

M'CARATHYISM--PATTERN OF AMERICAN FASCISM

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Beria's Execution Throws Light on Malenkov Policy

By Murry Weiss

On Dec. 23, the Malenkov clique announced that the secret "trial" of Lavrenti Beria and six other top secret police officials of the Kremlin, begun on Dec. 16 behind closed doors, had come to an abrupt halt with "confessions" from the victims and death before a firing squad.

The victims, who had organized mass blood purges under Stalin, were dispatched amidst cries of "terrorist murderers," "foreign spies," "foul provocateurs."

Thus less than one year after Malenkov's "new course," hailed by a variety of observers as a democratic revolution "from above," and as the end of Stalin's bloody era, we witness another typical Moscow frame-up purge. The purge of Beria is the most visible expression of a vast convulsive reflex of the bureaucratic caste to accumulated difficulties. It is part of the world-wide crisis of Stalinism. It is the manifestation of that basic characteristic of Stalinist rule — a regime of permanent crisis.

In this crisis the Soviet bureaucracy confronts the unwelcome

consequences of its own mismanagement, sloth, isolation from the producing masses, and narrow concern for its own privileges and revenue. Its response to these consequences is a violent move to reestablish the stability of its rule — a "stability" based on terror, frame-ups and blood purges.

The anti-capitalist struggle of the international working class for socialism is at the same time a struggle to overthrow the Kremlin traitors and the Stalinist misleaders of the workers movement in all parts of the world. This struggle requires a correct program; that is, a correct diagnosis of Stalinism, its inner contradictions, the course of its evolution and the meaning of its latest moves. Above all, the workers vanguard in the world Trotskyist movement must grasp the meaning of these blood purges in the USSR. From this standpoint, the reaction of the Pablo faction in the Fourth International to the Beria purge is of considerable interest.

Since Stalin's death this group has indulged in the most fanciful speculations about the "new" Stalinism, both in the USSR and abroad. They have scornfully rejected our analysis. The Beria purge offers us an opportunity to check their position against the orthodox Trotskyist view.

OUR POSITION

Months before the arrest of Beria we paraphrased what the Malenkov "reformers" were saying as follows: "Above all, warns the Kremlin (to those who might take the concessions seriously),

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MALENKOV

The Big Money Behind M'Carthy

By Art Preis

All successful fascist movements have been linked with powerful, if not dominant, big money interests. McCarthyism is no exception. Senator McCarthy's recent opening bid for national power has coincided with his acquisition of support from some tremendously wealthy interests.

In fact, McCarthy has more "heavy sugar" backing him than any present or past aspirant to the role of America's Hitler. It is one of the things that sets him off even from such notorious figures as Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith. Compared to these latter, McCarthy has a truly staggering amount of money in back of him.

It is true that McCarthy's capitalist sponsors do not represent the best-known and traditionally most powerful ruling capitalist circles. But it would be a big mistake to under-rate or minimize the capitalist strength behind him.

TEXAS OIL

To begin with, there is a billion dollars of Texas oil wealth behind him. Topping the list of his reputed sponsors, according to Bascom N. Timmons, Washington correspondent of the Cleveland News, a conservative daily, are "the three richest men in Texas... oilmen H. L. Hunt of Dallas, Syd Richardson of Fort Worth and Clint Murchison of Dallas, none of whose names, strangely enough, appears in 'Who's Who.'"

Timmons cites the saying in Texas that "all his (Hunt's) money is tied up in cash." And, reports Timmons "some Texas bankers say Hunt could put his hands on a bigger sum of cash than any man who ever lived." His oil holdings alone are estimated at as much as \$600 million.

Hunt's wealth is likewise colossal, if little publicized. Exclusive of his oil and estates, he is reported to own property and business assets in the neighborhood of \$300 million. Wilson, head of Look

magazine's Washington Bureau, wrote in its Dec. 1 issue that "more than 70 persons are playing major roles in the McCarthy retinue," including top press, political, military and financial personages. Wilson added a new Texas name to the list of McCarthyites:

"Lately, McCarthy has widened his circle of associates in Texas. He recently stayed at the home of Douglas Marshall, son-in-law of H. R. Cullen, the oil multimillionaire, who has a keen interest in McCarthy.

"Cullen contributed \$5,000, the legal limit, to Joe's campaign for re-election in 1952... Cullen put up \$48,000, in addition, to help other candidates for Congress in 1952."

CORRECTS ERROR

Cullen is the man recently reported to have given the University of Houston \$2,250,000 because of the "great spirit and determination" its football team showed in defeating Baylor. He had already given the University \$25,000,000. When newspapers garbled his announcement that he was giving \$80,000,000 for a medical enterprise and reported it as \$160,000,000, he said he would make it \$160,000,000. This is the kind of money that is now behind McCarthy.

Hunt, sometimes called the "richest man in America," is the chief backer of "Facts Forum," the broadcast program that is carried over 115 radio stations and 30 TV outlets. Mrs. McCarthy, the former Jeanie Kerr, wrote script for the "Facts Forum" series and McCarthy himself was the program's first guest star.

Some of McCarthy's other sponsors as members of the "Facts Forum's" advisory board are: Gen. Robert E. Wood, head of Sears Roebuck and former chair-

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McCarthy Opens '54 Drive To Grab Control of Congress

"Stop McCarthyism," American Labor Urged

A front-page appeal for action by the American labor movement to "stop McCarthyism" is contained in the Dec. 14 Ohio Works Organizer, published by United Steelworkers Local 1330, Youngstown, Ohio.

Entitled "The Menace of McCarthyism," an editorial signed by T. Dostal warns that "McCarthyism has reached a new stage."

The smear attack on Truman "should alert every worker to

Economists Call It Just "Orthodox Recession" Now

Although they continue to belittle the possibility of a serious depression, a majority of the country's top capitalist economists and statisticians now concede that the American economy is in a downturn and faces an "orthodox recession" this year. An "orthodox recession" would be like the 1949-50 decline when upwards of six million were officially reported as unemployed.

This opinion was the consensus of the annual forecasting session of the American Statistical Association held in Washington, D. C., on Dec. 28. Several hundred leading economists, including a hundred of the Administration's own "experts," participated.

This "sober outlook," as Martin Gainsburgh, chief economist for the National Industrial Conference Board, described it, is all the more significant because the economists who participated were predominantly from Big Business outfits. In fact, reported the N. Y. Times correspondent, "in keeping with their status as professionals with higher-than-average incomes the economists are preponderantly lifelong Republicans."

Their "sober outlook" is more than justified by the latest statistics. Pre-Christmas department store sales, as of Dec. 19, for instance, fell below the corresponding 1952 period for the fifth straight week. Christmas week steel production was scheduled at 66.6% of capacity compared to 102% for the same week a year ago.

McCarthy's fascist character," says the editorial. "When he (McCarthy) hits the 'New Deal' and 'Fair Deal' he is actually shooting at the labor movement through the straw man of communism."

"The labor movement is McCarthy's real target," says the Local 1330 paper. "His blows against Truman and the liberals are only the beginning. They are only probing attacks to see if his real opposition, the labor movement, is aroused yet. His future attacks will be still wilder and more 'unreasonable.' If he is not stopped, all thinking will be paralyzed, all speech gagged."

"In this stage of McCarthyism, we are already witnessing the default of some of the liberals who are becoming frightened by the witch hunt. Truman himself did not dare to say a word in defense of the deceased Harry Dexter White who was never proved to be a communist. He contented himself with defending only his own record... In the long run the liberals will leave the field to McCarthy, because McCarthy's main profession is not anti-communism or even anti-liberalism, but anti-laborism."

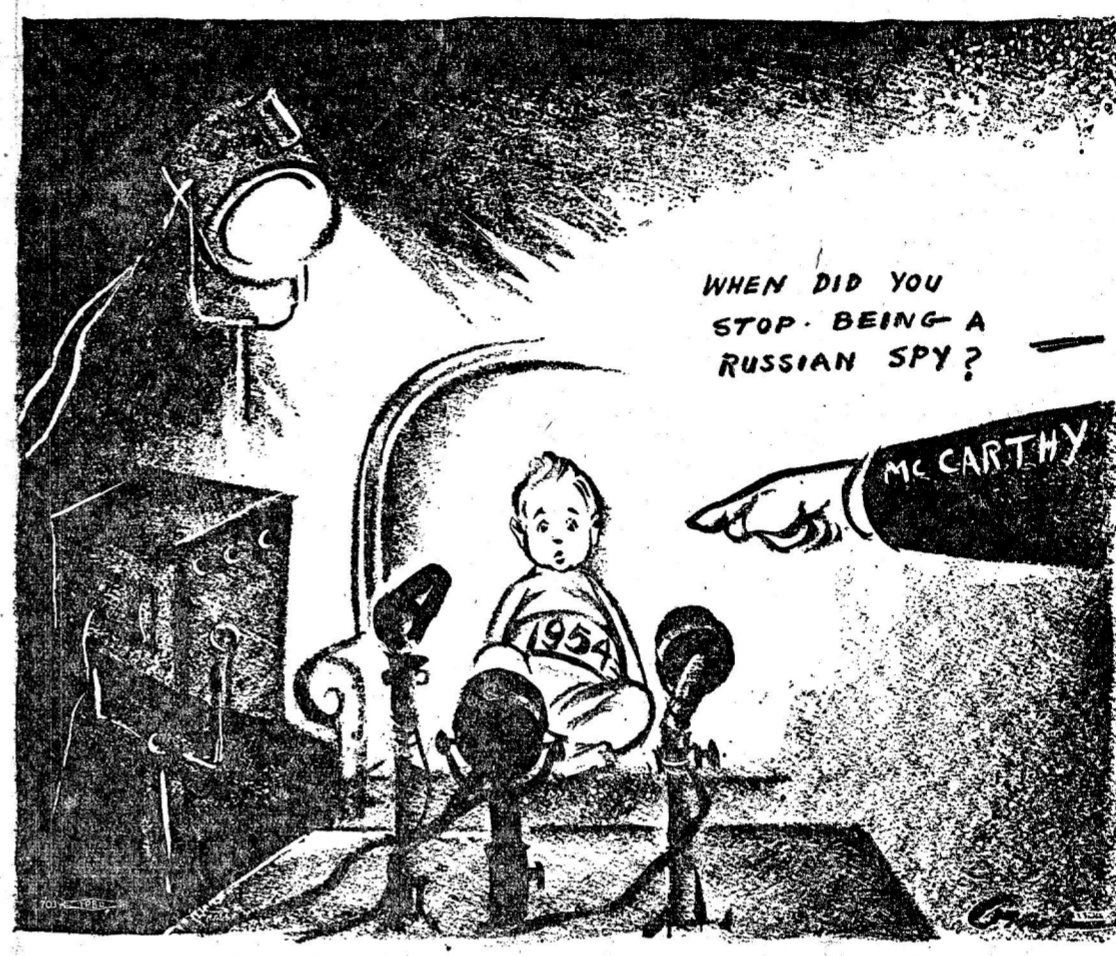
NO TELEGRAMS

The editorial cautions against trying to defeat McCarthyism by writing postcards and telegrams to other Congressmen. "This approach is all right for getting a new post-office for Council Bluffs, Iowa, perhaps — but hardly suitable for changing the course of reaction..."

"Only the labor movement... will really fight against McCarthy, because it has the most to lose if it does not fight," says the editorial. "But the fight must begin soon. The first thing to do is to call a General Congress of All Labor and make this Congress an anti-McCarthy, anti-fascist rallying center, to call demonstrations and rallies throughout the country against this menace."

Such a labor congress would bare McCarthy's whole dirty financial and legislative record and set up its own investigating committees to "put McCarthy or the witness stand, and let the labor lawyers question him."

New Year's Greeting



First Shot Is Fired in Minnesota

By Manuel Rodriguez

Senator Joseph McCarthy, leading candidate for American Hitler, plans to stomp the entire country with his fascist smear attacks and use his powerful machine in the Republican Party to build his strength and mobilize his movement. He is preparing to intervene in 1954 Congressional elections throughout the country and make McCarthyism — his program for establishing his fascist power in Congress and the White House — the central issue of this year's political campaigns.

His first shot was fired on Dec. 26 through the Minnesota State Central Committee of the Republican Party. This McCarthyite body opened its Congressional campaign with a red smear of its Democratic Party opponents and proclaimed the "red menace" the No. 1 plank in its platform. McCarthy promptly announced his "availability" for highly specialized smear jobs in the Minnesota campaign.

Most significant of all, is the disclosure that McCarthy's own lieutenant is now boss of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee and is personally guiding the Minnesota GOP electoral drive. The Dec. 27 N. Y. Times reports:

"Victor Johnston, former administrative assistant to Senator McCarthy and now director of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, conferred with [Minnesota] State GOP leaders and told them Senator McCarthy would come into Minnesota and campaign against Senator Humphrey [Democratic incumbent] if he were invited to do so."

Frightened Minnesota Democrats, bleating like panicked sheep, protested this "embracing of McCarthyism" by Minnesota's GOP leaders. They accused Republican Governor C. Elmer Anderson of "adopting McCarthy smear tactics" and "doing a disservice to the democratic process in impugning the loyalty of three of Minnesota's" leading Democrats.

The new political year thus (Continued on page 2)

WILL EISENHOWER AND MALENKOV REACH A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING?

By Joseph Hansen

"By all the rules in the history books, the third world war should have been upon us long since."

This Christmas Day observation by the well-known columnist Stewart Alsop has a real basis. In no period of history has there been such tension, such belligerent and provocative shoving around, as in the eight years since the end of World War II.

Alsop lists the Greek civil war, the Berlin blockade, the revolution in China, the Indo-Chinese war, the Yugoslav revolt, the Korean war, and Chinese intervention in Korea. We can add Truman's atom-bomb diplomacy, the Truman doctrine of "containment" of communism, the building of military bases in a gigantic circle around the Soviet Union, the blockade of the Soviet bloc, the rearmament of Japan and of Germany, the construction

of the most fearsome military alliance the world has ever seen, and so on and on.

Yet Alsop himself declares that "more and more people are coming to believe that a kind of precarious balance has been achieved since the war."

And the Wall Street Journal, which has not been last in urging preparation for war, now thinks that the projected Big Four foreign ministers' conference in Berlin Jan. 25 indicates "anything is possible."

By "anything," this voice of Big Business doesn't mean immediate war. It means "a non-aggression pact" — a pact in which Eisenhower would make "concessions," giving "guarantees for the Soviet" in return for "equal or superior concessions" from the Malenkov regime.

A n o t h e r ultra-conservative mouthpiece of the billionaires who run this country, U.S. News &

World Report, assured its readers Dec. 11:

"You can be reasonably sure of the following in the period ahead:

"Appeasement, in modified form, will be offered to Communist Russia."

"Trade barriers against Communist countries will be lowered. Trade, to be allowed to revive, will give Communist countries many strategic products."

"Agitation, to cause unrest in the Communist empire, will be checked."

"Communist China, slowly but surely, will be eased into the U. N."

"European Army idea will be allowed to die, gradually. German rearmament will be delayed some more. Liberation for nations gobbled up by Communists in postwar years will no longer be emphasized by American officials."

(Continued on page 4)

The Concentration Camps Are Already Built

By Harry Ring

If Senator McCarthy achieves his ambition of becoming fascist dictator of America, he will find a system of concentration camps

already built and ready. He will also find a law on the books giving him legal authority to incarcerate in these camps anyone he pleases without trial. Ironically, these

camp and this law were supplied by the Trumanites — the so-called "liberal" Democrats like Senator Lehman — who would probably be among the inmates of these concentration camps if McCarthy comes to power.

Of course, they are not called "concentration camps." James V. Bennett, Director of the Justice Department's Bureau of Prisons, in a Mar. 26, 1952 letter to the National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act deplored use of this sinister label.

"It is unfortunate," he said, "that the term 'concentration camps' has been used in connection with these facilities since it implies institutions and procedures entirely foreign to our laws, democratic processes and methods of treatment."

And we may add, the term strikes an ominous chord in the mind and heart of every freedom-loving American, especially among workers and the minority peoples.

That's why Bennett piously declared in his letter about these "facilities," that "if the need for their use as places of detention ever arises, they will be conducted humanely and strictly in keeping with the policies of the President and Congress."

But what if McCarthy wins control of the White House and Congress, or even becomes President? Both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations have tried

to keep their concentration camps from general public knowledge. But at least six have been set up under provisions of the McCarran "Internal Security" Act of 1950.

One at Allenwood, Pa., covers 8,400 acres. It is surrounded by a 12-foot barbed wire fence and has an estimated capacity of four to seven thousand inmates, including women and children.

A vast camp at Tule Lake, Calif., used as a concentration camp for 100,000 Japanese-Americans during World War II, has been readied for immediate occupancy.

Four other camps have been prepared at Florence, Ariz., Wickenburg, Ariz., Avon Park, Fla., and El Reno, Okla.

FUTURE INMATES

Who are the potential candidates for incarceration? Virtually any one. According to the McCarran Act, the Attorney General is authorized, whenever an emergency is declared by the President, "to apprehend and detain,"

"indefinitely and without trial," persons as to whom there is reasonable grounds to believe probably will engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage."

Read that again. It says you can be thrown into a concentration camp if the Attorney General believes you probably will engage in

a crime or probably will conspire to engage in one. That's "probably" not "actually did." The Attorney General determines his beliefs about what you might do by reading your mind. After you're behind barbed wire you may be permitted to question whether he read it right.

In an open letter to Senator Lehman of New York, written immediately after passage of the McCarran Act, Joseph Hansen, then Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator, asked: "Do you have any guarantee that the standards of admission to concentration camps under the American flag will prove more discriminating than they were in Germany, once the monstrous system you propose gathers momentum? What immunity, for example, can you guarantee the Jews of America, including yourself?"

Does not the rise of the fascist movement led by McCarthy give tremendous new weight to the alarm signal sounded then?

FORT MONMOUTH

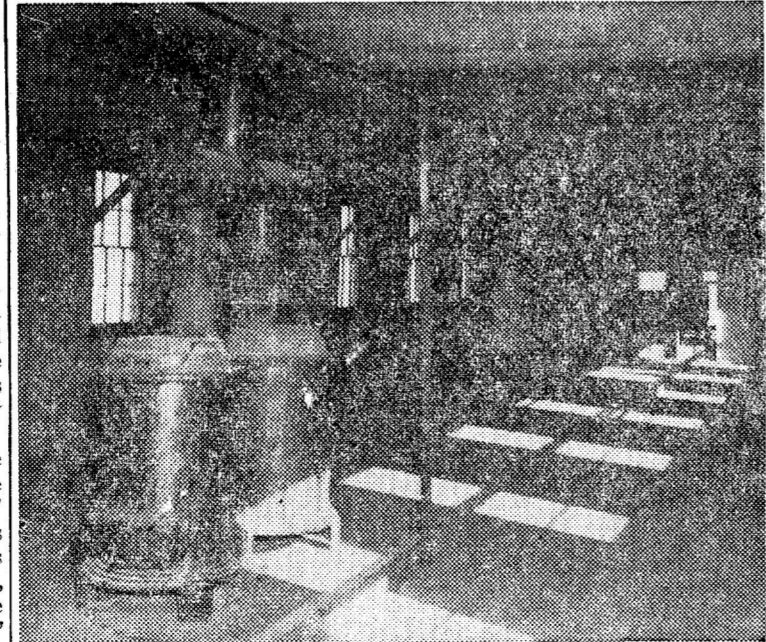
Consider whom a figure like McCarthy might choose to fill those camps in the light of the fascist senator's recent spy hunt at Fort Monmouth, where without a shred of evidence he got 40 scientists suspended or declassified. Of these, 35 were Jews and one a Negro.

Let those who look to the Lehmans and Stevensons as fighters against fascism engrave in their minds this fact: The provisions for the establishment of concentration camps in America were drawn up by Democratic Senator Kilgore and sponsored by Lehman, who boasted that this "would... really meet the Communist threat to our security."

The existence of these camps in present-day America is the most dangerous kind of threat to the workers and minority peoples of this land. They must organize a powerful movement to wipe them out before they fill them!

Detroit SWP Rally To Fight Coughlin

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 — Warning that the return to politics of the notorious fascist priest, Father Coughlin, is a clear indication of the menace of McCarthyism, Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, today declared that he will "expose to the full" Coughlin's real program when he speaks at the anti-Coughlin rally sponsored by the SWP in Detroit, Sun., Jan. 10. The meeting will be held at the Danish Brotherhood Hall, 12th and Forrest.



Barren interior of barracks building above is typical of installations at Tule Lake, Calif., Federal Prison Camp 38, one of six such places of detention set up by former President Truman's Justice Department and now ready for the McCarthyites to hold political prisoners in concentration camps without trial under a McCarran Act section originated by Trumanite "Fair Deal" senators in 1950.

Phony "Defender" Of Civil Liberties

By Joseph Keller

Adlai Stevenson, 1952 presidential candidate of the Democratic Party and darling of the liberals, recently made an indignant speech about the witch-hunt methods of the Republicans. Speaking in Philadelphia on Dec. 12, he struck a strident note seldom heard in his previous public utterances. Now that the Democratic ox is being gored by the Republicans in power, and particularly by ruthless McCarthy, Stevenson is bewailing the course the "anti-Communist" drive is taking and has been constrained to utter some truths. For instance, he said in his speech:

"The Bill of Rights is besieged, ancient liberties infringed, reckless words are uttered, vigilante groups are formed, suspicion, mistrust and fear stalk the land, and political partisanship raises strange and ugly heads, the security of secret files is violated, and the specter of a political police emerges."

Absolutely true! But that doesn't mean Stevenson is against any and all witch hunts. Positively not! In this same speech he proposes to continue and extend the witch hunt—against "Communists" and "subversives" only, of course—provided only the Republican Administration and McCarthy "include me out," as the saying goes. "If the Administration is looking for a good crusade," advises Stevenson, "I would recommend a crusade to combat the Communist conspiracy without resorting to Communist methods to do it. They could get a lot of help from Democrats for that."

The truth is they've been getting a lot of help from the Democrats for years and years. And not a little bit from Stevenson. For the methods Stevenson claims to deplore are in nowise "Communist." They are tried and true methods long known to capitalist politics and extensively employed by the Democratic administrations under Roosevelt and Truman in the initial stages of the current witch hunt.

The "suspicion, fear and mistrust" that stalk the land were set in motion, in part, by Truman's "disloyalty" purge among two million government employees. The "disloyalty" smear, guilt by association, conviction without trial, etc., were all employed against legless veteran James Kutcher and numerous others by the Truman administration without a mumble of protest from Stevenson. His sensitivity to the danger facing the Bill of Rights arises as he sees his own political cronies, including Truman, trapped amidst the flames that the Trumanite arsonists helped to light.

No part of Stevenson's plaint has a more hypocritical ring than his words about the "specter of a political police." That "specter" is no disembodied spirit. It is a live and active body that has been with us for a good many years. Stevenson is talking about the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the FBI, under J. Edgar Hoover. It was this very "specter" that Stevenson himself promised to call forth to fight "Communism" less than 15 months ago.

On Oct. 7, 1952, in a campaign speech in Detroit, Stevenson derided McCarthy and his other Republican opponents as mere "noisy amateurs" and called for the employment of the "cautious, silent professional"—that is the FBI snoopers, wire-tappers and mail-tamperers—to ferret out political dissenters and destroy the Bill of Rights. At that time, he hailed that "specter," the FBI, particularly its chief Hoover, for "providing the evidence" that railroaded the Communist Party leaders to prison under the infamous Smith's "Gag" Act.

This "specter" grew under Roosevelt and Truman from an FBI force of 801 agents when the Democrats took power in 1933 to 15,181 in 1952—more than a 15-fold increase. FBI appropriations in the same period grew more than 30 times their 1932 figure.

In his statement on the Harry Dexter White case before the recent Senate hearing, FBI Chief Hoover revealed that "the responsibilities for internal security (were) assigned the FBI in 1939 by Presidential directive"—that is, Roosevelt himself converted the FBI into a full-fledged secret political police. As for the FBI's illegal methods, such as wiretapping, Hoover likewise disclosed in a public statement in Jan. 1950: "The policy we follow on wiretapping was set by the late President Roosevelt on May 21, 1940."

Brownell, Hoover and McCarthy haven't invented a thing. They've even inherited concentration camps from the Truman administration, as described in Harry Ring's article on page one. Someday Stevenson may find himself in one of these camps and he can then reflect on what his liberal Democratic colleagues, Senator Lehman of New York, said back in 1950 to the New York State Democratic Convention that renominated him:

"I, myself, have sponsored legislation to put all Communists and would-be spies and saboteurs in detention camps during times of . . . national emergency. In my judgment that would in a practical manner really meet the Communist threat to our internal security. I hope my bill will pass."

It did, as incorporated in the McCarran Internal Security Law. Only, the McCarrans and Hoovers are directing the operation of that law now.

Union leaders who really think Democratic liberals like Stevenson are any kind of bulwark against McCarthyism should have their heads examined. Stevenson's very speech, made ostensibly in defense of civil liberties, is, in fact, a pledge of further attack on these liberties. It is a plea to the Republicans, including McCarthy, just to lay off the Democrats and "they could get a lot of help from Democrats" to witch hunt all other alleged "Communists."

McCarthyism -- the American Pattern of Fascism

By George Breitman

When we say that McCarthyism is the American form of fascism, some people think we are indulging in name-calling or exaggerating, and they justify their reluctance to accept our conclusion by pointing to the unquestionable fact that there are important differences between European fascism, as it is generally conceived, and McCarthyism. Following are some of the objections that have been raised, and our answers to them:

(1) "Hitlerism was anti-Semitic and racist from the start; McCarthyism isn't."
Everyone knows that the German fascist movement was overtly anti-Semitic. That was partly because anti-Semitism had deep roots and a long history in Germany. It does not follow, however, that open anti-Semitism is an indispensable feature of fascism. In Italy, for example, anti-Semitism never amounted to much in the activities and ideology of the fascist movement before it came to power, and was emphasized only after Mussolini made his pact with Hitler.

In the 1930's all the American fascist groups and would-be leaders were unmistakably and aggressively anti-Semitic. It is uncertain whether this aided or hurt them. But when World War II came, and almost universal revulsion greeted Hitler's mass murder of the Jews, anti-Semitism of the type that could be associated with Hitlerism became a handicap.

McCarthy learned a lesson from this. He went out of his way to put some Jews on his staff precisely in order to ward off the charge of anti-Semitism. In his public utterances he is careful to avoid sounding like Goebbels on the Jewish question. He fans anti-Semitism—a large proportion of his victims are Jews, many singled out primarily because of their Jewish background or associations—but he does it craftily. He is saving virulent Jew-baiting for a later stage of the game.

Meanwhile, there is a division of labor within the fascist movement. When we speak of McCarthyism, we don't mean only the movement of the people who avow McCarthy as their fuhrer; we mean the whole coalition of different groups who are united behind his real program, but who may still be separately organized and who don't find it expedient at the present time to be too closely linked to McCarthy himself.

GERALD L. K. SMITH
Gerald L. K. Smith, for example, is a veteran anti-Semite. He is also a McCarthyite, but he has to

be cautious about it. Interviewed in New York recently, Smith was asked, "What do you think of Senator McCarthy?" Answer: "I don't want to say anything to hurt him." Question: "You'd rather not answer that?" Answer: "Yes, I don't want my name used to smear him." (Expose, December 1953.)

Thus the McCarthyites play both sides of the street, recruiting the rabid Jew-baiters to the Smith wing and leaving McCarthy free of the "smear" that would attach to him if the Smiths spoke their views openly. Later on these groups will all unite. There was a similar division of labor in the German fascist movement on various issues.

The same division of labor exists over the Negro and other colored people. McCarthy says nothing openly to alienate or frighten them today, and even has the support of a few Negroes like the journalist George S. Schuyler. But his real base in the South is the Ku Klux Klan and similar white supremacist outfits, and much of his big money is coming from Dixiecrat oil millionaires in Texas.

This is still an early stage in the development of McCarthyism. Its racist character will become clearer and more open as time goes on.

SHIRTS AND STORM TROOPS
(2) "But European fascism had storm troops, anti-labor militia, shirted hoodlums who broke up meetings and burned books in the streets; McCarthyism doesn't have any of these characteristics."
This difference is due to the special conditions of American politics, and is no proof of the non-fascist character of McCarthyism. In Europe there were big Social Democratic and Communist parties, strong enough to bar the fascists from coming to power and strong enough to take power themselves if they had been guided by revolutionary policies. To attract a mass following, to convince the capitalist class that they were capable of destroying independent working class organizations, and to win power, Hitler and Mussolini needed storm troops.

McCarthy operates under different circumstances. The Socialist Party means nothing in this country, the Stalinists are a small persecuted minority without a mass following. The Department of Justice and the FBI, with their "subversive" lists and "conspiracy" prosecutions, have driven the CP more than half-way underground. McCarthy cracks his whip and under his pressure the State



GERALD L. K. SMITH

Department burns books in its furnaces. When the organs of state power achieve so much of the mass intimidation that the storm troops in Europe aimed at, there is not the same objective need for their existence in America today.

Moreover, this is a temporary difference. At the first opportune change in the political and social situation that will warrant it, McCarthyism will summon the fascist scum into uniform and into the streets. And because McCarthyism is already so much stronger than Hitlerism was at a comparable stage of its development, the American storm troops will appear in far greater numbers—represent a far bigger threat than the German storm troops did on their first appearance.

SOCIAL DEMAGOGY
(3) "But the European fascist movements were notable for their use of radical social demagogy, while that element is lacking in McCarthy, who sounds like an old-fashioned red-baiter pure and simple."
It is true that Hitler and Mussolini advocated very radical-sounding social demands (which of course they had no intention of fulfilling) which were intended to appear at least as advanced as the demands of the working class and revolutionary parties. It was not accidental that Hitler included the word "socialist" in the name of the Nazi party, or that Mussolini kept "Socialist Daily" as the sub-title of his fascist paper for many years.

There were two main reasons for this demagogy. One was, as already stated, that the European fascists had to compete with strong Social Democratic and Communist parties, and in order to make headway they had to take into account the socialist sympathies and aspirations of the

masses. McCarthyism, on the other hand, is competing at the present stage of its development mainly with the Democratic and Republican parties, and doesn't have the same objective propaganda needs.

A second reason for the radical propaganda in Germany and Italy was the acute social crisis, dislocations and despair that made the people yearn for a radical solution to their problems after World War I. In this country an equally acute social crisis is accumulating; one can already observe the tremors that foretell the coming earthquake. But the social crisis has not yet broken out in full force in this country, and the need for radical demagogy is not yet so compelling.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to say that such demagogy is altogether absent from McCarthy. As he demonstrated in his Nov. 24, 1953 "answer to Truman," he is beginning to show a certain amount of skill in tying high taxes, high prices and high casualty lists together with the "spies in government" issue in an obvious effort to exploit the wrath of people discontented with present economic and social conditions. Does anyone seriously doubt that his demagogy will become more radical, even "revolutionary," when a social crisis is precipitated by an economic depression or war?

At any rate McCarthyism, as we have pointed out, is a broad movement, and the public reappearance in Detroit of Father Coughlin, with the permission of the Catholic hierarchy that silenced him for political reasons in 1939, is a clear sign that there will be a marked increase in social demagogy from the McCarthyite movement in the period ahead. Coughlin's demand for the lifting of tax burdens first of all from the assembly-line workers, the granting of the guaranteed annual wage and the resumption of trade with China, can be compared

in their boldness with many of the demands of Hitler and Mussolini. The return of Coughlin indicates both competition for leadership of the McCarthyite movement and a further division of labor within it.

MCCARTHY'S PARTY
(4) "But the European fascist movements were independent parties, separate from the old and discredited political parties, while McCarthy is a Republican and the Republican party, though reactionary, is not fascist."
Party traditions in Europe were of course different from our own. There were many parties, few of them ever got an absolute majority of the votes, and the governments usually consisted of coalitions of two or more parties. An independent party in Europe therefore had more of a chance of getting a hearing than it would in a country like ours, where most of the people still think that anything outside of the two-party system is not practical or serious.

For these reasons McCarthy continues to operate inside the Republican party. It's advantageous to him to stay there for the time being; he can do things there that are impossible for someone like Gerald L. K. Smith; he can and does use it effectively to mobilize his movement.

Yet at the same time he has no loyalty to the Republican party, does not subordinate himself to it in any way, and feels free on all occasions to disregard its leaders and its "discipline." Everyone understands that he is trying to capture the Republican party and convert it into an instrument of McCarthyism; if he fails in this, he will not hesitate to take his followers out of the party, try to smash it and replace it.

McCarthyism is in actuality an independent movement, operating temporarily not only within the Republican but also within the Democratic party. It is already an independent political force in Washington and throughout the nation, and will appear as a separate party, challenging the old parties if it fails to take one or both of them over for its own purposes.

(It wasn't until the third congress of Italian fascism that Mussolini's movement was formally transformed into a party. Ignazio Silone, in *The School for Dictators*, recalls: "Don't forget that members of other parties were freely accepted in the first Italian fasci. No ideological creed whatever was imposed on those who presented themselves for membership. Among the Fascists of 1919-20 were Catholics, anti-Catholics, Protestants, Jews, atheists, republicans, monarchists, Socialists, anti-Socialists, trade unionists, imperialists," etc.)

BIG BUSINESS BACKING
(5) "But Hitler and Mussolini had the support of their respective capitalist class, or of the predominant sections of it. McCarthy, on the other hand, while he may have a few millionaires behind

him, is not financed by the decisive sections of Big Business."

This is a historical confusion. Hitler and Mussolini had Big Business support when they came to power, but not at the beginning of their movements. Fascism serves the interests of capitalism, but it is an expensive and dangerous proposition for the capitalists. They must be convinced that it is necessary and that it will win. It took Mussolini a few years and Hitler several before they succeeded in the convincing. Before then their finances came from a relatively few capitalists. McCarthy is in no different position in this respect than his European counterparts were in during the first years. To attain power, McCarthyism will need the consent of the ruling class; to constitute a growing fascist menace, it does not.

MASS FOLLOWING
(6) "But European fascism was a mass movement, with millions of followers and active supporters. Can you say that about McCarthyism?"
Yes, you can. For reasons given above, and especially because McCarthyism is still in the early stage in which its cadres are being selected and mobilized, the McCarthyite movement is compelled to assume different organizational forms than the European fascist movements. Instead of one independent party, it appears as the right wing of both capitalist parties, plus several smaller ultranationalist "crackpot" parties, plus "patriotic" and reactionary organizations like the American Legion, the Ku Klux Klan, etc., all united in fact and in action around fascist aims.

This is already a mass movement, make no mistake about it, and one that everyone from Eisenhower down knows is growing rapidly. Hitler never had anything like it at such an early phase of his movement.

Naturally there is room for differences of opinion over what criteria to use in determining when a movement has reached a "mass" stage. But it should not be hard to understand that a movement can properly be designated as fascist even before it wins a mass following. So this objection is not decisive for our purposes.

It is sufficient to recall that in Spain the fascist movement never succeeded in recruiting anything like the mass following that Hitler and Mussolini had before they came to power. Yet that didn't prevent Franco and the fascist military caste from winning state power. And the fact that he did not come to power in the same "classic" fashion as Hitler and Mussolini did not prevent the whole world from understanding that Franco and his movement were fascist.

That ought to teach us a valuable lesson when we approach the problem of McCarthyism. Next week's article will consider other and more serious objections to our analysis.

McCarthy Opens Drive To Grab Congress Rule

(Continued from page 1)

opens with a plain indication of the pattern of McCarthyized Republican Party plans for the elections. It is now clear what Eisenhower and the Republican high command mean by "Republican unity." They mean unity with McCarthy on McCarthy's program, with McCarthy calling the tune for strategy in the elections.

Thus, the fascist wing of the Republican party has again scored a victory. The Eisenhower wing, in which liberals and labor officials placed desperate hopes, is down on all fours grovelling before the fascist senator.

The content of Republican strategy in 1954, now spelled out in Minnesota, is taken intact from McCarthy's Nov. 24 speech, where he told Eisenhower to stop chattering about "Communism" will not be an issue in 1954." McCarthy proclaimed instead: "The raw, harsh, unpleasant fact is that Communism is an issue and will be an issue in 1954."

CENTRAL SPOT
In that same speech McCarthy established his own place in the coming elections. For himself he reserved nothing less than the central spot. He answered "Democratic office seekers . . . (who) have been proclaiming that McCarthyism is the issue in this campaign" with, "I guess it is." And he explained how the election will be: For McCarthy or for the "spies." "Keep the Republicans in power," declared McCarthy, so that "I shall continue as chairman of the investigating committee."

What began as Attorney General Brownell's "experiment" in his "spy" smear of Truman will now be put on the assembly line for mass production under the direction and personal supervision of the master smear-demagogue, as Minnesota developments amply testify.

DEMOCRATIC "ANSWER"
The reply of the Democrats to this strategy has also been clearly indicated in this Minnesota opening skirmish. The Minnesota Democratic Party leader, Senator

Humphrey, gives the following answer to the Republican attack, according to the N. Y. Times: "Senator Humphrey . . . told a public meeting here (St. Paul, Minn.) that a single joint Congressional Investigating Committee should replace the three committees 'that now vie for headlines on their Communist chasing activities.' He said he would continue to support President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles in their present foreign policy program."

This is indeed a program for combatting the McCarthyite menace! McCarthy must be trembling in his boots at the prospect of Humphrey's threat to make the Congressional witch hunt more efficient, more centralized and less cumbersome.

And the promise to support Eisenhower and Dulles is likewise characteristic of the policy of the Democratic Party. They mean by that to exploit the antagonism between McCarthy and Eisenhower and to bloc with Eisenhower against McCarthy. But Eisenhower is moving in a different direction. He is blocking with McCarthy against the Democrats, giving ground to McCarthy every step of the way.

SUICIDAL LABOR POLITICS
The tragedy of this political farce is that the labor officials are up to their necks in the Democratic Party swamp. They are trying to commit the organized American workers, without consulting them, to a suicidal course of supporting the Democratic Party's strategy.

The same is true of the liberals, who set the tone and give the line to the labor officials. The same is true of the Social Democrats who give voice to the line of the Rutherford wing of the labor bureaucracy. And the same is true for the Stalinists, who are misleading a section of the radical workers into the Democratic Party as the "bulwark against McCarthyism."

The United States is facing the threat of a catastrophic depression. Layoffs already are spotting the industrial map with the fever splashes of a sick capitalism. We are threatened by the drive of Wall Street to hurl us into the

radio-active abyss of an atomic war.

Under these conditions of sharpening social crisis the political alternative is posed: America will either take the road to fascist slavery and ruinous war or a Workers and Farmers Government with socialist abundance and peace.

NEED A LABOR PARTY
History will not wait long for the labor bureaucracy to learn the lessons of Europe and cease imitating the policy that utterly demolished the German, Italian and Spanish labor movements. The sinister threat of McCarthyism demands of the American labor movement a sharp about-face in its policy. American labor must break with capitalist politics and capitalist politicians.

The labor movement must turn its face to the vast majority of people in this country who are seeking a way out of capitalist wars and depression. It must turn to the Negro people and the other minorities, to the small working farmers, to the small working men and to the professionals and mobilize them around a powerful independent Labor Party. Such a party would proclaim a crusade that would rally the people to struggle for a new society.

If the labor bureaucracy continues to stand in the way of this absolutely imperative turn, and is not shoved out of the way, McCarthyism will thrive from the social crisis of capitalism. It will exploit the frustration and despair of the middle class. It will make promises of radical change. It will couple its demagogy about the "Communist menace" with unrestrained Jew and Negro baiting. It will mobilize the frenzied fascist mob for direct action against the unions.

It is not too late to make a change in policy for 1954. A Labor Party can turn the tide of reaction and sweep the elections. It can turn the course of history in the United States, smash the fascist threat, break the hold of the fascist-minded billionaire clique on the industrial and political life of the country, and open an era of democratic freedom never before equalled.

The Big Money Behind Movement Of McCarthyism

(Continued from page 1)

man of the fascist America First organization; Gen. Albert E. Wedemeyer, Chiang Kai-shek's World War II U.S. military advisor and now connected with the American Viscose Co.; Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas; Maj. B. A. Hardey, former president of the Independent Petroleum Association; Lloyd E. Skinner, wealthy Omaha macaroni manufacturer; Harry E. Rogier, president of the Vandallia, Ill., First National Bank; William N. Blanton, another Texas oil multi-millionaire; W. G. Vollmer, president of the Texas & Pacific Railway; and Hanford MacNider, banker and manufacturer who headed the American Legion in 1921-22 when it conducted raids on headquarters of the IWW and other radical and labor organizations and participated in lynch attacks on their members.

THEIR MAN ON HORSEBACK
This circle of no mean wealth has circled McCarthy as their "man on horseback" and are supplying the powerful financial sinews of his movement. They represent an immense source of independent financial backing in addition to "normal" revenues he is said to derive from services rendered to housing, sugar and China lobby interests.

In addition, McCarthy has a potent press backing. Col. McCormick of the Chicago Tribune, with a mid-west circulation of over a million, is a McCarthy man. So are William Randolph Hearst, Jr., and Frank E. Ganett, owners of big newspaper chains, and John Fox, controller of Western Union and the Boston Post.

The previously cited articles by Timmons in the Cleveland News (Nov. 20 and 21) report that in Washington "McCarthy's most ardent supporter is Mrs. Garvin (Bazy) Tankersley, niece of Col. Robert McCormick. . . Her elaborate farm home in Maryland is the gathering point for McCarthy intimates who aim to promote the senator's cause in the 1956 presidential race. . ."

It is well to remember that Hitler and Mussolini during most of their rise to power had nothing like the kind of financial and press backing that McCarthy starts with in opening his drive to become fascist dictator of the United States. McCarthy's machine is financially well-greased and fueled as it gathers speed. . .

Can Say That Again
The "new American tribalists and witch hunters" have the communists only as their secondary target—"their real aim is to wipe out the liberal movement in American life," *Theology* Professor A. C. Outler informed the recent national conference of the Methodist Student Movement.

in their boldness with many of the demands of Hitler and Mussolini. The return of Coughlin indicates both competition for leadership of the McCarthyite movement and a further division of labor within it.

Yet at the same time he has no loyalty to the Republican party, does not subordinate himself to it in any way, and feels free on all occasions to disregard its leaders and its "discipline." Everyone understands that he is trying to capture the Republican party and convert it into an instrument of McCarthyism; if he fails in this, he will not hesitate to take his followers out of the party, try to smash it and replace it.

McCarthyism is in actuality an independent movement, operating temporarily not only within the Republican but also within the Democratic party. It is already an independent political force in Washington and throughout the nation, and will appear as a separate party, challenging the old parties if it fails to take one or both of them over for its own purposes.

It is sufficient to recall that in Spain the fascist movement never succeeded in recruiting anything like the mass following that Hitler and Mussolini had before they came to power. Yet that didn't prevent Franco and the fascist military caste from winning state power. And the fact that he did not come to power in the same "classic" fashion as Hitler and Mussolini did not prevent the whole world from understanding that Franco and his movement were fascist.

That ought to teach us a valuable lesson when we approach the problem of McCarthyism. Next week's article will consider other and more serious objections to our analysis.

THE MILITANT ARMY
A number of subscriptions not included in the final tally have come in since the last scoreboard on the 25th Anniversary Militant Mobilizations. Among these were six from Seattle and six from Philadelphia.

Literature Agent Clara Raymond sends in the following roundup on Philadelphia sales. "On the basis of our experience during the campaign we found an interested and critical reaction in both Negro and white areas. Generally speaking we found a real receptivity to our ideas on the Labor Party slogan, and more particularly its application in view of the growing incipient fascist movement."

"Here is a breakdown of the literature sold during the campaign: 164 single copies of the paper, four copies of the pamphlet 'The Socialist Workers Party, What It Is and What It Stands For,' six 'Welfare State or Socialism,' three 'A Letter to American Negroes,' two 'America's Road to Socialism,' two new

six-months subs, four six-months renewals, and five one-year renewals."

Seattle Literature Agent Helen Baker writes, "Sunday we had our final mobilization for the campaign. The comrades sold six subs and 45 single copies door to door. We are all hoping that these will count in the final score. We have more subs promised that we will send along, as we intend to keep up these very successful routes that we have established."

Oakland's concluding sales of the campaign are reported by Literature Agent Dolores Seville. She writes, "Friday 17 Militants were sold on the campus of Paul, Dolores and June. The next day in door-to-door work Bill, Leo and Paul sold 15 more copies and Lil sold a six months sub."

Detroit Literature Agent Janet MacGregor writes, "Last Sunday was the high point in our campaign. We sold 95 copies of the Militant in one day at the housing project in which we are working. We also have been selling on the campus, and sold six copies of the McCarthy issue there. Our total points were 743—eight six-months subs, five one-year subs, and 277 copies of the paper."

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THE MILITANT

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Wall Street and McCarthyism

The campaign launched by the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant against McCarthyism as the American form of fascism is already beginning to draw howls from the McCarthy-lovers and force into the open some of the fascist Senator's undercover supporters.

Written by William Henry Chamberlin, who also doubles in brass for the social-democratic New Leader, the Wall Street Journal article seeks to discredit anti-McCarthyism as "Communist" and falsely seeks to link it with the Stalinists.

The Wall Street Journal then anxiously bids the American people not to get "worked up" over the deadly fascist menace represented by McCarthy and his movement.

Tainted Witch-Hunt Witnesses

Even if we had nothing else to go by but the unsavory characters the FBI and Department of Justice have been parading as witnesses in the Smith Act trials of the Communist Party leaders, we would have ample reason for declaring these political prosecutions deliberate frame-ups.

The two undercover FBI agents had sworn that they had not known each other as FBI men inside the CP. One of them, Milton J. Santwire, was then forced to admit that he had lied when he said he had received money from no other source but the FBI.

How many other lies have these two money-hungry FBI informers told on the stand? And what reliance can anyone place in paid informers to begin with? But these are typical of the government witnesses in all the Smith Act trials.

Take that star witness Louis Budenz who graduated from editor of the Daily Worker, after 10 years' loyal service to the Stalinist

"Brainwashing" for American Labor

In Nazi Germany when Der Fuehrer spoke on the radio everybody had to listen — or else. In witch-hunting America, where McCarthyism is raising its fascist head, workers may now be forced to listen to the anti-union rantings of the employers and their agents in the plants — or else.

That is the real meaning of the National Labor Relations Board ruling, on Dec. 21 in Washington, that employers have the right to address workers in the plants and on the job on anything the bosses please, including unionism, without the workers or their union spokesmen being allowed to reply.

The Taft-Hartley Act legally sanctioned the practice of employers corraling the workers on the job, when they could not escape, and forcing reactionary anti-union propaganda down their throats along with capitalist political poison and the usual veiled threats and intimidation.

The present NLRB ruling, which reverses a previous decision granting a "retort" privilege to unions, specifically excludes the right of workers to have their say, no matter what for lies and slanders the employer may when he has the workers trapped and tied to listen.

a crusade against 'McCarthyism.' Fair warning has now been given that 'anti-Carthyism' is the newest thing in Communist slogans and would-be Communist fronts.

This was the same kind of counsel that the financial organs of German Big Business gave the German people during the rise of Hitler and before these same organs gave him open support.

At this stage of McCarthy's campaign, the major sectors of American capital are still trying to operate politically through the two old party machines. They have not decided, as yet, to take the fascist road. But they want to keep McCarthy in reserve.

The Wall Street Journal's tender regard for McCarthyism should further convince the labor movement that powerful financial interests look sympathetically on the fascist Senator from Wisconsin or directly support him.

Beria Case Shows Kremlin Policy

GPU, to chief informer in numerous government hearings and the Smith Act trials of the Stalinists. He not only got a steady job as a professor at the Catholic Fordham University out of the deal, he was forced to admit before a panel of the Subversives Activities Control Board last April 15 that he made not less than \$71,000 in seven years from his writings and lectures after the publicity he received for turning informer.

Likewise, Whitaker Chambers, whose unsupported testimony sent Alger Hiss to prison, has made a small fortune out of the business of informing, including big sales on his best-seller book, Elizabeth Bentley burgeoned from a dowdy frump to one of the capital's better-dressed women on her proceeds as writer and lecturer after she got her first big play before the Senate and House committees in 1948.

Nor should we overlook Senator McCarthy's key witness at the recent Boston hearings on "subversion" in the General Electric plants, William Teto, McCarthy's chief stoolpigeon, was revealed as a bad-check passer who had been sentenced to prison in 1938. This star witness was described in the Nov. 19 Boston Post as follows: "In 1946 he purchased the large Main Street (Ashby, Mass.) house and furnished it extremely well; it might easily be the home of a \$30,000 a year executive, from the interior. He ran two cars, a Lincoln and a Packard."

There is a tainted smell about the government witnesses in all the witch-hunt cases. It is the odor of paid informers who will lie about anything for dirty money.

forum" for the workers who sweat and toil their lives away inside the plants. The ruling expresses "our refusal to open up to them (unionists) the employer's premises for group meetings."

In attacking the new NLRB ruling, Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel of the CIO, denounced the Taft-Hartley Act for sanctioning any kind of "captive audiences" of workers on the job. "We have never regarded compulsory attendance by workers at a small brainwashing session conducted by an anti-union employer to be any form of protected free speech," said the CIO attorney. He added: "However, even Taft-Hartley — until the decisions of the NLRB in the Livingston Shirt and Peerless Plywood cases — at least required an employer to give the union an opportunity on company time and property to reply."

We have heard a lot of propaganda about compulsory "brainwashing" in China or the Soviet Union. But the NLRB, under its interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act, is virtually inviting the employers to introduce a grand orgy of "brainwashing" of millions of American workers. And one more area of free speech has been marked "Verboten" to labor.

This is one of several new weapons the capitalist government has recently handed the employers to slash and club organized labor. The Supreme Court recently ruled "disloyalty" to an employer primary grounds for dismissal. General Electric has announced it will suspend and fire workers who stand on their rights not to answer witch-hunt questioners like McCarthy. It's time for labor to fight back.

The Real "Food" Crisis Loaded on Beria

By John G. Wright

On Dec. 16, the same day the Kremlin released the news of Beria's "confession," Pravda savagely attacked the Ministry of Agriculture. The Minister Benedictov and three of his top aides came under fire as "Leaders Losing Their Sense of Responsibility." They were accused of "open deception," "do-nothing attitude," and "irresponsibility."

This ominous "coincidence" — the opening of the secret trial of Beria and the pointed attack on the Ministry of Agriculture — is given added significance by another fact. The indictment of Beria was amended. A new charge was added. Beria was accused of plotting "to create food difficulties in our country."

Pravda's sudden concern for the welfare of students has on the surface a "liberal," if not a humanitarian, air. As we shall presently explain, the connection between "students" and the Ministry of Agriculture, and Pravda has little to do with liberal attitudes or liberal education. The number of these students is remarkably large. More than a million. Over a million "mechanization cadres" must be sent into the villages in 1954 alone, Pravda said.

Only 90 days before, an entire five-year plan (from 1953 to 1957) had been adopted for "training skilled machine operators" for the MTS. It projected the organization of 550 "trade schools and factory training schools . . . for 240 to 270 students each, . . . or a maximum of 148,550 graduates over the five years. This mid-September "training plan" has therefore been suddenly scrapped.

There are already "about two million mechanizers of agriculture in our Soviet villages," Mikoyan, the new Minister of Home Trade, recently boasted. It is now necessary to reinforce them with "over a million" more. Why?

Because winter has aggravated

the Soviet farm crisis. Frosts came and heavy snows fell early. By October, food and fodder crops and cattle suffered damage. The full extent of the losses is unknown. But on Nov. 21 Pravda stated editorially: "It is no secret that an obviously alarming situation has arisen in many provinces. 'Winter has caught certain leaders by surprise,' Pravda had previously reported, omitting to mention that the Kremlin tops were among those caught most by surprise."

Province after province has failed to fulfil state deliveries of crops, including grain. To cite a few important ones: by mid-November the Gorki Province had "not yet fulfilled the plan of state deliveries" of grain and other crops; "in Molotov Province, as of Oct. 5, more than 10,000 hectares of potatoes remained unharvested," as of Oct. 2 the Novgorod Province, a major producer of potatoes and vegetables, "had not fulfilled even a fifth of its state delivery of potatoes."

In the Republic of Kazakhstan "about 800,000 hectares [almost two million acres] of mowed hay remained unstacked, buried under the snow in 'rows and ricks' (Pravda, Nov. 11). In Kirghizia the collective farms "have stored less hay than last year. Also failing to fulfil the plan were the collective farms of Kazakhstan, Karelo - Finnish, Byelorussian, Estonian, Latvian and several other Republics." (Same source, Nov. 21.) The collectives in the Moscow Province "this year, too, did not fulfil the plan" for storing fodder."

PUT OWN PROPERTY FIRST

Malenkov's opportunist economic turn, with its sweeping concessions to individualist tendencies in agriculture, was apparently no sooner applied than it boomeranged. It spurred the peasants, especially the well-to-do, to neglect the collective farms in favor of their own individual enterprises. And when winter struck, they had all the more reason for salvaging first their own crops, cattle, etc.

"Especially large losses" of cattle have been officially reported in the "Provinces of Novoselovsk, Minusinsk, Krasnoturan and in the Khakassk Autonomous Province. (Pravda, Nov. 20.) Among the hardest hit appear to be major

dairy-farm provinces and cattle-raising areas. The "food difficulties" are already a deadly reality so far as cattle are concerned.

How much of the 1953 grain crop has been lost? There was a sufficient supply this year because 1952 brought a bumper crop. The Kremlin has still released no figures about this year's grain harvest. But whether 1953 grain losses have been small or large, a new situation now exists in this key branch of agriculture as well.

In addition to damaging crops, early winter must have interfered with the ploughing of land for next spring's sowing. Winter wheat, if sown, may have been killed, requiring re-ploughing and re-sowing next spring. Again, the loss of fodder and cattle renders still more acute the fertilizer shortage. And finally, a huge question mark now hangs over the operating efficiency of the Machine and Tractor Stations, the key to next spring sowing and crop yields.

MACHINES SNOW-BOUND

"Alarm signals" concerning the lag in repairing tractors, combines, plows, etc., along with the general lag in preparations for spring sowing, have been dotting the columns of the Russian press since October. Early winter has caught most of the agricultural machine out in the open, too, because most of the MTS lack garages, sheds and other shelters. Machines must now be repaired and serviced for use next spring, amid snow drifts and icy winds.

More than 60 out of every 100 MTS could not possibly service and repair their machines properly, even if spare parts were plentiful, as they are not. Lacking also are the facilities. As Khrushchev admitted in September, out of 8,950 MTS today in the USSR, "429 MTS have no repair shops at all; and about 5,000 MTS have inadequately equipped shops which do not meet the repair requirements." This bureaucratic neglect has now caught up with the Kremlin.

Producing agricultural machines is one thing; operating them efficiently is something else again. Involved here is the contradiction between solving problems of technology and solving problems of productivity. The bureaucracy has claimed all the credit for the

technical successes, for its ability to build any and all plants and machines, including those needed to produce atomic explosives. And it is a fact that despite its rule, on the basis of nationalized economy and planning, the Soviet Union has acquired a technology second only to that of the United States.

But it is also a fact that the Kremlin bureaucracy has failed to solve the problems of productivity. Far from aiding in the solution of these problems, it bears all the blame for the monstrous lag in this connection. Winter has brought this contradiction to a head.

RUSH-ORDER OF TRAINEES

We already heard from Khrushchev about the bureaucratic method of taking care of agricultural machines. How has most of this machinery been operated in the post-war years? And by whom? By ill-trained teen-agers. They are given some elementary driving lessons, then put behind the wheel, in the hope that they can somehow "complete their training" in the fields. Unbelievable? We yield the floor to Khrushchev, who surely speaks with authority in this field.

"There is an urgent need for changing the system of training drivers, combine operators and workers of the varied trades. Until now these cadres were trained very badly. A boy would spend 2-3 months at courses, he would be taken around the machine several times, then put behind the wheel — and so, the tractor driver is ready. In the spring this tractor driver would somehow manage to drive out into the field but if the machine happened to stall he would sit down beside the tractor and wait until the mechanic came along, since he himself did not know what to do. Hence low productivity, frequent break-down of machines and work of poor quality."

Amid great fanfare a "drastic reform" was announced in September. Henceforth the whole training system would be changed. "Not a single day's delay can be brooked in this matter," warned Khrushchev. And a law was immediately passed decreeing a twelve months course for "all-around tractor driver-mechanics;" and six-months courses for tractor

drivers and combine operator mechanics. All this, too, has been buried under the snow.

And here we come back to the real motives behind Pravda's Dec. 16 attack on the Ministry of Agriculture. It is now in charge of training over a million teen-agers; needless to say, without either the facilities or the means for taking care of one-tenth that number. The dignitaries in charge are seeking to turn out "trainees" on a rush-order basis.

"Isn't it clear," raged Pravda, "that the [training] program is oriented, just as in past years, toward graduating half-educated 'people, technically untrained? Isn't it clear that this program calculates to finish the training of tractor drivers in the field?'"

MAKE IT A MILLION

Malenkov's answer to the blows of winter and the problems of productivity in the MTS is an administrative measure, a draft of a million teen-agers, on the eve of 1954, whose training, as Pravda assures, has not altered an iota from the past.

This emergency labor draft points up the aggravation of the farm crisis. It underscores the reasons for suddenly injecting the charge of "creating food difficulties" into the Beria purge. The regime is thereby provided with both scapegoats and a whip. Anyone who so much as expresses doubts over the food difficulties or about Malenkov's administrative improvisations to solve them, or fails to carry these measures out, as they keep multiplying is henceforth laid open to the charge of secretly aiding "the Beria gang of spies and assassins."

The Militant was among the first to warn that Malenkov's struggle for "abundance" was nothing but a cover for an unfolding agricultural crisis, rooted in a revival of the peasants' struggle against the state. It was, we explained, a struggle to overcome within the next 2-3 years shortages of cattle, fodder, fertilizer, potatoes, etc.

It is now necessary to amend this. Malenkov's struggle for abundance has turned out to be the struggle to save the 1954 spring sowing and 1954 crops. To this must be added that the farm crisis has already turned into a crisis of the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

Beria Case Shows Kremlin Policy

(Continued from page 1)

don't mistake Beria's exposure of the frame-up of 15 doctors for more than it is. It is intended to refurbish our apparatus of repressions and frame-ups, the better to exert it, the better to mask the big political frame-ups of the past, the easier to carry out future frame-ups along with the current ones." (John G. Wright, Militant, April 13.)

Immediately after the arrest of Beria we said: "A purge of this scope and intensity cannot fail to be a mass blood purge in the pattern that gained world notoriety under Stalin." (Wright, Militant, July 20.)

In an analytical article by Morris Stein and John G. Wright in the Aug. 3 Militant we declared that the Beria purge, which was followed by a wave of purges in all corners of the Soviet Union, would "shatter all illusions that the purge system was a personal twist on Stalin's part; that the caste can rule by discarding the method of the purge." Referring to the contention that the "new course" reforms were incompatible with blood purges, the article said: "Let us recall that the cover of 'reform,' of 'liberation' was originally employed by none other than Stalin as a prelude to the blood baths of the Thirties."

PABLOITE POSITION

Now what did the Pabloites say about the prospect of new blood purges? They flatly denied them. They regarded our forecast of the events now taking place as a manifestation of the bankruptcy of "old Trotskyism." Pablo wrote to the SWP National Committee in this vein on Sept. 3: "The idea of bloody 'purges' now in prospect in the USSR on a scale identical or comparable with that of 1936-38 . . . is based on schemas and old reminiscences and not on a correct analysis of the present reality."

The "present reality," according to Pablo, consisted in "the new relation of forces between the masses and the bureaucracy which is unfavorable to the latter, obliging it to make real concessions and limiting its possibilities of repression and purges." This was Pablo's explanation of why the bureaucracy couldn't do what it is doing today. His error lies in a vulgar and mechanical conception of the Stalinist bureaucracy as the unwilling but nevertheless actual performer of revolutionary functions, rather than a basically counter-revolutionary caste in irreconcilable contradiction to the revolution.

This is made clear when we

examine the Pabloite theory of what the Beria purge is all about.

In Quatrieme Internationale, Nov. 1953, the Pabloite editors say: "Beria was a victim of his impatience in wanting to put a quick end to the rule of 'collective leadership' substituting in its place a new personal power based primarily on the secret police. His sudden elimination was felt by the Soviet masses as a new blow directed against the universally detested institution of the secret police. It was after the elimination of Beria that there began the most important turn in the entire history of the economic development of the country since 1928 — that is, the emphasis put on the necessity of henceforth developing all the branches of Soviet economy 'harmoniously' and making up for the lag in light industry and agriculture."

Then follows a series of quotes from speeches of Malenkovist functionaries. These were the sole proof the Pabloites offered of the splendid turn affairs took after "the elimination of Beria" in the interests of "collective leadership" vs. "personal power." Can anyone imagine a more glibly Malenkovist rationalization of the Beria purge?

According to this, we should now hail the execution of Beria and cheer Malenkov on while he frames up and executes thousands of others, because it is all in the interests of democracy, against the secret police and for the "harmonious" development of Soviet economy with emphasis on consumers goods. All we need now is Pablo's assurance that Malenkov does not have a new secret police chief to replace the executed Beria.

Bert Cochran, leader of the American Pabloites, wrote before Beria's execution: "The Militant writers see a new blood purge under way today in the USSR. . . Their researches into the methods of Stalinist rule bring them to the conclusion that the bureaucracy has no way of regulating the contradictions of Soviet society except through the application of force and more force . . . hence the purge system. . . 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."

Cochran implies that some 20 years or so have passed since the Thirties, and in this he is absolutely correct. But that is about all he understands of the real difference between the two epochs.

Cochran attempts to show by comparing the two epochs why a blood purge is not going to take place in the Soviet Union. But life proved greater than Cochran's theory. A blood purge is taking place.

Malenkov's purge, it is true, is different from Stalin's, but it is nevertheless a blood purge of the type predicted by John G. Wright. It is different from the purges of the Thirties because the worldwide crisis of Stalinism is deeper today than it was then.

The bureaucracy is on the defensive, it is trying to ward off the shocks of the rising socialist revolution which unleash centrifugal forces within its world structure. In the last analysis it is defending itself, knife in hand, from the Soviet proletariat, a class with a revolutionary potential of unexampled power.

WITH A BLOODY AXE

The new conditions do not prove the fat-headed assumption that the Soviet Bureaucracy "can no longer betray" or does not have "the possibility" of carrying out purges. The bureaucracy will display its greatest ferocity precisely during this period of its death agony. It seeks to cow the masses by waving the threat of blood purges at them. It is determined to regain political supremacy over a completely prostrated working class. Concessions from the bureaucrats can be of only the most temporary and superficial nature. They are maneuvers with a bloody axe.

When Trotsky observed Stalin's maneuvers in 1935 with the New Soviet Constitution (the "most democratic in the world"), he said, "It is clear that something frightful is being hatched."

When Malenkov proclaimed the "new course" last April he was preparing the "frightful" crime of suppressing East German workers last June, and the blood purge that opened with the arrest of Beria in July.

The world situation is more favorable than it was in the Thirties for an anti-Stalinist political revolution of the working class within the USSR. We have the right to expect that the Soviet masses will intervene against Malenkov's plot to consolidate his position as a new Stalin. There lies the difference between Malenkov's and Stalin's blood purges.

World Events

By Paul Abbott

THE BOLIVIAN Revolutionary Workers Party (POR) continues to get out its paper, Lucha Obrera (Workers Struggle), despite government efforts to suppress the Trotskyist organ. The Dec. 20 issue repeats the principled stand taken by the party in defense of the Bolivian revolution. Despite the repressive measures, the Trotskyists will fight on the government side against a new attempt at a coup d'etat now being prepared by reactionary forces. "This attitude derives from our revolutionary line and not from this or that concession made by the government," Lucha Obrera savagely criticizes the Estenssoro regime for betraying the Bolivian revolution, bowing to the U.S. State Department and making it possible for fascist-like forces to grow in strength in Bolivia. It calls for a Workers and Farmers Government to replace the present administration as the only way to safeguard the gains made by the revolution, such as nationalization of the tin mines, and says that the Trotskyists are penetrating deeper into the mass movement in order to accomplish this aim.

A NEW MAGAZINE, "QUE HACER?," published "in defense of the workers' and farmers' interests," appeared in Mexico in November, "Que Hacer?" (What to Do?) calls for the workers to continue the Mexican revolution to its necessary conclusion — a Workers and Farmers Government. It attacks the imperialist interests that have been oppressing Mexico, warns about the "tortuous maneuvers of the Stalinist groups and governments," and declares that the native capitalists cannot carry forward the revolution begun in 1910. The table of contents includes, "The Agrarian Problem of Mexico," "The Working Class and the Mexican Revolution," "Workers' Unity?," "The Bolivian Revolution," "Bolshevism and Stalinism" (a reprint of an article by Leon Trotsky), and a book review section. Lively and thought-provoking, "Que Hacer?" promises to fill the need long felt throughout Latin America for a genuine Marxist magazine of high theoretical level. A year's subscription can be obtained by sending five pesos (obtainable through an international money order form at your post office) to the editor, Martin Arriaga, Apdo. 8240 Mexico 1, D. F.

TURNABOUT. The Guatemalan government which has been expropriating the holdings of United Fruit Co. has declared the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Guatemala a "subversive organization." The National Planning Association in the U.S. is convinced that "communists" are so deeply entrenched in Guatemala, it is "no longer possible to eliminate them peacefully."

A LARGE BODY OF LATIN AMERICAN opinion is convinced that the U.S. is "unnecessarily alarmed" over the alleged Communist "threat" represented by actions the Guatemalan government has taken against native landlords and Wall Street interests and "insufficiently aroused over the threat from rightwing dictatorships," according to the Dec. 23 N. Y. Times. Many Latin American leaders "would be outraged by an attempt to condemn Guatemala at the inter-American conference opening in Caracas March 1." As an example of the feeling, the Times reports, "It is difficult . . . to convince the Mexican people that there is any difference between Guatemalan reform and what their own revolution achieved. Official Guatemalan harassment of United States business concerns does not make much impression either. The Mexicans remember that foreign oil companies were expropriated here in 1938."

COMMENTING ON THE FASCIST DANGER in the United States represented by McCarthyism, the Dec. 17 Samasamajist, English weekly of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, declares: "Surely it is high time the labor bureaucrats gave up their impotent policy of clinging to the coat-tails of the capitalist Democratic Party and put labor's faith in its own political organization. And if they are unwilling to perform this task, it is high time they were ditched by the rank-and-file. American labor must accept its responsibility and seek its salvation through its own undoubtedly great strength. And the first step to be taken if it is to play its historic role is the formation of a Labor Party to speak exclusively for labor." Samasamajist reports the warnings of the Socialist Workers Party about the grave menace of McCarthyite fascism in America, and declares: "All strength to the Socialist Workers Party in its consistent efforts to rally American labor round the banner of Revolutionary Socialism and lead it to victory against the fascist forces of Wall Street."

By Jean Blake

The Eisenhower administration has announced its legislative policy for 1954: a multitude of legislative proposals in the interest of various sections of the capitalist class...

What are the Negro and labor leaders going to do about it?

Up to now they have been able to pretend they have a program for political action — lobbying for their so-called "legislative demands."

We saw some plain and fancy white-washing of Eisenhower in 1953 by Negro leaders who adopted the line that the President's civil rights program is being sabotaged by his subordinates and advisers — administrators in the Army, Navy and Air Force...

We even saw, in the case of the appointment of race-hater Byrnes as U.S. representative to the UN, some slight criticism of the President's action as ill-advised, naive, or incorrect.

Now that Eisenhower has stated in so many words that he will seek no civil rights legislation in the next session of Congress, let's hope

the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will measure up to the challenge. It was not Byrnes, or Benson, or Brownell who said it — it was the man himself.

The time has come for a new program of political action. It must be a program of independent political action — independent of the thoroughly rotten capitalist parties.

Such a program of independent political action requires breaking out of the limitations of capitalist legislative traps, of polite pleading with the politicians who have nothing but contempt for the Uncle Toms of the labor and Negro movements.

It means calling a Congress of Labor — all labor — to form a broad united front for a bold counter-offensive against the well-organized reaction which is driving toward fascism in America.

It means a return to the methods that have proved their effectiveness in winning gains for Negro and white workers — class solidarity, "an injury to one is an injury to all," and a "March on Washington," not a "gentlemanly" conference on civil rights legislation.

We're not dealing with "gentlemen" in Washington; we're dealing with class-conscious capitalist thugs. Let's take off the kid gloves!

Tax Cut for Mothers

By Joyce Cowley

"WORKING MOTHERS TO GET TAX CUT" — When I read this headline in the N.Y. Herald Tribune, I thought, "At last, they passed that law on child care!"

A working mother obviously can't hold down a job unless she sends her child to nursery school or pays someone to take care of him. But the money she spends for this care is not considered a business expense.

I eagerly read through the Herald Tribune article for details, but I'm afraid I couldn't find much cause for a victory celebration. It's like the income tax cut on January 1 — the average worker will be lucky if he gets another dime a day to cover the increase in subway fare.

The maximum deduction under the child care law is \$300. This allows approximately \$6 a week for the care of your children and means a tax saving of \$60 a year.

Only widows, widowers and parents who are divorced or separated are permitted to make this deduction. Eleven million married women are working but the "Treasury and Congressional staff experts" who worked out

this curious law evidently think married women work as a hobby, not to pay the bills.

This deduction is allowed only for children under seven. "Care for school age children," says the newspaper report, "is not so much of a problem." Apparently there will be no coddling of mature seven-year-olds.

The law as originally proposed would exempt from tax all child-care expenses of all working mothers. For most mothers this would mean a few dollars extra a week. We need it and we're entitled to it.

Working mothers and their children have a right to a great deal more than this adjustment in taxes. We need free public nursery schools, hot school lunches, after-school play centers, better schools, more parks and recreational facilities, camps and day-care programs for the summer when schools are closed.

I don't expect to get these things from the "Congressional staff experts" who begrudged us a few dollars tax relief. We need our own representatives in Congress to fight for this program. We need our own party, a Labor Party, that will speak out for the rights of all working people.

Notes from the News

"A LUXURY HOTEL complete with bars, cocktail lounges, a star-lit room and a west end steak restaurant . . ." is being built in Seoul, Korea, with American dollars, at the insistence of President Rhee . . . while "assistance to the hungry, freezing people must wait," charges Cong. Brownson (R., Ind.) who recently returned from a tour of Korea. (Cleveland Plain Dealer, Dec. 21.)

THE GEORGIA PARDON AND PAROLE BOARD will not consider before 1955 appeals for the release of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teen-age sons, a mass delegation of the Women's Committee for Equal Justice was informed after they were curtly referred to the Board by Gov. Talmadge. Mrs. Ingram and her son are serving life terms for the self-defense killing of a white farmer who attempted at gunpoint to assault Mrs. Ingram.

AN APPEAL FOR CLOTHING, particularly shoes, has been made for the twelve children of the imprisoned Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram by Mrs. Geneva Rushing, eldest daughter in charge of the household, according to the Pittsburgh Courier. Mrs. Rushing explained that the NAACP contributes \$100 a month through its local branch for the children's food, but this does not go far enough for their other needs.

AIRCRAFT SUB-CONTRACTING DROPS. A significant drop in the sub-contracting of aircraft work is reported by the Dec. 22 Wall Street Journal. "Our volume of sub-contracting has been down about 35% in the last three months," says a spokesman for Solar Aircraft Co. At Consolidated Vultee Aircraft Co., "all our sub-contracting activity is being retrenched." Employment at their plant is down to 18,000 from a peak of 26,000 and it will continue to drop next year, the company predicts.

MEANY SHUNS POLITICS FOR LABOR. The N. Y. Times reports, Dec. 10, "Asked why labor had not tried to make use of its great voting strength, Mr. Meany (AFL president) answered that political power as an end in itself was not desired by labor. He expressed the belief that it was not right for any one segment of the population including labor, to run the government."

DEFENDS DEAD BROTHER. Nathan L. White, brother of the late Harry Dexter White, has branded as "unproven and groundless" the

charge that his brother plotted with the Soviet Union to obtain printing plates to produce his own supply of Allied occupation currency. Pointing to the exhaustive investigation made prior to his brother's death by a combined Senate and Armed Forces Committee and its failure to produce any evidence against him, White declared, Dec. 19 that this unsubstantiated charge against his brother was one more of the groundless accusations "rampant in the press and over the air by official and unofficial seekers of 'the truth.'"

"REACTIONARIES, FASCISTS, LIBERALS, progressives, business men, tycoons, workers, Socialists, Trotskyites, Communists, Catholics, atheist, and all the infinite variety of crackpots, fanatics and self-appointed saviors of mankind," must enjoy full civil liberties, asserted Corliss Lamont at a dinner of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Dr. Lamont, a prominent civil libertarian heavily influenced by Stalinism, was recently dropped from the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, which now will accept support of civil liberties only from those not adhering to "Communist, Fascist, KKK or other totalitarian philosophies."

THE MISSISSIPPI STATE SENATE last week rejected an amendment which would allow the state to abolish public schools in case the Supreme Court outlaws segregation. The amendment was defeated by a tie vote of 24 to 24. In rejecting the amendment, legislators said the time was not ripe for such drastic action. (Pittsburgh Courier, Dec. 26.)

AT ENIWETOK last year, a hydrogen, or thermonuclear test device released the equivalent of considerably more than five million tons of TNT, reveals military analyst Hanson W. Baldwin. (N. Y. Times, Dec. 10.) Compare this to the fifteen to twenty thousand tons of TNT equivalent that reduced Hiroshima and Nagasaki to ashes and rubble!

ANTI-FASCIST PAMPHLET OFF THE PRESS. Key articles of the Dec. 7 issue of the Militant are now available in pamphlet form for sale and distribution by fighters against McCarthyism. The pamphlet, "McCarthyism: American Fascism on the March," can be obtained by writing Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. The price is ten cents a copy.

THE MILITANT

Guild Fights "Subversive" Blacklisting

DECEMBER 23 — A Federal Judge today refused to issue an injunction stopping Attorney-General Brownell from designating the National Lawyers Guild as "subversive." The Guild has announced that it will appeal the Judge's decision.

Brownell first proposed to put the Guild on the government blacklist last August on the grounds that it was "Communist-dominated" and a "legal mouth-piece" for the Communist Party.

The Justice Department has ordered the Guild to file affidavits by Jan. 16 to prove that it is not "subversive." Brownell will then decide whether to hold a public hearing. He can dictatorially decide to place the Guild on the "subversive list" with or without such a hearing.

The Guild has filed the injunction suit to block the hearing as well as to prevent such a listing. It contends that Brownell has prejudged the case and it would be denied due process of law at such a "hearing."

Fascist Congratulations



Delighted with the outcome of their conference with Eisenhower and other GOP conferees on 1954 legislative plans, Sen. McCarthy (left) and Rep. Velde, chief House witch hunter, shake hands. The meeting accepted McCarthy's program to intensify the witch hunt. "I wasn't displeased with anything I heard," commented McCarthy.

Professor Scores Brownell Attack On Bill of Rights

NEW YORK, Dec. 28 — A courageous college professor today branded as "tyranny" the proposal of Attorney General Brownell to compel witnesses to testify if granted immunity from criminal prosecution, thereby denying them protection under the Fifth Amendment.

Brownell's proposal, if carried out, would "effectively destroy the most personal of all rights guaranteed to Americans by their Bill of Rights," charged Bower Aly, Professor of Speech at the University of Missouri, addressing the convention of the Speech Association of America.

"In effect," Professor Aly asserted, "the proposal of the Attorney General would require citizens to incriminate themselves . . . the proposal would violate not only the American tradition of civil rights; it would violate also the tradition of the common law, which is older than the Constitution, older than the nation."

"The proposal brings into the sharpest focus we have yet observed the conflict between tyranny and freedom in the republic."

Professor Aly's fighting speech was warmly applauded by the thousand college and university speech professors at the convention, many of whom gathered to congratulate him as he left the platform.

Salaries paid to college and university professors still rank among the lowest in the professional field, the National Education Ass'n reports.

M'CARTHYITES SET UP CAMPUS FASCIST GROUPS

The McCarthyite fascist movement is now establishing a foothold on the American campus. The junior McCarthyites are banded in an organization called "Students for America."

They recently applied for a charter at the University of Virginia but had their application rejected by the unanimous vote of the 15-man Student Council, according to the Dec. 20 issue of the Washington Post.

"Students for America" is organized under the banner of "Truth! Loyalty! Honor!" The official "Handbook" of the movement says it is the "Student's answer to the Marxist challenge."

University of Virginia students have branded it a "junior grade imitation of McCarthyism," and a "Kindergarten Ku Klux Klan" that would function as a group of "self-appointed vigilantes."

The council's rejection of the charter application does not put an end to the organization, but simply prohibits it from using the University's name. It continues to function with about 21 members under the leadership of Fulton Lewis III, son of the notorious anti-labor radio commentator, Fulton Lewis, Jr.

CLAIM 2,500 MEMBERS. The organization claims 2,500 members from more than 120 schools. Its national headquarters is at Hollywood, Calif.

Listed in its "Handbook" as supporters are such unsavory figures as General Douglas MacArthur, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Senator Karl Mundt and Walter Winchell.

Others who have praised the organization, according to its magazine, the American Student, are the California Department of the American Legion, the DAR's National Chairman and executive secretary, and last but not least, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

The organization was originally founded in 1951 as the "National Collegiate MacArthur Clubs." It switched over to the present name a year later.

Its "Handbook" includes the Government's "subversive" list and gives detailed information on "How to Identify a Communist Front," "Pink Professors," "Phony Peace Drives," and "The Anti-Communist Hysteria."

STUDENT STOOLPIGONS

To deal with "pink professors," its members are urged to take notes, have them verified by a fellow student, and then forward them to headquarters "for suggestions or instructions as to the appropriate course of action. For obvious reasons we cannot be more specific in this handbook. However you may rest assured that many possibilities of appropriate action are always available."

"Student contributions don't even pay for postage on literature mailed," its magazine points out, but the "SFA has printed as many as 100,000 pieces of literature in a single month"

Maybe these aren't "Kindergarten" McCarthyites after all.

Mahoney Upheld On Democracy Issue in SUP

SEATTLE, Dec. 17 — John Mahoney, central figure in a hard-fought, rank-and-file battle against Harry Lundberg, AFL Sailors Union president, four years ago received legal vindication today when the State Supreme Court ruled that his expulsion from the SUP was illegal and that the SUP must pay him monetary damages.

John Mahoney, a well-known and respected member of the Seattle branch of the Sailor Union for many years, was summarily expelled from the SUP when he questioned the right of the SUP officials to break the Canadian seamen's strike of that time. AFL seamen officials, Harry Lundberg and Paul Hall had moved into

Memorial Meeting For Carlo Tresca Planned in N.Y.

NEW YORK — The eleventh anniversary of the death of Carlo Tresca, editor of Il Martello (The Hammer), will be commemorated Saturday, January 9. A meeting will be held in his memory at the Rand School, 7 East 15th St., at 2 P.M.

After the meeting, flowers will be laid at the northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 15th Street, where this courageous labor leader and anti-fascist fighter was shot down by a still unapprehended assassin in 1934.

When Tresca was killed, the gunman got away in an automobile which was found abandoned a few blocks away several hours later. No one was ever prosecuted for the crime, although one of two suspects was identified by a parole agent as having entered the escape car (recognized by its number) an hour and a half before the murder.

Recently, after a Walter Winchell column said that District Attorney Frank Hogan had placed an "urgent" label on the Tresca case, Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee wrote Hogan asking if this were true.

In reply, Alexander Herman, Homicide Bureau head, said that his office had always considered the case urgent. "Unfortunately," Herman added, "although our investigation continues actively, I cannot prophesy when it will terminate successfully."

Thus, after 11 long years of allegedly "actively" investigating the murder of a well-known labor figure, New York's "finest" can't even promise any results!

Carlo Tresca was a militant, tireless opponent of reaction everywhere. One of his last activities was support of the 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act in 1941.

In the years prior to World War I he was a dynamic strike leader, well known in the textile mills of Paterson and Lawrence, and the Messabi iron range of Minnesota, where he won the love of thousands of workers.

Sheriff Kills Man Who Named Him In Moonshine Case

Sheriff Jenkins A. Hill, of Clark County, Ala., on Dec. 23 shot to death Moses Jones, a Negro prisoner in his custody. Jones had testified against him in a moonshine liquor case three months ago. The sheriff claimed "self defense."

Jones had moved out of town because he feared for his safety, after testifying that Hill had taken \$2 a gallon "protection" money from him on illegal whiskey that he manufactured. Jones was brought back on a trumped up "fugitive" charge and placed in the sheriff's custody.

U.S. Attorney Percy Fountain of Mobile, Ala., says he is "very much interested" in the shooting.

Will the Cold War Turn Into Cold Truce?

(Continued from page 1)

"Mr. Eisenhower" is backing away from his stand against deals with Russia until after the Communists give an earnest of good faith. The basis now is being laid for 1954 talks designed to fix a price to be paid the Communists for a period of promised peace."

If that appears to be laid on thick, certain facts nevertheless seem to confirm such estimates.

PRESSURE EASED

For example, the budget for the Armed Forces for the coming year has been cut, the size of the Army has been reduced, two divisions have been recalled from Korea, a conference has actually been arranged with the Kremlin.

In return, the Malenkov regime has eased the pressure. Its latest move was a concession in its demand to outlaw the atom bomb. Instead of a ban on manufacture of the horror weapons, the Kremlin now asks for only a ban on their use. That concession did much to relax tension in Washington, if not among prospective victims of the atom bomb.

Add to this that secret talks have been underway between Churchill and Malenkov through their Ambassador since Nov. 28 and that these talks have been "almost as effective as though the two leaders actually met," according to Peter Lyne, London parliamentary correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor (Dec. 24), and the evidence appears impressive that a shift away from war is in sight in 1954.

Must we then agree with Walter Mills of the N. Y. Herald Tribune that the "cold war seems to have sunk to what might be called a kind of cold truce — a military-political stalemate which neither side sees much present prospect of altering to its advantage?" (Dec. 24.)

Are the secret diplomatic talks and the projected Berlin meeting aimed simply at reducing the "cold truce" to some kind of official document that can be labelled a "mutual non-aggression pact"? Or is something much more sinister afoot?

EISENHOWER'S DIPLOMACY

A year ago in the Militant (Jan. 12, 1953) I called attention to the fact that Eisenhower inherited a bad diplomatic position from the Truman administration. I projected the possibility that Eisenhower would attempt to relax world tension and even go "quite far in 'peace' gestures."

"A meeting with Stalin," I said, "would fit in with such a pattern."

This turn, of course, would not contradict the major course of American Big Business toward another world war, but would in the final analysis facilitate it by giving the Eisenhower administration the appearance of seeking peace.

This prognosis, made before Eisenhower took office, has been fully confirmed by the events of the past year. It is sufficient to cite the truce in Korea as evidence of the desire to relax tensions; and the recent effort to

secure military bases in Pakistan as evidence of the long-range aim to prepare for war on the Soviet Union.

Not even the death of Stalin was permitted to interfere with Eisenhower's design, particularly when Malenkov presented Beria's head as credentials and evidence that his feet really fit Stalin's shoes.

The Berlin conference scheduled for the end of January fits into this pattern of Wall Street diplomacy, and we may be sure that Eisenhower's representatives will do their utmost to utilize it as a sounding board to propagandize the "peaceful" world aims of American Big Business.

In addition to this, however, a new powerful impulsion toward temporary agreement between the Kremlin and the Allied powers exists. This is the rise of revolutionary potential in Europe.

France is at present closer to revolution than at any time since the end of World War II. The titanic general strike of last August, the greatest since 1936, shook the country to the bottom and posed the question of the workers taking power. The recent crisis over the election of a new president was nothing but a shadow cast on the parliamentary screen by the colossal forces now gathering on the class arena.

The storm signals are not isolated to France. The horizon is also darkening in Italy. The alarm over this situation is nowhere more acute than in the counting houses of Wall Street and the inner sanctum of the State Department.

How can American imperialism hope to contain these elemental forces? The solution reached at the end of World War II to this problem at once leaps to mind. The French and Italian Stalinists, under Moscow direction, rescued tottering French and Italian capitalism. Can they not play the same treacherous role again?

The French Stalinists have already indicated their capacity in this respect, having deliberately and cold-bloodedly betrayed the August general strike, and that without any "mutual non-aggression pact" between Moscow and Washington. In fact, they performed this service simply as a token of good will.

UNREST IN SOVIET ORBIT

From the Kremlin's side, the June 17 uprising in East Germany demonstrated what unrest exists in the Soviet bloc. From the viewpoint of the bourgeois-minded Soviet ruling caste this underlined the need to reach agreement with western imperialism on handling what is clearly a common problem.

NEW YORK Friday Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on Will American Economy Survive the Coming Crisis?

Speaker: Art Sharon Friday, Jan. 8, 8 P.M. Militant Hall 116 University Pl. (near Union Sq.) Questions, Discuss Refreshments Contribution 25 Cc