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WHAT'S CAUSING THE ECONOMIC SLUMP?

(See Page 2)

Get Out Of Indo-China!

An Editorial

The American people are bitterly opposed to U.S. military intervention in Indo-China, where the French imperialists, armed and financed by Wall Street's government, have been butchering the Indo-Chinese people for eight years. Popular opposition to involvement in Indo-China is reflected in the alarm expressed by some Senators and Congressmen when it was revealed that U.S. Air Force personnel had been sent secretly into Indo-China eight months ago and 400 more were on their way.

Eisenhower claims that only "technicians" are aiding the French despots to bomb and burn the Indo-Chinese villages and people. But as Senator John C. Stennis correctly pointed out: "If we are going to send men for the purpose of keeping airplanes on the firing line, it is only natural that we send in pilots and trigger men. It is a logical next step."

Eisenhower assures us he won't take that "logical next step." But did the American people realize what we were getting into when Truman announced the first dispatch of U.S. armed forces to Korea? U.S. forces in Indo-China, we are told, won't be in combat areas. But, states a Pentagon official quoted in the Feb. 9 N.Y. Daily News, "such areas in Indo-China are very fluid and we don't know."

Whether Eisenhower sends only 600, or 6,000, or 600,000 U.S. military personnel to Indo-China is not the real issue. If he can send 600 to aid the Indo-China invasion, he can send 600,000 or 6,000,000. Isn't that what Truman did in Korea and who in Congress spoke against it?

The war in Indo-China is a naked imperialist aggression. It began in 1945, immediately after the close of World War II, when Ho Chi Minh's government, which had ousted the Japanese and French collaborators, was founded. French imperialism, quickly switching its allegiance from the Axis to the "democracies," tried to smash this government which the Indo-Chinese people had established.

So strong was the resistance of the independence fighters that the French tyrants were forced to make "peace" — temporarily. In Paris, March, 1946, the French government signed a treaty recognizing the Ho Chi Minh government. In December 1946, the French treacherously broke the treaty and suddenly started to seize the public buildings in the capital city of Hanoi. America is now paying a billion dollars a year to keep this "dirty war" — as the French people themselves call it — going.

We want no part of this "dirty war." Tell Eisenhower: Hands off Indo-China. Bring our men back. Not a cent, not a gun, not a man for this brutal aggression.

Negro People's Stake In Anti-McCarthy Fight

By Jean Blake

American Negroes reacted almost instinctively against Italian and German fascism. Conditioned by second-class citizenship and their experience with the brutality of the Southern ruling class, colored Americans recognized fascism as the ideology of a desperate ruling class.

Negroes were quick to point to the similarity between tendencies in this country, particularly in the South, and the rampant European nationalism, militarism, thought control, theory of the master race, persecution of scapegoats, and destruction of the one force capable of fighting back — the independent working class organizations.

But now, when McCarthyism is providing the most serious fascist threat this country has yet seen, neither the Negro press nor organizations leading the struggle for equality have clearly labeled McCarthy and sounded the alarm.

One reason for this is the crisis in leadership of the Negro struggle. Those who head the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations representing Negro interests are either unwilling or incapable of voicing the demands and policies needed today. Failing to understand that Jim Crow is an inherent part of American capitalism, they act as if it can be eliminated through campaigns for reform of the present system.

Thus their whole political activity consists of drives to register Negroes to vote, and their political program is limited to publicizing the voting record of Democrats and Republicans on relatively better or worse civil rights bills.

How short-sighted this criterion is can be shown by McCarthy's voting record in the 82nd Congress. Out of 12 bills the NAACP wanted passed in 1952, McCarthy voted for three and against six. Not a good record, but not as bad as some others.

This only demonstrates that votes on civil rights bills are as inadequate a basis for evaluating



MCCARTHY

a Senator as the Tuskegee Institute's statistics on the number of lynchings each year are for judging progress in the Negro struggle. Oppression of colored people takes different forms today, and different standards must be adopted.

WHAT IS IMPORTANT

More important in analyzing McCarthyism and its relation to discrimination against minorities are these questions:

Whose interests does the McCarthyite movement represent? Who are its supporters, its base?

What effect has McCarthyism had on the Negro struggle already? What will be the prospects for Negro equality if McCarthyism continues to grow?

McCarthy's strongest supporters have been the most reactionary race-baiters in America: the Ku Klux Klan, the followers of Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith — extremist elements who were isolated for a time but are now coming back to life and activity because they have found

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Pleas for Relief Food Mount With 2 Million More Layoffs

Scene of Mexican Border Violence



Nine thousand Mexicans massed at border gate at Mexicali, seeking U.S. entry to do seasonal harvest work in California's Imperial Valley under sub-standard wages and conditions, were dispersed with riot guns and tear-gas by U.S. authorities who allowed only 600 to 800 to enter. U.S. refused agreement for decent pay and conditions asked by Mexico. Mexican farm workers are lured by big-pay promises.

FASCIST SENATOR BEATS WAR DRUM IN L.A. TALK

By C. Thomas

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 10 — Appearing last night before a hand-picked middle-class audience at the First Congregational Church, fascist Senator McCarthy made a sabre-rattling speech punctuated by a thinly-veiled call for total atomic war to "free" the people of the world from the "threat of communism."

McCarthy's junket to California was organized as part of a national tour under the auspices of the National Committee of the Republican Party to commemorate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. No greater obscenity could have been committed against the memory of that great man.

In his only reference to Lincoln, McCarthy quoted the clarion call of the leader of anti-slavery forces in the civil war to crush the slave power: This country cannot endure half-slave and half-free. Paraphrasing Lincoln, McCarthy blared: This world cannot exist half-slave and half-free. The fascist demagogue turns everything upside down. Lincoln called for the revolutionary overthrow of the slavocracy and the freeing of the slaves. McCarthy calls for

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Kerry, Cannon Hit McCarthyism At L.A. Meeting

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 12 — More than 100 friends and members participated in the spirited Socialist Workers Party meeting here tonight to challenge McCarthyism and to call on the labor movement to organize against Senator McCarthy, who spoke here three days ago at an "invitation only" meeting sponsored by Rev. Field, local fascist hate-monger.

Thomas Kerry, chairman of the SWP local here, presented a socialist analysis of McCarthyism and the way to fight it.

The meeting was opened by James P. Cannon, SWP National Chairman, who compared Lincoln's struggle against chattel slavery with the socialist struggle now against fascist slavery.

PREPARE FOR SHOWDOWN

Just as the period prior to the Civil War was one of clashing ideas which finally led to the irrepressible conflict between the then young, rising capitalist system and decadent chattel slavery, so today the fascist forces

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EXPOSURE OF M'CARTHY HAILED ON WEISS TOUR

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 8 — Murry Weiss, National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party now on a national tour warning labor of the danger of McCarthyite fascism, scored the witch-hunt atmosphere that has been steadily growing in the City of Brotherly Love.

Attacking the purge of Philadelphia school teachers who invoked the Fifth Amendment at Velde Committee hearings, he showed that a grave symptom this is of the drift toward fascism in America.

His presentation of the main topic of the evening, "McCarthyism — What It Is; How to Fight It," drew enthusiastic applause. The question and discussion period was one of the liveliest the Philadelphia Socialist Forum has enjoyed in a long time.

LYNN, Mass., Feb. 10 — At an anti-McCarthy meeting here tonight, Murry Weiss exposed the treachery of the local labor fakers in the fight against fascism. The leadership of the local IEU union at General Electric, he said, is following the fatal path that led the German, Italian and Spanish workers to defeat and the concentration camps.

He contrasted the cowardly and stupid role of the local IUE officials, who collaborated with McCarthy in recent hearings, with the way the San Francisco longshoremen droye Velde from their city by strike action.

The audience demonstrated its appreciation of the talk with a liberal financial contribution. For almost an hour after the meeting, an informal discussion continued on what socialism has to offer as an alternative to the wars, depressions and fascist barbarism of capitalism.

BOSTON, Feb. 12 — In one of the best meetings here in years, some 80-odd workers, liberals and students heard Murry Weiss ex-

MURRY WEISS Tour Schedule

- Youngstown: Feb. 20 - 21.
- Akron: Feb. 23.
- Cleveland: Feb. 24 - 25.
- Detroit: Feb. 27 - Mar. 2.
- St. Louis: Mar. 4.
- Chicago: Mar. 6 - 9.
- Milwaukee: Mar. 10 - 11.

False Count Admitted By Gov't

By Joseph Keller

The Militant's charge on Jan. 18 that government figures on unemployment were false and that there were already 4 million unemployed by last month have been confirmed to the hilt by reluctant admissions of the U.S. Department of Commerce and Department of Labor.

Secretary of Commerce Weeks announced Feb. 16 that the previous report by the Commerce Dept.'s Census Bureau of 2,359,000 unemployed, as of Jan. 9, was short by 728,000. A "revised" method of figuring, claims Weeks, put the figure for that same date at 3,087,000.

STILL SHORT OF TOTAL

But even this figure is far short of the real total. The Census Bureau continued to count as employed some 275,000 workers admittedly laid off but who, the Bureau claims, have "definite" promises of being recalled within 30 days.

The Census Bureau's new figure of 1,238,000 more un- employed between Dec. 12 and Jan. 18 still not in accord with what put out by the U.S. Dep. of Labor's Bureau of Statistics. On Feb. 9, a prior to Weeks' admission, BLS had reported that total, off between mid-December and mid-January were actually more than 2 million.

"EQUAL TO '49"

These government admissions likewise confirm the categorical declaration of the Jan. 25 Militant that "it is no longer a question of whether we will reach a 1949-50 type 'recession,' when unemployment passed the four-million mark. We are already there."

In fact, a Federal Reserve Board expert, Winfield W. Riefler, assistant to the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board of Governors, disclosed this very fact on Feb. 15 in his testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on the President's Economic Report. He conceded that the economic decline has been sharper than indicated in Eisenhower's report of Jan. 21.

The Federal Reserve Board's index of industrial production, Riefler pointed out, fell 10% from last July to Jan. 31, 1954. This was an amount, he emphasized, "equal to the full decline in the 1948-49 reaction."

In short, we are well into a real depression, as Art Preis states in his article on Page 2, written before Riefler's testimony was made public.

WANT AND MISERY

The human consequences of this economic decline are being revealed in all parts of the country by reports of increasing want and misery. The specter of acute hunger appears in the disclosure by officials of the U.S. Department of Agriculture that pleas for "surplus" food to feed the hungry have been received since the first of the year from 12 states, including an urgent telegram on Feb. 15 from Gov. William S. Beardsley of Iowa.

Among the areas appealing for some of the hundreds of millions of pounds of butter, dried milk, cheese and dried beans held in storage by the Agricultural Dept. are mining towns of Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Wyoming and textile areas of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Georgia. An Associated Press dispatch from Columbus on Feb. 10 reports a "marked increase in the number of Ohioans seeking food from welfare agencies" in that state.

These facts sharply underscore the need for labor to fight for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to combat unemployment.



MURRY WEISS

plain the meaning of McCarthy's latest big lie, the "twenty years of treason" accusation which the fascist demagogue is trying to pin on the Democratic Party.

"It was the best talk I've ever heard," said one student following the stirring discussion period. "Some of my friends were hearing a Marxist analysis for the first time and were really impressed."

In the preparatory publicity campaign, a number of plants and five campuses were covered with leaflets. An ad was run for three days in a college paper with additional coverage in other college papers.

The encouraging response in usually lethargic Boston to the announcement of the meeting shows the timeliness of this tour.

BUFFALO, Feb. 15 — Murry Weiss's speech here Saturday night was a welcome relief to the oppressive witch-hunt atmosphere in this city. The audience of 68 workers and students showed by their applause and their questions how concerned they are about McCarthy's drive toward the White House.

Those who have not yet heard Weiss should be sure to put this meeting on their must list. You'll enjoy it and leave with a much richer understanding of the danger of fascism in America and what can be done about it.

Lehman Alibis His Vote for McCarthy

By George Breitman

A lot of eyes were opened on Feb. 2 when the Fair Deal liberals in the U.S. Senate joined with the Southern Democrats and the Republicans to give McCarthyism an 85-1 vote of confidence by passing a \$214,000 appropriation to finance the McCarthy committee's further attacks on the Democratic Party, among others.

This vote seems also to have produced a good deal of questioning, complaint and outright condemnation in labor and liberal circles that helped to elect the liberals to the Senate and are shocked by their crass and cowardly capitulation to McCarthyism.

A striking example of their discontent is a recent editorial in Labor's Daily, entitled "Rewarding Your Hangman," reprinted on Page 3 of this issue. The liberal vote on Feb. 2 "is like giving ammunition to a man who has just told you he wants that ammunition in order to blow out your brains," the editorial correctly charges.

"MANY INQUIRIES"

Disturbed by these reactions, the Fair Deal Senators are now trying to justify their vote and restore their reputations as

dependable anti-McCarthyites. The lead has been taken by that "liberal's liberal," Sen. Lehman, New York Democrat.

Lehman sat mute on Feb. 2 as McCarthy taunted the Democrats, defying them to dare vote against his appropriation after boasting that he would use it in the same way and for the same purposes as he used previous funds. Without a word, Lehman voted for the appropriation.

A week later, when McCarthy was absent from the Senate on his tour to smear the Democrats as the party responsible for "20 years of treason," Lehman got up in the Senate on a point of personal privilege.

"I thought the reasons justifying my vote were so obvious that I did not need to explain it at the time," he said. "In the past few days, however, I have received a considerable number of communications from my constituents and others and many personal inquiries regarding my vote."

LEGALISTIC ALIBI

In the first place, he said, McCarthy's Committee on Government Operations "is a duly constituted standing committee of the Senate. Its functions are provided for in the law of the land." It has "many other functions" besides "the investigation of

communism." Lehman does not want to confuse his attitude toward McCarthy's "methods and procedures" with his attitude toward "the general investigatory powers of congressional committees. I believe in those powers and their legitimate exercise."

This is a phony legalistic argument. Just because a committee is "legally constituted" is no reason for granting it appropriations. For years the liberal used to vote against all funds for the House Committee on Un-American Activities although it too is "legally constituted." There was nothing to stop Lehman from voting against the appropriation with the statement that the committee's powers are not being exercised "legitimately."

Nothing, that is, except cowardice. That was shown in the second half of his "explanation."

"PLAUSIBLE CLAIM"

"To withhold all funds from a legally constituted committee of the Senate," he continued, "would furnish grounds for a plausible claim that the exercise of its proper functions had been sabotaged. In this case, nothing would more conveniently play into the hands of its chairman, the Senator from Wisconsin."

McCarthy had threatened to denounce everybody who voted

against the appropriation as a helper and tool of "communism." Lehman not only submits to this blackmail himself, but tells the world that it is "plausible," thereby urging everyone else to submit to it.

This explanation is even more criminal than Lehman's vote in favor of the appropriation. What it does is invite and encourage McCarthy to make continued use of blackmail now and in the future by assuring him in advance that Lehman and the liberals will refuse to resist it.

Thus Lehman really plays into McCarthy's hands in two ways — first by giving him the funds he demands, and then by rationalizing this capitulation as some kind of super-clever maneuver against McCarthy. It will take a lot of research to discover a comparable example of liberal bankruptcy!

WHAT LIBERALS LACK

The duty of every Democratic Senator claiming to be anti-McCarthyite was as clear as it was simple: All he had to do was vote No, and justify it on the ground that McCarthyism is destroying the Bill of Rights and aiming its blows against the Democrats. The liberal Democrats lacked the courage to do this, and Lehman lacks the honesty to admit it.

Next Week:

The Issue of McCarthyism in a Nutshell
By James P. Cannon

REUTHER'S "SILENT TREATMENT" NO WAY TO FIGHT M'CARTHY

By John F. Petrone

The Republican answer to the present recession is to demand that it be given the silent treatment: "Don't talk about it, make believe it isn't there, and maybe it will go away."

CIO President Walter Reuther, after trying this policy for a while himself, is now forced by pressure from the union members to disavow and condemn the silent treatment as a method of fighting the evil of spreading unemployment.

But at the same time he advocates the silent treatment as a method of fighting another major evil — McCarthyism.

Speaking to the Conference of Canadian Managing Editors in Windsor, Ont., on Feb. 6, Reuther complained that "Newspapers give too much publicity to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy." Condemning McCarthyism as "evil, immoral and un-American," he said he "believed that if newspapers kept Senator McCarthy out of headlines for six months he would become a forgotten man in politics." (N.Y. Times, Feb. 7.)

If the American labor movement accepts this approach, it will end up where the German labor movement ended in 1933 — its unions smashed, its militant workers in concentration camps. Reuther's line was played for all it was worth in Germany in the ten or twelve years before Hitler came to power.

'Just Another Crackpot'

Hitler wasn't taken very seriously when he first appeared on the German political scene. "Just another crackpot looking for publicity," was the verdict of the German labor and liberal leaders. "Ignore him, and he'll fade away," they predicted.

This "brilliant" advice, as we know, didn't stop the Nazis. Instead of hurting Hitler, the silent treatment gave him badly needed time in which to build and spread the foundations of his fascist movement. Ignored instead of being opposed, pooh-poohed as of no importance instead of being relentlessly exposed as the mortal enemy of labor and democratic rights, Hitler got enough of a breathing spell to survive the early and difficult days of his movement, when it would have been easiest for labor to crush Nazism.

By the time the labor movement woke to the fallaciousness and ineffectiveness of the silent treatment, it was too late to stop Hitlerism by anything short of civil war. And since the German labor leaders were afraid to go all out in the fight against the Nazis, Hitler was able to take power with comparative ease and to destroy the labor movement in a few months.

It Wouldn't Work Anyway

Even if the silent treatment should be used against McCarthyism, it wouldn't work. McCarthy is already a tremendously powerful figure in American political life; he wields more influence than he in the Senate; no politician dares to take him on; even the liberal Democratic cover in his presence; already he has more strength than Hitler had at a comparable stage in his political career. No newspaper that makes even a pretense of covering American politics could exclude McCarthy from its headlines.

Aside from this fact, most of the newspapers to whom Reuther makes his appeal have no desire to stop McCarthy. Many of the biggest capitalist publishers sympathize strongly with his fascist objectives and want to help rather than hurt his drive for the presidency. Others, who say they are repelled or offended by his "methods," share his premise that communism is the main menace in this country and feel duty-bound to report his charges on the ground that "there may be some truth in them."

Heads in the Sand

That is why there is no chance of Reuther's line being accepted by the capitalist newspapers. The real danger arises from the fact that this line is already being accepted and applied by the labor movement and its press. Most of the union papers carry relatively little material about the growth and menace of McCarthyism. Some labor papers have correctly characterized McCarthy as a fascist, but for them it is largely a matter of rhetoric; after making such a designation, they go on acting as if nothing has happened, as if McCarthyism poses no distinct and special problems.

There are various reasons why the present labor leaders incline to the silent treatment approach to McCarthyism. Some of them, who know better, are afraid to speak the truth about McCarthyism because it would clearly impose on them the duty to advocate or support a militant and independent labor struggle to stop American fascism before it gets any stronger. Others evidently believe that if they ignore McCarthy, maybe he will ignore and leave them alone.

That's the most suicidal notion of all. The chief target of fascism is the labor movement. McCarthy prefers not to come into a head-on struggle with labor until he feels strong enough to defeat it (just as Hitler in the early stages professed sympathy for the labor movement, and tried to organize unions, and even supported some strikes, until he felt strong enough to attack the labor movement openly).

Use the Club of Politics

If McCarthyism conquers, it will mean the end of the labor movement. The longer labor waits before entering into a full-scale political struggle against McCarthyism, the more chance there will be for McCarthyism to conquer. That is why labor must have no use for the silent treatment, must discard every trace and semblance of it, and substitute for it a fighting and irreconcilable treatment of the following kind:

No peace to McCarthyism, no concessions to McCarthyism, no rest until the whole labor movement and all its allies are awakened to the real meaning of McCarthyism and mobilized in an independent Labor Party to defeat it once and for all.

What's Causing Economic "Slump"

By Art Preis

Last week's article, "The Slump — Worse Than They Admit," pointed out that "enormous war spending remains the main prop of the economy." It demonstrated that

even a slight reduction in government spending, especially in the war sphere, means a downward slide in the economy. And it concluded: "So far as the two key factors — production and employment — are concerned, the economic decline has gone far deeper and will continue longer than Administration and Big Business leaders admit."

This conclusion is now strengthened by information not available when the above was written. For instance, in the period from Dec. 15 to Jan. 15, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, more than two million workers were laid off. This is double the amount previously admitted by the U.S. Census Bureau. (See article on Page 1.)

As for the rose-colored production forecasts of the Administration and capitalist leaders, the latest information presents the facts in a more somber hue. A Feb. 14 N. Y. Times report from Pittsburgh states that in steel there are "no significant market changes anticipated by sales officials for the near future." The steel production rate has "remained unchanged at 74 per cent of capacity" — that is, it continues 25% below last year's peak.

In auto, unsold new cars at the end of January rose to "an all time record of over 600,000,"

How Commodities Have Piled Up

Eisenhower's economic report to Congress on Jan. 28 tried to explain the cause of what he called "the slight decrease in production since midsummer" as "primarily a decline in the rate of inventory accumulation." The "readjustment process" has been "largely a matter of reducing excessive inventories, especially of consumer durable goods."

This matter of "excessive inventories" — the huge glut of unsold commodities in the factory warehouse and on the store shelves — is a trifling problem in Eisenhower's view. He thinks inventories can be reduced enough to permit a renewal of a free flow of goods "by adjusting prices here and there, and by applying more effort to selling..."

The capitalists would be very happy to liquidate their piled-up and unsaleable goods by finding customers for them. But, alas, a lack of enough customers is one reason why the goods piled up to begin with. Consumer spending reached a peak in 1953 before the Korean truce. Yet mass purchasing power could not absorb the flood of goods pouring from America's mass production industries with their constantly expanding productivity.

The attempt to cut inventories by Eisenhower's "slight decrease in production" has not panned out so well, thus far. Last August 31 inventories were estimated at the gargantuan total of \$77.8 billion, 50% higher than in 1950. By December 31, after national production has been reduced 4%, inventories had actually increased

Worker, Farmer Incomes Drop

Commerce on Jan. 7, was a drop in factory payrolls to an annual rate of \$69 billion, or \$3 billion below the high of last July.

December, 1953, registered a further decline in total personal incomes of \$1 billion from the annual rate in November. And where the aggregate income fell only 1% from the previous July, payrolls in manufacturing industries fell 6%.

This trend toward declining workers' purchasing power is not just a post-Korean War phenomenon. The Feb. Fortune magazine's Business Roundup admits: "It took three years for his (U.S. worker's) wages to catch up with the post-Korea advance in prices and taxes. The total amount of 'real' disposable income rose, of course, but only because employment increased. Now laid-off workers are taking (a) steep cut in 'real' income..."

The farmers, although their average income is higher than the workers', have taken an even harder kick in the pants, relatively speaking. Eisenhower himself stated in his economic report that farm income was down to less than \$12.5 billion by the end of 1953 and their financial assets had decreased 11% since 1947. In terms of actual purchasing power, farm incomes in 1953 fell to the lowest point since the depression year of 1940. In money income, the farmers have been slashed more than 19% since 1951 and almost a third from their peak year of 1948.

Along with the trend toward decreased purchasing power for the workers and farmers, goes a constant tendency toward increased productivity; the rate of this increase in the period between the end of World War II and the start of the Korean War

was estimated at 1.7% compounded annually.

Thus, Paul Mazur of Lehman Brothers, the investment bankers, points out in his recent book, "The Standards We Raise," that "the fantastic manufacturing mechanism gives substantial evidence of its ability to create products faster than they will be consumed..."

The rate at which this "fantastic" capacity to produce is increasing is indicated by the process of automation being introduced at an ever greater pace in industry. Side by side with mounting unemployment in the auto center of Detroit, for instance, goes a great increase of automatic processes designed to displace workers and reduce labor costs. During the same week in which Detroit was put on the list of "distressed" areas, with 8% of its labor force unemployed, the Feb. 14 N. Y. Times headlined: "Detroit Is Leading Trend to Full Mechanization."

This article describes a "revolution" in the auto industry with "big new tools" — that "almost think for themselves in ten-thousandths of an inch." It is for the purpose of introducing big-scale automation, in competition with Ford and Chrysler which are also gearing to increase productivity per worker at a tremendous rate, that General Motors is undertaking its billion-dollar expansion program, announced with such fanfare recently by GM President Harlow M. Curtice. "Mr. Curtice refused initially to tell how his billion would be spent in detail," reported the Times article on automation, "and up to yesterday he has been similarly reticent. But the highly competitive divisions of General Motors boasted of their plans."

What is involved is not a program to provide more jobs and more and cheaper autos, but a ruthless war to the death between the industry giants for control of the narrowing auto market. "In Detroit, a titanic auto race is shaping up between Ford and Chevrolet to win first place in the market," writes Richard L. Strout in the Feb. 8 Christian Science Monitor. Henry II has let it be known he is out to capture the lion's share of the market from GM's Chevrolet, while Curtice "hopes to increase GM's sector of the car market from the present 46 to 48 per cent." The smaller groups — Chrysler, American Motors Corporation (Hudson-Nash merger), Packard — "are pushing their cars."

The accumulation of inventories, productive capacity and debt is accompanied by another terrible factor — the immense accumulation of idle capital that can find no source for profitable investment. This idle capital is represented in part by the working capital of the non-banking and non-insurance corporations. By June 30, 1953, just before the Korean truce, this working capital totaled \$88.2 billion, \$2.6 billion more than at the end of 1952. By Sept. 30, 1953, the total rose to \$88.5 billion. This compares with a net working capital of only \$24.5 billion in December, 1939, and \$51.6 billion in December, 1945.

The present stupendous amount of nearly \$90 billion in idle work-

ing capital is all the more significant because it was built up while corporate investment and expansion was at its very peak. Thus, \$2.6 billion was added to working capital in the first half of 1953 while corporations were investing \$11.4 billion for plant enlargement and modernizing, observes the November, 1953, Monthly Letter of the National City Bank. And "this enlargement of capacity and production of goods and services have overcome the shortages accumulated during World War II, satisfied the needs of a population growth of twenty million and fulfilled the demands of the Korean war."

If the industrial expansion programs at their peak could not absorb the working capital of the

As a consequence, writes Strout: "Some apprehension is now expressed that the battle for auto markets will keep the huge factories busy early in the year, then result in lay-offs and unemployment later on if there is bigger car production than consumers will absorb."

Where will the market come from for this tremendous expansion of car production? All the indices indicate that consumer buying power, unable at its peak last year to absorb production, is heading downward fast.

The "self-regulatory" school of capitalist economics argues against any serious drop in buying and for the "self-expanding" of the market with the claim of an enormous "backlog of savings" that can be tapped for consumer purchases. Thus, the previously cited Monthly Letter of the National City Bank of New York says: "Individuals are estimated to hold nearly \$200 billion of cash or cash-equivalent assets, which is an immense source of financial strength."

First of all, half of these assets are in such forms as insurance, government bonds, etc. Any great demand for cash refunds on these assets would create an almost immediate crisis of profound proportions for both private financial institutions and the government. Secondly, these assets are held mainly by a small and wealthy proportion of the population, who live luxuriously off current income and still have some leftover to invest.

The Oct. 14, 1953, Labor's Daily reported: "As a whole, the American people have \$98 billion in savings or assets easily convertible into cash. But 66% of the total is held by the top 10% of our families. The bottom half of our families, in the income range, own only 1% of the savings."

Not only do the lower-income families lack savings, they are loaded down with debts which "are large and can be repaid only at some cost in current buying power, says the aforementioned National City Bank's Monthly Letter itself. Eisenhower pointed out in his report that some 30% of the American consumers' disposable income is now devoted to debt servicing, including 15% for mortgages and consumers credit, 5% for insurance and 10% for rents and operating costs of home ownership. The total of private debt by the end of 1952 was \$302.7 billion compared to \$154.2 billion seven years ago at the end of 1946.

Mass of Idle Capital Rises Higher

The accumulation of inventories, productive capacity and debt is accompanied by another terrible factor — the immense accumulation of idle capital that can find no source for profitable investment. This idle capital is represented in part by the working capital of the non-banking and non-insurance corporations. By June 30, 1953, just before the Korean truce, this working capital totaled \$88.2 billion, \$2.6 billion more than at the end of 1952. By Sept. 30, 1953, the total rose to \$88.5 billion. This compares with a net working capital of only \$24.5 billion in December, 1939, and \$51.6 billion in December, 1945.

The present stupendous amount of nearly \$90 billion in idle work-

LOS ANGELES SWP SPEAKERS URGE LABOR FIGHT MCCARTHY

(Continued from page 1)

and the socialist forces are fighting for the minds of men in preparation for the impending showdown struggle, Cannon said.

The labor movement, said Cannon, "must recognize the danger of McCarthyism, mobilize its strength, take the offensive in the struggle against fascism and finally change the relationship of forces in favor of the workers, ultimately leading to a socialist America."

EXPLAINS MCCARTHYISM

Thomas Kerry, explaining why McCarthyism arises in this particular period in American history, posed the question: "Why after the victory of Eisenhower, enabling Big Business to rule in its own name, must it turn to fascism?"

He pointed out that since American capitalism can bring neither peace, security, nor stability, despite its control of the greatest productive forces in the world, it cannot win the support of the masses. It must therefore seek to rule through terror and concentration camps.

"This period of vast social upheavals," said Kerry, "is not caused by any conspiracy, but is the result of the inexorable laws of capitalist development which Marx analyzed over 100 years ago."

Kerry called for a Congress of Labor at which the unions could

corporations, future corporate investment intentions give little room for hope by the capitalists for relief from the pressure of idle capital. The McGraw-Hill survey of corporate plans for 1954 spending for new plant and equipment, as reported in the Nov. 7, 1953, Business Week and cited in Eisenhower's economic report, reveals that such investment will decline 8% from 1953. Steel plans to invest 24% less; railroads, 10%; chemicals, representing one-tenth of national production, 14%.

What emerges from all the decisive data — inventory accumulation, declining workers and

farmers income, reduced consumer spending, increased productivity and output capacity, accumulated idle capital — is the classic formula for capitalist economic crisis, and a major depression.

One new factor has been added, however. That is the active intervention of the government as both market and regulator for the economy. Can the capitalist government, with its tremendous new powers and resources acquired since the 1929 depression, prevent this latest economic decline from going into a tailspin? That is the subject of the next article.

"Road to Socialism" Gets Good Reception

America's Road to Socialism, the new pamphlet by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, is being enthusiastically received wherever it is sold, according to Pioneer Publishers. Over 1,000 copies have already been sold by the publishing house, with orders coming in from all over the country. An order for 500 copies was received from England where the pamphlet is making "a smash hit" and an additional order of another 500 has just been placed.

The most conspicuous success in this country is reported from Milwaukee, where a group of live-wire salesmen launched a campaign to sell 200 copies of the pamphlet in a short period. They wrote as follows:

"Promotion of 200 sales of America's Road to Socialism passed the initial testing period with the sale of 47 copies as of Jan. 31. The most important finding of our participants in this promotion campaign is that an improved basis for the reception of socialist propaganda now exists. Hostile response to the 'socialist' label are so rare as to have no deterring effect upon the sales."

"Offer of the pamphlet in combination with a six-week introductory sub to the Militant has netted seven such sales so far. The frequency of combination sales is expected to rise. This combination feature stimulates sales and circulation of the paper while at the same time securing the placement of a comprehensive piece of socialist education. It is also designed to the sales of the pamphlet to our call-back work on Militant subscribers."

"Work was slowed because of severe January cold. Nevertheless five pamphlets were sold at a PAC-CIO council meeting, and 19 in door-to-door work. Operating on the rule that 'if they look bored, cut it short,' we found that a salesman can sell one to four pamphlets in an hour and a half. Sales are determined primarily by the receptiveness of the contact, requiring nothing more than work-time to register the rise in sales because of the increased concern over the war-economy basis of American life and the new menaces of unemployment and McCarthyism."

"The Milwaukee program calls for promotion of the Cannon pamphlet through all channels: selected union meetings and public forums, all shop contacts, circulation and contact files, regular neighborhood work. Achievement of the goal of selling 200 pamphlets will, we believe, provide a basis for organization expansion. A preliminary test of our results thus far will be made in conjunction with a special social affair Feb. 20 and the

of the celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the American Trotskyist movement of which James P. Cannon was one of the founders. The 80-page pamphlet consists of six lectures given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum in the winter 1952-53. It presents a penetrating yet simply expressed socialist analysis and program, and an inspiring vision into the socialist future.

The six lecture headings, which give some idea of the scope of the pamphlet, are America Under Eisenhower... International Prospects of Capitalism... Prospects of Capitalism and Socialism in America... The Coming Struggle for Power... America Under the Workers' Rule... What Socialist America Will Look Like. Copies may be ordered from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y., at 35c. a copy.

"Fight Against Fascism Meeting" in March at which Murry Weiss will speak.

America's Road to Socialism was published in Oct. 1953 as part



JAMES P. CANNON

of the celebration of the 25th Anniversary of the American Trotskyist movement of which James P. Cannon was one of the founders. The 80-page pamphlet consists of six lectures given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum in the winter 1952-53. It presents a penetrating yet simply expressed socialist analysis and program, and an inspiring vision into the socialist future.

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NEW YORK
Friday Night
Socialist Forum
presents a talk on
American Youth — Are They Going Anywhere?
Speaker:
Joyce Cowley
Friday, Feb. 26, 8 P.M.
Militant Hall
116 University Place
(near Union Square)
Questions, Discussion,
Refreshments
Contribution 25 Cents

PHILADELPHIA
Sat. Night Forum
Main Currents in
Negro Thought
A Panel discussion of the
policies of representative
Negro Leaders on the
struggle for equality
Saturday, Feb. 27, 8:30 P.M.
Militant Labor Hall
1303 West Girard Avenue
Discussion from the floor
invited. Social follows the forum
— Admission Free —

DETROIT
Worried About
Unemployment?
Wondering What to Do
About McCarthyism?
Hear
MURRY WEISS
Sunday, Feb. 28, 3 P.M.
3000 Grand River

Cleveland
Public Meeting
MCCARTHYISM
What it is and How
to Fight It
Hear
MURRY WEISS
One of the Country's Outstanding Speakers and Writers
Thursday, Feb. 25, 8 P.M.
10609 Superior Ave., 3rd floor

NEW YORK
Smorgasbord
Dinner
in honor of
LAURA GRAY
Celebrating 10 years of
cartooning for The Militant
Saturday, Feb. 27, 6 P.M. on
116 University Place
(near Union Square)
Contribution \$1.50

Subscriptions: \$3 per year; \$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: \$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: \$3.50 per year; \$1.75 for 6 months. Single copies: 5¢ or more copies 6¢ each in U.S., to each in foreign countries.

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Rewarding Your Hangman

(Reprinted from the Feb. 9 Labor's Daily)

Last week in Charleston, W. Va., Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy began his slanderous campaign four against the Democratic Party. With that speech he made crystal clear to all what has long been obvious to many: McCharty makes popular his political crusade by announcing that his target is the Communist Party, but he is in fact bringing his heaviest guns to bear upon the Democratic Party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He is the mouthpiece of the wealthy few who for 20 years have nursed their hate for the New Deal reforms which benefited the many.

Said McCarthy, in Charleston: "The hard fact is that those who wear the label — Democrat — wear it with the stain of historical betrayal. They wear it with the corrosion of unprecedented corruption; they wear it with the blood of dying men who crawled up the hills of Korea while the leftwing politicians in the Democrat (sic) Party wrote perfumed invitations to the Communists to join them at the United Nations."

McCarthy's speech reveals that Communism will be made an issue by the Republicans so long as the GOP exists — which may not be for long if this ace card fails to win the political trick. That this would be true has been clear to Labor's Daily for a long time.

For the Republican Party has absolutely no positive program to offer the voters, and that party knows it! It knows that to stand a chance of winning any future election it must resort to the McCarthy demagoguery of asserting that Democrats are traitors!

Will the voters swallow this bilge? There is danger. In Germany the people swallowed similar spewings and a Hitler rose to power. It can happen here.

How will Liberal and Labor forces defeat the Westbrook Pegler mentality epitomized by Senator McCarthy? There is no pat answer other than the generalization that it can be done only through hard political struggle.

There is however, an easy answer to the question: How will liberal and labor forces NOT defeat McCarthy and company? That answer is found in the behavior of our liberal senators as revealed in the Congressional Record of Feb. 2.

By the amazing vote of 85 to one, 10 not voting, the Senate gave well over \$200,000 to McCarthy's permanent investigations subcommittee. This means that our tax money is again

to be spent (more of it this year than last) to advance the political fortunes of McCarthy and destroy every vestige of the New Deal.

Where were Lehman of New York, Morse of Oregon, and Neely and Kilgore of West Virginia while this was going on? Why did they not make at least a token protest in order to prove to the people back home that they have the courage to face the most dangerous demagogue now loose in the land? They remained silent and they voted to advance McCarthy the funds. Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D-La.) was the only man to take the opportunity, at any length, to protest the McCarthyite methods of smear and fear. And even he, in the end, voted for McCarthy.

The only Senator to stand firm was J. William Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas. He was the sole solon to vote against funds for McCarthy. Labor's Daily hereby commends Fulbright, most sincerely and respectfully, for his courageous action. It will mean, for him, a torrent of abuse in future political campaigns, and the blame for part of that abuse he can truly place on the shoulders of liberals who failed to stand with him against Joseph McCarthy.

On the Senate floor, shortly prior to the appropriation vote, McCarthy calumniated the Rooseveltian Democrats in much the same terms he later used in Charleston, W. Va.

It is a sad day indeed when New Deal Senators (Morse excepted from this category, of course) vote money to a man who has just a few minutes before told them he is going to use that money in order to undermine the very principles for which they stand. It is like giving ammunition to a man who has just told you he wants that ammunition in order to blow out your brains.

McCarthy accuses the New Deal Democrats of treason, says he wants money to "prove" their treason, and the New Deal senators still remaining in Congress meekly hand it to him!

It is time to fight, not back down! Labor expects its congressional supporters to do battle on labor's behalf, and this most emphatically means seizing every opportunity to render harmless the McCarthyite monster which, after all, has boldly announced it intends to gobble up New Deal senators. It behooves these senators to pluck the monster's teeth, not only on general principle, but in order to save their own "treasonous" hides.

A Good Beginning

For the information of our readers we have reprinted above the most forthright condemnation of the Democratic capitulation to McCarthy we have seen to date in the union press. Everyone opposed to McCarthyism will feel gratified that an influential voice in the union movement decided to administer such a stinging rebuke to the so-called "friends of labor" in Congress who gave a vote of confidence to the Wisconsin fascist.

At the same time we want to point out some shortcomings in the statement that deprive it of full effectiveness in fighting the McCarthyite menace.

We share the anger expressed by Labor's Daily at the cowardly and stupid way in which the Democrats handed McCarthy his "ammunition." But we do not share their shock. The behavior of the Democrats should not surprise anyone who has studied the history of the rise of fascism in Europe. The abysmal capitulation of the Democrats to McCarthy follows a well established political pattern. Such surrenders to the forces of fascism by democratic capitalist politicians paved the road to power for Mussolini, Hitler and Franco.

We can appreciate that unions who have expended time, energy, and considerable funds in getting these people in office should indignantly declare, "Labor expects its Congressional supporters to do battle on labor's behalf . . . to render harmless the McCarthyite monster." But this expectation is the most dangerous kind of illusion.

The Democratic party has already demonstrated that it has neither the will nor the capacity to lead an effective fight against McCarthyite fascism. It has, in fact, already rendered itself "harmless" so far as the Wisconsin demagogue is concerned.

The Republicans, Labor's Daily correctly notes, must resort to witch hunting and shrieks about "twenty years of treason" because they have nothing else in the way of a program to offer the voters. But is that not also precisely the case with the Democrats? What alternative do they offer to the Republican program? Only the feeble argument that they are no more "traitors" than the Republicans, coupled with the hollow boast that they are actually "better" witch hunters. Their principal claim for support now boils down to the not unfounded contention that they have jailed more "communists" than the Republicans. Can such a "program" defeat McCarthyism?

There is danger, Labor's Daily points out, that the voters will "swallow the bilge" that Democrats are "traitors." But there is even greater danger in the fact that wide sectors of the labor leadership swallow, and pass on to the ranks, the bilge that communism is a "conspiracy" which constitutes the main danger to America.

This conception is completely false. To accept McCarthy's basic premise, as the Democrats have done, is to play McCarthy's game. For if you agree that any political dissent labelled "communist" must be rooted out, then you are unable to answer McCarthy's perfectly logical demand: "You know a better way to expose communists? Let's hear it." Even if you think you have a "better method," you can't hope to beat the fascist in that competition.

The clearest kind of thinking is needed. The fundamental question that must be posed and answered is — What force in America today constitutes the main danger?

The answer to that question becomes more apparent with every headline the newspapers give McCarthy. His aim, in the final analysis, is to smash the union movement which constitutes the main bulwark of democracy, peace and freedom.

Organized labor is the only force that has the power to smash McCarthyism. No one recognizes that fact better than McCarthy himself. He feels free to launch broadside attacks on the Democratic party. He is contemptuous of the Eisenhower wing of his own party. But so far he has not dared to openly attack his primary target — the unions!

It is 100% correct to say that McCarthyism can be defeated "only through hard political struggle." But that still leaves unanswered the crucial question — What kind of political struggle? If labor persists in clinging to the Democrats then it is only a question of time before the unions go down under the McCarthyite club. But if labor takes the path of independent struggle against McCarthyism by launching a Labor Party movement now then it is certain to succeed in smashing McCarthyism in time.

It is well and good for labor to demand the frightened Kilgore, Lehman and Humphreys "pluck the monster's teeth." But the simple fact is that labor cannot farm out that job — especially to liberals who fight by putting their heads in the monster's mouth. Labor itself must roll up its sleeves and do the job nobody else can do.

Pablo's Slander Against the SWP

By Joseph Hansen

To attack Pablo and his line publicly is "in fact to break with the world Trotskyist movement," according to the reply drafted by the Pabloites to the Open Letter addressed by the 25th Anniversary Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to Trotskyists throughout the world on the danger to the Fourth International of Pablo's pro-Stalinist political line and Stalinist-type organizational methods.

But since the false charge that the SWP seeks to split the Fourth International is rather weak binding material for a faction whose aim is to handcuff and muzzle or expel orthodox Trotskyists from the Fourth International, Pablo is forced to seek a stronger political cement.

According to him, the Socialist Workers Party is suffering from "degeneration." This was brought in by an "ossified leadership trying to counter objective difficulties by 'sectarian' appeals to past tradition instead of facing up intelligently to living reality and getting into 'the real working-class movement in the USA of today,' which we may assume to mean the Stalinist milieu, since this is what Pablo's American co-thinkers, the Cochranites, advocated.

The "degeneration," according to Pablo, has gone so far that the SWP is succumbing to the pressure of American imperialism. Pablo does not hesitate, in pursuing this line of "explanation," to go so far as to charge that James P. Cannon, the National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, one of the founders of the Communist movement in this country, later one of the founders of the world Trotskyist movement, and a long-time collaborator of Leon Trotsky, is "on the way to becoming an enemy of the Movement."

None of these "explanations," most of which are simply barefaced plagiarisms from the 1939-40 arsenal of the Stachinmites, can possibly convince a seasoned Marxist acquainted with the facts, particularly since Pablo was writing just the contrary, for public consumption at least, as late as last May.

To bolster his excursion into the psychology of Cannon and the other leaders of the SWP, Pablo requires political manifestations of the alleged "degeneration" of the SWP, especially its "buckling" under the pressure of American imperialism. This is not easy to find. The SWP has an unblemished record of consistent opposition

to Wall Street, its political representatives, its anti-labor policies and its imperialist war drives.

The Cochranites, faced with the same factional need that Pablo began to feel acutely upon publication of the Open Letter, sought to find in the SWP record on Korea something that might be twisted into an indication of "buckling" under the pressure of American imperialism. This strained effort blew up in the faces of the Cochranites when the facts were laid on the table, for the SWP was opposed to Truman's intervention in the Korean civil war from the date it occurred, June 25, 1950. The Cochranites eventually dropped the attempt as unprofitable and costly to their faction, a judgment that for once corresponded to the living reality.

In his "reply" to the Open Letter, Pablo nowhere indicates what he thinks about that attempt of the Cochranites to slander the SWP. His position on that, for public consumption at least, is presumably still the same — it's all obscure. Unable to be said publicly as yet — to approve the slanderous attempt of the Cochranites to besmirch the record of the SWP on Korea, and resolved in no case to rally in defense of that record, he tries to abstain and get rid of the troublesome question by saying that he for one is unable to find a tangible political difference between the Cochranites and the SWP leadership.

The question of Korea is of decisive importance. On what other issue since 1950 could a more acid test be demanded to determine the genuine political position of any party toward American imperialism? Incapacity to see this is a sign of political blindness — surely not the most reassuring quality to observe in the Secretary of the Fourth International. But Pablo is not really that blind. On this issue, he understands very well. And because he understands, he chooses to cover up the Cochranite slander by silence. He does more. He sets out to demonstrate how the cult head himself with the greatest of ease proposes to succeed where his American followers failed.

To do this, he places Iran and East Germany before the court of public opinion as the corpus delicti. His choice is by no means accidental, since a successful attack on these two issues would also constitute a successful defense of his own position on the Iranian and East German questions.

The Stalinist Betrayal in Iran

He accuses us of having passed over "completely in silence the organization by American imperialism of the coup d'etat in Iran which overthrew Mossadegh, and of denouncing only 'the Stalinist treachery' in this affair." (Pablo's emphasis.) That is the whole charge so far as it concerns Iran. There is nothing more. He simply hits and runs.

Now it is true that we did not expose "the organization" of the coup d'etat by American imperialism. We have no inside information, no access to State Department files, no way of learning the specific facts that are covered by the secret diplomacy of Wall Street's political representatives. When we get such facts we customarily give them all the publicity possible, but it is not our custom, and never has been, to try to report any more about the actual organization of such things as a coup d'etat than we actually know.

But this does not affect our political position by one iota — and that is what is decisive. We opposed the role of American and British imperialism in Iran at all stages of the struggle from the very beginning. The headline in

the Aug. 24, 1953 Militant reporting the Aug. 19 events is typical: "Oil Imperialists Back Royalist Coup in Iran."

Look at that charge again. Pablo says we denounced "only 'the Stalinist treachery' in this affair." We did more than that. We exposed the Stalinist betrayal. (See the Militant, Sept. 21, 1953.) What we "denounced" was the fact that Pablo waited three months before attempting an analysis of the events in Iran. The analysis, a total of eight paragraphs in the Nov. issue of Quatrième Internationale, covered up the Stalinist betrayal in Iran by blaming it on the Tudeh Party, since "it is not likely that the Kremlin, despite all its desire to compromise and its particular flirtation with London, would intervene at the last hour and prevent the Tudeh from acting." (See the Militant, Nov. 30, 1953.)

We sought to draw the lesson of that fresh Stalinist betrayal, its cost to the Iranian workers in blood and terror. And we called attention to Pablo's cover-up of the Stalinist betrayal in Iran as another indication of the danger his pro-Stalinist orientation represents to the Fourth International.

The Uprising in East Germany

Now let us turn to East Germany. In the Open Letter we charged that the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, which is controlled personally by Pablo, in issuing a public declaration of its position on the uprising of the workers in East Germany last June against the Stalinist-dominated government, took a position in violation of orthodox Trotskyism. Quoting from the declaration itself, we proved that "instead of demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops — the sole force upholding the Stalinist government — Pablo fostered the illusion that 'more ample and genuine concessions' would be forthcoming."

But about failing to call for withdrawal of the Soviet troops. "What a shameful lie!" says Pablo. First of all, the declaration of the IS was not "intended" for the German workers "in the course of the events." It was addressed, it appears, to everyone except those involved in a life-and-death struggle with Stalinism. What are we to conclude from that? That no one except the German workers should call

correctly at the time? Unfortunately for the hopes Pablo placed in the Stalinist bureaucrats during the uprising of the East German workers, reality proved more brutal than our Stalinist conciliator expected.

The Stalinist-dominated government made promises of concessions but paid off in miserly fashion. They were more generous in the savage repression they inflicted on the rebellious workers. What has been verified to the hilt is the charge made in the Open Letter that "Pablo fostered the illusion that 'more ample and genuine concessions' would be forthcoming."

But about failing to call for withdrawal of the Soviet troops. "What a shameful lie!" says Pablo. First of all, the declaration of the IS was not "intended" for the German workers "in the course of the events." It was addressed, it appears, to everyone except those involved in a life-and-death struggle with Stalinism. What are we to conclude from that? That no one except the German workers should call

for the withdrawal of the Kremlin troops that were used to crush the uprising?

But the German workers "for tactical reasons and correctly kept this out of their agitation so as not to have to fight from the beginning both the German Stalinist bureaucrats and the Soviet troops at the same time." (Pablo's emphasis.) The logical conclusion of this is that since the German workers couldn't raise the slogan for "tactical" reasons, it should have been raised by the rest of the world working class for them, and especially by the Fourth International.

Pablo then all at once concedes that the demand is "always correct" but should be made "within the framework of the more general demand for 'withdrawal of all occupying troops from Germany.'" So why wasn't it raised within this framework by the IS in its declaration? No answer.

Finally, we are told that in a subsequent article analyzing the events, the magazine Quatrième Internationale did call "specifically for the withdrawal of all occupying troops from Germany." Thus Pablo himself specifically betrays the fact that he boiled down the demand for withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Germany until it fit within the framework of the small word "all" in an analytical article published after the Soviet troops had suppressed the uprising. This way of reducing the concrete to the general has the virtue of enabling Pablo to avoid handling such a peppery subject

as the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet troops. That's Pabloism in action — against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

"But we're still not through. 'The capitulators to Stalinism' in the leadership of the Fourth International," says Pablo with ill-placed irony, "did not just chatter about the political revolution. They took steps to rebuild a secret revolutionary organization in East Germany itself."

So after all Pablo's crawling, the demand for withdrawal of the Soviet troops when they are suppressing a workers' uprising is just "chatter"! What is chatter is Pablo's glib talk about preparing a political revolution while leaving out the demand for withdrawal of the Soviet troops from East Germany as an essential part of the preparation for that revolution. Above all, what is chatter is Pablo's boast about taking "steps" to "rebuild a secret revolutionary organization in East Germany." You can't do something as serious as that while building a secret pro-Stalinist faction in the Fourth International.

In Pablo's reply to the Open Letter we are therefore given new evidence of how Pablo covers up the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet troops in East Germany, and how he deepens his previous errors by calling the demand for withdrawal of the Soviet troops and the serious preparation of political revolution against the Kremlin bureaucracy nothing but "chatter."

Eisenhower's Packages

I have left until last Pablo's wonderful "proof" of how the orthodox Trotskyist support of the East German workers against the Stalinist-dominated government and Moscow's troops represents a concession to American imperialism. Here it is: "The majority leadership of the SWP swears that it represents 'orthodox Trotskyism.' But all these solemn declarations have not prevented it in the course of the recent months from supporting the infamous action of the 'Eisenhower packages' in Berlin, designed to support the electoral campaign of Adenauer and to disorganize the revolutionary socialist front of the anti-Stalinist opposition in East Germany."

This misrepresentation of the position of the SWP is probably not deliberate. It is more likely simply a manifestation of rabid factionalism. Like the petty-bourgeois oppositions before them, subjectivity so affects the Pabloites that they really can't see clearly. The Eisenhower package action involved two sides, the giver and the receiver of the gift. The giver was the U.S. State Department. The receiver was the hungry East German worker fighting in desperate revolt against his Stalinist oppressors.

Eisenhower's aim in giving the packages was counter-revolutionary to the core. The East German worker's aim in taking the hand-out was just the opposite, wholly revolutionary.

What is so difficult about this relation for a Marxist to take a clear stand? Against Eisenhower, for the revolutionary worker. The SWP did precisely that. We reported approvingly the East German workers taking the packages as part of their revolutionary action against their Stalinist oppressors. Incredible as it may seem to those who are not yet abreast of the facts, Pablo takes a different stand — as can be seen from the above quotation — and even joins the Stalinists in condemning those who took the packages, or those who supported them, making this out to be a concession to American imperialism.

This of course is perfectly consistent with Pablo's failure to call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. It constitutes fresh proof of his conciliatory attitude toward Stalinism. Pablo's line would have the East German workers reject the packages because they are offered by an imperialist power with counter-revolutionary purposes. We assume that if it applies to such items as flour, lard and beans, it would also apply to medical supplies and to arms.

Pablo, putting himself at the head of a group of insurgent workers in East Germany, gives the order: "Confine yourselves to the use of paving blocks against the oncoming Soviet tanks and check each one carefully to make sure it has a moral origin. It must under no circumstances bear a U.S. label." Our label-minded Secretary of the Fourth International, we may be sure, would find himself taking quite a few dexterous "steps" to avoid the shower of moral paving blocks hurled in his direction.

Such was the line of Pablo's predecessors who accused Lenin of making an unprincipled concession to German imperialism because, with a counter-revolutionary aim in mind, the Kaiser's government saw fit to put a sealed train at Lenin's disposal to reach Russia. It has been the

line of every sectarian and petty-bourgeois moralist since, who would reject arms offered to revolutionists by an imperialist power for its own reactionary designs.

"But you forget," the Pabloites will scream, "that this involves the defense of the Soviet Union which is a workers' state encircled by imperialist powers that seek to crush it."

No, we don't forget. The orthodox Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union differs from the Stalinist defense as day differs from night, to recall Trotsky's words. Our defense is a revolutionary defense, that always puts consideration of the interests of the world socialist revolution first. A successful revolution in East Germany would spell the end for the Stalinist bureaucracy. It would signify the regeneration of the workers' state.

And it would spell much more. It would spell the end for the West German capitalists and their government and lift up the working class throughout the entire world. Can there be any doubt of that?

The Eisenhower administration seems to have reminded itself of that possibility, for it hastily stopped its gift packages. We reported the reasons at the time. The State Department quickly discovered that the actions of the East German workers were not grinding Wall Street's axe. In fact, they were encouraging a symmetrical response among the West German workers who began putting on the pressure for free packages of flour, lard and beans for their own hungry families. Eisenhower really can't afford to go far in encouraging working class revolution, even against the Stalinists.

Thus we see what the slightest objective analysis should have told the Pabloites, that any attempt to use Eisenhower's packages against the SWP could only boomerang disastrously, constituting nothing but another proof of how conciliatory Pablo's line toward Stalinism really is. Pablo's attempts to smear the record of the SWP by citing its stand on Iran and East Germany turn out as unhappily as the previous attempt to utilize Korea. It reveals the disloyalty of the one making the charge and serves to make clearer before the whole Fourth International how deepgoing the differences are between Pabloism and Trotskyism.

Technical Success

The U.S. Army has perfected a "fast burn" technique in the use of flame-throwers, according to the Jan. 16 Army-Navy-Air Force Register. The jellied gasoline is spurted in two to three second bursts on the living human target.

"Combat use has demonstrated that these hot, licking tongues of flame destroy the enemy even though he is entrenched in well-fortified bunker positions where bullets or explosives fail to reach him. This great destroyer treatment was used effectively in combat with the enemy in Korea."

The announcement by Vito Marcantonio, recently resigned State Chairman of the American Labor Party, that he is organizing a "Good Neighbor" party has been countered by the announcement of the revival of a coalition committee of Republicans, Democrats and Liberals to put up a single candidate against him if he seeks to recapture his former Congressional seat.

World Events

By Paul Abbott

MANUEL FERNANDEZ GRANDIZIO, better known among Spanish refugee circles under the pen name of "Munis," has been seized by Franco's police and faces a 20-year sentence at hard labor for the "crime" of having organized a study circle. He, together with another well-known socialist, Jaime Fernandez Rodriguez, are among some 20 Spanish trade unionists and socialists dragged before a drumhead military court.

The demand of the defendants to be tried in the civil courts was refused by the fascist regime along with the request of the British Labor Party to have two observers present at the trial.

The victims were forced to choose a defense attorney from a list submitted by the prosecution. The "defense" in this kangaroo procedure consisted of asking for seven years at hard labor for Munis and four years for Jaime. Born in Mexico, Munis spent most of his life in Spain. In the Spanish civil war he was prominent in the Trotskyist movement and fought heroically against the fascist butcher Franco. He was arrested in 1937 and condemned to 30 years in prison. Jaime, another well-known member of the Fourth International was sentenced in the same trial.

Both managed to get out of Spain but were held in concentration camps in France. Munis later was deported to Mexico.

After the war, the two returned quietly to Spain. There they participated in the organization of study circles among the workers.

Although both Munis and Jaime broke from the Fourth International in 1948 because of theoretical differences, Trotskyists everywhere are rallying to the defense of the two sincere socialists.

U.S. ARMS FOR FRANCO. The "first of many" arms shipments from the Eisenhower administration to the fascist dictator of Spain included 12 Patton tanks, seven light tanks, 124 jeeps, trucks and trailers, 38 rocket launchers, 33 recoilless 76-m.m. rifles, and a year's supply of spare parts and ammunition for the tanks.

A SURE FIRE SET I U.S. is more determined ever to keep its troops in Europe, reports Walter S. in the Feb. 16 N. Y. Time according to his "informed source" this determination was reinforced by the Soviet refusal to withdraw its troops from Austria. With this same breath he reports that the U.S. was certain that Russia would not agree to withdraw its troops as long as American troops remained. In short — the U.S. will keep troops in Europe under any pretext.

OPPOSITIONERS OF JIM CROW in South Africa who happen to be naturalized citizens will soon be subject to deportation by simple order of the Minister of Justice. That power will be given to him by a law to be adopted shortly by Malan's Nationalist majority in Parliament. The law will permit the deportation of any one "deemed to be a communist." The Feb. 11 N. Y. Times reports that "A tendency here that has been emphasized repeatedly in parliamentary debates is for any left-winger or liberal who opposes the color bar or actively agitates against race discrimination to be branded a communist."

"THE DRIFT TOWARDS COMMUNISM" in Italy has made the flow of U.S. arms and dollars to that country a "calculated risk," says the Feb. 19 U.S. News & World Report. Over \$5 billion in U.S. economic and military aid has been poured into Italy since the end of World War II. One source of concern is the rise in pro-communist votes, which have increased from 31% of the popular vote in 1948 to 35.8% in 1953. The current general strike, with the workers of Rome marching through the streets in defiance of police orders, and shouting anti-government slogans, will undoubtedly increase official U.S. alarm.

"THE ROAD TO PEACE," the basic pamphlet by James P. Cannon on the fundamental differences between Leninism and Stalinism has been translated into Spanish and is being run serially by Que Hacer, the new magazine published in Mexico City. The first installment appears in the February number. A subscription to this excellent magazine can be obtained by sending \$1 to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3.

ASIA'S ENTIRE INCOME for 1949 amounted to \$58 1/2 billions, according to UN statistics quoted in the Feb. 13 Nation. This compares with an arms bill for the NATO countries in 1953 of \$63 billions.

Going to the Dogs

By Joyce Cowley

"We intend to make it absolutely indecent for a dog to appear in public without being properly dressed. Dogs enjoy getting dressed up just as much as people do and while at it, why not have their clothes custom made?"

This statement was not made by the inmate of an asylum but by Gregg Juarez, a former actor who has opened a new shop in New York on East 55th Street, Canine Couturier. You can buy your dog a mink cape for anywhere from \$50 to \$95, pajamas from \$17.95 to \$65.50, mink collars from \$22.50 depending on the size of your dog's neck.

"And your dog will simply love our special perfume," says Juarez. "Kennel No. 9. It smells something like new-mown hay."

Dog hats which start at \$35 are also available. Small derbies for males, flowered bonnets for females and a special feathered job.

"It's really exciting," Juarez assured a reporter from the Daily Mirror. "We have pearl clips, necklaces and bracelets for dogs, all designed by Gabor — and we are getting complete collections of dog clothes from Jacques Fath, Hubert de Givenchy and Oleg Cassini."

At this point Mr. Juarez's partner, Thomas Ryan, announced that it was dog-tail time and began shaking up dog-tails for a group of well-dressed customers gathered there on afternoon shopping jaunt with their socialite owners.

If I were a dog, faced with the prospect of wearing pajamas and pearl necklaces, I would certainly feel the need for a braiser. But Juarez and Ryan have thought of everything. In case your dog collapses under the strain of adapting

himself to mink, perfume and pearls, a dog analyst is on hand to fix him up.

The American press frequently laughs at the fantastic lies and exaggerations of Soviet anti-American propaganda. But if a Soviet writer turned in an item like this I think it would be rejected as too improbable. The Mirror, apparently unaware that such a story could undermine their readers' faith in the American way of life, gave it a lot of space on page two.

I wonder how many mothers, who started reading it as I did with the idea that it was a big joke or possibly a case for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, began to get mad. The article, "A Shop for Dogs with Scratch," was supposed to be pretty funny. It is funny to think of a dog in a feathered hat wearing Kennel No. 9. On the other hand, there are 5,000 girls in my daughter's school, and she hasn't got a desk or a locker of her own. Lunch rooms are so crowded that she has to wait until nearly two in the afternoon to eat her lunch and she sits next to garbage pails. The distracted gym teacher has a class of more than ninety.

When parents ask for better schools, more playgrounds and recreation, hot lunches and day care for their kids, the politicians in City Hall (and Albany and Washington) always give the same answer — no money. They would like to build more schools, but in New York City — where dogs wear mink — they don't know how to get the money. I could make a number of suggestions to the Board of Estimate but right now I'll limit myself to one immediate proposal: take the 20% luxury tax off the leather notebook I bought my daughter for her school work, and put a 100% luxury tax on jewelry and furs for dogs.

"The Brigand"

By Trent Hutter

THE BRIGAND. By Giuseppe Berto. A Signet Book. New York, N.Y. 166 pages. 25 cents.

"Giuseppe Berto was born in Italy in 1914, the son of a poor shopkeeper. He managed to get through high school and then joined the army for want of a job, serving for ten years before ending up as a prisoner of war in Texas. It was here that he started writing, completing his first successful novel, The Sky Is Red."

This is what the publishers say about the author. They deserve credit for making his masterwork available to the American public. For The Brigand is not only well-written and it tells a profoundly interesting and important story of poor Italian peasants attempting to seize the land belonging to an ntee baron and of their leader Michele Rende, one of the truly pathetic and unforgettable figures of contemporary literature.

The drama of Michele Rende is seen through the eyes of his young brother-in-law, Nino. Rende returns from the African campaign of World War II. Falsely convicted of murder, he escapes when Italy is transformed into a battlefield, joins the partisans who fight the German occupiers and the fascists.

Distinguishing himself in the struggle, he soon starts to study Marxist writings and becomes convinced about the need for social change. After the war, back in the village, he

cultivates a piece of land so barren no one thought of touching a plow to it before and leads the landless peasants in action against the landlord.

He is soon arrested, his former conviction for murder providing a convenient pretext.

Berto now admirably describes how the isolated peasants' revolt breaks down after the loss of their leader. Rende escapes again, and, like many Italian fugitives before him, takes to the mountains. However, he lives as a "brigand" not because of his personal conflict with the authorities, but because of his thirst for a better society.

Rende's situation gets increasingly difficult. Together with his young bride Miliella, he leads a life of hide and seek. The end is death after a valiant fight.

Berto's book offers a realistic portrait of the villagers, their rural class struggle, their social layers, problems and reactions. Despite the tragic ending, it glows with steadfast hope, never renouncing the goal for which Michele Rende and his wife Miliella so bravely live and die.

And we know that Nino, Rende's adolescent brother-in-law, will not forget what he learned from the revolutionist. We are sure that he will continue to study the books in Rende's library and work the tough piece of land Rende delivered from barrenness — until the time becomes ripe for the great harvest.

Notes from the News

CLEVELAND YOUTH HIT BY UNEMPLOYMENT. There has been a 40% to 50% drop in the number of Cleveland's school-issued permits allowing boys and girls from 16 to 18 to go out on part-time or steady jobs. Reporting on this, one school official said, "Youngsters are the first to feel the payroll cuts of business and industry." His assistant added, "Four weeks ago the hiring of such boys came to a dead stop. It's the first time this has happened since the start of the Korean war."

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON recently advised a National Youth Conference of the Nat'l Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People that the people of the U.S. must prove to the world that "we are working towards the principles which will guarantee to all peoples, regardless of their national origin, background, color or creed, an equal opportunity — equal recognition under the law as American citizens." We wonder if Nixon intends to start the ball rolling in this direction by scrapping his signed agreement not to resell his California home to any Negro or Jew?

NEGROES IN NASHVILLE, TENN., for the first time will have the opportunity to indulge in Eisenhower's favorite sport, golf, on city-owned links. A Federal Judge ruled that one of the three city-owned golf courses should be made available two days a week solely for Negroes until a separate Jim Crow course is built for them. Last year another federal judge ruled that segregated golf courses are not unconstitutional provided the city furnished "separate and adequate" facilities.

MILWAUKEE POCKET BOOK READERS can still buy copies of the famed war novel, The Naked and the Dead, by Norman Mailer, as a result of the District Attorney's reversal of his personal ban of the book on grounds of obscenity. He withdrew his ban after the Milwaukee County Literary Commission voted 5 to 1 that the book did not violate a county ordinance covering obscene publications. The Commission is still considering two other novels referred to it on the same ground by the District Attorney: From Here to Eternity, by James Jones and To Have and Have Not, by Ernest Hemingway.

CANT STOMACH McCARTHY. Dr. Samuel Fernberger, a University of Pennsylvania psychology professor has resigned from the Philadelphia chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution in protest against that organization's plan

to honor the fascist Senator with a Good Citizenship medal. McCarthy's methods, he declared, "stifle those things for which my ancestors fought in the Revolution, and for which I fought" in both world wars. In a return letter, the chapter president, D. L. German, said the decision to honor McCarthy was made "over my strenuous objection," and that he would have no part of it. He added: "I can't imagine any outstanding citizen feeling honored at being tendered the Good Citizenship Medal . . . after the stigma attached to our having presented one to McCarthy."

TEN YEARS VS. ONE HOUR. For ten long years Local 37 of the Upholsters Int'l Union, AFL, tried to get a contract with the Atlas Casket Co. in Philadelphia. During that time they won innumerable unfair labor practice cases against the company, but they never did get a contract. Finally the workers decided a different approach to the problem was needed. They went on strike. After being out for just one hour, the men won a standard union contract. The company even agreed to pay them for the hour they were out.

"ANY BOOK WHICH INCITES the downtrodden workingman to revolt should be removed," Mrs. M. F. Loughheed, a member of the Library Board in Victoria, Canada, said in a speech defending an announcement by the Mayor that he intended to burn all "subversive" books in the public library. The book-burning move was greeted by a storm of protest. Students in Victoria did some burning of their own — they burned the Mayor in effigy.

BIG MAGAZINES BOOST POSTAL DEFICIT. Magazines are responsible for 68% of the \$240 million a year deficit on second class mail, asserts the Postmaster General. Life magazine, with a mailing of nearly a million copies a week, pays an annual postage bill of about \$5 million. The Post Office says it costs about \$13 million to deliver them. The Saturday Evening Post pays about \$3 million a year in postage. Its distribution cost is put at \$9 million. The department figures it loses about \$3,668,000 on the Readers Digest and another \$1,632,000 on the Ladies Home Journal. "The magazines contend they are entitled to this for 'informing' and 'educating' the public. Incidentally the Post Office does not mention the biggest deficit of all, the million of dollars in free mail sent out under 'franking' privilege by Congressmen, military brass hats, and a host of other government officials and departments.

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Seek to Halt Hearst Attack On L.A. Youth

By Dave Dreiser
(Second of Two Articles)

The efforts of the Los Angeles Hearst press to incite lynch violence against the Mexican community must be stopped in its tracks. Their manufactured "crime wave" with smear headlines that scream of Mexican "Rat Pack Killers" is deliberately calculated to renew on an even bloodier scale the anti-Mexican riots instigated here in 1943.

With the rise of McCarthyism lending fresh inspiration to local Ku Klux Klan elements, as well as to the followers of Gerald L. K. Smith, the repeated attempts to smear the Mexican people the subject of organized mob attack assumes sinister new implications. If this poisonous new anti-Mexican campaign is not effectively challenged, the Mexican people will find themselves inevitably the target of an assault that they, as a minority group, will not be able to beat back solely with their own forces.

It is the responsibility of the leaders of the Mexican community to enlist the organized support of the unions and all minority groups in the city, making it clear to them that their own future safety is also at stake.

The Community Service Organization, which a few years ago spearheaded the movement that elected Edward Roybal, an independent Mexican representative, to the City Council, must assume the leadership in this fight.

The CSO has so far limited itself to calling for a boycott of



J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Arkansas Democrat, was only Senate member to vote against appropriation for McCarthy's witch-hunt committee. 89 Senators, including so-called "liberal" Democrats, voted funds for McCarthy. (See story, Page 1, and editorial, P. 3.)

the anti-Mexican papers. But such an action can be effective only if it is backed by the power of the union movement and by the city's minority organizations.

At a recent CSO meeting a proposal was made to call a broad conference of unions and community organizations for united action on this issue. The proposal was resisted on the grounds that "reds" might infiltrate such a movement.

Organized terror against minority peoples is the inevitable outgrowth of the present "red-hunting" hysteria. For the leaders of a minority group to yield to its pressure to any degree is to become powerless in the face of the Hearstings and the McCarthys.

Fascist Incites to War

(Continued from page 1)

(4) Elect only those candidates, either Democrat or Republican, who support this policy.

To put his audience in a receptive frame of mind, McCarthy regaled them with blood-curdling atrocity stories of American boys being "tortured, murdered" and worst of all, "brain-washed" by Chinese "communist friends."

FASCIST EXPLANATION

How explain that after two world wars in both of which the United States emerged victorious, the "communist conspiracy" is stronger and more menacing than ever? The American people have been betrayed, thundered McCarthy, by "20 years of treason." That doesn't mean that ALL Democrats are traitors, he hastened to add. To the contrary, he said, there are some good Democrats. In fact, he continued, there are some "towering" Democrats and then proceeded to name a few: Senator George and Russell of Georgia, Byrd of Virginia, McCarran of Nevada and last but not least, Martin Dies of Texas. (We wonder what expressive terms Lincoln would employ to describe McCarthy's "towering" Jim Crow Democrats?)

It's going to take a long, long time, McCarthy told his audience, to root out all the "communists" who infiltrated the government during 20 years of Democratic rule. The problem, he said, is not with the open communists but with the "concealed" communists, those who "covered up" for the communists, those who supported and "coddled" the communists and put them in a position where for 20 years they dictated the foreign and domestic policy of the government.

Asked during the question period why the espionage laws were not being used against the traitors, McCarthy complained that there had been only one conviction for espionage in the past ten years. (When a murmur of dissent arose, McCarthy quickly hastened to explain that the Rosenbergs had not been convicted of espionage but were electrocuted for "conspiracy to commit" espionage.) It was much quicker and easier, he explained to his admirers, to "get them" for perjury or contempt. After all, he said, Al Capone was not sent to prison for the Chicago Valentine Day massacre, but for neglecting to pay his income tax. It doesn't matter, added this paragon of capitalist morality, what pretext is used so long as we get convictions.

To inflame his middle-class audience, composed in large part of elderly people of the type attracted to the religious quacks and bigots of the Gerald L. K. Smith stamp, McCarthy recited "case histories" of victims who

appeared before his witch-hunting committee. This device was calculated to engender fear and incite hatred in his listeners who gasped at McCarthy's fake sensational disclosures.

A hard core of outright fascist elements revealed their ugly visage in an incident after the meeting. As the crowd streamed out, they were addressed by Wilbur J. Jergler, Democratic candidate in the 26th Congressional District. He used a loudspeaker attached to a station wagon.

Some stopped to hear him answer McCarthy's charge about the Democrats being "traitors." The McCarthyite-fascist core shouted and blew their auto horns in an attempt to drown out the loudspeaker.

Growing bolder, they began to throw clouds of dirt at the lone man in the car. The police who arrived were openly sympathetic to the McCarthyites and finally prevailed upon Jergler to leave. In this small incident is revealed the real face of American fascism following in the footsteps of Hitler and Mussolini. The use of force to prevent opponents from exercising their democratic rights is the hallmark of the fascist beast.

(Continued from page 1)

a leader, a symbol and an organizer in the U.S. Senate.

Jessie W. Jenkins, the only woman leader of the Ku Klux Klan, said: "Despite the awful force of the powerful Leftist coalition having betrayed our government, as Senator McCarthy has so nobly undertaken to show us, HOPING TO AROUSE PUBLIC OPINION AND ACTION — we must surely have a good 100 million GOOD Americans ready to rise to the challenge." (Your Pocket Atom Bomb, 1950.)

Father Coughlin (who said, "I take the road to fascism" in 1936) is now making his comeback in Detroit after 14 years of silence. His public record is long and revealing. In April 1936 he defended Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia on the ground of the "superiority" of the white race, and he opposed anti-lynch legislation in his magazine Social Justice on March 13, 1939.

But the most outspoken race-baiting propaganda today comes from the G. L. K. Smith wing of the McCarthyite movement. At a meeting in Los Angeles on Jan. 26, 1954, Smith hailed McCarthy as a hero and asked God's blessings on him. He also "attempted to whip his clan into an anti-Semitic hysteria" and attacked Negroes in printed literature distributed to the audience. (California Eagle, Jan. 28, 1954.)

One of the "10 high principles" printed on the back of Smith's collection envelopes states: "Fight mongrelization and all attempts being made to force the intermixture of the

THE MILITANT

Seattle Candidate Hits Expurgated Textbooks

SEATTLE, Feb. 14 — Speaking at a candidates' forum conducted by the East Madison YMCA in the Negro district last Sunday, Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for School Board, scored the purging of textbooks which has reached new excesses in the witch-hunt atmosphere. He pledged that in office he would press for the use of schoolbooks "that teach the truth."

"I have inspected the two textbooks used in the Seattle schools to teach American history," Roberts declared. "Both of them fail to mention that 200,000 Negroes — most of them escaped slaves — fought in the Union armies for their own emancipation during the Civil War."

How important this fact is in the history of America can be judged from Lincoln's acknowl-

edgement that without the Negro contribution, the North could not have won, Roberts said, "yet there is not a word printed in these texts about any of the blows that the Negro slaves struck in behalf of their freedom."

"The texts thus create the false impression," Roberts continued, "that the Negroes alone of all oppressed peoples did not struggle for their emancipation."

"The textbooks also fail to mention that it was the activities of the Negro freedmen in the Reconstruction period that created schools, not only for themselves but for the poor whites as well."

"They don't mention that in the North it was the agitation of workingmen that brought the free public school system into being."

"Yet that is the record, and it must be taught as part of the

fight against race prejudice and anti-labor propaganda."

The SWP candidate pointed out that Seattle's textbooks lied about the whole Reconstruction period, repeating the slander of the former slaveowners that this was a time of great calamity for the South.

"The reign of terror unleashed by the former slaveholders against the Negroes through the Ku Klux Klan — a forerunner of Hitler's stormtroopers — is thus justified in gross contradiction to the truth."

"The whole modern system of Jim Crow dates from this reign of terror which marked the alliance of Northern Big Business and the former slaveholders."

"It is such truths that our textbooks must report and explain in teaching our children the evils of the existing system of Jim Crow and the necessity of ending it."

STALINISTS WITCH HUNT NEGRO UNION MILITANT

By James E. Boulton

MILWAUKEE, Feb. 8 — Milwaukee labor and Negro circles have been stirred by the recent frameup and expulsion of Ted Livingston from the Stalinist-dominated Civil

Rights Congress. The charges against him were that he was an FBI spy and an informer of the Milwaukee Journal, and that he discussed and associated with members of the Socialist Workers Party.

Livingston is acting president of the Negro Labor Council. At the time of his expulsion from the CRC, he was a member of its state advisory board. Before coming to Milwaukee he had worked as a CIO staff organizer in Operation Dixie and as a district representative of the CIO-PAC in Illinois. He was also a member of the Communist Party, which he quit in the 1940's. He works at the Nash-Kelvinator plant and belongs to Local 75 of the UAW-CIO.

Livingston's open letter to the CRC, distributed widely here, stated: "My expulsion from the CRC is a rank example of the McCarthyite injustice that all defenders of freedom are fighting against. I was accused, tried, and 'hung' by those who could prove nothing more than that I disagreed with them. I was a thorn in the side of the incompetent, I am calling upon you to correct this mistake."

"It is elementary in a court of law that the accused is entitled to advance knowledge and copy of the charges against him. Not so in a McCarthy court, and apparently not so in a court of the CRC."

Defending his right to associate and work with socialists, his statement points out that "to successfully combat the evil attacks by the McCarthyites upon the rights of the American people is not a simple question. To be able to rally all the people, to warn

them of the danger to their liberties, to resist the ever heavier attacks upon all minority political and labor groups can only be accomplished by a non-sectarian, broad defense organization. We cannot defend the civil rights of the Communist Party and applaud the destruction of the civil rights of the Socialist Workers Party or any other progressive group. This course weakens the fight."

Following an independent course, Livingston aroused the hostility of the Stalinists when he complained about the inefficiency and bungling of the CRC's executive secretary, Mrs. Josephine Nordstrand. Although the Stalinists defended her at first, she later left Milwaukee. When the Journal carried an article about her, the Stalinists accused Livingston of supplying the information.

His open letter continues: "There then followed a charge that the Socialist Workers Party is an agency of the FBI and by the same token, I am feeding the FBI. On either count this is a monstrous lie of which Joe McCarthy could be proud. It is first, guilt by association. Second, it is an attempt to destroy a person's good name by an unfounded accusation. The McCarthyites reason that if you repeat a lie often enough, some people will think: 'Well, if there is all this smoke, there must be some fire.'"

The Stalinists were also out to smear Livingston because of his attempts, as acting president of the Negro Labor Council, to break down Jim Crow job barriers at the Allen-Bradley Co., where the independent UE has jurisdiction.

N. Y. Local 65 Members Discuss 30-40 Demand

By Ann Mann

NEW YORK, Feb. — Local 65, Distributors, Processing and Office Workers of America, CIO has been hard hit by rising unemployment.

At a meeting of between 250 to 300 union members of the General Office Local the problem was discussed.

A Stalinist endorsed the union program of sending postcards to Albany protesting the Hughes Reece Law and sending delegates to Albany to demand that unemployment compensation be increased from \$30 to \$40 a week.

One militant spoke for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. She said, "unemployment is growing in our union. We have to try to keep the people who are now on their jobs, employed. Many contracts are coming up for renewal and reopenings in the fall. We should demand a 30-hour week for 40 hours pay." She cited how the bosses in her shop are using the excuse of the recession to institute new efficiency measures which will cut the labor force. This, she said, must be fought.

The response from the union members was a good one. She received loud applause. A steward from another shop said that she endorsed the idea of 30-40. She reported that her shop had been considering going for a 33-hour week in the summer only, but felt that 30-40 was a far better idea to meet the growing unemployment.

Five hundred Puerto Rican G.I.'s staged a brief sit-down strike at Camp Kilmer Feb. 13 in protest against Army refusal to issue them furrough passes before shipping them to inland posts. They returned to their barracks when confronted with a platoon armed with rifles and bayonets.

Negro People's Stake in Anti-McCarthy Fight

(Continued from page 1)

black and white races." Also distributed was his magazine, The Cross and the Flag, which lauds South Africa as the "land of self-respect" because the Malan government is "trying to save the white race from mongrelization" and is "solving the race problem with segregation."

DIXIECRAT BACKERS

These are the kind of people providing the mass base for McCarthyism. Aiding them are a group of rich Dixiecrat oil barons headed by the multi-millionaire H. L. Hunt. And favoring their growth is the capitalist crisis heralded by unemployment and industrial cutbacks, creating the insecurity and unreasoning fear that make it possible for fascism to recruit confused, desperate and hoodlum elements.

Already, in Norwalk, Conn., the Hat Corporation of America has hit Negro and white workers against each other in an attempt to smash a six-month strike. The employers are deliberately feeding racial prejudices by importing colored strikebreakers, many of whom were unable to find employment because of the growing economic crisis and the employers' Jim Crow policies.

Some Negro leaders think they can ignore McCarthyism. But McCarthyism is not ignoring them. It has already labeled "red" every fighter for democratic rights. At FEPC hearings in Columbus, Ohio in 1953, the State Un-American Activities Commission had agents present to note who testified for FEPC. Sen. Jenner is probing the Southern Conference Educational Fund for alleged "communist activities."

McCarthy's bookburning campaign resulted in the removal of books by or about Negroes.

The NAACP's 44th annual convention in 1953 warned in a resolution on McCarthyism: "Already there is discernible a pattern which tends to link the advocacy of full equality for Negroes and other minorities to subversion or 'un-Americanism.'"

In the atmosphere of inquisition which is whirling unchecked in our nation's capital until it now borders upon the proportions and destructiveness of a "tornado," it is conceivable that any organization working for interracial democracy may be challenged for its campaign against race prejudice, discrimination, and inequality."

The aim of fascism is to maintain the capitalist profit system at any cost, smashing all customs, traditions and institutions that hamper that aim in any way. But the only way to keep profits up when production can no longer expand under the capitalist organization of the economy is by cutting wages. Since the workers will resist wage-cutting, the capitalists are driven to smash the workers organizations.

Dividing the workers according to race, national origin, religion, sex, age or any other category, and getting them to fight among themselves instead of together against their common enemy — these are methods that the capitalists must use increasingly in order to destroy or hamstring the working class organizations. And that is why the Negro struggle cannot be separated from the struggle of the whole working class.

The whole history of this country testifies to the fact that the Negro people suffer the most from the triumph of reaction. They cannot afford to let the McCarthyite fascist movement grow. As the largest, most distinct minority and the traditional victim of discrimination and brutality, they have a special interest in sounding the alarm, educating the other workers and helping them to organize against American fascism.

We cannot wait until the labor leaders awaken to the danger, we cannot sit back inactive until the labor movement takes the lead. A hundred years ago the Negroes could not wait for the white Abolitionists and the President to take the lead in the struggle against chattel slavery. They organized revolts, voiced their demands, took independent action through the Underground Railroad, agitated and educated and spurred on the movement for emancipation. Their independent struggle, and the progressive effects it had on the rest of the people, are part of the American tradition.

Today the Negro struggle requires the forging of a united front of all labor, to strengthen the solidarity of the workers and their allies for another revolutionary struggle against a common enemy.

The struggle for equality cannot be separated from the struggle against McCarthyism. In America fascist concentration camps would be divided by two familiar signs — "White" and "Colored."

Now is the time to act.