

Brownell Seeks Witch-hunt Purge In Private Plants

By Harry Ring

Enactment of legislation permitting employers to fire any worker who "might" commit sabotage or espionage at some future date was one of the key demands presented by Attorney General Brownell in his national TV and radio appearance of April 9.

Under his proposal the present government "loyalty" purge system would be extended to all plants with government contracts, and that includes virtually every company of any consequence, at a time of "national emergency," which can be established at any time by presidential decree.

Brownell's union-busting formula, which would give employers legal sanction to fire militant unionists at will, is a direct extension of the McCarthyite policy already adopted by such powerful corporations as General Electric and International Telephone & Telegraph. A number of GE workers have already lost their jobs for refusing to "cooperate" with McCarthy.

Brownell wants to give to all employers the "legal" right to do what McCarthy and GE have been doing without legal authority and in violation of union contracts.

MAIN TARGET: LABOR

In a fresh demonstration that the Communist Party is in reality but the springboard for attack on the ultimate target — the unions, Brownell also proposed to bring the organized labor movement

(Continued on page 2)

Factory Layoffs Continue to Rise

Although Eisenhower's prediction in February that we could expect an economic upturn in March proved 100% wrong, he's bounced right back with another optimistic statement. On April 7 he said he could discern "rather encouraging signs" in the economy. The President would do better to stick to golf. He is unlikely to come closer to par in his April economic prediction than in his February one.

What the administration is trying

Edith Konikow
1903-1954

As we go to press, we receive the sad news that Edith Konikow, a veteran American Trotskyist and fighter for socialism for more than two decades, has died after a prolonged illness. Her death occurred April 13 from a stroke, the second in the past year.

Comrade Konikow was born in Boston on Aug. 15, 1903. She joined the revolutionary socialist movement in 1932 as a member of the Communist League of America, forerunner of the present Socialist Workers Party. She was a leading member of the New York Local for many years.

A special memorial meeting in her honor will be held Sunday, April 18, 2 P.M., at 116 University Place, New York City.

Next week's issue of The Militant will carry a full tribute to the life of this sterling revolutionist.

STEEL AND AUTO

Moreover, new claims for unemployment compensation, which had dropped to slightly below 300,000 weekly in the last week in March, increased in the week ended April 3 to 339,000.

The severe conditions of unemployment in steel and auto — the country's two most basic industries — continue unabated. On April 8, the CIO United Steel Workers reported more than 15% of its membership out of work, a total of 189,000 layoffs. A poll taken in January had showed 181,000 then deprived of work. Another 257,026 steel workers are now on a short week, getting less than 40 hours' pay.

Michigan unemployment, mainly auto workers, rose by mid-March to 216,000, or nearly 8% of the work force. The "critical" or "danger" point, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, is 6%.

"30 FOR 40"

These figures underscore the need for organized labor to take serious action to combat unemployment and protect the workers from its ravages. Central to this problem is the demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay which is winning ever wider favor in union ranks.

NO COOPERATION WITH M'CARTHY, UNION URGES

MILWAUKEE — The following resolution has been adopted by Local 5501, Communication Workers of America, CIO:

We, the members of Local 5501, CWA-CIO, have had ample opportunity to observe McCarthyism and to note what it is and what it has accomplished. This is nothing more than the anticipated pickup in farm employment in the spring. But the decisive factor — industrial employment — showed a further decline in March. Last month there were 160,000 more manufacturing layoffs.

McCarthyism is a vicious, anti-American movement supported financially and morally by the most anti-labor and reactionary quarters. It is based on fear and smear, the big lie and the partial truth, destruction by headline and the attack against the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution. McCarthyism, if unchecked, would mean the end to civil liberties, the destruction of the American trade union movement, and the conversion of the United States into a garrison or fascist state.

Now, therefore be it resolved, that Local 5501 go on record for the destruction of McCarthyism and the support of McCarthyism's victims. A Committee for the Defense of Unionism shall be formed to implement this resolution. It shall consist of Executive Board appointees and shall act under its direction.

Be it further resolved, that Local 5501 refuse to cooperate with McCarthyite committees. These committees with their Poglerite mentality and methods are organized solely to destroy the unions and to clear the road for fascism.

Local Wisc. Unions Back McCarthy-Recall Drive

By James E. Boulton

MILWAUKEE, April 6. — Two CIO leaders here have called on the labor movement to join the fight against McCarthyism by supporting the anti-McCarthy recall petitions being circulated throughout the state. Their action was in contrast to the State CIO policy of "hands-off the recall petitions."

In a letter sent to the local unions, Stephen Krenzner, president of Local 5501, Communication Workers, CIO, appealed "to you and to your members to participate in the recall of Senator McCarthy and to join in the protest movement against McCarthyism. Only if labor assumes its responsibility can the menace be destroyed."

Local 5501 last week adopted one of the most vigorous anti-McCarthy resolutions passed by any union in this area. (The full text is reprinted on this page.)

Last Saturday Herman Steffes, former state CIO president urged his union, the powerful Nash Local 75 of the UAW-CIO, to defy state and county CIO leaders, if necessary, to support the recall movement, and to constitute Local 75 as an organizing center of

the labor forces behind the fight against McCarthy. His proposals were unanimously adopted.

LABOR SUPPORT VITAL

The recall petition was launched on March 18 by Leroy Gore, editor of the Sauk City Weekly, a former supporter of McCarthy. The "Joe-Must-Go" movement has evoked a broad response, but labor support in the industrial counties is vital to the successful collection of 404,000 recall signatures within 60 days.

State CIO leaders, taking their cue from the Democratic Party bosses who have pledged no-contest in the event of a recall election, are doing nothing. Their policy can be summed up in the phrase: Let the capitalist politicians decide. But local sections of the labor movement are beginning to get into action.

Among them are the Dane County (Madison) Political Educational League, with delegates from the CIO, AFL and Farmers Union; the Chippewa Valley Industrial Union Council; and a Madison local of the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen. As of this date, close to 175,000 signatures have been reported.

"Joe-Must-Go" clubs have been popping up all over the state since the organizing meeting in Sauk City on March 28. Not a single labor official appeared on the speakers' platform at this meeting, and most of the clubs are led by Republicans, preferably past supporters of McCarthy. Card-holding members must take an oath that they don't belong to any "subversive" organization.

While the leadership of these clubs is chiefly pro-Eisenhower, the recall movement appears to rest upon much deeper mass sentiments of fear and hostility to everything McCarthy symbolizes. Workers, farmers and sections of the middle class are worried by the H-bomb and the effect of "Republican times" on employment and farm prices. They are in favor of recalling McCarthy because they fear he wants to abolish the traditional American recourse to political change.

Thus three tendencies in the anti-McCarthy movement in Wisconsin begin to emerge: (1) The GOP politicians who believe McCarthy has gone too far and has become a danger and liability to

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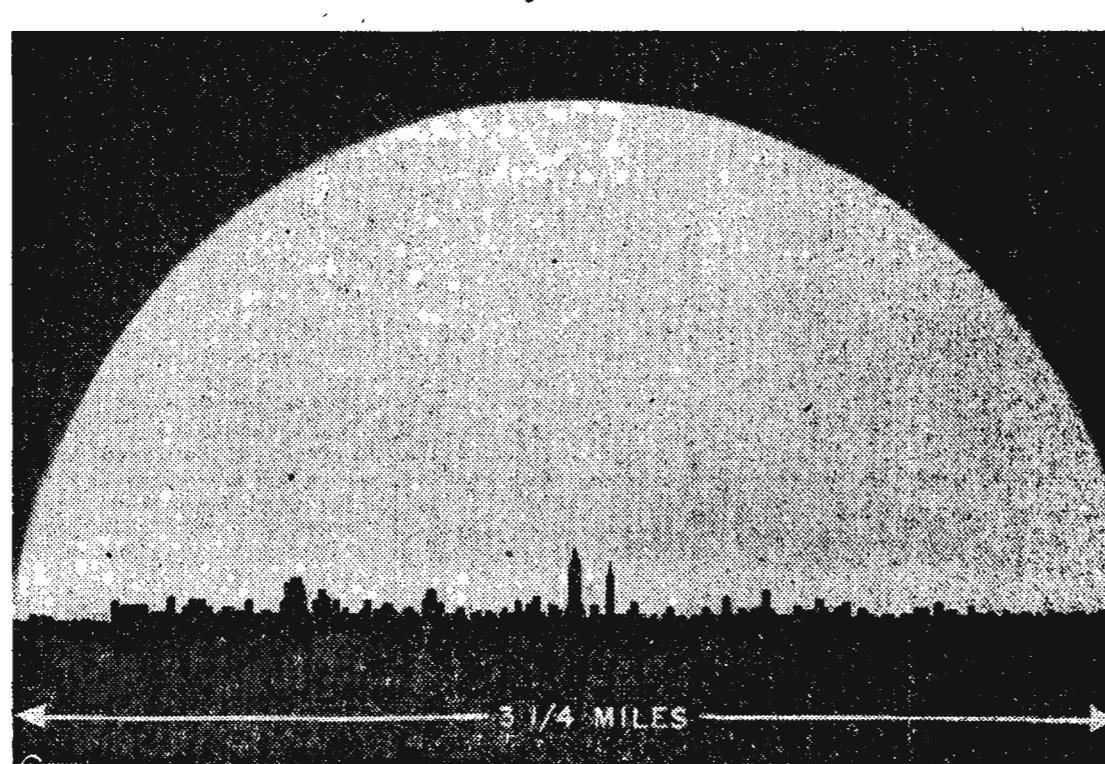
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Govt. Threatens to Drag U.S. Into the Indo-China Civil War

Area Covered by H-Bomb Fireball



Artist's conception shows area that would lie within the awesome fireball of an H-bomb similar to the blast set off on Enewetak in 1952. With the Empire State building in New York City as ground zero, the flaming center of the explosion would be 3 1/4 miles in diameter, extending from the Washington Sq. section uptown to Central Park.

Demand that Wall St. Imperialists Keep Hands Off the Asian People

By the Editors

By the time you read this, American troops may be killing and dying once more in Asia. Wall Street's government is whipping up sentiment for direct U.S. military intervention against the Indo-Chinese people, who have fought heroically for eight years for independence from French imperialism.

"The showdown may come within a week," warned the Scripps-Howard Washington staff on April 10. It reports the Eisenhower regime is committed to "saving" Indo-China "at all costs." Similarly, the March 31 Wall Street Journal states ominously that "Indo-China will not be allowed to fall into Communist hands — whatever the cost." It adds: "If the cost is no longer a factor, there is no stopping place."

No stopping place. That can mean only one thing — another Korea. It means more hundreds of thousands of casualties, broken homes, grief for American families. It means millions of Indo-Chinese men, women and children burned to death with napalm bombs and blasted to bits by U.S. "strategic bombing" and another country wrecked from end to end as Korea was.

This country has actually been warring against Indo-Chinese independence from the start — since the end of World War II in 1945. Up to now, Wall Street imperialism has been content to let the French people do the bleeding and dying. But the money for every bullet and every bomb, plus billions worth of war material itself, has been supplied by Washington from the pockets and labor of the American people.

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Through lend-lease, then Marshall Plan funds and, since early 1950, through direct military supplies ear-marked for Indo-China, the U.S. capitalists have been providing the sinews of war to

Warmonger



of hoods to hand out such obviously false and easily refuted propaganda. Everybody knows that the struggle for independence in Indo-China had been going on for nearly five years before the Mao regime in China even took power.

The truth is that this hypocritical cry of "aggression" against China is a cover-up for U.S. aggression against the Indo-Chinese revolution, through financing and equipment of the French invasion, for years before the Chinese could have sent a single bullet to the Indo-Chinese.

DULLES' BIG LIE

It is only because the French butchers, in spite of their superiority in arms and in numbers of trained soldiers, are being beaten to a standstill and face utter defeat that the U.S. capitalist rulers are proposing to save them "at all costs." But the popular sentiment in both France and England is now so overwhelmingly and bitterly opposed to continuation of the Indo-Chinese war that Secretary of State Dulles is compelled to rush in person to England and France to cajole and threaten them into "united action" to continue the attempt to enslave the Indo-Chinese and steal their resources-rich country.

In his efforts to win the "aggression" label on China, and thus justify U.S. intervention in Indo-China, Dulles lied to the Senate that the Chinese were participating as combatants in Indo-China and are "coming awfully close" to acts which he had previously threatened would bring "grave consequences" not only to Indo-China but to China itself.

No one was more surprised and astonished by this brazen falsehood than the French authorities themselves. Thus the April 7 N. Y. Times reported from Hanoi, Vietnam, in direct contradiction to Dulles, that "high French military authorities here say they have no evidence that the Communist Chinese have taken part in the fighting at Dienbienphu. They say the French never have killed or captured a combatant with the Viet Minh that they could definitely identify as Chinese."

Anti-McCarthy Campaign News
By Myra Tanner

The struggle against McCarthyism is a life and death struggle for the labor movement. Many unions have begun to realize this and are beginning to stir into action. This is demonstrated in the steps taken by two unions in Wisconsin (see article, Page 1). But no matter how serious a battle someone always supplies the comic relief. The comedian's role last week was played by the sponsors of an anti-McCarthy rally in Brooklyn: Americans for Democratic Action, Democrats, World Federalists, and Norman Thomas.

These would-be leaders of the anti-fascist struggle gathered all their strength, took a fighting stance, and sent a resolution to Eisenhower saying: Look here, Ike, "McCarthy has not only challenged and defied the authority of the executive branch of government, but has repeatedly snapped his fingers in the face of the President."

Commenting on the petition campaign, Chester said: "The fact that we were able to collect these signatures without any real difficulty is another proof that the witch hunt has not had the effect on the American people that McCarthy and his gang have desired. The people of Philadelphia have again shown that they are interested in hearing a socialist answer to the problems that confront them. By signing our petitions they have helped to

REVOLUTION LIKE 1776

Besides, what right has this country to tell the Indo-Chinese people, two million of whom have died in the fight for independence, where, and from whom and what kind of aid they are permitted to take? The American colonists didn't hesitate to take help — including troops — from royalist France to defeat George III and his Redcoats. The Indo-Chinese people are defending themselves against armed robbers and murderers and have the right to call for help from any source — including the powerful American labor movement.

The source of the strength of the Indo-Chinese struggle against the French invasion is the revolutionary fervor of the Indo-Chinese people and the overwhelming popular support for the Viet Minh government. Senator Kennedy (D., Mass.) — denying that Chinese participation in the war is responsible for the French defeat — declared: "I believe it is because the forces of the Viet Minh have become so powerful that they are pressing hard on the French, and therefore it is to assist in civil war that the call for unite action by Dulles has been made."

Kennedy snags the truth. Jim Lucas, serious-Poward war cor-

HEROIC ACTS

In that moment of terror and agony many things happened. Children and teachers smashed the windows. Teachers lifted and pushed children through the broken and jagged frames. Other children pushed their classmates through the smashed panes, out into the snow. In split seconds there were dozens of swift heroic acts.

One teacher, flames searing at her legs, threw children from the window until she could see no more in the billowing smoke. Then she jumped, believing them all safe. Another teacher, rushing to the room, saved two youngsters, weeping because her own daughter was back there somewhere or other in the midst of the holocaust. One little boy, whose body was later found in the ruins, pushed classmate after classmate from the window.

Meanwhile the SWP is urging the labor movement to brand McCarthyism as a fascist menace and to pledge non-cooperation with McCarthy, his investigating committee and their ilk: to form union defense or anti-McCarthy committees to carry on an independent anti-fascist struggle in the shops, meeting halls and schools; to break with capitalist politics and form its own independent party.

Afterwards when sick-hearted

(Continued on page 4)

Notebook of an Agitator

Fascism and the Labor Party

Our campaign against McCarthyite fascism is an agitational campaign to arouse the labor movement to the advancing danger, and to stimulate a counter-mobilization of the workers. Along this road we participate wholeheartedly in every practical action regardless of its official auspices. Such actions have a logic of their own and can lead, in a step by step process, to a final settlement of accounts with fascism and the social system which turns to fascism as a last resort.

The struggle against fascism is an affair of the working class, and the revolutionists would only defeat their own purpose by sectarian abstention from anti-fascist mobilization of the class. The Militant is certainly correct in calling for a general Congress of Labor, to consider the question of a united anti-fascist struggle of the entire labor movement, and in advancing the slogan of a Labor Party as the general formula for the political independence of the workers in this struggle.

No Panacea

But even while advancing and popularizing these slogans, which sooner or later will be accepted and supported by millions, we ought to explain their limitations as well as their advantages. The assertion that the Labor Party "will stop McCarthyism," which makes its way into our agitation now and then, is an oversimplification which ought to be guarded against. A Labor Party would represent a gigantic step forward in the struggle against fascism, but is not in itself a panacea for victory.

A fascist movement is an inherent necessity to the capitalist system at a given stage of its disintegration. Nothing will "stop fascism" short of the overthrow of capitalism. This is the simple truth of the matter; and if our party doesn't tell this truth constantly it would have no reason to exist. There are plenty of others to sow confusion and foster illusions, and they are not entitled to any direct or indirect help from us.

workers in all their practical actions and in all their struggles. But we will be no help to them if we simply follow along, keep quiet about the workers' present illusions and thereby foster them.

If we see the impending struggle in its true shape as a drawn-out affair, we must recognize that coming developments will work powerfully to realize the slogans of the present. After that, new events will prepare the conditions for a wide-spread acceptance of the more advanced slogans required at a later stage of development. As a revolutionary party, we ought to foresee these developments and formulate the necessary slogans in advance.

Two Tasks

Looking to the future, as measured now only in years rather than in decades or generations, it can be expected that a Labor Party will take shape and command the allegiance of millions of workers from the start. This will represent a real beginning of the anti-fascist mobilization of the American working class, which will just be another name for the mobilization against capitalism, of which fascism is the final resort. But our agitation, and our participation in practical actions leading to this preliminary mobilization, will have real importance and significance only to the extent that we keep the whole line of future developments in mind and prepare ourselves and others to meet them.

Keep the Goal in Mind

For that reason, it is perfectly correct to put the slogan of a Labor Party in the center of our agitation and to concentrate all agitation around it. But in doing so, we have no need to over-simplify the fundamental problems posed by the beginnings of a fascist movement, and to think that we are doing our full duty if we stop at that. We must look far ahead — from the beginning of the struggle to the end — and keep the goal in mind in all that we do and say. We have to be with the

— James P. Cannon

Distortions on Bolshevism and Stalinism

By George Breitman

One of the key political questions of our time is the relation between Bolshevism (the theory and movement representing revolutionary Marxism in its modern form) and Stalinism (the theory and movement representing the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy). For different reasons, most spokesmen of capitalism and all spokesmen of Stalinism agreed in the view that Stalinism is the logical and revolutionary continuation of Bolshevism.

The capitalists propagate this view because the identification of degenerate Stalinism with Bolshevism helps them to discredit the latter and to discourage revolutionary workers from taking the Bolshevik road. The Stalinists propagate it because it helps them to keep or win the allegiance of workers seeking a revolutionary Marxist policy and party.

Nevertheless this view of the relation between Bolshevism and Stalinism is completely false, and has been refuted by the events of the last 30 years during which Stalinism destroyed the Bolshevik party, murdered the Bolsheviks, helped capitalism to prevent or crush proletarian revolutions in many countries and in general became a counter-revolutionary force in mortal opposition to Bolshevism.

We're not arguing the point here, merely stating it. (Readers not familiar with the question are referred to the writings of Leon Trotsky, especially his pamphlet, *Stalinism and Bolshevism*, which demonstrates that "Stalinism" not "grew out" of Bolshevism, not logically, however, but dia-

lectically; not as a revolutionary affirmation but as a Thermidorian negation. It is by no means the same.)

HIS BASIC IDEA

The question is most pertinent when we consider Isaac Deutscher's books on the Soviet Union, including his recent biography of Trotsky, *The Prophet Armed*. Because the basic idea that he too is trying to put across is that Stalinism is a logical and fundamentally revolutionary continuation of Bolshevism.

Objectively, as we have shown in reviews of his previous books, Deutscher is an apologist for Stalinism and an enemy of Bolshevism represented today by Trotskyism. By this we don't mean to charge him with being a Stalinist, or a crude apologist for Stalinism. Not at all.

Unlike the Stalinist hacks, he makes no attempt to conceal the many Stalinist crimes against the working class; he presented these crimes in detail in his biography of Stalin. Unlike the hacks, he does not deny Trotsky's leading role in the Russian revolution; in fact, his avowed aim is to "restore" Trotsky to his proper place in the annals of the revolution, from which the Stalinists tried to expunge him; he pays tribute to Trotsky's vision, talents, etc., and even berates him for "belittling" his own role.

OCASIONAL SLIPS

On the whole, Deutscher's writings show the marks of intensive research. He says his approach, "presupposing sympathy and understanding of Trotsky,"

is, I trust, as free from denunciation as from apologetics." He does not level any direct attacks on Bolshevism, which distinguishes him so sharply from most current historians of the Soviet Union that some reviewers have concluded he must be a "Leninist" or "Trotskyist."

It is only on rare occasions that he slips and gives explicit expression to his real attitudes. (One glaring example is his identification of the dictatorship of the proletariat with totalitarianism, as in his criticism of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution: "to advocate the proletarian dictatorship as the direct objective of revolution in Russia . . . need not necessarily have meant a monolithic state, but . . . inevitably implied an approximation of it.")

DISTORTS WHOLE PICTURE

The differences between Bolshevism and Stalinism are seldom flatly denied by Deutscher; in fact, he generally states them. But after doing so, he also generally proceeds to blur and minimize them. He achieves this by drawing analogies between the methods of Lenin and Trotsky on one side and of Stalin on the other, by presenting events and theories in such a way as to make it appear that Lenin and Trotsky (usually out of good motives) set the precedent for Stalin's crimes, by giving his sharpest and final emphasis to the alleged similarities rather than to the differences between them.

The result is to distort the whole picture. It's as if Lincoln's suspension of the writ of habeas corpus in a progressive and revolutionary civil war were cited as "precedent" and "justification" for McCarthy's violations of civil liberties today.

Let us discuss only one of the many examples of such distortion that abound in *The Prophet Armed* — the question of "revolution by conquest."

POLISH WAR

In 1920 Poland invaded the Soviet Union as part of the general imperialist anti-Soviet crusade. The Red Army beat the Polish forces back to their own borders. The question then arose: Should the Red Army pursue them to Warsaw, or stop at the frontier?

Lenin favored pursuit, first be-

cause only a decisive defeat

would remove the Polish threat,

second because he believed the Polish workers were preparing to make a revolution and would welcome the Red Army as an ally in overthrowing their rulers.

Trotsky favored stopping, because such a policy would intensify anti-war and anti-capitalist sentiment and action inside Poland and because he believed that the Red Army's entry, instead of speeding up revolutionary developments in Poland, would promote patriotism, chauvinism and anti-Soviet feeling. Stalin wavered between the two positions.

There was no question of principle involved in this dispute,

only of military and political strategy and tactics. All the Bolsheviks believed that revolutions must be made by the workers in their own country, and that it was permissible under certain circumstances for the Red Army to act as an auxiliary for revolutionary workers in other countries.

Lenin's policy was adopted, but

because it was based on a wrong

estimate of the situation inside

Poland it proved disastrous, as he

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McCarthy and Oppenheimer

Those who claimed last month that McCarthy was "through" are now getting a rude awakening. Temporarily on the defensive in his dispute with the Army, the fascist Senator stalled for time. This maneuver received the cooperation of both Republicans and Democrats on the Senate investigating committee. After appointing a notorious McCarthyite as their committed counsel and then replacing him with a right wing Republican lawyer from Tennessee, they set April 21 for the opening of their probe. On McCarthy's request, they postponed it to April 22. But it is not at all sure that the probe will begin that day. The question of procedure is still being debated. If it is not satisfactory to McCarthy, committee chairman Mundt admitted there may be still further delays.

These delays gave McCarthy the opportunity to employ the tactic he has learned so well from Hitler — when you are challenged on one front, shift to another, raise new charges, and make a bigger stink than ever; keep maneuvering until you can hit on a new issue so sensational that it will divert attention away from your weak positions and enable you to recover your public prestige.

That's precisely what McCarthy has done. From his supporters in the FBI, and perhaps even in the White House, he received the tip that the Eisenhower administration had initiated "loyalty" purge proceedings against Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the scientist who "built the A-bomb," because of his associations in the 30's and early 40's and because of his opposition on "moral grounds" to building the H-bomb.

This was a perfect issue for McCarthy at a time when the whole country was swept with fears arising out of the latest H-bomb explosions. The H-bomb was delayed for 18

months by communist traitors in the government, he charged on the national Murrow TV hookup — the implication being that he, McCarthy, is being "persecuted" because he wants to save the country from the machinations of such traitors.

The ease with which McCarthy succeeded in shifting the issue indicates that he will be able to emerge from the coming Senate probe, when and if it is held, without any substantial reduction in his power.

The reason McCarthy is able to score such successes is that he receives help, directly or indirectly, wittingly or unwittingly, from the very capitalist politicians who are supposed to be fighting him. The Republicans and Democrats on the Senate investigating committee gave him the time to create the diversion, and Eisenhower's own witch-hunt moves against Oppenheimer gave him the framework for his demagogic exploitation of the H-bomb-traitors issue.

Furthermore, "The Eisenhower administration in Washington is seeking not a total victory over but the political containment of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy," as Washington correspondent Joseph C. Harsch wrote in the April 13 Christian Science Monitor.

The traditional capitalist politicians will certainly never achieve a "total victory" over McCarthyism when they don't want one. But they are not likely to contain McCarthyism either, not for long anyhow. The traditional politicians in Germany thought they could tame and use Hitler too, but it turned out the other way — he tamed and used them. We predict that the present Senate probe of McCarthy will prove no more damaging to his real power than the previous probes of McCarthy that were started and then allowed to peter out.

Labor's Duty

on Indo-China

With that precise nicety of "impartiality" for which the conservative trade union bureaucrats in the service of the U.S. State Department are noted, AFL President George Meany has delivered himself of an opinion on the grave Indo-China developments. He told 600 AFL and CIO leaders at a luncheon of the League for Industrial Democracy on April 10 of the "dangers" of "appeasement" in Indo-China. He was against "appeasement" of "both" forces in the struggle. He was against the "Communists" who are fighting for Indo-Chinese independence from imperialism; he was likewise opposed to the French colonialists seeking to deny independence to Indo-China.

When Meany says he is opposed to "appeasing" the "Communists" in the Indo-China struggle he is stating nothing more than his opposition to genuine independence for that violated country and people. The people of Indo-China are overwhelmingly in back of the Viet Minh regime that is leading the struggle. Even the capitalist press admits this. Not to support this struggle, in spite of its leadership, is to renounce the inescapable duty of the labor movement to support freedom struggles of the colonial peoples against foreign imperialist oppressors.

If independence means anything, it means the right of the Indo-Chinese to self-determination. It means their right to any political and economic system they choose and to relations with any country they see fit. It is not for us to dictate to the Indo-Chinese what kind

of "Why They Bypass the UN

Secretary of State Dulles' efforts to line up imperialist "united action" to quell "communist aggression" in Indo-China have raised the question why his efforts are not being made through the channels of the United Nations, the body established presumably for the purpose of "quarantining aggression." After all, when the Korean war broke out, the U.S. lined up UN sanction for intervention almost overnight. But in the case of Indo-China, the UN has become forbidden territory.

The fact that the United States has shown no inclination to approach the UN and that the French have consistently opposed any discussion of Indo-China in the UN, is a clear demonstration that their case is so tissue-thin they fear to have the issue raised even in the U.S.-dominated UN.

The French intervention in Indo-China is of so nakedly an imperialist character that it has aroused the opposition of the entire Asian world. So strong is the feeling on the issue that governmental representatives of leading Asian countries in the UN, despite their strong dependence on the U.S. for economic aid, would not dare to go along with any move for UN support to France in Indo-China. Some would even feel constrained to speak out against it.

Especially after the experience in Korea, when the UN was quickly stamped into support for dictator Syngman Rhee, there is little inclination by other nations to swing behind some new military adventure of the Korean type.

THE MILITANT

Pablo Approves Malenkov Economic Policy

By Joseph Hansen

If we are to believe Pablo, a miracle has occurred in the Soviet Union. The Malenkov regime has gone Trotskyist, at least in economic policy.

This sensational news can be found in the January-February issue of *Quatrième Internationale* in an article written by Pablo himself, "Apropos the New Economic Policy of the Post-S-Stalinists." Pablo's argument runs as follows:

"The new orientation given by the epigones of Stalin to the economic policy of the USSR and the 'People's Democracies' in Europe is now vaunted as occurring under the banner of a more balanced, more harmonious development of the transition economy of these regimes. It seeks new relationships among the three fundamental branches: heavy industry, light industry, agriculture. It places stress on the necessity of a more rapid development of agriculture, rendering possible parallel to industry a development of consumers goods . . ." (*Quatrième Internationale*, p. 16.)

This does not sound far different from some of the speeches coming out of Moscow, but the next argument, we must admit, has not yet been voiced by the heirs of Stalin:

"The conception of a 'harmonious' economy' guaranteeing the continuous well-being of the working masses which the team of epigones is now calling for, was in reality advanced from the beginning by Trotsky and the Russian and International Left Opposition." (*Ibid.*, p. 19.)

The conclusions Pablo draws from these two premises are even more sweeping:

"After around 30 years of following an empirical economic policy in the USSR due not only to the fact of inexperience in the domain of the concrete building of socialism and of the contradictions of the objective situation, but also to the bureaucratic nature of the leadership, the latter sees itself obliged — once again under the pressure of events, of reality, of the masses — to undertake a new economic course which appears generally to adopt the main lines of the economic thought of the Left Opposition and of L. Trotsky in particular." (*Ibid.*, p. 20.)

NO SLIP OF THE PEN

Pablo means precisely what he says. For those who might still be inclined to think that all this is possibly only another of those unfortunate slips of Pablo's pen, I offer the following passage which immediately follows the paragraph quoted above:

"(The leadership) recognizes, in the facts, the necessity of new balanced relations between heavy industry, light industry, agriculture; the necessity of conceiving the real collectivization of the latter as being determined not primarily by the proletarian state's means of coercion, but by the capacities of statized industry and a just economic behavior of the proletarian state (in its role of industrialist, merchant

WHY OPPOSE MALENKOV?

If what Pablo says is true, wouldn't it be necessary for the

Fourth International to haul down its banners calling for the overthrow of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy?

Let us continue. Trotsky called

attention to another facet of the NEP. On taking power, the Bolsheviks were forced against

their will to nationalize industry at too fast a pace. This

political necessity, Trotsky warned, should not be considered the norm for countries of more advanced technology and culture

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perior — had it been politically

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the workers learned to manage

industry themselves. The NEP, besides a retreat, involved a re

adjustment of the bureaucratic

distortions that were politically

unavoidable in the unprepared

workers' management of so-called

"War Communism."

What interests Pablo is the

university of Trotsky's point

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tics of the NEP appear from

and banker) in regard to the peasantry; the necessity of a stable monetary standard, as well as of the commercial methods and practices which are part of the conception of the NEP, in order to establish the bond between agricultural economy and industrial economy, so that the important developments of the latter (including the branches of light industry) can lead to a normal, non-forced integration of collectivized agriculture in the over-all plans of the economy and the real balance between production and consumption."

While you are catching your breath before the next stretch, let me remind you to take off your hat. You are in the presence of the living thoughts of Pablo.

LESS SOCIAL TENSION?

"Such an economic orientation," continues our thinker, "cannot but favor a more normal evolution of Soviet economy and lower, meanwhile the social tension between the different layers of the population."

"Transferred to the plane of the 'People's Democracies' and of China, it can spare these countries the violent shocks, the sharp turns, the irregular rhythm which marked the evolution of the USSR itself, and in these places avoid its errors."

"The retreat was imperative because of the betrayal of the socialist revolution in Western Europe by the Social Democracy, which forced the newly born workers' state to continue to rely on its own inadequate resources while defending itself from a sea of foes. Pablo, however, does not deal with this. His factional political needs require him to split the economics of the NEP away from its politics."

That should be enough, I hope, to show that this is no slip of the pen, but Pablo himself bows before the new course and the new genius of the Kremlin.

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different from the policy followed for "around 30 years" by Stalin? Does it actually represent a colossal reversal, bringing Kremlin policy into conformity with the main lines of the economic thought of the Left Opposition and of L. Trotsky in particular? Or is a smaller reversal involved the reversal of Pablo from orthodox Trotskyism to pro-Stalinism?

BACK TO 1921

Pablo tries to establish that it is the Stalinist bureaucracy that has changed. His method of doing this is curious to say the least. He elucidates what he considers to be the "Correct Comprehension of the NEP," which the Bolsheviks had to initiate in 1921. And this constitutes the bulk of his article.

The NEP, as every student of Soviet history is aware, represented a retreat in the policy of the economic policy to which

nationalization. Considerable con

cessions were granted bourgeois

and petty-bourgeois elements

in the USSR. These were needed at

the time to stimulate economic

revival after the years of World

War I and the subsequent ex

hausting civil war.

The retreat was imperative because of the betrayal of the socialist revolution in Western Europe by the Social Democracy, which forced the newly born workers' state to

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

The 'Fight for Freedom'

The West Coast Regional Office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People struck a terrible blow against the Negro struggle on March 28. At a Fight for Freedom Rally sponsored by the NAACP in Oakland, Calif., the officers of the organization distributed a leaflet labeling six organizations and publications, including the Militant, as "subversive and un-American." Franklin H. Williams, secretary-counsel of the West Coast NAACP, reportedly warned the audience against the Militant and urged those who bought copies to throw them in the ashcan.

Last week's issue of this paper carried a copy of the letter of protest sent to the NAACP by the editorial staff of the Militant. It demanded a public retraction and apology for the slanderous attack on this paper; promised to defend the Militant's reputation and rights by every principled means; and explained how the McCarthy-type actions of Williams contribute to weakening "not only of democratic traditions, but the struggle for Negro equality."

I'd like to add a word on what Williams did to the "Fight for Freedom," the NAACP's campaign to win complete emancipation for American Negroes by 1963, the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation.

First, he discredited the NAACP. He raised a question in the minds of members and friends of the organization as to whether the campaign is firmly based on the traditional position of the NAACP that "civil liberties are indivisible" and must be extended equally to all.

Schools vs. Jails

By Joyce Cowley

Politicians, courts and investigating committees have made a number of proposals in recent weeks designed to regiment New York City's teen-agers. If these measures are passed, young people will be subjected like criminals to constant supervision and intimidation by the police.

The City Council has proposed a curfew to keep all youngsters under 18 off the streets after ten at night. Teen-agers returning from work or evening classes would need special permits to be out after this hour. Violations would be punished by fining parents or sending them to jail. This law would make it impossible for 16 or 17-year olds, many of them holding down full-time jobs, to go to a movie in the evening. A vote on the curfew was postponed until Mayor Wagner's committee on delinquency had a chance to study it.

Another City Council proposal, backed by majority leader Sharkey, Commissioner Moses and businessmen, would make parents pay for acts of vandalism committed by children. Child welfare and civic organizations opposing the bill point out that punishing parents creates antagonism in the family and intensifies emotional conflicts.

The Kings County Jurors Association made a proposal that all school children be fingerprinted in order to identify leaders of juvenile gangs. They also called for "sterner classroom discipline, protection of teachers and the addition of more policemen to the force." They attacked progressive education and "self expression."

Parents organizations immediately condemned the Grand Jurors' recommendations. Harold Siegal, executive secretary of the United Parents Association, called it "degrading and

One of the first reactions I heard to the news of "Williams' subversive list" was: "The NAACP is just like all the other opportunist groups — will sell out anyone else's civil rights for a few crumbs for themselves." I found it necessary to caution this person against the danger of falling into the error of judging a group by the faults of an individual: in this case, blaming the whole NAACP for the unprincipled action of Williams.

Secondly, in the Fight for Freedom, as in any other serious fight, it is most important never to forget who is the enemy. At a time when freedom for all is being curtailed, when traditional civil rights are being turned into their opposite, when attempts to win emancipation from the Negro ghettos are being met with bombings and violence in Cleveland and Chicago, when race-haters are flocking to the McCarthyite lynch bee — at such a time to suddenly turn and launch an attack on the Militant is, at best, criminal stupidity.

In the Fight for Freedom, Brother Williams, the enemies are the white supremacists and all who are against democratic rights and their extension . . . remember?

To repair the damage to the NAACP and make it possible to close ranks for the united effort necessary to struggle successfully against the fascist threat to all civil liberties, an about-face must be made from the course on which the West Coast NAACP office has embarked.

The NAACP must disavow Williams' "subversive" list and reaffirm its traditional goal of advancement of colored people, not adaptation to the current form of reaction.

THE MILITANT

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Labor Party Is Key to FEPC Fight

By Sam Jordan

ST. PAUL — My union got a letter asking for a delegate to attend a NAACP conference on FEPC and unemployment. So I went.

The conference was to prepare community pressure on the state legislature for a state FEPC law in 1955. One union delegate said that unfair practices in hiring are tied up with unemployment and the two problems should be attacked together as political issues. But the NAACP officials wanted no talk about unemployment. They wanted to limit the discussion just for a state law on fair employment practices.

The officials wanted a non-partisan approach, with support from the Republicans, Democrats, churches and lodges — from anyone against unfair employment practices. With all this support they would approach the Minnesota legislature in 1955 and demand a state FEPC law.

Another delegate opposed this approach. He said these are political problems that must be solved by a Labor Party. I didn't speak, but this is the way the problem looks to me:

To fight discrimination in hiring is like fighting a disease. First you find the cause, and then you eliminate it.

The NAACP officials talk as if unfair hiring is caused by prejudice, ignorance on the part of the bosses. We must educate the bosses to recognize our rights, the officials imply, and everything will be all right. Everyone, even the Republicans, can help us educate the bosses, the officials say.

If we had waited for all the respectable people to protest what the bosses were doing to us, like the NAACP officials want to do, we workers would still be unorganized. Now we know our demands are political and we must support a political party to win them.

Discrimination, like low wages, is not caused because the boss is thoughtless or prejudiced. During the war the bosses hired Negroes. During layoffs discrimination reappears. Prejudice is only an excuse to hide the real reason why the Negroes are the last hired and first fired. The bosses use discrimination as a good way to weaken the unions.

In times of unemployment when the workers need to be united the most, the bosses use discrimination to divide the workers among themselves. Frightened for their jobs, the workers begin to fight among themselves for work. The bosses promote racial hatred so the white workers won't object when the Negroes lose their jobs.

So you see, unemployment and discrimination are tied together. We must fight them as one. But under capitalism there is always unemployment and insecurity. A slowdown in the war preparations has resulted in the recent layoffs and the severe plight of the Negroes. We need a political party with a program that can give us jobs without war scares. We really need a Labor Party with a socialist program.

After conferring with Eisenhower, Senator Ferguson (R., Mich.) announced April 6 he is drafting a law that will expand the president's original proposal to strip citizenship from anyone convicted of "conspiring" to overthrow the government. The Ferguson bill will hit "anybody who takes allegiance to the Communist cause."

Sears Goes, Jenkins Comes



Boston attorney Samuel P. Sears (center) had to withdraw as counsel for the Senate probe of McCarthy after it was revealed that he was an ardent McCarthyite. Shown with him are acting committee chairman Mundt (R., N. D.) and Sen. Jackson (D., Wash.), committee members who replaced Sears with another right wing Republican, Ray Jenkins of Tennessee.

STEEL WORKERS STRIKE AGAINST SPEEDUP MOVE

BALTIMORE, April 7 — Close to 10,000 CIO steelworkers struck against Bethlehem Steel Company at the Sparrows Point plant here last weekend, in protest against the firing of a worker in the hot strip mills.

The men in the hot strip mills have been working a four-day week the last two months. In true depression style the company began a speedup program, demanding five and six days' tonnage in four days. Together with this they anticipated laying off several hundred more workers, violating an agreement with the union "to provide work" wherever possible.

Rank-and-file resentment against this speedup started on April 1. On the second shift at the finishing mills, represented by Local 2609 of the CIO United Steelworkers, had walked off the job in support of the hot mill workers.

we let them get away with firing one man now, they'll be firing right and left later." By Friday on the second shift at the finishing mills, represented by Local 2609 of the CIO United Steelworkers, had walked off the job in support of the hot mill workers.

MASS MEETING

More than 2,500 men and women showed up at a mass meeting called by the union Monday morning. Impressed by this turnout, the local president solidified himself with the brothers from the hot mills, calling them men "with red blood in their veins" who "by the sweat of their brow had earned decent working and living conditions."

He served notice on the company that no "goon" would drive the steel workers back to conditions of 25 years ago. He got the biggest hand when he warned the company that if they attempted to fire any member, "we will man the gates." He advised the members to go back to work with the clear mandate of an armed truce under which only "normal working conditions" would be tolerated.

The workers returned to the job with renewed confidence in their strength and a determination to work at a normal pace.

Two amendments aimed at ending discrimination and segregation in federal housing were defeated in the House of Representatives April 2. The votes were 110 to 87 and 113 to 74.

Brownell's List Lambasted by Pa. Legislator

By James Kutcher

On Feb. 17 and March 29 a congressman from Pennsylvania named Herbert P. Eberhardt got up in Congress and attacked the Attorney General's "subversive" list. He is a Democrat, but he calls himself an "old-fashioned" lawyer who finds it hard to understand the "newfangled concept" involved in the "subversive" list, and most of what he has to say on this subject makes very fine reading.

In his first talk Congressman Eberhardt said, "Mr. Brownell announced that he had determined to list this organization (National Lawyers Guild) as subversive. At the same time he stated that he was going to serve notice on the guild of his intention to list the organization so that it could then have a hearing before him.

"Which brings me to the last aspect of this so-called hearing procedure. Who is it that makes the final decision as to whether or not the organizations are subversive or O.K.? Why, Mr. Brownell, himself, the man who started the whole business in the first place . . ."

(He's wrong on this last point. The whole business wasn't started by Brownell, but by his Democratic predecessor, Tom Clark. Brownell is only continuing what the Democrats began.)

WARNING ON McCARTHY

Turning then to McCarthy, the congressman warns: "We can indeed shortly look forward to the time when the Democratic Party and half of the Republican Party are added to the subversive list, as subversive as subversive can be."

"To my mind, for the attorney general to label and slander any organization that has done nothing illegal, because the attorney general does not like the way that organization operates or because it opposes some position taken by him, amounts to a gross arrogation of power. I think it that we put a stop to this attempt to govern the country by smear and labeling."

Returning on March 29 to the "hearing" procedure announced by Brownell, he noted: "The Attorney General says to the organization, 'I've got something on you — if you want to, you can come in and prove to me that you're 'O.K.' . . . Indeed, the procedure sounds more like a ploy for mercy than hearing. The organization is practically adjudged guilty to begin with, and if it crawls enough to please the Attorney General, he might have the grace to grant them an absolute."

"That is, we can look forward to that time, unless those of us who do not like it rise up here and say, 'We have had enough,' and will not let this thing go one step further. I hope many of my colleagues will give support to the position I have taken."

There isn't much chance of his colleagues doing that, but I hope the American people will hear or read Congressman Eberhardt's views on this question, and will say, "We have had enough."

... WHY DID THEY DIE?

(Continued from page 1)

And now, the reasons? The town of Cheektowaga, a suburb at Buffalo's eastern boundary line, has a beautiful new school in the Cleveland Hill sections. It is a clean-looking, airy yellow brick building only a few years old. But adjoining it was another building, a long, low barracks-like structure of wood, the school's annex. It was this annex, with its jammed windows and poor ventilation, its faulty heating system and lack of adequate fire exits, that went up in a plume of flame and carried off with its black smoke the lives of its little students.

SWP DEMANDS INQUIRY

Something or other started the fire. There was recently painted scenery for a school play in an adjoining room. A small hole was found in the exhaust system of the furnace (found by the experts digging for clues when the ten were dead and the other four were dying in their hospital beds). The school's stationary engineer, a distraught man who loved children, has been suspended.

When the tragedy occurred the fire. There was recently painted scenery for a school play in an adjoining room. A small hole was found in the exhaust system of the furnace (found by the experts digging for clues when the ten were dead and the other four were dying in their hospital beds). The school's stationary engineer, a distraught man who loved children, has been suspended.

But the reasons, the real reasons? What is the narrow immediate cause? What is the spark that sets off the powder magazine . . . if the magazine is not there already, waiting for the spark, for any spark?

The reasons go deep into the framework of society. The wild animals of the jungle protect their young with all the fury that tooth and claw can provide. But in the jungle of capitalist society the young are allowed to die like this. This is not to say that the individual parent cares less for his child. Every parent in the city of Buffalo and in its surrounding towns shuddered when the terrible news came over the air and in the press. But the society in which we live permitted this disaster to occur.

There have been surveys. They have shown that schools all over the land are firetraps. They have demonstrated that the allocations of funds set aside for education and educational facilities are pitifully inadequate. Board of Education funds in city after city have been slashed while politicians have voted themselves increases in salaries.

STORY OF H-BOMB

And perhaps there is another reason, not a conscious one, but one buried deep in the minds of those who rule this stage of things. The day that the Buffalo newspapers screamed out the terrible headlines proclaiming this catastrophe, they carried also the story of the hydrogen bomb.

The architects of destruction in Washington sang out glowing accounts of the magnificent des-

Farm Children Lack One Good Meal A Day

By R. Gale

SAN FRANCISCO, April 3 — Starvation stalks farm workers in the great central valley of California, it was reported in Kings County today. It is estimated that from 10 to 15% of the 5,000 elementary school children are going hungry because their parents, migratory farm workers, can find no work. This situation came to light when the School Superintendent, Gerald L. Jacobson, asked the County Supervisors for additional funds to furnish free lunches at the school cafeterias. "I want to be sure these children get one square meal a day," he said.

This is happening while President Eisenhower negotiates a treaty with Mexico allowing unrestricted immigration of Mexican nationals for work in the fields. This new treaty with Mexico was the culmination of a long series of events which finally led to a victory for the corporation farmers. They claim that their crops are perishable and must be harvested at just the moment they ripen. Because there is a grain of truth in this contention the farmers can get the ear of the legislators in their demand for an oversupply of labor. However,

the truth of the matter is that the crops could be harvested with a greatly reduced labor force. This was demonstrated during the last war when thousands of farm laborers deserted the fields to work in industry. The real reason behind the drive for an oversupply of farm labor is the desire of the corporation farmers to reduce the already low living standards of the farm workers. With a large reserve army it is possible to cut wages and pit one section of the farm workers against another. At the same time the amount of work any one worker can expect to get is cut down, with the result that they have a smaller an-

tual wage. This in turn throws them on relief that much faster.

This relief which the farm worker must get every year in order to live is a hidden subsidy that the general public pays to the corporation farmers. The results are twofold: the pauperization of large numbers of farm workers, who have no hope of anything better, and the enrichment of the corporation farmers and the concentration of land in ever-larger holdings.

New stories of farm workers in distress are an annual occurrence in the farm areas. Usually they are held up as horrible examples of shiftlessness. This year, with unemployment general, this note has been lacking. The distress of migrant farm workers is no less real because of this. This recurring hunger in the midst of fertile fields is part of a social system that condemns large sections to want and hunger in the midst of plenty.

With a rational system of planning for production the farm economy could be put on a sound basis where all who labor in the fields would be guaranteed an annual wage large enough not only to supply daily wants but to cover a comfortable standard of living. The spectacle of thousands of families wandering over the face of the land in search of work must be stopped.

Notes from the News

OPPOSES NEW "KOREA." Carl Stellato, president of the powerful Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Auto Workers, declares in a lead article in the April 10 issue of the union's paper, *Ford Facts*, "We think the American people should be on guard to see that we are not dragged into another 'Korea' in an effort to pull French chestnuts — which have already been burned out of the fire." ***

PEANUTS. Emil Lindhal, president of the Nassau-Suffolk CIO in New York, mailed a peanut to every Congressman in Washington to demonstrate what their tax-cutting program means in the way of savings for working people. ***

DOGS GET MORE HELP THAN VETS. "Around 52% of the beds in VA hospitals today are filled with mentally-ill veterans," largely because of lack of a psychiatric screening program at the time of discharge from the service and the absence of a followup program to aid in readjustment to civilian life, charged Mrs. Daisey Haberman, national president of the Jewish War Veterans Auxiliary, in an April 4 speech in Cleveland. At the close of World War II, she said, the army spent astronomical sums on its canine corps to rehabilitate the 10,000 dog-members before releasing them to civilian life. "The same type of readjustment program is denied veterans," she charged. ***

FEARS H-BOMB, KILLS HUSBAND. The United Press reported April 8 that a Columbus, Ohio housewife shot her sleeping husband to death because "The H-Bomb is coming and none of us will be alive." ***

ACLU BOARD GETS SHARP REBUKE. The national board of the American Civil Liberties Union drew a scathing attack from its Northern California Branch for its issuance, in clear violation of the expressed wish of its membership, of a "policy statement" denouncing the Communist party as "an international conspiracy to seize power." The April issue of the Northern California ACLU-News editorially declares: "It is not the business of the ACLU to pass judgment on the

Communists, the Chamber of Commerce, Labor Wall Street, Socialists, the FBI, the Republican and Democratic parties or any other groups. The ACLU has the limited, non-partisan purpose of intervening when and only at the point where there is a violation of civil liberties. If any person within the ACLU wishes to fight the foregoing or any other groups they should do so outside the ACLU." The editorial expresses the opinion that the national board is "apparently suffering from hardening of the arteries." ***

NO TIME FOR UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF. Nearly 200 "anti-communist" bills have been introduced into Congress since January, 1953. They range from measures to outlaw the Communist Party to bills to deny veterans benefits and government loans to "subversives." ***

CLEVELAND EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS DIM. There are now 30,000 jobless in Cleveland, the highest number since August, 1950, and the layoffs are continuing, according to the March 29 Cleveland Press. Basing itself on a State Employment Service survey, the paper reports that the bulk of those unemployed are unskilled and semi-skilled workers, who are finding it increasingly difficult to find new jobs. In few cases do employers anticipate calling back all of those laid off. "This year is an employers market," says the Press. ***

FOOD DISTRIBUTION TO PITTSBURGH JOBLESS MUSHROOMS. The County Purchasing Agent in the Pittsburgh area, now organizing the distribution of free federal surplus foods to families of workers hit by unemployment, says "We are now being flooded