

M'CARTHYISM -- PATTERN OF AMERICAN FASCISM

(See Page 2)

Vol. XVIII - No. 1

267

Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1954

PRICE: 10 CENTS

Beria's Execution Throws Light on Malenkov Policy

By Murry Weiss

On Dec. 23, the Malenkovist clique announced that the secret "trial" of Lavrenti Beria and six other top secret police officials of the Kremlin, begun on Dec. 16 behind closed doors, had come to an abrupt halt with "confessions" from the victims and death before a firing squad.

The victims, who had organized mass blood purges under Stalin, were dispatched amidst cries of "terrorist murderers," "foreign spies," "foul provocateurs."

Thus less than one year after Malenkov's "new course," hailed by a variety of observers as a democratic revolution "from above," and as the end of Stalin's bloody era, we witness another typical Moscow frame-up purge.

The purge of Beria is the most visible expression of a vast convulsive reflex of the bureaucratic caste to accumulated difficulties. It is part of the world-wide crisis of Stalinism. It is the manifestation of that basic characteristic of Stalinist rule — a regime of permanent crisis.

In this crisis the Soviet bureaucracy confronts the unwelcome



MALENKOV

"Stop McCarthyism," American Labor Urged

A front-page appeal for action by the American labor movement to "stop McCarthyism" is contained in the Dec. 14 Ohio Works Organizer, published by United Steelworkers Local 1330, Youngstown, Ohio.

Entitled "The Menace of McCarthyism," an editorial signed by T. Dostal warns that "McCarthyism has reached a new stage."

The smear attack on Truman should alert every worker to

Economists Call It Just "Orthodox Recession" Now

Although they continue to belittle the possibility of serious depression, a majority of the country's top capitalist economists and statisticians now concede that the American economy is in a downturn and faces an "orthodox recession" this year.

An "orthodox recession" would be like the 1949-50 decline when upwards of six million were officially reported as unemployed.

OUR POSITION
Months before the arrest of Beria we paraphrased what the Malenkov "reformers" were saying as follows: "Above all, warns the Kremlin (to those who might take the concessions seriously), (Continued on page 3)

McCarthy's fascist character," says the editorial. "When he (McCarthy) hits the 'New Deal' and 'Fair Deal' he is actually shooting at the labor movement through the straw man of communism."

"The smear attack on Truman should alert every worker to

"The labor movement is McCarthy's real target," says the Local 1330 paper. "His blows against Truman and the liberals are only the beginning. They are only probing attacks to see if his real opposition, the labor movement is aroused yet. His future attacks will be still wilder and more 'unreasonable.' If he is not stopped, all thinking will be paralyzed, all speech gagged."

"In this stage of McCarthyism, we are already witnessing the default of some of the liberals who are becoming frightened by the witch hunt. Truman himself did not dare to say a word in defense of the deceased Harry Dexter White who was never proved to be a communist. He contented himself with defending only his own record. . . . In the long run the liberals will leave the field to McCarthy, because McCarthy's main profession is not anti-communism or even anti-liberalism, but anti-laborism."

NO TELEGRAMS.

The editorial cautions against

trying to defeat McCarthyism by

writing postcards and telegrams to other Congressmen. "This approach is all right for getting a new post-office for Council Bluffs, Iowa, perhaps — but hardly suitable for changing the course of reaction . . ."

"Only the labor movement . . . will really fight against McCarthy, because it has the most to lose if it does not fight," says the editorial. "But the fight must begin soon. The first thing to do is to call a General Congress of All Labor and make this Congress an anti-McCarthy, anti-fascist rallying center, to call demonstrations and rallies throughout the country against this menace."

Such a labor congress would

bare McCarthy's whole dirty

financial and legislative record

and set up its own investigating

committees to "put McCarthy or

the witness stand, and let the

labor lawyers question him."

McCarthy's

sober outlook" is more

than justified by the latest

statistics. Pre-Christmas depart-

ment store sales, as of Dec. 19,

for instance, fell below the cor-

responding 1952 period for the

fifth straight week. Christmas

week steel production was sched-

uled at 66.6% of capacity compared

to 102% for the same week a year

ago.

"Lately, McCarthy has widened

his circle of associates in Texas.

He recently stayed at the home

of Douglas Marshall, son-in-law

of H. R. Cullen, the oil multi-

millionaire, who has a keen in-

terest in McCarthy.

"Cullen contributed \$5,000, the

legal limit, to Joe's campaign for

re-election in 1952. . . . Cullen put

up \$48,000, in addition, to help

other candidates for Congress in

1952."

CORRECTS ERROR

Cullen is the man recently

reported to have given the Uni-

versity of Houston \$2,250,000 be-

cause of the "great spirit and

determination" its football team

showed in defeating Baylor. He

had already given the University

\$25,000,000. When newspapers

garbled his announcement that

he was giving \$80,000,000 for a

medical enterprise and reported

it as \$160,000,000, he said he

would make it \$160,000,000. This

is the kind of money that is now

behind McCarthy.

Hunt, sometimes called the

"richest man in America," is the

chief backer of "Facts Forum,"

the broadcast program that is

carried over 115 radio stations

and 30 TV outlets. Mrs. McCarthy,

the former Jeanie Kerr, wrote

script for the "Facts Forum"

series and McCarthy himself was

the program's first guest star.

Some of McCarthy's other spon-

sors as members of the "Facts

Forum's" advisory board are:

Gen. Robert E. Wood, head of

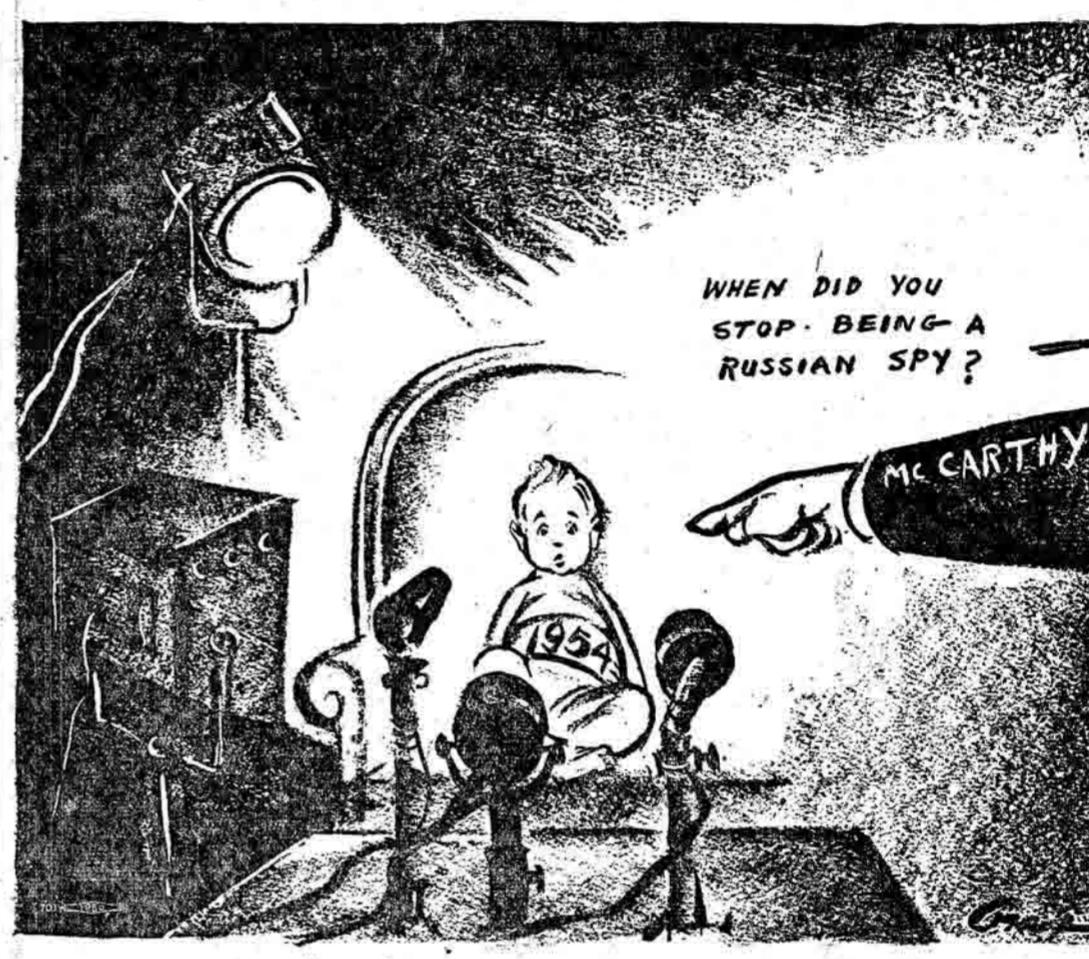
Sears Roebuck and former chair-

(Continued on page 2)

Barren interior of barracks building above is typical of installations at Tule Lake, Calif., Federal Prison Camp 38, one of six such places of detention set up by former president Truman's Justice Department and now ready for the McCarthyites to hold political prisoners in concentration camps without trial under a McCarran Act section originated by Trumanite "Fair Deal" senators in 1950.

(Continued on page 2)

New Year's Greeting



WILL EISENHOWER AND MALENKOV REACH A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING?

By Joseph Hansen

By all the rules in the history books, the third world war should have been upon us long ago.

Yet Alsop himself declares that "more and more people are coming to believe that a kind of precarious balance has been achieved since the war."

This Christmas Day observation by the well-known columnist Stewart Alsop has a real basis. In no period of history has there been such tension, such belligerence and provocative shoving around, as in the eight years since the end of World War II.

Alsop lists the Greek civil war, the Berlin blockade, the revolution in China, the Indo-Chinese war, the Yugoslav revolt, the Korean war, and Chinese intervention in Korea. We can add Truman's atom-bomb diplomacy, the Truman doctrine of "containment" of communism, the building of military bases in a gigantic circle around the Soviet Union, the blockade of the Soviet bloc, the rearmament of Japan and of Germany, the construction

of the most fearsome military alliance the world has ever seen, and so on and on.

"You can be reasonably sur-

of the following in the period ahead:

"Appeasement, in modified form, will be offered to Communist Russia.

"Trade barriers against Communist countries will be lowered. Trade, to be allowed to revive, will give Communist countries many strategic products.

"Agitation, to cause unrest in the Communist empire, will be checked.

"Communist China, slowly but surely, will be eased into the U. N.

"European Army idea will be allowed to die, gradually. German rearmament will be delayed some more. Liberation for nations gobbled up by Communists in postwar years will no longer be emphasized by American officials.

(Continued on page 4)

First Shot Is Fired in Minnesota

By Manuel Rodriguez

Senator Joseph McCarthy, leading candidate for American Hitler, plans to stump the entire country with his fascist smear attacks and use his powerful machine in the Republican Party to build his strength and mobilize his movement. He is preparing to intervene in 1954 Congressional elections throughout the country and make McCarthyism — his program for establishing his fascist power in Congress and the White House — the central issue of this year's political campaigns.

His first shot was fired on Dec. 26 through the Minnesota State Central Committee of the Republican Party. This McCarthyite body opened its Congressional campaign with a red smear of its Democratic Party opponents and proclaimed the "red menace" the No. 1 plank in its platform. McCarthy promptly announced his "availability" for highly specialized smear jobs in the Minnesota campaign.

Most significant of all is the disclosure that McCarthy's own lieutenant is now boss of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee and is personally guiding the Minnesota GOP electoral drive. The Dec. 27 N. Y. Times reports:

"Victor Johnston, former administrative assistant to Senator McCarthy and now director of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, conferred with [Minnesota] State GOP leaders and told them Senator McCarthy would come into Minnesota and campaign against Senator Humphrey [Democratic incumbent] if he were invited to do so."

Frightened Minnesota Democrats, bleating like panicked sheep, protested this "embracing of McCarthyism" by Minnesota's GOP leaders. They accused Republican Governor C. Elmer Anderson of "adopting McCarthy smear tactics" and "doing a disservice to the democratic process in inimicizing the loyalty of three of Minnesota's" leading Democrats.

The new political year thus

(Continued on Page 2)

The Concentration Camps Are Already Built

By Harry Ring

If Senator McCarthy achieves his ambition of becoming fascist dictator of America, he will find a system of concentrations camps

already built and ready. He will also find a law on the books giving him legal authority to incarcerate in these camps anyone he pleases without trial. Ironically, these

camps and this law were sup-

plied by the Trumanites — the so-called "liberal" Democrats like Senator Lehman — who would probably be among the inmates of these concentration camps if McCarthy comes to power.

Of course, they are not called "concentration camps." James V. Bennett, Director of the Justice Department's Bureau of Prisons, in a Mar. 26, 1952 letter to the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act deplored use of this

term, "It is unfortunate," he said, "that the term 'concentration camps' has been used in connection with these facilities since it implies institutions and procedures entirely foreign to our laws, democratic processes and methods of

incarceration." Virtually any one. According to the McCarran Act, the Attorney General is authorized, whenever an emergency is declared by the President, "to apprehend and detain," "persons as to whom there is reasonable grounds to believe probably will engage in or probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage."

And we may add, the term strikes an ominous chord in the mind and heart of every freedom-loving American, especially among workers and the minority peoples.

That's why Bennett piously declared in his letter about these "facilities," that "If the need for their use as places of detention ever arises, they will be conducted humanely and strictly in keeping with the policies of the President and Congress."

But what if McCarthy wins control of the White House and Congress, or even becomes President?

Both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations have tried

to keep their concentration camps from general public knowledge. But at least six have been set up under provisions of the McCarran Act of 1950.

One at Allenwood, Pa., covers 8,400 acres. It is surrounded by a 12-foot barbed wire fence and has an estimated capacity of four to seven thousand inmates, including women and children.

A vast camp at Tule Lake, Calif., used as a concentration camp for 100,000 Japanese-Americans during World War II, has been readied for immediate occupancy.

Four other camps have been prepared at Florence, Ariz., Wickenburg, Ariz., Avon Park, Fla., and El Reno, Okla.

FUTURE INMATES

Phony "Defender" Of Civil Liberties

By Joseph Keller

Adlai Stevenson, 1952 presidential candidate of the Democratic Party and darling of the liberals, recently made an indignant speech about the witch-hunt methods of the Republicans. Speaking in Philadelphia on Dec. 12, he struck a strident note seldom heard in his previous public utterances. Now that the Democratic ox is being gored by the Republicans in power, and particularly by ruthless McCarthy, Stevenson is bewailing the course the "anti-Communist" drive is taking and has been constrained to utter some truths. For instance, he said in his speech:

"The Bill of Rights is besieged, ancient liberties infringed, reckless words are uttered, vigilante groups are formed, suspicion, mistrust and fear stalk the land, and political partisanship raises strange and ugly heads, the security of secret files is violated, and the specter of a political police emerges."

Absolutely true! But that doesn't mean Stevenson is against any and all witch hunts. Positively not! In this same speech he proposes to continue and extend the witch hunt—against "Communists" and "subversives" only, of course—provided only the Republican Administration and McCarthy "include me out," as the saying goes. "If the Administration is looking for a good crusade," advises Stevenson, "I would recommend a crusade to combat the Communist conspiracy without resorting to Communist methods to do it. They could get a lot of help from Democrats for that."

The truth is they've been getting a lot of help from the Democrats for years and years. And not a little bit from Stevenson. For the methods Stevenson claims to deplore are in nowise "Communist." They are tried and true methods long known to capitalist politics and extensively employed by the Democratic administrations under Roosevelt and Truman in the initial stages of the current witch hunt.

The "suspicion, fear and mistrust" that stalk the land were set in motion, in part, by Truman's "disloyalty" purge among two million government employees. The "disloyalty" smear, guilt by association, conviction without trial, etc., were all employed against legless veteran James Kutcher and numerous others by the Truman administration without a murmur of protest from Stevenson. His sensitivity to the danger facing the Bill of Rights arises as he sees his own political cronies, including Truman, trapped amidst the flames that the Trumanite arsonists helped to light.

No part of Stevenson's plaint has a more hypocritical ring than his words about the "specter of a political police." That "specter" is no disembodied spirit. It is a live and active body that has been with us for a good many years. Stevenson is talking about the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the FBI, under J. Edgar Hoover. It was this very "specter" that Stevenson himself promised to call forth to fight "Communism" less than 15 months ago.

On Oct. 7, 1952, in a campaign speech in Detroit, Stevenson derided McCarthy and his other Republican opponents as mere "noisy amateurs" and called for the employment of the "cautious, silent professional"—that is, the FBI snappers, wire-tappers and mail-tamperers—to ferret out political dissenters and destroy the Bill of Rights. At that time, he hailed that "specter," the FBI, particularly its chief Hoover, for "providing the evidence" that railroaded the Communist Party leaders to prison under the infamous Smith's "Gag" Act.

This "specter" grew under Roosevelt and Truman from an FBI force of 801 agents when the Democrats took power in 1933 to 15,181 in 1952—more than a 15-fold increase. FBI appropriations in the same period grew more than 30 times their 1932 figure.

In his statement on the Harry Dexter White case before the recent Senate hearing, FBI Chief Hoover revealed that "the responsibilities for internal security (were) assigned the FBI in 1939 by Presidential directive"—that is, Roosevelt himself converted the FBI into a full-fledged secret political police. As for the FBI's illegal methods, such as wiretapping, Hoover likewise disclosed in a public statement in Jan. 1950: "The policy we follow on wiretapping was set by the late President Roosevelt on May 21, 1940."

Brownell, Hoover and McCarthy haven't invented a thing. They've even inherited concentration camps from the Truman administration, as described in Harry Ring's article on page one. Someday Stevenson may find himself in one of these camps and he can then reflect on what his liberal Democratic colleagues, Senator Lehman of New York, said back in 1950 to the New York State Democratic Convention that renominated him:

"I, myself, have sponsored legislation to put all Communists and would-be spies and saboteurs in detention camps during times of... national emergency. In my judgment that would in a practical manner really meet the Communist threat to our internal security. I hope my bill will pass."

It did, as incorporated in the McCarran Internal Security Law. Only, the McCarthys and Hoovers are directing the operation of that law now.

Union leaders who really think Democratic liberals like Stevenson are any kind of bulwark against McCarthyism should have their heads examined. Stevenson's very speech, made ostensibly in defense of civil liberties, is, in fact, a pledge of further attack on these liberties. It is a plea to the Republicans, including McCarthy, just to lay off the Democrats and "they could get a lot of help from Democrats" to witch hunt all other alleged "Communists."

Subscribe!

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

Name _____

Street _____ Zone _____

City _____ State _____

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

McCarthyism -- the American Pattern of Fascism

By George Breitman

When we say that McCarthyism is the American form of fascism, some people think we are indulging in name-calling or exaggerating, and they justify their reluctance to accept our conclusion by pointing to the unquestionable fact that there are important differences between European fascism, as it is generally conceived, and McCarthyism. Following are some of the objections that have been raised, and our answers to them:

(1) "Hitlerism was anti-Semitic and racist from the start; McCarthyism isn't."

Everyone knows that the German fascist movement was overtly anti-Semitic. That was partly because anti-Semitism had deep roots and a long history in Germany. It does not follow, however, that open anti-Semitism is an indispensable feature of fascism. In Italy, for example, anti-Semitism never amounted to much in the activities and ideology of the fascist movement before it came to power, and was emphasized only after Mussolini made his pact with Hitler.

In the 1930's all the American fascist groups and would-be leaders were unmistakably and aggressively anti-Semitic. It is uncertain whether this aided or hurt them. But when World War II came, and almost universal revolution greeted Hitler's mass murder of the Jews, anti-Semitism of the type that could be associated with Hitlerism became a handicap.

McCarthy learned a lesson from this. He went out of his way to put some Jews on his staff precisely in order to ward off the charge of anti-Semitism. In his public utterances he is careful to avoid sounding like Goebbels on the Jewish question. He fans anti-Semitism—a large proportion of his victims are Jews, many singled out primarily because of their Jewish background or associations—but he does it craftily. He is saving virulent Jew-baiting for a later stage of the game.

Meanwhile, there is a division of labor within the fascist movement. When we speak of McCarthyism, we don't mean only the movement of the people who avow McCarthy as their führer; we mean the whole coalition of different groups who are united behind his real program, but who may still be separately organized and who don't find it expedient at the present time to be too closely linked to McCarthy himself.

GERALD L. K. SMITH

Gerald L. K. Smith, for example,

is a veteran anti-Semite. He is also a McCarthyite, but he has to

be cautious about it. Interviewed in New York recently, Smith was asked, "What do you think of Senator McCarthy?" Answer: "I don't want to say anything to hurt him." Question: "You'd rather not answer that?" Answer: "Yes. I don't want my name used to smear him." (Expose, December 1953.)

Thus the McCarthyites play both sides of the street, recruiting the rabid Jew-baiters to the Smith wing and leaving McCarthy free of the "smear" that would attach to him if the Smiths spoke their views openly. Later on these groups will all unite. There was a similar division of labor in the German fascist movement on various issues.

The same division of labor exists over the Negro and other colored people. McCarthy says nothing openly to alienate or frighten them today, and even has the support of a few Negroes like the journalist George S. Schuyler. But his real base in the South is the Ku Klux Klan and similar white supremacist outfits, and much of his big money is coming from Dixiecrat oil millionaires in Texas.

This is still an early stage in the development of McCarthyism. Its racist character will become clearer and more open as time goes on.

SHIRTS AND STORM TROOPS

(2) "But European fascism had storm troops, anti-labor militia, shirted hoodlums who broke up meetings and burned books in the streets; McCarthyism doesn't have any of these characteristics."

This difference is due to the special conditions of American politics, and is no proof of the non-fascist character of McCarthyism. In Europe there were big Social Democratic and Communist parties, strong enough to bar the fascists from coming to power and strong enough to take power themselves if they had been guided by revolutionary policies.

To attract a mass following, to

convince the capitalist class that they were capable of destroying independent working class organizations, and to win power, Hitler and Mussolini needed storm troops.

McCarthy operates under different circumstances. The Socialist Party means nothing in this country, the Stalinists are a small persecuted minority without a mass following. The Department of Justice and the FBI, with their "subversive" lists and "conspiracy" prosecutions, have driven the CP more than half-way underground. McCarthy cracks his whip and under his pressure the State

masses. McCarthyism, on the other hand, is competing at the present stage of its development mainly with the Democratic and Republican parties, and doesn't have the same objective propaganda needs.

A second reason for the radical propaganda in Germany and Italy was the acute social crisis, dislocations and despair that made the people yearn for a radical solution to their problems after World War II. In this country an equally acute social crisis is accumulating; one can already observe the tremors that foretell the coming earthquake. But the social crisis has not yet broken out in full force in this country, and the need for radical demagogic is not yet so compelling.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to say that such demagogic is altogether absent from McCarthy. As he demonstrated in his Nov. 24, 1953 "answer to Truman," he is beginning to show a certain amount of skill in tying high taxes, high prices and high casualty lists together with the "spies in government" issue in an obvious effort to exploit the wrath of people discontented with present economic and social conditions.

Does anyone seriously doubt that his demagogic will become more radical, even "revolutionary," when a social crisis is precipitated by an economic depression or war?

At any rate McCarthyism, as we have pointed out, is a broad movement, and the public reappearance in Detroit of Father Coughlin, with the permission of the Catholic hierarchy that silenced him for political reasons in 1939, is a clear sign that there will be a marked increase in social demagogic from the McCarthyite movement in the period ahead.

Coughlin's demand for the lifting of tax burdens first of all from the assembly-line workers, the

granting of the guaranteed annual wage and the resumption of trade with China, can be compared

to the demands of Hitler and Mussolini.

The return of Coughlin indicates both competition for leadership of the McCarthyite movement and a further division of labor within it.

McCarthy's PARTY

(4) "But the European fascist movements were independent parties, separate from the old and discredited political parties, while McCarthy is a Republican and the Republican party, though reactionary, is not fascist."

Party traditions in Europe were of course different from our own.

There were many parties, few of

them ever got an absolute majority of the votes, and the governments usually consisted of coalitions of two or more parties.

An independent party in Europe therefore had more of a chance of

getting a hearing than it would in a country like ours, where most of the people still think that anything outside of the two-party system is not practical or serious.

For these reasons McCarthy

continues to operate inside the

Republican party. It's advantageous to him to stay there for the

time being; he can do things there

that are impossible for someone

like Gerald L. K. Smith; he can

and does use it effectively to

mobilize his movement.

Yet at the same time he has no

loyalty to the Republican party,

does not subordinate himself to it in any way, and feels free on all

occasions to disregard its leaders

and its "discipline." Everyone

understands that he is trying to

capture the Republican party and

convert it into an instrument of

McCarthyism; if he fails in this,

he will not hesitate to take his

followers out of the party, try to

smash it and replace it.

McCarthyism is in actuality an

independent movement, operating

temporarily not only within the

Republican but also within the

Democratic party. It is already

an independent political force in

Washington and throughout the

nation, and will appear as a

separate party, challenging the

old parties if it fails to take one

or both of them over for its own

purposes.

(5) "But Hitler and Mussolini

had the support of their respective

capitalist class, or of the predominant sections of it. McCarthy,

on the other hand, while he may

have a few millionaires behind

him, is not financed by the decisive sections of Big Business."

This is a historical confusion. Hitler and Mussolini had Big Business support when they came to power, but not at the beginning of their movements. Fascism serves the interests of capitalism, but it is an expensive and dangerous proposition for the capitalists. They must be convinced that it is necessary and that it will win. It took Mussolini a few years and Hitler several before they succeeded in the convincing.

Before then their finances came from a relatively few capitalists. McCarthy is in no different position in this respect than his European counterparts were in during the first years. To attain power, McCarthyism will need the consent of the ruling class; to constitute a growing fascist menace, it does not.

MASS FOLLOWING

(6) "But European fascism was a mass movement, with millions of followers and active supporters. Can you say that about McCarthyism?"

Yes, you can. For reasons given above, and especially because McCarthyism is still in the early stage in which its cadres are being selected and mobilized, the McCarthyite movement is compelled to assume different organizational forms than the European fascist movements. Instead of one independent party, it appears as

the right wing of both capitalist parties, plus several smaller ultranationalist "crackpot" parties, plus "patriotic" and reactionary organizations like the American Legion,

the Ku Klux Klan, etc., all united in fact and in action around fascist aims.

This is already a mass movement, make no mistake about it, and one that everyone from Eisenhower down knows is growing rapidly. Hitler never had anything like it at such an early phase of his movement.

Naturally there is room for differences of opinion over what criteria to use in determining when a movement has reached a "mass" stage. But it should not be hard to understand that a movement can properly be designated as fascist even before it wins a mass following. So this objection is not decisive for our purposes.

It is sufficient to recall that in Spain the fascist movement never succeeded in recruiting anything like the mass following that Hitler and Mussolini had before they came to power. Yet that didn't prevent Franco and the fascist military caste from winning state power. And the fact that he did not come to power in the same "classic" fashion as Hitler and Mussolini did not prevent the whole world from understanding that Franco and his movement were fascist.

That ought to teach us a valuable lesson when we approach the problem of McCarthyism.

Next week's article will consider other and more serious objections to our analysis.

THE MILITANT ARMY

A number of subscriptions not included in the final tally have come in since the last scoreboard

on the 25th Anniversary Militant Mobilization.

Among these were six from Seattle and six from Philadelphia.

Literature Agent Clara Raymond sends in the following roundup on Philadelphia sales.

"On the basis of our experience during the campaign we found an interested and critical reaction in both Negro and white areas.

Generally speaking we found a real receptivity to our ideas on the Labor Party slogan, and more particularly its application in view of the growing incipient fascist movement.

"Here is a breakdown of the literature sold during the campaign: 164 single copies of the paper, four copies of McCarthy's pamphlet 'The Socialist Workers Party, What It Is and What It Stands For,' six 'Welfare State or Socialism,' three 'A Letter to American Negroes,' two 'America to Socialism,' two new

six-months subs, four six-months renewals, and five one-year renewals."

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

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7469

Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Monday, January 4, 1954

Vol. XVIII - No. 1

Wall Street and McCarthyism

The campaign launched by the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant against McCarthyism as the American form of fascism is already beginning to draw howls from the McCarthy-lovers and force into the open some of the fascist Senator's undercover supporters. Among the latter, it now appears, is no less an organ of the financial oligarchs than the Wall Street Journal itself. This newspaper, which reflects the inmost thoughts and feelings of finance capital, has issued a screed against any anti-McCarthyite movement.

Written by William Henry Chamberlin, who also doubles in brass for the social-democratic New Leader, the Wall Street Journal article seeks to discredit anti-McCarthyism as "Communist" and falsely seeks to link it with the Stalinists. It recalls in this connection the fact that Stalinist groups in the Thirties founded "anti-Fascist" leagues, committees and what-not. It states that "now a new build-up of this kind is under way in Communist circles, with 'McCarthyism' as bogeyman instead of 'Fascism'."

The Wall Street Journal then anxiously bids the American people not to get "worked up" over the deadly fascist menace represented by McCarthy and his movement. This organ of America's ruling plutocrats thinks "it might be a good idea to approve or condemn Senator McCarthy on the basis of what he says or does as an individual" but "not to get worked up to

a crusade against 'McCarthyism.' Fair warning has now been given that 'anti-Carthyism' is the newest thing in Communist slogans and would-be Communist fronts."

This was the same kind of counsel that the financial organs of German Big Business gave the German people during the rise of Hitler and before these same organs gave him open support.

At this stage of McCarthy's campaign, the major sectors of American capital are still trying to operate politically through the two old party machines. They have not decided, as yet, to take the fascist road. But they want to keep McCarthy in reserve. Tomorrow they may want to use a terroristic fascist dictatorship against labor. That is why the Wall Street Journal is so anxious not to have McCarthyism exposed for what it is — American fascism — and is so quick to smear as "Communist" the "crusade against 'McCarthyism'."

The Wall Street Journal's tender regard for McCarthyism should further convince the labor movement that powerful financial interests look sympathetically on the fascist Senator from Wisconsin or directly support him. This advice of the anti-labor Wall Street Journal not to crusade against McCarthy should be sent to organized labor to take up in earnest an all-out fighting crusade to smash McCarthyism before it smashes us and sets up Wall Street's naked capitalist dictatorship on the crushed bones of labor.

Tainted Witch-Hunt Witnesses

Even if we had nothing else to go by but the unsavory characters the FBI and Department of Justice have been parading as witnesses in the Smith Act trials of the Communist Party leaders, we would have ample reason for declaring these political prosecutions deliberate frame-ups. Naturally, these well-coached stoopigeons are hard to nail as outright perjurers and liars. But the whole dirty business has been unexpectedly exposed. Two paid FBI informers have been unmasked as perjurers in the Smith Act trial of six Michigan Communist Party leaders.

The two undercover FBI agents had sworn that they had not known each other as FBI men inside the CP. One of them, Milton J. Santwire, was then forced to admit that he had lied when he said he had received money from no other source but the FBI. The other, Stephen J. Schemanske, finally confessed on the stand that he actually was drawing \$300 to \$400 a month from the Ford company while on the FBI payroll and that he had paid Santwire \$75 a month out of Ford expense money from 1948 to the middle of December 1953.

How many other lies have these two money-hungry FBI informers told on the stand? And what reliance can anyone place in paid informers to begin with? But these are typical of the government witnesses in all the Smith Act trials. Sudden affluence and an affinity for the easy dollar seem to go with such stoopigeon careers.

Take that star witness Louis Budenz who graduated from editor of the Daily Worker, after 10 years' loyal service to the Stalinist

GPU, to chief informer in numerous government hearings and the Smith Act trials of the Stalinists. He not only got a steady job as a professor at the Catholic Fordham University out of the deal, he was forced to admit before a panel of the Subversives Activities Control Board last April 15 that he made not less than \$71,000 in seven years from his writings and lectures after the publicity he received for turning informer.

Likewise, Whitaker Chambers, whose unsupported testimony sent Alger Hiss to prison, has made a small fortune out of the business of informing, including big sales on his best-seller book. Elizabeth Bentley burgeoned from a dowdy frump to one of the capital's better-dressed women on her proceeds as writer and lecturer after she got her first big play before the Senate and House committees in 1948.

Nor should we overlook Senator McCarthy's key witness at the recent Boston hearings on "subversion" in the General Electric plants, William Teto, McCarthy's chief stoopigeon, was revealed as a bad-check passer who had been sentenced to prison in 1938. This star witness was described in the Nov. 19 Boston Post as follows: "In 1946 he purchased the large Main Street (Ashby, Mass.) house and furnished it extremely well; it might easily be the home of a \$30,000 a year executive, from the interior. He ran two cars, a Lincoln and a Packard." Teto's brother-in-law said: "People kept wondering where the hell he made his money."

There is a tainted smell about the government witnesses in all the witch-hunt cases. It is the odor of paid informers who will lie about anything for dirty money.

"Brainwashing" for American Labor

In Nazi Germany when Der Fuehrer spoke on the radio everybody had to listen — or else. In witch-hunting America, where McCarthyism is raising its fascist head, workers may now be forced to listen to the anti-union rantings of the employers and their agents in the plants — or else.

That is the real meaning of the National Labor Relations Board ruling, on Dec. 21 in Washington, that employers have the right to address workers in the plants and on the job on anything the bosses please, including unionism, without the workers or their union spokesmen being allowed to reply. The only exception is for 24 hours before a collective bargaining election, when no one can speak. However, the ruling provides no penalty to employers even for violations of the 24-hour provision.

The Taft-Hartley Act legally sanctioned the practice of employers corraling the workers on the job, when they could not escape, and forcing reactionary anti-union propaganda down their throats along with capitalist political poison and the usual veiled threats and intimidation. But where strong unions have been established it has been difficult for the bosses to exercise this form of "free speech" without the unions taking the occasion to reply.

The present NLRB ruling, which reverses a previous decision granting a "retort" privilege to unions, specifically excludes the right of workers to have their say, no matter what lies and slanders the employer may when he has the workers trapped and ed to listen. The ruling says, in fact, the employer's premises are the natural for him." But it is not a "natural

forum" for the workers who sweat and toil their lives away inside the plants. The ruling expresses "our refusal to open up to them (unionists) the employer's premises for group meetings."

In attacking the new NLRB ruling, Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel of the CIO, denounced the Taft-Hartley Act for sanctioning any kind of "captive audiences" of workers on the job. "We have never regarded compulsory attendance by workers at a small brainwashing session conducted by an anti-union employer to be any form of protected free speech," said the CIO attorney. He added: "However, even Taft-Hartley — until the decisions of the NLRB in the Livingston Shirt and Peerless Plywood cases — at least required an employer to give the union an opportunity on company time and property to reply."

We have heard a lot of propaganda about compulsory "brainwashing" in China or the Soviet Union. But the NLRB, under its interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act, is virtually inviting the employers to introduce a grand orgy of "brainwashing" of millions of American workers. And one more area of free speech has been marked "Verboten" to labor.

This is one of several new weapons the capitalist government has recently handed the employers to slash and club organized labor. The Supreme Court recently ruled "disloyalty" to an employer primary grounds for dismissal. General Electric has announced it will suspend and fire workers who stand on their rights not to answer witch-hunt questions like the like. It's time for labor to fight back.

The Real "Food" Crisis Loaded on Beria

By John G. Wright

On Dec. 16, the same day the Kremlin released the news of Beria's "confession," Pravda savagely attacked the Ministry of Agriculture. The Minister Bendeikov and three of his top aides came under fire as "Leaders Losing Their Sense of Responsibility." They were accused of "open deception," "do-nothing attitude," and "irresponsibility." For what? For the mistreatment and mis-education of "students." For "directing bureaucratically the preparation of mechanization cadres for the Machine and Tractor Stations."

This ominous "coincidence" — the opening of the secret trial of Beria and the pointed attack on the Ministry of Agriculture — is given added significance by another fact. The indictment of Beria was amended. A new charge was added: "in Molotov Province, as of Oct. 5, more than 10,000 hectares of potatoes remained unharvested," as of Oct. 2 the Novgorod Province, a major producer of potatoes and vegetables, "had not fulfilled even a fifth of its state delivery of potatoes."

Pravda's sudden concern for the welfare of students has on the surface a "liberal," if not a humanitarian, air. As we shall

soon explain, the connection between "students" and the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Science and Technology is very close.

Pravda has previously reported, omitting to mention that the Kremlin tops were among those caught most by surprise.

Pravda after provinces has failed to fulfill state deliveries of crops, including grain. To cite a few important ones: by mid-November the Gorki Province had "not yet fulfilled the plan of state deliveries" of grain and other

crops; "in Molotov Province, as of Oct. 5, more than 10,000 hectares of potatoes remained unharvested," as of Oct. 2 the Novgorod Province, a major producer of potatoes and vegetables, "had not fulfilled even a fifth of its state delivery of potatoes."

In the Republic of Kazakhstan "about 800,000 hectares [almost two million acres] of mowed hay remained unstacked, buried under the snow in rows and ricks" (Pravda, Nov. 11). In Kirghizia the collective farms "have stored less hay than last year. Also failing to fulfill the plan were the collective farms of Kazakhstan, Karelo-Finnish, Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian and several other Republics" (Same Source, Nov. 21.) The collectives in the Moscow Province "this year, too, did not fulfill the plan" for storing fodder.

PUT OWN PROPERTY FIRST

Malenkov's opportunist economic turn, with its sweeping concessions to individualist tendencies in agriculture, was apparently no sooner applied than it boomeranged. It spurred the peasants, especially the well-to-do, to neglect the collective farms in favor of their own individual enterprises. And when winter struck, they had all the more reason for salvaging first their own crops, cattle, etc.

"Especially large losses" of cattle have been officially reported in the "Provinces of Novoselovsk, Minusinsk, Krasnoturinsk and in the Khakass Autonomous Province" (Pravda, Nov. 20.) Among

the hardest hit appear to be major

dairy-farm provinces and cattle-raising areas. The "food difficulties" are already a deadly reality so far as cattle are concerned.

How much of the 1953 grain crop has been lost? There was a sufficient supply this year because 1952 brought a bumper crop. The Kremlin has still released no figures about this year's grain harvest. But whether 1953 grain losses have been small or large, a new situation now exists in this key branch of agriculture as well.

In addition to damaging crops, early winter must have interfered with the ploughing of land for next spring's sowing. Winter wheat, if sown, may have been killed, requiring re-ploughing and re-sowing next spring. Again, the loss of fodder and cattle renders still more acute the fertilizer shortage!

And finally, a huge question mark now hangs over the operating efficiency of the Machine and Tractor Stations, the key to next spring sowing and crop yields.

MACHINES SNOW-BOUND

"Alarm signals" concerning the

lag in repairing tractors, com-

bines, plows, etc., along with the

general lag in preparations for

spring sowing, have been dotting

the columns of the Russian press

since October. Early winter has

caught most of the agricultural

machine out in the open, too,

because most of the MTS lack

garages, sheds and other shelters.

Machines must be repaired

and serviced for next spring,

and "snow drifts and icy winds."

More than 60 out of every 100

MTS could not possibly service

and repair their machines prop-

erly, even if spare parts were

plentiful, as they are not. Lacking

also are the facilities. As Khrushev admitted in September, out of 8,950 MTS today in the USSR, 429 MTS have no repair shops at all; and about 5,000 MTS have inadequately equipped shops which do not meet the repair requirements." This bureaucratic neglect has now caught up with the Kremlin.

Producing agricultural machines

is one thing; operating them ef-

fectively is something else again.

Involved here is the contradiction

between solving problems of tech-

nology and solving problems of

productivity. The bureaucracy has

claimed all the credit for the

technical successes, for its ability to build any and all plants and machines, including those needed to produce atomic explosives. And it is a fact that despite its rule, on the basis of nationalized economy and planning, the Soviet Union has acquired a technology second only to that of the United States.

But it is also a fact that the Kremlin bureaucracy has failed to solve the problems of productivity. Far from aiding in the solution of these problems, it bears all the blame for the monstrous lag in this connection. Winter has brought this contradiction to a head.

RUSH-ORDER OF TRAINEES

We already heard from Khrushev about the bureaucratic

method of taking care of agricultural machines. How has most

of this machinery been used in

the post-war years? And by

whom? By ill-trained teen-agers.

They are given some elementary

driving lessons, then put behind

the wheel, in the hope that they

can somehow "complete their

training" in the fields. Un-

believable? We yield the floor to

Khrushev, who surely speaks

with authority in this field.

MAKE IT A MILLION

Malenkov's answer to the blows of winter and the problems of productivity in the MTS is an administrative measure, a draft of a million teen-agers, on the eve of 1954, whose training, as Pravda assures, has not altered an iota from the past.

This emergency labor draft points up the aggravation of the farm crisis. It underscores the reasons for suddenly injecting the charge of "creating food difficulties" into the Beria purge. The regime is thereby provided with both scapegoats and a whip. Anyone who so much as expresses doubts over the food difficulties or about Malenkov's administrative improvisations to solve them, or fails to carry these measures out, as they keep multiplying is henceforth laid open to the charge of secretly aiding the Beria gang of spies and assassins.

The Militant was among the first to warn that Malenkov's struggle for "abundance" was nothing but a cover for an unfolding agricultural crisis, rooted in a revival of the peasants' struggle against the state. It was, we explained, a struggle to overcome within the next 2-3 years shortages of cattle, fodder, fertilizer, potatoes, etc.

It is now necessary to amend this. Malenkov's struggle for abundance has turned out to be the struggle to save the 1954 spring sowing and 1954 crops. To this must be added that the farm crisis has already turned into a crisis of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

Beria Case Shows Kremlin Policy

(Continued from page 1)

don't mistake Beria's exposure of the frame-up of 15 doctors for more than it is. It is intended to refurbish our apparatus of repressions and frame-ups, the better to exert it, the better to mask the big political frame-ups of the past, the easier to carry out future frame-ups along with the current ones." (John G. Wright, Militant, April 13.)

Immediately after the arrest of Beria we said: "A purge of this scope and intensity cannot fail to be a mass blood purge in the pattern that gained world notoriety under Stalin." (Wright, Militant, July 20.)

In an analytical article by Morris Stein and John G. Wright in the Aug. 3 Militant we declared that the Beria purge, which was followed by a wave of purges in all corners of the Soviet Union, would "shatter all illusions that the purge system was a personal twist on Stalin's part; that the caste can rule by discarding the method of the purge." Referring to the contention that the "new course" reforms were incompatible with blood purges, the article said: "Let us recall that the cover of 'reform' or 'liberation' was originally employed by none other than Stalin as a prelude to the blood baths of the Thirties."

PABLOITE POSITION

Now what did the Pabloites say about the prospect of new blood purges?

By Jean Blake

The Eisenhower administration has announced its legislative policy for 1954: a multitude of legislative proposals in the interest of various sections of the capitalist class, programmatic quibbles with the Democrats, wire-tapping for the McCarthy's — and *no civil rights legislation!*

What are the Negro and labor leaders going to do about it?

Up to now they have been able to pretend they have a program for political action — lobbying for their so-called "legislative demands." They could jockey around with proposals of the administration, deciding which to support as "lesser evils." But what will they do with an administration that bluntly says, "No civil rights legislation"?

We saw some plain and fancy white-washing of Eisenhower in 1953 by Negro leaders who adopted the line that the President's civil rights program is being sabotaged by his subordinates and advisers — administrators in the Army, Navy and Air Force, Secretary of Agriculture Benson, etc.

We even saw, in the case of the appointment of race-hater Byrnes as U.S. representative to the UN, some slight criticism of the President's action as ill-advised, naive, or incorrect. But we did not see any clear-cut, bold leadership say, "This is it! We must break with the administration; refuse all posts aimed at buying us off; condemn the Jim Crow policies of the government and map out an uncompromising program of struggle against it."

Now that Eisenhower has stated in so many words that he will seek *no civil rights legislation* in the next session of Congress, let's hope

Tax Cut for Mothers

By Joyce Cowley

"WORKING MOTHERS TO GET TAX CUT" — When I read this headline in the N.Y. Herald Tribune, I thought, "At last they passed that law on child care!"

A working mother obviously can't hold down a job unless she sends her child to nursery school or pays someone to take care of him. But the money she spends for this care is not considered a business expense. Executives casually deduct steaks, champagne and luxurious hotel accommodations; but a mother struggling to support her child on \$50 a week is not allowed to deduct a nursery-school fee. Women's organizations throughout the country, backed by the indignant protests of millions of working women, have conducted a vigorous campaign to change this law.

I eagerly read through the Herald Tribune article for details, but I'm afraid I couldn't find much cause for a victory celebration. It's like the income tax cut on January 1 — the average worker will be lucky if he gets another dime a day to cover the increase in subway fare.

The maximum deduction under the child care law is \$300. This allows approximately \$6 a week for the care of your children and means a tax saving of \$60 a year.

Only widows, widowers and parents who are divorced or separated are permitted to make this deduction. Eleven million married women are working but the "Treasury and Congressional staff experts" who worked out

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will measure up to the challenge. It was not Byrnes, or Benson, or Brownell who said it — it was the man himself. No more apologies, please!

The time has come for a new program of political action. It must be a program of *independent political action* — independent of the thoroughly rotten capitalist parties. It must be a program aimed at ousting the anti-Negro, anti-labor government from power and replacing it with a government responsible to the overwhelming majority of the American people, the workers, regardless of color, religion or national origin.

Such a program of independent political action requires breaking out of the limitations of capitalist legislative traps, of polite pleading with the politicians who have nothing but contempt for the Uncle Toms of the labor and Negro movements.

It means calling a Congress of Labor — all labor — to form a broad united front for a bold counter-offensive against the well-organized reaction which is driving toward fascism in America. It means an unambiguous boycott of the Republican and Democratic parties.

It means a return to the methods that have proved their effectiveness in winning gains for Negro and white workers — class solidarity, "an injury to one is an injury to all," a "March on Washington," not a "gentlemanly" conference on civil rights legislation.

We're not dealing with "gentlemen" in Washington; we're dealing with class-conscious capitalist thugs. Let's take off the kid gloves!

this curious law evidently think married women work as a hobby, not to pay the bills.

This deduction is allowed only for children under seven. "Care for school age children," says the newspaper report, "is not so much of a problem." Apparently there will be no coddling of mature seven-year-olds. Just turn them loose in the jungle of city streets. About time they learned to take care of themselves!

The law as originally proposed would exempt from tax *all* child-care expenses of *all* working mothers. For most mothers this would mean a few dollars extra a week. We need it and we're entitled to it. It's such a modest request, so obviously long overdue, I thought we might get it — even from the present administration. I guess anyone who expects justice from the men who control our law-making bodies has lost touch with reality.

Working mothers and their children have a right to a great deal more than this adjustment in taxes. We need free public nursery schools, hot school lunches, after-school play centers, better schools, more parks and recreational facilities, camps and day-care programs for the summer when schools are closed.

I don't expect to get these things from the "Congressional staff experts" who begrudging us a few dollars tax relief. We need our own representatives in Congress to fight for this program. We need our own party, a Labor Party, that will speak out for the rights of all working people.

Notes from the News

"A LUXURY HOTEL complete with bars, cocktail lounges, a star-lit room and a west in steak restaurant . . ." is being built in Seoul, Korea, with American dollars," at the insistence of President Rhee . . . while "assistance to the hungry, freezing people must wait," charges Cong. Brownson (R., Ind.) who recently returned from a tour of Korea. (Cleveland Plain Dealer, Dec. 21.)

THE GEORGIA PARDON AND PAROLE BOARD will not consider before 1955 appeals for the release of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons, a mass delegation of the Women's Committee for Equal Justice was informed after they were curiously referred to the Board by Gov. Talmadge. Mrs. Ingram and her son are serving life terms for the self-defense killing of a white farmer who attempted at gunpoint to assault Mrs. Ingram.

AN APPEAL FOR CLOTHING, particularly shoes, has been made for the twelve children of the imprisoned Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram by Mrs. Geneva Rushing, eldest daughter in charge of the household, according to the Pittsburgh Courier. Mrs. Rushing explained that the NAACP contributes \$100 a month through its local branch for the children's food, but this does not go far enough for their other needs.

AIRCRAFT SUB-CONTRACTING DROPS. A significant drop in the sub-contracting of aircraft work is reported by the Dec. 22 Wall Street Journal. "Our volume of sub-contracting has been down about 35% in the last three months," says a spokesman for Solar Aircraft Co. At Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Co., "all our sub-contracting activity is being retrenched." Employment at their plant is down to 18,000 from a peak of 26,000 and it will continue to drop next year, the company predicts.

MEANY SHUNS POLITICS FOR LABOR. The N.Y. Times reports, Dec. 10, "Asked why labor had not tried to make use of its great voting strength, Mr. Meany (AFL president) answered that political power as an end in itself was not desired by labor. He expressed the belief that it was not right for any one segment of the population including labor, to run the government."

DEFENDS DEAD BROTHER. Nathan L. White, brother of the late Harry Dexter White, has branded as "unproven and groundless" the

charge that his brother plotted with the Soviet Union to obtain printing plates to produce his own supply of Allied occupation currency. Pointing to the exhaustive investigation made prior to his brother's death by a combined Senate and Armed Forces Committee and its failure to produce any evidence against him, White declared Dec. 19 that this unsubstantiated charge against his brother was one more of the groundless accusations "rampant in the press and over the air" by official and unofficial seekers of "the truth."

REACTIONARIES, FASCISTS, LIBERALS, progressives, business men, tycoons, workers, Socialists, Trotskyites, Communists, Catholics, atheist, and all the infinite variety of crackpots, fanatics and self-appointed saviors of mankind, must enjoy full civil liberties, asserted Corliss Lamont at a dinner of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Dr. Lamont, prominent civil libertarian heavily influenced by Stalinists, was recently dropped from the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, which now will accept support of civil liberties only from those not adhering to "Communist, Fascist, KKK or other totalitarian philosophies."

THE MISSISSIPPI STATE SENATE last week rejected an amendment which would allow the state to abolish public schools in case the Supreme Court outlaws segregation. The amendment was defeated by a tie vote of 24 to 24. In rejecting the amendment, legislators said the time was not ripe for such drastic action. (Pittsburgh Courier, Dec. 26.)

AT ENIWETOK last year, a hydrogen, or thermonuclear test device released the equivalent of considerably more than five million tons of TNT, reveals military analyst Hanson W. Baldwin (N.Y. Times, Dec. 10). Compare this to the fifteen to twenty thousand tons of TNT equivalent that reduced Hiroshima and Nagasaki to ashes and rubble!

ANTI-FASCIST PAMPHLET OFF THE PRESS. Key articles of the Dec. 7 issue of the Militant are now available in pamphlet form for sales and distribution by fighters against McCarthyism. The pamphlet, "McCarthyism: American Fascism on the March," can be obtained by writing Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. The price is ten cents a copy.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII

MONDAY, JANUARY 4, 1954

NUMBER 1

Guild Fights "Subversive" Blacklisting

DECEMBER 23 — A Federal Judge today refused to issue an injunction stopping Attorney-General Brownell from designating the National Lawyers Guild as "subversive." The Guild has announced that it will appeal the Judge's decision. Their doing so may develop into a constitutional test of the government's arbitrary procedure of designating organizations as "subversive."

Brownell first proposed to put the Guild on the government blacklist last August on the grounds that it was "Communist-dominated" and a "legal mouthpiece" for the Communist Party.

The Justice Department has ordered the Guild to file affidavits by Jan. 16 to prove that it is not "subversive." Brownell will then decide whether to hold a public hearing. He can dictatorially decide to place the Guild on the "subversive list" with or without such a hearing.

The Guild has filed the injunction suit to block the hearing as well as to prevent such a listing. It contends that Brownell has prejudged the case and it would be denied due process of law at such a hearing.

Delighted with the outcome of their conference with Eisenhower and other GOP conferees on 1954 legislative plans, Sen. McCarthy (left) and Rep. Velde, chief House witch hunter, shake hands. The meeting accepted McCarthy's program to intensify the witch hunt. "I wasn't displeased with anything I heard," commented McCarthy.



Fascist Congratulations

SEATTLE, Dec. 17 — John Mahoney, central figure in a hard-fought, rank-and-file battle against Harry Lundberg, AFL Sailors Union president, four years ago received legal vindication today when the State Supreme Court ruled that his expulsion from the SUP was illegal and that the SUP must pay him monetary damages.

John Mahoney, a well-known and respected member of the Seattle branch of the Sailor Union for many years, was summarily expelled from the SUP when he questioned the right of the SUP officials to break the Canadian seamen's strike of that time. AFL seamen officials, Harry Lundberg and Paul Hall had moved into

Mahoney Upheld On Democracy Issue in SUP

SEATTLE, Dec. 17 — John Mahoney, central figure in a hard-fought, rank-and-file battle against Harry Lundberg, AFL Sailors Union president, four years ago received legal vindication today when the State Supreme Court ruled that his expulsion from the SUP was illegal and that the SUP must pay him monetary damages.

The Seattle branch of the SUP rallied to the defense of Mahoney and at one time a number of the militant rank and file seamen were expelled. Putting out their own organ, the *Defender*, they fought Lundberg for a considerable period.

This rank-and-file challenge to Lundberg was against overwhelming odds. Lundberg eventually won control of the Seattle branch of the SUP and suppressed the rank-and-file movement but in the fight he built up a vast store of hate and bitterness against himself and his machine.

The case of Mahoney went into the courts and dragged on for a four-year stretch. He was upheld in all the lower courts, but their decisions were challenged by the SUP. This final legal blow at Lundberg opens the door to a number of other suits on illegal expulsion from the SUP.

The majority opinion of the Court held that Mahoney's right to free speech was violated by Lundberg's action. A minority opinion held that it was proper to expel Mahoney since he expressed a minority point of view, thereby aiding a rival union which the SUP attorneys characterized as communist-led. This assertion of the SUP attorneys was enough to outweigh all other considerations in the minds of the court's minority.

The court awarded Mahoney \$3,533 damages and \$453 a month less earnings from October 30, 1951, until the judgment of his case became final. Lundberg will attempt to call this a blow against the union. The silent rank-and-file members of the SUP will however take note of new evidence on how expensive Lundberg's machine rule is to the SUP.

The organization was originally founded in 1931 as the "National Collegiate MacArthur Clubs." It switched over to the present name a year later.

University of Virginia students have branded it a "junior grade imitation of McCarthyism" and a "Kindergarten Ku Klux Klan" that would function as a group of self-appointed vigilantes.

The council's rejection of the charter application does not put an end to the organization, but simply prohibits it from using the University's name. It continues to function with about 21 members under the leadership of Fulton Lewis III, son of the notorious anti-labor radio commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr.

STUDENT STOOLPIGEONS To deal with "pink professors," its members are urged to take notes, have them verified by a fellow student, and then forward them to headquarters "for suggestions or instructions as to the appropriate course of action. For obvious reasons we cannot be more specific in this handbook. However you may rest assured that many possibilities of appropriate action are always available..."

"Student contributions don't even pay for postage on literature mailed," its magazine points out, but the "SFA has printed as many as 100,000 pieces of literature in a single month."

Maybe these aren't "Kinder-garten" McCarthyites after all.

Others who have praised the organization, according to its magazine, the American Student, are the California Department of the American Legion, the DAR's National Chairman and executive secretary, and last but not least, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

The organization was originally founded in 1931 as the "National Collegiate MacArthur Clubs." It switched over to the present name a year later.

RECENTLY, after a Walter Winchell column said that District Attorney Frank Hogan had placed an "urgent" label on the Tresca case, Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee wrote Hogan asking if this were true.

In reply, Alexander Herman, Homicide Bureau head, said that his office had always considered the case urgent. "Unfortunately," Herman added, "although our investigation continues actively, I cannot promise when it will terminate successfully."

Thus, after 11 long years of allegedly "actively" investigating the murder of a well-known labor figure, New York's "finest" can't even promise any results!

Carlo Tresca was a militant, tireless opponent of reaction everywhere. One of his last activities was support of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act in 1941.

In the years prior to World War II he was a dynamic strike leader, well known in the textile mills of Paterson and Lawrence, and the Messabi iron range of Minnesota, where he won the love of thousands of workers.

U.S. Attorney Percy Fountain of Mobile, Ala., says he is "very much interested" in the shooting.

Sheriff Jenkins A. Hill, of Clark County, Ala., on Dec. 28 shot to death Moses Jones, a Negro prisoner in his custody. Jones had testified against him in a moonshine liquor case three months ago. The sheriff claimed "self defense."

Carlo Tresca was a militant, tireless opponent of reaction everywhere. One of his last activities was support of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act in 1941.

By that token, the agreement would not assure peace, no matter how its paid publicists might lie about it, but would actually serve to speed atomic war — that is, if the workers did not smash the whole reactionary calculation by throwing their own colossal power in the balance of world politics.

M'Carthyites Set Up Campus Fascist Groups

The McCarthyite fascist movement is now establishing a foothold on the American campus. The junior McCarthyites are banded in an organization called "Students for America." They recently applied for a charter at the University of Virginia but had their application rejected by the unanimous vote of the 15-man Student Council, according to the Dec. 20 issue of the Washington Post.

"Students for America" is organized under the banner of "Truth! Loyalty! Honor!" The official "Handbook" of the movement says it is the "Student's answer to the Marxist challenge."

University of Virginia students have branded it a "junior grade imitation of McCarthyism" and a "Kindergarten Ku Klux Klan" that would function as a group of self-appointed vigilantes.

The council's rejection of the charter application does not put an end to the organization, but simply prohibits it from using the University's name. It continues to function with about 21 members under the leadership of Fulton Lewis III, son of the notorious anti-labor radio commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr.

CLAIM 2,500 MEMBERS The organization claims 2,500 members from more than 120 schools. Its national headquarters is at Hollywood, Calif.

Listed in its "Handbook" as supporters are such unsavory figures as General Douglas MacArthur, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Senator Karl Mundt and Walter Winchell.

Student contributions don't even pay for postage on literature mailed," its magazine points out, but the "SFA has printed as many as 100,000 pieces of literature in a single month."

Maybe these aren't "Kinder-garten" McCarthyites after all.

Must we then agree with Walter Millis of the N.Y. Herald Tribune that the "cold war seems to have sunk to what might be called a kind of cold truce — a military-political stalemate which neither side sees much present prospect of altering to its advantage?" (Dec. 24.)

Are the secret diplomatic talks and the projected Berlin meeting aimed simply at reducing the "cold truce" to some kind of official document that can be labelled a "mutual non-aggression pact"? Or is something much more sinister afoot?

EISENHOWER'S DIPLOMACY A year ago in the *Militant* (Jan. 12, 1953) I called attention to the fact that Eisenhower inherited a bad diplomatic position from the Truman administration. I projected the possibility that Eisenhower would attempt to relax world tension and even go "quite far in 'peace' gestures."

"A meeting with Stalin," I said, "would fit in with such a pattern."

This turn, of course, would not contradict the major course of American Big Business toward another world war, but would in the final analysis facilitate it by giving the Eisenhower administration the appearance of seeking peace.

The storm signals are not isolated to France. The horizon is also darkening in Italy.

The alarm over this situation is nowhere more acute than in the counting houses of Wall Street and the inner sanctum of the State Department.

This prognosis, made before Eisenhower took office, has been fully confirmed by the events of the past year. It is sufficient to cite the truce in Korea as evidence of the desire to relax tensions; and the recent effort to

How can American imperialism hope to contain these elemental forces? The solution reached at the end of World War II to this problem at once leaps to mind. The French and Italian Stalinists, under Moscow direction, rescued toting French and Italian capitalism. Can they not play the same treacherous role again?