



## Two-Party System Faces Breakup

By Art Preis

For many decades this country has been dominated politically by what has been called the "two-party system." By that has been meant two specific major parties, the Democrats and Republicans, which between them have alternately shared control of the government since the Civil War.

It is assumed — and correctly — that these two parties do not differ in their concern for preserving the capitalist private profits system. It is further assumed that neither party considers it desirable to permit a third party, of whatever description, to come into prominence and influence.

The fact that these two parties have monopolized American politics has led to the fabrication of the theory that the "two-party system" is a peculiarly American political form and one especially suitable for the maintenance of political democracy. These parties, it is held, suffice to permit effective expression of dissatisfaction by the people, particularly since social classes, it is falsely claimed, and therefore class politics, cannot exist in these United States.

The "two-party system" may have seemed a permanent feature of American politics to most people in the period between the Civil War and the 1929 economic crisis. But since the great union upsurge of the Thirties there has never ceased to be discussion within the ranks of labor of some form of "third party" or labor party.

It has not been, however, the positive factor of the formation of a labor party that has dealt damage to the theory of the "two-party system." Rather, developments within the two parties of capitalism in recent years have indicated that tremendous social stress is weakening the old concept and structure of the "two-party system."

In 1948 and 1952, the Democratic Party revealed the impact that social stress has been making on the old-line parties. The split of the right and left wings of the Democratic Party in 1948, embodied respectively in the Dixiecrat movement of the South and the Wallace movement in the North and West, revealed great conflicts within the Democratic Party and the beginning of the breakup of the "two-party system."

Thanks primarily to the union leaders, there was no decisive split within the Democratic Party. But it suffered a sufficient loss of strength to go down in defeat in Nov. 1952 at the hands of what seemed a united Republican Party.

The GOP was united, however, only in its lust for the spoils of office, denied the Republican stalwarts for 20 years. It did not take very long for disintegrating elements to appear within the Republican ranks. Within a year, the victorious Republican Party displayed wide and open cleavages.

The spectacular rise of McCarthyism has projected the Republican Party into a deadly internal struggle. The outcome of that struggle can be only the conquest of the party by McCarthy, or a split. In either event, the political significance will be a big step away from the "two-party system" — to the "one-party system," to fascism.

Around the fascist party of McCarthy, whether still bearing a "Republican" label or as a new organization, will group or realign all the elements of both parties and all the fascist groupings already in existence which are most determined to smash and pulverize the organized labor movement.

Those who see a "realignment," within the framework of capitalist politics, into some form of the traditional "two-party system" on the "liberal" and "conservative" pattern, do not understand the social forces at work and the political trend. Those who seek only a "realignment" into the old-type "two-party" forms may find themselves "realigned" within the concentration camps of the "one-party system."

The inevitable breakup of the "two-party system" can eventuate in no other way unless the labor movement intervenes, discards the old concept of non-class politics entirely, and sets up a new party, a class Labor Party, which is prepared and able to challenge "one-party" McCarthyism and smash it utterly.

## The Social and Political Roots Of the "Constitutional Crisis"

By L. P. Wheeler

The U.S. Constitution provides the legal mechanism for maintaining the rule of the capitalist class and preventing the popular will of the working masses from prevailing. The "separation of powers" doctrine with its system of "checks and balances" between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of the government, was designed to block all threats to the dominant position of the capitalists over the economic and political life of the United States.

This intent of the Constitution is admitted, notwithstanding the delicate language, by a N. Y. Times editorial, May 30: "In making our government less responsive to every wind that blows, less sensitive to the political temperature, they (the 'founding fathers') made it more stable."

Now, according to the highest capitalist circles, the "stability" of the government is threatened. From every quarter we hear of the "constitutional crisis" which has erupted around the McCarthy-Army dispute. A constitutional crisis implies the deepest political crisis within the ruling capitalist class itself. And that in turn implies the crisis of American capitalist society. There

is no doubt that such a crisis exists. The question is: What is its nature and what are its roots?

### THE TIMES' ESTIMATE

According to the N. Y. Times, May 30, McCarthy "is proposing and attempting by admittedly peaceful means to alter the nature of the government." To make sure they won't be misunderstood, they put the same contention in the negative: "This is not to say that Senator McCarthy is trying to overthrow the government of the United States by force or violence or that he argues the necessity or desirability of doing so." Perish the thought — it couldn't possibly enter the head of the fascist Senator.

In any case we have it on the authority of the Times that all McCarthy wants to do is "to usurp" and "override" the constitutional function of the President. He is attempting to break down the separation of powers which is ordained in the Constitution. Elsewhere in the same Times the basic issue of the constitutional crisis is re-stated as the "defense of the executive power against the legislative power vested in the Senator."

In our opinion this estimate, now being expounded by the

Eisenhower Republicans and the anti-McCarthy Democrats, misses the main point and the real significance of the constitutional crisis.

They grant McCarthy the role of champion of the rights of the elected legislature against the powers of the executive branch. That's exactly the role McCarthy wants people to think he is playing. His whole "crusade" seeks to create the impression that he is the "people's champion" battling against "treason," "corruption" and "bungling" in high places. It's McCarthy against the "powers that be" — McCarthy against the State Department; McCarthy against the Army chiefs; McCarthy against the Department of Justice. Twenty years of treason have now been extended to "20 or 21 years of treason." Thus McCarthy is against the "treasonous" first year of the Eisenhower administration.

McCarthy is not conducting a battle for the rights of the legislative against the executive. He disguises himself in the garments of an elected champion of the people. But he is aiming at the utter destruction of the whole Constitution, elections, three branches of government, two-party systems, etc., and at their

replacement by a streamlined fascist dictatorship.

This is not a constitutional crisis like any other we have known in American history. To get its full meaning, it is necessary to consult Italian, German and Spanish history. It is the crisis of a capitalist regime entering a stage where it is unable to continue its rule along the old traditional "democratic" lines. The world position of American capitalism is extremely unfavorable. Colonial revolution and world-wide working class socialist struggle have knocked the props from under the stability of American capitalism. The international crisis of capitalism is now exploding in the form of a domestic political crisis and the beginnings of a deep economic crisis.

The appearance of a native fascist movement of such scope and power as McCarthyism is a symptom of the terrible decay of the capitalist system in the United States. Capitalist politics has become a choice between two plans for establishing a police state:

### TWO PLANS

The Eisenhower plan, outlined and launched by Truman, means the strangulation of democracy and the working class organizations through the existing government institutions — the FBI, the Army brass, and a "regularized" with hunt.

The McCarthyite fascist scheme means the smashing of the whole two-party system, the decimation of the trade unions, the physical annihilation of the working class as an organized class capable of resistance, and the establishment of the iron heel dictatorship of Big Business.

That's all that capitalist politics offers the people in this country today. But the workers cannot even determine which shall be — the "mild" or the fascist police state. If they attempt to stop the fascist police-staters by supporting the Republican and Democratic police-staters, the fascists will be the gainers. As long as the workers confine themselves to grabbing at the straw of the status quo, and as long as they refrain from the struggle for workers power, the fascists will continue to gain momentum from the unresolved social crisis.

Finally, McCarthy's whole witch-hunting premise, which he shares with the Eisenhower administration and the Democratic Party — namely, that there is a "communist conspiracy" afoot in the country — is a lie made out of the whole cloth.

McCarthy is as innocent of the charges of "spying" and "treason" as are all the other countless victims of the witch hunt who have been railroaded to prison, deported, fired, smeared or made to suffer in other ways. Like them, he deserves the support of all fighters against McCarthyism.

### "PEACEFUL"?

The assurances of the Times concerning McCarthy's "peaceful" intentions are entirely worthless. The Times confuses "legal" with "peaceful." McCarthy could establish a fascist dictatorship in this country without writing a single new line into the U.S. Constitution, just as Hitler took power in Germany without disturbing a paragraph in the Weimar constitution. But such a "legal" seizure of power would not be peaceful. Once the fascists got a grip on the state apparatus, they would open their all-out violent assault on the working class and the minorities.

This is dramatically revealed when McCarthy openly declares he will violate the law in his drive to build a fascist network in the military. All the administration is capable of doing is to read the law to McCarthy; but so far they don't dare to enforce it against him.

The Democrats are just as incapable of inflicting real harm on McCarthy. They are chained to the same witch hunting machine as Eisenhower. As a matter of fact they built the machine.

Meanwhile the working class is the real target of the fascist movement. Every step in the faction struggle between the witch hunters has bearing on the coming mortal struggle between the American workers and the fascists.

Labor must strike back. It must mobilize its ranks to defend itself on every arena — political, economic and military. It must at all costs prevent a situation where the military establishment comes under the control of fascist officer corps.

The constitutional crisis stems from the emergence of a menacing fascist movement that is driving for full state power. The answer to this threat is the struggle for workers power. Only in this way can we prevent the constitutional crisis from ending in an historic catastrophe for the working class.

## Plaintiff in School Bias Case



Spottswood Bolling, 15, one of five Washington, D.C., youngsters who were plaintiffs in case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that school segregation is unconstitutional, is shown with his mother reading of court action. The court failed to make any implementing decisions. See article on Page 3.

## \$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Total Paid	%
Allentown	\$ 65	\$ 75	115
Detroit	500	550	110
San Francisco	700	714	102
Boston	500	500	100
Buffalo	1,500	1,500	100
Newark	400	400	100
Oakland	250	250	100
Youngstown	150	150	100
Philadelphia	400	392	98
New York	3,000	2,724	91
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	1,073	89
Cleveland	250	205	82
St. Louis	75	60	80
Milwaukee	250	198	79
Los Angeles	2,500	1,927	77
Chicago	1,500	1,134	76
Pittsburgh	150	100	67
Seattle	250	85	34
Akron	100	22	22
General	260	133	51
Total through June 1	\$14,000	\$12,192	87

## Anti-McCarthy Campaign

By Myra Tanner

JUNE 1 — Every time you watch the McCarthy-Army hearings on TV, just to feel clean and clearheaded again, and they ended with fascism. The same will happen in the United States if the workers permit themselves to be lured into the game of supporting the "lesser evil" police-staters.

### "PEACEFUL"?

The assurances of the Times concerning McCarthy's "peaceful" intentions are entirely worthless. The Times confuses "legal" with "peaceful." McCarthy could establish a fascist dictatorship in this country without writing a single new line into the U.S. Constitution, just as Hitler took power in Germany without disturbing a paragraph in the Weimar constitution. But such a "legal" seizure of power would not be peaceful. Once the fascists got a grip on the state apparatus, they would open their all-out violent assault on the working class and the minorities.

This is dramatically revealed when McCarthy openly declares he will violate the law in his drive to build a fascist network in the military. All the administration is capable of doing is to read the law to McCarthy; but so far they don't dare to enforce it against him.

The Democrats are just as incapable of inflicting real harm on McCarthy. They are chained to the same witch hunting machine as Eisenhower. As a matter of fact they built the machine.

Meanwhile the working class is the real target of the fascist movement. Every step in the faction struggle between the witch hunters has bearing on the coming mortal struggle between the American workers and the fascists.

Labor must strike back. It must mobilize its ranks to defend itself on every arena — political, economic and military. It must at all costs prevent a situation where the military establishment comes under the control of fascist officer corps.

The constitutional crisis stems from the emergence of a menacing fascist movement that is driving for full state power. The answer to this threat is the struggle for workers power. Only in this way can we prevent the constitutional crisis from ending in an historic catastrophe for the working class.

writing to raise it in. Most of the branches are certain of reaching their goal by the June 15 deadline despite the fact that unemployment has made it difficult for many to make contributions as easily as in the past.

After our first initial push in the sale of anti-fascist pamphlets, we must now turn our attention to the very important problem of increasing the circulation of our press. The Militant is the very best anti-fascist fighter in America. It not only keeps its readers informed on the growing crisis with the fascist menace of McCarthyism, but organizes the struggle of the anti-fascist forces by advancing a program of action.

We are planning a series of four mobilizations of the branches on the weekends of June 21 through July 19. This will give us a chance to concentrate on getting new subs and renewing the large list of expirations that occur in May and June.

## RARE PAMPHLET by Leon Trotsky

### THE KIROV ASSASSINATION

\$1.50 incl. postage 32 pages

PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 University Pl., N. Y. C.

## Just Out — Spring Issue Of the Marxist Quarterly

## FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

### Contents

The Opposition to McCarthyism

by Art Sharon

When Anti-Negro Prejudice Began

by George Breitman

Trade Unionists and Revolutionists

by James P. Cannon

Automation — The New Industrial Revolution

by Lynn Marcus

The Myth of Women's Inferiority

by Evelyn Reed

Pablo Approves Malenkov's "New" Economic Policy

by Joseph Hansen

35 cents a copy

\$1.25 a year

Order from

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL  
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

## Subscribe!

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

\$1.50 Six months  \$8.00 Full year  New  Renewal

THEY DON'T DARE  
The net result is that the Eisenhower administration is strictly limited to secondary issues in its fight with the McCarthy faction. They cannot

frameup charge of "Kremlin" conspiracy against the workers and peasants movements all

## Fascism and Big Business

By DANIEL GUERIN

A thorough scientific analysis of the social bases of fascism — fascist strategy on the march to power — and fascism in power.

Long out-of-print — but a very few copies still available at \$4 per copy

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

Subscription \$3 per year:  
\$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:  
\$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6  
months. Canadian: \$3.50 per  
year; \$1.75 for 6 months.  
Binders: Orders: 5 or more  
copies \$6 each in U.S., 70  
each in foreign countries.

## THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People  
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION  
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7466  
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN  
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Signed articles by contributors  
do not necessarily represent  
The Militant's policies.  
These are expressed in its  
editorials.

"Entered as second class  
matter March 7, 1944 at the  
Post Office at New York,  
N.Y., under the act of March  
3, 1879."

Vol. XVIII - No. 23

Monday, June 7, 1954

## THE MILITANT

# "Democracy" and the Negro Struggle

By George Breitman

According to Walter White, secretary of the NAACP, the Supreme Court's May 17 decision on school segregation showed that "American democracy worked for Negroes." (N. Y. Times, May 18.)

That's one way of looking at it — the way of people who grab every opportunity they can to persuade Negroes and workers that they don't need socialism because their aspirations for a better life can be satisfied under the present democratic capitalist system.

But that doesn't end the matter. Even if you grant for the sake of argument that the decision shows that "American democracy works for Negroes," a number of questions still have to be considered. For example:

**HOW does capitalist democracy work for Negroes? Well or badly? Consistently or capriciously? In the same way it works for whites — or differently?**

86 YEARS

The 14th Amendment to the Constitution prohibits the states from making and enforcing laws that "abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States." It was supposed to safeguard equal rights for the Negro people.

This amendment, whose passage was also hailed as proof of the superiority of democratic capitalism, was ratified in 1868. It has now been part of the Constitution for 86 years. But it has been violated and flouted by the enemies of the Negro people at least 86,000 times since its ratification. The executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government did little or nothing all through these years to enforce the Constitution they had sworn to uphold.

**Nobody has the right to disregard the history of these 86 years in any honest estimate of how democratic capitalism works for the Negro.**

**MUST DISTINGUISH**

In other words, you have to make a distinction between words and deeds; between promise and performance; between constitutional guarantees on paper and the enforcement or lack of enforcement of those guarantees in real life; between court decisions and the way in which those decisions are actually executed.

Negroes always have known that the Constitution and the 14th Amendment look good on paper. But they know there is a heap of difference between the way

these things look and the way they work. Stalin's constitution also looks good on paper, but you'll never convince the forced laborers in the Soviet camps that the Kremlin's "democracy" works for them.

**AT THE VERY BEST**

Next, let's turn to 1896. That was when the Supreme Court ruled the discriminatory "separate but equal" doctrine was constitutional. "American democracy" was in existence then too, but its presence was not enough to safeguard Negro rights. The 14th Amendment was still on the books; it still clearly forbade abridgment of the privileges of Negro citizens. But that didn't stop the Supreme Court from lending its sanction to such abridgment.

This too is part of the way democratic capitalism works for the Negro. At the very best, it is arbitrary and unreliable. Even constitutional guarantees can't be depended on.

Now it's 1954 and the Supreme Court rules that school segregation is unconstitutional. It admits that segregation tends to "deprive" Negroes of "some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system."

This means that all Negroes raised in the South — a clear majority of those now living — have been deprived of benefits. Is any restitution to be made to

them for this government-sanctioned and government-enforced deprivation? The thought never even entered the heads of the Supreme Court. Democratic capitalism evidently provides no reparations for past damages admitted to the Negro people.

**PRESENT AND FUTURE**

But, Walter White would say, bygones are bygones, let's concern ourselves with the present and the future.

All right, let's do that in connection with the Supreme Court's May 17 decision:

(1) Did the Supreme Court outlaw the "separate but equal" doctrine in all fields? No, only as it applies to public schools. This leaves segregation "legal" in other fields. Remember that when someone tells you of the wondrous ways in which democratic capitalism works for Negroes.

(2) Has segregation already been ended in the schools? Not yet. The Supreme Court's decision is so far only a promise, and history has shown that not all promises are kept. The Southern ruling class is preparing to "comform" if necessary to the decision while at the same time maintaining segregation in fact. That's why Walter White and the NAACP are so busy alerting Southern Negroes to counteract the white supremacist plans to

evade enforcement of the school decision. It will still take time and plenty of struggle before segregation is abolished even in the schools.

Under these circumstances, it is at least premature to be talking as if the school fight has been settled. And the school decision provides no justification at all for concluding that democratic capitalism offers the solution to all or most of the problems of the Negro people.

**WHAT EVIDENCE SHOWS**

The evidence all points the other way. Historically, the last century has demonstrated that the capitalists and their politicians and courts grant concessions to the Negro only under pressure, and that they take away concessions too (as the 1896 example proves). Negro progress is neither permanent, stable nor continuous, and if capitalism turns from democratic to fascist forms, as it did in Europe all the gains of the Negro in the last hundred years will be wiped out.

The latest concessions are not due to the way in which "American democracy" works, but, as we explained last week, to political expediency, and especially the desire of U.S. imperialism to overcome the hatred and distrust of the rest of the world felt for its oppression of the Negro in this country.

If our aim is to give credit for the latest anti-segregation moves in the schools and armed forces, it would be far more correct to give it to the Chinese revolution and the other colonial rebellions (which put Washington on the spot diplomatically and propagandistically) than to give it to "American democracy," which has existed for almost two centuries, during which Negroes have been oppressed so and exploited so brutally.

There is even less reason for Negroes to be grateful to "American democracy" if they study the nature of the recent concessions more critically than the capitalist and liberal commentators have done. What they will discover on closer analysis is not that the capitalist rulers are preparing to abolish the Jim Crow system, but that they are prettying it up a bit. Lynchings, which made such

bad propaganda, are being replaced by "individual" bombings and shootings that serve the same terroristic function. The form is different; the content is the same.

Formal segregation is being ended in the armed forces, but the anti-Negro discrimination which segregation made it easier to apply is continued through other means. The appearance is different; the essence is unchanged.

Legal segregation in the school is under attack, but the aim is to replace it with "residential segregation." A different method; but Negro children would still be segregated in most parts of the South.

**OUR JOB TODAY**

Our job is neither to exaggerate nor to minimize the effects of these changes that have been forced on the ruling class, but to take maximum advantage of them in order to force other and more fundamental changes.

If any legal weapon is made available, we must seize hold of it in order to deepen and widen the fight to end Jim Crow altogether. If the ruling class finds itself in difficulties because of the contradictions between its domestic practices and its international propaganda, we must intensify all its contradictions and exploit all its weaknesses in order to achieve the greatest possible gains for the struggle for Negro equality.

At the same time we must not mistake the motives of the ruling class, or entertain the slightest feeling of confidence in it. Our job is not to sing hosannas to the glories of capitalism, but to exert the greatest possible pressure on it for the complete abolition of Jim Crow.

If we carry out this job correctly, resisting all temptations to relax, soften or compromise the fight, then further victories are possible. Militant prosecution of the Negro struggle will also prove who is right — Walter White, who thinks Negro equality can be won under capitalism; or the revolutionary socialists, who think full equality can be won only by abolishing the deep-rooted economic and social causes of Jim Crow and by replacing capitalism with socialism.

## CIO Packinghouse Leaders



Pres. Ralph Helstein (center) and Vice Pres. Russell Lasley (left) welcome three new members to the CIO United Packinghouse Workers executive board. George Thomas, second from left, is the first Negro ever elected as leader of a southern district. Charles Hayes, extreme right, heads midwest district and Edmund Dumas heads southeastern district.

## ... Incite War Drive on Guatemala

(Continued from page 1) month handed Guatemala an indemnity claim for United Fruit.

Against such an outrageous and extortionate claim, Guatemala had no choice but to issue a rejection. It gave the U.S. State Department a memorandum saying: "The Guatemalan government cannot accept any claim seeking privileged treatment for foreigners, which, under internal legislation, may not be given even to Guatemalan nationals."

As a pretext for its threats and pressure, the U.S. government raised the cry of "communism." It organized the Inter-American Conference in Caracas, Venezuela, last March, with the first order of business a U.S.-drafted resolution approving in advance intervention in any Latin American country which Washington says is "communist-dominated."

Last month, Secretary of State Dulles dramatically proclaimed that Guatemala was the recipient of a "massive shipment of arms from behind the Iron Curtain."

Guatemalan officials quite properly demanded to know why their government didn't have just as much right to buy arms where it pleased — particularly since the U.S. had refused to sell arms to Guatemala — as the U.S. has itself. To all but the most ignorant, the idea of Guatemala as a military menace with \$10,000,000 worth of arms, even "iron curtain" weapons, is simply ludicrous. But it is the best excuse the State Department could think up for its attack on Guatemala.

### THE WAR THREAT

Nicaragua had promptly broken diplomatic relations with Guatemala following the U.S. complaint about the 1,900 tons of "iron curtain" arms. Honduras, which was trying to break a strike of banana workers employed by United Fruit, also clammed up about "red infiltration" and threatened to follow Nicaragua's example. The U.S. began to airlift war supplies to Nicaragua and Honduras. Dulles claimed it was only \$120,000 worth, including small arms ammunition and jeeps.

However, on June 1, the Honduran war minister, Gen. Leonidas Pineda, announced that a U.S. ship was on the way to his country "with more arms — including tanks — for a new combat battalion being formed here at top speed." Even more ominous are the facts revealed in a United Press dispatch on May 27 from Washington.

This dispatch disclosed that, "as a tip to Guatemala," the U.S. had sent "three of the world's largest bombers on an unprecedented 'good-will' flight over Nicaragua to demonstrate this country's rising concern with the growth of communism in neighboring Guatemala. There was no question but that the B-36 super-bombers were being used as an instrument of foreign policy in Central America."

This is the real threat to Guatemala's freedom. But it must conceal itself behind the cover of the U.S. thumb. Thus, Joseph C. Harsch, correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, admitted "it would be unfortunate for United States relations with its Latin neighbors were Washington forced to resort to its own military power to prevent the intolerable from happening." And he concedes that if the Soviet Union has any ulterior purpose in shipping arms to Guatemala, it "is a piece of mischief, not a serious expectation of a Moscow military base in Guatemala."

**INCITES COUP D'ETAT**

A further hint of U.S. imperialism's game is given in the May 29 weekly round-up of the Washington staff of the Scripps-Howard newspapers. It reports that "those who know the situation say... they think we'll have to find some way, under the Caracas resolution for joint American republics, to go in with force — but that will be hard to do before some 'civil war' breaks out."

In short, Washington is hoping to set off one of those "revolutions" that American imperialism has repeatedly tried to overthrow anti-imperialist governments in Central and South America and to put in power military dictators in the hire of American corporations. Thus, a Scripps-Howard writer reports from Guatemala City on May 28:

### HANDS OFF GUATEMALA!

Gruson, the Times correspondent, observed on May 26 that the U.S. attack on Guatemala for its arms purchase "appears to have boomeranged" and "has achieved, for Guatemala, a greater degree of national unity than she has experienced in a long time." On May 28, he wrote that "friends and foes of the administration have closed ranks in support of the Government's position" on the matter of buying arms wherever it pleases.

U.S. intervention in Guatemala will be for the purpose of overthrowing a regime backed by the people. It will be armed robbery for the benefit of U.S. capitalist exploiters. American labor must do all in its power to compel Washington to keep hands off Guatemala.

"Paste the name of Col. Carlos Castillo Armas in your hat against the day when they may start rolling the tanks into the public squares down this way in the fight against Latin American communism."

Col. Armas is the exiled former head of Guatemala's chief military institute who led an unsuccessful revolt in 1950 to grab control of the army and government. Where will he get the tanks that will "start rolling into the public squares?" Their closest point of manufacture is the U.S.A.

### FEAR ARMED WORKERS

But there is one force that has the U.S. interventionists worried, and the real reason why they are screaming about the 1,900 tons of "iron curtain" arms. Sydney Gruson, writing on May 23 from Guatemala to the N. Y. Times, reports:

"Immediately after the arms arrived there was some speculation that the government wanted to use at least part of them to equip workers and farmers battalions to serve as a check on the Army."

The administration wants to follow the pattern used by Truman in the Korean "police action." It wants UN sponsorship for its counter-revolutionary activities and plans to murder, burn and terrorize the Indo-Chinese people into submission.

### WINDOW DRESSING

The Eisenhower administration has also demanded that French imperialism grant "independence" to the French puppet regime of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. This move is designed in part for window-dressing, but its main purpose is to enable U.S. imperialism to take direct charge of counter-revolutionary operations into its own hands. The Eisenhower administration has also demanded that the training of "native" troops be placed under U.S. jurisdiction.

Despite its maneuvers, U.S. imperialism may be forced to accept or tolerate a partition and true in Indo-China because of the enormous power that the revolutionary forces have displayed against the French. But for the Eisenhower administration an armistice would only mean a pause in which to build up military forces before trying to resume war.

The American people must raise their voice against these bloody plans if countless American lives are not to be destroyed. They must demand that no more men and no more war material be sent to Indo-China, that all imperialist troops be withdrawn immediately and that the Ho Chi Minh government be recognized.

## ... Seek to Prolong War

(Continued from page 1)

U.S. imperialism has been bolstered in its preparations for aggression in Asia by the maneuvers of the Kremlin at the Geneva conference. Even before the conference opened it was reported by Marguerite Higgins of the N. Y. Herald Tribune that a high Soviet official had offered the French a partition of Indo-China in return for a Soviet-French agreement opposing German rearmament. The Stalinist negotiators at Geneva have successively offered a coalition government within the French Union for Indo-China and now have acceded to partition.

In France, the powerful Stalinist party has failed to open up a political offensive against the Laniel government around the slogan "Withdraw the troops from Indo-China." Such a consistent line of agitation, coupled with a call for a united front of all working class organizations to struggle for workers government, might have become the basis for a renewed labor offensive in France. Together with the great victory scored by the heroic freedom fighters at Dien Bien Phu, it could have toppled the Laniel government and forced a speedy conclusion to the Indo-Chinese war on terms most favorable to the Indo-Chinese people.

But a line of class struggle is opposed to the dictates of the Kremlin's reactionary foreign policy, which binds the French Stalinist leaders to support of French capitalism.

Without the pressure of the French working class mobilized against it, the Laniel government has been able to stay in office and continue the war in Indo-China, even though its position at home and in the colony is extremely shaky. This development in turn has allowed U.S. imperialism to pursue its sinister conspiracy against the Indo-Chinese revolution.

## PHILADELPHIA

Friday Night Forum

### 'INDO-CHINA'

Focal Point of World Tension

Speaker:

**Harry Ring**

Friday, June 11, 8:30 p. m.

1303 Girard Avenue

Discussion Period

Admission Free

## The Real Lesson of Germany

But when Hitler's armies ran into the revolutionary heroism of the Soviet people, who despite the Stalinist bureaucracy fought fascism with the courage of a people who had accomplished a socialist revolution and would defend the conquests of that revolution to the death; and when Hitler's empire began to shake and crumble as a result of his defeats in Russia, then and only then did the German capitalists become disillusioned with Hitler.

Stetin says that Big Business groups in America are trying to use McCarthy and McCarthyism just like German Big Business groups tried to use Hitler and Hitlerism: "They felt Hitler would keep the liberals, the Socialists and the trade unions in check and too late they realized the danger they had helped to create when he became all powerful."

In this brief passage Stetin voices typical fallacies, illusions and evasions of the American labor officials. He is under the mistaken impression that German Big Business "regretted" using Hitler when he became all powerful." This is false.

When Hitler smashed the German labor movement Big Business was overjoyed. That's why they had supported him. When he murdered millions of Jews, Socialists, Communists and trade unionists, they cheered. When he launched his blitz to conquer Europe, they were with him 100%.

## The Cars We Drive

By Trent Hutter

THE KINGS OF THE ROAD by Ken W. Purdy, with 24 illustrations. Bantam Books, 50 cents.

This is a book about famous cars and the men who built them as well as about today's cars and the way they are advertised. I found it original, colorful and instructive. Purdy makes us understand how big monopolist firms, like General Motors, have actually reduced the quality of American cars (although he does not discuss economics). Twenty years ago buyers could choose between different types of automobiles; today practically all American autos look alike. There is hardly any room left for individual taste, and these cars, with their clumsy, impractical forms and overloads of chromium, are far from beautiful.

But what about performance and comfort? Haven't important inventions been made in the Detroit laboratories? Aren't American cars the best in the world and relatively inexpensive?

Purdy's answers to these questions are extremely interesting. He explains that most of the "stunning new inventions" and improvements the publicity boys talk about in their glowing prose are in fact 20 and 30 years old and were used in the best European cars at that time. (And he should know, for he is a collector and student of quality automobiles.)

As for performance, most of today's American cars are not sufficiently light, supple or safe. Five hundred pounds heavier than they ought to be, they certainly are not safer on the road than the smaller European cars; they use much more gas, oil and rubber; and they are more difficult to park in our overcrowded cities.

The bigness of American automobiles has been obtained at the expense of quality," Purdy charges. Balance has been impaired because the car's body has been thrown out over the ends of the chassis: "To offset this the useful cargo weight has been moved closer to the center with no real net gain from the increased size of the automobile. . . Many a million dollar's worth of advertising has beat

## Housewives Disguised

By Joyce Cowley

If you don't consider McCarthy a hero, if you're not anxious to go to Indo-China to die for French imperialism, better not give voice to these ideas while you relax at the corner bar. The lady beside you who's been hoisting one too many may be taking careful note of your dangerous thoughts.

Mrs. Thomas Millard of Des Moines recently revealed that she is president of a secret group, the Christian Association of Public Affairs, formed to "ferret out communists and criminals." She reports that housewives disguised as drunks have found "absolute evidence of communism" in Des Moines. "You don't know where you'll find it," she said. "In the high class places or the dives. We have even found communism hiding under religious banners."

Every member of the organization is a secret investigator. Sometimes, she reports, these investigators will use as many as four cars a day and make several changes of clothing. Members of the club have trailed police officers, sipped drinks in the best clubs, disguised themselves as drunks in bars, investigated homes for the aged and feeble-minded and checked on political candidates. "We are old-time vigilantes," says Mrs. Millard. "We want to know how the underground operates."

Sounds like these ladies would not require

## Notes from the News

**DIFFICULT FEAT:** "Commies Crawl: Furtively Around N. T. Co. Gates Sewing Seeds of Distrust," — Headline of May 28 Lorain (Ohio) Labor Leader, reporting distribution of leaflets in front of a steel plant.

**M'CARTHY-MURROW FILM:** A new 16 mm film on "The Murrow-McCarthy Debate," is now available from the Department of Education of the American Federation of Labor at a \$3 rental charge. The 45-minute film includes highlights from Edward R. Murrow's TV program, McCarthy's answers and Bishop Sheil's recent attack on the Senator. It was produced by Freedom House.

**WHAT'S YOUR PAY?** In the San Francisco area a worker's family of four, living in a rented home, needed an income of \$5,405 a year (\$104 a week) to maintain a decent standard of living in 1953, according to the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics of the University of California.

**GIVING UP:** The Socialist Party national convention in Philadelphia over the Memorial Day weekend decided, in accord with Norman Thomas' proposal, to put its major emphasis on "non-electoral campaigns" in "the coming period." Spokesmen explained this means the SP will not run any presidential candidate in 1956, which will leave the members free to support the Democrats. The Milwaukee section of the party recommended local campaigns under the SP label, "but if this is not feasible, then Socialists may use the primary facilities of another party." This line is already being applied in some areas.

**IS THAT PROOF?** William Vanderhoof, former deputy chief of staff of the Disabled American Veterans, defending the use of the suspect term "comrade" by his organization, says, "Some people contend it is communistic, but I say it's pure Yankee. I've checked this thoroughly and find it was used by the Grand Army of the Republic long before our purchase of Alaska from Russia.

Certainly, the term 'Comrade' wasn't passed on to us from that country as part and parcel of the land deal which predates Communism."

**AUTO PAY:** Over one million auto and aircraft workers will take a one-cent an hour pay cut under their sliding scale contract clause on June 1. Though food, rent and medical care rose in the Labor Department's price index, there was a slight over-all reduction because of a cutback in federal excise taxes. At the same time United Workers members will get a five-cents-an-hour productivity increase in pay.

**TERRORISM BY ARSON:** White supremacists set fire to and burned down the partly-built home of Negro dentist, Dr. John Nixon, in Birmingham, Ala. It was being built in a "white" neighborhood.

**LAND OF THE DETAINED:** The State Department admits that for the last three years it has been preventing 120 Chinese students from returning to their native land. The students, who asked permission to go home in 1951, are not accused of any crimes. The pretext for holding them here is that they possess scientific knowledge that "could injure the free world." There are no restrictions on students who choose to go back to Formosa and Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary regime.

**PASSPORT CASES:** The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is planning a series of lawsuits "challenging the procedures of the State Department in denying passports to people whose political convictions do not conform with the State Department's ideas," reports Clark Foreman, director of the committee. "The ECLC is raising a fund to cover the basic research and major part of the legal expenses necessary in taking these cases to the Supreme Court." Those who want to contribute to the fund or discuss how their own case can be added to others in the suits, should contact the ECLC at 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1.

into our heads the notion that a bigger car makes a better man."

But doesn't bigness spell comfort? No: "It is excellence of suspension, not sheer weight, that makes a car comfortable. Firm springing — not race-track hard, but firm — is more comfortable over a long haul than soft, feathered sagging. Soft springs (used by American firms) with their long, slow travel, are tiring to the body because they force muscle-adjustment of considerable amplitude."

Aren't the American monopolists capable, at least, of selling their product more cheaply than European manufacturers? It is true that Henry Ford's mass production method made possible a sharp reduction in prices. Yet the American public of 1954 does not get its money's worth.

European quality cars that are greatly superior to most American cars — the Italian Alfa-Romeo, for example — are expensive only because they are made for a limited market. A car of similar quality could be mass-produced in the U.S. to sell at current American rates. In other words: Detroit could make much better cars if the leading automobile concerns wanted to — and without increasing prices. (And a nationalized industry without private profits could, of course, sell a line of good cars more cheaply than the big monopolies.)

The American who buys a new car is cheated by Detroit's slick publicity. "American automotive engineers . . . know what's been thought up across the street and they can do it just as well, and a lot cheaper. But the sales department would blow its collective top. Far better, they say, to change 'em a little, load them up with extras, and peddle them with the time-tried advertising formula: . . . 'Buy this car, kids, and somehow, magically, you'll be much happier.'"

But isn't this a basic pattern not only in the auto industry, but in many other sectors of our capitalist economy and culture? "The Kings of the Road" is worth reading — and thinking about. What it does for the auto industry might usefully be tried with other aspects of modern America.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII

MONDAY, JUNE 7, 1954

NUMBER 23

## N.Y. Dockers Choose ILA in NLRB Vote

By James O'Hara

NEW YORK, June 1 — For the second time in five months the independent International Longshoremen's Association won an NLRB representation election. 19,792 dockers passed between the lines of a 3,000-man police army last Wednesday to give the nod to the ILA over its rival, the ILA-AFL, by a margin of 319 votes.

However, 1,797 votes were challenged. This gives the NLRB an opportunity to hold up certification for several months. Privately it is conceded by all hands that a count of the challenged votes would increase the ILA majority since these were mostly AFL challenges.

This ILA victory is a substantial blow to the most formidable alliance that ever intervened to force the outcome of such an election.

### AGAINST BIG ODDS

The federal, state and city governments went all-out in support of the AFL; the metropolitan press and every anti-labor force endorsed the AFL as the "desirable" union. The AFL leaders in turn gave their support to the state-imposed regimentation of the waterfront. They also promptly picked up the cue given by Attorney General Brownell and labeled the ILA as "subversive" because of donations it got from some rank and file members of the West Coast dockers union. AFL leaders David Beck and Paul Hall, greedy for increased power and revenue, took a long step toward surrender to state control.

### GOVT. TO CHOOSE

#### WOULD STEP UP DRAFT

The government's open intervention on the New York waterfront is in line with the new anti-labor offensive recently opened by Brownell. The government proposes to pick and choose the "desirable" unions — illegalizing those not chosen. This police-state proposal is in effect a move to license unions — a measure that has been implicit in the Taft-Hartley Act all the time.

This recalls the warning given by John L. Lewis to the 1947 AFL convention that its surrender on the Taft-Hartley Act and the anti-communist affidavits would put it in the ignominious position of capitulation to further anti-labor restrictions. His castigation of the AFL leaders, who then joined in condemnation of Lewis, have now turned to him.

And remember this is only Indo-China. If the madmen in Washington are permitted to drag us into another "police action" in Southeast Asia, it could result in a reactionary and hopeless war with millions of casualties strewn across the vast continent of Asia.

According to UAW-OIO President Walter Reuther, General Motors workers have received 56¢ per hour in wage increases since the cost-of-living escalator clause and the "annual improvement factor" were written into the General Motors agreement in 1948. Twenty-five cents of this wage gain resulted from the "escalator" clause and 31¢ from the "annual improvement factor."

The ILA now has the unique opportunity to take the offensive against the AFL by pushing aggressively for the realization of its program and the fulfillment of its promises which, limited though they are, still represent a big advance.

## Ben Probe, Trucks Case Lawyer, Dies

DETROIT, June 1 — Bernard (Ben) Probe, noted labor and civil liberties attorney who represented the Socialist Workers Party in its suit against the Trucks Law, died last Friday of a heart attack.

Ben Probe was president of the Detroit chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. Shortly before he was stricken, he was working on plans for a public meeting in behalf of James K. Ketcher the legless veteran who will visit Detroit this week.

Born in Canada 45 years ago, he moved to Detroit in 1925. He became active in the CIO United Auto Workers in 1936, and served as secretary-treasurer of the Michigan CIO Council from 1941 to 1945.

### A FIGHTER

In 1952 Ben Probe was one of the few attorneys in the state with the courage to stand up against the newly-enacted Trucks Act. In the May 5, 1952 Militant, Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, reported how he and other party members had searched vainly for ten long days for a lawyer willing to represent the SWP in its court challenge of the thought-control law.

"Finally," wrote Dobbs, "on the tenth day of our search we found a fighter, Attorney Ben Probe, who said, 'Mighty important principles are involved in this violation of your constitutional rights, and I will represent you.'"

He took the SWP case and handled it skillfully right down to the end. In February of this year, the Michigan Attorney General was compelled to stipulate in court that he had no evidence to proceed against the SWP under the Trucks Law. The ending of the suit under these circumstances represented a victory for the cause of civil liberties for the SWP — and Ben Probe.

### SWP CONDOLENCES

In a letter of condolences to his widow, Marian Probe, Frank Lovell, SWP state chairman, wrote: "It was a great shock and sorrow to us to learn of Ben's death. We came to know him as a genuine friend of ours who did not hesitate to turn his services and talents to the fight against the totalitarian Trucks Law in this state. He did this when such a fight had to be made, and when there were few others who dared to speak out. He was absolutely fearless in his defense of democratic and civil rights. He understood, as few men do, that the future of mankind is at stake in the present drift toward a fascist state in this country. He was determined that the evil forces of reaction would not conquer."

We shared this determination with him and that was the common bond of understanding between us. That is why we considered Ben a friend as well as counselor and feel very deeply his loss.

"It may be small consolation to you and to the children at this time to be reminded of the good things Ben did and the high principles he lived by, but he will be remembered for the ideas he defended. These ideas live on, and a better world will come of them."

We join with the Puerto Rican community in denouncing this conviction and call for a vigorous campaign of defense. These three boys must not die!

"The entire case against the boys has a foul smell. The discrimination, hostility and police brutality against the Puerto Rican people of New York is the background to the death sentence given to the three young Puerto Ricans.

"We join with the Puerto Rican community in denouncing this conviction and call for a vigorous campaign of defense. These three boys must not die!

"New York's labor movement, its community organizations, must rally to their defense and not permit race prejudice and anti-Puerto Rican hostility to put these three to death."

— I. F. Stone, editor and fighter for civil liberties, has written the following recommendation of James K. Ketcher's book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran":

"If America had a conscience left, this story would have shocked it long ago into mass protest against the injustices and inequities of the loyalty probe. Jim Ketcher is twice a hero — once at San Pietro, where he lost his legs for his country, and back home since, where he has had the heart and guts to continue his lonely fight. The executive order under which this veteran was ousted from a \$45 a week job in the VA office in Newark for being a Communist was absurd of its cruelty and unfairness. Every thoughtful American owes it to himself to read 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'

— I. F. Stone, Lauds Ketcher's Book

WASHINGTON — I. F. Stone, editor and fighter for civil liberties, has written the following recommendation of James K. Ketcher's book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran":

"If America had a conscience left, this story would have shocked it long ago into mass protest against the injustices and inequities of the loyalty probe. Jim Ketcher is twice a hero — once at San Pietro, where he lost his legs for his country, and back home since, where he has had the heart and guts to continue his lonely fight. The executive order under which this veteran was ousted from a \$45 a week job in the VA office in Newark for being a Communist was absurd of its cruelty and unfairness. Every thoughtful American owes it to himself to read 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'

— I. F. Stone, Lauds Ketcher's Book

WASHINGTON — I. F. Stone, editor and fighter for civil liberties, has written the following recommendation of James K. Ketcher's book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran":

"If America had a conscience left, this story would have shocked it long ago into mass protest against the injustices and inequities of the loyalty probe. Jim Ketcher is twice a hero — once at San Pietro, where he lost his legs for his country, and back home since, where he has had the heart and guts to continue his lonely fight. The executive order under which this veteran was ousted from a \$45 a week job in the VA office in Newark for being a Communist was absurd of its cruelty and unfairness. Every thoughtful American owes it to himself to read 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'

— I. F. Stone, Lauds Ketcher's Book

WASHINGTON — I. F. Stone, editor and fighter for civil liberties, has written the following recommendation of James K. Ketcher's book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran":

"If America had a conscience left, this story would have shocked it long ago into mass protest against the injustices and inequities of the loyalty probe. Jim Ketcher is twice a hero — once at San Pietro, where he lost his legs for his country, and back home since, where he has had the heart and guts to continue his lonely fight. The executive order under which this veteran was ousted from a \$45 a week job in the VA office in Newark for being a Communist was absurd of its cruelty and unfairness. Every thoughtful American owes it to himself to read 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'

— I. F. Stone, Lauds Ketcher's Book

WASHINGTON — I. F. Stone, editor and fighter for civil liberties, has written the following recommendation of James K. Ketcher's book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran":

"If America had a conscience left, this story would have shocked it long ago into mass protest against the injustices and inequities of the loyalty probe. Jim Ketcher is twice a hero — once at San Pietro, where he lost his legs for his country, and back home since, where he has had the heart and guts to continue his lonely fight. The executive order under which this veteran was ousted from a \$45 a week job in the VA office in Newark for being a Communist was absurd of its cruelty and unfairness. Every thoughtful American owes it to himself to read 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'

— I. F. Stone, Lauds Ketcher's Book

WASHINGTON — I. F. Stone, editor and fighter for civil liberties, has written the following recommendation of James K. Ketcher's book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran":

"If America had a conscience left, this story would have shocked it long ago into mass protest against the injustices and inequities of the loyalty probe. Jim Ketcher is twice a hero — once at San Pietro, where he lost his legs for his country, and back home since, where he has had the heart and guts to continue his lonely fight. The executive order under which this veteran was ousted from a \$45 a week job in the VA office in Newark for being a Communist was absurd of its cruelty and unfairness. Every thoughtful American owes it to himself to read 'The Case of the Legless Veteran.'

— I. F. Stone, Lauds Ketcher's Book

## Red-Baiting in Dock Vote



As a motorcade of the Int'l. Longshoremen's Assn. tours the N. Y. waterfront prior to the recent NLRB collective bargaining vote, members of the rival union set up by the AFL leadership carry red-baiting signs designed to win votes through a McCarthyite-type smear. The ILA got a majority, but the NLRB held up the decision because of challenges by the AFL.

**... Would Need Vast GI Army for Indo-China**

(Continued from page 1) ment has even less of an answer to the problem than the military.

The military men say that in the absence of a Viet Nam force it would take "400,000 trained fighting men" to do the job.

They say: "It would be futile to go into Indo-China with one or two divisions — that is, 20,000 to 40,000 men. We'd just lose our shirts."

The proposal to intervene