# **Beria** Offered As Scapegoat In Soviet Crisis

By John G. Wright

When secret police chief Beria was purged some even months ago, the Militant explained that this signifield a blood purge patterned after the mass purges of the Phirties. This was confirmed Dec.

The new indictment and the anwith the release of the official dictment of Beria and six other nounced "trial" of Beria and his "six aides" comes not as a culo-conspirators," all of whom ave reportedly "confessed" to mination but rather as an inteneing "foreign spies," would - be sification of the purge already estorers of capitalism in the seven months in progress. Otherwise, these steps would never Soviet Union, "terrorist murderers," etc. etc. A show trial is have been taken.

scheduled to take place, with or WHY THE PURGE? without the presence of the The question naturally arises defendants.

why does Malenkov find such a Meanwhile mass meetings have been taking place in every city, course necessary? Because he has no other way of securing his rule town and village demanding death to these seven "traitors to the except, as Stalin did, through the method of blood purge, "confesmotherland." sions," show trials and the rest.

The Dec. 16 indictment is especially significant because it includes the name of a prominent for the benefit of a multi-milminister, V. A. Merkulov, one of lioned bureaucracy in the Soviet the 25 ministers nominated by Union. In a literal sense this horde of functionaries - party, Malenkov personally in the March government, police, trade - union, reorganization of the government military, administrative, etc. following Stalin's death.

are parasites on the Soviet As Minister of State Control, Merkulov voted together with his economy and the mass of the Soviet people. They have excolleagues for Beria's purge at the end of June. He retained his propriated the workers politically, usurping power, arrogating to post through the August sessions themselves positions of power and of the Supreme Soviet. The first privilege. news of his downfall came with

In its mode of life, its menthe release of the indictment tality, its role, this bureaucracy This must have come as a shock represents one of the most reacespecially to other government tionary formations in modern dignitaries.

times. Its needs and its interests The sudden elevation of five collide head on with the needs and more ministers to the post of interests of the Soviet masses. At deputy-premiers, a post which all the same time, the bureaucracy of them held under Stalin, was andoubtedly calculated by Malen- straddles the Soviet economy, new kov as a gesture of reassurance social institutions and productive to the uneasy functionaries.

HITS FAR EAST

relations - nationalized property, planned economy, the direct conquests of the 1917 Russian Revo-The inclusion of S. A. Goglidze lution - the most progressive economic forms in mankind's his-

Like Stalin, Malenkov must rule

in the list of defendants is significant because it discloses that the tory. The bureaucracy as a ruling purge has struck into the Far East minority cannot crystallize into a regions of the USSR. Goglidze ruling class on the basis of Soviet was the dictator in that area for economic foundations; it is barred years.

from elaborating its own organs From the indictment it is also clear that in addition to the of rule, its own legal system, class Far-East, the main centers of the traditions, class code and the like purge have been the Ukraine, which are necessary to every ruling class. As Leon Trotsky Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

In recent issues of Pravda long ago pointed out, this bureaucracy has all the vices but there is tell-tale evidence that the purge has hit highly placed party none of the virtues of historic functionaries in Leningrad prov- ruling classes. It substitutes ince, Tula, Krasnoyarsk, Kras- measures of naked force - adnodar and other key provinces. ministrative, police measures

While the indictment seeks for other measures traditionally deliberately to convey the im- available to genuine ruling classes pression that the purge is aimed primarily at the secret police ROLE OF BLOOD PURGE

(from Beria down, each of the

**Build a Labor Party Now!** 

MILTANT PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

267 NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1953

demonstratively advised a witness

before the McCarthy "spy hunt"

committee, "not to cooperate with

this or any other investigating

response to a question from Mc-

Carthy as to whether or not he

Einstein both to every one in gen-

eral and by personal consultation

which invades my right to think

to me in particular."

committee."

**PRICE: 10 CENTS** 

# **President Eisenhower Wilts** Under Heat from McCarthy

### Wasn't a Spy

THE

Vol. XVII - No. 52



A Capitol policeman ejects engineer Eenry J. Shoiket from hearing room in Washington on order of McCarthy. The Wisconsin fascist senator, conducting a witch hunt at Fort Monmouth, N. J., ostensibly in search of "spies," called for a cop when the witness demanded his right to deny before the committee that he was a spy.

#### as I please." Senator Seeks Total Power STAND ON RIGHTS "I discussed this question personally with Dr. Einstein," Sha-Liberal Weekly Warns U.S. dowitz said, "and he advised me to do exactly as I am doing now. with this or any other committee

#### By John F. Petrone

Those who want serious and detailed information "He said any questions relating The most naked and hideous ad- about the forms and scope of the current witch hunt will to my personal beliefs, politics, find a great deal of it presented in the special 64-page

Einstein Calls<br/>For Defiance<br/>Of McCarthyDetroit SWP Rally<br/>To Fight Coughlin NEW YORK, Dec. 21 - Farrell Dobbs, National Sec-Albert Einstein, world - famed retary of the Socialist Workers Party, today urged the physicist, has again provided a

Detroit labor movement to take up the cudgels against splendid example of how to figh the fascist demagogue, Father Coughlin of Royal Oak, McCarthyite witch hunting. For Mich., who reentered the political arena Dec. 4 with the the second time he has boldly and approval of the Catholic hierarchy after a 14-year silence.

In his first appeal since 1939 for a new mass following, the former fascist radio priest called for a guaranteed annual wage, trade with India and China, and the lifting of all taxes from production line workers.

The fact that Coughlin thinks he can attract auto Appearing under subpoena beworkers with such issues is a grave warning signal, Dobbs fore the committee, Albert Shaheid. "It shows that the labor leaders are remiss in dedowitz, an engineer, disclosed veloping a fighting program against unemployment. Thus Einstein's advice to him in they leave the field free for demagogues.

"In and of themselves," Dobbs declared, "these particular demands are good ones and happen to be popular had been a Communist at the time among the auto workers who are threatened with mass e was employed at an Army base. "In answer to this question," unemployment in the face of a rising cost of living. But Shadowitz replied, "I am going to it would be a fatal error to overlook who is making this ollow completely the course of appeal and why he is making it. action advised by Dr. Albert

"We must never forget that Hitler, like his predecessor Mussolini, made all kinds of demagogic appeals to rally a mass following. Hitler claimed he was pro-labor and even He went on to say he would went so far as to promise socialism. Once in power, how refuse to answer "any question ever, he gave the people hunger, forced labor, concentration camps, gas chambers, and another world war."

Dobbs branded Coughlin as "in the Hitler tradition." He recalled the notorious record of the fascist radio priest in the Thirties when he started out as a supporter of the New Deal only to end up as a rabid opponent of the United Automobile Workers and an advocate of a made-in-Amer-He advised me not to cooperate ica fascist program.

Coughlin is raising his head now, Dobbs continued, at anything I heard." Later he "because he obviously feels that the soil in America, after declared, "I was tremendously six years of all-out witch-hunting, has been thoroughly handling of the conference."

# Agrees on Stepped-up Witch Hunt

By Murry Weiss

America's number one fascist, Senator McCarthy, scored another victory at the Republican caucus meeting held in Washington, Dec. 17-19, when Eisenhower and he Republican high command knuckled under to McCarthy's lemand to deepen and extend the

witch hunt. President Eisenhower himself innounced that the domestic program he now projects "will give our people a guarantee that they can depend on the Administration o protect the security, the welfare, and the economic stability of each individual citizen."

The authoritative Big Business nouthpiece, the N. Y. Times, inerprets this double-talk to mean, "President Pledges Tougher Red Drive.'

Legislation to legalize wire apping and to scrap the Fifth Amendment was unanimously approved by the conference. These neasures will now be barrelled through Congress, provided there s no powerful opposition from he labor movement.

#### McCARTHY GLOATS

McCarthy announced after the neeting, "I was not displeased mpressed with his (Eisenhower's)

defendants is identified as an important secret police chief), the precisely - the blood purge. fact is that Malenkov's purge has Every autocracy has resorted to issue of the liberal Nation dated already struck deeply at party it when its rule was threatened. Dec. 12 and entitled "Freedom following were notable to this should refuse to answer as a and government figures, local as Stalinism is compelled to act in and the American Tradition: reader: well as national. And it will strike this way, with this difference, 1953." Unfortunately, the issue is St. Louis Post Dispatch's editorial Fifth Amendment. (Continued on page 2) deeper.

**Jim Crow Schools Will** Not Be Ended in 1954

By George Breitman

is this: Jim Crow segregation in sion comes. A series of suits will liberal publications and organ- 1950, the combined "subversive the elementary schools of the have to be filed in school districts izations are gradually doing under registration" and concentration-South will not be ended in 1954. throughout the South before Jim the pressure of McCarthyism, it camp law produced when Con- and morally. Great hopes were kindled by Crow is finally put to rout."

the recent Supreme Court re-DIE-HARDS WILL RESIST hearings of suits filed by the Na-If that happens, we can surely tional Association for the Adexpect to see the Dixiecrat dievancement of Colored People to. have school segregation declared hards resisting in every available unconstitutional. In Washington, way - including more fights in according to Cliff W. Mackay, the courts, and new appeals to editor of the Afro - American the Supreme Court. If the court's newspapers, the consensus is that decision is a close one, the white the Supreme Court "will split 5 supremacist politicians in the to 4" in favor of a decision to South will seek to have more long order the abolition of separate crawn-out legal proceedings in the hope that in the meantime an schools anti-segregation member of the

But that's only a guess. Nobody Supreme Court will drop dead and can say with absolute certainty tow the political appointees on be replaced by a new member who the Supreme Court will rule on will vote to continue segregation. school segregation will not be to survive the coming year is the already announced plan of the ended in 1954.

Southern Democratic politicians The reason why this is sure is that the members of the Supreme in South Carolina, Georgia and Court themselves made clear by other states to abolish the public their questions that even if they school system and replace it with rule against segregation, they a state-financed "private" school have no intention of ordering that system in which segregation will segregation should be abolished, continue unimpaired. immediately.

denounce this as an evasion of On the contrary, their plan is to give the Southern ruling class the Constitution, and order the a period of grace - one year, so-called "private" schools to be two years, perhaps even longer - cpened to Negro children? It is to "adjust" themselves and their not likely, and anyhow the legal school systems to a new arrange- proceedings around such an issue vould certainly drag on for a long ment.

That would give the Dixiecrats long time. additional time for attempts to DECISIONS EVADED circumvent an anti-segregation

Another important fact should lution which was later published cause of that depression (1929- expresses the tendency of capital decision. never be forgotten: Supreme in the Dec. 12 issue of Ford \$3)." The fundamental cause the to yield less profit in proportion It is important to remember that what the Supreme Court is Court decisions can be and are

Will the Supreme Court dare to

(Continued on page 4)

considering are specific suits from "legally," but in outright illegal five specific areas — in South ways. Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, The Supreme Court has ruled Kansas and the District of Columbia. The court's decision that Negroes can vote in the will apply to these areas, but not South both in Democratic prinecessarily to all others.

lsewhere.

stronger on telling what is than page, briefly explains "the n saying what should be done, blackest thought I have had in mittee that "Dr. Einstein did not and those who are looking for an my lifetime. I am convinced that ask me whether I was a Comvitch hunt will have to search

The Nation is unquestionably in Congress today.' one of the last centers of the

"TOOLING UP" iberal tradition in American jour-

Laurent B. Frantz contributes nalism. Determined not to aban-As Mackay puts it, "the fight don the "old-fashioned" concepts hard-hitting analysis of the Mc-One safe New Year's prediction is just beginning when the deci- in the Bill of Rights; as so many Carran Internal Security Act of attracts many of the best and gress, "puzzled by the relative

> ticipants in the fight for demo- for the curtailment of liberty, teacher, urging every "intelleccratic rights. Most of the 17 articles and them all into one." Outlining the

editorials in this special issue dangers in the law and the Subare well-written, thought-provok- versive Activities Control Board, ing and worthy of attention. The (Continued on Page 2)

association with other people, reading, thinking, and writing I Irving Dilliard, editor of the ment. I should not invoke the

of the same nature.

He further informed the comeffective program to stop the the Bill of Rights would not be munist or a spy." McCarthy submitted and ratified as part of retorted he "would suggest if you

the Constitution were it presented don't want to spend considerable time in jail that you advise with your lawyer rather than Dr. Einstein.

"SOUND GROUND"

Mr. Shadowitz' attorney stated that he believed the witness was "on sound ground, both legally

Dr. Einstein, last May 16, wrote most courageous writers and par- merits of several rival schemes to a Brooklyn High School

"jail and economic ruin . . . in fare of this country."

prepared for the swift growth of a fascist movement. "American fascism is now headed by the would-be gressman Velde of the House Undictator McCarthy. But the field is wide open for every race-hater, witch-hunter, labor-baiter, panacea-monger, and promoter of war who thinks in the pattern developed

by Mussolini and Hitler. In the McCarthyite movement, Father Coughlin undoubtedly hopes to win a leading position by taking care of the social demagogy that so far has been missing from McCarthy's poisonous witch-hunting ship" and "stand up to McCarthy." propaganda.

Dobbs declared that it would be suicidal for Detroit labor to try to smother the Royal Oak priest with silence. 'The tactic of trying to ignore Coughlin will only play

into his hands. You can't ignore fascism, because fascism refuses to ignore you. Coughlin's game must be exposed right now before his demagogy has a chance to roll up a big movement of deluded followers that can be turned at a later stage, along with the rest of the McCarthyite forces, squarely against the unions."

Dobbs announced that he has accepted an invitation resolved the matter by combining tual" to refuse to testify before from the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party the committee, even at the cost of to speak in Detroit against Father Coughlin Sunday, Janthe interest of the cultural wel- uary 10 at 3 P.M. The meeting will be held at the Danish and sound like a leader and to Brotherhood Hall, 12th and Forrest.

McCarthy's henchman. American Committee, said "cooperation of the highest type' prevailed at the conference; it was "very congenial."

Thus ended weeks of wish. thinking by American liberals and labor officials, who looked to Esenhower "to assert his leader-How strong the illusions were can be judged from the comments of the liberal New Republic's Washington correspondent. "The fact is that Ike is being pushed into a posture of leadership," he wrote Dec. 14. While deploring Eisenhower's "wasted year" he said that "word has gone out that Ike really means what he says and s going on the offensive." He neant on the offensive against McCarthy.

The other major liberal weekly The Nation, editorialized, Dec. 19 "The President has begun to act (Continued on page 4)

cuts production, the industry or

operated under the control of the

The starting point of the UAW

resolution is correct. There are

plenty of needs to fill and we have

the productive capacity to fill

Fatal Flaw in UAW Resolution on Unemployment

costs).

By Manuel Rodriguez [for housing, hospitals, schools lack "buying power" you haven't difficulty by cutting wages (labor] The United Automobile Work- roads, and all types of consumer explained anything. ers of America, CIO, held a na- goods among millions of Amer-

unemployment. This conference these goods in abundance. marks a step forward in one important respect: A powerful section of the labor movement has it?

cose speed-ups and wage cuts on workers were jobless.

taken action to meet the growing threat of unemployment. The conference correctly noted why we can't "go to it" is clear. value than he gets back in the that not a single organization or The capitalist system of produc-

forward with an answer to the who own our vast productive plant above his wages goes to the capi-

The resolution states: "We

the unions which stand in the At this point the logical ques- wages are the capitalist's payment way of wage slashing, and go to be content with a vegetarian diet. tion arises: Why don't we go to to the worker for his labor power. war to find new markets. But this wage payment conceals The resolution never answers an important gimmick. In a day's

form of wages.

The value the worker produces convincing the "intelligent" capialist to pay his workers higher

wages? While you are trying to convince him of this, he is duction in our living standards. . . we saw the spectacle of millions he stops production. With that. Some of them even seem to wel- of people starving and going in wages stop and the workers don't ion, slashing wages, busting the come it as a means by which they regs during the Thirties while the have the wherewithal to purchase unions.

can restrict labor's gains and im- plants stood idle and two million elementary necessaries. Then the The only solution is to reorganize pay. depression really gets under way. production on a rational plan to

roduce abundance for all. Then

with. The workers get the equi-

And these are the factors which under capitalism. Competition, the polite word for mutual throatproduce depressions, those "man made" catastrophes which halt cutting, doesn't permit the luxury of "softness" toward the work- them in abundance. Obviously a the productive machine when the rate of profit approaches "zero."

modern capitalism to slash wages, tion, is for the capitalists to be

of his heart, the others would tear him to pieces.

ers. If one capitalist did want to rational plan calls for full produc-Now can all this be changed by raise wages out of the goodness tion to meet these needs. We must cut through the refusal of capitalists to operate on such The only attitude labor can take a rational and planned system

The Reuther program proposes | at fall capacity, and if the cap

to have both: All that is necessary talist owner refuses to pay full

workers.

These are the factors that impel for this, according to the resolu- wages to the workers when he

launch fascist movements, smash content with "reasonable profits." plant should be nationalized and

The law of the jungle operates

This is like asking a tiger to

in the face of these drives of the and demand the sliding scale of engaged in shutting down produc- capitalist system, is to adopt the hours. The sliding scale of hours principle contained in the demand is the extension of the "30 for 40" for a 30-hour week at 40 hours demand to its logical conclusion.

For these reasons we regret This principle is that every that the fighting program of Ford worker remains on the job regard- Local 600 seems to have got lost the profit limitation is done away less of what the boss wants. If a in the shuffle at the conference, factory cuts its production, hours. The demand for a 30-hour week at valent of everything they produce, should be cut and the same total 40 hours pay, raised by Local weekly wage maintained. There 600, did not get into the

Facts, Local 600 newspaper. This resolution gives is that "millions to its total outlay, the greater the ess whatever is needed for plant evaded on a wide scale, not only resolution is fully in line with the of American families do not have scope of production becomes. is no reason why workers should tion. upkeep and expansion and nabasic policy of the Reuther ad- enough buying power to satisfy Thus, with the tremendous tional social services. This can't be pauperized ,and put on "share Instead Reuther made som be done if we consider the profit the misery" short-week schedules vague reference to the legitimacy ystem to be holy and untouchable. because of the inability of the of this demand for the future. ministration. And that is the their needs." This is like saying growth in productivity during the that the fundamental cause for last decades, the rate of profit The resolution points out that millions of people being out of tends to decline. The only source We can't have abundant produc- capitalist system to function ra- We will comment on this aspect the trend toward depression arises work is that they don't have jobs. of profit is labor. The capitalist tion for use and capitalism at the tionally. of the conference in a forthcomin

in the face of a tremendous need Unless you explain why workers therefore tries to climb out of his same time.

If an industry cannot operate article.



source of a grave weakness.

The conference adopted a reso-

threat of depression.

their workers.'

The millions of producers in the this issue. And still it can be said Another reason for expecting tional conference in Washington, icans. It points out that America United States and all capitalist with complete confidence that Jim Crow in the Southern schools D. C., Dec. 6-7 on the problem of has the capacity to produce all countries get their "buying power" in the form of wages. These

this question. But the reason labor, the worker produces more

leader of Big Business has come fion prevents us. The capitalists

do not produce for the needs of talist. That is the capitalist's

know what was the fundamental declining rate of profit. This law

Big Business accepts "a slowing the people. The capitalist produces profit. When the capitalist can no lown of our economy and a re- for his private profit. That's why longer sell his products at a profit

And then there is the law of the

#### THE MILITANT

#### Monday, December 28, 1953

# Letters to a Stalinist Where the Stalinists Go Wrong in the Fight **Against McCarthyism**

Dear Phil.

P ... I wi

I'm sure you hope that your last question will prove to be a stumper: "Since the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party have both analyzed McCarthyism called Truman a fascist, and they as the American brand of fascism, doesn't this show the used to call Roosevelt a fascist closeness of the two parties despite their mutual hostil- too at times when they weren't ity?

You say that the Militant and the SWP have made a "deep analysis of McCarthyism" and that you are "all for the anti-fascist campaign" they are conducting. You mean that you consider McCarthy to characterize it as a workers chserve that our campaign has influenced the Daily Worker to be the American Hitler, despite state? Or do you recognize that movements which resemble the and Peoples World "to step up their agitation on McCarthy ism, deepen their own analysis and keep the Militant from stealing the show." You add, "I see nothing wrong with that. Competition in presenting the right policy is all to the good.'

You are right of course on that last point. Nobody has a patent on correct policy. And we would be fools to complain if anyone took up our analysis and proposals for ing and elaborating some of our only one form of the workers to remember that fascism, like action The question is, do the Stalinists have a correct policy on McCarthyism?

I'm going to give it to you cold turkey, Phil. The Anierican Stalinists are dead wrong on McCarthyism in lowing the same policy that defeated the European workers in the fight against fascism. Moreover, it is the same policy followed by the labor officials, Social Democrats and liberals in the U.S. If this policy prevails, it's curtains for the American workers, for McCarthyism will surely triumph.

Don't allow your desire for unity of all radicals to blind you, Phil. Policy is all-important in the fight against fascism.

I will not mince words with you; the stakes are very high, nothing less than the fate of humanity is involved. For that reason the Socialist Workers Party will do its utmost to prevent the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists from following the criminal policy of their European predecessors.

There are three major points on which we differ from the Stalinists on McCarthyism.

(1) The Stalinists lump all capitalist reaction into one basket and call it "fascist." Eisenhower, Dewey, Dulles, McCarren and McCarthy are all "fascists." They also smear all their revolutionary opponents as "fascist." Thus the East German workers were called "fascist provocatours" when they rose against the East German Stalinist dictators last June.

The danger of this insane use of the term "fascist' is very great. If you think the fascists are merely run-ofthe-mill reactionaries you can break your neck. The German Stalinists followed this policy in 1929-33.

They accepted Stalin's formula, "Fascism and Social Democracy are twins." They refused to fight for unity of First Amendment which finishes fashion we shall check or alter our fectively checked through tradi- Germany too the liberals tried to work this last week. This issue action between the Communist and Social Democratic with the warning that "the present notions about 'security' workers organizations against Hitlerism. As a result Hit- Supreme Court, more than any for the nation," etc. ler marched to power unobstructed, without firing a single other agency or person in our shot. Once in power, Hitler taught the workers that the mistakes of their leaders are very costly.

# Why the Right Name of McCarthyism Is Fascism

the differences as well as the ship in the interests of the capi-

more crucial than the one of dis- and the international situation,

tinguishing between form and and that they underwent unique

essence. Most of what we know developments in each case.

needs of capitalism in their own

country as they were shaped by

the class relationship of forces

German fascism was not quite

the same thing as Italian fascism,

and both of them differed in

some important respects from

Spanish fascism. One reason was

The longer the formation of a

should continue to limit itself to

The Nation's program has al-

By George Breitman "Say, what's happening to you people?" My friend, who tries to keep abreast of radical politics theories, was referring to the Militant and the Socialist Workers Party.

"How come you're labeling Me-Carthyism as fascism and designating fascism as a grave danger 'n this country today? I'm used to that kind of stuff from the

Daily Worker and the Stalinists: they do it all the time; they call Eisenhower a fascist and they, supporting him. But you people always knew better, you were always more exact, more scientific.

n such matters. Do you really

between the workers state created in generalized abstract conception differences all the Russia is only one form of workthem?' "Yes," I told him, "we do con- ing - class power, with many sider McCarthyism to be the specific features that are due to

called his attention to various climate of Russian society and of ception. articles in the Militant which the international situation at the explained why. Our long discus- time the revolution took place?"

"Of course the Soviet state is place, we can go astray by failing sion showed the need for repeat-

HITLER

analysis, and adding to it. "Take the Soviet Union," I know my position has always been process of development in Europe their unique national characold him. "That was the first that a workers state in the United between the time the fascist teristics, it would be surprising if workers state, the beginning of States, with its advanced tech- movements were formed and the American fascism did not have the world socialist revolution nology and industry and its dif- time they became powerful and them too. It would be all the both their analysis and program of action. They are fol- After Lenin's death when Stal- ferent traditions, will be quite dif- the time they came to power and more surprising in view of the inism came to power through ferent from the workers states the time they were driven out of time when McCarthyism comes on the scene political counter-revolution, the created in industrially backward power.

large group of new readers." workers state in that country suf- countries. That's ABC." He seemed a little offended that I had fundamental differences between had an unforgettable experience fered a terrible degeneration. "Now the question I would ask asked him such a stupid ques- the McCarthyism of today and with fascism and hundreds of mil-German fascism after Hitler came lions know it and hate it.

you is this: Must every workers tion. "Well," I said, "if you grant to power. The different stages of The American fascists, operatstate since 1917 be an exact! huplicate of the Soviet state that workers states can have dif- the development of each of these ing in a country which was inwither of Lenin's time or Stalin's ferent forms, just as capitalist must be grasped if comparisons doctrinated to accept World War ime before you would be willing states have different forms, then between McCarthyism and Hitler- II as a conflict to rid the world fred Nelson writes, "The com- cludes no subs but just in-

# **McCarthy Seeks "Total Power"**

lines.

cracy.

(Continued from page 1) Frantz warns: "We are moving rity' agencies are doing a good crats. This doesn't make much movement - a new political from political trials of individuals deal to help the passionate few more sense than urging McCarthy party, based on the labor move-

o political trials of groups and to achieve this. If more cases not to act like McCarthy. like those of James Kutcher and movements. Repression is tooling Dorothy Bailey pile up - each owes its present sinister power fascism. up for mass production." discharged from federal employ- first of all to the Democrats

A. L. Wirin and Sam Rosenwein, civil liberties lawvers. travesty of one - it will begin resent a valuable summary of the record and pattern of th game are really being sabotag- who helped McCarthy get re- bid for power. The Nation's Smith Act trials to date. The repressive nature of the

time for average Americans to break decisively with him today. "loyalty" program is ederal discover that what goes on in Washington is not just a tele- it is written on if it fails to inside the Democratic Party (alrevealed in an anonymous article vision show but something that understand the thousand class ties though on an expanded scale) by one who experienced it in real life, "The Strange Case of Miss affects his basic democratic between McCarthyism and the two should be rejected as a disservice sider this one of the most im-

sympathies. When this happens, parties of Big Business, or if it to the fight against fascism. Alexander Meiklejohn, the noted and I think I see a drift in that proceeds from the notion that educator, has an article on the direction, in traditional American American fascism can be ef-It's true that the "excesses" of

power partly because of the

After all, the world has already It is easy enough to show

eadership McCarthy has seized, time McCarthyism has to gather

No program is worth the paper acting as a pressure agency

#### of fascism, must act even more understand that they and fascism you should also grant that fascism | ism are to have any validity. circumspectly than the European cannot co-exist peacefully, then Secondly, we can err by overfascists, especially in the early the job of alerting and mobilizing looking the fact that German, stages, and must do more to con- them around a militant program Carthyism is not fascist merely Italian and Spanish fascism, because the form in which it ap- despite their essential similarities ceal their real nature and aims. of action to stop McCarthyism Of course the question "What is will be made easier and completed - they were all aimed at the the form in which the European destruction of capitalist democracy McCarthyism?" may not appear sooner.

In subsequent articles we shall fascist movements appeared. What and the labor movement, and the as urgent as the question "How compare McCarthyism with the we must do is to take account of institution of a naked dictator- can we stop McCarthyism?" But the two questions are intimately European forms of fascism, with special emphasis on the ways in talist class - arose out of specific linked. which they are alike and unlike If McCarthyism is the American form of fascism in the 1950's, as each other, and with the aim of we contend, and if this can be considering all of the objections demonstrated to the politically ad- to the Socialist Workers Party's

vanced and class-conscious work- analysis of McCarthyism as "the ers of this country who already American form of fascism."

## THE MILITANT ARMY

that they operated under different The last of the 25th Anniversary | week. To finish out the campaign conditions; another was that Hitler was able to learn from Militant Mobilizations ended Dec. and the year with this kind of Mussolini's experiences and to 20. In the series approximately achievement can mean only 300 subscriptions and greater success for the Militant avoid some of his mistakes, just

in the year ahead." 3.000 single copies Chicago finished third on were sold mostly in national scoreboard with another door-to-door work in week to go in their local camnew neighborhoods. paign. Literature Agent Alice New York and Twin Cities com- Wiley reports six six-months subs

and 15 single copies sold over the rades set the pace nationally. Campaign weekend. In addition 19 Militants were sold on the campus by Bert Director Tom Denver reports, "The New and Wilson. York comrades are

Most of Los Angeles' score proud to finish off the result of single copy sales in this campaign with 3,008 points. a number of different neighbor We did a little better than we did hoods, according to reporter-Dick ast spring and we now have a Kirby. "The reception to the paper was friendly and the campaign The Twin Cities lived up to their was an enormously valuable expromise to provide New York perience for us. We now plan to with some stiff competition. They go after the renewals and gencame down the home stretch this eral subs. Our high scorers were week with a gain of 1,084 points. Erroll, 81; May, 74; Carolyn, 59; St. Paul Literature Agent Wini- Clyde, 58; and Tiby, 48. This in-

ades came through in wonderful dividual papers." In fifth place on the national tyle this past week. Marion came in with three subs - a one-year scoreboard, Seattle has one more new sub, a one-year renewal, and mobilization to go in their cama six-months renewal -- all from paign. Literature Agent Helen Baker writes, "We have one team packing house workers! in Seattle, Jack and Celia, who

"Emily brought in a one year and so did Bill B. because of illness, have only been renewal Dorothy brought in two six- able to work in the few blocks ment and its allies who have the months subs, one new and one surrounding their home. Their success is not so spectacular as The fact is that McCarthyism most to lose from the victory of renewal; and Eva likewise brought in another six-months new sub. Leon's and Ann's, but they have

Winifred got two six-months subs sold one six-months sub, have a ment without trial or after the initiators of the witch hunt whose Labor Party is delayed, the more Sunday and sold five single copies; promise of two more and have two and Paul turned in one six-months neighbors who will buy the paper to appear that the rules of the and second of all to Eisenhower, its fascist cadres and prepare its renewal and one year renewal and each week as they bring it to sold 10 single copies in his shop. their door.

"A door - to - door mobilization ed. . . It is going to take some elected last year and does not dare proposal that the labor movement A total of 771 points for St. Paul! next Sunday will complete our "All of our Militant salesmen were enthusiastic about the last campaign. So far our pace setters are George with 139 points and issue of the Militant on McCarthy Frank, with 107. They secured and the fascist danger. We conmost of their high score by getting subs on the job. Ann and portant that the Militant has ever Leon, who have scores of 100, and 80, account for theirs by going

published and only wished that we ready been tried historically. In had had many more copies for our door to door, almost entirely by prevent the fascist victory by of the Militant marks the Socialist single copies. The Buffalo comrades sent in

putting their hopes in the demo- Workers Party as the first to cratic capitalist parties, or in speak out loud and clear against 14 subs this week to bring their their reform. This was supposed the union - hating, race - baiting total to 841. Cleveland brought McCarthyism is something new to be the "realistic" and "prac-American fascist McCarthy and in 734 points for the campaign, American fascist McCarthy and and Detroit rolled up a score of



tional politics along two-party

non-fascist those movements as Franco was able to come to American form of fascism." And the social, political and economic which do not conform to that con-This can' be misleading on a number of counts. In the first

can have different forms, and you

pears is somewhat different from

imilarities, and to determine

Few problems in politics are

about fascism we have learned

from our study of the fascist

movements in the countries where

Italy, Spain. The tendency of the

mind is to regard as fascist those

that we retain of those European

movements, and to dismiss as

they came to power - Germany

which are formal or secondary,

and which are essential."

should not assume that Mc-

fascist victories in Italy and Germany that preceded his own. PEOPLE HATE FASCISM

If the German, Italian and state," he answered sharply. "You cverything else, went through a Spanish fascist movements all had

(2) The Stalinists do not make a class analysis of McCarthyism and anti-McCarthyism. They picture the choice America faces as: McCarthyism or the Democratic Party. This is false. The choice is McCarthyism or Socialism.

The current orientation of the Stalinists toward the support of the Democratic Party reinforces the policy of the labor bureaucracy. This is a policy of treachery in the fight against fascism. If labor continues on the ruinous course of supporting the capitalist "democrats" against First 'Amendment in refusing to NicCarthyism they will commit the same blunder that resulted in the victory of Hitler and Mussolini.

The labor officials in Europe, while professing to be Socialists, followed the policy of not "frightening" the job because she would not discuss middle class with revolution. The middle class was timid, they explained.

But the fascists knew better. They took advantage of this default of the labor leaders and appealed to the middle class on a "radical" program. The desperate middle class, squeezed by the terrible crisis of capitalism, and seeing nothing but parliamentary maneuvers from the workers' leaders, turned to the fascist "anti-capitalist" demagogues. They wanted action.

The fascists gave them action all right. They used the middle class to smash the labor organizations and McCarthyite America. Included in then turned around and demolished the middle class mass organizations. Monopoly capitalism came out on top.

(3) The Stalinists do not come with clean hands in time in this paper. the fight against witch hunts. In the current Beria purge in the Soviet Union for example, the Kremlin is once againpeddling the Big Lie. The whole world learned the baseclarified the fundamental issue," ness of this type of frame-up lie in the Moscow Trials. say the editors of the Nation in The American fascists will use this to the hilt. They will a concluding article. "He has use the Kremlin's frame-ups to justify their own. The made it plain that he is driving for the Presidency, for total to declare a moratorium on the American Stalinists cannot effectively fight the Big Liars power, for the ultimate destrucin the United States while they support the Big Liars of lion of democratic procedures." the Kremlin bureaucracy.

These are some of the differences between us and the Stalinists on McCarthyism. I hope you will consider them in the light of the seriousness of the situation in the United States.

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and defend." timidating, and silencing many mentary maneuvering. It already Either we will build a fighting There are three personal acounts of lively interest: "The people who already understand has a large mass base, and one Labor Party to destroy Mc-Fear I Felt' by Kermit Eby ormerly CIO research director feeds and grows on its "excesses."

and now a faculty member at the Hitler's "excesses" helped rather than hindered his rise to power University of Chicago, who was ailed before the Jenner commit- It takes extreme naivete to beee: "Challenge to McCarthy" by lieve — in 1953, after seven years of an unprecedented witch hunt -Corliss Lamont, who invoked the that there is something so ex ooperate with the Wisconsin ceptional in the American tradi-

vitch hunter; and "How Crazy ion that "it can't happen here. Can They Get?" by Janet Scott The democratic tradition in this who was fired from a reporter's ountry can aid the struggle egainst fascism, but only if it is her political views with the House inked to a program of action capable of mobilizing the people Jn-American Activities Commitor an independent fight on Mc-

In another-section, a group of Carthy's own terrain - the strugarticles written from abroad, the gle for political power.

novelist Kay Boyle, who has lived THE ADVICE THEY GIVE most of her adult life in Europe And that's exactly what is ells why she is disregarding the nissing from the conclusions dvice of her European friends

presented by the editors of the and returning to her own country Nation in their "Call for Leadernow to join the struggle of "the hip. other America," that is, the anti-

They offer advice to Eisenhower on what to do "to defeat the his section is an important article program of his own Attorney by Claude Bourdet, French editor, General" - fire Brownell, prevent which will be discussed at another

appoint men of high caliber to a

presidential commission to study

ituation while getting Congress

witch hunt, etc., etc.

anti-Fifth Amendment legislation,

**'FUNDAMENTAL ISSUE'** "Senator McCarthy has now concept of guilt by association,

the danger, and that fascism that is growing. It will be beaten Carthyism, or McCarthyism will only by another and more power- destroy us.

### MALENKOV OFFERS BERIA AS SCAPEGOAT IN CRISIS

blood-lettings of the Thirties. (Continued from page 1) But leaving aside Malenkov' first, there is no historical time-table of the purge, it is a justification for its terror and, fact that his show-trial coincide second, police - terror is a per-

with an unexpected worsening of manent necessity for the bureauthe Soviet agricultural crisis. A cracy, because every relaxation or harsh winter set in much earlier impairment of its repressive ap than any one expected. paratus carries with it the threat Since October the columns of

which appeared in the anniversary that the Soviet masses may assert the Russian press have carried a themselves as an independent issue of the paper. A social hour long list of "alarm signals" about following the meeting completed force and overthrow the bureau thousands upon thousands of the festive occasion.

acres of grain, potatoes, veget This threat became a reality "During the five-week cam. ables and fodder crops suddenly paign, 179 single copies of the with the death of Stalin and the buried under mounds of snow and nopes it undoubtedly engendered paper and four subscriptions were irretrievably lost. among the Soviet masses for a old in Minneapolis to new read-The extent of the actual damage

ers of the Militant. Thirty-five relaxation in the bestial oppresremains unknown. It is not exrenewed subs were turned in sion. Amid a highly critical domestic and world situation, i cluded that the 1953 grain cron many of them from new Militant passage of wire-tapping and was necessary to assure a definimay have been seriously affected eaders of last spring. Unques-

Ominously enough, no official ionably, the best and most retive succession to Stalin's mantle take "resolute action" against the as Purger-in-Chief and Supreme reports concerning the 1953 crops varding work of this period is grain or otherwise, have yet been elling the Militant. Reports from Arbitrator. Two purge waves, the issued, although the dates for all over the country show that first one under Beria, and the state-deliveries, purchases, etc workers are receptive to the line second. Malenkov's purge of and report on the civil liberties Beria, have demonstrated that have long elapsed and program of the paper. .

The most critical year Popularize the Militant by getting for this critical problem of succession it out! Continued, aggressive cir- of the Twin Cities wins national Soviet agriculture will be 1954. could be solved in one way and The crisis now unfolding clearly rulation is the aim and plan of the top honors with a score of 244. one way only, and that is caught the Kremlin by surprise. through the blood purge. Minneapolis campaigners.

They offer advice to the Demo-The inclusion in the Beria indict-"Last Bill. By launching the purge of Beria week. But neither the editors nor most crats - be a principled opposiment of the charge that he and and the entire all-powerful secret of their contributors seem capable tion, stop trying to show they the others "plotted . . . to create of drawing appropriate conclu- are more "anti-communist" than volice, Malenkov sought to solve food difficulties (read: shortages) sions from this truth or of McCarthy, "learn to stand erect at a single stroke this crisis of in our country" - a charge elaborating a program of action in the presence of J. Edgar succession. In any case that was ouse distributing leaflets ad-Murry Weiss to fit the danger that they Hoover," previously never mentioned -"formulate a foreign the tenor of his speech in August policy consistent with (their when he assumed publicly Stalin's irrefutable evidense that precisely recognize.

such difficulties are becoming a forum took a sub. Fifteen other Milwaukee, 144; Paul, Twin Cities, party's) domestic program and mantle. There are some indica-A number of the writers reality. The bureaucracy in all its subs were turned in during the 141; and George, Seattle, 139. Miss X and Howard Mumford one that does not breed Mc-tions that Malenkov envisaged

major moves, all the more so Jones, Harvard professor, for ex- Carthyism at home," etc., etc. originally a rather leisurely, more its charges at show trials, pursues They even offer a few words of or less masked operation: "Shakample - appear to think that avariably an immediate aim. and McCarthyism will defeat itself by advice to the labor leaders - "If ing up" the party, government, a highly practical one. going too far. "I am confident the Democratic Party is to resist police army and the rest of the

In this case Malenkov needs as that the senseless repression will McCarthyism, then the labor apparatus; that is, hand-picking Stalin did in the past, SCAPEpass, like the Salem witchcraft movement must encourage it to his henchmen, nationally and GOATS for the "difficulties" in madness, in a wave of revulsion act in this fashion. To this end, locally, over a period, say, of two against its excesses," says Miss the unions must quickly step or three years. food supply as in all other fields. This need for scapegoats, on whon

up the tempo and scale of their It seems hardly likely that he Jones sees hope in "the general political-action programs." would have originally chosen the to unload the ruinous results of What a pitiful program! "All eve of a new year. inaugurated the Kremlin's own policies and sense of fair play and the namethods of management, plays tional sympathy for the under. Americans of good will, con- customarily by all kinds of "sucdog", and foresees a return to servatives and liberals, Democrats cesses" and promises, as the time an important part both in the "proper procedures . . . when, and and Republicans alike" are sum- for launching a show trial, the timing and staging of Malenkov's only when, the passionate minor- moned to urge Eisenhower not to public signal of blood purging. 1953 model of the notoriou Moscow frameups can persuade public opinion act like Eisenhower and the the terrible reminder of the mass

Milwaukee more than doubled Literature Agent Helen Sherits score in the last week of the man reports "a rousing windup" campaign, bringing its total to of the 25th Anniversary sales in 488. Local high scorers are Al C., Minneapolis. "Our score of 1,583 144 points; Paul R., 94; Jim B.,

points, together with St. Paul's 88; Francis, 82; and Fred, 46. 771 points, will put the Twin Pittsburgh got a late start on Cities on the national scoreboard sales. "But we are chalking up with a grand total of 2,354. some fair results anyhow." writes "Minneapolis honored the three Literature Agent Marianne leading sub-getters with prizes. Moore. "Yesterday Mary and I Chester, with 244 points, was went out house to house and sold awarded a copy of James Kutch- 15 single copies in a little more er's book 'The Case of the Legless than an hour. Enclosed are one Veteran' inscribed by the author. new six-months sub and one new

points, was presented a framed

reproduction of Gray's cartoon

Alice, who placed second with 156 year sub. We have sold a total of cints, was given a pictorial album 76 single copies so far.' of the 25th Anniversary Banquet. The final scoreboard for the Ray, third prize winner with 135

campaign:	
New York	3,008
Twin Cities	2 354
Chicago	1,264
Los Angeles	1,068
Seattle	849
Buffalo	841
Cleveland	734
Detroit	606
Milwaukee	488
Philadelphia	333
San Francisco	332
Newark	281
Boston	280
Oakland	247
St. Louis	164
Pittsburgh	154
Youngstown	52
Akron	10
General	234
Among the pace set	ters. Chester

Cleveland subgetter Jean S. Fanny. second with 211 points; and Charles, Donald, Helen, and Winifred of the Twin Cities is Chester sold 29 copies of the third with 173. Other high scorers Militant while going house to are Bert. Chicago Militant salesman, 165 points; Alice, Twin ertising the Twin Cities Sun- Cities, 156; Ethel B., New York, lay Forum. One who attended the 151; Belle, Boston 150; Al C.,

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#### THE MILITANT

(as in France and England).

of the class enemy. . .

from the Stalinist garden.

word, in 1928 and ever since, and

we have been wearing them

proudly as decorations all this

ime. The Pabloites didn't even

bother to "revise" the wording.

Nothing is changed except the

dentification of the donor on the

But nowhere and never, in 1953

as in 1928, in a single paragraph

of the special issue of their paper,

rift card.



Vol. XVII - No. 52

### Wall Street's Hand in Bolivia

No. 56, of Lucha Obrera (Workers Struggle), the newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia (POR), was published underground on Dec. 9 despite the repressions of the Wall Street-dominated Paz Estenssoro government.

Since the revolution of April 1952, the POR has become the popular organized expression of the Bolivian workers and peasants movement.

The Bolivian workers pressed for nationalization of the tin mines. Revolutionary mass action forced the government to stop promising and take action.

The peasants have been demanding the land. They formed peasant unions firmly allied with the workers organizations. In certain sections of the country the peasants have taken the land/

The capitalists, landlords and Wall Street interests have been trying to stop this revolutionary tide.

The government of Paz Estenssoro, dominated by the middle class National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), has steadily moved away from its initial responsiveness to the pressure of the revolutionary masses.

It has been maneuvering to take repressive measures against the spearhead of the revolution, the POR

The MNR regime has been persecuting the POR militants in the factories and provinces. Lucha Obrera explains the reason for this: "The present Government has not been able to break with the foul politics of Eisenhower who continues to prepare war against the Soviet bloc, and the national liberation movements. The historic campaign of the Yankee

power against every free man and free tendency is being transplanted to Bolivia. The press some provisional opinions visit of Milton Eisenhower, the U. S. Senate on the factional struggle in the Committee, and at present, General Craig, has no other purpose than to tie Bolivia to the Yankee chariot and push the persecution the political aspects of the quesof the POR."

Lucha Obrera tells how the government started with scattered persecution, then took the brazen step of ordering print shops to re- since the publication of our "Letfuse POR publications or suffer reprisal.

The POR expects the next step of the government reprisals to coincide with the arrival of necessities from the U.S. under the economic aid deal consummated during Milton Eisenhower's visit.

· Persecution of the POR and its press is a blow against all mass organizations of work- tinue to demonstrate in an uners and peasants in Bolivia. The MNR is ceasing and relentless struggle to betraying the revolution and opening the door preserve our great heritage. For to counter-revolutionary attempts at seizure of power. The rightist Falange has already engaged in such attempts with the aim of crushing the revolution by fascist methods.

Condemning government attempts to smear objection to our action in making the POR by ascribing falangist-like aims to it, Lucha Obrera says, "We defend the present "Letter to All Trotskyists." government against the Right because the masses through this will take the road of palace maneuvers for the revolutionary potential of the workers and peasants."

The POR declares it is confident the government persecution will not be successful. It frain from publishing the Militant will rally all its forces to meet this persecution, consolidate its growng mass support and organize the next stage of the revolution.

tice that 1954 will be a "for or against me

election. Labor must accept McCarthy's chal-

lenge. But not by crawling behind weak-

Third, action must be taken to co-ordinate

organized. Delegates from every local union

### How to Fight McCarthyism

ites.

of action.

A 'reader of the Militant asks us, "What concrete proposals can I make to my union local on fighting McCarthyism? I am following your campaign closely. I agree with your position. But I would like to know what you suggest the union movement do right now to fight McCarthy."

We can answer this question by pointing to the action of the San Francisco longshoremen, reported in last week's Militant. They gave the whole labor movement a splendid example of how to fight the McCarthyites. When the Velde Un-American Committee swaggered into San Francisco to do a witchhunt job on the Longshoremen's Union, they met with the first real resistance to date.

The longshoremen told them, "If you try

tant. The "political aspects" of this factional struggle involve not the narrower questions of tactics, or even of strategy, but fundamental issues of principle — as we have already demonstrated and will conthat reason, all secondary aspects will have to be subordinated, as we, acting with full consciousnes

and deliberation, have already Burnham-Shachtman revisionists. subordinated them. For that rea-We see it now again in the presson, we cannot agree with your ent struggle for the Fourth International. public through the Militant our

Our "organization methods," so well advertised by our various op-You write: "It is my opinion that you have prejudiced your ponents in the past, are and algetting a proper hearing on the ways have been the instrument of constituting their own government . . . Our political issues at stake by this a political line. This has eventualparty is not putchist. It does not substitute utilization of the press, by this ly turned out to be the case with others too, even though they taking of the political issues at didn't always plan it that way. It stake to the public." You are misis perhaps no accident that the taken about that, as were those specific organizational methods of who counselled us in 1928 to re-Pablo - which are not Leninist, but to speak plainly, purely and and carrying our revolt against simply Stalinist - made their ap-Stalinism "to the public." It's the pearance in the administration of same kind of a fight now, and the Fourth International coinciyou will soon have to recognize dentally with his departure from it. Measures taken in a struggle Lenin-Trotsky orthodoxy and his cannot be determined by a rigid attempt to impose a pro-Stalinist formula; they follow from the na-

ine on the movement against its ture of the struggle and the way will. Such a monstrous project it is conducted by opponents. could not be attempted, nor even PABLOITE REVISIONISM ALREADY PUBLIC

The Pablo faction has already kneed Democratic Party capitulators to Mc- attacked our basic principles in was educated by its founder. Carthyism. Labor must enter the 1954 elec- public. They are openly and pubtions in its own name and rally the people licly working to revise the Trot-skyist doctrines out of existence of the country behind a Labor Party. This by the devious and tricky device would strike a mortal blow to the McCarthy- of filling the old formulas with discipline, those who trample on militants were animated by the

are carrying out in practice a pro- tralism as taught by Lenin and mintern during the first years of Stalinist policy of their own fac- Trotsky, are precisely those who Trotsky's heroic struggle against all activities of labor and the minorities in tional devising which has no sanc- launch such accusations against its Stalinist degeneration. the struggle against McCarthyism. For that tion or authorization in any offi- their opponents. You will have know how this confidence was purpose a giant Congress of Labor should be cially adopted resolution of an plenty of chance to convince your- abused and betrayed by the Stalinternational gathering, nor in self of that too, when you get inist usurpers and converted into any of the classic writings of our the true, detailed and documented a force aiding the corruption and and minority organization in the country teacher and founder. We are story of the Pabloite operations should gather to decide on a united program fighting against that, and we are in France and England.

fighting in the open because that's the only effective way to

# Letter to an International Comrade

(The following is the text of a reply by James P. Cannon to a letter from one of the leaders of a national section of the Fourth International. - Ed.)

Los Angeles, Calif. December 16, 1953 Dear Comrade:

We have received your letter of December 2, in which you ex-Fourth International. We have noted your statement that "it appears that we see eye to eye on tion" as well as your criticism of

our procedure. Somewhat similar opinions have been expressed in other letters received in New York ter to All Trotskyists" in the November 16 issue of the Mili-



do the Pabloites find space for an attempt to answer our indictment for concrete actions taken by them, or to deny the precise ccuracy of our quotations from their texts. This is known as the method of evasion by counter-ac-

usation. The reason for this method is as evident now, as it was evident in the Stalinist answer to our revolt and indictment in 1928. They cannot answer our accusations within the framework of our doctrine, and they cannot deny the accuracy of our quotations from their published writings.

#### STALINIST-TYPE APPEAL

Billingsgate is the only weapon eft to them; that, and the appeal to all Trotskyists in the various Pioneer sections to be "loyal to the International." When they say "The ism. International," they mean the per fidious Pablo faction which is working night and day to disrupt and destroy the International and to pervert the Trotskyist movemovement. ment into a left cover and apologist for Stalinism.

There is and can be no doubt the main theme of the lectures is whatever that the Trotskyist mildevoted not to the possible rise itants throughout the world, who of fascism, but rather to an incussion in which our movement have stood at their posts a long spiring exposition of how and why time under hardship and persecu-

tion, are profoundly attached to ward socialism. Preceeding on the basis of a rigidly scientific analysis of all the facts at hand, the author gauges the international and national prospects of capitalism and socialism. We

eventual destruction of the Comintern as a revolutionary organization. If you want explicit and

The whole trick was to identify

ty. I was there.

social explosion. detailed information on how this ivo ri

"recognized" as the Majority | portant, the pitiful Pabloite mi- to us but which has been created nority of the SWP, suspended in 25 years of international col-

from the party for their public Then, having changed us overnight from a majority into a mi- boycott of our 25th Anniversary nority by a sort of papal bull, Celebration and election rally, apthey proceed to change us just pealed for public sympathy in the Shachtmanite press. as suddenly from revolutionists into imperialist agents by papal That is the essence of the mat-

anathema. They say: "The Amerter, dear friend. The Pabloites ican Majority has just betrayed by their actions have made the our cause. . . " "deserter's and battle for the Fourth Internationcapitulators before the pressure "buckchoice but to fight it out in publing before the reactionary pressure now prevailing in the United on the same order plucked fresh The Stalinists said precisely the same things about us, word for

through our press, this precious

instrument which was not given

laboration.

But our appeal is not addressed to the public, to the Shachtmanites, or to the Stalinist fellow-travellers. It is addressed, as the Open Letter of our 25th Anniversary Plenum says: "To All Trotskyists." By no means and under no circumstances do we adal a public affair: and we have no vocate a split among the Trotsky-

ists. Their task, as we see it, is lic. We resolved at our 25th An- a directly opposite one: to conduct niversary Plenum to do our part an honest, democratic discussion States" - and other pleasantries to rally the Trotskyist militants in preparation for an honest, repeverywhere to the defense of their resentative Congress; to maintain program and their organization and strengthen their own unity before it is too late. Our Plenum in the struggle to defeat the splitdeliberately decided to talk open- ters and to liquidate the liquidly to our international comrades ators.

> Fraternally, James P. Cannon



"The Republican Party as at present constituted is by no means a fascist party, and it would be quite false to characterize the incoming Eisenhower administration as a fascist regime. The Republican O

Party, however, has already or-Who will win in this struggle? ganized many of the reserve Cannon answers: "Power is on forces of a fature fascist move- the side of the workers. They ment. If such demagogues as are an absolute majority of the Nixon and McCarthy are not the population. And their strategic prototypes of American fascist social importance in industry demagogues, they will do until the multiplies the importance of their real thing comes along." numerical majority at least a It was just one year ago that hundred times. All they need is

James P. Cannon made this obthe will, the consciousness, the servation in the first of a series leadership - and the Party which of six lectures now published by believes in the revolutionary, Publishers under the victory, and consciously and title, "America's Road to Social- deliberately prepares for it. . . That's why we belong to the So-In the year that has passed cialist Workers Party. That's why

since then, the mounting social we're building it up." crists has crystallized McCarthy-SOCIALIST AMERICA ism into a threatening fascis

In a final brilliant chapter, this . However, while the crisis itself veteran socialist warrior presents his own vision of "What Socialist s Cannon's point of departure, America Will Look Like."

This is not based on a utopian deal, but is grounded solidly in the rich materialist conceptions this final, permanent crisis of of Marxism. And what a magnicapitalism is driving America to- ficent canvas he paints of the revolutionary trasformation of human attitudes and activities in his new world of peace, fraternity

> and super-abundance With bold strokes he sketches out the magnificent wonder cities that will blend town and country-

The utter decay of world capi side harmoniously together. talism, combined with the ines-Pointing to the enormous capable need to maintain a perapacity of a productive machine manent arms economy at home infettered by the need to make the author asserts, is driving profit, he shows how everyone America inevitably towards a can be freed from toil and given leisure to help construct a new

This crisis, he explains, will civilization of undreamed cultural

seriously contemplated, by the method of honest, democratic dis-Now, as in the Russian Party and the Comintern, this question the Fourth International, which of organization is turned upside represents their greatest collecdown; and the real violators of tive achievement. The Communist

new and different content. They every principle of democratic cen- same sentiment toward the Co

any witch hunts against our union we will take it as a hostile move against our union securitiy and act accordingly."

The San Francisco longshoremen aren't in the habit of bluffing. When the Velde Committee put up stoolpigeons to "expose red control" of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the answer came protest strike. The Velde Committee was set back on its heels.

The unions throughout the country can profitably study the action of the San Francisco longshoremen. There is much to be learned from it. On the basis of the excellent beginning of the longshoremen, we think a series of recomendations logically follow:

First, no co-operation with the witch hunters. Every union local in the country should make it a principle to refuse to deal with the McCarthyite "investigating" committees. A complete boycott of all their activities should be put in force.

Second, the unions must go into action to meet McCarthyism on the political field in the 1954 elections. McCarthy has 'served no-

"I have destroyed more reds than anyone," braved the Democratic jackass.

"You lie," snorted the Republican elephant. "I am the greatest red hunter and the record will prove it."

"The jackass is right," squawked the labor official parrot. "And while we are at it, examine my record. I have done some red hunting myself you know."

'You're all wrong," howled the McCarthyite wolf. "Red hunting wasn't known until J came along. And you ain't seen nothing yet,' he added, eyeing the well-feathered labor official hungrily.

This true story taken from Aesop's Fables, has a modern parallel:

A "fact sheet" has been released by the Democratic Party national committee. It lists the accomplishments of the Democratic administration in the witch hunt.

Among these accomplishments is the claim that under the Democratic administration the loyalty purge was started, the Smith Act Trials against "reds" were conducted, and many witch-hunt laws were passed.

Fourth, internal union witch hunts should meet such a challenge. be halted at once. Labor officials open the door to the union busters with their vile that they cannot hope to secure hounding of radicals and militants within the formal and official sanction for unions.

the historically created cadres of Fifth, the secret collusion of labor officials Trotskyism, educated in the docwith the FBI should be ended forthwith. Emil trine and hardened in struggle. Rieve, vice-president of the CIO, has declared stand in the way. They must first break up or "excommunicate that the FBI is a secret political police endangering the liberties of the American people. He is dead right. Secret dealings with they have provoked and instigated these political police endanger basic rights splits in one country after another - first in France, then in Cevlon won over long years of hard and bitter struggle. Keep the FBI from tampering in union ed States. All these splits are now affairs. Close the lists of union members from public affairs. their prying and snooping. It's high time to

officials and the secret political police into preserve the Lenin-Trotsky heritthe light of day and put a stop to it.

Any one considering what his union local should consider these recommendations for ism.

### these cadres and convert minorities into majorities. That's why

and now in England and the Unit-It is later than you think. What drag this secret "co-operation" between labor is involved is a wide-open fight to

years ago.

"ORGANIZATION METHODS"

By this I do not mean to state

that we advocate or practice ir-

responsible conduct in matters of

nore than our predecessors and

inspirers did during the first

heroic period of the struggle in

formalities, perhaps better than

others - if you will permit me

we also know the difference be-

tween an honest system of demo-

cratic organization and a formal

first tell-tale indicator of undis-

istic trap for the innocent.

can do in the fight against McCarthyism take a position on the issues of adoption. They will help put a fighting edge cal principle stand above all formto the systematic education every union local alities, as they have always done should sponsor on the menace of McCarthy- since the Left Opposition in the

### Jackass, Elephant, Parrot, and Wolf

Republican House Speaker Joseph Martin labeled this claim as "bunkum politics." But he didn't try to refute the Democrats' facts organization and discipline, any and figures.

They show that when the Democrats came into office in 1932 the FBI had 801 cops on the Russian Communist Party. We its staff. By 1952 the Democrats had increased know all about organizational the secret political police force to 15,181. In 1932 the FBI was spending only \$2,978,520. to say so - and have never been By 1952 the Democrats had run that up to the first to brush them aside. Br a \$90,000,000 annual appropriation.

The Republican whip, Leslie Arneds of Illinois, scoffed at the facts and figures. It sounded to him as if the Democrats were "trying to get the cat off their back." Ignoring the powerful array of facts demonstrating matter; that any abuse of au-Democratic priority in the witch hunt, he sneered, "They had better take another look at the record.'

This is the contest the labor officials want rect. The "organization question" to drag the unions into in 1954 under the is important in and of itself; and banner of the Democratic Party. And this is it is even more important as the the Democratic Party's answer to McCarthyism. closed political aims. This was Perhaps Meany and Reuther can produce a the case in the Russian Party in "fact sheet" demonstrating their prowess in 1903 and again in 1923. We saw ed," without notice or hearing, and the contest?

The fact of the matter is that the Pabloites started the public The Pabloites know very well struggle by publicly violating the

basic principles of our movement the Comintern with the adminin the policy they followed in contheir criminal policy as long as stration and to represent the crinection with great historic events icism of the Left Opposition as during the past six months. They in attack on the Comintern and have done this without authorizhe Soviet Union by "agents of ation of any Congress or any mperialism." The same trick is adopted resolution. We never receing attempted now in the strugognized their right to do this. Our

ele within the Fourth Internationpress has been defending the oral by the Pabloite faction. This thodox Trotskvist line and counter time, however, the same will meet posing it to the line of the Pablowith a sturdier resistance. espeites for the past six months. ally from the "old Trotskvists" Our "Letter to All Trotskyists," who have been instructed by the adopted by our 25th Anniversary xperiences of the past. Plenum, was nothing more and

nothing less than an extension of the six-month-old indirect polemic - a public answer to the Pabloites' infamy, naming names. age and prevent the disruption Our "Letter," as you can see for and dispersal of the cadres. You. vourself by reading it attentiveand everyone else, will have to v. is by no means a collection of epithets and unsubstantiated acpolitical principle involved in the cusations. Our indictment lists struggle. These issues of politiconcrete actions and cites precise texts which show the unauthorized and anti-Trotskyist position of the Pabloites on the post-Sta-Russian Party raised the banner lin events in the Soviet Union of revolt against Stalinist revion the revolt of the East German sionism and degeneration thirty workers and on the French General Strike.

> How did the Pabloites, who are presumably responsible for their conduct of office to the Trotskyists who make up the world movement, including, we take it, its founders and most loval and most consistent supporters and build break up and disperse its cadres ers - how did the Pabloites reply to this indictment by the 25th Anniversary Plenum of the SWP? we must deal with.

STALINIST-TYPE ANSWER Their answer appears in a spe-

THE FACTS cial issue of the Paris organ of the Pabloite faction, "La Verite de Travailleurs," December, 1953. It will probably surprise you when you read it, but it didn't surprise us. We encountered identically the We do not belong to that school same kind of answers from the of super-politicals who say that Stalinists in 1928 and ever since "organization methods" do not over a period of 25 years, and we know the Stalinist mentality, the thority, any organizational enor-Stalinist method of answering remity. is permissible as long as volutionary critics and opponents the "political line" appears at the Here's what the Pabloite annoment to be more or less corswer to our concrete and specific daily napers indictments, our precise quotation of their texts, consists of:

First, the Majority of the SWP which is more than an 80% with Stalinist fellow-travellers "excommunicatmajority - is against them.

And in the United States, as if the same thing in the SWP in the the pitiful Minority, running to to demonstrate that little things great battle of 1939-40 with the the Shachtmanites for sympathy, take the same pattern as the im-I British empire, Tanganyika. The

to the parallel developttainments job was done, I can give you plen-

ment of a virulent fascist move-"All will be artists. All will be ment and a radicalized labor workers and students, builders and movement confronting each other creators. All will be free and in a final showdown struggle. equal."



"THE SPECTACLE OF VER- | Mau Mau movement is one of the locked in "bitter and acrimonious" debate over the election of a

Normally, of course, the Trot President. Ten ballots had been taken by Dec. 23 without result. kvists, like any other organized The leading contender, Premier political tendency, reserve the ight to discuss their internal af-Joseph Laniel, who headed the fairs among themselves. The leadregime during the general strike ers of the SWP. schooled in a of last August, was forced to withdraw. But this did not resolve ong tradition of responsibility the crisis. Leading figures in and discipline, would never be the capitalist circles are expressing first to violate this normal proalarm at this dramatic demonstra edure and resort one-sidedly to public discussion. We are great tion of the political bankruptcy

of the regime. The Dec. 23 N. Y believers in organizational for-Times reports: "There was talk malities, regular procedure, responsibility and discipline. These of a threat to the Government itself and there were comparisons oncepts and practices have been deliberately built into the SWP of the atmosphere here (France) and are a part of its solid structo the public disgust aroused in 1934 by the Stavisky financial But we are also believers in the scandal resulted in the sharp division of France into a fascist Lenin doctrine that the essence

stands above the form. The esand workers camp, a struggle which culminated in the general sence of the matter is that the strike of 1936. conspiracy to prostitute the prin-

ribles of our movement, and to SOUTHERN JUSTICE IN already a wide-open public KENYA. Lashing Mau scandal in several countries. That suspects with "rhinoceros - hide is the reality, and that is what whips" was charged against three white policemen in Kenya. A Dec. 21 Reuters dispatch reports that cne of the cops, Frantz Hvass. In France, during the General "pleaded guilty on five counts of beating natives and was fined he French Trotskvists of the \$140. As soon as the judgement was announced, a white settler

came forward from the back of the court to present him with ; stalinist faction has been widely check for the full amount." **OPERATION KILLER IN** ENYA. Military operations against the Kikuvu people in

revolt against British despotism have reached the stage of 500ound and 1,000-pound block-In England the agents of Pablo buster bombs dropped on what publicly attack the Trotskyists in are described as "Mau the mass movement and combine ideouts" in central Kenya.

MAU MAU ACTIVITY is now

SAILLES." The two houses of the forms of struggle of the colonial French parliament have been people of Africa against the rule of white supremacists.

> IRAQ OIL WORKERS battled police Dec. 15 at Basra. The clash followed strike action that began Dec. 5 at the Zubair oil field and spread to the terminal at the Persian Gulf. The company conceded 16 demands made by the strikers, but rejected their seventeenth - a wage boost.

CHEDDI JAGAN WAS RE-FUSED ENTRY in Ceylon by the reactionary UNP government. Jagan was the head of an elected povernment in British Guiana. His cabinet was deposed by im-

perialist action of the British. Jagan is now in India pleading his cause to the people of that country. . \* \* :

BRITISH WORKERS opened a general wage increase offensive after the railway union won a 6%

wage increase following threat of Mau strike. The Dec. 22, N. Y. Times reports that the British capitalists are worried. "Million of workers in some of Britain's key industries who are demanding wage rises may see the settlement given to the railway men as a pattern.' The Times reports demands and plans for strike action in the engineering, shipbuilding, mining and building industries.

COUNTER-REVOLUTION-ARY CONFAB of Wall Street's puppet regimes in South and Central America is scheduled to take place in Caracas, Venezuela, next March. The secret police chief of Venezuela, remembering "el Bogotazo" of April 1948, when a similar conference in Bogota Mau Colombia, was disrupted by a popular uprising, said: "There will be no trouble even if we have to

round up every suspicious charreported in another sector of the acter in the country and jail them all through the conference

strike, the Pabloites denounced Majority in a published leaflet addressed to Stalinists. In Cevlon, the split of the pro exploited by the capitalist press of that country and has been pubicized throughout the world by the international press agencies: we read the first reports of the Cevlon split in the New York

### The Negro Struggle In Memoriam

#### By Jean Blake

He wasn't one of the best people .In fact, if the truth be told, there was some question as to the legitimacy of his birth.

But there were much more serious charges against him.

He held very unorthodox views. He had no. respect for any of the established institutions. He condemned their hypocrisy and commercialization. He had no use for the rich. In fact, he advocated ousting them from the seat of power. He saw no future for them.

He refused to jump on the bandwagon and condemn those ostracized by society. He ignored and refused to answer questions of frame-up artists seeking to trap him into making statements that might be used against him.

He condemned those who made a big show of their "loyalty" to the church, praying or going through the regular ritual in public. He insisted that people be judged by their actions rather than pious professions of faith. He wasn't a bit worried about guilt by asspciation. He associated with sinners and criminals even when he knew he had been invited, to do so by persons deliberately trying to frame him.

He was particularly contemptuous of "lawyers" - those who would plead any cause but take responsibility for none, who load ordinary people with laws and technicalities restricting their actions but which they are not equipped to handle.

Woe unto you also, ye lawyers!" he said, "for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not th burdens with one of your fingers. Woe unto ye, lawyers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves and them that were entering in ye hindered." nd them that were entering in ye hindered." He was a dangerous radical. No doubt about **Concedes** to

it. He told men to recognize no one on earth as their master. He predicted (not "advocat-ed") the destruction of the existing social order. He agitated for change.

He knew he would be framed. He knew he would be sold out, but he kept right on telling the truth as he saw it, sticking to his principles.

Yes, he was quite a man.

He was lynched, of course. The McCarthyites of his age saw to that.

They threw the book at him: disloyal, sub- bewildered state of the middle versive, sacrilegious. But the most serious class liberals. They fear the rise charge of all - "He stirreth up the people." It was a long time ago -- almost two thousand years. Long enough for men to distort fascism by revolutionary socialist completely the facts and significance of the man's life.

But perhaps this Christmas, when millions of people in the western world celebrate the anniversary of his birth, some among them will turn away from the official interpreters and exploiters and distorters of the life of lesus, the radical. Perhaps they'll take a his-liberals are waiting for Eisentorical view and try to learn a few lessons hower. In the meantime, Mcfrom one who made it his life's work to champion the cause of the poor and lowly, to agitate for change.

Merry Christmas - and let's oust the Mc-Carthy's from the seats of power.

to "be strong" and act as a bul-wark against McCarthyism is a reflection of the nervous and of fascism. They are unable to understand that the working class alone can deal effectively with methods. Thus they look for a savior and begin to believe in niracles.

The labor officials simply reflect the state of mind of the liberals. That is the best that can be said for them. They are waiting for the Democratic Party liberals to stop McCarthy; the Democratic Carthyism gathers momentum.

Since his Nov. 24, "I am the issue" radio-TV speech, McCarthy has been chalking up one victory

after another. Brownell smeared Truman. Truman tried to reply Then McCarthy took over the show. He reinforced the smear of Truman, and turned around and attacked Eisenhower. This attack went unanswered by any Republican office-holder. Only Eisena feeble token defense which

"CONTAINMENT" POLICY STRENGTHENS MCCARTHY Dulles' "anti-McCarthy speech

whole world with his brutal ultimatum to the French to line

cratic form. He is a candidate for

after the scandalous smear of would not be an issue" in 1954 McCarthy replied in his Nov. 24 plan.

McCarthy regulated by the genfaster than they are being replaced. Construc- formulated the way this issue will force, which is just beginning to eral course of the class struggle be settled: For McCarthy or for reveal its ominous power. His

It is clear now that McCarthy ment and a powerful machine that politics stands at the crossroads. new housing units annually to replace build- has maintained all his power in is part of, and yet separate from, The sign reads - "Fascism or ings over 75 years old in 22 years. 29,000 the Republican party and even the regular government ap- Socialism, there are no other

#### MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1958

THE MILITANT

#### Smeared by Velde



Rep. Robert Condon (D. Calif.) is welcomed by his family when he arrived in Oakland, Calif., to fight the smear attack by the Velde Un-American Committee hearing in San Francisco. The Independent' Longshoremen's Union in San Francisco responded to Velde's witch-hunting attack on their union with a 24-hour protest strike on Dec. 3.

containing" McCarthyism within This fascist movement rests on hower's appointee, Dulles, offered the framework of capitalist polia section of the middle class in America. It represents the initial tics has once again fizzled.

> How can we explain this strange mobilization of an army to deal henomenon of the President bowwith the critical problems conng before the Senator? From a fronted by American capitalism, ormal standpoint Eisenhower has through methods tested by Musinfinitely more power as the head solini and Hitler.

> of the American capitalist gov OUTCOME UNDECIDED ernment than McCarthy could The contest between Eisenhower

> possibly have. and McCarthy reveals the weaken-The secret lies in the different ing of the capitalist government bases of power represented by the apparatus as such and the two men.

> growth of a fascist mobilization Eisenhower represents the gov ernment apparatus of capital in hat is bidding to replace it. The outcome, however, is by no means its historically outworn demodecided.

One of the factors that gives the head of the police state ruling McCarthy such power in relation in the name of Big Business and to his "democratic" capitalist developing directly out of the old

democratic forms, destroying them opponents of the "old school" is without the expensive and danger- the absence of any aggressive ous device of fascism. Eisenhower anti-fascist mobilization at the represents Big Business' desire working-class left. We can expect to see a number of stages in the for a "fascism on the cheap" relations between Eisenhower and McCarthy represents a different

in the country. But it is clear that American power rests on a fascist move-



By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Dec. 23 - The post-election exposure of a dynamite-packed, suppressed housing report of the City Planning Commission fully confirms the pre-election

charge of the Socialist Workers 3 Party that a victory for Wagner | mised one and all that his election would ensure an adequate low would mean a new victory for cost housing program. Yet he not the city's real-estate and financial only refused to blow the lid off sharks. this scandal during the campaign,

The explosive facts contained but even now he refuses to act. in the long bottled-up report constitute a damning indictment of Wagner N. Y. Post can say is that Construction Coordination Robert - and of Mayor - elect Wagner ". . . is reported to have Moses urged (Planning Commissioner) Robert Wagner whose first public act was the reappointment of Moses.

willingness to force publication The report demonstrates that of the suppressed report. as he Moses has functioned throughout easily could, Wagner has so far his long tenure as a conscious tool of the city's powerful realestate and financial interests. It reveals that his so-called 'slum clearance'' program has served to drive several hundred thousand slum dwellers into even

vorse slums while providing a remendous land and rent steal for the landlords and bankers. It shows how true the charge

this reactionary program. Throughout the entire election campaign, in which housing was white-hot issue, this report was idden from the electorate by the Planning Commission of which Moses is a member. While the report was kept

secret from the voters it could not possibly have been a secret to Wagner, since he had three supporters on the Commission with copies of the report in their nands. Elsewhere on this page, Joyce

Cowley, who was the Socialist Workers candidate for Comptroler, reports the most important facts of this still officially unreeased document as they were first presented in the N. Y. Post last

eek. These facts strip bare the hameful hoax perpetrated on the slum-ridden workers of the world's largest and wealthiest city by Wagner and his supporters. With full knowledge of the real score, this self-styled 'fighting liberal" brazenly pro-



Just Out!

replied with studied silence to the demand made by members of his own party that he withdraw his appointment of Moses. In the face of these shocking revelations, the active support extended to Wagner during his campaign by the labor bureau-

The best that the rabidly pro-

Bennet to release the report

In addition to his obvious un-

NUMBER 52

crats of the CIO and Stalinists of the Communist Party conof the SWP candidates was that demns both for participating in the Negro and Puerto Rican peo- another dirty sell-out of the workple have been hit the hardest by ers and minority peoples of this city.

> For an understanding of American fascism, read Trotsky's analyses of Fascism in Europe



15 cents

"Don't make us D.P.'s," says a sign in the hallway of the building where I live. This is directed at "Construction Coordinator" Moses whose proposal to redevelop the area below Washington Square went to the Board of Estimate this week. It turned out to be a rather hot issue and the Board of Estimate cautiously postponed it for at least another

New York's DP's

Notes from the News

uncommonly high.

cities.

adds.

the remainder of December."

month. They hesitated because just a few days before the hearing on this proposal, details of a report on housing by the City Planning Commission leaked out to the daily press. Moses has suppressed this report for several

months. The Citizens Housing and Planning Council, the New York State Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, and 16 other civic groups are demanding its release. The report reveals that thousands of slum families are being driven out of their homes so that new housing can be built. But few of them ever move back into these new developments. They go from bad slums to worse slums. 40% of the people who are displaced move into areas already marked for clearance. Many families have been forced to move more

than once

tion, these families haven't much chance of getting in. Most of the redevelopment projects rent from \$23 to \$30 a room, and some as high as \$48 a room. An income of \$4,000 a year is necessary for even a one-bedroom apartment. Only 5% of the non-white families who are being displaced have incomes over \$3,500.

The proposed Washington Square development, which is to replace \$25-a-month coldwater flats, will consist mainly of one and np with Wall Street's European two room units renting at \$48 a room. As one Army scheme "or else." of my neighbors said bitterly: "I guess that kind of housing is intended for young executives who are sterile."

State Housing Commissioner Stichman recently disclosed that New York City was be- Truman by his Attorney General hind all other large cities in the state in slum said that he hoped "Communism clearance. This is really stating the matter backwards. New York City slums are not be- radio-TV speech, "Communism ing cleared at all. They are growing much will be the issue in 1954." And he tion is far lower here than in the United the "spies." States as a whole. We would need about 44,000

didn't even name McCarthy.

was hailed rapturously by the liberals, but all he said was that he is opposed to "bullying" as a method of foreign policy. A few weeks later Dulles shocked the

And now the conference has set the seal of capitulation on the "anti-McCarthy" Republicans. Eisenhower, trying to retreat

(Continued from page 1) eassert his command of the party. NERVOUS AND BEWILDERED These yearnings for Eisenhower

VOLUME XVII

Eisenhower

Negroes and Puerto Ricans are particularly hard hit. They face discrimination not only in private housing but in many tax-aided projects. Right now, more than half the people living in sites to be cleared are "nonwhite" minorities.

A City Council law passed in 1944 penalizes any insurance company or housing redevelopment company for discrimination in rentals or occupancy by removing it from tax exemption. This law bas not once been invoked in 9 years! Not more than 50 Negro families have been admitted to the 18 tax-aided developments throughout the city.

Even when there is no formal discrimina-.

TRIBUTE FROM A FOE. Fred Turner, Buf-

falo Evening News Trotskyist baiter, discussing

his peculiar conception of Trotskyism vs. Stalin-

ism, feels compelled to write, "Nothing illustrates

the difference between the two . . . so much as

comparison of the Daily Worker . . . and the

Militant. The former is, from the newspaper-

man's standpoint, a rag; the latter is well

edited. The slogan of the Militant is that it is

published 'in the interests of the working peo-

ple, and there is reason to believe that its ed-

itors sincerely believe they are doing that-no

\* \* \*

SIT TIGHT! This free advice is given to its

supporters by the Reading Labor Advocate, of-

ficial organ of the Reading Socialist party,

which has decided not to enter the 1954 elec-

tions. On the basis of articles they have pub-

hished, the paper explains, readers may get the

idea they plan to suport the Democrats, but

"Such an impression, while it may be based on

fact, does not alter the situation . . . SIT TIGHT

\* \* \*

AN ANTI-TRUST SUIT brought by the Jus-

tice Department against the giant Du Pont mon-

opoly has been dismissed by a Federal judge

who ruled, "Neither Du Pont or any other Amer-

ican company similarly situated, should be pu-

nished for its success." The Judge said Du Pont's

record reveals "rapidly declining prices... and

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IS DOWN about 6%

since March, according to the Dec. 11 US News

and World Report. The Big Business weekly says

that, "Businessmen and bankers all across the

country now accept the prospect of a slow de-

cline in business that will continue into 1954,

PRODUCTION SLOWDOWN is showing up in

ising unemployment, according to The U.S.

News. Claims for unemployment benefits were

850,000 a week in November. This is higher than

Re- Start Real

you have nothing to lose at this time!"

other benefits of a free economy.

possibly into 1955."

matter what others may think."

units are being built. This is just an estimate of units needed to replace old buildings and doesn't allow for the expansion of housing to in basements and cellars.

While children grow up in dark, airless, rat-infested rooms where large families eat. and sleep in shifts, city funds are being used to aid redevelopment at \$48 a room, and thousands of new "D. P.'s" have to hunt for homes in sections of the city that are even older, dirtier and more crowded. That's what capitalist politicians call a "public housing program."

the same month in '51 or '52. However, they

cheerily note, the number of people working is

times harder than the richest by the contem-

plated Federal sales tax, says the CIO. Econ-

omic Outlook. They also note that general sales

taxes are in effect in 32 states and innumerable

\* \* \*

ONE OUT OF FIVE farm implement workers

are unemployed in four midwestern cities that

strengthened it. The strategy of paratus.

# take care of tens of thousands of families crowded into single rooms or living illegally Fight Jim Crow Schools

(Continued from page 1) in many parts of the South a Newhen he dares to try to register Negro people. for an election. And neither Eisen-

hower nor Stevenson says a word thing happening is all that I can in court. in protest. In the case of voting, a Supreme probable.

Court decision approving it is one RADICAL MEASURE thing, and Jim Crow lynch-violence is another. Isn't it possible that the same situation will arise in connection with the schools? All of the above thoughts are based on the assumption that the Supreme Court will actually hand down an anti-segregation ruling. But this assumption, I repeat, only a guess, and a guess that I

LAYOFFS HIT CHRYSLER WORKERS. personally do not share. About 13,000 of Chrysler's 111,000 workers have CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

been laid off during the past two months. (Wall The main constitutional issue Street Journal, Dec. 17.) UAW spokesmen charge before the court concerns the 14th that the figure is actually higher and say that the company "has scheduled three and four day Amendment, which prohibits the states from making or enforcing weeks for thousands of those still at work for laws that "abridge the privileges"

row system.

status quo. The present Supreme Court, of citizens or deny them "the may be necessary to state here, i THE POOREST FAMILIES would be hit 60 equal protection of the laws." The a basically conservative body NAACP contends that this amendeven more conservative than i was ten years ago. The recently ment prohibits segregation in the

appointed Chief Justice Warren schools, while the Dixiecrats deny has been termed an "unknown that it has any application. factor," but the only thing that's The history of the Supreme Court is not one to inspire much really "unknown" about his views is the particular brand of conconfidence that it will accept the NAACP's position. In 1896 it servatism he will espouse. ruled that segregation does not Therefore the tendency of this

Negroes and whites have "equal" public facilities. On seven different occasions since that time, the court has reaffirmed the so-called in the schools.

separate but equal" doctrine, This too is only a guess, but it's at least as strongly grounded which has become one of the foundations of the entire Jim as any other. And it has the advantage of not being the kind of Will the court now say "yes" guess that leads to illusions, comwhere it has eight times said placency and unfounded optimism

'no"? The tradition of the court, | - all of which can be dangerous for the anti-Jim Crow movement. at any rate, dictates eaution. But of course the court has been THE FIGHT GOES ON

known to reverse itself, or previous members of the court, Whatever the court rules, the fight will continue after the quite drastically. Where once it shrieked that child-labor legisla- decision, as Mackay points out. tion was unconstitutional if not And even before the decision, the ungodly, it today solemnly pro- fight goes on.

Byrnes, Talmadge and Go. know

Therefore it is not impossible of the South are part of their maries and general elections. But that the court may throw out the strategy in the fight right now, "separate but equal" doctrine that before the decision is made. They gro puts his life, his liberty and has brought so much misery, low are applying pressure on the court his property in real jeopardy memory and ill health on the to secure the most favorable kind of decision, and they are not confining themselves to arguments

But the possibility of such a

concede. I don't think it is The anti-Jim Crow movement should be just as active and intransigent. In the several months that will pass before the court Effective abolition of the Jim issues a decision, the Negro peo-Crow system in the South is still ple, the labor movement and their relatively radical measure, allies should apply their own presdespite the increased readiness of sure in their own way. They large sections of the white popula- should make it plain to everyone tion to accept it. It would deal a that they will not tolerate or blow to the Jim Crow system as submit passively to any pro-Jim a whole, and encourage broader Crow decision, and that they will struggle against other segregated raise just as much hell about an institutions and facilities. In the unfavorable decision as the white eyes of both conservatives and supremacists are threatening to reactionaries, it would "upset" do. the South, with potentially ex-Enemies of segregation may

plosive social, political and eco- legitimately have, and can afford nomic consequences for the to have different estimates of how the Supreme Court is going to rule in this case. But they can't

afford to act under the illusion that the fight is over, or that now nothing remains to be done until

the court decision is issued. Our strategy today must be to continue to mobilize the labor, Negro and liberal movements to demand the immediate abolition of segregation in the schools. If here is a possibility of the court acting along these lines, this

violate the 14th Amendment if court, as I see it, will be to go strategy will strengthen it. If the slow, not to upset the apple-cart, court rules against us, this stratnot to hand down an air-tight egy will put us in a stronger posidecision prohibiting segregation tion to enter and win the next stage of the fight to abolish Jim

> Crow in the schools and everywhere else.

have a good time or

at the

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constitute the "Detroit" of that industry, according to Pat Greathouse, director of the UAW Agricultural Implement Division. In addition to the 10,000 unemployed in this key area, 30,000 implement workers are jobless nationally, he \* \* \* A NON-EXISTENT IWO is being tried by

the Subversive Activities Control Board on charge of being a "Communist front." The International Workers Order, a fraternal insurance group of 150,000 members, has been ordered dissolved by the state of New York. The State Supreme Court has issued a ruling denying the organization, now in the hands of a state receiver, the right to allocate funds for its defense before the Subversive Board. The "legal" right of the accused representatives of the "dissolved" organization to even appear at the hearings has also been challenged.

ADVERTISING UP as buyers' resistance in- claims such legislation both legal creases. "Manufacturers know they must get out and beneficial. Such contradictions that very well. Their predictions and sell harder and they're advertising more," are among the wonders of the and threats that grass will grow says Andrew Heiskell; publisher of Life magazine. American way of jurisprudence or blood will flow in the streets