

THE

# AMERICAN Socialist

JANUARY 1954

25 CENTS

**McCarthyism—  
Threat and Answer**

**ALP in Crisis**

**Can U.S. Capitalism  
Afford Peace?**

## Prospects of American Radicalism

By Bert Cochran



## Deadlock in the Cold War

By Thomas Raymond

## Fighting the Witch-Hunt in Michigan

By E. Kennedy

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I am sending you a number of clippings. The *Detroit Free Press* of Nov. 20, in an article on the trial of the six under the Smith Act, gives information demonstrating that a key government witness, William O'Dell Newell, admitted that he had worked in 1940 for Gerald L. K. Smith. . . . He also testified in Federal Court in 1941 at the request of the Ford Motor Company when the company was seeking an anti-picketing injunction during an organizational strike. . . . In later testimony he also said he had been employed by the Ford Motor Company between 1941 and 1943 in the sociological department which was under the direction of Harry Bennett's personnel department.

It seems to me that such concrete information can reach union militants and convince them that McCarthyism in all its forms is designed as a union-busting force.

In the second clipping (*Detroit News*, Nov. 25), the important point is made by defense attorney Goodman that the testimony of Government stoolpigeons is unconstitutional because it violates the Fourth Amendment in the Bill of Rights banning "illegal search and seizure laws." His point is that stoolpigeon information, which purports to tell about internal activities, is illegally obtained by search of premises and taking of documents under false pretenses.

C. G., *Detroit*

. . . Kindly send information about the Socialist Union of America, and if possible copy or outline of speech to be delivered Dec. 4 (by Bert Cochran) as per ad in *Nation*.

E. B., *Detroit*

I noticed recently an advertisement . . . announcing a lecture on the "Prospects of American Radicalism" by Mr. B. Cochran. I would be very much interested to know if you are able to send me a copy of that lecture, and if the Socialist Union of America publishes any periodicals or pamphlets I might be able to obtain.

I am an unaffiliated Marxist, and am very much interested in the future of the American Left. Personally, I am very much inclined to agree with the views of *Monthly Review* magazine and its editors, who, as you probably know, have been under fire from both the Communist Party and the Trotskyites—not to speak of less important groups. I would appreciate some indication of your position with regard to the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and the *Monthly Review* Socialists.

D. T., *Los Angeles*

. . . Please send me a copy of your platform, or statement of principles, if available. . . .

H. F., *Newark*

The McCarthyite storm now ravaging the land has schools and universities as high-priority targets for "investigations" and anti-radical hysteria. Among the hardest hit and most immediately affected are the Teacher's Schools.

Now and then, the conformity drive sparks a stubborn opposition. It's had this effect on Artie Milberg, a student at New York University's School of Education who writes a column for the *Educational Sun*, the school paper.

In the November 25th issue he marks some of the most flagrant current examples of thought suppression and adds:

" . . . I could go on, but the point of all this, is to illustrate how the reactionary forces have taken over the country and are taking away our freedoms. They are breaking down our democratic principles and putting us on the defensive. We are now in an age of guilt by association and accusation. You are now guilty until proven innocent, and even then the stigma lasts beyond a lifetime. We are in an age of fear. A miserable age. The novel *1984* is beginning to look like a history text book. Any day now, we will probably start seeing signs saying 'Big Joe is watching you.'

"This era, however, is anything but hopeless. There is still plenty that can be done. If the older generation sits back and does nothing, it is up to us, the future leaders of this country to do something about the situation. Many of our schoolmates talk about it, but few do anything about it. Many are scared that they won't get jobs later. Many of them won't if they just sit back. The thing to do is to get out and do your utmost to remove this ogre that hangs over us. If we remove the threat, we have no worries about getting jobs later. I think it is better to go down fighting than to sit back now, and insure receiving a job, where every move you make will be observed; where any slip you make will

cause you to lose your job and the respect of your neighbors."

R. M., *New York*

The *Detroit Free Press* of Dec. 6 puts an important editorial question in discussing the clearing of Lieut. Radulovich and Master Sgt. Victor Harris of "security risk" charges. It asks: ". . . the growing question is how many men went down the drain before America discovered what was afoot?"

Air Force emissaries who visited the *Free Press* after it published strong editorials criticizing the action taken against Radulovich, said he was just one instance among "a considerable number."

That is a good question and raises another: How many more will "go down the drain" unless the protest movement generated by the Radulovich case stays in business and protects all witch-hunt victims?

The *Free Press* asks for fair play "in helping to root out the Communists and fellow travellers." There is no such animal as a witch-hunt ruled by fair play. A little McCarthyism, unless stopped cold, is bound to lead to a full-blown police state.

It goes without saying that the *Free Press* lies in giving Eisenhower credit for clearing Radulovich. The Eisenhower administration was forced to retreat because of a tremendous popular protest movement with the UAW-CIO in the lead. The movement was fortunate in having the services of an able lawyer, Charles Lockwood.

The *Free Press* quotes an editorial from the *Chicago Sun Times* as follows: ". . . the ranking Air Force officer who tried a few weeks ago to dissuade the *Detroit Free Press* from championing Radulovich's cause. This officer, Maj. Gen. Joseph S. Carroll, Deputy Inspector General, produced no new evidence against the lieutenant. Carroll suggested to the *Free Press* editors that the Air Force had undisclosed information adverse to Radulovich. . . ."

How far advanced is the military domination of this country when even a powerful capitalist newspaper can not state editorially

(Continued on Page 30)

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357

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### CONTENTS

FOUNDING OF THE SOCIALIST UNION	3
PROSPECTS OF AMERICAN RADICALISM by Bert Cochran	4
DEADLOCK IN THE COLD WAR by Thomas Raymond	9
MCCARTHYISM—THE THREAT AND ANSWER by Jules Geller	11
CAN U.S. CAPITALISM AFFORD PEACE? by Harry Braverman	14
FIGHTING THE WITCH-HUNT IN MICHIGAN by E. Kennedy	18
THE ALP IN CRISIS by Michael Bartell	21
THE RIGHT TO EAT by James Haskins	24
RUSSIA IN TRANSITION	25
BOOK REVIEWS	29
SOCIALIST NOTES	30

**T**HE PRESENT periodical has its origin in a 2-year political battle recently concluded inside the old Trotskyist organization, the Socialist Workers Party, the expulsion by the Cannon clique heading this organization of over a third of the membership—including all of its leading trade unionists and activists in the labor movement—and the setting up by the latter of a new organization, *Socialist Union of America*.

The 2-year debate covered a variety of subjects. But the source of the trouble was that the “Old Trotskyists”—the Old Guard, as it calls itself—had petrified, lost touch with political reality, and had taken refuge in a make-believe world of its own creation, getting a vicarious thrill of playing at “revolution.” The more the old organization was declining, the more bombastic and preposterous became the pretensions of its leaders. The less contact it enjoyed with the labor ranks, the more it hurled ultimatums.

These “Old Trotskyists” resembled in some ways the “Old Wobblies” of 1920, who could not comprehend the new world that had emerged from the first world war and the new tasks it imposed on revolutionists. The “Old Wobblies” thought they could continue to operate by talking about “One Big Union” and the glorious tradition of the IWW in the past. But the world passed them by, and a new revolutionary movement was born in the Twenties based on new virile forces. Analogously, the militants who founded American Trotskyism think they can continue to read their beads and mumble old shibboleths, but they have become completely cut off from the struggle, they cannot understand the new world that has issued from the second world war, and they are being engulfed by the events of our epoch.

The present division was foreshadowed six years ago when a big debate took place in the old organization over what was the correct attitude to adopt toward the contending groups in the CIO auto workers union. Cannon and some of the other “Old Trotskyists” wanted to support the Reuther machine. Our leading auto militants rebelled at this proposal, and insisted that it was necessary to work with the opposition. What was involved in this debate was not just a run-of-the-mill difference of opinion over a question of trade union tactics. Actually, the “Old Guard” revealed in the course of this discussion that it had no understanding of what was happening in America. They had lost touch. They did not understand the significance of the red-baiting drive which was inundating the unions, and which Reuther was employing as a factional weapon against his opponents. They did not understand the new position into which the Stalinists had been thrust, and that we could not continue simply repeating the slogans and tactics used during the war when the Stalinists were advocating piecemeal, speedup, more production, and soft-peddalling of the class struggle on behalf of the war effort. They did not understand the character of the right-wing union leadership which had become hardened into a bureaucracy in the course of

## *Founding of the Socialist Union*

the war, and taken its place as the avowed labor agency of the State Department in the prosecution of the cold war.

The “Old Guard” soon proved that it was unregenerate, that it had got muscle-bound. In 1949 a debate started over the question of Eastern Europe, the class nature of these countries, and a number of related questions. Again, our “Old Trotskyists” demonstrated that they were bewildered, did not have the faintest notion of what was going on. Their exclusively emotional attitude about the Stalinists, moreover, made it impossible for them to analyze objectively what was actually happening in these countries, and to separate the good from the bad, the progressive from the reactionary. To hide their own confusion, they came up with the fat-headed formula that capitalism was being preserved in all these countries, that the Stalinist crime was in betraying these countries to capitalism, and that while production relations determined the class nature of Soviet Russia, they had nothing to do with determining the class nature of the Russian satellite states in Eastern Europe.

**T**HIS DEBATE was the forerunner of a major discussion on the whole question of the new world reality, which culminated with the adoption of a comprehensive program by the World Trotskyist movement in 1951. It was recognized that a new world had emerged from the ruins of the second world war. That the Chinese revolution was the greatest event in modern history since the 1917 revolution in Russia, and that China was breaking the chains of its old feudal-capitalist past and building a new workers’ state. That the graph of revolution was rising as never before, and the colonial world was shaking itself free from the bondage of imperialism. The conflict between the two forces in the cold war had a class character, and represented the struggle between the dying system of the past and the rising system of the future. That it was our duty as a Marxist advance guard to become part of the existing mass movements and struggles in every country, confident that in the ensuing battles, the opportunities would arise to tear the masses away from present Stalinist and Social Democratic misleadership. That in the course of the big struggles ahead, the revolution would right itself and create a new authentic revolutionary leadership and mass parties, proceed to solve its historic tasks with democratic participation of the masses, destruction of tyranny, and in the spirit of Marxist internationalism. Such were some of the important contributions that were finally accepted by the supporters of Trotskyism the world over.

The “Old Guard” of American Trotskyism thereupon dropped all their previous hare-brained schemas advocated during the debate on Eastern Europe and accepted the

foregoing analysis, which was formally adopted by unanimous vote at the 1952 SWP convention. But they soon disclosed that these ideas had not penetrated into their heads. Like the late unlamented Lovestoneite group, Cannon and his supporters displayed the remarkable ability to adopt any kind of resolution, and then blithely proceed along the accustomed path as if nothing had occurred.

The final debate between ourselves and the Cannon faction started at the beginning of 1952, when we tried to explain to them the meaning of the Third Congress program, how to apply it in our propaganda and work, and how to correctly set our own tactical course. This time the “ordained-leader-in-chief” got so enraged that he began spluttering about split before the discussion even got started.

The 2-year struggle was not only about international outlook and program, but more immediately over the perspective of the movement right here in the United States. We were face to face with the problem of how to build the movement in this country, what was our perspective and tactic. We had to decide: what to do next, what to do now. The Cannonites proved that they were politically washed up when they decided to ignore the crisis of the organization, and to solve the problem at hand by beating their breasts about their faith in the American revolution, and how it was written in the stars that they were destined to lead it, if only they continued to blow their own horns and to talk sectarian nonsense, or—to use their own words—if only they remained “true to themselves.” We could not even get agreement to do some work in the ALP in New York, or devote attention to getting out suitable propaganda tracts for the union ranks, because the self-proclaimed “ordained leaders” were busy keeping their supporters hopped up with so-called “mass campaigns” which began and ended on the pages of their newspaper.

Finally, as they saw themselves losing out with every passing month of the discussion, they decided to cut their losses by expelling over a third of the membership. At the same time, in a declaration printed in their paper, the *Militant*, they launched an infamous attack on the international Trotskyist movement, and announced their political break with it.

They will unquestionably now be able to exercise undisputed sway as the “ordained leaders” of the “ordained organization.” They will be able undisturbed to issue pronouncements to all and sundry, and pass resolutions how they are destined to go down in history. That is what they want to do, and so far as we are concerned, they are welcome to it. They can battle it out hereafter with the SLP as to who shall have hegemony over the sectarian-crackpot division of the American radical movement.

American socialism was hit sharply by war boom, labor-Democratic alliance. New crises of U.S. capitalism will bring mass socialism, says Bert Cochran in this speech at N. Y. meeting of Socialist Union.

# Prospects of American Radicalism

by Bert Cochran

**M**ODERN AMERICAN LABOR RADICALISM was born out of the savageries of the buccaneer capitalism of the post-Civil War epoch, and announced itself in full-throated fashion in the bitterly fought rail strikes of 1877. This radicalism—whether tinted or dominated by Marxism, or of the American populist variety—has had many ups and downs, and has reasserted itself in innumerable forms and variations in the seventy-five year interval. But after three-quarters of a century of innumerable experiences, the American working class—the largest in the world—is still without its own political party, still adheres to the philosophy of capitalism, and dutifully supports the capitalist parties on election day. The anti-capitalist left wing is weak and isolated.

This is not because American workers are congenitally wedded to capitalism at all. Labor radicalism had reached great heights in certain periods. The Socialist Party from 1904 to the first world war was a mass movement. The IWW flashed its blinding light across the horizon in this same decade. At a later period, the Communist Party was registering great successes for a few years with the rise of the CIO.

But the rock on which radicalism in America repeatedly broke its head was the lack of constancy, the lack of sustained interest on the part of big groups of workers in opposition to the capitalist system. So, the graph of the organized Socialist opposition would in a broad general way reflect the ups and downs of the economic cycle. And as American capitalism exhibited a remarkable vigor throughout these decades, overcame every depression with a period of new stormy growth, and provided the American worker with the highest standard of living in the world, American radicalism, in contrast to its European counterparts, has time and again found itself reduced to a sect.

It was the 1929 economic crisis that smashed up this capitalist idyll, and started the Europeanization of American capitalism. The special highly favored positions of

the past had disappeared. The virgin continent had been conquered and ravaged. The laws of capitalism, discovered by Karl Marx a century before, were remorselessly at work in the United States as elsewhere. The economic system came grinding almost to a dead stop. National income was slashed in half by 1932. Banks were failing from one end of the country to the other. Wages were cut right and left. 20 million unemployed roaming the highways and byways. Farmers driven off their land. Hoovervilles springing up on the edges of the cities. The American people, living in the richest country in the world, reduced to penury and degradation, with fear and despair stalking the land.

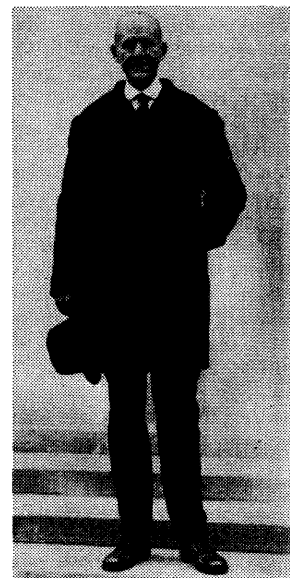
As many economists and sociologists have since demonstrated, the 1929 crisis was not just another cyclical depression. It was a fundamental crisis of a declining world system.

**O**UT OF THAT AGONY came later the wave of strikes which boiled up to a veritable civil war in a host of industries and cities, the like of which had never been seen in this country. And out of that class warfare came the modern industrial union movement, the CIO. For the first time, the American working class was solidly organized in the basic mass production industries. For the first time, the organized unions represented not a small minority of a favored aristocracy of labor, but embraced the heart of the working population.

The victory was great. Wages were improved. The shop steward system revolutionized working relationships inside the plants. The hitherto atomized and helpless working masses emerged as a power, and decisively altered the face of dozens of American cities.

Marxists, and as a matter of fact, radicals of all stripes, placed great hopes in this new crusading movement, and thought that the new experiences were driving the American workers to class consciousness. But this movement, so full of militancy and high promise in its first years, deteriorated badly with America's entrance into the war. The masses meekly followed their capitalist masters into the slaughter. There wasn't even anything resembling the

Eugene Victor Debs, the great agitator who lifted socialism in America from a sect to a popular mass movement, said: "Where there is a lower class, I am of it. While there is a criminal element, I am of it. While there is a soul in jail, I am not free." Debs mass socialism blazed a trail for the far greater mass socialism which will arise in the coming years.



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anti-war protest of the pacifists and Debs Socialists of 1917. In the next few years, as the original aggressiveness of the ranks subsided, the new unions got badly bureaucratized. The CIO officers vied with their older AFL cousins as top-sergeants in charge of the labor forces for the war effort. Today, the CIO and AFL leaderships are indistinguishable in their political outlook.

On the other side, what Roosevelt was unable to accomplish with all his NRA codes, WPA's and New Deal legislation, American capitalism achieved through the war—it put the people to work. America entered a period of triumphant boom. The working labor force rose to dizzy heights going over the 60 million mark. The gross national product mounted with each year until it was double in 1948 what it was in 1929. Real wages rose 20 percent over 1939. What with overtime, two breadwinners in many families and the like, American people began buying washing machines, television sets, automobiles on a scale never equalled in the country's history.

This prosperity goes a long way to explain the ease with which the new bureaucracy fastened itself on the unions, and with which the capitalist powers-that-be thrust the country into the witch-hunt. The sum total of these factors contrived to leave the revolutionary movement high and dry, in its most isolated position since the early Twenties.

**DOES NOT ALL THIS** add up to a crushing refutation of the Marxist thesis, and confound radicals of all varieties and hues? Is not American capitalism, far from declining, making right now its most spectacular advances?

American imperialism has certainly displayed an ability to prolong the boom beyond many people's expectations. But the whole vast structure of this titan rests, like the house in the fairy tale, on chicken legs. The country resembles more and more a secluded enclave of plenty in a raging sea of misery. With about 8 percent of the world's population, the United States share of world income rose from 26 to 40 percent in the two decades up to 1948, and the United States and Canada accounted for half the world's industrial output in that year. These statistics have their political counterpart in the fact that the United States remains the only solvent, half-stable power in the disrupted system of world imperialism, and the only one which can still command national unity at home.

But even internally, the boom exhausted itself in reality by 1949. All the special, artificial factors of war shortages, war savings, huge loans and give-away programs and armaments production notwithstanding, the country was headed for a depression at the end of 1949. Some may recall how Truman was speechifying in those days—just like some of the Republican speeches we hear today—about the “healthy” aspects of a “readjustment.” An industrial reserve army of 3 to 4 million was back with us, and the country seemed to be moving down the toboggan slide towards life in the Thirties.

It was the Korean war that sent war expenditures soaring again from 13 to 50 billion dollars annually and gave the jaded system another stiff shot in the arm. But once

you start living on a diet of dope, you need constantly larger doses to keep you going. Employment and living standards were maintained for only four years by this enormous outlay for war production. And now the system is headed downward again just as at the end of 1949—on the basis, not of a 13 billion, but a 50 billion dollar war budget!

This demonstrates not the stability of the American economy and the soundness of the boom, but on the contrary its feverish, spasmodic and precarious character, resting as it does on direct and indirect exploitation of the rest of the capitalist world, and the unending expansion of the war sector.

**IS IT CORRECT TO SAY** therefore that we are moving toward a 1929-type crash again? With all due respect to the intellectual retainers of the capitalist masters, that veritable army of economists, sociologists, psychologists, public relations experts, sloganeers and what have you; with all due respect to this mob of hirelings and their fancy theories about “built-in protective devices” and “cushions”—sounds like an ad for automobile upholstery; were the system permitted to proceed in accordance with its “built-in” economic laws, that's exactly where it would be heading: towards a 1929-type crash, and probably within a very few years, at that. And yet, I don't believe we will see a depression of that depth. I don't believe it because I think the American multimillionaires will unleash the third world war when they see the system heading for the economic reefs.

Charles E. Wilson, the man who opined what's good for General Motors is good for the country—and he's a pretty authoritative spokesman of the Economic Royalty—made a speech a couple of years ago at the University of Michigan where he said he didn't believe the system could survive another Hoover depression. I agree with him. I don't think it could. The system would be finished. There would be revolutions in Western Europe. The colonial revolt would blaze fiercely through Asia and Africa. And the United States would be in the throes of class warfare. That is why I believe the American policy makers will go to war when they face the economic abyss.

This being the case, and this being the reality confronting us, don't let's get too hypnotized by the false flush of prosperity in the past decade. Don't let's lose our heads and sense of proportion because people have had steady jobs and brought home good pay checks. We have had to take the paychecks with a large dose of McCarthyism. And even so, it's not going to last. At the end of the road is a cataract of horrors of atomic war.

**RIGHT NOW A TREMOR OF UNEASINESS** is passing through the ranks, and even the leaders of union labor, as they watch the uninterrupted progress of McCarthyism, and as they get worried about another depression. But McCarthyism will continue its triumphal march until it is confronted with a counter-force. The witch-hunt will catapult to ever dizzier heights and encompass ever greater numbers of victims. The demands of the Garrison State are due to become more ruthless and oppressive. Reaction is on the march on all fronts. And



finally, war itself will bring disaster, death and destruction.

Out of this awful crucible will come the great change in America. A great, profound change. A change in the people's thinking, a change in their attitude toward the system, a change in their attitude toward the government, a change in their attitude toward the war. This working class, which is today so conservative and sluggish, will grow radical, and amaze the whole world, as it did in 1936, with its combativity and daring. Don't let us forget that this class, starting from a point of no organization, built, in the short space of five years, the most powerful union organizations in the world. Don't let us forget that this class, helpless and defenseless when the '29 crisis broke over its head, and believing up to that point in rugged individualism, absorbed so well some of the elementary truths of modern life and their own position, that by 1936 they seized plants, they organized mile-long picket lines, they humbled legislatures by their massed might, they overwhelmed the barons of industry by their sheer weight. Talk about militancy and mass action. Jack London wrote at the turn of the century works of fiction about general strikes and future struggles, and even Socialists thought at the time that he was only a romancer and rhapsodist. Yet nothing he conjured up fictionally compared with the majestic sweep of the CIO in its formation.

**WHAT FORMS WILL** the new radicalization take, how will it differ from the past, and who will lead it?

The new leftward swing will very likely be introduced with a whole series of strikes against the economic consequences of war preparations, or the war itself. As these mount in intensity, the capitalists will turn on the labor movement with old-time ferocity, and proceed to break strikes and bust unions with traditional lack of inhibition and violence. At one point or another, the movement of protest will assume national proportions, and the cry become universal for the creation of a shield to ward off the menacing attack. That may be the moment when a new political party of the laboring people is launched. It is thus at least probable that the first organizational form of the next wave of radicalization will be the establishment of a labor party under the aegis of an important section of labor union officials, most likely in alliance with liberal politicians of the Hubert Humphrey type.

Actually, the American working class has made progress even along this line in the last twenty years, even though its political development has been very slow, certainly far slower than radicals hoped for, and at times, even freely predicted. Let us fix the high points of this process in our minds in order better to understand the present position and direction:

In the Twenties, the working class, outside of the small minority of skilled craftsmen, was unorganized and politically dispersed. The movements of the past, like Debs Socialism, had disintegrated, and capitalist politics had a monopoly of the field. Roosevelt's election gave an impetus to and coincided with the mass political upheaval. Great struggles swept over the country in the so-called NRA wave—but there was also great inexperience, great naivete, an absence of authentic leaders. The new political awaken-

ing took the form of a pathetic dependence on Roosevelt and a childish faith in his disinterested championship of the people's cause.

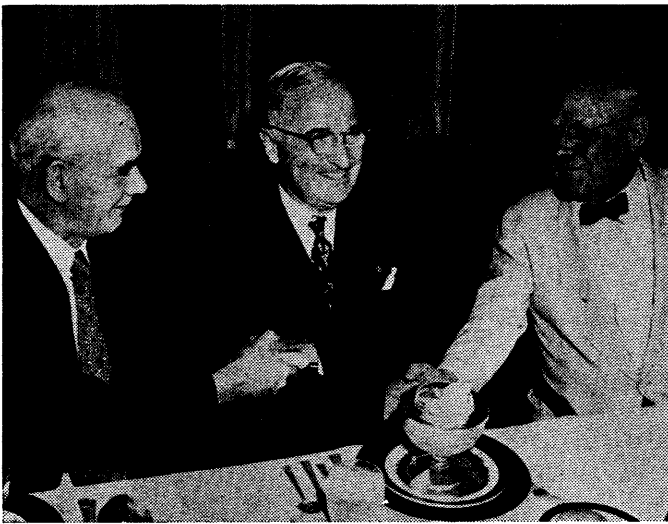
Two years of sell-outs of all the major NRA strikes in the open-shop industries put the iron in the workers' souls. The masses in the basic industries found themselves still without organization and protection. The "Blue Eagle" promises of a "New Deal" for the workman had not been forthcoming. The seething in the ranks split the leadership of the AFL and led to the formation of the CIO. Shortly thereafter came the second great upheaval, beginning with the sit-down strikes in Akron and continuing without letup until the defeat of the Little Steel strike in the fall of 1937, which coincided with the "Roosevelt recession."

By now the relationship in the camp of the New Deal had drastically altered. Millions of working men and women were organized in solid phalanxes, disposing of massive power. The support of Roosevelt continued unabated. His personal popularity even grew. But the millions of labor were no longer just a shapeless mass of worshipping pilgrims burning incense at the shrine of their patron saint. They had advanced to the position of an organized sector of an American backdoor variety of People's Front coalition.

A special confluence of circumstances here conspired to nurture the Roosevelt myth and keep it green over many years. A virgin working class, with no conception of class politics or its own potential strength, could never forget that the New Deal established the political climate which made possible the building of the new unions, and that then, for over a decade, living standards rose and the main labor bodies were registering impressive gains. These material benefits sanctified the pro-Roosevelt policies of the labor union officialdom. The Roosevelt myth encompassed two things: that Roosevelt was the great white father, and that the alliance with the Democratic party accounted for the gains since 1935, and was the only sound course on which future progress could be based.

**GEORGE MEANY**, AFL President, in a recent interview printed in *U.S. News & World Report*, assured his questioner that the AFL still conforms to Gompers' political line "1,000 percent." It is doubtful that Meany really believes this. In any case, there is not much truth in it. The trade union leaders continue to practice capitalist politics. In that sense, it can be said they are followers of Gompers' bad tradition. But there is a whale of a difference between the present AFL-CIO relation to the political parties and politics, and the endorsement in Gompers' time of some local candidates by a central labor union representing a few thousand, or a few tens of thousands at the extreme, of building-trades men, printers and machinists.

Beginning with Lewis's setting up of Labor's Non-Partisan League in 1936, there has been a steady emphasis and evolution of the *organizational* side of labor's political structure. In 1940, the CIO-PAC was founded under Hillman, and in 1948, the AFL followed suit with the formation of the LLPE. In actuality, the labor unions have the strength and experience, so that they could pull out of



Cordial handclasp between Truman and two "labor statesmen," the late Philip Murray (l.) of the CIO, and William Green of the AFL, symbolizes the coalition policy which hoggies the unions to the Democratic machine. The labor movement has the membership, the money, the personnel to launch a new party. The only things lacking are the political understanding, the program, the leadership.

the Democratic party tomorrow morning and set up a labor party with scarcely any additional organizational efforts required. The membership, the money, the organizing personnel are there to do it. The only thing lacking is the political understanding, the program, the leadership.

I know people don't just want to hear about the basic trends, but want to be told what will happen next month, or preferably next week, or better yet, tomorrow. Here, I regret I cannot report any rapid-fire moves for a labor party. As a matter of fact, our militants inform us that the anti-labor offensive and the advance of McCarthyism under the Republicans have momentarily refurbished the glitter of the Democratic politicians for the union ranks and reinforced their attachment to a coalition policy. The timorousness of the self-styled "labor statesmen" in the face of the reactionary sweep has served to weaken labor's position even inside the Democratic party in the wake of the 1952 defeat, rather than strengthening it as the most important grouping of that machine. But it is safe to say that this is only a transient phase. Once the winds of economic distress begin to blow more fiercely, the whole rickety coalition setup will be subjected to unbearable stress and strains. A new political realignment will no longer be postponed.

You might say, suppose a labor party is created, what is so inspiring about a labor party led by Meany and Reuther, Dubinsky and Potofsky? Where is Socialism ahead with this crew? Well, the cause of Socialism would surely perish were it to depend on any one or all of these "statesmen." Neither am I one of those who would suggest that a labor party will be led at the first stage by a different kind of people. I am not a member of the fraternity who mouth phrases about a revolutionary labor party. Nevertheless, I am convinced that labor's break with capitalist politics would have marked revolutionary consequences, despite its initial leadership.

**I** RECALL IN THIS CONNECTION the importance of the radicals in the first formative years of the CIO, not only the organized fractions of the left-wing parties, but many unattached individual left-wingers. They played an enormous role, out of all proportion to their numbers.

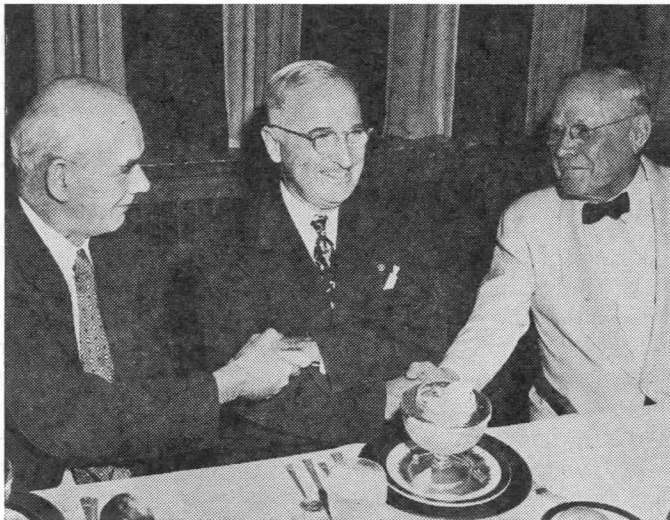
Radicalism fused for a short period with the native militancy of the workers in the shops—and the alliance worked wonders while it was in operation.

No matter that after the first few years a more fundamental program was needed to keep the movement in progress—and that such a program was lacking. No matter that the old core of CIO militants was soon absorbed into the new labor bureaucracy, or smothered in the Stalinist embrace, or dispersed in a dozen different directions. No matter that the radical who deserved so much credit for building the CIO unions became *persona non grata* in the later stages. The role of American Marxism, and of the Marxist cadre was clearly foreshadowed in these first years of turbulence and upsurge. And when the American workers take their destiny into their hands again, it is a foregone conclusion that the left-wingers will be, from the first, an important factor in the new advance, and a respected voice in the councils of the organization.

Because a labor party—if one is formed—will arise in the midst of the smoke and ruin of war and economic catastrophe, at a time when the political problems of our society cannot be evaded. In contrast to the CIO experience, the role of the Left will not be a passing one, because the American system is heading into the historical crisis that has gripped the rest of the world, and will no longer be able to keep the allegiance of the people. It will be increasingly forced to maintain its rule by terror, oppression, fascism or military dictatorship—or for intervals, through laborite intermediaries and coalitions. That is why American radicalism from the transient enterprise that it has been since the Civil War is due to emerge as the authentic expression of labor's aspirations and struggles. That is the new perspective and reality.

Will the Stalinists make a comeback in the new resurgence and take over the leadership of the left wing in the labor party movement as they did in the course of the CIO upheaval? Of course, discussions of this kind have an element of the speculative about them, but personally, I don't think they will. I do not base my opinion primarily on the betrayals that the Stalinists perpetrated. I am aware that new generations of militants are not as well acquainted with that as we are. I know further that





Cordial handclasp between Truman and two "labor statesmen," the late Philip Murray (l.) of the CIO, and William Green of the AFL, symbolizes the coalition policy which hoggies the unions to the Democratic machine. The labor movement has the membership, the money, the personnel to launch a new party. The only things lacking are the political understanding, the program, the leadership.

Stalinist betrayals did not bar their emerging as mass parties in Italy and France after the war. And the present unrestrained baiting and persecution of them—if they survive it—may well redound to their benefit at a later stage of radicalization. “The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.”

But every country has its own national peculiarities and unique forms of development. There is no uniformity. Stalinist resurgence after the war was not a universal phenomenon. It was not the fulfillment of some kind of historical law. It occurred in France and Italy because of the convergence of specific circumstances. It did not take place in England, West Germany, Belgium or Holland.

I know that in the United States numbers of advanced workers were growing hostile to the Stalinists, and the latter had been losing some ground, especially in the unions, before the red scare started. It is likely that the next wave of radicalization will coincide with crises in a number of Stalinist parties, and revolts against Stalinist rule, on the order of what happened in East Germany; in other words, when Stalinism is losing its attractive power. I envisage the initial wave of radicalization in America taking place through the organized unions, the workers moving massively through their organizations. I envisage the next stage as one of differentiation and growing opposition to the official labor bureaucracy, and can see that as taking the form of an American variety of Bevanism, with the second stage coming hard on the heels of the first. I can visualize a development along this line, because I believe there will arise along with radicalization, a progressive opposition to the Stalinists, and because no existing left-wing group, including the Stalinists, has any real hold on the American labor ranks.

**WE OF THE SOCIALIST UNION OF AMERICA** have in our membership some of the cream of the generation of the past CIO battles. We have set up this new organization as a culmination of our two-year struggle inside the old Trotskyist organization, the Socialist Workers Party. That old group of leaders have exhausted their progressive mission. Their old role as popularizers of Trotsky's struggle and writings is played out. These men could not adapt their thinking to the new world of the Soviet bloc and the cold war. They have succumbed to their prolonged isolation. They are bewildered by the new problems to which they have no answers. They are solving their disorientation by infantile bragging, and high-sounding declamations and posturings. They are delivering ultimatums to the labor movement, which are not only universally ignored, but pass completely unnoticed. And they are keeping themselves and their followers hopped up with a lot of crackpot antics which they call “mass campaigns.” The SWP represents the new SLP'ism of the American radical movement. It will shrivel up and become increasingly a haven for screwballs and bigots.

Cannon and others deserve a lot of credit for breaking with Stalinism twenty-five years ago and bringing the message of Trotsky to America. They deserve a lot of credit for gathering a cadre of militants to struggle for it. But their bent in recent years to ignore the actual trends and to counterpose their tiny, unknown organization to

the actual struggle has spelled disaster. They have now turned their backs on the world and its problems, and have resolved to dwell in their own ivory tower, with their own “ordained leaders,” and their own holy scripture. The SWP leaders have become museum pieces. We will not meet them too often in the days to come. Let the dead bury their dead.

We, as a Marxist cadre, conceive our task today as an educator of broader ranks of workers and intellectuals, and as a catalyst in the existing movements and struggles. We believe that the great teachings of the Marxist masters have to be applied in terms of the new social problems of our lifetime and the current tasks of American labor. In the light of the present reaction and witch-hunt, we have to direct our message to those specific circles that are prepared to listen and give us a hearing. Where, in a city like New York, the biggest aggregation of militants is to be found in the so-called Stalinist-front movements, we have to penetrate these circles and work together with their activists. In the country as a whole, we have to elicit the attention and sympathy of the most advanced workers in the unions. Marxism has to become known not as a dead dogma, not a set of quotations, but the keenest analysis of the social reality and a living answer to the problems of the day. The Marxist cadre, if it does its work well, will have the opportunity of fusing with other left wing currents as they arise in the course of the coming conflicts. Not by boasting that we are the “chosen few,” and that the holy petroleum has been poured over our heads, but by aligning ourselves with the actual struggles of our generation, will we become a factor in the creation of the mass revolutionary party of tomorrow.

## **WE ARE PART OF THE STREAM OF HISTORY.**

We are confident of our future because we believe we have the correct understanding and tactic, and because we know we have the body of militants with the grit and tenacity to carry on. Do not anybody despair because of our small numbers, or because the movement of the left in general is so isolated today. We are like the American abolitionists of a hundred years ago. We are like Garrison and Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass and John Brown, who were on the side of truth and justice and whose aims coincided with the line of historical progress. The abolitionists, for years, were only a handful preaching to indifferent and often jeering crowds. The circulation of Garrison's paper, the *Liberator*, was insignificant. John Brown was reviled as a lunatic and hanged as a common felon. But a few years later his name was on a nation's lips, and Union soldiers storming the ramparts of the South were singing the famous battle hymn: “John Brown's body lies a-moulderin' in the grave; but his soul goes marching on.”

These men—these great men—earned fame and immortality, and their crusade triumphed because they were intrepid fighters and heroes of vast stature, and because—what is decisive—the anti-slavery cause coincided with the line of march of the American republic. And the cause that we espouse, the cause of Socialism, will conquer, because it too coincides with the needs of humanity and the moving line of history.



Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is shown with Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Dulles was recently called "the biggest *gaffeur* (French slang meaning blunderer, hopeless idiot) in the business" by the Italian publication *L'Europeo*.

# Deadlock in the Cold War

by Thomas Raymond

The cold war appears to be deadlocked for the present. A U.S. depression or new revolutionary upheavals can open the next stage. Meanwhile, with economic troubles piling up for capitalism, Soviet economy continues to advance.

**F**OR SIX MONTHS, Secretary of State Dulles has been holding the fort for Wall Street against the Soviet demand for top level conferences to negotiate issues in the cold war. He has wriggled and maneuvered ingeniously to this end. His repeated shout to Russia has been: "Show your good faith by holding limited conferences on issues like Germany and Korea, and then perhaps we may talk broader issues with you." Now the Soviet government has answered by proposing a conference on Germany with no demands or pre-conditions attached, and Dulles is apparently caught again.

At present writing, it looks as though, despite Dulles, there may well be a conference on Germany. If such a meeting does take place, it will probably be a pure formality, with very little real business transacted. The truth is that, at the present stage of the cold war, neither side is very much interested in negotiations. The struggle has assumed the form of a deadlock, and deadlocks of this kind don't usually respond to diplomatic parleys.

**T**HE DEADLOCKED WORLD SPLIT is one form of the conflict between socialism and capitalism which dominates our era of history. This battle, which may be seen in strike struggles, in colonial uprisings, in civil wars and revolutions, in election struggles and other party battles, also lies beneath the cold war and the threat of a third world war. That is not to say that the Soviet Union, China or the countries of Eastern Europe are socialist states—far from it. They are countries in which capitalism has been overthrown, and are therefore on the road of transition between capitalism and socialism. At the present time, they are dominated by bureaucratic-privileged Stalinist cliques which attempt to exploit these transitional states to their own advantage. But these bureaucrats, for all their military and police powers, are not capable of suppressing the struggle between two social systems. Still less are they able to efface the fact that the very states which they dominate are, by their very existence, mortal threats to the capitalist system.

**A**N EDITORIAL in the Dec. 8 *Reporter* magazine shrewdly compared the present situation in the cold war to a chess game: "When neither player can checkmate the other but can only move back and forth, it is called a stalemate." For the present moment, that's the way the cold war lies. The world is divided into antagonistic spheres, each, for the limited present, relatively independent of the other. Even in the hottest focal points of the struggle, in Germany and Korea, this separation of the spheres is emphasized by the fact that these countries are themselves divided into separate zones.

In this situation, the Washington-Wall Street directors of the imperialist war drive see no point in negotiations. Conferences could only have one point: to legalize the status quo. Thus a big power conference, to accomplish anything, would have to agree to the present world division. It could say: "We recognize that the situation in the world is a division between the capitalist and anti-capitalist sectors. We propose certain minor changes and adjustments. But we understand that the major features of the lineup can't be changed without war, and in order to



Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is shown with Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Dulles was recently called "the biggest *gaffeur* (French slang meaning blunderer, hopeless idiot) in the business" by the Italian publication *L'Europeo*.

avoid a war we agree to find a way to live within this situation."

But U.S. imperialism has no intention of placing a stamp of approval upon the existing situation in the world. It is driving towards an attempted destruction of the status quo, not towards "adjusting" problems that arise from it. Churchill's sensational proposition for a meeting with Malenkov clearly cuts across the main line of strategy of Wall Street. It was not a serious contribution to imperialist strategy, but an old man's fantasy, born of the weakness of British imperialism and of Churchill's fatuous ambition to find a way out for that weak imperialism. In itself it was not decisive, since Churchill possesses no power to make or to accept concessions, to legalize the status quo or to overturn it.

**T**HE SOVIET UNION is perfectly willing and even anxious to legalize the status quo in the present world. That is why Moscow has pressed repeatedly for a five-power meeting. But it has been clear for some time that the Soviet government has for the present abandoned the hope that anything will come of their proposals.

The Kremlin would be willing to concede a portion of the status quo in order to get a legalization of the rest. It might give up East Germany in return for a neutralization of Germany. But imperialism gives no opening at all. U.S. capitalism's "offer" on Germany is roughly the following: "You turn over East Germany to us, and in return, far from promising not to rearm Germany, we promise you in advance that we will arm Germany and point it like a knife at your heart."

Further, while the Soviet government might be willing to make some concessions, it is by no means able to deliver. Indo-China is a good case in point. Ho Chi Minh said recently in a broadcast to all echelons of his warring forces: "Do not succumb to a desire for peace at any price. This fight will be a long and painful one. It may be necessary for us to rely entirely on ourselves and our own resources to achieve victory." French commanders in Indo-China estimate that Ho Chi Minh could continue the war for a long time on his own. A concession in Indo-China, if Moscow has any disposition to make it, might be settled at the conference table and prove undeliverable on the battlefield. Malenkov and Co. know this well, and imperialism knows it just as well from the experience of the Chinese and Yugoslav revolutions, both of which Moscow was willing to "concede."

The inward turn of the Soviet rulers to a new economic course is connected with this world situation. With the deadlocked state of international affairs, they have begun to concentrate attention and resources on the transformation of the consumer goods situation at home. This correct move has again thrown imperialism into a dither. Having seen what the pull of nationalized economy has been on the masses of Asia, the capitalists are now plagued by the worry: What will the consequences be when the Soviet Union has raised its standard of living above that of Western Europe? This is emphasized by the fact that Russian *per capita* production has already risen above that of Italy and is nearing that of France!

**T**HE PRESENT SITUATION of tense and dynamic equilibrium can and probably will remain until new factors intervene. These new forces could take the shape of colonial uprisings, or working class revolutions. The cold war between the worlds is a form of social struggle between capitalism and socialism, but it is not the only form and not even the most important form. The magnificent display of strength and energy that we saw recently in the French general strike demonstrates that. It must be noted, however, that a new revolutionary upheaval, by tipping the scales once again against imperialism, might be the very factor that would induce it to go to war. The Atlantic Pact alliance contains a clause binding the signatories to assist each other not only in case of "external aggression" but also in cases of "internal upheaval."

Of course the most important factor which makes the present deadlock temporary is the fact that the U.S. capitalist economy will sooner or later run into serious trouble unless the war drive is intensified and extended into a general war. This is the most probable goad to action that can push capitalism into the war. Moreover, another great factor is intervening at a slow but steady pace. The very peace which threatens the stability of the American and European economies makes possible the vast expansion of the Soviet-bloc economy. This aspect of the problem is beginning to worry Washington policy-makers. A Nov. 23 *N.Y. Times* article furnishes a good sample:

*"A major United States Government agency has posed this problem for the nation's highest policy makers: The Western world's superiority over the Soviet bloc in military-economic potential is being rapidly whittled away and is likely to lose much of its political and military importance within the next decade or two. [One economist says:] 'There is little time left and it is running out fast.'*

*"The basis for the assessment of the future balance is the following observation: Both the gross national output, or total production, and the total industrial production of the Soviet Union and its satellites are growing much more rapidly on a percentage basis than the gross national output, and particularly the industrial production, of the United States and its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty organization."*

This *Times* report is based upon the recent boom period of U.S. capitalism. How much worse for imperialism will the picture be in the coming downturn of the American economy. Production has been growing in this country at the rate of 5% a year, while in Russia at the rate of 7-9% a year. But now, under the most optimistic estimates, American production will at least stop growing, and probably decline somewhat. These major facts weigh very heavily against any long-term deadlock. Imperialism can hardly be expected to permit itself to lose its sole remaining point of superiority over the Soviet bloc without attempting to act.

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Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not  
Who would be free themselves must strike  
the blow?  
By their right arms the conquest must be  
wrought!

—Lord Byron



McCarthy leer which has become his trademark is very much in evidence as he sits in midst of group of staff members of his committee. Left to right in back, they are George Anastos; Roy Cohn; Donald O'Donnell; Francis P. Carr.

**W**ITCH HUNTING, according to the theory of many liberals and Trumanite labor leaders, is permissible if it is regulated, like the stalking and killing of deer in season. They view the Harry Dexter White case as a violation of the game laws. This latest McCarthyite smear is directed against the former inquisitor-in-chief himself. And Truman, together with his political supporters, is protesting vociferously.

There is, of course, genuine cause for alarm in labor and progressive circles. The Democratic-Republican controversy over the exhumed 1945 case against White is solid evidence of McCarthy's entrenchment in Washington. The immediate motive of the Republican administration was undoubtedly to use the White case against the Democrats in order to distract attention from the failures of the Eisenhower government. But there is far more to this case than a maneuver to cover up recent Republican electoral setbacks.

We have arrived at the point in the witch-hunt where a former president, who himself initiated the government "loyalty" purge and thereby pioneered the suppression of dissident opinion, is subjected to a typical McCarthyite attack. If Truman is not safe from the spy-scare smear, what of the liberals, the labor leaders, and the spokesmen for the Negro people? It should be clear that there must be a total defense of democratic rights, or what is left of our rights will be routed on all fronts.

The unions, minority groups, and liberals, all have a deep interest in preserving the right to criticize the status quo. To this end, they have depended upon an alliance with the Democratic Party, generally regarded as more

The Harry Dexter White case signifies a new stage in rising power of McCarthyism. It marks rout of labor-liberal attempts to "limit" the witch-hunt in degree while approving it in principle.

## McCarthyism— the Threat and Answer

by Jules Geller

liberal than the Republicans. But the Democrats do not contest the witch-hunt as such; they even vie with the Republicans as its best executors. Truman's defense in the White case was to testify that he was first and best in the purge of government workers. Democratic Mayor-elect Wagner in New York made public his plan to set up a municipal "loyalty" board immediately after his election. The *N.Y. Daily News* reported on Nov. 29:

*"Wagner's brain trust has noted the increasing Republican trend to exploit the spectacular exposures of subversives by the McCarthy, Jenner and Velde committees. They've decided it would be a fine thing to show that Democrats, too, can root out Commies."*

That's the pay-off for the AFL and CIO leaders, and the ADA and other liberals—not to mention the Stalinists—who gave their full backing to this "liberal fighter against reaction."

Two conclusions follow from these events: First, that trying to rival McCarthyites as inquisitors does not even protect the me-tooers from attack. Second, dependence on the Democrats to lead the fight for civil liberties is like depending on Tammany to clean up City Hall. It can only lead to further disasters.

**A**TORNEY-GENERAL BROWNELL, a high official of the administration, clearly considers McCarthyism a vote-getter. This is a measure of its growing influence. Despite Eisenhower's simpering press interview in which he "hoped the issue of communism in government would be a matter of history by the time the next election came around," the 1954 campaign will be in large part a competition between Democrats and Republicans for the anti-communist laurels. Brownell's sensational attempt to out-McCarthy McCarthy signifies nothing less than that leaders of American finance and industry have arrived at a crucial decision. They have decided that the drive





McCarthy leer which has become his trademark is very much in evidence as he sits in midst of group of staff members of his committee. Left to right in back, they are George Anastos; Roy Cohn; Donald O'Donnell; Francis P. Carr.

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## The Issue Before the People

The issue before the American people is not whether "American democracy" is superior to "Communist totalitarianism" but that the inevitable counterpart of the war against Communism is the destruction of democracy and the imposition of the most vicious forms of capitalist reaction at home. It is McCarthy, not Truman, who is the most faithful domestic representative of the world program of U.S. imperialism and it is the influence of McCarthyism which grows in direct ratio to the proximity of the war while Truman's declines, despite the fact that he has adopted most of McCarthy's program. To accept the anti-Communist war means in effect to abandon any effective struggle against McCarthyism as has already been made quite plain by the impotence of the union officialdom, the liberals and social-democrats in face of the witch-hunt. An understanding of the direct link between these two aspects of the same question will serve as the basis of the radicalization of individuals and groups and of broader masses tomorrow.

McCarthy's witch-hunting purging operations are now reaching out more boldly to attack and defame the entire liberal or ex-New Deal wing of the bourgeoisie. Whatever the immediate intent of this fascist-like method, the effect must ultimately be to outlaw opposition and criticism of the most

reactionary wing of the Republican party and create totalitarian obedience toward it.

At one stage or another, McCarthy will surely extend his attacks to the unions. The extent of this head-on anti-labor offensive, and the ability of the American labor movement to mount a counter-drive may well determine the political physiognomy of America as it enters the war. This is one of the most important problems—if not the most important problem—confronting the American labor movement. . . .

Already many in the labor movement, including sections of the bureaucracy, are frightened at the growing power of McCarthyism and aware of the danger to themselves and the unions. The kind of struggle against McCarthyism that they will project is foreshadowed by the proposals of Biddle, president of the ADA, and Dubinsky, president of the ILGWU. But the spreading scope of McCarthy's attacks and the increasingly wide range of his victims is beginning to create the conditions for the formation of a broad movement against the witch-hunt.

—Reprinted from a May 1953 resolution on Eisenhower's election victory written by the present editors of *The American Socialist*.

towards dictatorship and Prussian militarism can only be powered by a raging witch-hunt.

That we are confronted by a sinister, well-organized conspiracy in high places is illustrated by the carefully staged game at the Senatorial hearing where J. Edgar Hoover was trotted out from behind the hitherto sacrosanct walls of the FBI to testify for the Republicans against Truman, thus dropping the subterfuge that the FBI is a mere "fact gathering" agency, and not an active partisan of the national inquisition.

Almost lost in the din around the White case is Brownell's demand that Hoover's secret police be strengthened by a law permitting use of wire-tapping as evidence in Federal cases. McCarthy had long campaigned for this. It is now official policy of the administration. Local McCarthyite snoopers are already empowered in 36 states to use this device which strikes at the heart of the Bill of Rights. A Supreme Court judge called wire-tapping "this dirty business."

**E**VEN PRIOR TO THE WHITE CASE it was clear that McCarthy and all he stood for had serious backing from powerful forces among financial and political rulers of our country. Beginning with the backing of the Midwest reactionaries headed by the Chicago publisher McCormick, McCarthy next enlisted the support of Taft and his influential forces in the Republican Party. Eisenhower campaigned for him during his 1952 Wisconsin tour.

Joseph and Stewart Alsop wrote in April, 1953: "McCarthy has demonstrated an appeal . . . to certain solid conservative elements. McCarthy has plenty of financial backing. He has important support in the press and radio." It is an open secret that the DuPont empire is behind him. His chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Government Operations was not an accident. Men known as his subordinates head the Jenner Senate Sub-Committee on

Internal Security, and the Velde House Committee on Un-American Activities.

McCarthy's supporter in the administration, Vice-President Nixon, was pushed through as the Republican Party's candidate despite a scandalous revelation of his collection of private funds from wealthy interests to conduct his red-baiting and anti-labor activities while he was a Congressman from California. And now Nixon is given far more prestige and power—witness his present world tour—than ordinarily accorded a Vice-President.

Today the entire government apparatus must conduct its affairs from the point of view of what McCarthy will think. His agent McLeod dominates choice of personnel in the State Department. He has definitely emerged as a major voice of the Republican administration and as a power unto himself in the affairs of the nation.

**I**N THE SPRING OF 1953 the present editors of *The American Socialist* stated in an analysis of the significance of Eisenhower's election victory:

*"McCarthy's witch-hunting purging operations are now reaching out more boldly to attack and defame the entire liberal or ex-New Deal wing of the bourgeoisie. Whatever the immediate intent of this fascist-like method, the effect must ultimately be to outlaw opposition and criticism of the most reactionary wing of the Republican Party and create a totalitarian obedience toward it."*

The same statement went on to predict that "At one stage or another, McCarthy will surely extend his attacks to the unions." Apparently we have already reached this ominous stage. Velde and McCarthy have gone to work on "communists" in the electrical industry. And it is proposed to broaden the attack all up and down the line with the Butler Bill S1606, initiated by McCarthy's Maryland agent, Senator Butler, which would extend the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 to labor organizations. Its provisions follow the views of the bill's author,

who stated in Congress in May, 1953:

*"In the field of labor, which next to foreign affairs is the most sensitive and fertile field for socialist infiltration, collectivist attitudes manifest themselves primarily as pro-union, anti-management bias."*

This criterion is broad enough to brand as subversive any union leader or member who is not a company stooge. The bill provides that any union in which it is charged there is influence along the lines indicated above, will at once be decertified by the NLRB, its bargaining rights legally abolished, pending a hearing before the McCarran Subversive Control Board. The hearing could last for months and even years. It need not be charged that an officer meets the description as subversive, but any member or group of members of the union who are "influential." Unions would thus be put under *de facto* control of McCarran's board, which would pass on the political orthodoxy of every union. Charges against a union could be placed before the board by any individual including the employer.

Sitting on this board in judgment of unions would be McCarthyites Butler, author of the bill, Herman Welker of Idaho, for whom McCarthy campaigned energetically in 1952, and Democrat McCarran, the notorious labor-hater and anti-Semite. This is the kind of board which will control, if this bill is allowed to pass, what is tantamount to government licensing of unions.

**M**CCARTHY'S INCREASING BOLDNESS and growing power have generated a considerable discussion about the nature of the beast in labor and liberal circles. There is unfortunately a lot of confusion about the problem and how to meet it. Is McCarthy a rising American Hitler? Is McCarthyism an American version of fascism?

McCarthyism has differed fundamentally up to the present from the early fascist movements in Italy and Germany in several respects. We intend to return to a discussion of this problem; suffice it to mention here that McCarthyism lacks up to now a demagogic program of far-reaching "radical" demands, and the organization of a private extra-legal armed force (the shirt movements of toughs and hoodlums). The difference of McCarthy's approach stems of course from the different conditions in the United States today from those in Germany in the Twenties, and Italy after the First World War. Both Mussolini and Hitler were out to create mass movements under conditions of widespread unemployment, economic disintegration and mass despair, in countries where the working class was highly class conscious and strongly organized behind the Socialist or Communist parties. McCarthyism rose in the United States under conditions of full employment and boom, where the external danger to American capitalism is the overwhelming fear of the capitalists, and where the working class is still tied politically to the leaden strings of the capitalist parties.

McCarthy, Velde, Jenner are certainly fascist types because of their total break with bourgeois-democratic values, usages and tradition, and their aping of the techniques of unscrupulous propaganda of Mussolini-Hitler. But due to the political monopoly that the capitalist masters still enjoy in the United States, the whole operation could be

conducted thus far from within the government, rather than outside of it. And because of the boom, these demagogues have been able to ride high without dishing out a lot of big promises and schemes of social betterment, in contrast to Hitler and Mussolini during their organizing period of the fascist movement.

Whether McCarthy will proceed to the organization of a full-blown fascist movement in the next period, or whether McCarthyism will continue as the spearhead of the spreading military-police dictatorship depends on specific circumstances and the course of the class struggle. The tactics to fight this monster will differ to an extent in the one case from the other. But in any event, McCarthyism, as it exists right now, is already a fearsome force and directly challenges and menaces all liberalism, all democratic rights and freedoms, and the very existence of the labor movement.

**H**OW TO WAGE WAR on McCarthyism? Here, let us state first a number of don'ts. To fight the witch-hunt by depending on the Democratic politicians is to repeat the fatal policy of the German Social Democrats and liberals of depending on Hindenburg to stop Hitler. To fight the witch-hunt by proposing to set up an ultra-respectable, "impartial" board of public-spirited citizens to steal McCarthy's program away from him, as the recent convention of the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union suggested, is the same as proposing to fight the witch-hunt by joining it. It was this very policy followed by Reuther, Philip Murray and the other labor leaders that gave aid and comfort to McCarthy and blinded people to its real significance. To depend on the Protestant churches to ward off the evil is to ignore the fact that the top policy-makers of these institutions are controlled by the exponents of wealth, who are increasingly going over to support of McCarthyism, or becoming reconciled to it. (We don't even mention the Catholic church in this respect, as the hierarchy is in the van of McCarthy's rabid drive.)

McCarthyism can only be challenged effectively by a strong counter-offensive. And the only forces capable of organizing such a campaign are the mass forces of the organized labor movement. Once the labor movement issues a clarion call for militant action, it can form a fighting alliance with the Negro movement and the liberals, and a powerful counter-force could be created to challenge the new vigilante terror that threatens to overwhelm the American people. A National Congress of Labor, Negro and Liberal Organizations would be a fitting way to summon the progressive forces to action and counter-attack. Without such a counter-force, the American people remain atomized and cringing before the McCarthyite aggressions. With such a counter-movement, the political picture would alter for the better overnight, and McCarthyism could be turned back.

"Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

Frederick Douglass  
Letter, March 30, 1849

Business has started to decline, growing unemployment and a new recession are in sight. The danger: U.S. capitalism will seek a solution in a "hot war."

*Business Decline Starting:*

**T**HE WAR BUDGET, which has been rising very sharply ever since 1948, has now leveled off, and this development is placing the U. S. capitalist economy before its most severe test in years. The strain is already beginning to show.

The National Bureau of Economic Research has, through painstaking research and calculation, created a series of eight business indexes, which are the so-called "leading" series. These have demonstrated during past turns in the economic cycle that they move upwards or downwards on an average of four or five months before a turn in the entire economy. Thus they have been used, more or less successfully, to call the turn on future business trends.

Every single one of these indexes reached a peak either

## Can U.S. Capitalism Afford Peace?

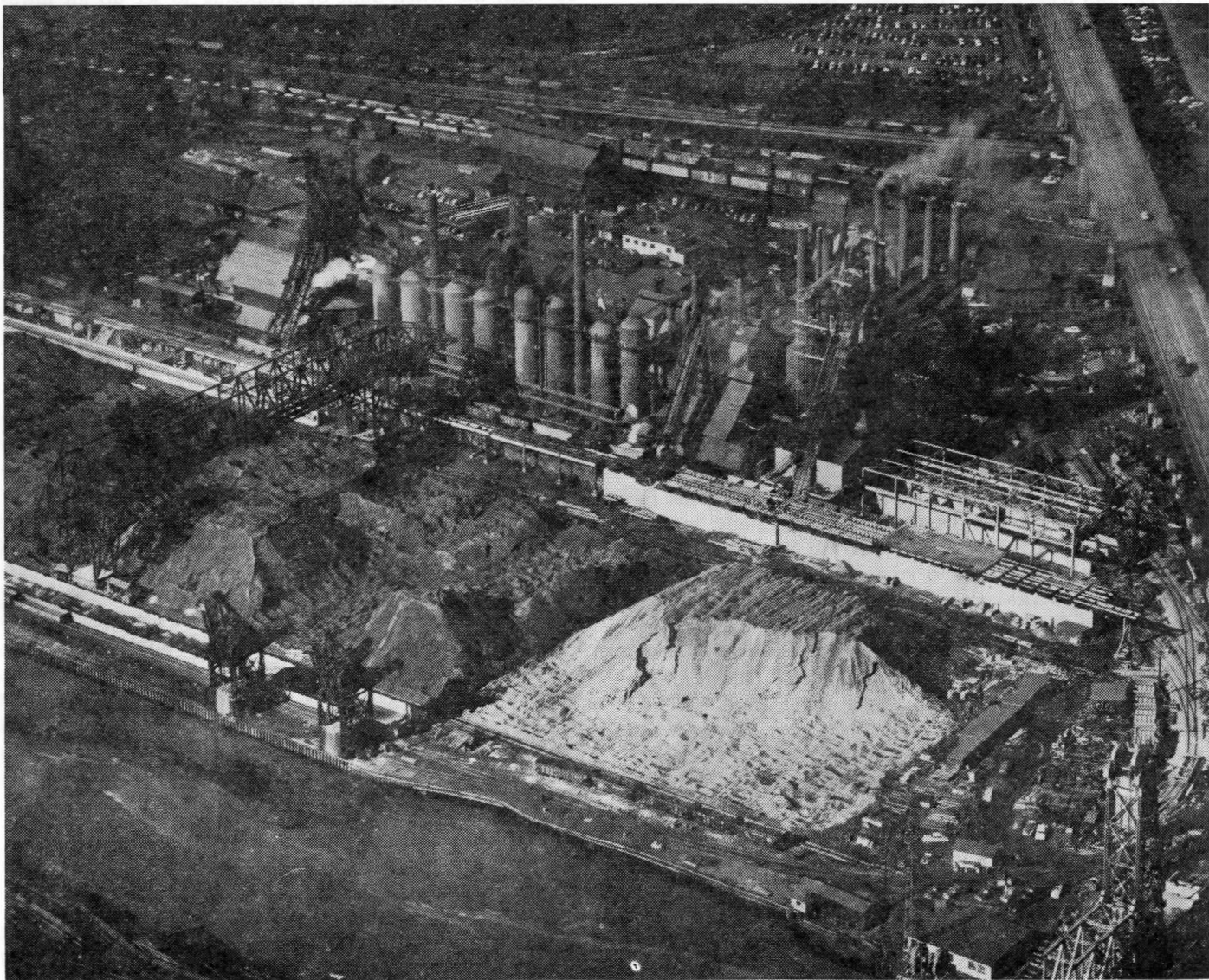
by **Harry Braverman**

"A war economy which, some years ago, was big enough to stimulate a gigantic economic boom is now barely enough to keep the wheels turning at a stagnant or declining level."



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early this year or late last year, and has been heading downward since. The downturn is, in most cases, not sharp, but what is particularly striking is the unanimity of all these indicators. If we are to believe this unanimous economic ballot, business has passed its peak and is due for a drop.

There are many indications that the decline is already under way at a slow but persistent pace. The bulletin of the Guaranty Trust Co. of N. Y. summarizes the evidence in these words:

*"Business activity is undergoing a slow downward drift, to judge by statistical information that has become available in recent weeks."*

Some of the highlights of this drift: *Construction* has been declining since the early months of the year, and the rate of new housing starts is about 20% lower than last February. *Steel Production* is roughly 5% under its peak level and heading down. *Crude Oil and Gasoline* output has been slowed down because of growing stocks, but despite this, inventories have continued to grow. *Personal Income* of the total population, at record height, has stopped growing and even shown a small dip. *Retail Sales*, which held up well while other business indicators were falling, are now declining a bit.

*The Volume of Bank Loans*, an important register of business activity, reflects plans of business men. In the second half of 1953, bank loans ran at a rate below that of any postwar year. The volume of bank loans has been similar to that of the year 1949, during the economic decline.

**T**HE EFFECT OF THE DOWNTURN upon employment and consuming power of the people is as yet very small. There are scattered reports of layoffs throughout the country. The Commerce Department figures for unemployment say that the number of unemployed is still at a record low. However, this is not a true picture. A small increase in unemployment has started, but this is concealed in the figures by counting many of those who lost their jobs as having "withdrawn from the labor market" (students, housewives, etc.).

The significant facts are these: The increase in non-farm employment for September was substantially smaller than is usual for the season. Factory employment actually showed a slight drop at a time when it usually rises. Further, the length of the work week showed a persistent tendency to decline throughout the year. This reflects cuts in overtime in some places, and part-time work in others.

**I**T APPEARS AN ESTABLISHED fact that the U. S. economy has begun to slide downward. But many economists, forecasters and other professional optimists of the business world try to give the facts the following twist: The economy, they say, is in for a "rolling readjustment." Things will decline a bit, and then, spurred on by intensive salesmanship, more efficient production techniques and an "expanding market," the economy will begin a new recovery and upswing. Let us examine this notion.

In the U. S. economy we produce three great classifications of goods: consumer goods, capital goods and war goods. The trends in these three departments of produc-

## Going Down

One highly original business forecaster thinks he can foretell the trend of the market by the number of dog licenses purchased. Other crackpots have equally ingenious methods, and get paid for them. But the National Bureau of Economic Research, basing itself on a vast mass of economic data, has come up with eight "leading" indexes that seem to have some value. They are based upon the past experience in prosperity and depression. This series, which appears to have led general business activity by about four or five months, consists of the following:

- Average weekly hours in manufacturing.
- New orders for durable goods.
- New business incorporations.
- Liabilities of business failures.
- The prices of industrial stocks.
- Certain sensitive commodity prices.
- The floor area of new residential construction contracts.
- The floor area of new commercial and industrial construction contracts.

Every single one of these indexes, without exception, started going down at least four or five months ago.

tion can give us a pretty good idea of whether the economy is tending, and of the basic forces at work within it.

Since the start of war in Korea, the real national income of the U. S. has risen by about 17%. This is approximately the rise in total production. Now, how has this increase been distributed among the three departments?

**CONSUMER GOODS.** The rise in all consumer goods production has been very slight. The statistics for personal consumption expenditures, when deflated to take account of the rise in prices, show only a 5% to 7% increase since 1950. (When one also takes into account the population growth, there has been virtually no increase in the average volume of goods going to each consumer since Korea.)

**CAPITAL GOODS.** Investment for plant and equipment jumped from \$20.6 billion in 1950 to about \$29 billion today. After deflating this leap for price rises, the increase remains more than 25%.

**WAR GOODS.** Federal purchases of goods and services (war orders make up most of this category and are the only part of the category that has been growing) jumped from a 1950 rate of \$40 billion to a present rate of \$78 billion. Deflated for price increases, this comes to a rise of about 75%.

To summarize: Investment in capital goods increased by one-fourth, and the war program increased by three-fourths, while the consumer part of the economy hardly increased at all.

These same facts may be stated in another and more precise way. *It took a big increase in the capital goods sector and a monstrous increase in the war sector to keep the consumer sector operating at about the same level as before.* Without this expansion in the war and capital goods industries, living standards in the U. S. would have declined sharply.

This seems like some kind of madness. It would appear, by any rational logic, that we would all be richer in consumer goods if we didn't have to devote such a large portion of our efforts to producing war goods for the capi-



talist Moloch. Nevertheless, that is the logic of the capitalist system, rational in its own peculiar way, but madness when considered from the point of view of the people.

**WITH THESE FACTS IN MIND**, let us reconsider the present situation of the economy. In the absence of an actual war, it is very difficult for the capitalists to continue to expand the war sector. Present peacetime production of arms is already swollen beyond its size during one of the war years of World War II, and is vastly greater than U. S. wartime production during any year of World War I. As a matter of fact, the present war budget spends twice as much money in any one year as was spent during the entire First World War! And the armaments aren't being "expended."

The government has been compelled to stop increasing the war budget, and war spending in 1954 will be about the same as it was in 1953, instead of being on a rising scale as in the previous years of the boom.

The other major department of the economy which has been increasing and keeping the boom up has been the capital goods sector. But next year, by every account, this sector will stop increasing and will decrease considerably; probably by as much as 15%.

Therefore the economy confronts the situation where the motive forces of economic expansion that have operated since 1940 are coming to a halt. This means an economic decline, and that decline has already begun.

**IT COULD BE ASKED:** Why must the economy keep on expanding? Why can't it stay on the same general level? This is impossible; a capitalist economy either keeps on expanding or starts to collapse. The manner in which a capitalist economy operates is very complicated, but this point may be illustrated simply.

Each year in our economy the productivity of labor increases at a rate of close to 3%, or, at the present level of production, about \$10 to \$12 billion. At the same time, corporate profits after taxes range in the neighborhood of \$20 billion a year after taxes and after generous allowance for replacing worn out equipment has been made. Thus the economy must, without any other factor entering, find a market for at least \$10 billion in goods and a place to invest at least \$10 or \$15 billion in capital every year. Moreover, the newly invested capital will also produce an expanded national product which must be sold.

If the surplus goods cannot be sold and if the surplus capital cannot be invested, they do not simply lose their own value. They also begin to endanger the value of the rest of the goods and capital in the economy, as though by a process of contagion. Hence the necessity for constant expansion, and hence the role of the war program.

European capitalism found its big outlet for expansion in its pre-World War I days in an imperialist growth into foreign lands. This imperialist expansion started to collapse in 1914, and European capitalism has been in a state of crisis since then.

American capitalism, up to 1914, found this field for expansion in a sort of "domestic imperialism," that is, an internal expansion made possible by the semi-colonial nature of whole portions of the economy. From 1914 to

## "**Bold But Cautious . . .**"

● As the economy started to slump, Leon Keyserling, who was head of the Council of Economic Advisers under Truman, told a group of hat manufacturers: "We can sell more and more hats if we do not lose our heads." Clarence Francis of the General Foods Corp. tried to clarify policy for his associates by advising them to "be bold but cautious. . . ." The farmers were reported to be saying "Oh, to hear Margaret sing again."

● Sears Roebuck blamed a 7.8% drop in its October sales (compared with last year) on the "unseasonable weather" which "has caused a perceptible slump in many fall and winter lines." The big mail-order house moved in a Mr. Theodore V. Houser as chairman of the board, calling him "the greatest master of mass merchandising in the United States." Asked for the secret of his success, Mr. Houser declared shortly: "I hate stuffed shirts." To prove his point, he added: "I take things Sear-iously." Others, however, take a dim view of new-fangled sales methods. Mr. Paul G. Hoffman who chairs the board of Studebaker Corp. remarks: "My suspicion as to the legitimacy of . . . (so-called) modern merchandising stems from the fact that where it is tried the market becomes demoralized."

● Discussing foreign trade and foreign investment, Henry Ford II solved few problems, but used up most known cliches: "We can no longer afford to play penny-ante poker with destiny. We can no longer be content to just muddle through. The chips are down." That's hitting the nail on the head. The Eisenhower administration, never one for idle talk, is busy shaping up an anti-depression plan. First on the list, as reported by *Newsweek*: "Make more workers eligible for jobless-pay benefits."

● *Fortune* for October featured an article called "Businessmen on Their Knees," and subtitled "Materially more successful than ever, they are taking to prayer."

1929, this was supplemented by a foreign expansion in which American imperialism took over some of the markets and investment areas of its bankrupted European competitors.

But in 1929 the generally weakened state of world imperialism began to affect the United States as well as Europe, and the grand collapse occurred.

Ever since 1929, American capitalism has found a field for expansion of a size big enough to buoy up the economy only in war programs. Even the recent expansion of plant and equipment was directly due to the impetus given the economy by the war budgets.

**DOES THIS NEW SITUATION** which we are entering today mean that we must expect a collapse of the 1929 variety? It is hard to see how anything that extreme and precipitate can happen. Despite the fact that the war program has levelled off, it still continues at a fantastic level, thus guaranteeing a market directly to almost one-fifth of the economy, and indirectly to another large part.

Thus when the capitalist economists say that things are different today from 1929, they are right in one respect. At that time, the war budget was only one or two percent of the economy. Of course, the economists think, or pretend to think, that there are other great differences with 1929. They point to unemployment insurance, farm subsidies, bank insurance, etc., and claim that these "stabi-

lizers" can prevent a 1929-type collapse. In this they are wrong. While these new institutions could slightly retard a collapse, the economy itself, outside of the war sector, is far more vulnerable in terms of the great growth of productive apparatus without a comparable growth of market. But the war budget in the neighborhood of \$60 billion is the great new factor, and it has an enormous weight.

The conclusion therefore looks something like this: The economy is entering a decline, and although a general collapse is not in sight, neither is there anything in sight short of war that will give U.S. capitalism new energy and expansive power.

Even without a 1929-type collapse, this picture is very startling. It means that American capitalism is due for stagnation and decline despite the existence of a war sector so huge that it is really of wartime dimensions! A war economy which, some years ago, was big enough to stimulate a gigantic economic boom is now barely enough to keep the wheels turning at a stagnant or declining level. This is the form which the bankruptcy of U.S. capitalism is assuming under the present circumstances.

Even this is not the whole picture. Suppose, as is freely predicted, the economy were to decline during the next period by an overall 10-15%. With nothing in sight to pick things up again, how can one claim that the economy will stay at that level? Will there not be a tendency soon afterwards, for business to seek an even lower level, another "rolling readjustment"? In fact, without a new expansion of the war sector, that is exactly what would be likely.

**C**AN AMERICAN CAPITALISM find an outlet for its expansion-necessity in imperialist exploitation? Even a brief glance at the facts shows this to be impossible. Net foreign investment is the only component of national income that has not been expanding since 1929, but contracting instead. The very same revolutionary upheavals that have destroyed most of the foreign assets of European and Asian imperialism have barred American imperialism from significant extension. It is conceivable that there could be a small growth, although the tendency has been towards a decline of this sector on a percentage basis. But never a growth of such great size as is required to make a dent in the problem.

Of course, American imperialism hopes to change this situation by means of a counter-revolutionary war of world conquest. That is another problem. A war would create a new situation in almost every respect. What we are here discussing is the present "peace-time" world.

Finally, various economic pundits are so abysmally ignorant as to hope that the problem of the American economy can be solved by population growth which "creates new markets." The population growth works both ways: it increases the number of potential consumers, *and it also increases the number of potential unemployed*. The population size is not an independent factor, but a relative one. We were a multiplying nation in the Twenties too, which did not prevent the great collapse, but only intensified it when it came. The very economists who look to the population growth for an answer now were complaining about "too many people" in 1933.

**F**ROM THIS ANALYSIS, based on the assumption that the present state of cold war will continue, it can be seen just how great the danger of an explosion of hot war has become. Every capitalist nation has repeatedly sought a new lease on life in war, and American capitalism has been no exception. When one further considers that such a counter-revolutionary war as Wall Street now contemplates expresses the deepest political desires of U.S. capitalists, then one can plainly see how great the war danger is and will become.

The recent Cleveland CIO Convention warned correctly against the danger of depression, and the AFL has issued similar statements. These warnings are absolutely inadequate. The war danger is increasing along with the depression danger, because the capitalist class can see that all other roads out of its impasse are closed. The labor movement cannot grasp the real threat nor fight it effectively so long as it avoids this fact.

The official policy of the labor movement echoes the reactionary State Department and attributes the war danger to "Soviet aggression." The mass of working people are still taken in by this propaganda. The only dissidents are a handful of radicals, and radicalism is, it must be recognized, at a low ebb in the American labor movement.

But the unions, and especially the advanced and militant workers, must sooner or later come to understand the bankruptcy of U.S. capitalism that shows itself in the war drive. Events are coming that will begin to drive these lessons home, first to a few and later to many. This new mood, when it begins to penetrate into the most advanced sections of the unions, will bring a rebirth of American radicalism.

In the present period, every socialist must take up the scattered symptoms of decline in the economy and discuss them with his co-workers. Those individuals who can be brought to understand that the economic decline which is now under way is not accidental, but is an expression of a deeper bankruptcy of capitalism, are well on the road to becoming socialists.

### "Subversive" Defined

According to McCarthyite Senator Butler of Maryland, a "subversive" is one who holds the following ideas:

"... government is good and to be expanded, business is evil and to be regimented; labor unions are good (with the CIO better than the AFL), employers are wicked; the federal government, at least since 1932, is progressive, and should increasingly supplant the states, which are regarded as reactionary and obsolete; public ownership is better than private enterprise, which is looked upon as selfish and corrupt; wages are good, profits are sinful; public welfare measures should replace private charity. . . ."

Those who hold such views, says Butler, are subversive, "disloyal in the sense that they seek to subvert the American system of limited government, free enterprise and democratic society. . . . Because the socialist 'liberals' operate under the camouflage of respectability, they may be fairly deemed a danger to the national interest."

McCarthyism is on the offensive in the state governments as well as nationally. In Michigan, a splendid committee has rallied to fight the reactionary Trucks law, has done a great deal, and plans to continue and broaden its work.

## FIGHTING THE WITCH-HUNT IN MICHIGAN

by E. Kennedy

### DETROIT

WITH MCCARTHYISM occupying the center of the national stage, and with millions of Americans becoming more and more concerned over the fight against it, the story of how opponents of McCarthyism organized to fight in Michigan is of great interest. The campaign of the McCarthyites in that state and the counter-offensive of supporters of civil liberties took place around the so-called Trucks law, a reactionary state measure which cuts into rights of free speech and organization under the pretext of "fighting communism." A broad Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law has spearheaded the civil liberties fight there with considerable success, and its work should be studied by all civil liberties groups.

This committee has gathered a genuinely non-partisan movement of con-

siderable scope behind its fight. It has forced the state reactionaries to retreat to a certain degree. It has won a partial victory in the case of the Socialist Workers party. It has organized public meetings in Detroit and Flint that drew an exceptionally fine attendance, large enough in the present period of hysteria to be called mass meetings. It contributed significantly to the victory in the Lieut. Radulovich case. And it is now preparing to push its work in defense of civil liberties to the next and even broader stage.

THE TRUCKS LAW follows the pattern of similar dictatorial legislation which has been enacted or proposed in a large number of states. It requires registration and finger-printing of all members of organizations designated as "communist" or "communist

front" by the State Attorney General, with a penalty for refusing to answer *any question* put by the State Police of \$10,000 fine and/or 10 years in prison. It bars all organizations so designated from the ballot, and all members from public employment. It contains a direct threat to the labor movement in so-called "sabotage" provisions. These clauses, which could be used in any strike, provide penalties of up to life imprisonment!

As clear demonstration of the sweeping nature of the law, Edward Frey, Director of Elections in Michigan, told the press just before it was passed: "In view of the impending law, we must see that no organization inclined towards socialism is given a place on the ballot." We know from the reactionary press that many of America's rulers consider even the Democratic party as being "inclined towards socialism"! Within hours after the law passed, the Socialist Workers party was banned from the ballot even though it had complied with all legal requirements of the election laws. This ruling was later reversed in the first significant victory of the Citizens Committee.

The passage of the Trucks law showed how state reactionaries lean upon Congressional McCarthyism for support. Representative Trucks had his law in one of the committees of the Michigan legislature for more than a year and a half, because he could not get enough votes for adoption. At this juncture, a sub-committee of the House Un-American Activities Committee visited Detroit to direct a "red-

Officers of Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law shown at press conference in Detroit where they announced aims of committee of 200 prominent citizens to defend civil liberties against infamous Trucks act passed in 1952 by the Michigan legislature. Shown are (left to right): Charles C. Lockwood, attorney for the Greater Detroit Consumers Council; Kenneth C. Boulding, Prof. of Economics, University of Michigan; committee chairman Rev. I. Paul Taylor, pastor St. Matthews Methodist Church; Ernie Mazey, Executive Board member Local 212 UAW-CIO; and the Rev. Robert Bradby, Greater King Solomon Baptist Church.





hunt" against the progressive leadership of Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers-CIO. Big scare headlines accompanied the visit, and the UAW top leadership, then in a fight with the Ford Local, did not intervene against the McCarthyites. Not only that, these top leaders gave semi-official approval to the witch-hunters by permitting paid staff members of the UAW to testify as key witnesses. When the hysteria was at its peak, about a year and a half ago, the Trucks law was submitted and passed without a single dissenting vote, a significant fact since a number of the legislators voting for it were fulltime payroll staff members of the UAW.

A deadline for registration of "communists" and members of "communist fronts" was announced, and newspaper headlines predicted the arrest of hundreds and even thousands. Evidence of the hysteria can be seen from the fact that the Socialist Workers party solicited more than 40 lawyers before one could be found who did not fear to take the case. Suits were filed by both the Socialist Workers party and the Communist party challenging the constitutionality of the law. The Socialist Workers party suit was filed in the County Circuit court, and the Communist party suit in Federal District court, the latter action resulting in a restraining order temporarily restricting the state in enforcing the law. Later, a Federal court three-judge panel upheld the law by a two-to-one vote, and the Communist party appeal to the Supreme Court resulted in a referral of the law back to the Michigan courts for prior ruling and interpretation.

**M**EANWHILE, the development of greatest importance was taking place with the formation of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law. A press conference called to announce the formation of the committee disclosed that fully 200 leading citizens of the state had joined as initiating members. Temporary officers included Rev. I. Paul Taylor, minister of St. Matthews Methodist Church as chairman, with the following vice-chairmen: Kenneth E. Boulding, Professor of Economics at the University of Michigan; Charles C. Lockwood, attorney for the Greater Detroit Consum-

ers Council (later attorney for Lieut. Radulovich); and Reverend Robert Bradby Jr. of the Greater King Solomon Baptist Church. Ernest Mazey, Executive Board member of Briggs UAW-CIO Local 212, served as Secretary-Treasurer. Trustees of the Citizens Committee were Al Barbour, Secretary-Treasurer of the Wayne County CIO Council; Edgar Currie, Vice-President of the Michigan CIO Council; and Helen Moore Polaner, Vice-President of the Michigan Federation of Labor.

Included in the membership of the Initiating Committee were scores of union officers of the CIO and AFL, leading professors from the faculties of the University of Michigan, Michigan State College and Wayne University, officers of the American Civil Liberties Union, leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and a number of prominent attorneys and clergymen. The Committee announced as its aim "to promote an educational campaign against an undemocratic and unconstitutional law and to assure a full legal test of what is undeniably a police state measure." The Committee launched a counter-campaign against the law, and resolutions strongly condemning it were adopted by both the CIO and AFL state conventions. Many local unions took similar action, and the Annual Conference of the Methodist Church went on record against the law. Through press statements and by means of thousands of appeals to individuals and organizations, the Citizens Committee further broadened the campaign.

This activity, together with the refusal of the Supreme Court to rule, compelled the state legislature to amend the law. It sought to improve its chances of court approval and to appease liberal opponents by minor changes without basic retreat. This device failed to confuse opponents. The officers of the Citizens Committee and a spokesman for the Michigan CIO used the hearings on the amendments as a forum to attack the law in its entirety. Although the amendments were approved by overwhelming majority, it is significant that this time a minority opposition voted against the law, as a result of the work of the Citizens Committee and other opposition.

**C**ONTINUING ITS WORK of arousing public interest and opposition to the law, the Citizens Committee recently organized public protest meetings in Detroit and Flint. Widespread publicity was given to the meetings in the daily and labor press, as well as by television and radio.

In sharp contrast to the silence of the union leaders in the first days of the Trucks law, at these meetings leading spokesmen for the Michigan labor movement appeared on the platform to join in a denunciation of the Trucks law and to express the most vigorous opposition to the witch-hunt heard to date from labor leaders in Michigan. On the platform for labor at the Detroit meeting were Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW-CIO, George Dean, President of the Michigan Federation of Labor (AFL), and Jerry Raymond, National Representative for the MESA. Also speaking were Preston Slosson, Professor of History at the University of Michigan, Rev. Robert Bradby Jr., prominent leader in Detroit's Negro community, Charles C. Lockwood, attorney for Lieut. Radulovich in the recent "guilt by relationship" Air Corps case, and Ernest Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the Committee. Rev. I. Paul Taylor ably conducted the meeting as chairman.

The Flint meeting featured Robert Carter, Flint area regional director of the UAW-CIO, a leading Flint Presbyterian minister, Robert Clark, Flint CIO Council President, as well as several speakers from the Detroit Committee.

At the Detroit meeting, Emil Mazey, second highest officer in the UAW, castigated those who are for civil liberties only "for those who agree with us," and insisted it is "essential to defend the rights of all groups including the Communist party." The attendance at these meetings (over 500 in Detroit and 150 in Flint), the composition of the speakers list and the tenor of the remarks show a sharp contrast to the situation that prevailed at the start of the Trucks law fight. A number of factors have contributed to this.

First and foremost has been the effective and consistent work of the Citi-

zens Committee. The Committee from its inception demonstrated a remarkable understanding of the relationship of the fight against the Trucks law with the general problem of the witch-hunt. Confronted by an apathetic response in the first days and also by the criminal inactivity of the labor movement, the Committee correctly understood this behavior as a bowing to the pressure of the witch-hunt. By the general conduct of its work and of its relationships with all groups in the population, the Committee facilitated a correction of the false policy and an active participation in the fight by a broad selection of groupings.

The sharpest expression of this successful work is the fact that a number of legislators who originally voted for the law have become active members of the Citizens Committee for its repeal! This is one measure of the extent to which the Committee has become a powerful institution in Michigan.

A factor of great importance in gaining active support of the unions is the new relationship which exists between labor and the White House. During the Truman administration which initiated the witch-hunt, even those labor leaders who desired to express opposition were hampered and compromised by their alliance with the White House.

**A** SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT contributing to the success of the recent protest meetings was the Radulovich case. The attempt to oust the lieutenant from the Air Corps Reserve on grounds of the alleged "communist" activities of his father and sister created a groundswell of resentment. In Michigan this became channelized behind the public protest meetings of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law. The work of the Trucks Committee undoubtedly helped create an atmosphere which facilitated the quick response in the Radulovich case. Moreover, the very conduct of the case by Lockwood demonstrated again some of the lessons of the Citizens Committee work in which he is an active leader.

From the very beginning Lockwood sought in every way the widest publicity and broad support. At an early

stage the active intervention of the UAW-CIO was obtained, and close collaboration continued throughout the case. Lockwood's use of the Detroit and Flint meetings of the Trucks committee as a forum to publicize the case undoubtedly contributed to the success of the meetings and at the same time to the victory in the Radulovich case. On Oct. 23, the day of the Detroit meeting, Secretary of De-



George Dean, President of the Michigan AFL, addressing the Detroit mass meeting of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law.

fense Wilson told a press conference at Ann Arbor that Radulovich was through, and that Air Force Secretary Talbot would shortly make an announcement to the effect. When the announcement actually was made, some time later, it was a complete reversal and a vindication of the fight in the Radulovich case.

The Trucks law fight and the Radulovich case demonstrate that a principled fight against McCarthyism is essential to defeat the general witch-hunt and is the key to partial victories as well. The Trucks law fight has compelled a retreat by the state and a narrowing of the sphere of application of the law. In the Radulovich case, a broad attack upon the arbitrary and undemocratic procedure of the Air Force won a reinstatement for Radulovich, although the procedures remain. The victories are partial, but their main virtue is that they contribute to encouraging people to step up the fight and pursue it with vigor.

**O**NE OF THE OBSTACLES to the development of a consistent fight against McCarthyism has been the drawing back of some self-proclaimed liberals and some union leaders on the following specious grounds: "These attacks only affect the Communist party," they say. "The Communist party is an illegitimate conspiracy and should be outlawed," they prattle in tune with the master strategists of the witch-hunt. With these delusions they have lived in a fool's paradise as the McCarthyite attacks have broadened to include ever-wider sections of the population.

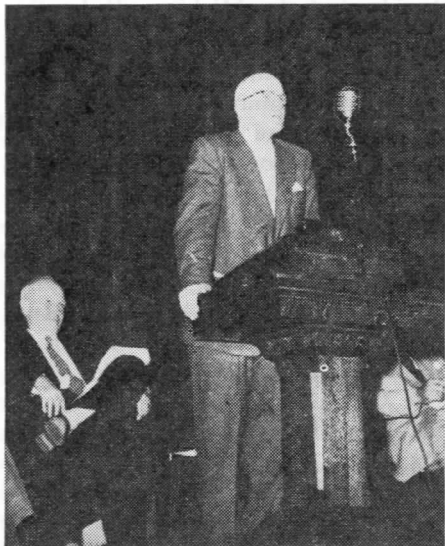
One of the expressions of this attitude is a standing aside from the actual struggle on a pretext of the search for an "ideal" case. But the struggle against McCarthyism doesn't take place under laboratory conditions. It is not an abstraction divorced from reality, or a sideline pastime for kibitzers or ceremonial speechmakers who only know how to criticize what everyone else is doing. The struggle, to be effective, must meet the challenge in whatever form it presents itself.

The Citizens Committee has demonstrated that it understands this very well. The victory in the Socialist Workers party case is but part of the battle. The most important thing is that the law still remains on the statute books. The struggle in the courts over the Communist party suit challenging the constitutionality of the law is still ahead. The Citizens Committee will find a way to intervene in this fight and will continue the struggle until a full victory has been won.

In virtually every state of the union, we have seen state laws or proposed laws expressing the McCarthyite desire to smash the civil liberties of the American people as the first step towards destroying our labor organizations, reducing our living standards, assuring the swollen profits of big business and furthering the war drive.

Each of these attacks must be fought step by step. But the struggle, to be successful, must be extended and broadened. It must be organized and coordinated throughout the country. The fusion of the labor and liberal movement which distinguishes the work of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law in Michigan is worthy of emulation on a national scale.





George Dean, President of the Michigan AFL, addressing the Detroit mass meeting of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law.

# The ALP in Crisis

by Michael Bartell

*Hit by decline in vote and by internal troubles,  
independent radicals have crucial choice to make.*

**T**HE INTERNAL CONFLICT which has been maturing in the American Labor party (the New York State section of the Progressive party) for the past three years appears to be entering the stage of full-blown crisis. All the symptoms are readily observable: open and sharp antagonism within the leadership, sharp charges, counter-charges and recriminations, resignations by leading personalities, the crystallization of contending factions in the ranks, and the contest for organizational control. The principal issue in dispute is nothing less than the nature and aims of the organization. The outcome of the struggle will determine whether the ALP will continue to exist as an independent radical movement, as a vehicle for resistance to capitalist reaction and war, or whether it will be emasculated into a thinly disguised instrument of the Communist party for trying to effect its opportunist policy of "coalition with progressive forces in the Democratic party."

For the moment, a kind of truce appears to be in the making, due to a retreat on the part of the CP. It can be safely predicted, however, that this truce will prove to be temporary, since the main issue in dispute—to be or not to be—cannot be compromised, and it is highly unlikely that either side will be converted or permanently subdued.

Unlike most of the Progressive party, the ALP existed for a dozen years before the Wallace movement. In New York, the ALP is the radical residue which has remained after the dissolution of the original labor party movement of the Thirties. This plus the CP forces make up its membership, and thus the fate of the ALP involves also the fate of a relatively large grouping of New York radicals apart from, and today even hostile to the CP.

**T**HE FACT THAT the ALP faces the problem of perspective was recognized by more conscious circles in its leadership and ranks as far back as 1949. Shortly after the 1948 campaign, the newly launched magazine *Monthly Review* opened its pages to discussion of the problem. The

editors, Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, advanced the proposition that the ALP and PP should adopt a full socialist program. While they influenced some of the intellectual periphery of the ALP, they did not represent any significant group within the organization. The two principal groups in the active forces of the ALP were the Communist party and the supporters of state chairman, Vito Marcantonio.

It is no secret that the CP is the most cohesive and well-organized force in the ALP, and consequently its policies are bound to affect the fate of the ALP. The Stalinist leaders also examined the decline of the PP, and came up with the following revelation: The PP is a failure, since it did not evolve into a "mass people's peace party," but narrowed down into a left-wing radical minority party. Therefore, the entire venture was a mistake, the PP should never have been formed at all, and this mistake should be rectified by going out of business and rejoining the masses in the Democratic party. As a starter, the PP should form "coalitions" with the "progressive forces" in the Democratic party by supporting its candidates (such as Tammany Hall's Wagner, etc.).

Many members of the ALP were startled by this crude opportunism of the CP. Yet this was no occasion for surprise at all, for the Stalinist leaders, who call themselves "communist" but have betrayed communism repeatedly, acted entirely in character. The only thing about their action in the case of the PP and ALP that is at all puzzling is the unbelievable stupidity of their move. Browder's treacherous "people's front" operations at least had the attribute of being "practical" and "successful" in the sense that some kind of a "coalition" was possible and was achieved—on the Democrats' terms, but achieved nevertheless. This was possible because of an international and national situation which is now gone. At the present time, the CP is trying to embrace its own executioner.

The result has been exactly what might have been expected. Needless to say, the CP failed and will continue to fail in the effort to break out of isolation by a slick



Vito Marcantonio was the ALP's most prominent leader . . .

maneuver. It has only increased its isolation. It can get no "coalitions," but it has gotten into a sharp conflict with militant elements in the ranks of the PP, and even in its own ranks.

**T**HE FIRST OUTWARD expression of the conflict appeared in the 1951 municipal election campaign. The CP began pushing a line of "broad coalition" behind Rudolph Halley for the office of President of City Council, supplemented by coalitions for minor offices. The foolish venture never got to first base for two reasons: First, there were no takers, least of all Dubinsky and Halley. Second, it ran into strong opposition within the ALP led by Vito Marcantonio and Clifford MacAvoy, the two most prominent leaders of the party. The *Daily Worker* began warning against "sectarian, go-it-alone tendencies" in the ALP, and Marcantonio replied with thinly-veiled attacks against the *Daily Worker* in public speeches. With the falling out in the leadership came the inevitable struggle for organization control, which Marcantonio demanded and won partly because the Stalinists feared the consequences of a head-on clash and gave in.

In the Hallinan campaign of 1952, Marcantonio again waged a vigorous struggle against lesser-evil advocates who wanted to support Stevenson against Eisenhower. The Stalinists were caught somewhat short in this controversy, in which the "lesser-evil" position was pushed by a group of intellectuals led by I. F. Stone of the now-defunct *N.Y. Daily Compass*. This line coincided with their own policy, but they had still not succeeded in preparing their own ranks and close allies. Consequently the *Daily Worker* also opposed the pro-Stevenson movement, but with considerable restraint and equivocation.

No sooner was the election over, however, than the CP, emboldened by Hallinan's low vote, proposed in effect to dissolve the PP and ALP and enter the Democratic party. Again the CP leaders faced a stubborn and widespread resistance. This opposition was even reflected in letters from rank and file CP members which were published in the party's internal discussion bulletin, *Party Voice*. The line of many of these letters embraced three main points: 1. It must be stated unambiguously that the Democratic party is no less reactionary and subservient to big business than the Republican party. 2. It must be clearly recognized

that the Democratic party can neither be reformed nor captured by the labor movement. 3. The PP should not be dissolved, but retained as the political instrument of the left.

The reaction from the non-Stalinist ranks of the ALP and PP nationally was far more violent. Under this fire the Stalinist leaders retreated to a compromise formula, put forward by Wm. Z. Foster in an article in *Party Voice*. This formula calls for the preservation of the ALP as a kind of political pressure group and a vehicle for effecting coalitions whose purpose it would be to try to "influence" the Democratic party or a section of it in a "progressive direction." In short, they proposed to convert the PP and ALP into a kind of Stalinist-sponsored-and-directed Americans for Democratic Action.

**T**HE SIMMERING CONFLICT finally broke wide open in 1953. Marcantonio and MacAvoy took an unequivocal stand for an independent campaign around a full slate of candidates in the municipal elections. The Stalinists once more came forward with their coalition policy. But they had a devil of a time deciding where to bestow their unwanted affections. On the one hand there was Halley. Clearly "the forces around Halley" belonged in the "liberal coalition." On the other hand there was Wagner. True, he was the protege of Tammany Hall, but he was backed by what the Stalinists call the "more progressive" forces in the Democratic party. Finally, the ALP candidate for mayor, Clifford MacAvoy, the Stalinists had to concede, was also "progressive." So they were left in the position of supporting three of the four major candidates in the field, and thus virtually assured of "victory."

Inside the ALP, Marcantonio met the Stalinists head on. He called a city-wide membership meeting on April 29 to open a discussion, and delivered a prepared report in which he militantly defended his policy. He denounced a course of coalition with the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties, which he called "the machine of the three parties as one in operation for the profit of the big and the mighty at the expense of the little people."



. . . but he recently resigned from the party.

He attacked the CP, although not by name, for proposing "liquidation" and "surrender," and declared: "On this, I accept the challenge within and without our party and let the enrolled voters decide the question on Primary Day."

The Stalinists, however, did not accept the challenge, but retreated once more. They evidently calculated that, in such a fight, they could only win a Pyrrhic victory since the inevitable split would leave them totally isolated. But neither would they abandon their coalition policy. The result was a performance of double-talk and double-cross such as has rarely been seen. The *Daily Worker* declared its support for MacAvoy, urged the progressive-minded unionists and liberals to vote for Wagner, and suggested that all others could do worse than vote for Halley. Whereupon Marcantonio and the ALP candidates publicly blasted the Stalinists, accusing them of stabbing the ALP in the back.

**M**EANWHILE the Stalinists inside the ALP were caught in a bind trying to carry out this line. They were told that as ALPers they should loyally support MacAvoy, but in their unions they should be in the forefront of the effort to mobilize the ranks behind Wagner, or behind Halley depending upon which union they were in. As a result numerous Stalinist ALP members and officers campaigned for Wagner against the candidate of their own party. In general, the Stalinists sabotaged both the forces and funds of the campaign. MacAvoy received 53,000 votes, whereas the vote would probably have been around 70 or 75 thousand had the Stalinists and Stalinist-influenced voters backed MacAvoy.

This kind of underhanded politics naturally aroused the fury of the activists against them. Marcantonio, in a prima donna protest, announced his resignation from the ALP, and a heated conflict began in the ranks and leadership. The Marcantonio resignation was a heavy blow to the large grouping of independent radicals who make up the non-Stalinist portion of the ALP, especially since he did not merely wash his hands of the ALP, but proceeded to make strenuous efforts to get all his associates to quit and thus carry out his plan of leaving the Stalinists isolated as a "punishment" for their crimes. But the anti-Stalinist radicals have rallied to a considerable degree, and pressed the fight to maintain the organization.

The immediate consequence of the resignation by Marcantonio and his lieutenants was to leave a power vacuum, with only the Stalinists on hand to fill it. But the Stalinists are out to liquidate the ALP. Thus between Marcantonio on the outside, the Stalinists on the inside, and the great weight of reactionary moods in the country in general, the radicals who want to continue the ALP as an independent political protest party are being buffeted from all sides.

**T**HE RESULTS of the first round of battle since the last election are, in view of these heavy odds against the independents, rather startling. The Stalinists began promptly to advance their policy for the 1954 gubernatorial elections: a policy of lesser-evil support to the Democrats. This would mean ALP destruction, since the law

requires that every ballot party run a candidate for governor and poll no less than 50,000 votes in order to remain on the ballot as a legal party. But they met with such an outburst of hostility in the ranks and among many of the leaders, that they were compelled to retreat once more! A strong, although still disorganized opposition arose, led by MacAvoy, John MacManus, editor of the *National Guardian*, and others, including many of the ALP candidates in the past election.

This show of strength, modest though it still is, coming after the ostensible decapitation of the independents through Marcantonio's resignation, proves two things: First, that the ALP is still alive and faces an internal struggle in which the independent radicals in the ranks will be separated completely from the Stalinist politicians. And second, that the ALP contains a considerable force of independent radicals of determination and seriousness, a group which will have to find a course and a perspective for itself whether the ALP continues or is destroyed.

**F**ROM THE POINT OF VIEW of Marxists, the ALP leaves much to be desired. Its program is limited to reforms which do not transgress the limits of capitalist society, even though it would be hard to find a single member or supporter who is an advocate of capitalism. The more the ALP narrowed down to a core of radicals, the more it watered down its program. Even Wallace advocated the nationalization of monopoly industries, but this was eliminated from the program, and in New York, the ALP has campaigned primarily on a clean government and municipal reform platform.

It is doubtful that the ALP attracts any "reform" votes this way. On the other hand the ALP fails in the task which it could and should fulfill; that is, to attract, inspire and educate those militants who are searching for fundamental answers to the big problems of our times, and for a vehicle in the battle against capitalist war and reaction.

But, inadequate as the ALP is, it stands as the only sizeable movement of opposition to the march of reaction in New York. Its membership is a selection of the most advanced, militant and courageous elements in the population. It has demonstrated a surprising vitality, a will to survive and struggle in spite of all attempts from within and without to destroy it. The emergence of a new tendency in the ALP which is battling the Stalinists on an *absolutely progressive basis* is a development of considerable importance and promise.

We have nothing in common with sectarian and Stalinophobe groups who are afraid to approach near the "reformist," "capitalist," "Stalinist" ALP, and confine their contributions to epithets hurled from a safe distance. Behind this allegedly super-revolutionary exclusivism lurks a craven fear of working with the Stalinist ranks, or even with non-Stalinists who have themselves been identified with the CP in the past.

When it is kept in mind that the ALP practiced coalition with capitalist parties from its very inception, then socialists must recognize that the new current within it is very important. It is a healthy tendency which should be supported and assisted in every possible way.

# The Right To Eat

by James Haskins

## DETROIT

**A** FEW WEEKS AGO, Willie L. Robinson and Samuel Garcia were refused service by the proprietor of Viola's Pizza Pie Restaurant at Warren and McClellan. They called the police to enforce the law forbidding such discrimination because of color, and before they knew it, they found themselves in the station house being questioned by police officers!

"Garcia was released after about two hours of questioning, and I was held from Tuesday evening until Thursday when my attorney, Jessie Williams, had me released," Robinson said. The young Korea veteran declared that the officers questioned continuously, and asked him several times whether he intended to go through with the prosecution of Pizza Pie Restaurant. "Each time that I replied that I was, they took me back to the cell," he reported.

This case has highlighted an aggressive movement under way in Detroit to abolish discrimination against Negroes in restaurants. The Negro population in this city is one of the largest, percentage-wise, of any metropolitan area in the U.S. Yet while the big business class has labeled Detroit "the arsenal of democracy," the Negro people still have to battle for the democratic right to be served in public restaurants.

The present campaign recently went into high gear. Such struggles have been under way for years, but in the past six months the fight has become

**How Negroes organize to fight for their right to be served in all restaurants.**

more determined. A group of active trade unionists are providing leadership. They bring to the task a wide experience. It was this group of unionists and their friends which succeeded in actually destroying restaurant discrimination in the downtown area along Woodward Avenue.

**T**HE PRESENT atmosphere of witch-hunt has unfortunately intimidated the NAACP, and that organization now discourages direct action on this front. For this reason, independent efforts are required. Individuals in small groups all over town conduct a sort of guerrilla warfare on discrimination.

They have been trying to enforce the Michigan Civil Rights Law, commonly known as the Diggs Act, which makes it illegal to discriminate in public places. As was to be expected, the law has remained a dead letter, except when organized groups fight for its enforcement.

The campaign has broadened from the downtown area to the southwest in the vicinity of the GM Fleetwood and Cadillac plants. It succeeded in enlisting the support of the two UAW locals in those plants. Then it branched out into the McClellan Street area of the east side. The McClellan Community Relations Committee, with Ernest Dillard, a well-known Negro officer of the Fleetwood local, as chairman, was organized and is now actively pressing the fight.

The attempt of Willie Robinson and Mr. Garcia to open the Viola Restaurant is one of a series of test cases which has been made. The struggle has already brought some progress. Viola's has been given 30 days to comply and serve Negro patrons or face prosecution. But the committee takes nothing for granted. It called on area residents to press their opening without letup. In an appeal it said: "They are serving now! Let's keep them serving!!!" The committee is also taking steps to enlist broad support to stop police persecution.

**T**HE MCCLELLAN area is mixed, Negro and white. The Negro people have fought for, and in some cases won, the right to move into formerly lily-white neighborhoods. But, having won this, they now face the situation where they can't eat in a restaurant in their own street! This is all the more shameful in view of union strength in these neighborhoods. McClellan is a UAW stronghold, with predominantly auto unionists residing there, and with Solidarity House, international headquarters of the UAW, nearby.

The UAW has adopted many good resolutions at annual conferences and conventions, but this fight has still not become a part of the daily activity of the union. Walter Reuther, who heads both the CIO and the UAW, is a very brave man when it comes to making speeches all over Europe about the blessings of democracy in the U.S., but hasn't been taking action in what is literally his own back yard. The full force of the union could end this shameful situation in a week.

Experience also demonstrates that this struggle for equality revives rank and file interest in the unions. It stimulates attention in all union activities, and thereby helps all workers regardless of color. These fighters have as their motto the idea of Karl Marx that labor with a white skin can never be free so long as labor with a black skin is branded.

Don't ask f'r rights. Take thim.  
An' don't let any wan give thim to ye.  
A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has somethin' the matter with it.  
It's more than likely it's on'y a wrong turned inside out.

—Mr. Dooley

What is the meaning of the important new events in the Soviet bloc since Stalin's death? Here is a discussion article from the debate in the Marxist movement over this question. Readers are invited to contribute their own ideas.

## Russia in Transition

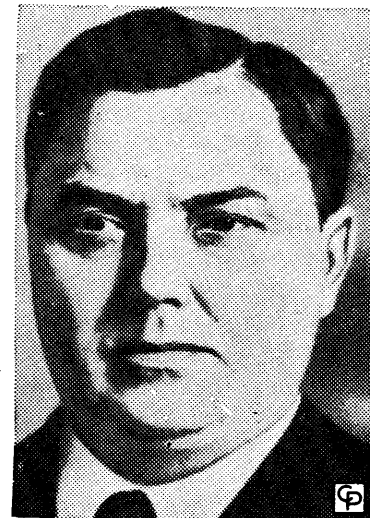
**T**HE SOVIET EVENTS since Stalin's death have occasioned much analysis and speculation. One school of thought which has recently broken with world Trotskyism holds that nothing essentially new has occurred in the USSR so far as the policies of the post-Stalin regime are concerned. They set forth the thesis that a new blood purge akin to that of 1936-38 is about to sweep over the country, that recent propaganda about collective leadership is just a masquerade to hide the build-up of a Malenkov cult, that Malenkov is emerging as the new Stalin, that the recent economic policies emphasizing the production of consumer goods are of little or no significance, that the new concessions to the peasantry are not concessions at all but represent a signal victory for elements desiring capitalist restoration, that the post-Stalin foreign policy represents an attempt at capitulation to world imperialism.

These theses have no basis in present Soviet reality. They are formulated by those for whom the clock of Russian history stopped in 1936. Their writings, based as they are not on present conditions but on old memories, cannot explain with any degree of cogency the unfolding events, are helpless in posing the tasks of Marxists in terms of the real issues, the real trends, the real developments. Before we can even begin to correctly pose the necessary tasks, we have to correctly analyze *what is*. With this as our starting point, let us look into the analysis of present Soviet reality presented by writers for this viewpoint.

The *Militant* writers see a new blood purge under way today in the USSR that "cannot fail to be a mass blood purge in the pattern that gained world notoriety under Stalin." (*Militant*, July 20, 1953.) Their researches into the methods of Stalinist rule bring them to the conclusion that the bureaucracy "has no way of regulating the

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*This article is a portion of a contribution by one of the editors of The American Socialist to the discussion that preceded the split in the Socialist Workers Party. Those who want a fuller treatment of this and related subjects should write for The Educator, discussion bulletin of the Socialist Union of America. (Send 25c.)*



Georgi Malenkov

contradictions of Soviet society except through the application of force and more force. . . . Hence the purge system," and that is why there have been purges in the past and there are going to continue to be purges in the future on and on until the Stalinist bureaucracy is overthrown.

This thesis is faulty on two major counts. First, it bases itself on a static view of Russian society and history. Second, it attempts to analyze the mechanics of Soviet rule in a vacuum without reference to the social conditions underlying them—the common fault of vulgar bourgeois writings on this subject.

**T**HE GREAT BLOOD PURGE of 1936-38 did not derive from just the simple mechanics of Stalinist dictatorship. It had definite sociological causes and represented a specific stage in the bureaucracy's rule. It struck a Russia that was just emerging from years of terrible famine, of Stalinist-forced collectivizations and the civil war against a recalcitrant peasantry leading to destruction and exile of hundreds of thousands, if not millions. It was the period when millions of peasants were herded like cattle into urban centers without adequate housing, without sufficient food, to become soldiers in the furious, breakneck race for industrialization. The bureaucracy tried to cut its way out of the ensuing chaos, disorganization, waste, bureaucratic mismanagement and breakdowns, and the embitterment and growing hostility of the masses with draconian laws chaining the worker to his job, the peasant to the collective farm. While the first years of planning under Stalinist aegis were insufficient to improve the living standards of the masses, the successes were enormous nevertheless, and began providing for a new privileged bureaucracy, whose standards soared far beyond that of the rest of the population—further widening the gulf and deepening the animosity between the two.

In this setting came the fateful shot that killed Kirov, the Stalinist boss of Leningrad, and forcibly brought to the attention of the Kremlin tyrants the existence of widespread moods of opposition among the student youth and



other sectors of Soviet society. The Bonapartist ruling clique, in fright, struck back blindly and savagely, to drown in a sea of blood the very possibility of opposition. It sought with the mass frameup trials not only to terrorize the population and layers of the bureaucracy itself, but to smear all possible opposition with the brush of capitalist intervention and restoration, and make the victims the scapegoat for the brutality of Soviet existence.

**E**VEN BEFORE the outbreak of the war, the blood bacchanalia had to be brought to a halt as it was undermining the very foundations of the Stalinist dictatorship itself. When the life-and-death struggle with Hitler's armies began, all sections of the bureaucracy had to close ranks and rally the people behind the war effort. With the victory, we have heard of the recrudescence of all sorts of purges of various bureaucrats, accompanied by traditional recantations, confessions and other odious features of the Stalinist inquisitorial system. But there are purges and purges. The great number of victims in the recent purges were simply removed from their high offices, disgraced and demoted. Even those brought to trial—and the number has not been great—were given relatively mild sentences compared to the savagery of 1936-38. As a matter of fact, the first important attempt to stage a frameup trial on the 1936-38 model inside the USSR itself was in the case of the Jewish doctors—and that blew up in the face of its organizers. To put the purges of the past few years, therefore, on the same plane as the 1936-38 bloodbath is to reveal the lack of a sense of proportion and to cut off for oneself the possibility of a rational understanding of Soviet developments.

The USSR, in contrast to the period of the thirties, has become the second world industrial power. It has not only made good the ravages of war, but in key sectors of heavy industry it will rival or outdistance by the end of the present Five Year Plan in 1955 the combined production of England, France and West Germany. The recent price reductions, ranging from 5 to as high as 50 percent on some items, represent a significant improvement in the mass living standard. The urban population stands now at 80 million. The working class is approximately 45 million strong. Of course, these figures have to be taken in conjunction with the fact that production of consumer goods remains low compared to Western capitalist countries, and the productivity of labor still lags behind West Germany, England, and is not even to be compared with the United States. Still, the present crisis derives not from backwardness or catastrophe, but from advancement and growth; not from a decline of revolutionary progress abroad, but from its great upsurge. Is it conceivable that the rulers will start a new bloodbath in these circumstances because there is some supra-historical law of dictatorship which makes it inevitable? That would be like pouring oil on the flames of discontent. Were the Malenkovs and Khrushchevs and Molotovs to attempt it, it would signify the death spasms of the regime. It is conceivable only as a concomitant of war against mass rebellion, or the aftermath of crushing a mass rebellion.

There may be purges here and purges there in the next period as we have witnessed in the past six years.

That is entirely possible, even probable. The rulers will attempt to maintain themselves in this new critical period by many maneuverist combinations of concessions and repressions, the exact nature of which is impossible to foretell in specific details. The one thing that can be foreseen with accuracy is that the USSR will not now pass through the grueling experience of a 1936-38 purge. To see the country in the throes of a convulsion of this kind is to view things through spectacles that are badly out of focus.

There are those who believe that the considerable campaign now in progress in the USSR for "collective leadership," which has not abated after Beria's removal, is all a "Bonapartist masquerade" which hides Malenkov's bid for personal dictatorship. They further declare that Stalin proceeded in an identical manner to establish himself as an undisputed autocrat. First, the factual side is not exactly accurate. While it took many years for the Stalin cult to assume the monstrous proportions of its later period, the sycophancy and idolatry of Stalin were encouraged even before the Trotskyist and Right Wing oppositions were rooted out. Moreover, to the extent that "collective leadership" was proclaimed up to 1928, it was not because of a clever ruse on Stalin's part. He simply had not yet destroyed his rivals, and this formula represented, not a masquerade for the dictator, but the only possible compromise under which the major leaders could operate. And Stalin, be it remembered, was practically an unknown figure to the masses at large, and had to break down the long-standing Bolshevik tradition of Spartan simplicity and plebeian honesty as well.

Malenkov has the Stalinist heritage to build on, and rest on. If he is trying to build up a new "Malenkov cult," he is certainly going about it in the most inept and unconvincing manner imaginable. If that were his aim, it stands to reason that the easiest way is to continue the hosannahs for the old Stalin cult. Stalin was God, and it then can follow that Malenkov is the Son of God, or his best pupil and interpreter. The present Pope in the Vatican doesn't claim infallibility for himself by denying the infallibility of his predecessors. No absolute monarch ever attempted upon assuming the throne to impress his subjects with the Divine Right of kings by questioning the absolutism of his royal father. If it is nevertheless true that the present full-throated propaganda against cults and cultism is a masquerade by which Malenkov hopes to become undisputed dictator, then, on the face of it, he must be put down as a bungler, and a fool, who will surely never achieve his ambition because of sheer incompetence.

Contrary to the over-sophisticated deductions of political hawkshaws, Malenkov has not attempted to start a new "Malenkov cult," because he is not in a position to do so. He is not a free agent, but must reckon with the other chieftains at his elbows. The continuing campaign for "collective leadership" signifies that the oligarchs are jealously watching each other and will not permit, as yet, any single individual to gather all the threads of power in his own hands.

**A**CCORDING TO one peculiar interpretation, the USSR is on the road to capitalist restoration. The con-



Lavrenti Beria

The purge of Lavrenti Beria, whose trial is still awaited, coincided with the halting of political concessions by the bureaucracy, who were apparently frightened badly by the June 17 East German rising. Economic concessions continued, however, and the consumer goods drive was even stepped up following the dismissal of Beria.

stands. It indeed demonstrates that the proprietary instincts of the peasantry remain strong. This is hardly surprising, what with the continuing shortages of consumer goods and the forced requisitions by the state. But it is unbelievable that with the big advances that have been made in the economy as a whole, and even in agriculture, the peasant is now definitely oriented toward capitalist restoration. Isaac Deutscher, in his recent book, quotes the well known Menshevik economist, Dr. Jasny, who polemicizes against those "irresponsible" Russian emigres who "promise" the peasants that, after the overthrow of the Soviet regime, they will abolish the collective farms. Dr. Jasny, a bitter enemy of the Soviet regime, argues that if Russian farming were to go back to the pre-collectivization system "it could feed barely half the present urban population. Consequently a simple return to those farms would be equivalent to a huge calamity."

It is improbable that the peasantry is unaware of this economic reality, and that the new generation brought up under the collective farm system would tear it all up given the opportunity and return to individualistic farming. At any rate, no one has demonstrated the existence of such a restorationist force in agriculture. *As for the Stalinist agricultural bureaucracy, it has shown irrefutably during and since the war that—like the rest of the bureaucracy—it understands that its existence is tied up with the new property relations.* Along with the present considerable concessions to the farmers, it has slapped on new punitive taxes for failure to meet the work obligations on the collective farms. The regime is thus giving clear warning that while it is permitting the individual peasant greater leeway on his private plot of land, and he has the chance of making more money both there and on the collectives, it will not brook any decline, much less abandonment of the collective farm system. Since collective farming cannot yet be consolidated by the automatic workings of the economy—Stalinist Russia has still not attained this level—the bureaucracy continues to rely on administrative measures and punitive legislation.

**SOME HOLD THAT** the foreign policy of the new regime is an attempt to capitulate to world imperialism. The *Militant* "analyst" states: "The Kremlin is crawling out of its skin for a deal with Washington; and it is just as eager for deals with the West European bourgeoisies, first and foremost that of Germany." In this instance, as in others, the writer dwells in a static, oversimplified world. If it is true that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy, then the changes and regroupments taking place within the USSR cannot but affect the external relations as well.

Stalin's policy for two decades rested on the twin pillars of "socialism in one country" and the preservation of the external status quo. His foreign policy up to the second world war consisted, in essence, of maneuvering between the imperialist powers and seeking agreements with them to preserve the status quo. For this, he was willing to bargain away the revolutionary movements as pawns in his big-power nationalist game. But not only was he willing; due to a confluence of circumstances, he was able, as tragically demonstrated in France and Spain in 1936-38,

cessions made to the farmers are interpreted as a bowing before "the restorationist elements in agriculture."

Let us see. As all students of the USSR are well aware, agriculture constitutes the non-stated sector of Soviet economy. While the collectives as a form of group production are immeasurably superior to private production on individual farms and are more easily aligned with overall state planning, they continue nevertheless to constitute the petty-bourgeois element in the economy and a dislocating factor in the organization of production. Moreover, the collectives were organized too rapidly, by force and violence, without adequate technical equipment and skilled labor, so that the Kremlin after a while had to make a disorderly retreat in its efforts to communize agriculture with one fell stroke: Land was transferred to the collectives for use "in perpetuity," while the individual was permitted to operate a private midget farm with his own livestock, pigs, cows, and the produce of which he was free to dispose in the open market.

Discussing this problem *seventeen years ago* Trotsky stated: "In exchange for this transgression of Socialization and limiting of collectivization, the peasant agrees peaceably, although as yet without great zest, to work in the collective farms, which offer him the opportunity to fulfill his obligations to the State and get something into his own hands. . . . Many things, however, permit the conclusion that in the personal existence of the peasant his own midget holdings have no less significance than the collectives. This means that the struggle between individualistic and collective tendencies is still in progress throughout the whole mass of the villages, and that its outcome is not yet decided. Which way are the peasants inclined? They themselves do not as yet exactly know."

In other words, *in 1936*, Trotsky stated that the peasant had not yet made up his mind between collective and private farming. In 1953, it is asserted, without evidence, without proof, that the peasant is now sold on capitalist restoration. Are we not justified in rejecting this Cassandra-like wailing until positive proof is submitted?

The new policy in agriculture demonstrates that the regime is convinced it can raise agricultural production only by talking to the peasant in the language he under-

and in Greece, Italy and France, immediately after the war.

However, the world has not been standing still since. The revolutionary flood has washed away both of Stalin's "rocks," even before his death. The second world war irreparably disrupted the old status quo and confronted the USSR with one imperialist bloc. The revolutionary tide overwhelmed the Stalinist bureaucracy and broke through the dikes in Yugoslavia and China. The pressures of the global class conflict compelled even the Kremlin itself to break down the capitalist structure in Eastern Europe. The Kremlin rulers are unquestionably as narrowly nationalist as they ever were. But they no longer can utilize the revolutionary movements as small change for bargaining purposes with the imperialists. Even in the Western capitalist countries like France and Italy where their hold on the native Communist parties is still considerable, they cannot conduct themselves with the same bureaucratic arrogance and reactionary aplomb, lest they provoke new Tito-like movements. And they have to, as a matter of fact, give a measure of obeisance to the mass movements and pay a certain price, as shown in China and Korea, to retain the leadership of the Soviet bloc.

**D**OES NOT MALENKOV, however, as Stalin before him, repeatedly call on the imperialists to come to an understanding with Moscow? Yes, he does. Does not Malenkov repeat after Stalin that the two systems can coexist peaceably? Yes, he does. But we have to ask ourselves what is the nature of the understanding that the Kremlin seeks, and what concessions is it prepared to make in return for an agreement? This is important to determine, because we are not irresponsible anarchists, we are not opponents on principle of agreements or compromises between workers' states and capitalist states, provided the agreements are justified and properly based. The Kremlin, be it understood, is still capable of sell-out agreements here or there. But will it agree to turn Eastern Europe back to the imperialists? Will it agree to hurl to the wolves Indo-China and North Korea, as it did in the case of Greece after the war, in return for loans and promises to be left alone? To ask the question is to answer it. Even were the Kremlin cabal deranged enough to undertake a venture of this kind—and it is inconceivable that it would do so, as such a capitulation would immediately isolate the USSR and weaken it in the face of the enemy—there does not exist the faintest likelihood that it could carry through the suicidal capitulation.

The opposition to it on the part of the intended victims would break over the heads of the Kremlin tyrants and overwhelm them. But this is precisely what Dulles and the imperialist mob are demanding with growing insistence. Is it even conceivable that the Kremlin will agree to give up Eastern Germany, which is proving to be such an intolerable burden to it? Why, even in this special case, the *quid pro quo* would be the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany and its neutralization in the cold war. But this kind of agreement is ruled out at present in the face of the Dulles-Adenauer victory in Western Germany, and the whole policy trend of American imperialism.

In a word, what a real agreement means today, and what the Kremlin means by an agreement, is the division of the world into recognized spheres of influence based on the present relationships. This was what Wallace advocated in 1948, and that is why he got such short shrift from the powers-that-be in the United States. American imperialism cannot and will not reconcile itself to the existence of revolutionary China and a Soviet sphere of influence over half of Europe. That is why the State Department sees no point in a new top-level conference. That is why the field for a possible agreement is so narrowed down as to necessarily reduce it, if one is actually ever effected, to secondary significance and of an ephemeral nature that will not alter the basic trend of the cold war. So, here too, the old world of 1938 has been shattered, and one has to discuss Stalinist foreign policy on the basis of the present conditions and relationships—and not from old texts that do not apply.

**T**HE POST-STALIN EPOCH will be recorded in history as the period of struggle for the democratic regeneration of the Soviet Union. This regeneration will take place, according to the Trotskyist analysis, by means of a *political* revolution; a revolution, because the masses will in struggle shatter the tyrannous police regime; *political* as distinct from a *social* revolution, because while cleansing from top to bottom the present bureaucratic structure, and restoring the rule of the masses by the re-creation of the party, Soviets, trade unions, workers' management of industry and planning, democratic rights, etc., the revolution will leave intact the property forms established by the 1917 revolution and the system of state ownership and planning. The coming political revolution, like all revolutions, political or social, will not emerge full blown with no previous forewarning like Juno rising from the foam of the sea. A more or less lengthy process of preparation, class regroupment, minor tests of strength, and feeling out of positions will take place before we even will see the heat lightning of the coming storm. The first tremors have taken place, as we have seen, on top. There will be more of these.

New manifestations of the growing cataclysm may occur within the Soviet intelligentsia and bureaucracy itself before the as yet atomized and unorganized working masses can directly enter the arena. Those who can only see the USSR frozen in its 1938 visage, and who imply that everything will remain unchanged—until one wonderful day the working masses will take to the streets, unfurl the spotless banner of Trotskyism, and march in serried ranks on the Kremlin—betray an immature understanding of the revolution, political or otherwise. Were the thinking of world Trotskyism to succumb to this mechanistic approach, it would lose all appeal to the rising generation of revolutionary youth, who would be forced to turn elsewhere for Marxist answers to the problems of our lifetime. All this suggests that we must follow attentively and without prejudice the Soviet reality as it unfolds in practice, so that we may be in a position to point the lessons, and to pose cogently and convincingly the next tactical tasks for the realization of the democratic regeneration of the USSR.



# BOOK REVIEW

## *An Honest Journalist*

*The Truman Era*, By I. F. Stone, *Monthly Review Press*, New York, 1953, \$3.

This book consists of a compilation of Stone's columns from *PM*, *Daily Compass* and the *New York Star* from 1945 to 1952.

There is no question that I. F. Stone is one of the best American journalists in the business. It is a commentary on the times that he is no longer writing in the metropolitan press, but publishes his own paper, *I. F. Stone's Weekly*. If I am correctly informed the present book was given the silent treatment by the daily press.

It would be wrong to assume that I. F. Stone is a fanatical Red. As a matter of fact, he conceives of himself as a kind of gadfly, and relates the following to illustrate his political bent: "I recall a congenial character of whom I read somewhere, I think in Macaulay, a certain Colonel Wentworth who got in wrong with the Cavaliers when they were in power by defending the Roundheads and in wrong with the Roundheads when they were in power by defending the Cavaliers. I salute the Colonel's memory and have sought to abide by his example."

It is a pleasure to read these columns after the passage of time. Many are very well written. A number are clever. And one or two are brilliant. But, though, to us, I. F. Stone is full of illusions and inconsistencies, you are always aware that you are reading the writings of an honest man and a fighter. And those are very rare qualities in American journalism today.

Stone goes through many of the peregrinations of the bewildered American liberal. He recalls Roosevelt's memory with nostalgia and reverence, he has great hopes for the UN when it is set up, he hails the decisions of the Potsdam conference, he winds up in 1952 in Adlai Stevenson's corner. But in between are sandwiched devastating reports on the cold war, keen exposes of the lifting of controls and inflation at home, savage thrusts at the growing witch-hunt, eloquent indictment of Jim Crow.

Stone supported Wallace in 1948 and wrote several very discerning and critical columns on the 1950 Progressive Party convention. He concludes his dispatches from Chicago with an exhortation which still sounds good today: "The Progressive Party under current conditions of hysteria can hardly elect a dogcatcher outside of New York. This weakness can be its strength. It has nothing to lose by being honest. It is down to bedrock. People who

are still Progressives are too tough to be frightened off. Many of them are old-time Populists, Wobblies, anarchists, Socialists, or Communists who know the score better than their leaders. Others are thinking youngsters more likely to be held and attracted by a vigorous radicalism than by phony talk about 'progressive capitalism' . . . I plead for a strong infusion of Socialism into the anemic veins of the Progressives."

Stone concludes with a column where Dr. Einstein takes up the problem of humanity with God. Unfortunately, the latter appears somewhat confused himself. Our "Colonel Wentworth" thus ends the book on an uncertain note. We would have preferred to see it end with the fine column written from Washington on October 5, 1947:

"Quite a dispute has been going on here about 'containment.' Mr. X (George F. Kennan) in *Foreign Affairs* outlined a policy for 'containing' the Soviet Union. Mr. Walter Lippman in a brilliant rejoinder came to the rather wistful conclusion that the real problem was to 'recontain' the Red Army. I want to add my own modest penny's worth to the containment controversy . . . The trend toward Socialism is irresistible, though atom bombs level everything from Moscow to Vladivostock, though the palest pinks of Washington are immersed in Alaskan hoosegows. There is the handwriting on the twentieth century skies. This is the future. The American capitalist would be wise to recognize it and contain himself. This is the 'containment' we need for world peace."

## *Cynic's Memoirs*

*Triumph and Tragedy, Vol. 6 in "The History of the Second World War,"* By Winston S. Churchill, *Houghton Mifflin Co.*, Boston \$6.

Winston Churchill is getting pretty old. As he quipped recently when asked on a Sunday morning why he was not going to church: "I'll see my Maker soon enough." So, he was apparently decided that the time has come when he can afford to spread himself with greater frankness, some might even call it cynicism. It is not without interest that this hard-bitten old Tory with his feudal concepts of class, caste and *noblesse oblige* and his medieval philosophy of honor and glory, should be considered by the Anglo-American capitalists as the most authentic and authoritative spokesman of their broad class interests. And it is equally revealing that this scion of British aristocracy, a man of education and learning, should, in the twilight of his life, be at one with the Catholic exponents of obscurantism, who conclude that all the ills of the world can be traced back to the encyclopedists and the French revolution, with their modern ideas of democracy and equality and respect for science and learning.

In a communication to the Foreign Office, Churchill wrote: "This war would never have come unless, under American and modernizing pressure, we had driven

the Hapsburgs out of Austria and Hungary and the Hohenzollerns out of Germany. By making these vacuums we gave the opening for the Hitlerite monster to crawl out of its sewer on the vacant thrones. No doubt these views are very unfashionable."

The sordid bargain between Churchill and Stalin for dividing up the Balkans has been described before in ex-Secretary of State Hull's memoirs. It is well to hear it however right out of the horse's mouth. And it is good to have it put with such brutal clarity, so that all the lovely souls who think great-power wars are fought for democracy, or freedom of press, or any other such noble enterprises, can be straightened out on this point by a man who knows.

Churchill reports his conversation with Stalin in the fall of 1944: "The moment was apt for business, so I said, 'Let us settle about affairs in the Balkans . . . how would it do for you to have 90 per cent predominance in Rumania, for us to have 90 per cent of the say in Greece, and go about 50-50 about Yugoslavia?' While this was being translated I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper:

<i>Rumania</i>	
Russia	90%
The others	10%
<i>Greece</i>	
Great Britain	90%
(In accord with U.S.)	
Russia	10%
<i>Yugoslavia</i>	50-50%
<i>Hungary</i>	50-50%
<i>Bulgaria</i>	
Russia	75%
The others	25%

"I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set it down."

These memoirs contain a number of Stalin's letters and cables to Churchill and Roosevelt and round out our picture of the oriental despot. Stalin was essentially a conservative thinker. He assured Churchill he was sure to win the British election in 1945. As we know from Yugoslav sources, he told Mao to make peace with Chiang Kai-shek because the partisan forces did not have a chance. He was less aware of the post-war revolutionary rumblings in Europe than Churchill. He wanted an old-fashioned big-power settlement where the major victors would assign spheres of influence and divide up the spoils. But Churchill, pirate and gambler though he was, could never forget that Stalin was heading an antipathetic social system which threatened to topple and destroy all that Churchill held dear in life.

Hence, Churchill never tired of conspiring to establish a military front in the Balkans and thus prevent the Red Army from spilling into the heart of Europe. The controversy on this point between Churchill and the Americans has been largely couched in military terms heretofore. Churchill strips the pretense away in this book, and shows

it up for what it was—a politically-motivated project, part of the undercover contest between the Anglo-American and Russian armies as to who would occupy the lion's portion of the continent, a contest brought on by the deadly fear of Churchill and his crowd of the "Sovietization" effects of Red Army occupation.

Churchill broadly hints that the present troubles and the dangers of a new war could all have been avoided if only his advice had been accepted on this score. This lament duplicates on the European scene the howl in America that if only this, that and the other thing, had been done, the Chinese overturn could have been prevented and China would still be in the American grip. After the French revolution in the eighteenth century, Europe was flooded with similar writings. The Tory mind becomes a police mind in the period of its mortal crisis. And every police chief, no matter how educated or intelligent, believes that he can stop the clock of history if only he has enough cops on hand to do the job.

B. C.

## Letters to the Editor

(Continued from Page 2)

that the witch-hunt is going too far without being subjected to such pressures!

AUTO WORKER, *Detroit*

John Hubbard learned in Milwaukee district court the other day that the cost, at least to a Negro, of defending one's rights as an American citizen is a ninety-day jail sentence and a severe beating.

Early on the morning of Nov. 3, Hubbard was stopped by a pair of cops as he stepped from the doorway of a store. When Hubbard refused to permit the cops to search him, they beat him up. Hubbard did a fine job defending himself with his bare hands against the club-wielding cops. Reinforcements were needed before he could be subdued. The cops didn't really get any good punches in until one of them held a gun on Hubbard. The slugging continued after he had been handcuffed and beaten to the ground.

That very morning, the local Hearst paper, the *Sentinel*, began a vicious campaign against the Negro community, pointing to the fact that one of the three cops injured by Hubbard required hospitalization. The *Sentinel*, seconded by the usual crowd of civic leaders, demanded that the Sixth Ward be made safe for *policemen!* They wanted an "example" made of Hubbard. Milwaukee's "Socialist" mayor, Frank P. Ziedler, joined the chorus.

The talk of making an example of Hubbard began to die away after the sports editor of the *Milwaukee Journal* took up his defense. Hubbard had been a very popular professional heavyweight, and had once been fired as a sparring partner by Joe Louis because he knocked Louis out.

Hubbard's trial resulted in a conviction on a charge of resisting arrest. The judge repeatedly made comments from the bench favorable to the prosecution. The sentence is being appealed on the grounds that the arrest was illegal and that Hubbard was within his rights. Wisconsin law prohibits a search for the purpose of making an arrest, or an arrest for the purpose of making a search.

Meanwhile, Hubbard is becoming something of a popular hero among both white and Negro workers because of his courage and success in dealing with the police.

R. H., *Milwaukee*

Signs of growing opposition to the witch-hunt were seen here in Flint by the good response to a meeting held Nov. 29 under auspices of the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law.

All the locals and the regional office of the UAW-CIO supported the meeting, which protested both against the undemocratic Michigan Trucks Law, with a plea for justice in the case of Lieut. Milo Radulovich, who was discharged from the Air Force on trumped-up charges based on alleged political activities of his relatives.

A local Presbyterian minister spoke for civil rights, and assistance was given the protest meeting by schoolteachers, and quite unexpectedly by several local newspaper and radio men.

That is the bright side of the story. The other side is that the FBI intervened directly in an attempt to sabotage the meeting. They scurried all over town trying to intimidate labor and liberal leaders in an effort to keep them from speaking at the meeting. Some were frightened away, but others were angered by this interference.

The local union leaders here seem to be getting the idea, for the first time, that the witch-hunt is aimed at them, and not just at the radicals. The Truman-Harry Dexter White case, which broke the same week as the Trucks Committee meeting, helped to convince them that the witch-hunters are going to burn labor bureaucrats as well as books, New Dealers as well as Reds.

F. P., *Flint*

## Socialist Notes

A conference of national leaders of the Socialist Union of America, meeting immediately after the expulsion from the Socialist Workers party, made the following organization decisions:

1. The minority members of the SWP national committee be constituted as a provisional national committee of the new organization, pending convocation of a representative national conference.

2. The national committee members in New York be authorized to act as the provisional executive leadership, to set up offices, issue publications, organize the coming national conference, and take care of all interim matters.

3. That publications of the Socialist Union, written in a popular style and binding for the interest of advanced workers, students and intellectuals, combine features of political analysis with a style and content suited to an organization of propaganda and action.

4. That the publication program include the regular issuance of pamphlets giving rounded treatment of important subjects such as the trade unions, McCarthyism and American fascism, the Third World War, economic perspectives, etc. The first two pamphlets planned shall be 1) a thorough review of the fight and split in the SWP; 2) a general pamphlet on what the Socialist Union is and how it envisages the creation of a new mass socialist party in the U.S. given the present objective situation and line of development of the labor movement.

5. That the dues of the Socialist Union of America be \$1 per month, and 25c for unemployed members.

6. A national foundation fund of at least \$5,000 is to be raised, starting Nov. 15, 1953 and ending Feb. 15, 1954. (This fund has since been launched, the quotas have been oversubscribed, and a substantial amount collected, as reported elsewhere.)

7. That a midwest conference of all branches and members-at-large in the area be held in Detroit on Sat. and Sun., Nov. 21 and 22. (A highly successful conference took place, as reported in this issue.)

8. The New York local organization is to organize a public open meeting in the next few weeks on the general subject "Prospects of American Radicalism" under the auspices of the new organization. (A report of the well-attended and enthusiastic meeting held at Adelphi Hall in N.Y. on Dec. 4 can be found in this issue.)

9. A national tour shall be organized as soon as possible.

10. A national conference shall be organized on a fully representative basis. All conference materials shall be in the hands of all members sufficiently ahead of time so that there is full opportunity for discussion, presentation of proposals, etc.

A spirited midwest conference to launch the Socialist Union of America was held in Detroit on Nov. 21-22. Attended by about 75 delegates, and including a high proportion of CIO workers in the mass production industries of the region, the conference featured a report by Bert Cochran and a very full and enthusiastic discussion.

Interest concentrated around the content and purposes of the magazine *The American Socialist*, the role of tradition in a Marxist organization under which speakers discussed the distinction between a living tradition and hidebound traditionalism, the way to use the Marxist classics in the building of a socialist movement, and the organization work of the Socialist Union in the immediate period ahead. Afterwards, meetings of local organizations discussed work in their localities.

## . . . Meetings, Subscriptions, Fund Drive Reported

The first New York public meeting of the Socialist Union of America, held on Dec. 4 at Adelphi Hall, drew more than 100 people. Bert Cochran was the speaker, and Harry Braverman the chairman. Cochran's speech, on "Prospects of American Radicalism," most of which is reproduced in this issue, was followed by considerable discussion. The meeting also featured a good collection for the Socialist Union, and refreshments.

The Flint Socialist Union group started things off with a bang by sending in 46 subscriptions to *The American Socialist* even before this first issue was off the press. A good number of subs have already been sold in New York. The San Francisco branch ordered a fair-sized bundle order, and wrote us about their plans for newsstand sales. All branches and individuals should investigate this in their cities. New York has already prepared a wide newsstand placement for this first issue.

The National Foundation Fund of the newly organized Socialist Union of America was launched November 21, at the SUA Midwest conference held in Detroit. A total thus far of \$5,500 was pledged. Sixteen percent of the Fund has been collected at this writing (Dec. 9). The campaign will continue to February 15.

The Flint branch of the SUA started the Foundation Fund by laying 40 percent of its pledge on the table at the Detroit conference. All the branches, convinced of the need to finance the varied activities and publications program of an organization dedicated to spread the ideas of living Marxism, have indicated they will meet their pledges in full and on time.

The Fund will be used to finance national speaking tours, publication of educational pamphlets on a variety of subjects, and numerous other activities. Readers of *The American Socialist* are urged to help by sending their contributions to: Foundation Fund, Socialist Union of America, 863 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

The following excerpts from a letter from Minneapolis show that the Twin Cities group of the Socialist Union of America is well under way.

"You will note that there is one extra December dues payment. The latest is for a graduate student and a contact of the SWP for about a year. He says he never quite joined the SWP because it appeared too dogmatic and set in its ways, but he unhesitatingly joined the Socialist Union after our outlook and reason for being was presented to him.

"In general, it appears that we are bequeathing none of the student contacts to the SWP. Here is an interesting anecdote:

A student phoned me tonight to tell me that the Cannonite kid on the campus had button-holed him. The dialogue was reported:

"J: You've heard Dave's side of the split. Now listen to ours.

"N: I've seen your side of the story in the Militant. I think the charges against the minority—of capitulating to the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists—are ridiculous.

"J: But you don't understand. These people are members of an international Pabliste conspiracy. They break strikes in Ceylon and in the Renault plant in France.

"N: Why don't you debate Dave in front of the Socialist Club?

"J: The Stalinists will probably take over the club any day now.

"This particular student offered to help us get subs and has proffered technical advice on the format of the magazine etc. Another has volunteered to run off leaflets. A third wants to submit an article (a review of *Socialism in America*, the Princeton publication)."

## . . . Fourth International Statement on SWP Split

*Reprinted below is a section of the declaration issued on Nov. 20, 1953 by the Secretariat of the Fourth International, on the recent desertion from world Trotskyism by the Majority of the Socialist Workers Party:*

The American Majority has just betrayed our cause. In an infamous manifesto published by its organ, *The Militant*, it for all purposes breaks with our international movement, slanderously accuses it of having "capitulated" to Stalinism, and repeats about the International the infamies and wretched lies of the confused and sectarian Bleibtreu group in France. Moreover, it announces the expulsion of the American Minority, or one-third of the organization which contains the majority of its working class base, especially the proletarian cadres of the auto and steel industries. . . .

It can only be explained by the complete degeneration of the Cannonites, resulting from their prolonged isolation from the masses, and by the terrible pressure exerted upon all social layers of the U.S. by American imperialism in the midst of its counter-revolutionary war preparations. It is in any case absolutely inexcusable.

The Cannonites, cynically exhibiting their anti-International furor, and gleefully hunting "Stalinists" in their own organization and in the International, in reality adapt themselves to the reactionary atmosphere which reigns in the citadel of imperialism and hide under "extreme left" language their own weakening before this reactionary pressure. . . .

Comrades, let us leave the dead bury their own. Let us redouble our energies. Let us resume our irresistible forward march. There is no force capable of burying Trotskyism, living revolutionary Marxism. . . .

## Witch-Hunt— According to Plan

Those who believe McCarthyism and the witch-hunt were not planned by top capitalist circles should note the striking similarity between the development of the purge and the proposals adopted officially by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

1946: The Chamber in a report on communism advocated a campaign against "subversives" in Hollywood. This was followed by the nationally publicized red-hunt in the film capital. The chamber proposed a "loyalty" purge of government workers. This was soon followed by Truman's program of screening and firing Federal employees, a harassment and victimization that has continued to the present.

1947: The Chamber demanded that the government publish a "subversive" list. This was followed by the Attorney-General's arbitrary personal blacklist of organizations. The Chamber proposed a new labor law to provide legal means to hound left-wingers in unions. Congress complied with the Taft-Hartley slave labor law, complete with loyalty oath.

1952: The Chamber proposed a campaign against liberals and defenders of civil rights. The McCarthyite smear against the American Civil Liberties Union, the Americans for Democratic Action, against college professors, teachers, churchmen, the *N.Y. Post*, and against Truman and the New Deal Democrats immediately went into high gear.

The Chamber proposed that "communists" be banned from employment in private business; "in any plant large enough to have a labor union"; any school or university, any agency which influences public opinion such as newspapers, etc.; and any field which gives prestige and high salaries, such as entertainment. The Chamber made clear that this blacklist should include "fellow-travelers." This plan has been carried out in a thorough purge of the radio, television, publishing, advertising and theatrical businesses.

Now the General Electric Corp. has announced that it will suspend any worker charged with "subversive" activities until he is proven innocent, a practice long in effect in many industries but not until now openly avowed as a policy.

The Chamber of Commerce, controlled by Wall Street interests, announced in its 1952 report that it considers the McCarran concentration camp law a "mild piece of legislation."

Wealth and power are squarely behind the growth of McCarthyism, and thus its rise is not an accidental result of demagogues and hysteria, but the plan of America's rulers.



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FRIDAY, JANUARY 15

#### The Answer to McCarthyism

Speaker: JULES GELLER

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22

\* \* \*

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