

THE MILITANT

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WHAT FORCED CHANGES
IN SEGREGATION PATTERN
(See Page 2)

By Art Preis

The Voice of America has been broadcasting the lie to all parts of the world that racially-segregated public schools have been "outlawed" in this country. But the battle against separation of Negroes from whites in public education, far from being over, has in fact entered its most crucial phase. Both sides are lining up for what is likely to be the bitterest part of the fight.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on May 17 that segregated public schools are unconstitutional, it reserved indefinitely the decision on how and when its ruling shall be put into effect. Thus, while Wall Street imperialism can use the ruling as a propaganda weapon to impress the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America with our "democratic way of life," the white supremacists and race-haters are afforded ample time and opportunity to prepare new defenses against the ruling.

The anti-segregation forces, with the Negro organizations taking the lead, are preparing to launch an offensive with the new legal weapon placed in their hands by the Supreme Court. At the same time, the white supremacist leaders are rallying the Jim Crow forces to resist, from their long-established and deeply-entrenched positions, any effective assault on segregated schools.

NAACP PLANS ACTION

While elated over their legal and moral victory, the Negro people by and large have few illusions that the court's ruling will automatically end segregation in the schools. This is indicated by the prompt action of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in calling a conference of Southern Negro leaders in Atlanta, Georgia, May 22 and 23, to map out plans to secure enforcement of the court ruling.

This conference issued an "Atlanta Declaration" which de-

On Ellis Island



CARL SKOGLUND
Carl Skoglund,
Minn. Unionist,
Held at Ellis Is.

NEW YORK May 25 — An Immigration Department hearing on the case of Carl Skoglund, 70 year old Minnesota labor leader, was completed at Ellis Island today. Skoglund, who is threatened with deportation to Sweden under the notorious McCarran Act, had appealed for discretionary relief, which the Attorney General is authorized to grant and which would suspend the deportation proceedings.

The examiner's decision is expected within two weeks, and can be appealed if it is adverse. Meanwhile Skoglund, who was ordered to Ellis Island on May 20, is being detained on the island.

The veteran labor leader's counsel, Stanley Lowell of the American Civil Liberties Union's Alien Civil Rights Committee, is making every effort to secure his release from detention.

BACKGROUND

The government claims that Skoglund should be deported under the McCarran Act because he was a member of the Communist Party during the 1920's, even though he was expelled from that party in 1928, and has been an outspoken opponent of Stalinism since that time.

But Skoglund's real "crime" in the eyes of the government witch hunters, is his unblemished record of militant labor and socialist activity since he came to this country 43 years ago. This led to his imprisonment in 1944 as one of the first victims of the Smith Act after he rejected an FBI proposal that he become an informer against his collaborators in the Minneapolis labor movement.

In recent years Skoglund has been suffering from a severe cardiac condition. His illness and his advanced age, were cited as reasons for the granting of discretionary relief. The Board of Immigration Appeals refused to consider the appeal in 1953, and government officials tried to rush the deportation proceedings to completion last January. Vigorous intervention by Skoglund's attorney led to the issuance of a new order authorizing the hearing held this week.

CICAGO EXAMPLE

He cited the example of Chicago where, he said, some 10,000 Negro pupils "attend racially segregated schools, although such schools are prohibited by state law, since state law also permits racial segregation in housing even when it is publicly aided."

Chicago for the past year has been the scene of mob violence and continuous race terrorism against Negro families who have moved into the federal housing project at Trumbull Park.

"SHOCKINGLY SMALL"

Ira S. Robbins, president of the National Housing Conference, told the same meeting:

"The amount of housing built for minority groups is shockingly small. Not more than 1% of the new housing built from 1935 to 1952 was available to minority families. In that 17-year period only 105,000 new privately built homes were provided for a non-white population of almost 16,000,000."

In New York City, which has the largest Negro community in the world, most Negro pupils are attending separate schools from whites because of residential segregation, although New York City has had a law since 1900 forbidding separate schools for Negroes.

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FUNDS NEEDED

The long fight to prevent Skoglund's deportation under a law that has been condemned by all sections of the labor and liberal movements, is being handled by the Civil Rights Defense Committee. The committee is a non-partisan organization, which has pledged to help Skoglund appeal the constitutionality of the McCarran Act if necessary.

To aid the labor leader, the committee needs funds. Defenders of civil liberties and opponents of political persecution should send contributions to the Civil Rights Defense Committee, 19 West 10th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Ford Union
Paper Hails
Kutcher Tour

James Kutcher's coming visit to Detroit on his national speaking tour is greeted with enthusiasm by Ford Facts, paper of Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Auto Workers, largest local union in the country.

"Citizens of Detroit will enjoy a refreshing change from the Clardy, McCarthy witch hunt atmosphere when James Kutcher arrives in Detroit June 5," says an article in the May 22 issue of Ford Facts. "He will stop over here during the course of a national tour designed to publicize his new book, 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'

Describing how Kutcher was purged from his Veterans Administration job because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party the article notes that the SWP "was arbitrarily placed on the 'subversive list' by the U.S. Attorney General without a public hearing and in a manner that spoke of the most flagrant disregard of our elementary democratic rights."

The fight for the legless veteran's reinstatement, it declares, "has become a rallying symbol to all those who see in the rising McCarthy menace a threat to our civil rights and a fascist program designed to smash the labor movement."

Speaking of Kutcher's book, the article says it is "a model on how to fight the witch hunt. In simple, forthright language, he tells his story — in the words of a man who lost both legs in the World War II Italian campaign, only to return and be fired from his clerk's job as a 'subversive.' His story offers an eloquent commentary on this monstrous injustice."

NOW IN BUFFALO

Before reaching Detroit, Kutcher will complete his stay in Buffalo, where he opened his tour on May 19 and where he is busy visiting labor and liberal organizations and spokesmen, explaining the present status of his fight for reinstatement and its connection with the general struggle against McCarthy.

His visit to Detroit (June 5-21) will be followed by two weeks of activity in the Chicago-Milwaukee areas (June 22-July 6). He will then head for the Seattle area (July 14-26). He is booked to spend all of the month of August in California. Sometime in September he will return east, stopping off to cover several important midwestern centers.

The AFL wrecking crew headed by David Beck and Paul Hall to bawl for the blood of the ILA and to break the bond that union has with the majority of the dock workers.

Last week a full propaganda smear campaign, charging that the ILA is "red," was launched. The AFL tried the witch hunt on the ILA by charging that it was being financed by Harry Bridges, leader of the West Coast dockers. A committee of the Brooklyn longshoremen had appeared on the West Coast to ask for aid and received some \$3,000 from the membership of several locals on the West Coast.

The AFL witch-hunting smear was an attempt to erase the stink of its strikebreaking role during the rank and file strike this spring.

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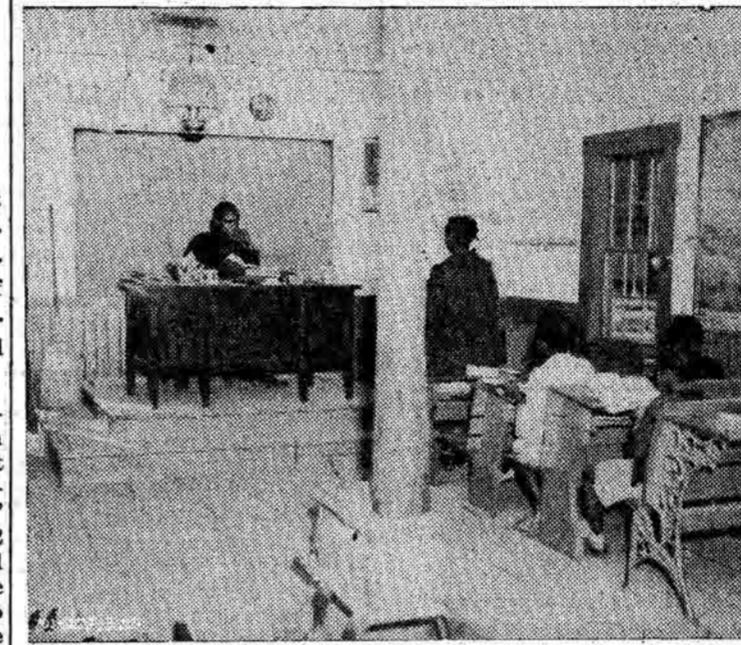
cause of their strike participation.

McDonald's guaranteed annual wage program in no wise provides for the more than 200,000 unemployed steel workers already unemployed and would permit the companies to cut the workers' take-home pay as much as 25% by guaranteeing only 30-hours' income per week at present wage rates.

Thus, the union coupled its set of four major demands, including the guaranteed annual wage or "supplementary unemployment compensation," as CIO Steelworkers President David J. McDonald recently called it, with the warning that "failure to overcome the present crisis in employment will lead us to propose the development of a program based on the six-hour day with eight-hours' pay."

Naturally, if this demand is such a potent threat and if it is considered so desirable, many steel workers must wonder why McDonald doesn't raise it right now when more than 400,000 steel workers are either laid off or working less than a full week with correspondingly reduced unemployment sweeping the in-

This Is Still Going On



This shabby, one-room schoolhouse in Ways, Ga., is the kind in which Negro children are segregated. The Supreme Court ruling on May 17 is supposed to have "outlawed" such segregation. But Southern white rulers are making plans to defy or evade the court's decision.

GOVT. VICTIMIZES ILA
ON EVE OF DOCK VOTE

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, May 26 — The federal courts moved in today and legally took charge of the independent International Longshoremen's Union. This move, coming in the midst of that union's desperate struggle against a united front of federal and state governments, all the metropolitan newspapers, the shipowners and the AFL, was designed as a crippling blow on the very day of the port-wide elections to determine whether the ILA or the AFL-ILA is to represent the dockers.

Every anti-labor force has joined with the AFL wrecking crew headed by David Beck and Paul Hall to bawl for the blood of the ILA and to break the bond that union has with the majority of the dock workers.

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Probe Buries Issue
Of Fascist Network
Inside Armed Forces

By Murry Weiss

MAY 26 — If one thing has emerged from the welter of procedural wrangling and pettifoggery at the McCarthy-Army hearings, it is this: McCarthy is operating an underground fascist "cell" in the Army and all other government departments. Yet when the hearings resumed this week, the Army, approaching the close of its case against McCarthy, continued to refuse to fire a single shot at this, his most vulnerable point.

The Army persists in confining its charges to the paltry accusation that McCarthy and his staff sought "preferential treatment" for Private Schine. So what? Where will it get even when they prove it? What will it prove? How will it stop McCarthy?

The Schine affair has significance only insofar as it bears on the main issue. Why did McCarthy and Co. want preferential treatment for Schine? Because for them it had become a kind of test case of their infiltration of the Army as a whole. Failure to get special treatment for their boy Schine might set a precedent obstructing their campaign to grab control of all the levers of power in the Army.

How pointless and futile it is for the Army to hinge its whole case on the Schine affair and be silent on the larger and more sinister purpose of the McCarthyites in which Schine is only a petty and incidental figure!

ONE LOYALTY

What is this fascist undercurrent under McCarthy is building in the military establishment? The operatives in McCarthy's "cells" accept only one loyalty and one



McCarthy

discipline — loyalty to the fascist leader McCarthy and the discipline of an underground secret fascist conspiracy. The McCarthyites operatives transmit secret information to their chief. They recruit to the "cells." They advance their members into the higher echelons of the Army through secret channels of pressure, blackmail, bribery and forgery.

And for what purpose is McCarthy building this fascist "cell" system? By placing McCarthyites in every nook and cranny of the structure of the capitalist government McCarthy hopes to build the skeleton of a totalitarian fascist regime.

The strategy of the fascist leader is to bore from within the

(Continued on page 3)

Seattle Longshoremen
Pledge to Fight Velde

SEATTLE, May 21 — Two thousand longshoremen in Seattle are prepared to stop work if necessary when Representative Harold H. Velde brings his House Un-American Activities Committee to town June 14 to 18.

The decision of the union was announced by Bill Gettings, regional director of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

"If Velde comes to town . . . and monkeys around with any of our members we won't take it lying down," Gettings said. "We'll shut down and stay with him till he leaves town."

An announcement along these lines was also made by Art Olson, Secretary of Local 1-19, ILWU.

In a similar situation in San Francisco last December 6,000 longshoremen quit work when Velde began to rechristen their union. As a result of the militant action of the longshoremen, Velde cut his investigation, which was originally scheduled to last eleven days, down to five. This was a notable victory for the San Francisco longshoremen and a resounding defeat for Velde.

SMEARS EXPECTED

Now the Seattle longshoremen are prepared to follow suit. That they have good grounds to expect a renewed attack on their union by the Velde Committee is indicated by the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, which reported on May 6 that at the scheduled hearings the ILWU may share the spotlight with the University of Washington.

But theirs is not the only organization whose members face attack. The Velde Committee intends to make full use of Barbara Hartle, former local Stalinist leader, who turned renegade two months ago and who has indicated a readiness to serve as a professional witness against alleged "communists."

She can be expected to finger members of many leading union locals in Seattle as well as Negro organizations, liberal groups and the Democratic Party, regardless of whether the individual

(Continued on page 4)

Flint CIO Urges 30-Hr. Week, 40-Hr. Pay

continuation of the 40-hour week with no increased benefits and wages to the workers. It would not provide for those already laid off.

Reuther's anti-democratic attack on Local 659 followed its aggressive declarations and campaign for "30 for 40" and its criticism of the UAW International Executive Board's conduct of grievance procedure policy.

Sentiment in favor of the shorter work week with no reductions in take-home pay has spread widely in the UAW. It has been endorsed by the leading Ford, General Motors and Chrysler Corporation locals.

ISSUE RAISED IN STEEL

The issue of the shorter work week with no loss of weekly pay has been raised indirectly in the CIO Steelworkers negotiations with the steel corporations. Reflecting the growing demand in the ranks for an effective program to protect them against the unemployers sweeping the industry, the steel union's leaders are holding the threat of a possible demand for the 6-hour day at 8-hour's pay over the heads of the steel barons if the latter do not come through on the union's other demands.

Thus, the union coupled its set of four major demands, including the guaranteed annual wage or "supplementary unemployment compensation," as CIO Steelworkers President David J. McDonald recently called it, with the warning that "failure to overcome the present crisis in employment will lead us to propose the development of a program based on the six-hour day with eight-hours' pay."

Naturally, if this demand is such a potent threat and if it is considered so desirable, many steel workers must wonder why McDonald doesn't raise it right now when more than 400,000 steel workers are either laid off or working less than a full week with correspondingly reduced take-home pay.

Of course, winning the programs of the guaranteed annual wage, the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, or both, is conditional on the unions putting up a real fight with all the traditional methods of struggle they have used in the past to make every one of labor's important gains. It is not in their demands, but in their lack of any program of action that the union leaders display their chief weakness and incapacity.

What Forced Court's Ruling on Segregation?

By George Breitman

Why did the Supreme Court rule on May 17 that segregation in the public schools violates the Constitution? Why has the Pentagon in the last few years taken steps to end segregation in the armed forces?

Because they are lovers of democracy, justice and fair play? Such an explanation would raise more questions than it would answer. These judges read the Constitution before 1954, and they had numerous opportunities in the past to strike down the discriminatory "separate but equal" doctrine; but they refused to do it. The brass hats had plenty of chances to stop segregation of Negro troops in World War II, and after; but they stubbornly opposed any changes in the basic Jim Crow pattern. If they are lovers of democracy, either a long time with remarkable success or it is only very recently that they became smitten.

Is the new policy due to a desire for greater economy and efficiency? It undoubtedly costs more money to maintain two school systems side by side if both systems are run on a level anywhere near approaching equality of service, and the separation of military personnel on the basis of color unquestionably reduces both efficiency and morale in the armed forces.

But these are not startling new discoveries. Consequently considerations of economy and ef-

ficiency, while they are a factor, don't explain why the new policy is adopted now rather than before, and they have to be rejected, along with the claims of alleged devotion to democracy, as the main reasons for the change.

THE REAL REASONS

The real reasons are political. They are prompted by (1) the pressure of the Negro people and their allies, and (2) the international diplomatic and propaganda needs of U.S. imperialism. Without both these factors, the anti-segregation moves in the schools and armed forces would be inconceivable. But the second of these, in our opinion, exerts the greater weight at the present time.

This is not said in order to belittle the Negro struggle, whose progressive significance and potential Marxists were the first to call to the attention of the labor movement. The Negro struggle has put its own stamp on political developments in this country since the end of World War II and is responsible for both demagogic promises and actual concessions wrung from the politicians in both capitalist parties.

But the failure of the labor and Negro movements to build a party of their own and challenge the supremacy of the old parties has limited the political impact and effectiveness of the Negro struggle. This failure has made it possible for the capitalists to contain the Negro movement on the political field, to keep it within

certain bounds. The Negro movement today is less influential in Washington than it was in 1947-52.

If it had depended on the pressure of the Negro people alone, or at least on the kind of political pressure they are able to exert without a labor party on the scene, I think it is unlikely that the Supreme Court would have ruled the way it did on May 17.

But while the U.S. ruling class has been able to keep the Negro people and their allies from getting out of control at home, it has been suffering setbacks and defeats in the rest of the world it aims to dominate, and especially in the colonial countries. Washington could easily win global unpopularity contest without trying.

American capitalism is hated abroad for its napalm bombs, its support of dictators, its opposition to colonial struggles for independence, its racism — and its hypocrisy. Distrust even in countries considered most friendly has become focused on the disparity between Washington's claim to represent democracy and its oppressive treatment of colored people at home. This has cost the U.S. plenty in a world whose inhabitants are mainly colored and who have no desire to come under the domination of a government that won't grant equality to its own dark-skinned citizens.

For several years Washington tried to overcome this distrust by redoubling its speeches about democracy, its appropriations for

foreign relations and its foreign propaganda, whose progressive greater as a result of resentment against racial injustice in the U.S., Acheson said. "The continuation of racial discrimination in the United States remains a source of constant embarrassment to this government in the day-to-day conduct of its foreign relations; and it jeopardizes the effective maintenance of our moral leadership of the free and democratic nations of the world."

That, as much as anything else, and more than most things, was the problem taxing the minds of the august members of the Supreme Court as they wrestled with themselves for a year and a half to determine whether or not to finally admit that segregation violates the Constitution.

May 17 was a great day for the Voice of America. Here at last was an action they could point to with pride, and they played it for all it was worth — and more. The Court hasn't yet actually ended segregation in the schools, and it left open the all-important question of how non-segregation is to be enforced, and by whom. But the Voice of America made it sound like another Emancipation Proclamation and patted itself on the back for having achieved a real propaganda triumph. How long-lasting this triumph will be remains to be seen. Meanwhile, the thing to be remembered by the enemies

etc.

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Wall Street's Latest War Threat

There is grave danger that the Eisenhower administration is preparing a military assault on Guatemala, a small Central American country that has dared to defy the wrath of the Wall Street government over land reforms and other progressive measures initiated by the present Guatemala regime.

The immediate pretext for the threatened U.S. intervention in Guatemala, one of the few Latin American countries with a constitutionally-elected government, is the charge that Guatemala has secured arms from "behind the Iron Curtain."

What if it has? What right has this country to dictate to any other country whom they can buy arms from? The U.S. government buys what it pleases, where it pleases, when it pleases, from whom it pleases, and it would mean war for any other country to try to stop it. Doesn't that same right go for Guatemala?

Guatemala tried to purchase arms in this country. It was refused on the grounds that the U.S. doesn't like the kind of government they have in Guatemala. That country's constitution prohibits political discrimination and it does not witch-hunt "Communists." Moreover, it permits representatives of the Communist Party, if they can get the votes, to hold public office, and the CP now even holds five of the 56 seats in the Guatemalan Congress. And finally, Guatemala has refused to line up with other Latin American countries, most of them dictatorships, in a military alliance with the U.S. against the Soviet Union.

For these "crimes," the U.S. State Department, headed by Wall Street banker Dulles, has been putting the heat on Guatemala. In March, Dulles himself went to the Caracas, Venezuela, Inter-American Conference to get the Latin American countries to adopt a reso-

lution especially aimed at Guatemala. This resolution gave Wall Street imperialism the right to intervene in any Latin American country which American capitalists choose to call "Communist" or "Communist-dominated."

The alleged receipt of 2,000 tons of arms by Guatemala from some "Iron Curtain" country is now the excuse for a big war-incitement campaign. Dulles even raises the cry that Guatemala is threatening the Panama Canal, although the Canal is 750 miles away, much of the way being virtually impenetrable jungle and mountain terrain.

While this red-herring hue and cry is being raised, Nicaragua, whose government is almost a U.S. puppet, withdraws its ambassador from Guatemala and breaks off diplomatic relations. Simultaneously, the U.S. State Department announces it is starting an airlift of arms to Nicaragua and Honduras for their "defense" against possible Guatemalan "Communist aggression."

All this is nothing but a scheme to force Guatemala to yield to Wall Street's demands through threat of military invasion. The U.S. will use countries like Nicaragua as a cover for such an invasion. But that will conceal from no one the real source of the attack.

Coincidentally, these hostile moves against Guatemala are made at the time the Guatemalan government rejects the blackmail demand of the U.S. government to pay \$16,000,000 to the United Fruit Co. for some 250,000 acres of uncultivated jungle land which Guatemala has reclaimed from the American corporation in order to make it available for use by Guatemalan peasants.

If you don't want American boys dying for the greater glory and profit of the United Fruit Co., demand: Hands off Guatemala!

Secret Diplomacy at Geneva

The real discussions at the Geneva Conference don't take place at the public sessions but behind closed doors. "Secret meetings between two, three, four or more foreign ministers have been taking place, several times a day, in elegant suburban villas," says Michel Gordey, Geneva correspondent for the Nation.

Why the secret sessions? What are the delegates hiding? How are they deciding the fate of the world? These are the questions that immediately rise to mind.

The chief task that the conferees proclaimed for themselves at Geneva was to arrive at a solution of the war in Indo-China.

A revolution for national independence is in process there against 80 years of oppressive French colonial rule. Virtually the entire population of Indo-China supports the Vietminh movement that is conducting this revolution. In France, England and the United States, the majority of the people are opposed to warring on the Indo-Chinese.

The only equitable solution to the conflict is for the imperialists to grant independence to the Indo-Chinese, withdraw all foreign troops, and recognize the Ho-Chi-Minh regime.

If this is what the negotiators had in mind, they would not need to go into secret sessions. An openly arrived at agreement providing for the evacuation of all French troops and the exchange of ambassadors with the Vietminh is all that would be required.

But neither American, French, or British

imperialism has any intention of granting the Indo-Chinese their just demands unless compelled by the superior force of the colonial revolution. What the imperialists seek is to maintain colonial exploitation in Asia and to maneuver the working people of France, England and the United States into a war for the suppression of the national independence movements. They need secret diplomacy in order to screen their hostile moves against the colonial revolution.

Thus all the negotiating parties are conspiring in one fashion or another against the aspirations of the Indo-Chinese people to national independence and the genuine desires of the French, British and American people for a peaceful outcome of the conflict.

It is time that the working people take the determination of their fate out of the hands of imperialists and Stalinist bureaucrats. A first step in the direction of exercising that control is to demand an end to secret diplomacy at Geneva.

NAACP and the 'Subversive' List

The "subversive" list is one of the central props of the McCarthyite witch hunt. The whole principle of thought control, silencing of non-conformists and suppression of political heretics is bound up with the "subversive" list technique.

That's why the publication of a "subversive" list by the West Coast Regional Office of the NAACP last March, with the arbitrary listing of the Militant and other organizations as "dangerous" and "subversive," constituted such a shocking breach in the anti-McCarthyite front.

When an organization is "listed" the objective is to create a big void around it. People are supposed to say, "Maybe they have the right idea, maybe they are doing good work for a good cause, but if I don't want to get into trouble I'd better steer clear."

When the NAACP West Coast Regional Office, in violation of the whole tradition of the Negro struggle, published its list, it warned the Negro people to be careful about supporting or attending meetings of "questionable organizations."

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTsky

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Trotskyism or Stalinism for Indo-China?

By Murry Weiss

The Pablo faction in the Fourth International has been submitted to numerous tests during the last year — the East German uprising, the French general strike, the Stalinist betrayal in Iran, the Beria purge, the international right turn of Stalinism, etc. In these events the true nature of the Pabloite faction as a pro-Stalinist tendency has been revealed with the utmost clarity.

However, the deviations of the Pabloites in reaction to these events still revealed only a tendency, and not the irrevocable passage of the Pabloites to the camp of anti-Trotskyism.

Now we have before us an action which poses the question: Has the Pablo faction crossed the line from a pro-Stalinist tendency within the Fourth International to a pro-Stalinist group dragging after every twist and turn in the line of Stalinism?

NEW DEMAND

In an appeal addressed "to all workers organizations," April, 1954, the Pabloite faction, speaking fraudulently in the name of the Fourth International, calls upon the international labor movement to hold a conference in opposition to the Geneva Conference. In this appeal the Pabloites propose a number of demands. And the first demand they raise is, "An immediate

Where does this demand come from? Certainly not from the arsenal of the Trotskyist movement. For eight years, ever since the "dirty war" of French imperialism against the Indo-Chinese people began, the Trotskyists have demanded the immediate withdrawal of imperialist troops from Indo-China. In the United States the Socialist Workers Party has demanded that Wall Street stop all aid to French imperialism.

Now that, the Indo-Chinese masses, at the cost of countless victims, are on the verge of decisively beating the imperialist invaders, French capitalism begins to speak of "armistice" and the Stalinist betrayal-machine has likewise raised the slogan of armistice.

Why should the international working class call for an armistice? The world labor movement has the duty to speed the rout and evacuation of all imperialist invasion forces. Get out of Indo-China! That should be the loud and insistent demand of the French and international working class to their imperialists.

WHO BENEFITS?

Who wants an armistice, or a truce, or a cease fire, in this situation? The French imperialists, whose military forces have been catastrophically weakened — they can see the advantage in trying to save at the conference table what they lost on the field of combat against the

heroic Indo-Chinese workers and peasants.

And the Stalinists — they have something to gain from an armistice conference. It is around such negotiations for armistice that they could sell the victory of the Indo-Chinese people in return for Kremlin deals with the imperialists.

But what the workers and peasants of Indo-China and Southeast Asia need from the international working class is powerful pressure to force the imperialists off their backs once and for all.

CERTAIN CONDITIONS

It is not excluded that the Indo-Chinese revolutionary forces might, under certain conditions, be compelled to negotiate with the enemy for a temporary settlement, cease-fire, or armistice. Such was the case at a certain stage in Korea. But that does not give the representatives of the international working class the license to "support" such a demand.

When the imperialist robbers force a rebellious colonial people to the wall, and the revolutionary camp is compelled to negotiate a temporary truce, it is treachery for the labor officials to endorse their ruling class strategy by washing their hands in the waters of "truce demands." What the workers in the imperialist countries must do is demand that the capital

ist oppressors withdraw completely. That is the best aid they can give to the besieged people of a colonial country under such circumstances. This is particularly true if the workers in the imperialist country use their full economic and political power to enforce such a demand.

Let us recall that in the early days of the Russian Revolution the German imperialists forced a robber truce on the first workers government at Brest Litovsk. The German Social Democrats hypocritically "supported" the Brest Litovsk treaty. They defended themselves from revolutionary criticism by pointing to the fact that the Bolsheviks were also "for" the Brest Litovsk treaty — hadn't they signed it?

Lenin denounced the German Social Democrats for this treachery. In effect he told them: Your capitalists have a pistol to our heads. We are forced to accept their robber-terms in the same way a hold-up victim is forced to turn over his belongings to a bandit. Your task, if you are revolutionaries, is to force your capitalists to take the pistol away from our head, and not to call for "agreement" between the victim and the bandit.

DELIBERATE OMISSION

The Pabloites have defiled the whole tradition of Trotskyism by raising the Stalinist-sponsored slogan of "armistice." They have reversed, without explanation, every decision the world Trot

skyist movement made at every official meeting since World War II on the question of Indo-China. Their appeal deliberately omits the revolutionary demand — "Withdraw the imperialist troops" — in order to make themselves more acceptable to the Stalinists. They are thereby running interference for the Stalinists who would like to use the revolutionary masses of Indo-China as bartering material for Kremlin diplomacy.

And they raise this "armistice" slogan not when the Indo-Chinese revolution is in retreat, but when it has the French imperialists on the run!

The Pabloites also include the demand, "prohibition of atomic weapons," in their list of suggestions to a proposed international conference of labor. Where does this Stalinist and bourgeois pacifist demand come from? At what congress of what section of the world Trotskyist movement was such a capitulation to Stalinist-pacifist hypocrisy authorized?

The whole content of the Pabloite appeal reeks with adaptation to the needs of Kremlin diplomacy. It renounces, with one stroke, the revolutionary approach to the problems of our epoch. What was implicit in their previous positions is now made explicit. The world Trotskyist movement would degenerate and die if it failed to fight mercilessly against such a capitulation to Stalinism.

... McCarthy's "Cells"

(Continued from page 1)

capitalist government structure, entrench a fascist machine in the capitalist parties, paralyze the will of his opponents, enfeeble the already feeble resistance of the "democratic" political machine, and at the same time mobilize and harden a mass fascist movement that can be used as a battering ram, in his drive for power.

This is exactly what happened in Italy, Germany, Austria and Spain. The reactionary class interests of the "democratic" capitalists and their parties paralyzed their will to resist the encroachments of the fascist conspiracy. Even though a fascist victory meant the axe for many of their own necks, they temporized, compromised, pussyfooted and capitulated, step by step, until it was too late. And as long as the leaders of the working class followed the same line as the "democratic" capitalists, this suicidal policy paved the way for Mussolini, Hitler and Franco.

The ineffectiveness of the Army's strategy is not due merely to bungling. From the very beginning they formulated their charges against McCarthy in such a way as to assure that he would go unscathed. The whole Army case is designed as a pressure move to slow down McCarthy — not to smash him. The most that could result from their charges would be for McCarthy to throw one or two of his hired men to the wolves — and this is by no means assured. McCarthy's fundamental position was never attacked. Obviously the Big Business interests that run the government have decided that they want to be able to continue to "use" McCarthy.

But the game of "using" fascists is a tricky one. Eisenhower's Cadillac cabinet is even less equipped to play this game than the shrewd "democratic" politicians of Italy, Germany and Spain. Some of them lost their heads fooling around with their McCarthy's.

to become the right of the President to issue a "secrecy" order with regard to the policy conference of his advisors on Jan. 21. They didn't dare challenge McCarthy's thesis that he has the right to protect the confidences of his spies in the Army. Instead they allowed McCarthy to carry the attack to them on the issue of the Presidential directive. In the process McCarthy's "secrecy" was ignored, while the debate raged on Eisenhower's "secrecy."

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JAIL OR WHITE HOUSE

According to Jack Anderson and Ronald May, authors of "McCarthy, The Man, The Senator, The 'Ism,'" McCarthy once told a crony that he would wind up "either in jail or in the White House." It is amply clear that McCarthy will never be put in jail, where he belongs, by the Democrats and the Republicans.

It is equally clear that he will not be prevented from occupying the White House by the army brass or the Republicans and Democrats.

But the McCarthy drive for power can and must be stopped. It will take a power greater than Eisenhower, Stevens, Mundt, and Symington to do the job. The American working class has the power to set in motion a movement which can roll over the fascist plotters like a road paving machine. Only the policy of the labor officials prevents this.

The labor officials depend on the Democrats to do the job. The Democrats depend on the Eisenhower Republicans. Eisenhower depends on the Army chiefs. Stevens, the Secretary of Army, when he isn't fumbling the ball, tosses it back to Eisenhower who just as quickly hands it back to Stevens.

It is high time that labor broke with this "daisy chain" of capitulation to McCarthy and mobilized its forces for a life-or-death struggle with the fascist menaces.

Despite world-wide protest, it is revealed by the United Press, May 26, that the Atomic Energy Commission is planning new A-bomb and H-bomb tests. The United Press dispatch deduced the scheduled tests from "the fact that the AEC has asked the Public Health Service to recruit radiological health and safety monitors for them."

World-Wide Right Turn Of Communist Parties

By Colvin R. de Silva

The aim of the new world line of Stalinism is to isolate the USA in war against the USSR. This aim involves two tasks.

On the one hand, every effort has to be made to break the USA's present allies away from her. On the other hand, every effort has to be made to prevent the USA finding fresh allies in the USA's attempt to encircle the USSR militarily.

In both cases, the Soviet bureaucracy's method is to seek a political deal with the capitalist class of the given country at the cost of the working class and mass movements in that country. Let us explain.

THEY SEEK A DEAL

With regard to the USA's present allies, the powerful mass CPs of France and Italy, for instance, have already abandoned any steps based on developing the class struggle in these countries toward the seizure of power by the working class. They have openly declared their readiness to serve any capitalist government in these countries which can be used to break its alliance with the USA. They seek to trade the class struggle and the mass movement in these countries for a promise of neutrality. Certainly, they can restrain powerfully any revolutionary development.

The position is similar in countries like Britain. There, the CPs are weak and are not mass parties. The working class in these countries follow reformist parties, like the Labor Party in Britain. The effort of the CPs in these countries is to push these reformist parties into participation in capitalist governments which undertake to break the alliance with the USA. The CPs themselves stand ready to support such governments.

In Britain they are already fighting against every leftward drift in the Labor Party by launching an attack on "Trotskyism" in the Labor Party. By Trotskyism they mean, of course, every consistent adherent of the class struggle in the British Labor Party. These, they hate; for it is a neutral capitalist Britain which the Stalinists seek, and not a revolutionary socialist Britain.

The Madura line can give a grave setback to the Indian mass movement.

However, when the Ceylon CP tries to apply the Madura line in Ceylon it finds itself facing two fundamental difficulties.

TWO DIFFICULTIES

The first difficulty which faces the Ceylon CP is that it cannot even hope to control or decisively influence either the working class or the mass movement in Ceylon. The leading force and by far the most powerful party in the working class and the mass movement in Ceylon is the LSSP.

As the great August 12, 1953 Hartal (general strike and shutdown of schools, shops and stores) showed, the LSSP continues to be the organizer and the leader of the Ceylon masses in struggle. Neither the CP nor the Stalinist Front can compete with the LSSP in this field.

— For the real meaning of McCarthyism
— For a working-class program to fight it
Read the new pamphlet

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

In Reply to a Reader — Part 2

In your criticism of the way we deal with the Negro struggle, Mr. S., you assert that the Militant "makes it a policy to court the Negro vote by pointing up the so-called injustices done to members of our colored minority." Then you say, "One will readily admit that Negroes, on occasion, are the victims of harsh treatment at the hands of Caucasian, but you people are too blinded by your own prejudiced minds to see that harsh treatment is a two-way street." For our "enlightenment" you "cite some examples of Negroes violating the civil rights of Caucasian": an incident in which two colored women allegedly attacked a white woman in a bus; a case in which a distant relative of yours was shot and killed by a colored passenger in his cab; an accident in which you were badly injured by a drunken driver who happened to be colored.

Then, after several slurs, you say: "It should be interesting to see how you Trotskyites distort, rationalize, and perhaps even prevaricate in order to make it seem that the Negroes in the above examples were the poor, hapless victims of white persecution." I'd like, without distorting, rationalizing or prevaricating, to discuss the fallacies in your method of reasoning.

First, your *assertion* that we make it a policy to court the Negro vote is entirely unfounded: We don't court the vote of anyone. If we did, we would double-talk like the Democrats and Republicans instead of stating openly what we stand for. Or we would demagogically appeal to race-hate and other low emotions and prejudices to whip up a mob spirit. As a matter of fact, in many states where undemocratic election laws bar minority parties from the ballot, we don't even have candidates for office, so it can't be just votes we're after. You'll have to discover another motive for our pointing up the injustices done to colored people.

It shouldn't be too difficult for you to discover our real motive since we make no secret of it: we consider it one of our tasks, as the socialist opposition to the injustices of capitalism, to tell the truth, to expose festering sores of our society — so that men will consciously attempt their cure.

Your second main point is the *charge*, which you do not try to substantiate, that we try to make it appear that "ALL Negro crime, vice or breach of etiquette are due to the fact that John Q. Public won't sell his house to them or doesn't want his sister or daughter going to bed with one."

I seriously doubt that you have ever seen a discussion of anyone's etiquette in the pages of the Militant; and any articles dealing with crime or vice are reports and analyses of these social phenomena as such, without reference to irrelevant or secondary factors such as race, creed or color.

The questions of segregated housing and intermarriage are separate matters, and deserve much fuller treatment than can be given in this one article. However, to put it briefly, segregation in housing is not an individual right, but rather a violation of the equal rights supposedly guaranteed under the Constitution, as the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged in declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

Intermarriage — or just plain marriage — on the other hand, is a personal and individual right to be exercised by the persons involved so long as the rights of others are not violated. And in this country, at least, unlike some foreign countries with feudal hangovers, it is supposed to be a woman's right — not her father's or brother's — to decide whom she will marry, or, as you choose to put it, "go to bed with."

(To be continued)

Women and Politics

By Joyce Cowley

"No Rate Below Common Labor — All Jobs Based on Job Content, Not on Sex." This was the slogan raised by 400 delegates of the United Electrical Workers at their second national conference on problems of working women.

Delegates reported considerable gains during the last year as the result of militant struggle. They told of winning clauses in their contracts prohibiting discrimination because of race or sex in hiring, firing, promoting or assigning jobs. They told of shops where they have succeeded in eliminating the traditional segregation of work into "men's" jobs and "women's" jobs.

But the fight for equality is far from finished. Conference resolutions pointed out that there is a drive to force women out of industry in violation of their seniority rights. Employers are trying to manipulate unemployment laws to deny benefits to women workers and force them into substandard unskilled jobs or to classify them as "unemployable." Negro women in particular have been victimized by attempts to force them out of industry and back into domestic service.

The conference adopted resolutions on job discrimination, on speedup and health, and on women in legislative and political action. All of these resolutions underline the fact that economic struggles in the shop are not enough and that political action is required to correct unemployment insurance laws, force through legislation for equal pay, added child care facilities and increased expenditures for schools and education. The resolution on speedup and health calls for an even broader political program — national health insurance, low-rent public housing, a shorter work week.

Notes from the News

WRONG NUMBER: Contending that wiretapping authority sought by Brownell would lead to "guilt by communication," cartoonist Herbert L. Block said: "Limited wiretapping is about as possible as limited addiction to dope. My feeling is that we have a wrong number in the Attorney General's office." He also said: "Some of us have been guilty of associating with the United States Army. Some of us while in the Army had dental work done. Who knows what went on in those dark cavities?"

HOUSING NEXT: 18 Savannah, Ga., Negroes filed suit in federal court on May 21 for an order to outlaw racial segregation in public housing projects. They were refused admission to the Fred Wessell Homes solely because of their color. This new project was built on a site where a Negro slum section had been razed. The suit against federal and local housing officials also seeks \$80,000 in damages. The lawyers who filed the suit include Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP.

WILL JOE GO?: Leroy Gore, leader of the Wisconsin Joe-Must-Go movement, now is beginning to wonder, "Will Joe Go?" He blames the leaders of the labor movement, especially in Milwaukee, and the Democratic Party, for their failure to mobilize support for petitions to force a recall-of-McCarthy election.

SOME "SOCIALISTS": In Reading, Pa., a member of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, Mark L. Brown, entered the primary to seek a Democratic Party nomination for the state's General Assembly. Brown lost, but received the praise of the Reading Labor Advocate, official paper of the local SP, whose editor wrote that the "question of whether Brown's maneuver was of real and lasting value to the socialist cause

must await the further verdict of time." Brown was further commended by being selected as a Reading delegate to the national convention of the SP in Philadelphia, May 29-31. This convention is scheduled to decide "a line on future party political activity," the Advocate reports.

* * *

BUNCHE ON GRIDILLE: Ralph Bunche is now being grilled by a U.S. loyalty board because he used to belong to organizations which are now on the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist. He may not suffer the same fate as others "in-discreet" enough to have joined organizations of their own choice because he is a Nobel Prize winner and is employed by the UN, not the U.S. government.

* * *

UNION MERGER: The Distributive, Processing and Office Union, independent since the split in the CIO in 1949, and the Plaything, Jewelry and Novelty Workers, CIO, both voted to give up their separate status as international unions and join the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, CIO. The combined organization, retaining the name of the latter, claims 140,000 members.

* * *

LOOK WHO'S "MORAL": Sen. Guy M. Gillette (D. Iowa) took the Senate floor on May 21 to attack those who praise McCarthy's objectives but deplore his methods. "The Communist Lenin could say that a supposedly worthy goal sanctified the methods used to attain it," he declared, "but no Christian doctrine or no American governmental principle can possibly excuse improper procedures and methods by relating them to the worthiness of the ultimate goal that is sought." But Lenin never said what Gillette claimed he did. Thus Gillette too is employing "improper procedures and methods" (lies about Lenin) to promote a "worthy goal" (exposure of fake anti-McCarthyism).

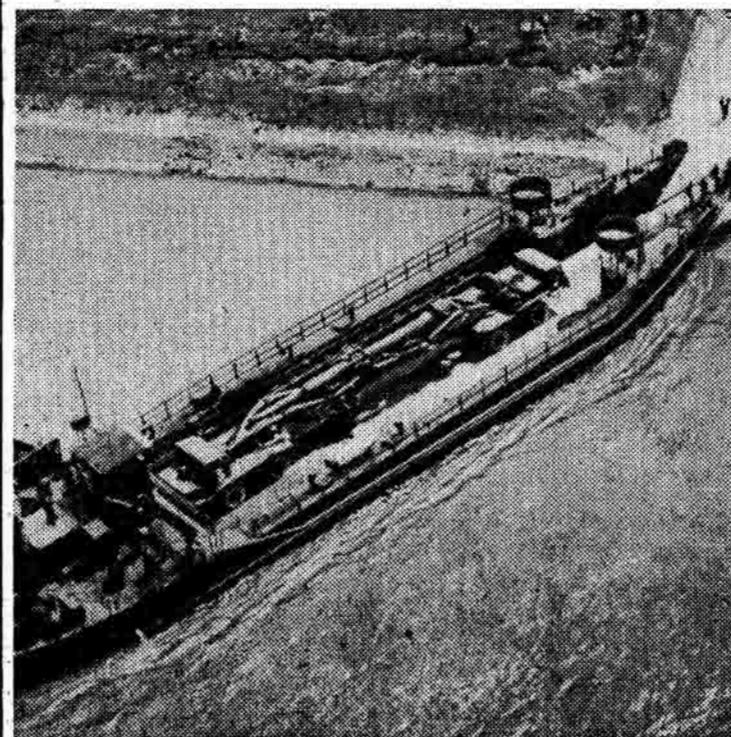
THE MILITANT

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NUMBER 22

Threat to World Peace



Another threatening war gesture is made by Eisenhower government in the demonstrative display of atomic cannons in West Germany. This mammoth 280 mm. atomic cannon is being ferried across the Rhine river near Germersheim, Germany, in a joint Army-Navy exercise called Operation Big Lift.

Turner Rallies Support For Newark Elections

By Daniel Roberts

NEWARK, May 25 — The entire Newark Negro community has now closed ranks behind Irvine I. Turner, independent Negro candidate for City Council from the Central Ward, and his chances of election in the June 15 run-off elections are deemed to be excellent.

The middle-class section of the community — who supported another Negro candidate prior to the May 11 primaries — have finally rallied behind Turner, who had the backing of the Negro workers from the very beginning.

The whole development points to the decisive role that the working class elements play in the Negro community. They supplied the active campaign workers for Turner and influenced powerful community organizations like the Baptist ministers and beauticians to endorse him. It was the support of virtually all the Negro CIO members for Turner that swung the CIO Council over to his side.

Finally, the vote of the Negro workers placed Turner on top in the primary elections with 41% of the vote and nearly a two-to-one lead over his nearest rival, John Salvato. Thereby they compelled the Negro middle-class to follow the workers' lead and unite behind Turner.

CENTRAL TASK

With the Negro community united and enthusiastic about the prospects of victory, the central task of the run-off campaign will be to win a large proportion of the white vote in the Central Ward for Turner. If this can be accomplished and Turner wins an overwhelming victory at the polls, the principle of Negro representation will be securely established in Newark. It will mark a double victory for the Negro community — first, in successfully organizing its own vote; and second, in cementing a firm bond of solidarity with the white workers.

The issue of the white base has become all the more burning because Salvato, Turner's opponent and a Democratic wardheeler, is waging a straight Negro-baiting campaign in a desperate attempt to stave off defeat. A smashing victory for Turner will wipe out for a long time to come any fear that white can be pitted against Negro in the Central Ward.

NEW COMMITTEE

To help win white support for Turner, the newly formed Independent Committee to Elect Turner, Callaghan and Hazelwood began circulating last week a leaflet entitled "Why White Workers Should Help Elect Turner." This leaflet stresses the common interests of white and Negro workers and shows that, because the Negro community is primarily working class in composition, a representative of the Negro community on the City Council would become the spokesman for the needs and aspirations of all working people — Negro and white alike.

The Independent Committee has also issued a leaflet urging Negro workers to help elect James T. Callaghan, a CIO official running at large. Callaghan's candidacy was sponsored by the Essex-West Hudson CIO Council, and he is running as an independent candidate in opposition to the nominees of the Democratic and Republican machines.

CALLAGHAN'S WEAKNESS

By all rights, Callaghan should have received his strongest support from the Negro community where the name of the CIO stands

Killer-Cops in Baltimore Murder Sleeping Negro

BALTIMORE, May 22 — A medical examiner's report issued yesterday confirms the charge of eye-witnesses that James Broadus Jr., 23 year-old Negro steel worker and Korean war veteran, was murdered in cold blood by police while asleep in a glider in his own back yard. This Jig Crow atrocity was committed one day after the Supreme Court ruling against school segregation.

Young Broadus was killed when 200 armed police invaded the Negro neighborhood in pursuit of a man alleged to have shot a cop who was attempting to arrest

him. The suspect was captured a block from the Broadus home within minutes of the killing.

The killer-cop, Sgt. Louis Rehak, claimed that he and a companion were searching for the suspect when Broadus leaped at them from under a tarpaulin brandishing a chisel. He said he then shot Broadus in a struggle to disarm him.

His story was flatly contradicted by Mr. and Mrs. Leonard MacDonald, neighbors of Broadus, who saw the killing from their back porch.

EYEWITNESS REPORTS

The MacDonalds said the two cops entered the yard and spotted Broadus under the tarpaulin. Rehak, they said, shouted, "Here he is," lifted the tarpaulin and pumped four or five bullets into his sleeping body.

As the wounded youngster fell from the glider to the ground, the witnesses charged, Rehak clubbed him on the head with his pistol butt. Broadus died of his wounds that night in University Hospital.

Rehak's story was further blasted by Broadus' father, who told newsmen that the tarpaulin had powder-marked bullet holes in it, proving that his son had been shot at close range under the tarpaulin.

His charge was confirmed by another neighbor, Mrs. Gladys Smith, who saw the bullet holes in the tarpaulin, which was not

removed by the police until the next day.

A third neighbor, Mrs. Theresa Timmonson, who heard the shots and rushed to her rear window, says she saw Broadus on the ground beside the glider and heard him say, "Why did you shoot me? I didn't do anything."

The state medical examiner report says that Broadus died from four bullet wounds — all in the back. The paths of the four bullets were downward at an angle of about 45 degrees from horizontal. The report also noted that Broadus suffered three severe lacerations of the scalp.

This wanton killing is part of a long and unrestrained campaign of police brutality against the Baltimore Negro community. The attitude of the courts is illustrated by the following incident:

TELLING CONTRAST

As Broadus was being placed in an ambulance, Francis Adams, a young Negro bystander, shouted, "That's police brutality for you." He was immediately arrested. On the pretext that he had a bottle of home-made liquor on him, he was taken in for trial. Magistrate E. E. Lane, calling him "a bad actor," sent him to jail for 30 days.

But Killer Rehak has been released, without bail, in the custody of the police department. His commanding officer says he is a fine cop and not at all "trigger-happy."

SWP Meeting Scores Trumbull Park Terror

CHICAGO, May 22 — "We declare war on the White Circle League and Jim Crow," Bert Deck, local chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, said at a public SWP meeting tonight.

The White Circle League is a fascist group which has been inciting the racist terror campaign against Negroes living in the Trumbull Park federal housing project.

The project was formerly all-white. The Chicago Housing Authority moved the first Negro family into Trumbull Park on July 30, 1953. Rioting broke out six days later. Although the first Negro tenants in the project have moved out, 12 Negro families now live there.

ORGANIZE MAJORITY

Deck described the tightly disciplined organization of the fascist and racist groups, which enables them to carry on an effective battle against Negroes even though the majority of the people oppose the action of these groups. "Our problem is to organize this majority group," Deck said. "Until we are organized, the fascist minorities will run the show."

Commenting on fear of repercussions of the Supreme Court decision illegalizing Jim Crow schools, expressed for the most part in the capitalist press, Marshall described in some detail the courage and will to fight of the Southern Negroes "who have the foot on their necks... They are not worried," he continued. "Those who were worried have left the South."

This remark caused embarrassed laughter among the fugitives from Southern tyranny and violence in the audience; nonetheless it inspired pride and confidence in and solidarity with those brothers and sisters "who stayed behind to fight it out there."

After presenting evidence that "segregation is on its way out," Marshall called for full support of the projected legal struggle against segregation in coach travel, and announced that Negroes in Baton Rouge, La., are prepared to spearhead the legal fight against segregation on intra-city public transportation with the support of NAACP.

After presenting evidence that "segregation is on its way out," Marshall called for full support of the projected legal struggle against segregation in coach travel, and announced that Negroes in Baton Rouge, La., are prepared to spearhead the legal fight against segregation on intra-city public transportation with the support of NAACP.

The NAACP and labor unions are the official spokesmen of the Negro people and the workers, and action against the terrorists must be taken through these organizations, Deck said. On May 6, the NAACP adopted a resolution calling for a demonstration at City Hall unless Mayor Kennedy takes decisive action to end the rioting. Deck urged everyone to mobilize the fullest support in their unions and other organizations to help the NAACP in its fight against terrorism at Trumbull Park.

"A march on city hall won't stop Jim Crow," Deck said, "but it will be a start. Working people need a new party, a Labor Party," Deck said. "No other kind of party will use the power of office to really crack down on the racist and fascist scum. No other kind of party will have an interest in removing the economic roots of Jim Crow through the united and militant action of white and Negro workers."

A full discussion followed Deck's talk, continuing during the social that followed. One person told how he found on the street a leaflet announcing the SWP meeting and came down "to see what your organization had to say. I'm glad I did. I learned something tonight."

Accusers Drop Case Against M'Carthy Victim

By John F. Petrone

In February 1950, Sen. McCarthy, making his first use of information supplied by underground sympathizers in government departments, told the Senate that State Department employee Val R. Lorwin was one of 81 "communists" in the government.

As a result disloyalty proceedings were instituted against Lorwin, a former member of the Socialist Party. Finally cleared two years later, he resigned from the government and took a job teaching at the University of Chicago. Then last December he was indicted for allegedly committing perjury when he denied ever being a member of the Communist Party.

Lorwin is the only man on McCarthy's list of 81 who was ever indicted for anything. Now the case against him has collapsed, and the indictment has been quashed. Not because he's more innocent than others who have been subjected to frameups,

but because he's luckier. Here is the story:

The only "evidence" against Lorwin was the secret testimony of a former college roommate of his, who had lied when he told a grand jury he had two witnesses to support the testimony of Lorwin's former roommate, and that they had suspended the attorney.

The judge granted their request to kill the case. The FBI's files were saved. So was Lorwin.

But what would have happened if the judge had not ordered the testimony made available? Would the Department of Justice have discovered and admitted its own irregularities? Or would it have proceeded with the trial and tried to convict Lorwin in an atmosphere where the defendant has two strikes against him before he even comes to bat — as it has done in most such cases? And would the guilty government lawyer then have been suspended or promoted to a judge?

That's why we say Lorwin was lucky.