

THE MILITANT

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The Kind of Unity Workers Want and Need

By Art Preis

CIO President Philip Murray and his nine vice-presidents have addressed a broad unity proposal to all the major labor unions. Murray emphasized that it is "the most significant proposal of its kind" that the CIO has ever made.

The AFL leaders to whom his proposal is principally addressed. It is noteworthy that neither the CIO nor the AFL leaders showed the slightest initiative in seeking joint action during the recent coal and steel strikes.

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CIO Hits Mundt Bill At House Hearing

Thomas E. Harris, assistant general counsel of the CIO, told the House Un-American Activities Committee hearing on April 4 that the Mundt-Nixon bill for the registration of "subversives" would "not only deny civil rights to Communists but would put at hazard the civil rights of everyone else."

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AEC Censors "Scientific American," Burns Copies

By Joseph Keller

Washington is preparing to suppress, through direct censorship, all public discussion on Truman's H-Bomb policy. Symbolically, the first major move in the censorship drive is a Nazi-like book-burning carried out under the orders and the direct supervision of the Atomic Energy Commission.

The Scientific American, a popular science monthly over 100 years old, was forced to burn 3,000 copies of its April issue containing an article on the H-Bomb which the AEC censored after the magazine had gone to press.

Although the article contained no material that the AEC had called "classified" and all information in it had been published elsewhere, the AEC officials insisted that certain portions of the article be deleted, that the printed article of the magazine containing the undeleted article be burned, that all proofs and galley sheets be burned and that the type of the censored passages be melted down.

It was not by accident that the Truman-appointed AEC picked out the Scientific American and Dr. Bethe for victimization. The magazine has been critical of the intimidation, surveillance and suppression to which American scientists have been increasingly subjected under Truman's "loyalty" program.

CALCULATED TACT

The AEC's action was undoubtedly a calculated move to extend the insidious tentacles of censorship deeper in American life. It selected the most distinguished and widely-read publication in the field and the man who has made some of the chief theoretical contributions on which the development of the new H-Bomb is based.

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Bridges Verdict Strikes Blow at Labor's Rights

It IS Happening Here



SOLICIT GREETINGS FOR N.Y. KUTCHER JOURNAL

NEW YORK, April 4 — The New York Chapter of the Kutchner Civil Rights Committee today announced plans for a benefit entertainment and dance to raise funds to carry forward the fight in behalf of the legless veteran, James Kutcher, who was purged from his government job because of his political ideas.

In conjunction with the dance, which will be held June 16 at the Hotel Capitol, the committee is publishing a souvenir journal which will contain greetings and advertisements from labor and liberal supporters of the legless veteran as well as friends and merchants in the metropolitan area.

Members and sympathizers of the committee are already engaged in soliciting ads for the journal, which will range from \$60 for a full page down to individual greetings at \$1 apiece.

AMALGAMATED BOARD

Although the project is just getting under way, the committee has already had an encouraging response. The New York Joint Board of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers has subscribed to the first full-page greeting and over \$100 has been contributed by merchants and friends of the committee.

The CIO National Maritime Union last week notified the

Italian Trotskyists Step Up Activity in Rome, Other Cities

ROME, Mar. 16 — The first and highly successful public meeting of the Italian Trotskyist organization — the Revolutionary Communist Groups — was held in this city on March 5. More than 200 people gathered in the hall, decorated with portraits of Lenin and Trotsky and a banner of the Fourth International, to listen to a speech on the programmatic foundations of the Trotskyist movement delivered by Livio Maitan, secretary of the organization.

Maitan was former secretary of the Italian Socialist Youth and former member of the National Executive of the Democratic People's Front. The meeting was widely covered by the daily and weekly press in Rome.

OTHER MEETINGS

A similar meeting has already been held at Palermo, the capital of Sicily, and a third is scheduled in Milan. In addition, the Italian Trotskyists have also scheduled a public meeting on Yugoslavia to be held in Rome on April 2.

The Italian Trotskyists have completed all the necessary arrangements for the publication of a regular periodical, Bandiera Rossa (Red Flag). The first issue will appear on April 1.

Frame-up Menaces All Who Oppose Government Policies

Any union leader who does not submit to the dictates of the U. S. State Department or who opposes the "cold war" policies of the Truman administration faces the threat of frame-up and imprisonment. That is the meaning of the conviction on a trumped-up "perjury" charge of CIO Longshoremen's leader Harry Bridges in an 85-day trial before a federal court in San Francisco.

No, Bridges got a trial before a hand-picked middle-class jury, surrounded by a poisonous witch-hunt atmosphere, who were under pressure to bring in a conviction lest they themselves be victimized and branded as "disloyal" for acquitting a man that the government said is "subversive."

From start to finish, the Bridges case has reeked of frame-up. Three times before, the government had attempted to have Bridges deported to his native Australia on the grounds of his alleged membership in the Communist Party. And three times, rulings against him were reversed — the last time by the U. S. Supreme Court. The judge in the latest trial did not even permit these vital facts to be given the jury.

The government's case was based entirely on the testimony of stoolpigeons, most of them sworn enemies of Bridges in the labor movement. One of them gave the frame-up away when he testified that in October 1948 he had been called into conference by the then Attorney General, Tom Clark, who told the witness that "they wanted to remove the influence of Mr. Bridges and others from the labor movement."

RESULT OF COLD WAR

Bridges isn't facing seven years in prison because he broke any laws or even because he is an alleged agent of the Kremlin. When Bridges was an outspoken supporter of American imperialism, when he was a leading wartime strikebreaker and exponent of the permanent no-strike pledge, then the administration in Washington took him to its bosom and protected him from prosecution, regardless of his Stalinist connections. But now he does not support the administration's foreign policy. That is why he has suffered a relentless frame-up.

The Bridges case is one more nail in the coffin of civil liberties in the United States. It is one more warning to all defenders of civil rights of the need for a united mass movement in defense of all witch-hunt victims.

PROGRESS REPORTED ON PENN., MICH. PETITIONS

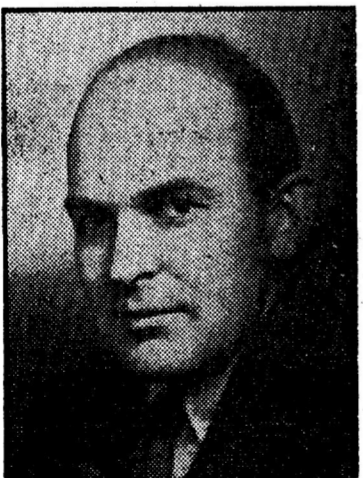
PHILADELPHIA, April 2 — The signature campaign to win a place on the ballot for the candidates of the Militant Workers Party — Clyde Turner for U. S. Senator, and Herbert Levin for Governor — achieved a heartening start this week. (The MWP is the Pennsylvania ballot designation of the Socialist Workers Party.)

In this area party members and sympathizers secured 3,579 signatures for the nomination papers in the first six days of the 30-day period provided by Pennsylvania law. The goal is 12,000 signatures in the state. Reports from other parts of the state are not yet available.

Despite the heightened red-baiting atmosphere, Philadelphia workers demonstrated a readiness to help place the SWP on the ballot and a sympathetic interest in what its candidates stand for. Trade unionists, Negroes and the unemployed showed a willingness to help. Many asked to be allowed to aid by circulating nomination papers themselves, and others requested further information about the SWP.

The candidacy of Clyde Turner has aroused widespread interest. She is the first woman candidate for the U. S. Senate in the history of Pennsylvania and also the first Negro candidate for the U. S. Senate, anywhere in the country, since Hiram Revels and Blanche K. Bruce represented Mississippi in the Reconstruction period that followed the Civil War.

DETROIT, April 1 — The Socialist Workers Party is making excellent progress in the campaign to collect 15,000 signatures so that its candidates will win a place on this year's ballot in Michigan. A total of 7,439 signatures had



F. O. MATTHESEN

MATTHESEN COMMITS SUICIDE OVER COLD WAR

By Sidney Crabbe

BOSTON, April 3 — With the death by suicide of Francis O. Matthesen early in the morning of April 1 the working people have lost a true friend and fearless defender. Famous in scholarly circles throughout the world for his critical writings on American life and literature, this Harvard University professor actively and publicly associated himself with the cause of labor and the movement for emancipation from capitalist bondage.

Modest, kind and courageous, he was never known to refuse his services in any case involving the violation of the rights of an individual, group or radical party. He was among the charter national committee members of the Civil Rights Defense Committee which was formed in 1941 to defend the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union who were the first to be jailed under the Smith "Gag" Act.

"I am a Christian and I also am a Socialist. I believe firmly in international peace. I am against any order that interferes with that objective." He sacrificed the rest of his life as an act of political protest against capitalism, its wars and its witch-hunts.

"INDEPENDENT RADICAL"

The Trotskyists of Massachusetts and elsewhere had ample reason to respect and revere this scholar with the spirit of the old Abolitionists. He recently visited the Boston headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party to hear Vincent R. Dunne talk on civil rights and the labor movement. He was a great admirer of the men who built the powerful teamster unions in the Northwest.

At that time he remarked: "They say I am a Stalinist. But it is not true; do not believe them." Although active in the Progressive Party, he would not accept the designation of liberal. Often in conversation he would brush such references aside with

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ADA Still Tied to Truman Policy

Most of the leaders of Americans for Democratic Action, at its national convention April 1-3 in Washington, showed themselves not only willing but anxious to retain their position of undisputed servitude to the corrupt Democratic Party of northern city bosses and southern white supremacists.

But they met the obstacle of various elements within the organization who, on one ground or another, were opposed to what they called the "atmosphere of captivity" of the ADA to the Democratic Party. These insurgent elements were able — not all for the same reasons and not all for progressive reasons — to push through a statement avowing the "political and organizational independence" of the ADA from any particular political party.

This formal "declaration of independence" was nothing but a verbal concession to independent political action. It did not break a single one of the numerous and strong fetters that bind the ADA to the Truman machine and through it to the Democratic Party.

Nothing better indicates that the ADA was and remains a captive and servant of the Democratic Party than the national officers elected by the convention. In the main, these officials are the elements most eager to commit the ADA openly to Truman's machine and policies. Most of them, in fact, are affiliated with the Democratic Party and now or in the recent past have represented that party in government.

PRINCIPAL ACTIVITY

The convention made plain that the principal political activity of ADA would be to continue mustering votes for Truman Democrats, but left the door open for endorsements of "progressive" Republicans as well. On both domestic and foreign policies, the convention went down the line for Truman's fundamental program, daring only a pip-squeak of criticism on this or that incidental issue. Finally, the convention categorically rejected the idea of any break with the capitalist two-party system in favor of a third party.

At the start of the convention, ADA chairman Senator Hubert Humphrey voiced the position of most of the top leaders when he said the organization will work as a "full partner" of Truman in the coming Congressional elections. He said that "we intend to preserve our independence, but to work for those candidates who support our platform, which is almost identical with the Democratic platform of 1948."

In conformity with the ADA's traditional platform, the leadership unambiguously declared that "for the achievement of liberal purposes, cooperation with the Fair Deal elements of the Democratic Party affords the best opportunity on the national level at this time," but that this did not preclude "cooperation with and support of progressive elements of the Republican party."

Opposition to this was expressed from the floor. Finally, these statements were stricken from the platform by a narrow majority. Adopted instead was the declaration that ADA "reaffirms its political and organizational independence. We will continue to work for the nomination and election of candidates for public office of whatever party, when their records are consistent with the principles of ADA." By "whatever party" is meant "Democratic and Republican parties only." For the declaration also reaffirmed the ADA's opposition to any third party as "injurious to liberal purposes."

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CLYDE TURNER

already been collected in six counties as of last Thursday night. Thus half of the petition goal has been reached in less than half the time allotted to the campaign.

Canvassers continue to report friendly receptions from most of the workers approached. A number of older people have signed with a comment about having voted for Debs, and wishing luck to the SWP.

The least favorable response to date was met in Lansing, the state capital. Government and state employees often apologize and wish the canvassers luck, but frankly explain that they fear the loss of their jobs if they were to sign.

The best results have been obtained in front of unemployment compensation offices. Large numbers of laid-off workers have expressed their discontent with existing conditions by signing the SWP petitions. In one case, 108 signatures were given in front of one office in a period of 1 1/2 hours.

European Notebook

The 'National Front' -- Stalin's German Policy

By Ernest Germain

The combination of adventurism and opportunism which characterized the so-called "Third Period" policy of the Communist International [1929-34], found its clearest expression in Germany. The theory of social-fascism [that Social Democracy is the twin of fascism] was combined there with the practice of "national-communism" (the search for an alliance with petty-bourgeois nationalist elements). And once again today, the new third period of criminal Stalinist post-war policy in Western Europe is most clearly expressed in Germany.

The denunciation of the Social Democracy as an "agency of the warmongers" -- "Basically, it is the same thing whether Mr. Attlee or Mr. Churchill becomes prime minister in March." (Nord-bayerische Volkszeitung, Feb. 25) -- is combined with a frenzied appeal for the constitution of a "National Front" embracing all "the patriotic forces of the nation."

To whom are these siren calls of the German Stalinists addressed? The central organ of the SED (the Stalinist party in Eastern Germany), Neues Deutschland, explains this very clearly in its issue of May 13, 1949. Under the heading, "From the worker to the factory owner," the paper writes as follows:

"The objective conditions exist for a vast National Front extending from the worker to the German owners of Western factories." And then, as if to eliminate for all time the fiction of the "democratic employers" so dear heretofore to all the Stalinist parties in their "People's Front" period, Walter Ulbricht, the real leader of the SED, says explicitly:

ULBRICHT CLARIFIES
"It is erroneous to pose the question as if all the supporters of German unity are convinced democrats. The question of determining who was or was not a Nazi is in no way whatever on the agenda today. . . . Whoever under present conditions raises the question of the previous mem-

bership of a fighter for German unity is actually working against the National Front. . . ." (Speech on May 17, 1949.)

And a political resolution of the Central Committee of the SED on Oct. 4, 1949 makes this still clearer:

"No one can be excluded from the National Front movement if he is ready to defend the justified national rights of the people, including among them, former functionaries, soldiers, officers and generals (!) of the German armed forces. . . . In addition to the working masses, the present situation permits the mobilization, in the National Front of Democratic Germany, of the section of the German bourgeoisie which is loyal to Germany (!) and which has not sold out to foreign imperialism. . . ."

In fact, these Stalinist efforts for the constitution of a National Front are addressed to two different circles: on the one side, the cadres of the army and the Nazi party; and on the other, the capitalists in the occupied zone of Western Germany. The Stalinist propagandists do not use the same language or the same perspectives to these two circles, and it is interesting to examine these quite subtle differences.

APPEAL TO NAZIS

To former Nazis, the Stalinists speak approximately along these lines: "You want the 'glory of the Fatherland' and so do we. You want to get rid of the Anglo-American occupation and so do we. Why not go down the road together?"

Hence the open attempts of the SED to enlist the support of the "little Nazis" through the medium of the "National-Democratic Party." Hence the attempts of the German CP in the Western zones to form alliances with extreme-right wing circles like the "Youth of the German Party" (which recently expelled its general secretary for "national-Bolshevist leanings"). Hence the publication of appeals openly signed by former Storm Troopers and leaders of the Hitler Youth. Hence the attempts to organize "circles of veteran officers" working for the revival of "Bismarck's policy of a German-Russian alliance under whose aegis Germany has always won its most brilliant victories."

It is necessary to add that such a desperado venture can have only the most meager success, and that the active elements of the former military caste and the former Nazi dignitaries in their great majority prefer by class instinct to seek collaboration with American imperialism against the USSR, rather than an alliance with Stalin against Western imperialism?

APPEAL TO BOSSES

The Stalinist message to the Western German industrialists is, on the contrary, much more realistic. They base themselves essentially on the following arguments: "We know that you despise communism and 'peoples' democracy' and we will not insult you by demanding your support for the installation of such a regime in Western Germany. But look at your dismantled factories, or those that are idle. Look at your exports which have not succeeded in increasing. Look at the 'Western' markets glutted with American goods. We offer you a market 'from Brest-Litovsk to Shanghai' which you can conquer with your goods. Why should we not do business together to our mutual profit?"

This phrase, "the market from Brest-Litovsk to Shanghai," was actually used by the Minister of Economic Affairs of the Eastern German Government at the opening of the 1950 Leipzig Fair a few weeks ago. It sums up admirably the business appeal which the Stalinist bureaucracy and all its agents in Eastern Europe now make to the Western German bourgeoisie. And this bourgeoisie is by no means insensitive to the appeal.

The number of exhibits maintained by Western Germany at the Leipzig Fair has increased

Cochran's Tour

Following is the schedule for Bert Cochran's national tour on "The Outlook for Labor":

San Francisco-Oakland	April 9-12	
Los Angeles	" 15-20	
St. Louis	" 22	
Cleveland	" 23-24	
Akron	" 25	
Youngstown	" 26-27	
Pittsburgh	" 28	
New York	April 30 - May 1	
Philadelphia	" 2-3	
Newark	" 6	

from 446 in 1949 to 761 in 1950. The Ruhr industrialists protested violently against the ban on steel deliveries by the Western High Commissioners a few months ago, as a counter-measure against the "little blockade of Berlin" by the Russians. And the more the economy of Western Germany sinks into stagnation and decay, the more will the appeal of the vast market of Eastern Europe the USSR and China exercise an undeniable attraction for the capitalists of Western Germany.

GROWING MISTRUST

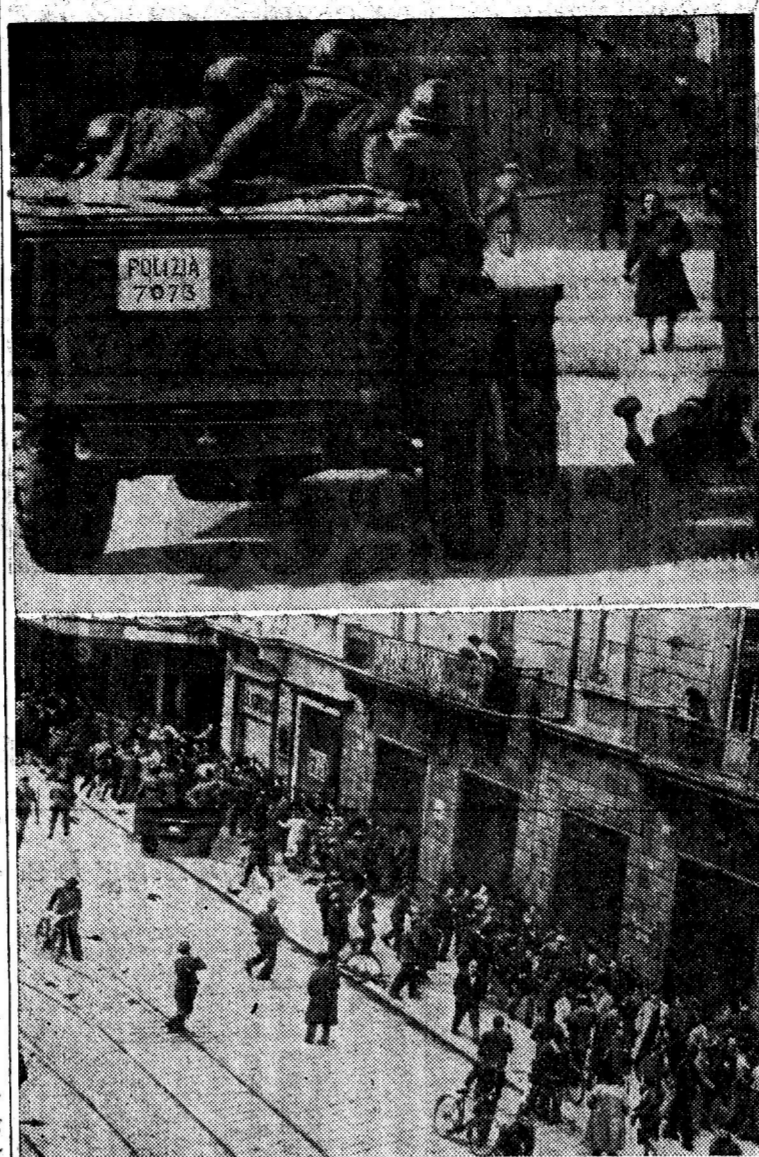
Does this mean that the "National Front" policy will enable German Stalinism to score some real political gains? Quite the contrary! Whatever favorable trade agreements emerge from the present international conjuncture for the Stalinist government of Eastern Germany, the Western German capitalists will do business with them because of their need for markets and not because they take the ultra-nationalist phraseology of the Stalinist bureaucrats seriously. In its reaction on public opinion, among the masses of workers, the impoverished middle classes, the refugees and other declassed elements, the Stalinist "National Front" policy clashes against an ever growing mistrust and hostility.

How could it be otherwise, when they know that the same Stalinists who shout themselves hoarse against the annexation of the Saar by France justify the annexation by Stalinist Poland of the German provinces beyond the Oder-Neisse line? How could it be otherwise when the same German CP which today carries on a noisy agitation against the dismantling in the Western zones, yesterday justified these same dismantlings in the self-same zones, and today continues to justify dismantling in the Eastern zones and to uphold the Potsdam agreement, that is, the obligation to pay billions in reparations!

INSIDE THE CP

The great majority of German workers view the Stalinist "National Front" policy as a "trick," a booby trap which fools nobody. And even inside the CP itself, the older and more conscious workers are revolted by the nationalistic phraseology, by the open appeal for class collaboration and collaboration with former Nazis. The only tangible product of the "National Front" policy has been the disintegration of the German CP, where there now exists an opposition far surpassing anything that exists in the Communist Parties of Western Europe.

It was for good reason that the Central Committee of the German CP had to admit: "We know that our work is hindered at every step by the lack of understanding among the comrades of the need for our national policy." (Nord-bayerische Volkszeitung, Feb. 25.) It is up to the Trotskyists to do everything in their power to prevent this disintegration of the CP from redounding to the benefit of reaction!



Steel-helmeted Italian police drive a jeep on a Milan sidewalk to smash a demonstration during 12-hour general strike. Bottom, police herd strikers against walls of nearby buildings.

Chicago, Milwaukee Forums Hear Cochran Flay Misleaders of Labor

CHICAGO, April 1 -- "The present leaders of the CIO and AFL have developed into a privileged caste assigned the task of lining up the American workers behind Wall Street's imperialist schemes," Bert Cochran, chairman of the Trade Union Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, told a Chicago audience last Wednesday night. The meeting was held to consider the topic, "The Outlook for Labor in 1950."

Cochran likened the labor "statesmen" serving on American missions abroad to nineteenth century missionaries who prepared native populations for imperialist conquest. "The American imperialist today," he said, "is preceded by a swarm of these labor boob-bahs who soften up the foreign workers and facilitate Wall Street's intervention in their countries."

On the domestic scene Cochran predicted an inevitable economic crash that will speedily shatter any confidence the workers now have in capitalism. "Radicalization of the workers will lead to the formation of a left wing in the labor movement that will wrest control from the Murrays, Greens and other labor lieutenants of Wall Street," he said. Cochran pointed out that impetus for left wing movements in organized labor has always come from the radical parties. He showed how the anti-Gompers movement in the old AFL had depended on the Social Democrats for its ideas. "This time," he declared, "the impetus can come only from the Trotskyists. We have the pro-

Labor Unity -- What Kind?

(Continued from Page 1)

are more optimistic about the prospects for unity now. First of all, the AFL leaders have hailed the bureaucratic purges and expulsions of the Stalinists and Stalinist-led unions in the CIO, the centralization and tightening of top machine control over the CIO and the increasing stifling of the CIO ranks. This, they say, has made the idea of unity with the CIO more acceptable.

Then, both the CIO and AFL leaders, who could not get together for a minute to defend the striking steel workers and coal miners or to fight the infamous Taft-Hartley Act, have hailed as a harbinger of unity the fact that they have already joined together in one organization on the international field, the International Confederation of Free Trade

Unions. They have achieved unity to fight "communism" in Europe, to split the European trade unions and to swing the European workers over to support of U. S. imperialism's cold war.

"BEST" CHANCES

Finally, CIO and AFL leaders in many states and localities have been working together in joint committees for months past to further the political fortunes of the Truman Democrats and "progressive" Republicans. And Murray's unity letter to the other union leaders puts special stress on "effective unity of action" in the 1950 Congressional elections -- that is, joint political action to support the corrupt Democratic Party and ensure the victory of the Trumanites.

The witch-hunt and red-baiting in the CIO and the stifling of its

internal democracy, the dictates of Truman's State Department and the needs of Truman's political machine -- these are some of the conditions for unity that William Green was thinking of when he observed, following Murray's proposal, that the chances for organic merger are "the best" in many years. Does he also have the hope that the CIO leaders are prepared to make concessions on the major issue that has barred unity all along -- industrial unionism?

CIO members must be especially cautious in approaching the question of organic unity. Any merger with the AFL which does not provide iron-clad guarantees for the preservation of the industrial unions would contain the gravest dangers for the American labor movement.

MEMBERS MUST CONTROL

The only kind of unity that will effectively protect and advance the interests of American labor is one that ensures democratic rights and control by the membership, that solidifies labor's ranks for militant struggle on the economic and political fields and that completely preserves the independence of the unions from the capitalists, their government and their parties and candidates.

This is the kind of unity the workers need. But it will not be achieved from above, by the Murrays and Greens. To guarantee a unity in the interests of the ranks, the unity program must be drafted and put into effect by the ranks themselves.

Let a United Congress of Labor be called. Let the members of the local unions of every affiliation elect delegates to this Congress of Labor. Let these representative spokesmen of the membership work out in free and democratic debate and discussion a program for united action and organization. This is the way to effect a sound labor unity.

ADA Still Bound to Truman

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ship with the Fair Deal Democrats did not mean that there could be but one partner. "A senior partner might be the Democratic party and you might find a junior partner in the Republican Party."

The actuality, of course, is that the ADA is just a junior partner in the Democratic set-up, or rather just an office boy who aspires to be a junior partner.

NATURE OF OPPOSITION

The opposition at the convention was widely assorted and diversely motivated. Some represented tendencies from New York's Liberal Party, who had opposed Mayor O'Dwyer in the last New York City elections and who want to be free to play both ends against the middle in New York state politics. Others represent groups who resent Truman's policies on one or another foreign issue, such as his position on "internationalizing" Jerusalem or his move to recognize Spain.

One of the most revealing acts of the convention was its rejection of a strong plea by a number of Negro delegates for a declaration of opposition to Federal housing, health and education bills which maintain segregation. Here the leaders argued that such a stand would not be "practical" and that they "did not believe it wise to tie the hands of our friends in Congress." This meant not to "tie the hands" of ADA's like Senator Humphrey and Rep Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., who had voted for pro-segregation measures.

Where the ADA demonstrated its strongest attachment to the Truman Democrats was on foreign policy. The convention went down the line -- with minor complaints about the strengthening of the Nazi elements in Germany and the projected support of Franco Spain -- with the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic military alliance, the cold war and the building of the H-Bomb. They demonstratively declared their support of the State Department and Secretary Acheson.

ORIGINAL FUNCTIONS

Despite its claimed "independence," the ADA will continue to perform with unabated zeal the

functions for which it was first set up. Originally established to combat the Wallaceite third-party tendency, the ADA will remain a catch-all for "anti-communist," cold-war liberals. It will serve as an "independent" decoy to lure liberal votes for the Truman Democrats that the Democratic Party is no longer able to win in its own name. It will give a "liberal" blessing to capitalist party candidates, particularly of the Democratic machine.

Finally, it will act as a pressure group for aspiring "Fair Deal" politicians, former New Dealers out of office, disgruntled Trumanites, ambitious liberals, Social Democrats and "welfare staters" of various hues, who are trying to exert power as an organized bloc to strengthen their influence inside the Democratic Party and win "fair shares" in the allocation of party jobs, governmental appointments and candidacies for public office.

THE MILITANT ARMY

The Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party "has decided to extend its campaign for subscriptions to the Militant another two weeks," writes Shirley Mason. Although the Detroit comrades are working strenuously gathering signatures to put the SWP on the Michigan ballot, they didn't want to pass up any opportunities to increase the circulation of The Militant. Shirley enclosed 14 subscriptions on account.

She reports that unemployment and the financial stress that follows being forced out on strike have hit many Detroit workers. However, the percentage of renewal subscriptions to The Militant is unusually high, particularly among shop workers. The Philadelphia comrades too are up to their necks in work to get the SWP on the ballot in Pennsylvania. Nevertheless, they sent in seven subscriptions last week.

"Despite 'exceptionally rough weather' including the 'worst blizzard of the season,' according to Literature Agent C.E.S., the Minneapolis comrades scored 7 renewals. The weather should break soon and we will have a bunch more for you."

Eight subs were received from Seattle. Literature Agent Marianne Stanley writes that the comrades are setting their sights on a sub a month as the goal for every subscriber. Judging from past performance, we'd say the odds are most of the Seattle subscribers will hit that bull's eye on schedule.

Reporting for Boston, Literature Agent Rena Breshi says that "after the Easter holiday you will be hearing from us very soon." Literature Agent Cathy Dee of New York tells us that an enthusiastic crew of 10 comrades sold literature with good results at the recent debate between Earl Browder and Max Shachtman. In addition to distributing a leaflet on "Trotskyism vs. Shachtman-Browder," they sold 18 copies of James P. Cannon's "American Stalinism and Anti-Stalinism" and 10 copies of "The Socialist Workers Party -- What It Is and What It Stands For." The March 20 Militant containing a Marxist analysis of Shachtman's political degeneration sold briskly.

Pearl S. of the Youth Branch sold two Militants at Brooklyn College in the first of a sales series which Youth Literature Agent Ethel P. aims to place on a regular basis. Youth comrades Dotty and Bezie sold nine Militants at New York University;

and Ben reported an encouraging jump in newsstand sales on 42nd Street.

G.R.S. of Bayport, N. Y., wrote us on renewing his subscription: "No organization has fought and is fighting more courageously in the cause of humanity than the Socialist Workers Party. You alone have remained true to socialism and steadfast in your refusal to betray the working class at a time when other so-called 'socialists' have sold out their very souls to the Wall Street-Vatican axis or to the Stalin gangsters. It may truly be said that today the Socialist Workers Party is the conscience of the American radical movement.

"For a Socialist America in a Socialist World."

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

- BOSTON -- For information, write P.O. Box 1842.
- BOSTON -- Worker, Educational Center, 90 Stuart St., open Wed., 5:30-9:00 p.m., social Sat. of month.
- BUFFALO -- Militant Forum, 625 Main St., 2nd fl. Phone Madison 8960. Every afternoon except Thurs. evenings at 8.
- CHICAGO -- 150 W. Washington Street, Rm. 312-314. Tel. Dearborn 2-4767.
- CLEVELAND -- Every Sunday, 9 p.m., Pecks Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Pl. Ave.)
- DETROIT -- 6108 Linwood Ave. Phone TX 7-627. Mon. through Sat., 12-6 p.m.
- DETROIT -- Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 East North Street. Phone: 2-3406. Open House Saturday evenings.
- LOS ANGELES -- Militant Publ. Assn., Room 325, 124 W. 8th St. Phone Vandvke 8851.
- LYNN, (Mass.) -- Militant Publ. Assn., 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p.m.
- MILWAUKEE -- 917 N. 3rd St., 2nd fl. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p.m. Phone Hopkins 5-5337.
- MINNEAPOLIS -- 10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7181. Daily except Sun., 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Library, bookstore.
- NEW HAVEN -- For information write P.O. Box No. 1018.
- NEWARK -- 423 Springfield Ave.
- NEW YORK CITY (HQ.) -- 116 University Place, Phone GR 5-8149.
- HARLEM -- 108 W. 110 St., Rm. 28. Phone MO 2-1886. Open discussion, Thurs. 8 p.m.
- BROOKLYN -- Mandel's Manor, 343 Pennsylvania Ave., off Sutter, meetings every Thurs. evening at 8.
- CLEVELAND -- 150 W. 23rd St. Phone AL 5-2488.
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Letters from Our Readers

Objects to Line of Articles on Belgium

Editor:
I should like to convey to you my opinions which are in contrast to those of Charles Hanley who wrote the article in the March 20 issue on the recent Leopold vote in Belgium.

Apparently the Belgian working class and peasantry have accepted the throne and in voting they were not expressing any sentiment of anti-monarchism or republicanism but just exercising their voice as to who shall head the institution, just as we in America vote for an individual to head the republican state, not contesting the republic as a matter of fact.

Hanley says a majority of the peasantry voted for Leopold but that the workers were just as solidly against him. But we have no proof that they were expressing an anti-royalist tendency for most of the parties they support have agreed that they would accept Leopold's son as monarch.

In Belgium, as in the Netherlands, Great Britain and Scandinavia, the Stalinist parties have followed what Martin Ebon has termed part of the "seventh strategy" of world communism: i.e., regional and national variations in tactics, such as the endorsement and passive support of a royal house which is popular. This has not been a reformist policy, but a rational one. Should not the various parties

A Reply by Charles Hanley

Editor:
Reader R. G. approaches the question of the monarchy in Belgium and elsewhere primarily from the standpoint of whether it is "popular" or not. But the crux of the matter lies in the role this institution plays in the class struggle. The monarchy in Belgium and other countries has served the interests of capitalism and reaction since its beginnings, but never the interests of the working class.

To mention only a few historical facts. It was King Victor Emmanuel of Italy who in 1922 appointed Mussolini Prime Minister, in other words, made the monarchy a stepping stone for fascism. King Alfonso of Spain established the authoritarian dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. King Alexander and Prince Paul of Yugoslavia became dictators themselves, as did King Boris of Bulgaria and King Carol of Rumania. The reactionary role of King George and Prince Paul of Greece provides a more recent example.

As for King Leopold III of Belgium, his reactionary role has been adequately dealt with already. Far from being mere "figureheads," kings can and do play an important role in defending the interests of the capitalists -- always masking this, of course, under the cloak of "national interests," "national unity," and the like.

It is not at all indifferent to the bourgeoisie whether they maintain or lose the reactionary outpost of the monarchy, although it may not be indispensable for their class rule. For example, the blasting of the Italian monarchy, the proclamation of the Italian Republic in 1946 certainly spelled a victory for the working class, and naturally the Trotskyists supported the popular offensive against the monarchy, which was, in fact, an offensive against a stronghold of bourgeois reaction and could open the road to further advances. But as the Italian workers' struggle was being continuously betrayed by their Stalinist and reformist leaders, whose policy of class collaboration again strengthened the bourgeoisie, Italian reaction was allowed to recover so quickly that it is much stronger now than it was in 1946-48. Despite this betrayal and its results, the downfall of the Italian monarchy in itself surely was no unimportant event.

The Socialist militants who founded the Belgian Socialist Party some 70 years ago, clearly understood the anti-proletarian role of the constitutional monarchy and adopted a republican platform which is still the official program of the Belgian SP. It is not the workers of Wallonia who have become royalist since the eighties. The support which their leaders nowadays give to the throne is nothing else than one more aspect of the bureaucrats' treacherous policy of class collaboration.

The workers and university students who fraternally cooperated in order to make the recent 24-hour general strike a success in Brussels know perfectly well that since 1945 the "Royal Question" has been an important test of strength between the working class and the bourgeoisie. If the bourgeoisie succeeds in bringing pro-fascist King Leopold back to the throne, then they also are likely to succeed in inflicting further defeats on the Belgian working class and in eventually setting up an authoritarian regime.

Charles Hanley
New York, N. Y.

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Super Witch-Hunt Set Off by Senator McCarthy

By Paul G. Stevens

For over a month an obscure Senator from Wisconsin has had Washington in an uproar over his constant flow of sensational charges about "Reds" and "top Soviet spies" in the State Department's highest places.

Witch-hunt technique for partisan purposes in capitalist politics. The McCarthy affair has a symptomatic significance all its own.

The fact that this brew has been stirred by an obscure legislator is an additional symptom. By all accounts, McCarthy is not at all a machine man.

CAUSE OF ALARM

McCarthy's fan mail, it is reported, is growing to vast proportions. A Times correspondent writes as follows about it: "Informants with many years of experience in evaluating postcard and letter campaigns are convinced that this one, whether misguided or not, is genuine."

HITLERITE TECHNIQUE

McCarthy's "technique" has been simple enough — it is patterned with slight variations after that of all the social demagogues down to Hitler: Make one accusation more sensational than the other, the bigger the sensation the better it goes over.

All the elder statesmen have deplored the McCarthy "revelations" as detrimental to the national interests. Above all, the liberal and labor supporters of the Fair Deal have been loud in their lamentations over the Wisconsin Senator's "character assassinations" that undermine the whole fabric of American democracy, etc., etc.

A TURNING POINT

Since an important Congressional election is coming up in the fall, and since the Taft-Hartley domestic policy of the Republicans is hardly gaining in popularity, it is not surprising that some Republican leaders should look for a more popular foreign policy issue.

The real cause for alarm among the politicians is this popular response to the McCarthy antics. And it is not an idle fear. For this response shows that the depths of black reaction are being stirred all over the country by the superwitch-hunt.

It would be a mistake, however, to write off the whole McCarthy business as a fever in Republican pre-election "politics." Nor is it merely to be dismissed as an overwrought application of the

WHAT BETHE WROTE ABOUT THE H-BOMB

Anyone who takes the trouble to read Dr. Hans Bethe's article on "The Hydrogen Bomb" in the April Scientific American, even if its censured form, will see that the Atomic Energy Commission ordered the magazine burned for strictly political reasons.

The first part of the article explains the theoretical basis for the new super-bomb. It tells what makes the bomb possible and why its possibilities for annihilation have no foreseeable limits.

Understanding the general nature of the H-Bomb, we can appreciate how truthfully Dr. Bethe then describes the effect of an H-Bomb. Even with a bomb limited to "1000 times as much energy as the Hiroshima bomb" — and Dr. Bethe makes clear there is no fixed limit to its potential size — "an H-Bomb would cause almost complete destruction of buildings up to a radius of 10 miles."

But this is not all. Even worse, if possible, is the heat effect. At Hiroshima, fatal burns occurred up to 4,000 to 5,000 feet from the center of the A-bomb explosion. But the H-Bomb "would widen the range of fatal heat by a factor of 30; it would burn people to death over a radius of up to 20 miles or more... one must visualize what it would mean if, for instance, Chicago with all its suburbs and most of their inhabitants were wiped out in a single flash."

Moral and Political Implications

In addition, there would be the even more prolonged and wider dispersion of "nuclear radiations" — which penetrate the body and cause horrible illness and death. The radioactive particles "would be carried by the wind over a large area of the bombed country" and "would contaminate the center of the bombed area for some time."

The major emphasis of the article, however, is on the moral, social and political implications of the use of the H-Bomb. Dr. Bethe shows that those who would justify bombing the Soviet Union "are adhering to the old fallacy that the ends justify the means" — the very accusation of the capitalist moralists against the Marxists.

"It is argued that it would be better for us to lose our lives than our liberty, and with this view I personally agree. But I believe this is not the choice facing us here; I believe that in a war fought with hydrogen bombs we would lose not only many lives but all our liberties and human values as well."

After such a war, presuming there was any human survival at all, "nothing that resembled present civilization would remain. The fight for mere survival would dominate everything. The destruction of the cities might set technology back a hundred years or more. In a generation even the knowledge of technology and science might disappear, because there would be no opportunity to practice them... our own country would be as grievously destroyed as Europe and the USSR..."

Political Conclusions Are Inadequate

Dr. Bethe concludes with an exposition of his views on the prevention of an H-Bomb war. He assumes that if a war comes, it will be due entirely to the actions of the Soviet Union — "I refuse to believe that the U. S. would start a preventive war." He does not understand and ignores the real cause of modern war, the internal contradictions of capitalism and its struggle for world markets, spheres of influence and fields for capital investment.

Hence, he concludes that "the one purpose of our development of the bomb would be to prevent its use" by the Soviet Union, "not to use it." So he would have the American government make a pledge not to use it first, which would place the moral onus, as he believes, on the "enemy." Besides, he explains, the U. S. could not be knocked out with one H-Bomb and could speedily retaliate not only with H-Bombs but with its superior stock of A-Bombs.

Dr. Bethe's is no solution at all. But he does give an authentic and reliable description of what H-Bomb war would mean. He does show that any claim that the next war will bring the American people security or more freedom is a myth. And his warning can help arouse the American people to a more urgent search for a fundamental solution to war.

If, as Dr. Bethe points out, the H-Bomb can mean nothing but the wiping out of civilization and the opening of an age darker than anything yet seen, then will not the people be ready to consider any other alternative, however radical? May they not even accept the one alternative to capitalist world-murder — that is, world socialism? That is why the powers-that-be in Washington want to discredit and silence Dr. Bethe, censor any publication that prints views like his and intimidate the entire American press.

AEC CENSORS "SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN," BURNS COPIES

(Continued from Page 1)

had sent advance copies of his article to a number of his colleagues, including a member of the AEC. On March 14, the commission sent out a telegram forbidding its employees to discuss "thermo-nuclear weapons with unauthorized persons regardless of classification of the information" — that is, atomic physicists and others could not discuss or write anything about the H-Bomb.

Subsequently, the language was toned down to a "request" that employees "refrain from all discussion — but the intent remained clear."

On March 15, the commission demanded that all technical portions of the Bethe article, amounting to half of what he wrote, be withheld from publication. As the issue was already on the presses, the editors requested the commission to specify its objections. These finally were centered on about one column of type, and subsequently to certain passages in the column.

Under the personal supervision of an AEC representative, Alvin R. Ryan, the magazines already off the press were burned, along with all proofs of the original article and the "objectionable linotype slugs... were removed and delivered to the smelting room," said Mr. Piel. The magazine finally appeared on the newsstands with the article as censored.

In a protest statement, the Scientific American editors state that "we consider the commission's action with regard to the Bethe article and the subsequent sweep-

ing prohibition issued to the nation's atomic scientists raises the question of whether the commission is thus suppressing information which the American people need in order to form intelligent judgments on this major problem."

It pointed out that no "security" reasons could have justified the censorship, since the Bethe article contained no technical information that had not already been widely circulated in the public press and in "statements which have since been made by Robert Bacher, former member of the commission, in a speech in the Los Angeles Town Hall on March 27."

The two main points of Bethe's article deal with the probable effect of the H-Bomb, showing that it can wipe out all civilization and destroy even scientific knowledge itself, and a criticism of the Truman administration's H-Bomb policy.

Bethe and other atomic scientists were recently subjected to a savage attack by former AEC Director David Lilienthal for daring to warn the American people of the real nature of the H-Bomb and for denying that such an annihilation weapon could mean "security" for this country.

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FROTSKY

... to save society, it is not necessary either to check the development of technique, to shut down factories, to award premiums to farmers for sabotaging agriculture, to turn a third of the workers into paupers, or to call upon maniacs to be dictators... What is indispensable and urgent is to separate the means of production from their present parasitic owners and to organize society in accordance with a rational plan.



LENIN

—Leon Trotsky, Marxism in the United States, 1939.

'Shooting Soldiers in the Back'

At the March 30 press conference where President Truman branded Republican Senators McCarthy, Wherry and Bridges as saboteurs of U. S. foreign policy and the Kremlin's greatest asset, he said something else that got less publicity but was much more revealing.

Denouncing the Senate Republican Policy Committee, he said that it was grasping for a political campaign issue through the inquiry of McCarthy's charges against the State Department, and that "such a partisan effort at this stage of the 'cold war' was like shooting American soldiers in the back in a hot war." (N. Y. Times, March 31.)

Shooting soldiers in the back at any time is a serious crime, punishable by death; in wartime it would be classified as treason at the very least. When Truman talks in such terms, what he is actually saying is that, if necessary, he will take drastic measures to silence all critics of his imperialist bipartisan foreign policy.

Is this contention — that you are in effect a traitor if you question the bipartisan policy — shocking to some people? It shouldn't be for it is not particularly new — either in full-fledged police states or here in the U. S. The same viewpoint is at the base of the whole "loyalty" purge program, which just as arbitrarily

proscribes working class organizations like the Socialist Workers Party, and victimizes government employees like the legless veteran, James Kutcher, solely because they refuse to endorse the predatory program of U. S. imperialism.

The only thing new about Truman's latest pronouncement is that it shows he would like to be able to extend this view to cover the Republicans as well, even though their differences with him are not over basic questions but over tactics and strategy.

Another significant aspect of the McCarthy-Truman-State Department controversy is the similarity of the methods employed on both sides. For the McCarthys, anyone who doesn't want to go to war to save Chiang Kai-shek is a Kremlin agent or spy; for the Trumans, anyone who won't go down the line with the State Department's cold war policy is a Kremlin asset. The similarity in the arguments is all the more striking because it is involuntary; the spokesmen of the two capitalist parties went above all to emphasize "differences," especially during an election year.

McCarthy is trying to prove that the Republicans would make more efficient witch-hunters and more thorough police-state administrators than the Democrats. But Truman is making it awfully hard for McCarthy to prove his point.

Biddle -- the ADA's 'New Voice'

In an ecstatic editorial entitled "ADA's New Voice," the N. Y. Post on April 3 hailed the election of Francis Biddle as national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action. "Perhaps more than anyone else, he [Biddle] resisted the pressure of the know-nothings and guarded our essential freedoms while the country fought a two-front war. His election to lead America's independent liberal forces for the coming year is a dramatic event in this era of McCarthyism... There is a 'Third Force' in America and it has spoken out again at a time when it needed to be heard. Francis Biddle will give new fervor and integrity to that voice," so said the Post editors.

Who is Francis Biddle? This "guardian of our essential freedoms" happens to be the same individual who, as wartime Attorney General, compiled the first secret "subversive" list which was to be later promulgated publicly by his successor Tom Clark. Thus during his tenure in office Biddle was instrumental not only in supplying the cover for the current witch-hunt but actually in helping lay the cornerstone for it.

This "voice of new fervor and integrity" happens to be the same individual who

ordered and carried through the first prosecutions under the Smith Gag Law, railroading to jail 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party on the eve of this country's entry into the last war. It was Biddle's "victory" in 1941 that set the precedent for Foley Square and continues to play a prominent role in the unfolding assault on civil rights.

This by no means exhausts the reactionary record of Francis Biddle. Suffice it to add that early in the war years he demanded that Negroes in the South be restricted from moving into the Northern areas. That was his way of "solving" the racial tensions in cities like Detroit where the Ku Klux elements ran amok because the Negroes rebelled against segregation and discrimination. The most rabid Southern Bourbon would hardly find fault with such a "solution."

In brief, by his whole record and his deeds Biddle has an indisputable claim to recognition of having done more than any other single person, with the exception of Tom Clark, to pave the way for the current witch-hunt and onslaught on civil liberties, which the Post misleadingly label as "the era of McCarthyism."

What made McCarthy possible was Clark, and before him, none other than Biddle.

The New Censorship Technique

There is an especially sinister side to the Atomic Energy Commission's censorship of the H-Bomb Article by Dr. Hans Bethe in the April Scientific American. That is the method used to force the magazine to comply with the AEC's demand for burning the uncensored copies.

Under a special law passed by Congress, the AEC has control over all technical data relating to atomic energy. The law provides harsh penalties, even death sentences in certain instances, for revealing AEC secrets and gives the AEC power to enjoin publication to prevent disclosure. These penalties, however, apply only to what is called "classified" information.

Dr. Bethe's article contained no such "classified" information. Aside from intimidation and threats of a "disloyalty" smear, how could the commission enforce its censorship of an article in a private publication that contained "unclassified" information already widely publicized?

I. F. Stone, columnist for the N. Y. Daily Compass, discloses the "hitherto unpublished story." The AEC formally and hastily declared the "unclassified" and already published material in Bethe's article "classified." When asked about this report, the press information office

of the AEC, which admitted the censorship of the Scientific American, gave as its answer: "No comment."

As Stone observes, this "represents a new powerful technique for censorship." Any time Washington wants to suppress an article on the H-Bomb, it picks out a portion of the article and declares it "classified." It can thus censor any article without previously specifying what is "classified" and what is not.

From now on, those who write on this subject and those who publish such writings do so at their own risk. After an article is published, the AEC may slap a "classified" label on it and place author and publication in jeopardy. It will take a courageous publication indeed to write without fear of restraint on any aspect of the H-Bomb, however remote from any actual "secrets" involved in its production.

This is not a measure of "military security." It is aimed at political suppression. Its purpose is to halt any and all discussion of the politics of the H-Bomb, as well as its moral and social implications. In short, it is a move to muzzle any voice that may be raised against the production of the H-Bomb as such and against World War III.

REAL ISSUES WERE NOT DISCUSSED AT BROWDER-SHACHTMAN DEBATE

By David Weiss

NEW YORK, March 31 — Advertised as a "Debate Sensation" and exploiting the past connections of the contenders, the Browder-Shachtman debate, held last night at Webster Hall under the auspices of the Eugene V. Debs Society of Brooklyn College, attracted an audience of about 1,000. Many were undoubtedly drawn to this affair in the hope that they would witness on a public platform the clash of the ideas of Trotsky and Stalin on the vital question of the nature of the Soviet Union.

But the Browder-Shachtman debate was a sham. The speakers appeared as political ghosts, leaders of the past and impostors today, without workers parties behind them any longer. This could not fail to reveal itself in the course of their debate and was in fact pointed out in advance in the statement issued by the Socialist Workers Party. This read in part:

BOTH REPUDIATED

"Neither Browder nor Shachtman officially represent the movements whose ideas they will presume to defend in the debate. In fact, both have been repudiated and rejected by these movements. At least it can be said for Browder that, although expelled and denounced by the Communist Party, he continues to defend the rotten and discredited policies of treacherous Stalinism. Shachtman, however, makes his appearance as a thoroughgoing impostor. He has no connection whatever with the genuine Trotskyist movement. Together with James Burnham he split with Trotskyism in 1940 and has spent the last ten years in fighting the Socialist Workers Party, the authentic spokesman of Trotskyism in the United States."

Browder, although advertised as the "former General Secretary of the Communist Party: 1930-1944," did not once throughout the debate mention the Communist Party or Stalin. For his part, Shachtman, who was advertised as "Editor and Translator of Works of Leon Trotsky," with the word "former" being brazenly omitted, also studiously avoided any reference either to the Trotskyist movement to which he once belonged or to Leon Trotsky.

Only once throughout the whole evening, was the name of Trotsky uttered by each speaker, and then

only in an empty polemical sally against the other.

Although the debaters expressed many differences, they had more in common than they realized. For example, although the despotic Stalinist bureaucracy acts as a brake on the economic development of the USSR and by its policies prepares the way for the country's overthrow by capitalism, both speakers made a complete identification of the parasitic regime and the Soviet Union. Nor did either speaker shed any theoretical light on the nature of the Soviet Union. By their method they cast light only on the anti-Marxist nature of Browderism and Shachtmanism. Imagine a theoretical discussion of the Soviet Union without a single reference either to the reactionary Stalinist theory of building socialism in a single country or to Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution!

Browder simply declared Russia to be a socialist society on the basis of its great increase of production which was made possible by the conquests of the October revolution of 1917. Democracy and equality for the workers? Those "trimmings," he said, will come later.

Shachtman mainly utilized Trotsky's exposures of the reactionary Stalinist regime, the growing material inequality in the USSR, and the disappearance of workers democracy. From these he went on to a declaration that Russia is a new type of reactionary state called "bureaucratic collectivism" with a new type of reactionary ruling class.

But he did not trace the development of his new class "barbarism," he did not bother to explain how it squares with Marxist theory, and he remained silent on how he differed from Trotsky's analysis and why he broke with it.

STRANGE OMISSIONS

Nor did the debaters recommend any movement whatever for the workers to join. Browder has no organization. His present role is to curry favor with the world Stalinist movement that kicked him out when his usefulness had ended, and to act as a loyal scapegoat for new forms of collaboration between Wall Street and the Kremlin.

Shachtman, however, heads the Independent Socialist League (which he is now trying to transform into a little election machine for "labor" candidates in the

capitalist party primaries). But apparently he was too shy to mention his own organization.

So far as proletarian strategy and tactics are concerned, neither speaker drew any conclusions from their opposite positions or "Is Russia a Socialist Community?" Yet they both have a line, and these lines, though different, have their points of similarity.

POINTS OF SIMILARITY

Browder, seeing in the Kremlin bureaucracy the only progressive force in the world, wants to subordinate the interests of the working class to the interests of the Stalinist oligarchy. His aim is to use the masses as pawns in a new bargain with Washington to perpetuate the rule of the Kremlin. Shachtman, on the other hand, is a victim and a salesman of Stalinophobia. Failing to understand that the Stalinist bureaucracy is doomed to permanent instability and crisis precisely because it is a caste (and not a class) in constant contradiction and conflict with the property relations in the USSR, he frightens himself into panic magnifying the Kremlin's counter-revolutionary power to the point where it constitutes the greatest danger in the world.

His phobia, which is invariably coupled with lack of confidence in the capacity of the workers to settle scores with both capitalism and Stalinism, increasingly leads him to the advocacy of policies which subordinate the interests of the workers to those of trade union lieutenants of the State Department like Reuther and Carey.

The Trotskyist analysis of the class nature of the Soviet Union remains the only one that traces the evolution of the Russian revolution to the stage where under Stalin today it is a profoundly degenerated workers state. Only the Trotskyist analysis explains why and how the remaining conquests of the October revolution must be preserved and extended and how counter-revolutionary Stalinism in the Soviet Union and in the workers movement can be successfully fought and destroyed

Correction

Last week's article, The State of Civil Liberties in India, was written by Ruth Johnson and not, as erroneously stated, by Joseph Keller.

By Ruth Johnson

William J. Wallin, Chancellor of the New York Board of Regents which establishes educational standards for the state's schools, spoke last week at a dinner in honor of Dwight Eisenhower, the man who graduated from the Army to the presidency of Columbia University. Eisenhower had announced that very day the momentous discovery that the United States, with its A-Bombs and H-Bomb production, is pitifully disarmed and helpless against foreign foes. Wallin devoted himself to protecting capitalism on the home front, against the deadly menace — of education.

"In the field of higher education," he warned, "there is a widespread belief and tenet that the government has a duty to provide everyone who desires it an opportunity for higher education, even in the professions."

It isn't just that Wallin is agast at the prospect of some worker's son or daughter competing for his lousy job. It isn't only that he believes the halls of learning should remain restricted to the children of the rich. Behind his contempt for the aspirations of the youth lies terrified recognition that capitalism is in a bad way.

Wallin is unimpressed by Truman's promises of jobs for all at \$12,000 in the year 2,000. He sees today's graduates tramping the streets in the vain search for jobs, and he expects future diploma-holders to face no better prospects.

"We are liable to educate, particularly in the post-graduate area, many more men and women than can earn a living in the field in which they have chosen to be educated, and too often anywhere else," he explains.

You might expect him to propose more schools to use the new teachers, more hospitals to use the new doctors, more laboratories to employ the knowledge, training and genius of budding scientists. Not Wallin. He is perfectly content to see millions of jobless; all he wants is to keep them submissive.

"We shall find that, embittered with their frustration, these surplus graduates will turn upon society and the government," he says. What base ingratitude, to demand that they have a chance to use their education in the service of mankind!

Alas, even that is not the worst. The disinherited youth will do more than protest; they will use all their training and intelligence to seek a better way. The jobless graduates, Wallin fumes, "will be more effective and better armed in their destructive wrath by the education we have given them."

It's instructive to hear the eminent Chancellor admit that only an illiterate ignoramus will keep on supporting the system of wars and depressions. We might add that many a social ignoramus wears the collegiate cap and gown.

Wallin ought to know that tyrants throughout history have ranted against education for the masses, for more or less the same reasons he gives. He ought to know they failed. From the days of the slave revolts in the Roman Empire down to our own times, the people have given a fitting answer to rulers who were sure that ignorance is bliss.

A Lie That Boomerangs

By Fred Hart

Joseph Clark is the new foreign editor of the Daily Worker, more accurately he is their Tito-baiting specialist. The grapevine has it that Clark replaced Joseph Starobin because of the latter's ineptitude or remissness in dealing with Yugoslav affairs.

Since assuming his duties, Clark has pulled out all stops, allowing no opportunity to pass without some new jibe or lie or gob of filth about the Yugoslavs. The other day this expert departed from the standard pattern of the Stalinist anti-Yugoslav propaganda.

Dealing with O. John Rogge's junket to Belgrade and lecturing him on the impermissibility of such activities, Clark, on March 29, offers as a juicy tidbit the "news" that the Trotskyists "have officially drawn Tito to their bosom." And then adds, "The latest issue of their paper here, The Militant, greets the Titoites' public denunciations of the Soviet Union from every conceivable point of view."

Clark has apparently forgotten that according to the Kremlin, according to the Hungarian and Bulgarian "treason trials," and according to Clark's own previous columns, all the Yugoslavs, from Tito down, are nothing but "Trotskyite spies" to begin with and have allegedly worked

for years in cahoots with all the other "Trotskyite spies."

What then is there so newsworthy or remarkable about the coverage of Yugoslav events and political statements in The Militant, which has from the beginning of the Cominform-Tito rift defended Yugoslavia's struggle against the Kremlin and against American imperialism? As every one of our readers is aware, our differences with those Titoist policies which diverge from revolutionary socialism have never prevented us from extending complete support to the progressive Yugoslav fight for independence.

The whole point is this, that the Yugoslavs have recently made factual and damning revelations about the Kremlin's role in Eastern Europe. The Militant has been printing these revelations for the information of its readers. Unable to answer the Yugoslav charges, Clark apparently decided that the easiest way would be to start shouting "in passing" about the Trotskyists having — at last! — "officially drawn Tito to their bosom."

The only trouble is that this new lie is not at all in harmony with all the previous Stalinist lies. Clark forgot his own previous lies for a moment. And for this inexcusable oversight he may yet have to beat his breast in public.

From the Yugoslav Press

How the Kremlin exploits Rumania's industry and natural resources through the medium of "mixed companies" was exposed in a detailed article on March 19 by the Serbian periodical Glas.

The field of transportation is dominated by three "mixed commissions": Tars for air transport; Rata for the traction networks; and Sovrovrom for the Danubian shipping system. The manner in which these bodies are constituted is illustrated by the Sovrovrom where "the Rumanians have furnished all the ships and all the shipyards, so that no vessels whatever remain at their own disposal, while on the Soviet side all that was furnished were ships seized as war booty by the Soviet troops."

Analyzing the oil industry, the most important sector of Rumania's economy, Glas points out that the mixed company Sovrovum-Petrole controls the entire oil output. In the hands of the Rumanians themselves are only two companies, Muntenia and Petrol-export and these cannot export oil except by Moscow's authorization.

The country's metallurgical industry is likewise under the Kremlin's thumb. Sovrovum-Metal has taken over Rechitsa, the largest and most important metallurgical combine in the country. Prior to the war this combine was held jointly by the Rumanian government and a Jewish capitalist. During the war the Hitler regime seized the

stock held by the Jew and then Moscow confiscated it as "German property."

"A whole number of other mixed companies for the exploitation of Rumania," writes Glas, "have been formed by the Soviet Union on the same basis. There is the mixed company Sovrovum-Tracteurs, to which the promised deliveries of Soviet machines were never made; there is Sovrovum-Film which controls 90% of the distribution and import of movies; there is Sovrovum-Assurance (an insurance trust)."

In these enterprises, Soviet personnel is assigned to all the key posts while the Rumanians, in a subordinate position, play "only a decorative and honorary role, because all the important questions are decided by the Soviet representatives."

The pay of the Soviet executives goes as high as 200,000 lei, while the Rumanians receive from 50,000 to 80,000 lei; but the "workers in these enterprises do not get more than 4,000 to 5,000 lei a month."

Glas underscores that the methods employed in the "mixed companies" are identical with the "means of exploitation used by capitalist countries in employing the labor force and draining the natural resources of backward countries. The Soviet leadership simply covers itself up with a mask of pseudo-socialist phrasology whenever it refers to these mixed companies as allegedly generous aid."

IBEW in Chicago Signs 'Loyalty' Contract

An AFL union in Chicago has signed a contract with the Stewart-Warner Corporation that gives the company the right to fire workers for political beliefs and associations not approved by the company. It also gives the company the right to force its employers to sign a "loyalty" oath.

The contract, signed on March 16 by officials of AFL Interna-

Dutch Trotskyists Run In Provincial Elections

AMSTERDAM, April 1 — The Revolutionary Communist Party of Holland (Dutch Trotskyists) will participate in the provincial elections, scheduled for April 26. Lists of candidates will be presented in the two principal provinces — North and South Holland.

The Central Committee of the party has issued an appeal for an electoral fund of 1,500 florins. The election campaign will be conducted around a ten-point program. In addition to a call for struggle in defense of the workers' living standard, this electoral program includes the following: "For the dissolution of the Netherlands Union — complete independence to Indonesia!" "Down with the Monarchy! Long Live the Republic!" "For the defense of Yugoslavia against both the Kremlin and Wall Street!" "For the Socialist United States of Europe!"

tional Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1031, permits Stewart-Warner to fire any employee it accuses of belonging to a "subversive organization" which seeks to "alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means."

Stewart-Warner also gets the contractual right to require any employee or job applicant to sign an oath that he is not a "Communist" or "Communist sympathizer" and does not believe in "Communist" principles.

Prior to signing this contract with IBEW Local 1031, the company had introduced the oath in a move to victimize leaders of the independent United Electrical Workers Local 1154, which had been the previously recognized union. The company had fired five UE shop stewards who refused to take the yellow-dog oath.

Under cover of the general witch-hunt in the country, Stewart-Warner tried for many months to reintroduce the open shop. It refused to renew the UE contract and waged a ruthless campaign to smash the UE with red-baiting.

With the collusion and help of the company, the IBEW stepped in to take over the contract and the dues payers. In return for the company's aid in winning a recent collective bargaining election against the UE, the IBEW Local 1031 officials agreed to the

company's infamous terms. These included, in addition to the right to fire on political grounds, a "no strike, no picketing, no slowdown clause."

Robert E. Ackerberg, NLRB attorney in Chicago, has charged that the signing of the contract was an unfair labor practice because of company collusion in the election. The NLRB has not certified Local 1031 as bargaining agent and is investigating the company's interference in the election.

The Stewart-Warner deal with the IBEW is part of a nationwide move by the anti-labor corporations to get the power to fire workers at will. All they need do under an "anti-Communist" clause is to label a worker "subversive" and kick him out. A similar clause was foisted on the Wright Aeronautical workers in Paterson, N. J., with the approval of CIO United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther.

Workers in other plants have been fired as "poor security risks" under War Department regulations. This is an extension of the "loyalty" purge into private industry. But contracts like those signed at Stewart-Warner and Wright put a "union label" on the purge.

Some reactionary union officials are inviting such contracts as a means of ousting rival unions and also as a device to get militant unionists fired from the plants.

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While members of the Atomic Energy Commission listen, acting chairman Sumner T. Pike (second from right) tells Washington newsmen that atomic workers and consultants have been ordered to cease discussing technical H-Bomb information even though it is not classified secret. Enforcing the ban, the AEC forced Scientific American magazine to burn 3,000 copies of an issue containing an H-Bomb article.

UAW Leaders' Retreat Emboldens Auto Barons

DETROIT, April 2 — New evidence is piling up to show that the Big Three — Chrysler, General Motors and Ford — are united in an unholy conspiracy to beat down the auto workers.

The Chrysler Corporation has kept the workers out on strike for ten weeks now. Its \$30,000,000 pension offer had so many strings attached that negotiations were called off for the time being. Bargaining has not brought any major contract concessions. And all this time the newspapers reported that the negotiators were only a few cents apart. It is perfectly clear that Chrysler intends to sit tight, banking on starvation among the workers and softness among the union leaders to force

a settlement favorable to the corporation.

Meanwhile, in history-breaking production, GM piles up cars and profits through extra-shifts and overtime. Front-page headlines help build an atmosphere of anti-strike sentiment by announcing GM's "all-time" production high. The Detroit News openly poses the question: "Is the corporation trying to build up a backlog of automobiles for its dealers in event of a strike?"

FORD PACT EFFECTS

UAW leaders have signed a "clarified" agreement with Ford which released him from a definite \$3½¢-an-hour payment for pensions. Ford now need not put any definite sum into a trust fund, but only guarantee the difference between what the government pays in social security and \$100 a month. In spite of the earlier assertions of UAW leaders, this means that no sums can possibly pile up in the fund which would make possible automatic pension raises beyond the \$100 maximum.

F. O. Matthiessen Commits Suicide

(Cont. from page 1)

He understood that capitalism was responsible for repression and that attacks on any segment of the working class threaten the movement for human freedom and the attainment of the socialist goal. On occasions when he spoke publicly in behalf of the Trotskyist victims of the Smith Act, he did not use the platform to dissociate himself from their revolutionary program; he uttered not a word of apology for their ideas, not a syllable to establish his own respectability in the eyes of authority.

Prof. Matthiessen wrote much and lovingly about Walt Whitman. Whitman's poem "To a Foiled European Revolutionaire" could well serve as his own epitaph.

"Courage yet, my brother or my sister!

Keep on — Liberty is to be subserved whatever occurs; That is nothing that is quelled by one or two failures, or any number of failures, or by the indifference or ingratitude of the people, or by any unfaithfulness.

Or the show of the tushes of power, soldiers, cannon, penal statutes. . . .

Did we think victory great? So it is — but now it seems to me, when it cannot be helped, that defeat is great.

And that death and dismay are great."

George Novack Protests Newspaper Story on Matthiessen's Activity

NEW YORK — The Militant has received a copy of the following letter sent on April 3 to the N. Y. World-Telegram & Sun by George Novack, secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee:

Dear Sir: Out of respect for the memory of a noble man and friend, I must indignantly protest the World-Telegram & Sun article on April 1 stating that Professor F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard "was one of the top supporters of Communist front organizations in the nation's academic world."

The truth is that Professor Matthiessen was one of the top supporters of civil rights for all, no matter what their views or affiliations.

He was one of those rare figures in American public life today with the courage to come forward and defend the liberties of all the persecuted, victimized and oppressed.

To my knowledge, in addition to members and followers of the

workers have permission to service machinery and equipment, while morale on the picket line is weakened by it. Morale is further shaken by company propaganda, since meetings and mass demonstrations to overcome the effects of this propaganda have been few.

Yet the assemblies that have been called indicate the fighting will of the membership. Only last week 10,000 UAW members gathered to picket and hear Reuther and Matthews make speeches. Both reiterated pledges that the union will not weaken on pension and contract demands. Both were cheered loudly whenever they indicated that they would not retreat. The applause was emphatic when Reuther pledged to have a new contract before settling the strike. By their response, the strikers showed they were more than ever determined to fight.

WHAT OMISSIONS SHOW

Why neither speaker explained why union leaders had repeatedly offered to arbitrate the contract. Nor did they mention the retreat at Ford, or the watering-down of Chrysler demands below the 10¢.

They did not mention a common Chrysler-GM strategy, or a common termination date of both these agreements with the Ford contract. By these omissions, UAW leaders show they aim to continue the policy that has brought the union into a blind alley.

ITU Local Asks For Strike Vote at New York Papers

By F. Newman

NEW YORK, April 2 — "Big Six," the N. Y. local of the International Typographical Union, last week turned down an offer of the newspaper publishers by a vote of 925 to 13, for the third time asking the International Executive Council for permission to take a strike vote.

Employees in the N. Y. newspaper composing rooms have been working without a contract for the past six months. Negotiations have been held throughout this period. The publishers have refused to concede any union demands which would add a penny to their costs — this at a time when national newspaper advertising income has reached a new high.

The Printers' Ink national advertising index indicated a new peak of 283.3 for 1949, well ahead of the previous high of 246 set in 1948. Dollar expenditures for national newspaper ads were 15.3% ahead of 1948. The N. Y. Times in its year-end review asserted that all newspaper advertising expenditures for 1950 were expected to be even higher. The linkage figures for January 1950 show that this upward trend still continues.

After each of the first two requests for strike sanction, the local scale committee and officers were assisted in the negotiations by International Pres. Randolph and Vice President Brown, but without result. Among other things, the union had demanded \$10 wage increases, pension and health insurance benefits. But the publishers offered only to continue the previous contract for 18 months, with one or two minor changes in working conditions. The union rejected arbitration after six other craft unions had failed to receive any benefits through that method.

Lundeberg Gets A Setback in Seattle Court

SEATTLE, March 30 — The Brass Hats of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific received their first legal setback today to their attempts to throttle union democracy and to convert the hiring hall into a union bureaucrats' crimp joint. Superior Judge Harold A. Seering upheld the complaint of three sailors, members of the SUP, who had been victimized by the Lundeberg machine.

The three sailors, Walter Flindt, Norman Combs and James Severson, had been fired from their jobs aboard ships by the shipping companies, acting in collusion with union officials, and had been ordered to proceed to San Francisco to stand trial in a Lundeberg-rigged kangaroo court. Their "crime" was suspicion of sympathy with the Mahoney Defense Committee which has been fighting for the restoration of democracy in the SUP.

JUDGE'S RULING

In his memorandum, the judge recognized the existence of a blacklist prepared by Lundeberg and Co., consisting of all opponents of the union bureaucracy. Those on this list, he stated, "were required to proceed to San Francisco to explain their position. . . Failure to do this resulted in immediate expulsion. . . The union official publication has carried stories of this action and has threatened reprisal as soon as the case is determined."

While clearing the shipowners of charges of collusion, the judge ordered the union officialdom to cease a "discriminating against plaintiffs in their employment, suspending or expelling them from membership unless charges are filed and a hearing held in accordance with the constitution of the union." This provision requires that the member be tried

in the most convenient to accused, accused and witnesses. In the cases involved, the judge held, the place of union trial would be Seattle, not San Francisco.

The court decision applies almost to the letter to the case of John Mahoney and to other SUP members expelled for defending his democratic rights. Mahoney was placed on charges for asking a point of information in a Seattle union meeting. He asked who had given Lundeberg and Co. the authority to scab against the Canadian Seamen's Union strike. A membership meeting in Seattle voted overwhelmingly to quash the charges. But in a rigged meeting, Lundeberg had Mahoney expelled in his absence in San Francisco. Subsequently other supporters of Mahoney, including the entire crew of the Island Mail, were expelled in the same unconstitutional manner.

Next Stage To cover his slimy tracks, Lundeberg — who has been working hand in glove with Senator Taft — has accused his opponents of resorting to the Taft-Hartley Law. The charge was a lie out of the whole cloth. But it has served Lundeberg as a convenient pretext to try to extort a new assessment from the union membership to "protect the hiring hall from Trotskyists and disrupters."

The next stage of the struggle will undoubtedly be transferred to Seattle again. It is expected that Lundeberg, following Curran's example, will import busloads of ringers and goons from other ports to uphold the charges against oppositionists.

MARITIME PARLEY LEFT WAY OPEN FOR RAIDING

The Militant has received new information which confirms our statement last week that the March 18-20 Washington conference of maritime unions to defend the hiring

hall was "a conspiracy of bureaucrats against the rank and file of the seamen rather than a powerful phalanx in defense of their interests. . . (It) is directed solely against militants and critics and not against cannibal unionism and jurisdictional raiding."

We have learned that prior to the conference Harry Lundeberg, Secretary of the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific, laid down an ultimatum to the other unions as a condition for his participation. He demanded that no support be given by any union to the Mahoney Defense Committee in Seattle, which is fighting to restore democracy in the SUP.

This ultimatum was aimed directly against the MFOW (Independent Marine Firemen's Union of the Pacific).

The MFOW had aided the Seattle group because its jurisdiction had been raided time and again by Lundeberg and because Mahoney and his followers in the SUP had protested many times against this resort to cannibal unionism by their own union leadership.

LUNDEBERG'S DEMAND

At the conference, Lundeberg's demand was put in the form of a pledge by all unions not to aid any group in any of the unions which was resorting to the Taft-Hartley Law. Everyone at the conference knew that this accusation against the Seattle group was a lie, and that Lundeberg was using the lie as a pretext to isolate the MFOW.

In fact, according to Lundeberg's report at the San Francisco SUP membership meeting, Vincent Malone, MFOW secretary, protested. He said that he was aiding the Seattle group because Lundeberg was raiding his jurisdiction. Then — according to the same report — it remained for Curran of the NMU, which has also suffered from Lundeberg's raids, to perform the cowardly chore of laying down the law to Malone. Curran is reported to have said that anyone aiding any group trying to tear down the hiring hall of any union does not belong in the conference and will not receive any help from the other unions.

At this point Malone caved in. The principle accepted by the participants was "First Come, First Served." The union organizing a new company first is entitled to complete jurisdiction over

CANNIBAL UNIONISM

Moreover the conference decision is the best cover that Paul Hall of the SIU and Lundeberg have found for their cannibal unionism to date. This AFL gang has openly declared that all other maritime unions on the West and East Coasts are dual and hostile to the SIU. This was their justification for raiding the NMU in the oil workers strike and the CIO engineers in their dispute with the Ibsrandtsen shipping company. Only a few weeks before the conference Lundeberg's paper hailed Beck's raid on the West Coast CIO warehousemen as an "important step in making the entire waterfront AFL."

For Lundeberg the issue of the hiring hall has become only a point of attack against the other unions and against militant seamen. His paper reported on March 24 that Lundeberg had scheduled meetings with Senator Taft "in an attempt to work out satisfactory protection for the union from the irresponsible elements and exponents of un-American ideologies."

So great was Curran's anxiety to protect himself against rank-and-file opponents in the NMU that he accepted without a whimper Lundeberg's humiliating terms, with no concrete promise of aid if the NMU hiring hall is attacked.

Today Curran whines that "the seagoing unions are getting an awful kicking around (from the government and shipowners) for their efforts to establish discipline and stability in the maritime industry." What will be said tomorrow when Hall and Lundeberg add their kicks to those of the shipowners and government?