

NICK

Anti-Trucks Law Victory Scored By SWP in Suit

DETROIT, Feb. 23 — The Attorney General of Michigan, who set out in 1952 to smear the Socialist Workers Party and to bar it from the ballot through the reactionary Trucks Law, has been forced to back down — at least temporarily.

That is the main significance of the dismissal order signed last Friday by Wayne County Circuit Judge Lila M. Neuenfeld.

The Socialist Workers Party had gone into court seeking an order to restrain Attorney General Millard and other Michigan officials from enforcing the

Trucks Law, the "Michigan Communist Control Law" which was passed in 1952 and used in an attempt to bar the SWP from the ballot. Another objective of the suit was to get the Trucks Law declared unconstitutional.

Reluctant to fight the SWP suit to a conclusion, Millard delayed as long as possible, and then introduced a motion to have it dismissed.

In order to achieve this, however, he had to make some damaging statements that were incorporated into the dismissal order. One was:

"The Attorney General of this State, as of the date of this interlocutory order, has made no determination nor has he conducted a hearing to determine whether the Socialist Workers Party of Michigan, one of the plaintiffs herein, is a communist front organization within the meaning of that term as defined by the legislature in section 4 of the Michigan Communist Control Law, nor does he deem at the present time that he has sufficient proof to establish the fact, if it exists, that any of the plaintiffs, individually or collectively, are communists, communist front organizations, or members thereof will be wiped off the statute books."

The Michigan Attorney General, Dobbs said, "by admitting that he doesn't have proof in 1954 to support his 1952 charges of 'subversion' against the SWP, has exposed the frameup nature of those charges and of the U.S. Attorney General's 'subversive' list, on which those charges were based."

The credit for this "setback to the with hunt," said Dobbs, "belongs not only to the SWP but also to the excellent work of the nonpartisan Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, to the Michigan CIO and the Michigan Federation of Labor (AFL) which denounced the law, and to the other organizations and individuals who supported our suit and demanded that the law be declared unconstitutional or repealed."

"The only legal action against the Trucks Law that is now before the courts is the suit filed by the Communist Party. We hope and urge that the organizations which aided our suit, despite their political differences with us, will join us in supporting the Communist Party's suit, despite our political differences with them, as a vehicle for getting the Trucks Act declared unconstitutional."

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FARRELL DOBBS

CITIZENS GROUP HAILS DECISION IN SWP CASE

DETROIT, Feb. 22 — The Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law today hailed the agreement in Circuit Court arising out of the Trucks Act suit. In a statement released by Chairman Rev. I. Paul Taylor and Secretary-Treasurer Ernest Mazey, the Committee stated:

The agreement signed in Circuit Court between Attorney General Millard of the State of Michigan, and attorneys Bernard Probe and Jesse R. Bacalis, in behalf of the Socialist Workers Party, represents a considerable victory in the fight to maintain our freedom and civil liberties.

The Attorney General's admission that the Socialist Workers Party is neither "communist" nor "subversive" under the meaning of the act, and the declaration of the State that it will not interfere with the ballot rights of the party or its individual candidates, is in sharp contrast to the attitude of the State when the Trucks Law was enacted two years ago.

At that time, State Director of Elections Edward Frey declared, "In view of the impending law, we must see that no organization inclined toward socialism is given a place on the ballot." Immediately, the Socialist Workers Party was banned from the ballot for the 1952 presidential election, even though it had complied with the requirements of the election laws.

Since that time, mounting public protests and difficulties in obtaining court approval for this undemocratic law have compelled the State to retreat from this arbitrary position. Moreover, the State has found it necessary to revise and amend portions of the Act. The amendments were designed to tighten up the law to improve the chances of court action favorable to the state. They do not mitigate the dangers of the Act.

The Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law believes that this agreement and the retreat by the State is an important victory for all the people of

Michigan. We feel proud that our Committee, by its organized educational and publicity work, has been able to help in this fight.

However, our satisfaction is qualified by the fact that the Trucks Act, with its loose and vague definitions and its arbitrary procedures patterned after police state systems, remains on the statute books.

We hold with Judge Theodore Levin who, in his dissenting opinion in Federal Court, said: "This act, if allowed to stand, will contribute to the creation in this country of that phenomenon so familiar in totalitarian countries — the public advocacy on the part of law-abiding citizens of a stereotyped political ideology and the stifling of the kind of free inquiry and investigation that has characterized the growth of our democracy."

He also said that the Trucks Act is an arbitrary exercise of police powers by unnecessary interference with the guarantees of free speech and assembly, violate the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment."

While the Circuit Court agreement narrows the field of the law's application, the law itself remains as a continuing threat to our civil liberties. We are determined to continue our efforts in opposition to the law, confident that it will be declared unconstitutional.

We wish to thank all supporters of our past efforts, and to pledge our continued activity until the law is stricken from the statute books of the State of Michigan.

A panel discussion on the topic: "Is McCarthyism a Threat to American Freedom?" is scheduled to be held in a Valley Stream, N. Y. public school, was cancelled by order of the District Board of Education.

Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

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Labor Should Lead the Fight On McCarthy, Says N.Y. CIO

M'Carthy Shows Power In Bid to Control Army

By George Breitman

"Senator McCarthy this afternoon achieved what General Burgoyne and General Cornwallis never achieved — the surrender of the American Army." — Washington correspondent of the London Times, Feb. 25.

Secretary of the Army Stevens could not have surrendered "more abjectly if he had got down on his knees." — McCarthy to a reporter, Feb. 25.

Senator McCarthy was asked whether he agreed with Senator Dirksen that Mr. Stevens had not surrendered. "I agree with that," he said with a big grin on his face. "It was just a case of reaching an agreement." Surreptitiously, he kicked a correspondent in the shins as he made the statement. — N. Y. Times, Feb. 26.

After the "agreement" with Stevens, McCarthy "offers wanderers in the Capitol corridors Army commissions if they want them." — Alsops, Feb. 28.

Officers of the Army in particular were in a state of incredulous shock. The general mood at the Pentagon was gloomy and bitter." — N. Y. Times, Feb. 26.

"In Washington the next morning, the atmosphere suggests Berlin after the Reichstag fire with Stevens in the role of Van Der Lubbe, the dullwitted Dutchman who committed the arson; with Eisenhower as the aging Hindenburg and with Hitler played by you-know-who." — Alsops, Feb. 28.

"Okay, Bud. When I want you again I'll send for you." — Caption on Herblock cartoon showing Stevens offering McCarthy his sword, Feb. 26.

McCarthy's growing arrogance has a solid base — it parallels the steady growth of his power and of the dismay, demoralization and discredit of his Republican and Democratic opponents.

The white flag run up by the Pentagon marks the greatest success he has recorded in his drive to McCarthyize the government

t bureaucracy and take over the

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First Report On My Tour

By Murry Weiss

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 20 — Pittsburgh is the division point between the Eastern and Midwestern part of my tour. I arrived here Thursday with a group of comrades who drove down from Buffalo.

It was late in the evening when we reached the steel center. The glow of the open hearth furnaces touched up the hills. The Buffalo comrades told me that the nights were brighter in the years of full capacity production. Now many of the furnaces are banked.

Production is down below 80% and in Youngstown, 70 miles northwest, it is below 70%.

Pittsburgh is a good place to look back at the first leg of the tour. It's been 15 years since I was here. Much has happened since that time and much has changed. But many things seem the same. We were deep in a "recession" the last time I was here in 1939.

I was reminded of this when we stopped at a restaurant on the outskirts of town and picked up a paper, the Pittsburgh Press. It was full of "optimistic" speculations on how the economic decline, which has struck with such force at the steel industry, is "leveling off."

Meantime, the officially acknowledged number of unemployed in this key industry grows from month to month. The "leveling off" talk is just that — talk.

Later when we met the Pittsburgh comrades they showed me a front-page story in another daily paper about my meeting. There was the usual garbled account of what the Socialist Work-

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Their Frankenstein Monster



We reprint the above especially appropriate cartoon from the Sept. 22, 1952, issue of The Militant on the occasion of our celebration of the 10th anniversary of Laura Gray's first cartoon for this paper, published on March 4, 1944. On Page 2 we reprint other examples of her famous cartoons, some of which have been reproduced around the world. Also on Page 2 are a number of tributes to our Laura from all parts of the country.

"30 for 40" Program Wins Growing Support

The movement for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to combat unemployment is gathering momentum. This program, first proposed in the Militant, is being widely discussed in labor circles and union publications and is gaining new advocates.

In the CIO United Automobile Workers, the powerful Ford Local 600, Flint Chevrolet Local 659 and the California General Motors locals have been hitting hard on this issue for several months. Favorable discussion on "30 for 40" also appears in the Feb. issue of the Voice of Local 212, newspaper of the union of the former largest Briggs plant now incorporated into Chrysler.

FIERCER COMPETITION

Frank Marquart, Education Director of Local 212, in a column on technological unemployment through automation, reports: "A growing movement of 30 hours a week with 40 hours pay may soon be just as logical as the movement for the eight-hour day was back in 1886."

Citing the effort of the corporations to maintain high profits by cutting labor costs through eliminating workers, Marquart says: "The fiercer the competition the more intense the drive for reducing labor costs. This is why General Motors is going to spend one to two billion dollars over the next two years to modernize its plants. Ford will spend 600 million dollars for the same purpose. Chrysler bought the Briggs plants to improve its competitive position and millions of dollars will be spent to improve all Chrysler plants."

RAISED IN UPWA

This problem of automation combined with the economic down-

turn that has increased national unemployment to between 4,500,000 and 5,000,000 workers, has brought the issue of "30 for 40" even into an industry like meatpacking. "Aim for 30 hr. Week — 40 hr. Pay" is the banner headline over a statement in the Feb. Packinghouse Worker by Harold Nielsen, Director of District 1, CIO United Packinghouse Workers.

Nielsen cites a previous article by UPWA sec. Treas. Hathaway, entitled, "Here Come the Machines, What Is UPWA Policy?"

which poses the problems of technological improvements, speed-up and unemployment. Pointing out that the union does not oppose technological improvements, Nielsen states that nevertheless if the present trend of wiping out jobs continues, "we may well find a goodly portion of our members classified as D.P.s." He therefore urges the program that "must be pressed for with every means you accept McCarthy's premise that 'communism is a menace,' then McCarthy can make mincemeat of your complaints about his methods. This is the very reason why Democrats and Republicans who are ostensibly against McCarthy's methods, crumble under his first blow."

SIGNIFICANT STAND

Nevertheless, the stand of the New York City CIO is extremely significant in pointing to the only source of effective leadership and struggle against McCarthyism. Organized labor, which is really the main target of fascism, is the only power that can smash McCarthy's drive to become the American Hitler.

This power can be effectively mobilized, however, only if it is independent of the old-line capitalist parties and politicians. It is necessary for labor to prepare for a life-and-death battle for power in America against the capitalist cohorts of fascism.

Here, the New York City CIO could have struck a more telling blow if it had urged the formation of labor's own party. Reliance on the old parties or any sector of them to put up a serious fight against onrushing McCarthyism is a policy of suicide.

The CIO Council's resolution spoke of the "startling parallel" between the McCarthyite developments, including that of Germany and Italy. The reliance on "lesser evil" capitalist politicians, instead of labor's own organized might,

Still 'Last Hired And First Fired'

Racial discrimination in employment has been accentuated by growing unemployment, declared Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to the Senate Labor Committee hearing, Feb. 25, on an FEPC bill.

The hard work in preparing the meeting was matched by close attention to all the details of planning a successful meeting — decorations, literature, and the arrangements for an informal social affair following the meeting. It went off very well. The question-and-discussion period carried over to the social part of the evening.

All the meetings thus far have been distinguished by this high level of organizing effort. One has to travel through the branches on a tour to appreciate the accumulated know-how and organizational skill of our cadres.

So far I have had meetings in Newark, Philadelphia, Lynn, Boston, Buffalo and Pittsburgh.

My first meeting was in Newark. It was very instructive to me. I found the deepest interest in the problem of unemployment and its relation to the threat of McCarthyism. Actually I have been speaking on McCarthyism

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MAJOR GOAL OF UNION

The "major goal of this union," insists Nielsen, should be a "40 hour pay check for 30 hours work." Reliance on the old parties or any sector of them to put up a serious fight against onrushing McCarthyism is a policy of suicide.

Supporting the imperative need to fight for "30 for 40" is the latest figures on unemployment insurance claims. Such claims rose 2,179,000 in mid-Feb., by far the highest since the Feb. 1950 peak of 2,400,000, when official unemployment figures reached 4,684,000.

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Wall Street Lies About Puerto Rico

The shots fired by three Puerto Rican nationalists in the House of Representatives March 1 echoed around the world. The immediate reflex of the capitalist press was to picture it as an act of "insanity." As proof, Wall Street's propagandists claim (1) that U.S. domination has been beneficial to Puerto Rico, (2) that the Puerto Ricans can have "independence" any time they want it, but have overwhelmingly rejected the offer. Therefore to shoot up Congress was "madness."

Within a day the witch hunters began to convert the terrorist deed into grist for their fascist mill, deliberately claiming it to be part of a "communist" conspiracy.

In all this heat there is little light. What is needed is a cool and objective political assessment of the affair beginning with the aims and methods of the three demonstrators, Lolita Lebron, Rafael C. Miranda and Andres Cordeiro.

Of their courage and spirit of self-sacrifice, the evidence is graphic enough. All three had made up their minds to die for their cause. Their objective — to dramatize the plight of Puerto Rico and thereby advance the struggle for independence — will meet with sympathetic response throughout the colonial world and among politically conscious workers everywhere. But it is not only the road to hell that is paved with good intentions. Despite their courage and lofty aims, the Puerto Rican terrorists did a frightful disservice to their own cause, injured the interests of the Puerto Rican people and of the world labor movement, and played into the hands of McCarthyite fascism. That is the objective political fact.

The error of these terrorists was to substitute futile personal action for the action of the masses. Thereby they reap only condemnation, or at least lack of understanding, from their own people, and set up a fresh obstacle to winning the majority to their views. The reaction naturally seizes on this to discredit the aims of the terrorists; and, going a step further, utilizes it to further its own sinister aims.

All this has been stressed thousands of times by Marxists in the past century. The need to stress it once more — in 1954! — is at bottom another commentary on the decades of crimes committed by Stalinism in the name of Marxism which have served to repel sincere and devoted revolutionaries from the socialist movement and shun them into the blind alley of individual terrorism.

Now let us turn to the claims of the capitalist propagandists. The March 3 Wall Street Journal states them succinctly: "But there is no injustice to be found in our relations with Puerto Rico. Once a dependency and now a commonwealth, Puerto Rico has been promised its independence by two Presidents and by our United Nations delegate. All that they have to do is to ask for it. But they have refused to do this."

What are the facts? For more than a half century, Wall Street has savagely exploited this tiny but fertile island. In the whole western hemisphere it would be difficult to find slums more depressing than those in Puerto Rico. The immigration of hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans into the tenement-ridden areas of New York is sufficient evidence that what they were leaving was not exactly a tropical paradise.

Will Democrats Fight McCarthyism?

"What are the Democrats going to do?" asked liberal columnist Thomas L. Stokes on Feb. 9, before the Pentagon capitulated to McCarthy. "They could do something that would be of great value to the nation. That would be to accept the gage of battle on the overwhelming issue of the times, which is McCarthyism..."

"After this (Stevens) debacle," wrote the liberal N. Y. Post on Feb. 25, "the great question is whether the Democrats will take up the battle that the Commander-in-Chief has fled. Never did they have a greater chance to serve the country and the cause of world freedom..."

Three days later the liberal columnist Max Lerner asked, "Who is there on the entire Washington scene who is willing to lead the necessary struggle to protect the nation against this political adventurer gone berserk?"

The Democrats themselves had already answered the question on Feb. 2 when — with one exception — they voted in the Senate for the \$214,000 McCarthy demanded for witch-hunting activities next year. It was this vote, indicating that McCarthy need fear no opposition, which emboldened him to reach for the Pentagon.

These votes were positive proof that the Democrats don't have the nerve to fight McCarthyism. And they don't have the inclination — deep down, they share McCarthy's premise that anybody accused of "communist" sympathies is automatically suspect.

Who will stop McCarthy? The Spectator, a "moderate" British weekly, put its finger right on the heart of the issue when it wrote:

Monday, March 8, 1954

A Turn Toward Democrats?

By Murry Weiss

The labor movement continues to follow the policy of supporting the Democratic Party. Its 1954 election policy is entirely oriented in this direction. The terrible error in this policy is not that the Democrats cannot win. They may very well win the next elections. But what happens if they win through the support of labor?

The labor movement remains captive to capitalist political interests. And as long as that is true, it cannot offer the United States bold leadership in overcoming the oncoming social crisis with an anti-capitalist program.

By clinging to the dead past, by hoping for a return to the New Deal, by dreaming of the status quo minus McCarthy, the labor movement will head into the coming showdown crisis totally unequipped for its tasks. The coming crisis will be solved in a progressive manner only by a socialist revolution. If the labor movement remains guided by a leadership that shuns the socialist revolution, it will be mercilessly destroyed by fascist counter-revolution. As Daniel De Leon, one of the great pioneer leaders and theoreticians of American socialism said: "When a revolution is pending and, for whatever reason is not consummated, reaction is the only alternative."

No doubt the American working class will learn independent politics in the period ahead; the question is whether it will learn by making a timely turn and defeating the fascist threat, or

whether it will be condemned to pass through the bestial school of fascism.

What is the immediate perspective of American political development in the light of the political mood of the working class?

COAL MINER'S LETTER

Under the heading of "Depression Faced" Labor's Daily, Jan. 6, published a letter from a West Virginia miner. The letter is of considerable interest and we will quote it in full:

"I see they claim there are 51 thousand men out of work, almost that many in West Virginia alone. More men cut off in 11 months of Republican prosperity than the whole 20 years under the Democrats. On Cabin Creek and Coal River some miners are on starvation. A woman told me on Cabin Creek she was almost afraid in her home at day unless she had her doors locked. How can those poor people stand it three more years?

"They have almost bankrupted the farmers in 11 months, trying now to take our social security from our old men, and just waiting on John L. Lewis to make a move so they can break our union up. Now you scabs and seng diggers and ground-hog hunters and millionaires have got the change you voted for. I didn't think there were enough men and women in this country that would rather go to the Red Cross for their flour and depend on catching ground hogs for their meat to elect a President.

"We had six panics, 1937, 1943, 1860, 1873, 1910, 1929. The one under President Grant was the worst the world has ever seen (1873). He was a 5-star general and brother, this 5-star president, the way his gang has started off, will be the worst one of all. Just wait one more year and see.

Garland Varies

Price Hill, W. Va."

In my opinion this letter expresses the thinking of a wide section of American workers. The fear of depression, the deep suspicion that the Republican Party is bringing about had economic conditions, the bitterness toward workers and farmers who were fooled into voting for Eisenhower, the feeling that worse is to come, the expectation of new hostile moves from the Eisenhower regime against the unions, the illusion that the Democratic Party is still the best answer for the workers — all these are undoubtedly typical aspects of the mood and thinking of the workers in the United States today.

In addition, the remark of the West Virginia miner, Garland Varies, on the ruin of the farmer seems to catch rather accurately the mood of a large section of the farming population. Frank Edwards, AFL radio commentator, gave some spot reactions of a cross section of American people to Eisenhower's State of the Union message. While he was rather favorable to the message himself, the comments he quoted of workers, small businessmen and farmers, were all negative. One farm woman from the West said:

"I didn't listen to the President's speech, I made that mistake in 1952."

Reports of talk in the shops around New York, on the busses, in the streets, run along the same line. One group of white collar workers on a bus thought Eisenhower may be trying to pull us out of the growing economic slump, but the big boys around him wouldn't allow it. They felt the real danger was the Republican Party rather than any individual.

A group of waitresses in Brooklyn were talking recently about the Republicans as "the party of depressions." One of them was explaining how the Republicans represented the "capitalists."

"You know," she explained, somewhat frightened at the radical sounding term, "the guys with all the money."

It is worth recalling that the first serious signs of national depression, and the aggravated difficulties of the farmers provoked the noticeable swing toward the Democratic Party last year, first in the Wisconsin election upset in October and then in the Nov. 3 elections.

Despite the Republican victory in California (achieved by pulling out all the stops on the witch hunt, and smearing the Democrats as "protectors of spies"), the trend started by last November's elections can be expected to deepen along with deepening depression trends.

In the absence of an independent political policy of the labor movement, a sweep toward the Democratic may well be the first manifestation of mass political discontent of the working class and the farmers.

As a matter of fact there are important indications, aside from last year's elections, that such a swing to the Democratic Party is in the making. Stewart Alsop, N. Y. Herald Tribune columnist reveals that "the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, after a careful analysis of each district, has informally estimated that the Democrats would gain more than forty seats in the House if the elections were held now (Jan. 10)."

Alsop points out that "this estimate might be dismissed as mere partisan wishful thinking if it had been made for publicity purposes. But it was made instead, for the private information of the committee and the estimate almost leaned over backward in allowing for Democratic losses."

Alsop reports that two Democratic campaigners, Sen. Paul Douglas, of Illinois, and Sen. Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, have recently taken field trips and report a marked shift of farmers and workers in their states away from the Republicans and toward the Democrats.

Douglas "travelled by car for almost 13,000 miles in Illinois. He made 290 speeches in 150 towns, visited 88 counties and talked to literally thousands of people. As a result of all this he concluded that a very strong Democratic trend — stronger than he remembered since he entered politics — had set in."

Most of Douglas' experience was with farmers who are extremely bitter over the turn of the economic trend. But Alsop relates that "not only are the farmers discontented. In western Illinois, heart of the country's farm implement industry, Douglas found near-depression patterns, coupled with a strong swing to the Democrats."

POSSIBLE RESULTS

A political awakening, even in the distorted form of a swing to the capitalist party out of power, could open up the sluice gates of a new wave of radical opposition to capitalism. A Democratic victory in '54, and even in '56 wouldn't signify an extended era of "New Deal-Fair Deal." The developing crisis of American capitalism would quickly dispel illusions about the ability of the Democratic Party to solve the insoluble dilemma of capitalist depression. A Democratic comeback would be a short-lived episode in which favorable conditions for the mobilization of the workers in an independent political formation would develop with great speed.

Popular revulsion against the Republicans in power could very well release the pent-up hatred of the witch hunt. The political atmosphere would undoubtedly change toward greater freedom. Inevitably this would reinforce illusions in the capacity of the Democratic Party to stop McCarthyism. The fact is that McCarthyism as a distinct and developing fascist movement, operating outside the government apparatus, would become more clearly demarcated in the event of a Republican defeat.

Along with a continuing economic crisis, which the Democratic Party would be as helpless to solve as the Republican Party, the fascist threat to settle matters with labor by direct violent assault would loom ever larger. The workers would be confronted with the imperative need to form their own party and meet the capitalist depression and the fascist threat with a radical program.

The task of American socialists in this unfolding political pattern is to reinforce their struggle for an independent Labor Party and for the socialist program. All the major political tendencies in the labor movement are anticipating such a turn toward the Democrats from the standpoint of how to reinforce all the illusions and traps the workers could fall into. The Stalinists, labor officials, liberals and social democrats are to blame for the present politically disarmed state of the American workers. They will repeat their betrayal of the Thirties under conditions of a Democratic Party come-back.

It will be up to the revolutionary socialists to stand firm by their principle of independent working class politics. American society is heading into a great social crisis. The American workers must not lose the day in such a crisis by remaining politically helpless and thus opening the road to a mass fascist movement.

WAR NO SOLUTION

The political perspective sketched out above is not fundamentally altered by the possibility of Big Business plunging into another world war. Wall Street may in its desperation stake everything on a gamble — an attempt to climb out of its difficulties through a gigantic military adventure.

The frightful consequences of such a crime against humanity will not alter the fact that the decaying social order of capitalism will be subjected to a great revolutionary criticism from the American people. Wars have been the breeding ground of social revolution more than once in history.

Workers' illusions about the Democratic Party are not unmixed with a sense of realistic understanding of the specific character of the Roosevelt-Truman "prosperity." Some workers we have talked to will readily agree, even though they are for the Democrats, that if the Republicans are the party of depression the Democrats are the party of war. And that in the last analysis both are equally responsible for both wars and depressions.

Without thinking it out theoretically, workers and farmers know that the prosperity they enjoyed during the last decade or so was based on war and preparation for war.

However, in the consciousness of millions the conclusion is dawning that the next war will not resemble World War II, insofar as its effects on the domestic situation is concerned. First of all, it will be a war which will for the first time mean death and destruction right here in the United States.

Secondly, the next war will not mean high wages, and relative security for the unions. Big Business has different plans. This time they would go to war fully realizing that it will bring such misery and degradation to the population of the U. S. that they will have to deal with mass radical opposition right at home, and not only in the rest of the world.

That's why the capitalists are feverishly building up the Police State in Washington. And that's why McCarthyism has such strong potential appeal to Big Business. They understand that even a Police State, on the model that Eisenhower heads, may not prove sufficient insurance against revolutionary opposition at home during a war.

The idea of a fascist settlement with the American labor movement before the plunge into World War III is obviously gaining ground in the topmost circles of American capitalism. The decision to launch another war is inhibited by the existence of a powerful organized working class at home. And yet the process of the world revolution may accelerate their pace. The plunge may be taken even before American capitalists are completely sure of the domestic and international outcome.

But the deeper the mass political awakening, the swifter the turn toward independent class politics by the American workers, the less realistic such a gamble will appear to the most powerful capitalist interests. These interests have faltered in their Third World War maneuvers since 1945.

A new radical turn in America, would deepen the paralysis of will in the American ruling class. The capitalists have their time-tables, plots, calculations and schemes, but the dynamic of the real class struggle can do more to upset these schemes than the worshippers of capitalist power imagine.

In any case the tactic of the American socialists should be to vigorously build the cadre of the Socialist Workers Party. This will hasten the political mobilization of the workers under a revolutionary banner. In this way we will not merely be observing history but contributing in the most significant way to the progressive outcome of the greatest crisis in human history.

... McCarthy Power Bid

(Continued from page 1)

White House would do better next time.

Will it? Such hopes completely ignore the strategy — and the dilemma — of the Eisenhower regime.

Eisenhower wants a Republican victory in the 1954 congressional elections. He dislikes McCarthy, and he fears him. But he has decided that he needs him. An open and violent rift between the White House and McCarthy might cost the Republicans a defeat in November. That is why the Republican National Committee endorsed McCarthy as an "asset" and let him set the tone for the campaign.

On the other hand it is recognized by the Eisenhower-Dewey-Brownell wing of the GOP that it may lose the 1954 elections even with McCarthy, and perhaps even because of him. But they regard this risk as a lesser evil. As columnist Walter Lippmann pointed out on Feb. 16, "Their line is designed as a protection against the exploitation by McCarthy of a political setback in November. If the election goes better than they now fear, they will still be in the saddle though considerably bedraggled in appearance. If the election goes badly, they hope — though almost certainly in vain — to make McCarthy share the blame and not to be able to raise hell at their expense."

They are afraid, Lippmann explains, not only of losing Congress to the Democrats "but also of losing their own party position and perhaps their political heads to the extreme anti-Eisenhower and anti-Dewey wing of the party." As long as that is their main motivation, they will not dare risk a showdown with McCarthy.

MCCARTHY'S AIMS

Lippmann's estimate reinforces the one that the Militant has been making for some time. He assumes (wrongly, we believe) that McCarthy is not a candidate for the presidency, but says: "He is a candidate for supreme boss — for the dictatorship — of the Republican party... his unconcealed purpose is to break and subdue the President and the executive branch of the government, the Republican party in Congress, the national organization of the party. If any Republican still thinks that McCarthy's primary target is Communism and not the capture of the Republican party, he will live and learn differently." (March 1)

In his assault on Stevens, Lippmann says, "McCarthy's quite evident purpose was to demonstrate his power to intimidate the Army to show that he could reach over the head of the Commander in Chief and terrorize individual officers... McCarthy's object is to show that even in the Army he is a bigger man than they (Eisenhower and Stevens) are, and thus expand his power by making himself feared."

Step by step, McCarthy's power and his followers have been penetrating into one department of the government after another — the State Department, the Justice Department, administrative bodies like the Federal Communications Commission, etc. In Hitler's footsteps, although he is

more effective than Hitler was because he is part of the government himself.

"To understand what McCarthy is driving at in his attack on the Army," the liberal columnist Max Lerner wrote on Feb. 24, "the literature on the Nazi movement in Germany is required reading. J. W. Wheeler-Bennett has traced the whole story in his recent book, already an acknowledged masterpiece of narrative, 'The Nemesis of Power,' subtitled 'The German Army in Politics, 1918-1945' (St. Martin's Press). Before Hitler could capture power, he had first to penetrate the Army and make it pliant to his purposes. Once the Army showed itself willing to play politics on Hitler's terms its strength as a force on the German national scene was lost. It became only a tool."

But despite the different forms McCarthyism assumes and will continue to assume, it is developing more and more along the lines of the "classic" pattern. Lerner himself indicates this by drawing the parallel between the Hitlerite and McCarthyite penetrations of the military. The stronger McCarthyism becomes, the more it will resemble Hitlerism.

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DIFFERENT COURSE OPEN

McCarthy's aim, it is true, is to take over the GOP and make it a fascist party. But it would be a bad mistake to think that that is the only course open to him, and that he will be stopped if he is thwarted in this aim. He is not a "run-of-the-mill Republican"; he is not an ordinary witch hunter. He owes no real allegiance to the Republican Party, and if necessary and timely he will break with it and form a new party.

His threat to walk out of the party if Stevens did not capitulate to him was not pure

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

How Brotherhood Week Should Not Be Observed

We've seen many a farce acted out in the name of "Brotherhood Week." We've seen many a sanctimonious hypocrite make speeches about loving our neighbors as ourselves at public halls by "do-gooders" — who then go out and whoop it up for atom-bombing our colonial brothers off the face of the earth.

We've heard pious speeches about "improving Human Relations" in churches and public halls by "do-gooders" — who then go home to their race-restricted neighborhoods, relieved that their obligations as their "brother's keeper" are over for a year.

But the Brotherhood Week observance to top them all was the one held in Cleveland, Ohio last week. Roy Cohn, Senator McCarthy's chief counsel and investigator, was invited to participate in the ninth annual "Fellowship Night" of the Temple Men's Club. He was one of a panel heard by more than one thousand Brotherhood Night celebrants, on the subject "Human Relationships Involved in Religion, Education and Government."

This is the same Roy Cohn who achieved notoriety over a year ago when he and his side-kick went on their little European junket for McCarthy, trying to dig up some dirt on fellow Americans abroad that the witch-hunting Senator might be able to use in his smear campaign.

In the Brotherhood Night discussion, Cohn was an outstanding example of the double-taking demagogue:

He agreed with other speakers on the

The Mink Coat Slander

By Joyce Cowley

A short time ago I saw an interesting letter in the *Dear Editor* column of the New York Post:

"I sat in the subway deep in thought, wondering if my husband got his unemployment check. I hope he had enough money for milk for the baby. I still have chopped meat, a few potatoes and spaghetti in the house for the weekend. I've forgotten what it feels like to have enough in the house to eat. . . . The season is supposed to start soon, maybe he'll be called back. Maybe he got his check. Now I go back to work, my husband and daughter take care of the baby. . . .

"Then I picked up the paper and read where a clergyman preached that 'selfish working mothers' who neglected their children are the cause of juvenile delinquency. Mothers who work, he told a Senate Committee, are bartering their children's welfare for a 'fleeting bit of mink coat'."

Currently more than 5-1/4 million mothers, one out of every four with children under eighteen, work outside the home. But before mink manufacturers increase their production schedules, I suggest they look through a pamphlet "Planning Services for Children of Employed Mothers" recently published by the Dept. of Labor. It gives a somewhat different picture of the reason that mothers work. A study of families using day-care centers in New York City shows that 42% of the mothers are the sole support of their families. In the remaining 58%, both mother and father work, but almost half of the fathers make less than \$40 a week and 80% make less than \$50.

There is only a small percentage of working mothers in this particular study (which I believe is representative of employed mothers throughout the country) whose husbands make more than a subsistence wage. However, even though this group is relatively small, they've got their rights, too. I think it's time that I spoke out for them.

Notes from the News

CONGRESSMEN AT WORK. The following are excerpts from a speech delivered on the floor of the House of Representatives by Cong. Carnahan (D. Mo.): "I am today offering a solution to the coffee problem. . . . In this extremity I offer a suggestion which I believe has merit: Drink sassafras tea. Having been reared in the Missouri Ozarks. . . I have drunk literally gallons of sassafras tea. . . and such a delightful pickup it is. . . I might mention that a concentrate of sassafras tea is said to have certain medicinal qualities. . . it is said and firmly believed in my section of the hills that sassafras tea is a 'sure cure for the itch'. . . for jumpers nerves, sleepless nights, financial strain, and tired blood, why not switch to sassafras? Enjoy the 'switch that satisfies'."

ANTI-JEWISH AND ANTI-NEGRO literature was circulated through the mails to the residents of the Quad City area of Rock Island, Moline, East Moline and Davenport, Iowa, while anti-Jewish stickers were being pasted on store fronts. Stamped marking on the outside of the envelopes read, "Anti-Jewish week, Feb. 21 to 28." The envelopes were postmarked from Rock Island while the racist literature inside referred to a St. Louis, Mo., "Citizens Protective Assn." The Rock Island police chief says he is convinced that the group there is connected with the St. Louis organization.

NO PERJURY ACTION AGAINST DETROIT STOOL-PIGEON. A Federal Grand Jury has refused to take any action against Milton Santwile, a stool pigeon accused of lying in the recent Smith Act trial of Communist Party members in Detroit. The witness, a plant in the Communist party, first said under oath that he was paid only by the FBI for his dirty work. Recalled to the stand, he admitted under defense questioning, that he had also been receiving a \$75-a-month pay off since 1948 from the Ford Motor Company.

necessity of preserving civil rights and not smearing liberal and progressive people — but said there was an equal duty to protect innocent people against Communist conspirators by joint effort, by FBI, Department of Justice, Congress committees, grand juries and trial juries.

He agreed that religious faith and education would battle communism — but added that they are not enough because Communists will not fight on those grounds.

He said he believes in the right of the people to plead the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions, and he would not repeat it — but not people in government or education. (He did not explain that the McCarthyite label "Fifth Amendment Communists" applies to all who exercise that right.)

Finally, in a spirit of magnanimous — Brotherhood? — he proposed forgiving all repentant American Communists "who tell what's behind the Iron Curtain."

A worse distortion of the concept of brotherhood would be hard to imagine. It used to mean respect for our brothers, not betrayal, informing and stool-pigeonning. It used to mean solidarity in the face of attack by tyrants and dictators. It used to mean breaking down the barriers that separate man from man in our society. But not in the McCarthyite concept. When called before that fascist inquisitor your only fight is to testify against your brother and yourself.

Let's end this farce of "Brotherhood Week" when it degenerates that far.

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L. A. Church Defies Loyalty Oath

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 22 — Taking a resolute stand of opposition to the demands of the witch-hunters, the members of the First Unitarian Church in this city voted last night to instruct their Board of Trustees not to sign a loyalty oath that would qualify the church for property-tax exemptions.

The California law providing tax exemption for churches and other non-profit organizations was amended last year to provide that any organization seeking such exemption must take the following oath: "This organization does not advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States or the State of California by force or violence or other unlawful means nor advocate the support of a foreign government against the United States in the event of hostilities."

The membership of the church, which now enjoys a \$6,000 annual tax exemption, voted by secret ballot, after extended discussion of the issue, 206 to 31 against signing the tax oath. The action of the church membership was initiated by the Board of Trustees.

In a statement issued to its members prior to the meeting, the Board of Trustees said in part: "Using Germany's tragic Nazi history, that when and if we sign one oath of the most innocent sort there will be no room for retreat if further and more compromising oaths are thereafter required. Many refugees from Germany have pointed out the similarity to our present situation of the innocent-seeming beginnings of the Nazi development."

"Another (argument) suggests

that this signals the state dictating to the churches what they may or may not believe or profess. If now the right of the state to use the threat of its taxing power is granted on a nominally political (though also philosophical and ultimately theological) issue, will not the freedom of the church have been seriously compromised?"

The January issue of the American Civil Liberties Union-News, published by the Northern California Branch, announced that the union, which is tax-exempt, would also refuse to sign the oath and would file suit in the Superior Court, before March 15, the filing deadline for such oaths, challenging the constitutionality of the law.

... Anti-Trucks Law Victory

(Continued from page 1)

Now, almost two years later, Millard is forced to admit in open court that he still lacks "sufficient proof" of his own original charges! Is it possible for a government official to convict himself of arbitrary and biased conduct more thoroughly than Millard has done in this case?

Millard's statement is a blow not only against his own conduct under the Trucks Law but also against the "subversive" list prepared by the U. S. Attorney Generals since 1947. His chief "evidence" against the SWP in 1952 was that its name appeared on the federal "subversive" blacklist, on which it was placed without a hearing, without charges and without an opportunity to defend itself.

Millard now confesses, in effect, that the federal blacklist provides him with no proof whatever as to the nature of the SWP. At any rate he deems it unwise and unsafe to stake any case against the SWP under the Trucks Law on the flimsy hearsay character of the Washington "subversive" list. Coming from a witch hunter, this is not exactly a compliment to that list.

SECOND STIPULATION

A second stipulation by Millard gave even more evidence of his retreat. Discussing the section of the Trucks Law which permits the barring of parties from the ballot, he said:

"The Attorney General of this State is of the opinion that the express provisions of section 7 . . . do not apply to the plaintiff Socialist Workers Party of Michigan as such, or to any of its nominees, nor do such provisions apply to the individual plaintiffs herein as members of the Socialist Workers Party of Michigan, and the defendants herein (Millard and the other state officials) disclaim any intention to enforce the provisions of section 7 . . . of the act against said Socialist Workers Party or its individual members."

Statements of this kind, disclaiming any intention to again bar the SWP from the ballot, are not guarantees, of course. Capitalist politicians rarely hesitate to break promises. But Millard's statement would certainly prove embarrassing to him in court if he should attempt to effect another ballot ban against the SWP, and to that extent represent a gain in the SWP's fight for free elections.

On the whole, therefore, the SWP suit, although it has been dismissed, must be summed up as a successful part of the SWP's defense of its legitimate right to continue functioning as a politi-

tical party, including the function of running for office and trying to educate the people to accept a socialist program.

Once Millard had backed down, the continuation of the suit became legally untenable, and the attorneys for the SWP, Bernard Probs and Jesse R. Bacalis, consented to the dismissal order "without prejudice." Thus the desired ruling on the constitutionality of the Trucks Law will not be made around the SWP suit (which Millard has been anxious to avoid all along).

CP CASE

Fortunately, however, there is another suit testing the law's constitutionality which is now before the courts — a suit filed by the Communist Party. This test action deserves the support of every opponent of the Trucks Law, and the Socialist Workers Party is now urging united labor and radical action behind this suit as the best means of obtaining a constitutional ruling against the law.

The Trucks Law is undoubtedly one of the worst laws ever enacted by any state in this country. The Republican State Legislature passed it two years ago after a veritable orgy of witch hunting and red baiting hysteria was set off by the House Un-American Activities Committee on a visit to Detroit. Fair Dealer Governor Williams lacked the courage to even veto the measure.

The hysteria got worse when the bill became law. Headlines shrieked with promises by state officials to round up hundreds of "suspects" who refused to register themselves with the state police as alleged "subversives" within five days. The SWP was barred from the ballot. The spirit of intimidation was so intense that the SWP had a hard time finding a lawyer willing to represent it in court.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

Court action held up the enforcement of the law. Then slowly but surely the forces of resistance began to make them-



Seattle Unions Hear Roberts in School Bd. Race

SEATTLE, Feb. 28 — The campaign of Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers candidate for the Seattle school board, entered its final week today. He has spoken at 18 union meetings to date and several candidates' forums. A busy wind-up week of speaking is in sight.

A statement by Roberts was published in all the neighborhood papers as part of the program of the League of Women Voters to inform the Seattle voters of the stand of all the candidates. Robert also appeared today on a League of Women Voters' sponsored TV forum.

The young people reject these alternatives, Roberts pointed out, but don't know where to turn for a solution.

"In despair, they turn down the blind alley of juvenile delinquency — a blind, reckless and self-destructive course."

Attacking the notion that the working mothers are especially to blame for juvenile delinquency, Roberts declared, "The reactionary demand that the woman should stay in the home would only heap injury on the woman on top of the injury already done to the young people and wouldn't solve the problem of juvenile delinquency."

"The millions of women who work do so because of economic need, but over and above the economic reason there are many women who want to work. They find they thereby acquire independent standing in society and a toehold on a status of equality with men. In most cases they become better mothers and happier wives because of working."

"There is only one thing wrong with women working and that is that they don't get paid enough. The solution for that aspect of the problem is not to drive the women back to the home, but for the unions to fight to obtain equal pay for women."

SPERRY STRIKE ANSWERS McCARTHYITE FORMULA

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, March 2 — When a large corporation during the very midst of contract negotiation provocatively fires members of the union as "security risks" that is the McCarthyite formula.

Careful timing and spacing a series of some twenty firings during the past month, the Sperry Gyroscopic Corp. of Lake Success, Long Island, has tried out this new, potent anti-union weapon.

This economic punitive measure struck the workers in the shop as being so brutally callous and deliberately provocative that the union machinery was set into motion to call the company to order.

The company's high-priced lawyers rushed into the state supreme court to secure an injunction against the IUE using its contract to protect the victims.

While the union's action on the firings is something short of a fighting stance, it is in marked contrast to the action taken by the GE local of the IUE at Lynn, Mass., which supplemented GE's victimization by expelling the victims from the union in a rump session of the local that denied them the most elementary democratic rights.

The action by the Sperry local of IUE came at the same time as the significant anti-McCarthyite action taken by the CIO Council of Greater New York (see page 1).

There is a heightened awareness in the labor movement of the menace of McCarthyism, and these two actions in the New York area are signs of a stiffening resistance to the menacing anti-union storm now making up in Washington and Wall Street.

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