twice in 40 years, capitalism will seek to save itself by world war.

There is no alternative to this fate except to take the power away from the ruling classes who today wield the titanic annihilating power of atomic destruction. The workers of America, first of all, have the duty to build their own party to establish a Workers and Farmers government and to build a socialist planned society of cooperative production for use, not profits, under the workers control.

Seattle

Trotsky

Memorial

Meeting

Speaker:

Clara Kaye

Thurs., Aug. 26, 8 P.M.

201 Maynard Bldg.

1st Ave. So. & Washington

Terror in Guatemala

In Guatemala "non-communist workers known for, or suspected of, strong trade union feelings have been, and are being, fired by the score... it is estimated that between 5,000 and 8,000 people have been thrown in jail," reports CIO official Daniel Benedict on returning from Guatemala (Aug. 16 CIO News).

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Monday, August 23, 1954

It Can Happen Here

In the mid-thirties when the fascist madness had swept from Italy to Germany and was cropping up in Spain, a novel by Sinclair Lewis, "It Can't Happen Here," achieved nation-wide fame. It was a savage thrust at the fat-headed notion America is immune to fascism.

Had Lewis lived to see Congress in action last week, outlawing political liberties in America and passing police-state legislation against the unions, he could have prided himself on his keenness of vision. For that wild stampede headed by the so-called "pro-labor" liberals was a preview of how Congress will abdicate if McCarthy succeeds in taking over the White House.

It was as if Congress had decided to stage a dress rehearsal of their projected repetition of that shameful scene in German history where the Reichstag, after Hitler was appointed Chancellor, voted for everything he demanded, thus abdicating its constitutional powers to the Nazi dictator.

It would be difficult to find a more perfect illustration of how the liberals, who claim leadership in the struggle to safeguard democracy, collapse at the critical moment. It was not even a question of storm troopers knocking at their doors. They dropped on their bellies before fascist demagogue McCarthy simply because he pointed a contemptuous finger at them and called them names. In all history can a more glaring case of cowardice be found?

"Immunity" from What?

The 83rd Congress will be remembered for having passed more legislation curbing the civil liberties of the American people than any other session in the nation's history. Although it did not receive the most publicity, none of these police state laws was more pernicious or far-reaching than the so-called "immunity" law, passed by the Senate without a roll-call vote and sent to Eisenhower for signature on Aug. 11.

The notorious House Un-American Activities Committee, headed by Velde of Illinois, which had led the move for passage of this law, took it for granted that Eisenhower would sign the measure, and announced through a spokesman that it would put it to use "at the first opportunity." The first opportunity will probably be at the committee's hearings in Newark, beginning Sept. 27.

Up to now witnesses grilled by the Velde, McCarthy and Jenner committees had only one legal protection: They could invoke the Fifth Amendment which prohibits people from being compelled to give witness against themselves. Only in this way could "unfriendly" witnesses escape "perjury" convictions resulting from contradictory testimony by paid informers; only in this way could they avoid giving testimony that would be twisted by the witch hunters to victimize other persons.

The new law sweeps this last safeguard away. Here is how it will work:

A witness called before one of the inquisition committees refuses to answer questions on the grounds of his rights under the Fifth Amendment. The committee excuses him temporarily, and then sends a member of its staff next door to a federal court and asks a judge, in the

But it was not simply that the liberal American Senators and Congressmen are the most cowardly breed of curs to be found in the world's legislative halls. They were acting in accordance with the iron logic of their politics. This has always been, as it always will be, to seek leadership of progressive causes in order to stab them in the back at the precise moment the greatest fortitude is required. In the final analysis they were simply telling the people: "Don't depend on us in the fight against McCarthyism and the anti-labor drive of Big Business. We will sell you out. See, here is how we do it."

But let us not put too much blame on this cringing pack. They acted in accordance with the nature of a capitalist liberal. The ones who deserve to be given the whip for their role are the labor bureaucrats who have been preaching that we must have confidence in the Humphreys, the Douglasses, the Lehmanns, the Morges and the rest of these "champions" of labor and civil liberties.

The full responsibility for the debacle in Congress rests squarely on the shoulders of Reuther, Meany, Lewis and the other labor bureaucrats who have deliberately refused to put labor's own representatives in office. They and the Stalinists who have seconded their policy of betrayal — bear the responsibility.

Let every worker study very carefully what happened in Congress last week and draw the appropriate lesson. IT CAN HAPPEN HERE!

name of "national security," to grant the witness "immunity" from prosecution. The judge compliantly signs such an order. The witness is then recalled. If he still refuses to talk, he will be cited and prosecuted for contempt. In addition to losing his job, which is what has happened to most witnesses up to now, he also is threatened with losing his liberty.

But he doesn't escape penalty even if he feels compelled to talk. If he doesn't implicate other people whom the committee is out to get, whether or not they are innocent, then he can always be cited for perjury by the simple device of getting a professional stoolpigeon, or even an ordinary witness terrorized by his own "immunity" proceedings, to give contradictory testimony.

And if he does talk, he is not really guaranteed against prosecution — for the "immunity" extends only to the federal government, and can be disregarded by zealous state and city witch hunters on the lookout for scalps.

Thus the practical effect of the new law is the power it gives McCarthy, Velde, Jenner and Co. to tell anyone they drag into a hearing: "Talk, or go to jail for contempt. And once you start talking, your testimony had better be the kind that will fan the anti-communist hysteria, or you'll end up in either a federal prison for perjury or a state prison for subversion."

P.S. This police state law was passed with the aid of a majority of the Democratic members of the House, and with only one Democratic member of the Senate expressing an objection on procedural, not political grounds.

The "Studebaker Plan" Spreads

It took but 24 hours to confirm our warning in the August 16 issue that "if Studebaker puts over its demanded wage cut, it will embolden other corporations to try the same thing. It may well signal the launching of a general wage-slashing offensive by Big Business." On Aug. 17, one day after publication of our Militant banner headline, "Fear Studebaker Will Spark Industry Wage Offensive," two of the country's big corporations also demanded that their workers take pay cuts. And they also used Studebaker's argument that wage-slashes are required "in order to improve the competitive position."

First of all, in the auto industry itself, the American Motors Corporation, recent merger of Nash and Hudson, told the CIO United Automobile Workers that contract changes are needed "to put American Motors in a better competitive position." The company did not ask specifically for hourly rate changes, but for increases in production standards and alterations in contractual provision for lost time, grievances and seniority provisions. This would mean more output for the same money — or the same production for small pay.

Armour & Co., one of the three largest meat-packers, demanded that CIO United Packinghouse Workers Local 347 in Chicago take a 7-cent-an-hour wage reduction. Local 347 disclosed the company's demand in a leaflet announcing the taking of a strike vote.

Just as the labor movement of the thirties faced Remington-Rand's "Mohawk Valley Formula" for union-busting, so American labor today is confronted with a "Studebaker Plan" to destroy union wages and working conditions.

This latest offensive of the corporations is timed to their advantage. It comes at a period of growing unemployment and when the atmosphere is so permeated with the anti-"communist" witch hunt that people are more terrorized in the exercise of their rights than at any time since the founding of the republic.

But the American labor movement stood up to and smashed the "Mohawk Valley Formula" under much more adverse circumstances than exist today. It did it in the midst of a severe depression with more than 10,000,000 unemployed. It did it with a considerably smaller, weaker and less experienced union movement.

Today, organized labor is so massive and formidable it is but necessary for the unions, or an important section of them, to unitedly demand a halt to the "Studebaker Plan" to show they mean business against any company that tries it, in order to stop the latest anti-labor offensive in its tracks.

In the Studebaker case, the top CIO United Automobile Workers leaders, headed by Walter Reuther, fell in with the company's scheme and forced it down the Studebaker workers' throats. That didn't ensure any more job security to the Studebaker workers. But it did give the green light to another auto corporation — and still others will follow — to demand elimination of hard-won union contract conditions.

It is not the job of the unions to help corporations to compete. It is their job to fight to raise wages and improve conditions everywhere to the level of the best in the industry — and then to keep on fighting to improve that "best." If wage-cutting gets into full swing, it will set into motion a vicious spiral of other anti-union demands that will end with the destruction of the unions themselves.

By George Breitman

Leon Trotsky spent only a few months in the United States—in 1917, shortly before he returned to join Lenin in leading the Russian Revolution—and Roosevelt refused to permit even his dead body to cross the border after he was assassinated by Stalin's agent in Mexico just 14 years ago. But no American, living or dead, did more than Trotsky to explain the nature of McCarthyism and to show how to fight this fascist menace successfully.

Trotsky's study of fascism began after World War I, while Mussolini was still trying to come to power, and continued to his death in 1940. His analysis of this phenomenon, which baffled most of the other political leaders of his time, was enriched by his mastery of Marxism, the science of socialism, and by his own active participation in the class struggle on the side of the exploited and oppressed workers and farmers. That is why his writings on this subject, although written in another time and place, have so much to teach American anti-fascists today.

There isn't room here to even list Trotsky's articles, discussions, pamphlets and books on fascism. On German fascism alone, BEFORE the Nazis came to power, he wrote two full books and dozens of articles. (Few predictions in political history were confirmed so brilliantly or tragically as his prediction that Hitler would surely become dictator if the working class parties continued their false policies. Years later he told members of the Socialist Workers Party that Americans who pooh-poohed the danger of fascism in the U.S. by saying "America is different from Germany" reminded him of Germans who had dismissed his warnings by saying "Germany is different from Italy.")

Trotsky also dealt extensively with the growth of fascism in France beginning in 1934, in the struggle against Spanish fascism in the civil war of 1936-9, and, after he came to Mexico in 1937, the manifestations of fascism in the U.S. before World War II. (Excerpts from some of these works are compiled in the Pioneer Publishers pamphlet, "Fascism—What It Is, How to Fight It.")

HOW TO RECOGNIZE IT

Here we propose only to briefly review Trotsky's contributions to the understanding of fascism and of the program needed to defeat it.

What is fascism, how do you recognize it? This was not an easy thing to do—until Trotsky isolated its essential features.

Only the simple-minded think that all fascists wave the swastika or wear colored shirts. Only formalists expect fascism to look the same at each stage of its development—at its birth, when it is winning a mass following, during its bid for power, after it has won power. Only the politically immature fail to understand that a fascist movement, if it is to acquire serious strength, must take into account national traditions and customs different from those in other countries and must therefore assume unique organizational and ideological forms.

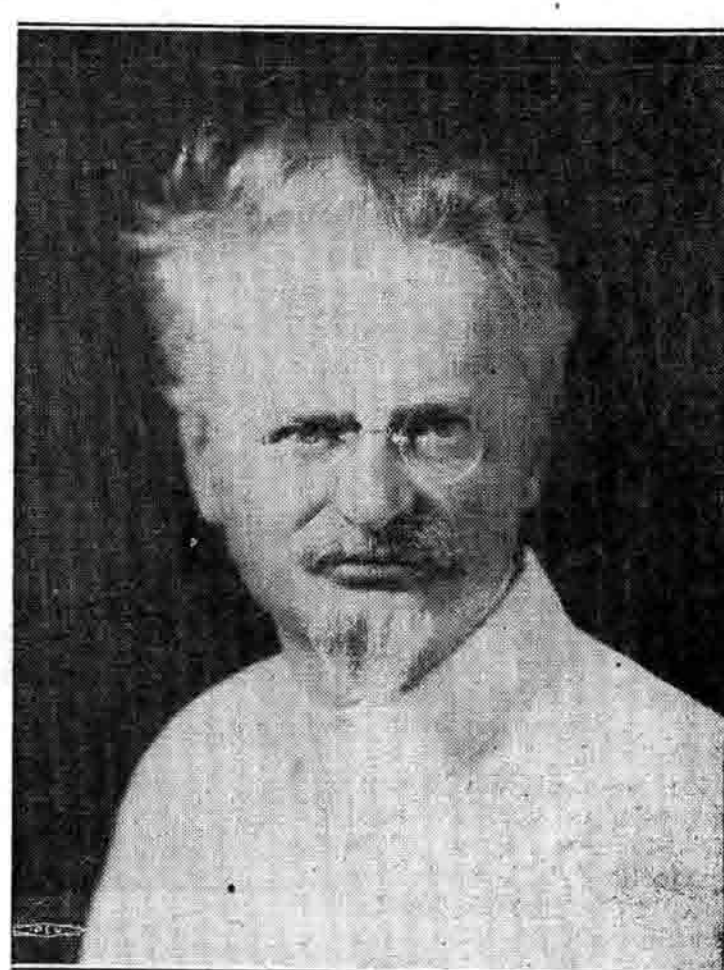
Trotsky located the essential elements in the various national fascist movements, and was able to show which elements, even though common, were subordinate, formal and mere adaptations to time and place. He would have expressed only scorn for those groups who today deny the fascist character of McCarthyism because it lacks the national trappings of European fascist movements, or because McCarthyism at the present, relatively early stage of its development differs outwardly in some ways from Hitlerism after it became a movement big enough to take power.

THE HAGUE EXAMPLE

In 1938 Mayor Hague of Jersey City launched a drive to prevent the CIO from organizing the plants in his bailiwick. CIO organizers, Norman Thomas and even Democratic congressmen were forcibly run out of town for trying to exercise their rights to meet, speak or pass out literature. Most of the repression was carried out by Hague's cops, but he also utilized extra-legal vigilante groups composed of wardheelers, Legionnaires, strike-breakers, etc.

Trotsky didn't hesitate for a minute to characterize Hague: "He has nothing to do with Mussolini or Hitler, but he is an American fascist." True, Hague was a Democrat, even a national vice-chairman of his party (just as McCarthy is a Republican). True, Hague didn't sport a swastika (any more than McCarthy does). True, Hague operated mainly "within the law," as he interpreted the law (just as McCarthy does).

But Hague was a fascist just the same, and when we branded



Leon Trotsky

him as one in 1938 nobody who pretended to be a Marxist challenged the designation (except maybe the Stalinists, who then, as now, were cuddling up to the Democrats in line with their People's Front policy and who were only a few years later openly endorsing Hague's candidates).

THE FASCIST GOAL

What does fascism want? "Fascism," Trotsky explained, "bases its program on the demolition of labor organizations, on the destruction of social reforms and on the complete annihilation of democratic rights, in order to forestall a resurrection of the proletariat's class struggle." (Introduction to Living Thoughts of Marx, 1939.)

That is McCarthy's game too, though he has to mask it, and to unfold his program carefully and a piece at a time. The fascist nature and methods of McCarthyism have been demonstrated so consistently in the Militant that we will not attempt here to do it again. But we think it is enlightening to touch once more on the important distinction Trotsky made between fascism and what is today commonly called "the police state."

Hitler's government was preceded by a number of short-lived governments which tried to solve for the German capitalist class the same problems Hitler sought to solve for them, but by different means. As Trotsky wrote in 1926, "The big bourgeoisie likes fascism as little as a man with aching molars likes to have his teeth pulled."

These pre-Hitler governments, headed by Brüning, Papen and Schleicher, all moved steadily to the right, seeking to tame the working class by bureaucratic decrees, suspension of laws, extraordinary legislation, etc., hoping they could save the capitalist system without resorting to the expensive tooth-pulling that Hitler represented.

CONFUSION

This resulted in a certain amount of confusion. These governments seemed to be stealing large parts of Hitler's program and putting them into practice. Professional confusionists (the Kremlin and the German Stalinists particularly) thereupon raised the cry that there was no difference between these governments and Nazism and that it didn't matter which was in power since Brüning et al were doing what Hitler would do anyhow.

The chief beneficiary of this stupidity was Hitler because it led the people who were influenced by it to underestimate the danger of the Nazis. (When Hitler did take over, he didn't merely try to control the workers organizations by bureaucratic measures, he smashed them altogether and all democratic rights with them.)

A similar tendency is observable in this country today among people who insist that McCarthyism is not the greatest danger because the Eisenhower regime, which has government power (unlike McCarthy), is using it to carry out the main points in his program. "Watch Brownell, not McCarthy," they cry. "Brownell has put more people in jail than McCarthy, and anybody who fails to center his main fire on Eisenhower and Brownell is diverting us from the main struggle against reaction."

What such people don't understand was explained long ago by Trotsky in his analysis of the fascist and police state tendencies. The fascists and the police statesmen both want to destroy the workers' resistance to wage cuts, war regimentation, etc.; in this respect, they are alike. But the fascists want to do it by completely overthrowing the political structure of democratic capitalism, while the police statesmen want to do it through this structure, from which their own political power derives; in this respect they are different. But there is something more, and Trotsky pointed this out, too. These two tendencies are interrelated and feed on each other.

The stronger fascism becomes, the more the police statesmen seem to be pushed to the right (or rather, the freer they feel to move to the right). But the rightward movement of the government and its increasing departure from traditional political practices result not in weakening or "outflanking" the fascists but in strengthening them. This is because fascism plays a double role:

On one side it increasingly sets the political norms for the government, pushing and prodding it further to the right and to the use of more and more undemocratic practices. And on the other side it builds its own forces inside and outside the government in preparation for the time when it can replace the (increasingly discredited) police statesmen with outright fascist rule.

Those people who arbitrarily separate the two complementary capitalist tendencies and see only one side of McCarthy's function are incapable of contributing much to the struggle against either McCarthy or Eisenhower.

FOR UNITED ACTION

In advising the German workers how to prevent the victory of Hitlerism, Trotsky had to combat two suicidally false policies. His criticism of those policies is relevant to our own struggle against McCarthyism.

The Stalinists, guided by Stalin, not only equated Hitler with Schleicher, but even worse equated the leadership of the reformist Social Democratic Party with both of them. For the Stalinists, Social Democracy and fascism were "twins," and the Social Democrats were nothing but "social fascists." As a result they rejected Trotsky's call for an anti-fascist united front of all working class organizations. This made it possible for the Social Democratic leaders to retain their influence over the

Social Democratic workers, and kept the labor movement so divided and disoriented in the face of the fascist menace that it became an easy prey for the Nazis.

Successful struggle against fascism is possible only through the united action of the labor movement. In Germany this meant first of all a united front of the working class parties which dominated the labor movement. In the U.S. it means first of all joint anti-fascist action by the AFL, CIO and independent unions. Both the German experience and Trotsky's teachings confirm the necessity for an American Congress of Labor to unite all sections of the labor movement and its non-capitalist allies in a militant struggle against McCarthyism.

FOR CLASS STRUGGLE

The German Social Democrats contributed as much to Hitler's victory as the Stalinists, but in a different way. Instead of promoting united action of the working class on a socialist program that would appeal to the desperate middle class elements

yearning for some kind of revolutionary alternative to the status quo, as Trotsky advocated, they staked all their hopes on the democratic capitalists to save them from fascism.

In the 1932 election the Social Democrats voted for and tagged along behind President Hindenburg, against whom Hitler was running. They hailed Hindenburg's reelection as a crushing defeat for Hitler. But less than three months later the man they had elected President as an anti-fascist bowed to the decision of Big Business and appointed Hitler Chancellor. Another three months and the labor movement was smashed and the Social Democratic leaders were either in concentration camps, exile or graves.

In America today the 1932 policy of the German Social Democrats is being repeated all over again. The American labor leaders have no anti-McCarthy program of their own. They rely on the Democrats, or even on Eisenhower, to save them somehow from McCarthyism. But Eisenhower follows in the path of Hindenburg and the Democrats capitulate to McCarthyism on one issue after another. And the Stalinists, having learned nothing from Germany, repeat the crimes here not of the German Stalinists but of the German Social Democrats; they too plead in 1954 for the election of the Democrats as the answer to McCarthyism.

LESSON TO BE LEARNED

"America is different from Germany." But it won't be if the American workers permit a repetition here of the German workers' errors. The answer to McCarthyism is not class collaboration with one section of the capitalist class, but class struggle against all its sections, and class struggle on the political field can be waged only if the American workers organize their own independent Labor Party, based on a consistently anti-capitalist program capable of winning the sympathy of the middle class people McCarthy is wooing. If they wage this struggle resolutely, America can be spared the horrors of fascism.

That is the lesson Trotsky drew for the American workers in the last years of his life. It is a thousand-times more true and practical than the statements and programs of all the labor, liberal and Stalinist leaders combined. Those of us who are grateful to Trotsky for helping us learn this lesson can best show our gratitude by helping to teach it to our fellow-workers.

... British Labor Paper

(Continued from page 1)

motivated in part it appears, by a desire to please the Malenkov regime by offering them the scalp of a British "Trotskyist" publication. Formation of a common front between the Stalinist bureaucracy and Anglo-American capitalism against revolutionary socialism is one of the aims of "peaceful coexistence" for which both Moscow and London are pressing at present. The banning of the Socialist Outlook is a small reciprocal gesture for the Stalinist betrayal of the Indo-Chinese people to French imperialism.

RECALLS TROTSKY

In an article in a British Sunday newspaper two weeks ago, Morrison outlined his position on the agreement of the British government to grant political asylum to a Polish refugee, Klimovics. Expanding on the general question of political refugees, Morrison devoted quite a few lines to Leon Trotsky's request for political asylum in Britain in 1930. He remarked significantly that the Labor government of that time had refused Trotsky asylum out of consideration for its diplomatic relations with the Stalinist regime which was persecuting the co-founder of the Soviet Union.

Was it an accident that Herbert Morrison felt it necessary to mention this appeasement of the Stalinist bureaucracy precisely when he was preparing to denounce "Trotskyists in the Labor Party"? Michael Foot, a Bevanite member of Parliament who writes a slashing attack on the NEC ban in this week's Tribune, shrewdly observed: "What in heaven's name is the National Executive trying to achieve by this rigmorale? Are they attempting to appease the N.K.V.D. and the Un-American Activities Committee by the same single act?"

The bulk of the Labor Party rank and file who have been aroused by the witch-hunting edict are motivated by two main considerations. (1) They are angered by any attempt of the right wing to protect their bureaucratic positions by bans and

proscriptions. The curtailment of party democracy in a period of deep division in the Labor Party touches the rank and file in a sensitive spot, particularly when they see these same right-wing leaders flouting the wishes of the membership in attempting to impose a Tory foreign policy on the movement and in attacking various sections of the party with impunity.

(2) They are determined to preserve the tradition of a free press. Thus the gag on the Socialist Outlook at once aroused widespread protest among journalistic and intellectual circles in the Labor Party.

Michael Foot voices these sentiments in his forthright attack on the NEC, which appeared on the front page of the Tribune under the headline, "I Call This an Outrage."

"For the first time in history so far as I am aware," he declared, "the leaders of the Labor Party have taken steps to suppress a newspaper."

"Is the new rule to be," he asks, "that members of the Labor Party may write with impunity and for large fees for any of the dozens of newspapers which attack the Labor Party every day, but that they will risk their membership cards if they ever dare to write for a paper some of the contributors to which have had past associations with the Arch-Fiend Trotsky?"

"I for one read Socialist Outlook and I propose to go on doing so. Neither Mr. Herbert Morrison nor Mr. Morgan Phillips (General Secretary of the Labor Party) nor anyone else is going to stop me. It so happens I don't agree with its views. But unlike the National Executive

'Impartial'?

E. Wallace Chadwick, Pennsylvania lawyer picked as counsel for the new Senate committee "probing" McCarthy, voted for the Mundt-Nixon police state bill and the Taft-Hartley Law and defended the House Un-American Activities Committee when he was a GOP member of Congress. He claims he is "impartial."

ive I don't fear its arguments. Bad arguments can be answered by better arguments. How long must it be before Morrison and Company understand that first principle of freedom?"

The editor of the New Statesman and Nation, which had wide circulation among the left intellectuals, denounced the ban and will speak at a protest meeting together with Michael Foot and other leading labor journalists.

"LIFT THE BAN"

The Socialist Outlook has taken up the challenge boldly. This week's issue appears with its banner headline in red ink: LIFT THE BAN.

In an article signed by G. Healy, a member of the Editorial Board, Socialist Outlook ascribes the ban to the fear the right wing of the Labor Party feels over the fighting policy of the paper and what it has done to help clarify issues for the rank and file of the party.

Healy expresses confidence that the left wing will shortly win the leadership of the Labor Party.

Because of the extent of the opposition to the ban it is felt that there is every possibility the NEC will be forced to retreat. But in any case the fighting response of the Socialist Outlook has already won it a host of new friends and supporters.

San Francisco James Kutcher

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The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Modern John Brown, Chapter II

The fire started by Philip Partridge last July 5 in an attempt to end segregation in a public school in Hillsboro, Ohio, was put out by the fire department before the Jim Crow school was destroyed. But the flame of indignation he kindled in the hearts of the colored parents in that community is burning brightly as they organized to fight the discrimination against their children by other means.

The first step taken by the Negro community was to protest against the Hillsboro school board's proposal to repair the Lincoln elementary school for colored children and to continue using it as a segregated school for two years or "until new elementary schools are completed."

Despite the opposition of the colored population, however, the school board accepted an insurance adjustment of about \$4,300 and has started repair work.

According to the Cleveland Plain Dealer of Aug. 3, "board members said the Negro residents 'are asking the impossible' in seeking integration of their pupils in grades 1 to 6 now. It is a condition, they pointed out, that has existed more than 100 years."

"Referring to the crowded condition of the other elementary schools, with a big first grade enrollment coming in this year, one board member said: 'Can they answer the question — where are you going to put them?'"

The Cleveland Call & Post of Aug. 7 reports the answer — in action — of the Negro community:

A Citizens Committee for School Integration has been formed in Hillsboro, with Mrs. Irma

Jean Curtis at its head. She had been approached several times by interested mothers, she reported, but had taken no action previously in the hope that the school board would end the segregated pattern following the U.S. Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

The committee arranged for a meeting with the school board for Aug. 9 to demand full integration. If it is refused, legal action is planned.

In the petition to the board, Mrs. Curtis and others point out that "71 colored elementary pupils have only two teachers for six grades. They said some children walk over one and one-half miles, passing the white schools, to reach the all-Negro school."

In September, Mrs. Curtis stated to the Call & Post, "We will obey the state law by sending our children to school, but we will take them by the hand and lead them to the white school. If we are refused we will not send them to school at all."

Widespread support for the committee's plan has been expressed in the colored community of Hillsboro, and is spreading to other, larger cities, like Cincinnati.

Meanwhile, the modern John Brown whose action sparked the campaign, awaits a grand jury trial for arson. In an action that indicates a startling similarity to the attitude of earlier white supremacists to the famous John Brown of Abolition days, the authorities are holding Philip Partridge at Lima State Hospital for sanity tests.

Notes from the News

TRAGIC AFTERMATH. Between 1950 and 1953, 30,000 babies were born in Nagasaki, Japan, one of the cities the U.S. dropped an atomic bomb on in 1945. Of these, 4,400 were still-borns — one-seventh of all the babies born between 1950 and 1953! During this same three-year period 3,650 new-born babies were deformed, many of them "virtual horrors." This means that in that one atom-bombed city, during the years 1950 to 1953, over 8,000 babies were born either dead or deformed — more than 25% of all births! These figures, current up to June 25, 1954, were reported by AFL radio commentator Frank Edwards and printed in the Aug. 1 Midwest Labor World.

ONLY BARBARIANS POISON THEIR ENEMIES. W. Harvey Moore of Britain told more than 350 delegates from 23 nations at the opening of the International Law Association's conference in Edinburgh, Aug. 9. According to the N. Y. Times, Mr. Moore "condemned as contrary to international law on four counts" the use of nuclear weapons: (1) "atomic or hydrogen weapons would contravene existing international statutes" because they are "poisonous"; (2) they are "inhuman," since they cause "unnecessary suffering"; (3) they cannot "be employed without disregarding the historic distinction between combatants and noncombatants"; (4) they "contravene the Geneva Convention of 1925 which prohibits the use of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases, and analogous liquids, materials and devices."

FRANK EDWARDS. \$35,000 a year AFL radio news commentator, was "summarily dismissed" just before his scheduled nation-wide broadcast at 9 P.M. Aug. 11. George Meany, AFL president who announced the action, said the cause was "Mr. Edwards' failure to keep news and opinion separate." The Aug. 13 N. Y. Times states that the AFL "felt that in mixing the two, Mr. Edwards was weighting his programs on the side of labor generally and the AFL particularly." In Washington, Edwards said he submitted his resignation because Meany attempted to impose

a censorship "to fit his personal ambitions, animosities and prejudices," and that Meany's demands "were an affront to the intelligence of millions of AFL members and other American citizens" who listened to broadcasts. The Aug. 13 N. Y. Herald Tribune quotes Edwards as insisting that the underlying reason was an outgrowth of the internal feud in the AFL between Meany and Dave Beck, president of the 1,300,000-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Edwards, declaring that "Meany has long been gunning for me," said he was sponsored for the job, which began on Jan. 1, 1950, by Dan Tobin, now president-emeritus of the Teamsters. The late William Green was AFL president at the time and Meany was secretary-treasurer.

EARL BROWDER, former head of the Communist Party in the United States, is seeking to end the perjury indictment against him. Browder and his wife, Raissa, were named in a five-count perjury indictment returned in Sept. 1952. They were charged with having testified falsely in a 1949 immigration hearing that Mrs. Browder was never a member of the Communist party. Because of illness, Mrs. Browder obtained a trial severance. The government then moved to bring Browder, named in only one count, to trial. Federal Judge Gregory F. Noonan reserved decision on the motion to dismiss the perjury indictment against Browder.

THE BAN ON THE TWO-MINUTE SEQUENCE showing the birth of a buffalo calf in Walt Disney's "The Vanishing Prairie" kicked up so much commotion that the N. Y. Censor Board has reversed its action. The official explanation for the reversal goes like this: While the director of the Board, Dr. Hugh M. Flick, was away on vacation, the Board, "under the acting direction of Mrs. Helen Kellogg," banned the sequence as "indecent." Dr. Flick returned, saw the film and approved it in its entirety. He is quoted by Disney's sales supervisor as saying that the board had no business requesting that the sequence be cut without his knowledge.

...Millions on March in Germany

(Continued from page 1)
movement in the shape it was during the days of Hitler.

The road back for the German workers has been a terrible one. After the concentration camps and gas chambers of the Nazis, they found themselves in a land pulverized by war and divided in half by the conquerors. Germany's industrial plant was in ruins and what had escaped bombing was earmarked for dismantling by the Allies.

In the early days of the Allied occupation, hunger strikes flared in the Ruhr, but the emancipated German workers were unable to throw back the Allied bayonets that had replaced Hitler's internal police. Sullenly they set to work to rebuild the industries from the ground up.

By 1948 profits had begun to show on the balance sheets of the corporations. But the trade union leaders persuaded the workers to forego heavy pressure for wage increases.

An industrial setback followed which lasted until last winter. Then a boom occurred. For the past few months the newspapers have been reporting lucrative dividend payments to the stockholders of the big companies.

This became the signal for the workers to begin moving. This time they did not wait for the trade union bureaucrats to give their approval.

As the Wall Street Journal puts it: "The German Trade Union Federation claims that the strikes are not centrally directed. If this is so, the situation is even more serious as it shows workers are acting on their own initiative and are ahead of their leaders

in fighting for higher wages." (Aug. 11.)

CRISIS FOR ADENAUER

The employers, long accustomed to having Hitler's police or the occupation authorities intervene against the workers, appeared to hope that Adenauer, the present head of the puppet government, could handle the situation. Whether he can remains to be seen.

Business Week feared that the strikes might signal the finish of Adenauer: "Don't underestimate the current strike wave in West Germany. It's bound to lead to higher wages, hurt the German competitive position in world markets. The strikes are as important a sign of change in West Germany as is the shifting mood in foreign policy. The two, together, may well mean that the Adenauer era is coming to an end." (Aug. 14.)

The militant mood of the strikers is indicated by what happened at Munich. When police tried to get scabs through picket lines Aug. 11, the pickets locked arms before factory entrances, effectively blocking them.

At a dozen plants elsewhere in Bavaria the same day, police used clubs, but their brutality made no dent in the solidarity of the strike of 220,000 metal workers. Forty-nine firms, in fact, gave in to demands for a 3-cent an hour increase. (The current scale for a skilled worker is only 44 cents.)

On the following day, when Munich police again tried to protect scabs, more than 1,000 shouting strikers jammed the streets before a plant. Dozens were injured in fist fights.

In Nuernberg, employers hired strikebreakers to hurl stones and boiling water at pickets. At Amberg sympathetic miners joined striking workers to keep scabs from entering an electrical plant. Some 20 were injured in melees with cops, but among the injured were a number of the police.

Meanwhile in Hamburg, where the strike wave started Aug. 4, municipal workers won two-thirds of their 2.3-cent-an-hour wage-increase demand. This brought the strike there to an end.

An Aug. 13 tension mounted in Munich as 300 police clashed with 2,500 angry strikers at the gates of the big Siemens electrical plant.

OPENS NEW ERA
The strike wave was touched off over purely economic demands. But this is no ordinary series of strikes. It comes after more than two decades of the most savage suppression a labor movement has ever experienced. The bitterness of the German workers is one of the explosive ingredients of their present action.

No matter how the strikes end, the German workers, finding each other on the picket line, experiencing once again the power that lies in solidarity and united action will not only begin to think of redressing long over-due accounts with Hitler's capitalist backers, they will also begin recalling their mighty socialist tradition that was once the pride of the labor movement throughout the world.

The present strike wave marks the close of one era and the opening of a new.

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McCarthy Probers



Sen. Arthur Watkins (R-Utah), seated left, who heads new six-man Senate committee to probe fascist Senator McCarthy (R-Wis.). Other committee members shown are, standing left to right, Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) and Sen. Francis Case (R-S.D.). Committee members were picked on basis of fact that none had ever said anything against McCarthy.

We Must Fight for Civil Liberties Or Become Slaves, Says Legless Vet

By Ernest Rief

LOS ANGELES, Aug. 14 — Over 150 people packed Channing Hall last night to hear James Kutcher tell of his fight for reinstatement in his Veterans Administration job from which he was fired six

years ago because of his political ideas and his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The meeting was sponsored by the local Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

The legless veteran of World War II shared the platform with an imposing list of speakers which included Leo Gallagher, veteran labor attorney, the Rev. Stephen Fritchman, minister of the Unitarian Church in which the meeting was held, Paul Jacobs of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Al Wirin, widely known civil liberties attorney. George Novack, national secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee was chairman.

Kutcher pointed out that we often take our freedoms too much for granted, forgetting that our ancestors fought for and created them. "Now I think we've got to fight for them too, or else we're going to become slaves," he continued. "The great danger is from the American form of totalitarianism, which is known by the name of McCarthyism." He also stressed the fact that to stop McCarthyism we need not only courage and determination but a correct program.

FIGHTS FOR ALL

Leo Gallagher reviewed the repressive legislation which has been passed in recent years and declared that we can have no confidence in either major party to defend democratic rights. He, as well as Rev. Fritchman and Al Wirin, expressed gratitude to

Cops Crack Safes While on 'Duty'

By Milton Alvin

In case you are wondering how other people make a living, news from Birmingham should be helpful: at least 23 and possibly 50 of Birmingham's 360-man police force have been implicated in a series of burglaries and safe-cracking jobs in which they made off with \$50,000 during the last two years.

The policemen-thieves worked up some novel methods. For instance, police cars were used to haul away the loot. The police radio system was used to warn those "on the job" if someone was coming. The cops used to enter downtown stores and try on clothing until they found the right size. After such operations they would report to headquarters that they were investigating the thefts.

Birmingham happens to be a city where a great deal of terror is practiced against Negroes, some of it by the police. It is also a fact that the terrorists are practically never caught and brought to justice.

If this city is so corrupt that cops on duty can use police equipment to commit burglaries for two years before being detected, it would seem to follow that other crimes such as terror, bombings and the like may also be committed by these same defenders of "law and order."

Studebaker and German Workers

Editor:

Today the papers report that the Studebaker workers in Indiana, acting on the advice of their CIO leaders, have voted in favor of accepting a 20% pay cut.

The same papers tell about the labor movement of Western Germany, which was reborn less than a decade ago after suffering under fascism for 12 years, striking militantly to win wage raises of a few pennies an hour.

What a reversal of roles! It ought to make every American worker stop and think.

Wages and living conditions in this country are still higher than those in Germany. But if present trends continue, if the American unions don't wake up and start fighting, that may change too.

Reader
Philadelphia, Pa.

Will Studebaker Example Spread?

Editor:

The Studebaker workers were sold a bill of goods by the company and the union bureaucrats, to accept a 15% wage cut amounting to roughly 30c an hour. This is one of the most criminal acts that have been committed by the labor fakers. Big business will now seek to make this a pattern for the rest of industry to follow. Unless the rest of the labor leaders show some intelligence along with some guts to back it up, we will all wind up by taking a wage cut. The precedent has been set.

The Big Four packers started negotiations just after the wage cut was shoved down the Studebaker workers' throats. Armour has stated that they must cut \$5,000,000 in labor costs next year

"Americans Can't Stay In Their Own Streets"

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Aug. 18 — Police Commissioner Adams' drive to get 7,000 more club-swinging cops on the New York City payroll is still going strong.

More than 1,000 people have been hauled in by the police dragnet. The Daily News ferociously demands harsher methods to "end terror in the streets." The city magistrates have joined in by handing out stiff sentences on a mass production basis. The whole operation is the phoniest of all phony "anti-crime crusades." It has ominous implications for the workers, Negroes and Puerto Rican people of this city.

Commissioner Adams says he ordered the wholesale roundup because New York is "on the verge of becoming a city of violence." Yet practically all of the 1,000 dragged into court are either kids standing on a corner, beggars, peddlers, homeless old men, or just someone who fell asleep in a park after midnight. Negroes and Puerto Ricans have been singled out as special targets.

"REGIMENT OF BEGGARS"

Buried at the end of a big lead story in the Aug. 16 Herald Tribune is a typical box score from the Bronx: "Those arrested were charged with using loud and boisterous language, shooting dice, loitering, drinking from a common bottle and violation of park regulations." A N. Y. Post survey of the roundup concludes, "The dragnet has bagged a regiment of beggars."

This fake "crusade" is also being used to win support for the notorious brutality of the New York cops. The Aug. 13 Daily News reports with alarm about a group of youngsters "who sneer at a cop who tells them to stop loitering and move on, their attitude breathing insolence and defiance as they take a few steps, stop, coolly look over the cop and remark: 'It's getting so Americans can't stay in their own streets anymore.'"

A "high police official" sadly comments, "What can you do with these kids? ... They haven't committed any crime." "The Civil Liberties Union complains," he laments, "because we picked up a few loiterers on suspicion."

Taking a global view of the problem, the same "high official" opines, "It is a situation the cops has to learn to handle himself. It is made more difficult by a rising spirit of rebellion, not only in New York, but throughout the country and the world ... respect for law and order has to be restored and enforced ... the time for talk has passed."

Coming from a New York cop this would be funny if it wasn't such a grim business. What is the "enforcement" record of New

York's "finest"? During the past four years alone, ten innocent people have been murdered in cold blood by trigger-happy cops. And not one of the killers has been punished for his crime.

The extent of officially-condoned police brutality was indicated in a scathing 1953 report of the Legal Aid Society. The report disclosed that of 8,300 arrest cases handled by the Society in the previous year, one-third showed signs of injuries inflicted by cops that ranged from bruises to broken jaws.

NEST OF REACTION

What is involved in the problem of the New York police is not how many cops are sadists and how many are "decent people." The fact is that over the years the top police brass have consciously molded the department into a virulent anti-labor, anti-minority outfit where a "decent" cop hasn't a chance to be decent.

That the force is a seething nest of political reaction is well known. During the thirties, Father Coughlin's fascist Christian Front could boast that literally thousands of New York cops were members.

That this situation hasn't changed was demonstrated last April 4 when 6,000 Roman Catholic cops, at an annual Holy Name Society Communion Breakfast, gave a riotous ovation to Joseph McCarthy and yelled and stamped their approval of his fascist spewings.

New York is no more free of crime than any other slum-ridden city. And it will remain that way until every last tenement is razed to the ground. The addition of 7,000 cops won't curtail crime. But it will further intensify the criminal treatment of innocent citizens by cops who are getting it pounded into their heads by their superiors that "the time for talk is past."

Ask Volunteers to Help Put SWP on NY Ballot

NEW YORK, August 16 — Plans were announced today for an intensive campaign to put the Socialist Workers Party on this fall's New York state ballot.

The party election campaign committee announced that it would send petition circulators into every county of the state to secure the necessary signatures, and it called upon members and friends of the party to aid the work of the campaign.

The New York state election law requires 12,000 signatures to be secured representing each of the state's 61 counties. It further specifies that these must be secured by September 22.

The petition to be circulated will nominate the candidates selected by the party, David L. Weiss for Governor, Dorothy Haines for Lieutenant Governor, Catherine Gratta for Attorney General and Harold Robins for Comptroller.

The campaign committee in New York City will coordinate its work with a similar committee set up in Buffalo.

Volunteer workers for the campaign can report to the New York City campaign headquarters at 116 University Place, AL 5-7852 or 831 Main Street, Buffalo. At either place their help in the campaign to put a socialist ticket on the ballot will be warmly welcomed.



DOROTHY W. HAINES, of Buffalo, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Lt. Governor of New York. She was born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1925. During World War II she worked as a welder in the Bethlehem Steel yards in Hingham, Mass. After the war she did painting and plastering, fighting prejudice against women craftsmen as well as race bias. She later worked as a punch press operator and electrical worker, and was active in the unions.

Our Readers Take the Floor

Studebaker and German Workers

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so they can pay for the reconversion project they have in progress. They demand that the workers stand this loss by taking a 7c an hour pay cut. I'm waiting anxiously to see if the union leaders are going to go along with this demand as they did at Studebaker.

The trend today is toward automation, that is, industry is replacing manpower with machines. On some jobs they are producing the same amount with 5 men where formerly it took 15. But, as a worker was asking me a few days ago, "What is the company going to do with the products that these machines produce? If a man is out of work he can't buy it and it's for sure the machines can't eat it."

He continued, "I don't know what these big monied people are thinking about — don't they know that a man should have the right to live? We have to eat the same as they do. If the working people are kept in jobs so they can eat, everything will be OK. If we can't have jobs so we can buy something to eat there is going to be trouble."

That in general is the feeling of all workers today. There is a great fear of insecurity because of all the unemployment and the fear of being railroaded from all jobs because of the thought-control with hunt and finally the threat of atomic war.

But the union leaders are telling the workers everything's going to be all right if they put the "friends of labor," meaning the Democrats, back in office. They seem to have forgotten that the Democrats were the ones who started the witch hunt and have used the Taft-Hartley Act every time they got a chance.

The way I see it we have come to a junction of many crossroads. It reminds me of the fork in the road of Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum — both roads led to the

same house. It's the same with the Democrats and Republicans, they both lead to the same blind alley. What is needed is independent political action — a Labor Party.

Packhouse Worker
Chicago, Ill.

Why Not to Vote Democrat

Editor:

Frank M. wanted some additional arguments to convince his brother that voting for the Democrats is not the way to stop McCarthyism (Aug. 9).

I don't have any additional arguments of my own, but I would suggest that he show his brother a copy of the newspapers reporting how the Democrats in the U.S. Senate — liberals, conservatives and reactionaries alike — jostled and trampled on each other in their eagerness to introduce and get credit for passing the McCarthyite bill to outlaw the Communist Party.

And remember — the vote was unanimous.

I might also say this: If, after this unanimous vote, the members of the Communist Party do not rebel against their party's program of supporting the Democrats in this year's elections, then there isn't a really revolutionary grain in their bodies.

L. P.
New York City

More on St. Louis Race-Baiting Group

Editor:

I thought your articles on this National Citizens Protective Association were exaggerated. Because I had never read anything about this group in the daily or local Negro press, I wondered if it actually existed.

However a friend in South St. Louis recently had one of the NCPA leaflets put under her doorstep. The NCPA is very much alive and every bit as vicious and dangerous as your article said.

This leaflet called for a protest meeting against "race-mixing in the schools" at the Kiel Auditorium (a large city-owned auditorium) on Aug. 26. It said: "Are 150,000 WHITE AMERICANS going to let 9 old men and 16,000 Negroes destroy our White American Way of Life? Today they want our schools — tomorrow our daughters."

"Mongrelization of the White Race is Communism's 5th Column in America. Race-mixing will weaken and destroy America's morale, high standards and ability. It will corrupt and pervert us. AMERICA AWAKE BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE. THE HOUR IS NOW!"

It is not easy for me to understand how people with liberal ideas will cover up for an organization like this and keep people from finding out about it. A leading NAACP member told me that the St. Louis papers will keep these hate-organizations from growing by not giving them any publicity.

I know he believes what he says, but he is surely kidding himself. Without publicity, in a few short years the NCPA is already strong enough to attract crowds large enough to warrant renting a hall in the auditorium. The NAACP after many years and quite a bit of publicity cannot do the same thing in St. Louis. Congratulations to the Militant for having the courage and foresight to expose the NCPA.

Rudy Black
St. Louis, Mo.