

GOLDEN GATE NEWS
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Build a Labor Party Now!

THE SLUMP -- IT'S WORSE THAN THEY ADMIT

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

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Democrats Jump When McCarthy Cracks the Whip

By John F. Petrone

Feb. 2, 1954, was a day to be remembered. It was the day that the Democratic Party, liberals and all, ran for cover in the U.S. Senate and joined with the Republicans by a vote of 85-1 to give the fascist Senator McCarthy the \$214,000 he had demanded to finance his attacks on democratic liberties. It was a day of triumphant rejoicing for the fascists and a day of terrible warning for the American people. For it demonstrated that the



MURRY WEISS

Weiss Opens Tour To Arouse Fight On McCarthyism

By George Breitman

NEWARK, Feb. 6 — Two political speaking tours began in this country this week. Because of what they symbolize, it is useful to contrast them.

One tour, by Senator McCarthy, was sponsored by the Republican National Committee, and began in West Virginia on Feb. 4. The other, by Murry Weiss, was sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, and began in Newark last night.

McCarthy's subject was "Twenty Years of Treason." His aim was to mobilize fascist sentiment, spread hysteria, confuse the people with big lies, intimidate opponents and smear everything faintly liberal.

Weiss' subject was "McCarthyism: What It Is and How to Fight It." His aim was to mobilize anti-fascist sentiment, counteract apathy and defeatism, provide understanding of current political trends, clarify perspectives, encourage and enlighten the people and stimulate successful resistance to the growing fascist menace.

WHAT THEY SYMBOLIZE

Anyone who listened to Weiss and read reports of McCarthy's speeches knows they are as different as day and night. But despite their differences, these two tours bear a certain relationship to one another.

In a very real sense they symbolize the conscious forces of the class struggle in the United States today — the people who know what's happening, what's coming, and what role they are going to play in the approaching showdown fight to determine the fate of this country.

Those who want to prevent fascism from crushing everything progressive and hopeful in American life can learn a lot and benefit greatly from hearing Murry Weiss on this tour. All readers of the Militant should make sure in advance that they will be present when he speaks in their area.

MURRY WEISS Tour Schedule

Buffalo: Feb. 13 - 16.
Pittsburgh: Feb. 19.
Youngstown: Feb. 20 - 21.
Akron: Feb. 23.
Cleveland: Feb. 24 - 25.
Detroit: Feb. 27 - Mar. 2.

GM Lie of 'Healthy Economy' Exploded by Chevrolet Union

New Setbacks Hit Invaders Of Indo-China

Only direct U.S. military intervention, including large-scale use of American troops, can now prevent defeat soon for French imperialism's bloody eight-year attempt to seize Indo-China and enslave its people. A new offensive by the 500,000-man independence army of Ho Chi Minh's Vietminh republic is sweeping across the province of Laos, in western Indo-China, and simultaneously retaking new territory in widespread areas throughout the rest of the country.

Last Jan. 4, Joseph Alsop of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune reported from Paris that the position of the French in Indo-China was "highly precarious" and that "the turbulent currents of French political opinion" reflected "a strong impulse to escape from the long and seemingly hopeless Indo-Chinese war at almost any price."

WALL ST. INSISTENCE

The brutal assault on Indo-China has continued largely at the insistence of Wall Street's government in Washington. However, not even the recent shipments to Indo-China of more than a billion dollars of new U.S. military equipment — plus at least 200 American air force technicians and flyers, as it has now leaked out — have been able to turn the tide for the French invaders.

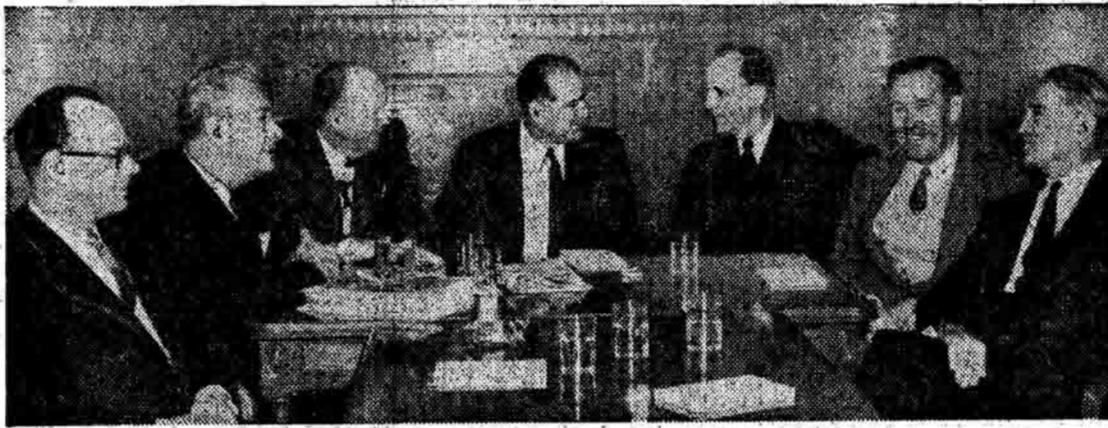
According to the latest reports, the White House and Pentagon have agreed to ship another 400 "technicians" to the war zone, but this is a token. It raises the question whether this may lead to U.S. intervention on the scale of Korea, with the danger that the Indo-China war may then become the starting point for World War III.

SECRET REQUEST

France, says the Feb. 12 U.S. News and World Report, "is pressing secretly for a substantial force of U.S. military pilots and Air Force ground crews, to man and service combat aircraft in the Indo-China war." Openly, however, the French have asked merely for the 400 more "technicians," which Eisenhower is supplying.

To plunge this country into another Korea-type war so soon (Continued on page 3)

Democrats Back on McCarthy's Team



Three Democratic senators (right) attend the first conference of McCarthy's witch-hunting investigating committee after ending their "boycott" in return for the face-saving "right" to hire one of the committee's lawyers and clerks, and a voice in the firing of committee personnel. In the group (left to right) are Republican Senators Potter (Mich.), Dirksen (Ill.), Mundt (S.D.), McCarthy; and Democrats McClellan (Ark.), Jackson (Wash.), and Symington (Mo.). The photo was taken just before McCarthy embarked on his tour witch-hunting the Democrats for "twenty years of treason."

Stake of America's Artists In Anti-McCarthyite Battle

By Duncan Ferguson

The struggle against McCarthyism is not something of merely remote, abstract interest to the artist. Every serious artist, in every field — writing, painting and sculpture, music, movies and theater, etc. — has the most direct and personal interest in it. Because McCarthyism is more than witch-hunting, more than official and unofficial censorship, more than invasion of the individual's right to talk and write and think as he pleases, McCarthyism is the American form of fascism, and it is already on the march! And McCarthyite fascism, if it comes to power, will mean the immediate destruction of all free and independent expression for every creative artist, the immediate and complete crushing of all serious cultural life in the country.

That is why the artist, in the interest of elementary self-preservation even if for no other reason, must play his part in the fight against McCarthyism. The memory of what happened to the artists in Germany and to cultural life in general under Hitler should still be green enough for all of us.

But what role can the artist play in this struggle? Well, in the first place, and as a very gen-

eral proposition, I believe we can start with this: that in the struggle against McCarthyism the artist must remain faithful to what I suppose has been the oldest and most traditional aim of all artists — to seek out and to tell the truth.

And I don't believe we have been hearing the whole truth in a number of the speeches that were made last night and again this afternoon. The truth about McCarthyism is that it is American fascism. As such, its fundamental aim is not the ferreting out of

so-called 'communists,' getting 'liberal' teachers and artists and scientists fired from their jobs, blacklisting Hollywood and TV actors and playwrights.

It does all these things, sure enough, and plenty more in the way of suppressing the free thought and expression of artists and scientists and intellectuals. But these are preparatory blows, and secondary to the one fundamental aim of McCarthyism, which is — to smash the organized American labor movement.

It is not telling the truth, but spreading an illusion, to give the (Continued on page 2)

"TO SMASH LABOR"

It is not telling the truth, but spreading an illusion, to give the

(Continued on page 2)

Big Flint Local Urges 30-Hour Work Week With 40 Hours' Pay

By Joseph Keller

"CAR PRODUCTION FLOPS — 4-Day Work Week Jolts Chevy Workers — United Labor Action Necessary to Save Nation from Disaster."

These are the banner headlines of the Feb. 2 issue of the Searchlight, official publication of the 14,000-member Chevrolet Local 659, CIO's United Automobile Workers, in Flint, Mich.

Thus, from the very heart of the General Motors Empire comes refutation of GM president Harlowe M. Curcio's recent propaganda claim that "the national economy will be strong and healthy throughout the year."

Pointing out the need for "stressing the thirty-hour week with forty hours' pay," Local 659's President Robert Murphy gives the lie to Curcio, by revealing that thousands of GM workers in Flint have been reduced to part-time.

"In our Chevrolet assembly plant," reports Murphy, "they have not had a full week since the 11th of January; in the sheet metal division, for the past three weeks and more, they have encountered short work weeks and our motors division has been hit as of last Friday with the short work week and with the outlook of more to come."

"POSITIVE ACTION"

Emphasizing the program of the 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay, Murphy adds:

"We are now faced with a thirty-two hour work week with only 32 hours' pay. We must take positive action in our membership meetings to set up an emergency convention or conference of the United Automobile Workers and the entire CIO to pass resolutions of positive action to forestall the elimination of our jobs and the security from which we have received some solace since late 1939. . . . We are all aware of the dire need for positive action and POSITIVE ACTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE!"

This "solace," the lead article on the same page makes clear, was not secured without a price. That price has been war. The Searchlight finds "deep-rooted evils in our economy that go back a long while. For the past fifteen years our nation's economy has been fed by billions upon billions spent on war materials. This also provided work on a temporary basis."

Local 659's campaign for the 30-Hour Week at 40 Hours' Pay parallels the drive by the huge Ford Local 600, which we reported last week. The Feb. 6 Ford Facts devotes a whole page to this issue, under the headline: "Need for 30-Hour Week — 40 Hours' Pay, Grows Daily."

The Labor Dept. has since further affirmed this need by placing Detroit on its list of "distressed" areas with "substantial" unemployment — 8% of the city's entire labor force. The Feb. 8 Christian Science Monitor reports that Detroit Bankers "express some apprehension over the situation. . . . The first crack in the 1929 boom appeared in Detroit."

BOSSSES GET TOUGH

The entire labor movement is expressing deep apprehension over unemployment generally. AFL President George Meany on Feb. 5 sounded the alarm at the "stiffening attitude" of employers everywhere because of the growing unemployment — the Bureau of Labor Statistics reporting 2,000,000 layoffs from mid-December to mid-January. Meany said it has been his opinion "that all the weapons the Taft-Hartley Act put in their (employers') hands would be used against unions when a pool of unemployed began to develop. Our experience in the last few months indicates that this was a valid expectation."

This get-tough attitude of the



GEORGE MEANY



WALTER REUTHER

bosses is bolstered by the smear-drive of the McCarthyites and Republicans who now brand all references to depression as "communism."

Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall on Feb. 5 included CIO and UAW President Walter Reuther, along with Adlai Stevenson and Sens. Paul Douglas and Wayne Morse, as "left-wingers" and "reckless men" who ride "like the Four Horsemen, spreading doom and gloom across the land." Eisenhower called them the "prophets of gloom."

This is an ironic turn of events, because Reuther himself, last Labor Day, sought to discourage rank-and-file talk in his own union about the need to fight unemployment by decrying "dangerous and reckless talk of depression." He called it "false communist propaganda. . . . being bolstered by the prophets of doom in the American business community."

Now Reuther is forced to answer this same red smear against himself. He asserts that "at no time will the CIO assume the posture of an economic ostrich, hoping that thus hard times will disappear."

CONGRESS OF LABOR

But more is needed than mere recognition of a fact of unemployment that has fallen on the CIO workers like a ton of bricks. It is necessary to take "POSITIVE ACTION IN THE NEAR FUTURE," to mobilize all labor through a National Congress of Labor. It is necessary to wage all-out fight for the 30-Hour Week at 40 Hours' Pay and to take independent political action for labor's program against unemployment by launching labor's own party.

"Why I Chose to Work" DETROIT PRESS SCORES NEW WITCH-HUNT BILLS

By H. Baker

Good Housekeeping for Nov. 1953 published what is for that glistening, slick-page, three-color magazine a revolutionary article by Gerry Murray Engel, "I Chose Work."

Mrs. Engel starts off by saying that she has returned to work and now she is alive. Six years ago when she left the job to have a child, she left "forever."

"When the subject comes up — and it does almost daily; ask any working mother — I find myself insisting it's the best for a mother to stay home full time," she says, "and I believe it, intellectually anyway."

She refers to herself as not the least bit career-minded, with no driving talent as an actress or anything like that. She holds down an office job like hundreds of thousands of other women. If anyone had told her six years ago that she would be back at her job, she says she would have laughed in his face.

However, in the course of her article she proves that her basic outlook is really the opposite of what she calls her "intellectual" point of view.

Her way of seeking a cure was to go back to the job. And it worked.

"To begin with, the children seem better off. Instead of being under my thumb, they go to nursery school, where they get skilled supervision and learn to get along with a group."

"A second benefit of my working is the fact we see more of each other as a family than we did before."

"A third benefit is the added money."

The house is more efficiently run by a professional housekeeper and she and her husband, because they are relieved of routine duties, find more companionship in doing things together than they could with her tied down as housekeeper and mother.

Mrs. Engels didn't have to take a job. She had sufficient money to get competent help in her home. The solution of her problem was much easier than that of a working-class mother on whom the family income depends. But the fact that she felt a problem at all is an indication of the times.

The second world war deepened the modern crisis in family life. One way to meet this crisis is to keep women confined to the home. This is advocated by leading capitalist spokesmen, especially the most reactionary ones. Another way is for women to

go forward, seeking to achieve equality in the only realistic way on the economic field. The time is ripe for professional experts who can best handle the inter-related problem of child care and housekeeping.

It would tremendously enrich motherhood and the companionship of marriage if women could freely participate in the economic life of the country. To make that possible, woman's two unpaid jobs, child care and housekeeping must be raised to the level of a community problem and solved through the joint efforts of all.

That of course is not possible under capitalism. But it will be one of the first points on the agenda of the coming socialist society.

The Holy State Of Matri-Money

Some 2,500 high school and college girls throughout the country were asked by the Gilbert Youth Research organization, leading market analysis firm devoted to sounding out views of young people, the following question: What is the most important thing you will look for in choosing a mate? They were asked to vote for one of four qualifications. Money won first place. Personality, disposition and physical attractiveness followed in that order.

HIT 5TH AMENDMENT

Another measure, already passed by the Senate and now before the House, provides for the firing of government employees who seek the protection of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution against prying into their personal beliefs or associations.

The legislature is also considering a bill that would confer one-man grand-jury powers upon prosecutors and their assistants. The law would enable them to

grab any citizen at any time and take him by force to a star chamber inquisition. Anyone who refused to answer the questions of such a star chamber proceeding could be then hauled into court and jailed for contempt.

An ordinance now before the Detroit Common Council would permit the Mayor to invoke "one man rule" any time that he thinks an "emergency" exists or may come into being. Obviously any major strike struggle or even the threat of one would constitute such an "emergency."

So reactionary is the nature of these and other proposed laws that even conservative papers in this area have felt constrained to speak out against them.

A Few Words With Meany

By Joyce Cowley

The recent National Anti-Discrimination Conference of the United Packinghouse Workers in Chicago declared that "the time has come for the complete elimination of the female wage differential" and they advanced a militant program to carry this out.

They not only demanded higher women's rates but also the elimination of the separation between "men's" and "women's" jobs. They called for integrated hiring and personnel policies to prevent job discrimination against women. They suggested that the tendency to "gloss over" women's problems be overcome by specially organized schools in the locals to explore such questions and provide a training ground for women members in practical matters connected with the operation of local unions. Locals were asked to schedule meetings at times and places accessible to women members whose responsibilities for shopping and preparation of meals make the hours immediately after work inconvenient.

That sounds good. It sounds like they're serious about giving women an equal break, and it contrasts sharply with a somewhat different position taken by AFL President George Meany. Rep. Frances Bolton, who has drafted a Congressional bill to require equal pay for equal work regardless of sex, received a letter from Meany telling her that her proposal was unwise and urging her to reconsider.

"The problem of establishing and safeguarding the principle as well as the practice of equal pay to women workers is properly within the province of collective bargaining and not police action by the government. When free collective bargaining is in effect we believe that more and better progress can be made by voluntary negotiations than by a law necessarily reaching deeply into the whole private system of wage determination."

This extraordinary statement reminds me of a captain of industry defending the free and inalienable right of scabs to take strikers' jobs. Surprisingly enough, Meany did not oppose a minimum wage law although I am sure this, too, interferes with "free collective bargaining." It's one of the few times that Meany has been concerned about the threat of police action by the government. He hasn't protested against the witch hunt or other repressive measures but suddenly when it looks like employers might be forced by law to pay women a fair wage for their work, he feels that our liberties and the "whole private system of wage determination" are in danger.

Right now, under this system of private wage determination, the paycheck of the average women workers less than half — 44% — of that received by a man. This is the kind of progress that Meany's voluntary negotiations have achieved. Meany also skips over the fact that 80% of working women are not members of unions and therefore receive no direct benefit from union wage agreements. They don't pay dues, so he is not concerned with legislation to protect them.

Opposition to equal pay legislation by the AFL, which over 2,500,000 women members, would be a serious obstacle to its enactment. Mrs. Bolton conducted a poll and it was that Meany was the only major labor spokesman to oppose her bill. He assured her, however, that the AFL always been for the principle of equal pay for comparable work.

Meany's principles won't buy any groceries for millions of underpaid women workers. The so-called labor leaders frequently betray the interests of the members they represent. This is not new, but it does jar you to see one of these "leaders" take a position even more reactionary than that of capitalist politicians. Republicans and Democrats at least give lip service to equal pay legislation although they consistently fail to pass it when bills of this type are introduced in Congress.

It's time the millions of women members in the AFL developed their own leadership. When they do, I imagine one of the first steps on their program will be to show Meany the way out.

The Slump -- Worse Than They Say

By Art Preis

Eisenhower made a classic understatement in his Jan. 28 economic report to Congress. Conceding that employment in January, 1954, is "somewhat lower" than in January 1953, the General opined:

"There seems to be a connection between this fact and the fact that in January, 1953, we were still fighting in Korea and we are not doing so today."

There is no mere "seeming" connection about it. Almost everywhere takes for granted that capitalist prosperity and war are closely, if not inextricably, linked. A cessation of military hostilities, as in the case of the Korean truce, is correctly viewed as the prelude to economic crisis. Eisenhower himself said during his election campaign that "whatever economic gains have been made since 1932 have been due to war or to threats of war."

It is true that Eisenhower's statement was intended to knock the Democrats and to imply that the Republicans could maintain economic stability and growth without the dangerous stimulus of war inflation. Yet, in November, 1953, Eisenhower's Secretary of Defense C. E. Wilson, former General Motors president, assured his scared fellow-millionaires and billionnaires that war spending would not be cut to the detriment of their profits. He announced: "The rumors that defense spending will be cut to such a point that it will adversely affect business aren't true."

Thus, enormous government war spending remains the main prop of the economy. It is central to the new Republican administration's policies, as it was to the previous Democratic regime's, despite Eisenhower's assurance that we are heading toward "a prosperity based on peace."

The total of federal government spending in fiscal 1954 will be \$70.9 billion, according to Eisenhower's budget. This is well over double the government expenditure in 1948. Of the nearly \$71 billion the government in-

The True Picture of Unemployment

But the hypothetical possibility of a "real cold peace," which holds such a horrendous vision of economic catastrophe before capitalist eyes, is not the immediate question. The question that now looms large concerns the short-term consequences of the Korean truce and a slight diminution of federal war spending. With the aim of reducing corporation taxes, weakening labor through a "controlled" depression, "shaking out" the smaller competitors and stabilizing the debt structure, the Big Business rulers have decided to "stretch out" war spending a bit. Nothing drastic, of course; just a cut of a few billion dollars over the next two or three years.

Yet the economy is so unstable, so dependent on government inflationary stimulants, that there is a serious question whether America can retrench on war spending even a little bit, whether it can stave off a serious economic decline unless it not only maintains the 1953 highest level of government expenditures, but substantially increases them. In the latter connection, we must keep in mind that it is not

enough for the economy to do "just as good" as last year. It must do constantly better, merely to keep the same number of people employed. Improvements in the productivity of labor are automatically raising the output per worker by 3% to 4% each year — and with the new automation process productivity can be raised phenomenally in a short time. Less and less workers produce more and more goods.

In addition, the labor supply keeps mounting. With the growth of the population at 2,700,000 persons per year, the number of new workers entering the labor market is estimated at 750,000 annually. The six months since the Korean truce have already demonstrated that even a slight reduction in government spending, especially in the war sphere, means a downside in the economy. To boost 1953 production just 3.7% over 1952, it required a rise in military expenditures of \$6,427,000,000 or 14.6% in one year. But a bare 3.1% drop in military spending has been paralleled by a 7% fall in national production from the July, 1953, high through December, 1953, according to the Federal Reserve Board. And the Board foretells a "slight further decline" for January.

To Eisenhower, this is just a "slight contraction in business" that is otherwise "marvelously prosperous by any historical standard." The economy, he assures us, is experiencing only a "mild readjustment" that "seems likely to be brief and self-correcting." Let us examine how "slight" this "contraction" has really been so far. If we know the true facts of economic life, it will help us to determine the reliability of the forecasts of Eisenhower and his Council of Economic Advisers about the alleged mildness, brevity and self-correctability of the economic decline that set in with the end of the Korean war.

First of all, Eisenhower has based himself on certain demonstrably falsified data, of which the figures on unemployment are the most significant. As I have proved in several recent Militant articles (Feb. 1, Jan. 25 and Jan. 18) the number of unemployed is actually double the pre-shrunk figures handed out by the U.S. Department of Commerce. In the Jan. 18 Militant, I showed that

every move toward the building of an independent Labor Party breaking completely with all the capitalist politicians. Only such a party, based on the trade unions and including the organizations of the minority peoples, can conduct the kind of struggle that will decisively smash McCarthyism. If the organizations of artists, professionals, scientists, intellectuals, help in building such an independent Labor Party and merge themselves in it, then the artists will be making a significant contribution to the great struggle against McCarthyism.

we add the number of actual layoffs since June — 3,372,000 — to the number already laid off at that time — that is, 1,562,000 — we get the figure of 4,934,000 wage-earners who are not working now who would be working if jobs were available. And this makes no allowance even for the normal growth of the labor force of 750,000 new job-seekers annually.

The Census Bureau conceals the number of unemployed by claiming that a large number of the 3,372,000 who have lost their jobs since June are "not looking" for work and therefore are "withdrawn from the labor force." These laid off with a "definite" promise of being recalled within 30 days are listed as "employed." These "employed" number, according to the Census Bureau, about 250,000. If they were properly classified as unemployed, the official number of layoffs since June would be increased to 3,622,000.

This slash of going on four million jobs in six months is a decisive fact, economically speaking, whether or not any or all of these jobless are "not looking" for jobs. Nearly four million less persons are securing incomes, except for those who draw the picaresque unemployment benefits. The loss of this number of jobs is a tremendous slice out of the purchasing power of the working class.

The figures on industrial output, particularly for the basic industries like steel and auto, are especially revealing. Eisenhower's "mild readjustment" is already of a serious character in the most vital areas of production. The Federal Reserve Board's figure of a 7% drop in "overall" production from July to December, 1953, conceals far deeper declines in the key industries, which have the greatest specific weight in the economy.

A worker may figure he can still swing the price of a bottle of beer or two when he has abandoned his plan to get a new car, or home, or refrigerator, or TV set or even a badly-needed overcoat. By "averaging" a high beer bottle output with a low production of TV sets, we might get a more favorable-looking result than the real situation warrants. And that is precisely what has been happening when we get down to specific industries. In the durable goods industries — the very heart of the U.S. economy — production declines range from more than 20% in basic steel to almost 50% in television sets. Let us examine, first of all, the steel industry, whose operations anticipate the activities of almost all other major industries. On Jan. 27, in declaring the usual

Nor will other industries compensate for this decline in auto and steel. Housing starts, according to the National Association of Home Builders, will be down to an estimated 1,000,000 for this year, a 39.6% drop from the 1953 high and 11% below 1953. January heavy construction (in industry, commerce, government contract awards were 40% lower than in Jan. 1953.)

For some industries, the declines have been verging on catastrophe. The Jan. 13 N. Y. Times reports the ship construction industry "at the lowest point... in well over a decade" and the Jan. 20 N. Y. World-Telegram describes shipbuilding as "in a severe unemployment slump." The television industry in December turned out only 496,000 sets, "barely half the total of December 1952," reports the Jan. 22 U.S. News and World Report. And General Electric, on the last day of January, indicated the TV outlook is not promising by laying off 2,150 employees in its TV division.

So far as the two key factors — production and employment — are concerned, the economic decline has gone far deeper and will continue longer than the Administration and Big Business leaders admit. (Next Week: Can They Pull Out of the "Slump?")

Report Mounting Sales Of Socialist Pamphlets

Striking successes are being registered in the sale of the three latest publications issued by Pioneer Publishers, according to a report from the publishers. The three new publications are: The Case of the Legless Veteran, by James Kutcher (a full-size book of 178 pages, price \$1); America's Road to Socialism, by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP (80 pages, 35c.); and McCarthyism: American Fascism on the March, a compilation of articles on the struggle against McCarthyism (16 pages, 10c.).

The following excerpts from recent communications to Pioneer Publishers give a vivid picture of the intensive campaign activities being carried on around the sale of this literature: Los Angeles: "The other night we sold 83 copies of the McCarthyism pamphlet at a meeting called to protest the discharge of a number of teachers by the L. A. Board of Education for refusing to submit to a witch hunt interrogation of their political beliefs and associations. A few nights before, we sold 37 copies to a Stalinist meeting at which Hallinan spoke before departing to serve his sentence on an income tax charge. Despite the efforts of four Stalinist hacks who tried to dissuade their followers from buying the pamphlet, a successful sale of both pamphlet and paper was reported. There were about 75 people at the meeting, so the sales average was very high. Thanks to the hacks, these were identified as Trotskyist publications to everyone... At a liberal forum one person sold 16 pamphlets in a very short period. At a union meeting of the Packinghouse Workers, 5 were sold.

"We have been testing out various types of meetings in order to gauge the response of various sections of the population. Beginning next Sunday we will have two mobilizations for house-to-house sales and thus get another test. In the process of 'testing' and before we have held a general mobilization we have disposed of about 250 copies... We are entirely out of the McCarthyism pamphlet, having sold all the original shipment of

300. Better send immediately 500 more copies, which together with the 200 now on the way will make 1,000 in all." Boston: "Our campaign got under way yesterday with a mobilization despite the bitter weather. Jim and Lynn covered a Ford Hall Forum debate between James Wechsler and a local red-baiter by name of Mullins from the newspaper Traveler. We sold about 40 copies of the McCarthyism pamphlet — every copy we had brought. Could have sold half as many again — and on a less bitter evening a sale of 100 could have been expected." Milwaukee: "Please send us 50 copies of Cannon's America's Road to Socialism. We have projected a campaign to sell 200 copies of this fine pamphlet in the coming period."

Similar enthusiastic reports have come in from numerous other centers, including Minneapolis and St. Paul, San Francisco, New York. These will be published in coming issues of the Militant for the information of readers who are participating in the struggle against McCarthyism.

Pioneer Publishers reports that the response to the pamphlet on McCarthyism far exceeded all expectations. In less than four weeks after publication the entire edition of 3,000 copies was completely sold out — the only copies still remaining being those in the hands of local salesmen. Plans are now under way for a new pamphlet with new material on the subject of McCarthyism.

The success of the book by James Kutcher, The Case of the Legless Veteran, has also been instantaneous. To date, 950 copies have been received from England, and every copy was immediately sold. Pioneer reports that they now have outstanding orders for nearly 1,000 more. Assurance has been received that large shipments of the book should be arriving any time now; this will make possible the resumption of local sales campaigns which unfortunately had to be interrupted because of the lack of books. Reports will be made in these columns on sales of this book at local union meetings, liberal and civic organizations, etc.

Appeal to America's Artists

(Continued from page 1)

impression, as some of the speakers here have done, that the resistance of the artists and professionals and intellectuals can by itself "make 1954 the year of the end of McCarthyism."

McCarthy would deal as contemptuously with such resistance, even if united and organized, as he recently dealt with Albert Einstein's advice to a witness at one of McCarthy's spy-hunt committee hearings "not to cooperate with this or any other investigating committee." On that occasion, you will perhaps remember, McCarthy sneeringly told the witness that if he didn't want to spend a considerable time in jail he had better consult with his lawyer rather than with Dr. Einstein.

It is not telling the truth, but spreading an illusion, to say as one speaker did, that Truman's "definition" of McCarthyism was "one of the most powerful blows against McCarthy." It is spreading an illusion to use this "definition" of Truman's as the keynote of the program of a conference such as this. It is spreading an illusion to build up Truman and the Fair Deal wing in the Democratic Party as serious fighters against McCarthyism. Don't you remember that it was under this name Truman that the witch hunt started? Don't you remember that it was Truman's Attorney General Tom Clark who issued the first "subversive" list?

It is not telling the truth, either, to extol Roosevelt, as the last speaker did, as a great "liberal" and "democrat" just be-

cause it was under Roosevelt that the WPA Art Project was started in the depression days. Yes, I remember the WPA Art Project and what it did for many artists in those bleak days.

But I remember some other things about Roosevelt too, things which don't quite qualify him for the label of either "liberal" or "democrat." I remember Roosevelt's role as strike-breaker against the miners during the last war. I remember the innumerable times while Roosevelt was in office that troops were called out to break up strikes by force and violence.

I especially remember that it was under Roosevelt and his supposedly "liberal" Attorney General Francis Biddle that 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and a CIO Teamsters local in Minneapolis were indicted and imprisoned, under the infamous Smith Act, for their opposition to the war — the same Smith Act which is now being used against members of the Communist Party. (And by the way, I also remember — as no doubt many of you here do too — how at that time the Communist Party applauded and egged on the government in its persecution of these anti-war socialists.)

No, the artists will not be able to play any part in the struggle against McCarthyism if they help in any way to spread any of these illusions. It has to be clearly understood, and it has to be said, that NO section or wing of either the Democratic or Republican party can seriously fight against McCarthyism — and for a simple

reason: Because the struggle with McCarthyism is basically a struggle between the workers and the capitalists in the United States.

What then, beyond this general proposition of seeking and telling the truth, can the artists and intellectuals do in this struggle? What can we put forward as a program of action for artists who want to take part in the fight? I would like to suggest three ideas, as at least something to start with:

(1) As an individual, the artist must seize every opportunity possible to raise his voice against any and every encroachment of McCarthyism, and use every possible means of getting his voice heard. Specifically, if the occasion arises, he can emulate Einstein's position of unconditional non-cooperation, recalling the stirring defiance that Einstein threw in McCarthy's face: "Every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e., he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country."

(2) Through organized forms, such as artists' groups and societies, the artists can do two things. First, conduct campaigns of education and propaganda to explain the danger of McCarthyism, as American fascism, to the entire cultural life of the country. Second, defend all victims of the McCarthyite witch hunt — since each victimization strengthens the forces of McCarthyism.

(3) Encourage and support

Are Ford and Curtice Right?

Fairless's "bullish" sentiments have been echoed, with orchestral accompaniment, by his counterparts in the automobile industry, Harlow M. Curtice, president of General Motors, world's largest industrial corporation, and Henry Ford II, head of the Ford Motor Co. Ford claimed on Jan. 18 that unemployment in the auto center of Detroit "does not amount to a hill of beans." Curtice told a Waldorf-Astoria banquet in New York on Jan. 19 that the national economy "will be strong and healthy throughout the year" and GM is planning what the newspapers called a "billion-dollar bet against recession" — a billion-dollar expansion program for the next two years.

Ford's "hill of beans" is the biggest raised in Detroit since the depression year of 1940. As of Jan. 15, there was a loss of 84,000 auto jobs from the 1953 high in the Detroit area alone and the total number of unemployed was the highest in 14 years. By the last week in January, although Ford was slightly outpacing GM's Chevrolet in weekly car output, the Ford plants were shifting away from previous overtime schedules and a Ford spokesman was quoted in the Feb. 1 Wall Street Journal: "A runaway market just isn't in the picture; so we can keep up with the market and still use less overtime." GM went Ford one better; Chevrolet went into its first four-day week.

Ward's Automotive Report announced that Chevrolet, Ford and Plymouth had pared their February output plans by 14%, but in the case of Ford and Chevy this would mean just "an easing of overtime." The big spurt that the auto industry giants — GM and Ford particularly — started to put on last month to outstrip the previous January output faltered in a couple of weeks. In January, Ford passenger car production went up 4% over Jan. 1953. Chevrolet showed only a 3% rise — and Chrysler plummeted 3%. But the pick-up by the Big Two reflects a forced march intended to complete the major part of their 1954 production in the first half of the year. "It seems a reasonable guess that more than 60% of this year's cars will be assembled before July 1," reported the Associated Press from Detroit on Jan. 23. Thus, the big drop in auto lies ahead.

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American Hitler on Tour

Two days after getting a triumphant 85-1 vote of confidence and \$214,000 appropriation from the U.S. Senate, the fascist demagogue McCarthy set out on a nine-speech lecture tour.

Only three months ago the press and the air were thick with all kinds of reports about how Eisenhower, Brownell and the Republican high command were going to "out-flank" the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

But McCarthy's tour this month was sponsored and paid for by the Republican National Committee, and its chairman Leonard W. Hall publicly interpreted this as "an endorsement" of McCarthy.

Three months ago Eisenhower said he hoped "communism" would not be the main issue in the 1954 elections. McCarthy contradicted him and said it would be the issue.

His tour this month was recognized by everyone as the opening gun in the Republican election campaign. As such, it set the tone of the entire campaign, and is being imitated by other Republican speech-makers.

Instead of being cut down, McCarthy has been built up. He is the one who calls the tune in Washington on questions that relate to his main interests.

Support Morton Sobell

Demonstrating again how strongly its decisions are influenced by the pressure of the witch hunt, the Supreme Court has for the second time refused to review the case of Morton Sobell, the young scientist now serving a 30-year sentence at Alcatraz on the trumped-up charge of "conspiracy to commit espionage" with the judicially murdered Julius and Ethel Rosenberg couple.

At the same time, the Supreme Court refused to consider a "friend of the court" brief submitted by a nation-wide group headed by the distinguished scientist, Dr. Harold C. Urey. The brief said in part: "The arrest, indictment and trial of Morton Sobell... in an atmosphere of hysteria induced by transient political and social passions, lacked guarantees of fairness which all Americans have a right to expect under the Constitution."

The correctness of this charge is demonstrated by a brief examination of the facts of the case. The Rosenbergs were convicted and sent to their death as spies on the basis of evidence so flimsy and questionable that it aroused world-wide skepticism and protest.

Their proof of this contention boils down to the allegation, which they never even attempted to substantiate in court, that he had held five conversations with Julius Rosenberg for this purpose, and the testimony of one of Sobell's neighbors which purported to prove that Sobell had confessed the crime to him.

It Could Happen Here If --

For a refreshing contrast to life in the United States, we take you to Cambridge, England, where Dr. Hildegard Broda, a British citizen of Austrian birth, is an assistant medical officer for the county schools.

Dr. Broda married Alan Nunn May upon his release from prison. May is the physicist who was convicted of turning atom secrets over to the Soviet Union.

Recently Capt. A. C. Taylor, former Mayor of Cambridge and chairman of the local British Legion, demanded that the Cambridge County Council dismiss Dr. Broda. Citing her marriage to the convicted scientist, he branded her a communist.

By unanimous vote the Council rejected the demand. Each of the Council members rose to condemn it. "A disgusting form of persecution," said one.

"I do not know if she is a Communist and I do not give two damns if she is. She is one of the best doctors we have," asserted another. "A filthy, dirty attack on an individual. Does Capt. Taylor want McCarthyism in this

issues duck or run when McCarthy challenges them.

A revealing aspect of most of the stops on McCarthy's tour was the way local Republican candidates flocked around him, scrambling for the honor of being seated on the platform with him, hoping fervently that McCarthy would say a few words in favor of their candidacy.

What a far cry from the 1952 election campaign when McCarthy skulked around Eisenhower's train, begging for a chance to be photographed with him, and when many local Republican candidates, worried about the consequences to their own chances of being elected, were putting pressure on Eisenhower not to touch McCarthy with a ten-foot pole!

Equally significant was McCarthy's calculated way of handling candidates seeking his stamp of approval. He stood aloof, studiously careful not to take sides between the competitors for Republican nominations. This is the traditional position taken by the leader of the party. McCarthy is consciously acting like the real leader of his party. And with good reason. Nobody in this party has greater power.

He obtained this power, and the likelihood is that he will obtain more, because his rivals and opponents in both capitalist parties agree with or are afraid to contest his fundamental thesis — that "communism" menaces America.

Those who accept this thesis but complain about McCarthy's "methods" are brushed aside as ineffectual quibblers. Those who accept this thesis and then try to "take the ball away" from McCarthy by outdoing him as witch hunters only add steam to his drive for more power.

The growth of McCarthy's power is the most menacing thing in America today. It won't be curtailed or diminished until the labor movement sees this, says so, and suits its actions to its words.

Rift in the Yugoslav CP

By R. Garrive

Milovan Djilas, theoretician of Yugoslav communism, expelled from the Central Committee! An unexpected event, but one which does not leave the bourgeois commentators speechless.

"Djilas, you see, is censured because of the way he criticized the bureaucratic snobbery of the wives of Yugoslav leaders toward a former actress." Or else: "He's a democrat being persecuted by a communist dictator who is returning to his previous errors: look at the self-criticism that poor Djilas was forced to make."

What is the heart of the question? That Djilas sought to appear as the champion of the struggle against the bureaucracy is obvious. That he is qualified for such a role is another matter.

A precise judgment on the Central Committee's decision can be rendered only after examining its minutes, the speeches of Kardelj and Tito in particular. But the essence of the matter is already clear enough: The Yugoslav Communist Party as a whole reacted against the tendency to dissolve it, to liquidate it, a tendency in the service of which Djilas had employed his "theoretical" pen, explaining in the pages of Borba and Nova Misao that a communist party was good only for taking power and not much use afterwards.

NOT NEW TENDENCY

But is this actually a new tendency? The CC takes action against Djilas today in the name of the letter and the spirit of the sixth Congress. In reality this sixth Congress, in its decisions to transform the party into a "league," seems to have been the result of a compromise between the liquidationist wing represented by Djilas and the partisans of the status quo, whose whole policy consists of "holding tight." Like all compromises, this one benefited the more dynamic and more aggressive side, that is, Djilas.

For some months the Yugoslav Communists had the opportunity to read articles in which Djilas expounded the theory that the withering away of the party was a necessary condition for the withering away of the state. It was Djilas who introduced in Yugoslavia, at first surreptitiously, the profound thought that the Stalinist dictatorship over USSR and the Communist parties is the fruit of Lenin's "genius-like but outmoded" democratic centralism. He adds with an air of profundity: after the seizure of power "the party of the Leninist type should become transformed into its opposite."

DJILAS' PROGRAM

These conclusions passed beyond the framework of Yugoslavia and the transitional society. Outside of Yugoslavia, there is no need for a communist party at all, so he said, not even one independent of Moscow. What's needed are people of good will working to spread democracy within the framework of state capitalism, the necessary preliminary stage for

the "Executive Committee of the Fourth International." This claim is a cover-up for what is in reality nothing but a polemic written by the leaders of the Pablo faction.

The Executive Committee elected by the Third World Congress of the Fourth International no longer exists. It was destroyed by Pablo through abuse of the post with which he was entrusted by the Third World Congress. Nine members of that body, through factional manipulation, were "expelled" by Pablo. The six, possibly seven, members who met with Pablo and called themselves a "Plenum" of the Executive Committee were all Simon-pure Pabloites, personally hand-picked and approved by the head of the cult. This faction meeting authorized a sub-committee to draw up a "response" to the Open Letter of the SWP in the name of the "Executive Committee of the Fourth International."

How factional the meeting was can be judged from one eloquent fact. Comrade Peng, the Chinese member of the Executive Committee, was not even notified of the gathering although he was the only representative of the entire colonial and semi-colonial world in position to attend.

If the Pabloites had really considered their meeting was a genuine plenum of the Executive Committee, then they were duty bound to rise above narrow factional considerations and see to it that the Chinese representative was present. They did not do that. Thus they gave fresh confirmation to the charge levelled by the SWP National Committee in its Open Letter: "The Pablo faction has demonstrated that it will not permit democratic decisions truly reflecting majority opinion to be reached. They demand complete submission to their criminal policy. They are determined to drive all orthodox Trotskyists out of the Fourth International or to muzzle and handcuff them."

Following this experience, Peng wrote a lengthy letter to James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP, summarizing several years first-hand observation of Pablo's methods. Here is the gist of it, as well as his opinion about the SWP's Open Letter: "This has rendered impossible any normal discussion according to the principle of democratic centralism, and thus obliged the SWP, led by Cannon, to adopt this exceptional action of today, to publish the Open Letter demanding the expulsion of Pablo and his agents from the International's leading organ."

"This is really unprecedented in the history of our international movement, and is an action of revolutionary nature. This action has become necessary not only to crush Pablo's attempt at usurpation, but also to gain time in which to rescue the movement, and to reorganize and coordinate it in time to confront the approaching new world war and revolution. If the mobilization of this struggle should be prolonged until the explosion of the Third World War, it would be too late."

To this it must be added that the Pabloites put their revisions of Trotskyism in the public press. They did not wait for a Congress at which their novelties could be discussed and debated and a decision reached in normal fashion. They went to the international or to muzzle and handcuff them."

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WHAT IS NEEDED

"You have saved the party from those who want to destroy it — good. You have reaffirmed the need for the party in the framework of proletarian democracy — better yet. But it isn't enough just to reaffirm that need; it has to be justified by the party's fulfilling its role of vanguard. Yet all you have been doing these past several years is to put us at the vanguard of the liquidation of a whole series of revolutionary conquests. Is it any wonder that after all of that the ensuing demoralization should produce people like Djilas?"

"The necessity of holding our ground against the combined forces of imperialism and the Stalinist bureaucracy does not in any way justify unprincipled capitulations which have even reached the point of 'condemning' New China. In reality, you have not been free of Djilasism yourselves. And today Djilas, even though expelled, is still a danger. He is on the road to becoming the most serious candidate for the post of hero of the Yugoslav restorationists, left vacant by the ignominious death of Draza Mihailovich. To remove the causes of Djilasism, a party is needed, one which actually plays its role of communist party. With Djilas now out of the way as a theoretician, the party must be completely reformed, through the democratic preparation of the 7th Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party."

(Translated from La Verite, French Trotskyist paper.)

Pvt. Clifford Hamp, a Korean war veteran, was brutally beaten by a New York policeman when he attempted to visit his mother in a Harlem hospital, has moved in the Supreme Court to increase his damage suit against the city from \$100,000 to \$1,000,000.

take our clearly stated position on how to "safeguard the administration of the affairs of the Fourth International" and misrepresent it as holding the Fourth International to be "finished" and that Trotskyists must "split" from it. That is dishonesty. And what is the source of this dishonesty if not the factionalism of the Pabloites? Isn't that a typical symptom of a petty-bourgeois clique motivated by subjectivity and panic?

A DEADLY PARALLEL

It is worth noting what political blindness can be caused by factionalism of this type. The Pabloites did not even observe the deadly parallel with the opening stages of Trotsky's great struggle against Stalinism. At that time he did not consider the Third International "finished." But he brought the struggle into the open as best he could under the brutal conditions imposed by the Stalinists and this was considered by the bureaucracy to be one of his major "crimes" although it was their actions and their search for a "fresh approach" to "living reality" that forced Trotsky to make the struggle public.

The Stalinist faction wanted to muzzle and handcuff Trotsky, keep him quiet while they proceeded methodically under cover to cut up the Left Opposition and smash it. Meanwhile in public the Stalinists themselves hacked away at the program of Marxism, beginning with revisions and ending with betrayal.

Perhaps the Pabloites did not wish to recall this analogy, for they too, like the Stalinists, while demanding that the opposition keep its differences under wraps, publicly advanced their own new variety of revisionism. It was this political course of theirs, revealing differences with orthodox Trotskyism of far-reaching implication, it must be emphasized, that made it impossible to avoid a public struggle. As Peng correctly observed, Pablo "rendered impossible any normal discussion" and thus "obliged the SWP" to take the exceptional action of publishing the Open Letter.

(To be continued.)

New Setbacks Hit Inva

Of Indo-Ch

(Continued from page

after the Republicans boast of ending the Korea is a decision the White Ho not likely to make light, though some of the tops in Pentagon and McCarthyite magnets in Congress are pressuring the U.S. to leap into Indo-China with both feet.

Aside from considerations of broad strategic diplomatic and military aims, which now appear to dictate a "stretch-out" of the war preparations and a more prolonged build-up for war against the Soviet Union and China, the Indo-China nut would be hard for U.S. imperialism to crack.

After four years of trying to set up a "native" army to carry the brunt of the struggle for them, the French have recently suffered large-scale defections to the Vietminh forces. Thus, Joseph and Stewart Alsop report in their Feb. 3 column in the N. Y. Herald-Tribune:

"And now there has come bad news of large scale defections by Viet Namese pro-French army units in the supposedly pacified territory near the southern capital, Saigon. These Viet Namese army defections to the Communists seem to have been wholly voluntary, without any serious preliminary fighting. They come after the affair of Bui Chu' last September, when raw Viet Namese units surrendered en masse when attacked by smaller Communist forces."

Tillman Durdin, N. Y. Times correspondent in Saigon, wrote on Feb. 3 of the loss in South Vietnam of more than "two-score" defense points to the Vietminh "as a result of defections." Eisenhower in an indirect way acknowledged in his press conference on Feb. 3 that the Indo-Chinese do not support France and its puppet-emperor Bao Dai. He conceded under questioning that the situation in Indo-China was "critical" and added that the "heart and soul of the population" was always the biggest factor in a situation like Indo-China. A few hours later the State Department felt it necessary to have an "explanation" released that the President "in no way wished to reflect on the fight being waged by the armies" of France's native puppets.

The American people want no part of the war in Indo-China. They must demand of the government: "Not a cent, not a gun, not a man for the Indo-China war!"

First of all, the SWP cannot split from the Fourth International because, due to a reactionary law, it does not belong to it. But nowhere in its Open Letter or anywhere else did the SWP call on Trotskyists to "split" from the Fourth International. On the contrary, it called on the orthodox Trotskyists to organize a factional struggle to save the Fourth International.

The Open Letter specifically asked the orthodox Trotskyists throughout the world — not to split — but to "safeguard the administration of the affairs of the Fourth International by removing Pablo and his agents from office and replacing them with cadres who have proved in action that they know how to uphold orthodox Trotskyism and keep the movement on a correct course both politically and organizationally."

