

AUTOMATION -- THE NEW THREAT TO YOUR JOB

(See Page 2)

THE MILITANT

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Storm Clouds Mass Over U.S. Economy

By Art Preis

If American economy stays fixed at the 1953 highest level in history — producing a gross national product priced at \$367 billion — we will be in a serious depression with eight to 10 million unemployed within four years.

Some Sick "Vital Organs"

Total production figures and forecasts, however, can be very misleading, like judging the health of a man with a deadly heart disease by "averaging" it with a sound liver and strong lungs.

The Facts on Unemployment

Thus, in auto, this most crucial consumers durable goods industry, as in steel, the actual expected decline is double and triple the "general" figure for 1954.

Does Reuther Program Meet Jobless Problem?

By Manuel Rodriguez

Capitalism breeds unemployment, just as it breeds war and fascism. Capitalism without these scourges would be like war without casualties or jail without prisoners.

others who support this demand believe it can be achieved without such drastic measures. That's OK. As the fight develops we will all learn something. We shall see if any of labor's basic demands can be achieved without a Labor Party and a Workers and Farmers Government.

McCarthy Informs Congress He'll Keep Up His Witch Hunt

Racist Mob Tries to Burn Out Tenants

CHICAGO, Jan. 4 — For the third time in five months a race-hating mob has stormed the Trumbull Park public-housing project in the South Side here in an effort to drive out Negro residents.

FAMILY HOLDS FIRM

For five days the courageous Howard family refused to budge from their new home as souped-up mobs ranging in size from 500 to 3,000 hurled bricks, stones and sulphur candles.

POLICE NO OBSTACLE

The police force has not proved an obstacle of any consequence to those determined to restore Trumbull Park to its original Jim-Crow status.

NO SERIOUS PENALTY

In no case has any serious penalty been imposed. Throughout there has been a complete absence of any official effort to apprehend the instigators and organizers of mob violence against those who dare to exercise their human and constitutional right to live where they choose.

Is This America's Future?



Does this scene foreshadow the fate in store for millions of American workers? This picture, made last July, shows men camped out for almost five days on sidewalk line waiting to apply for New York City laborer jobs paying from \$51.90 to \$59 a week.

DETROIT SWP EXPOSES COUGHLIN'S DEMAGOGY

DETROIT, Jan. 4 — "Union Men on Guard! — FASCISM IN AMERICA IS ON THE MARCH," declared a widely distributed Socialist Workers Party leaflet announcing a Jan. 10 anti-Coughlin rally.

to convene a Congress of Labor to solve the problem of unemployment, war, and the McCarthy-Coughlin fascist menace."

During the depression Thirties, Coughlin inspired the Christian Front, a national network of anti-Semitic fascist gangs. The Socialist Workers Party, played a leading part in mobilizing labor opposition to the fascist hoodlums.

Just a "lunatic fringe?"

McCarthy Financed by Jew-Baiter

An open Jew-baiter is one of Senator McCarthy's richest backers. Eugene M. Biggers, one of the Texas oil kings pouring funds into McCarthy's war chest, told a Milwaukee Journal reporter: "This country is in great danger and Joe is about the only one that knows it."

Most of McCarthy's multi-millionaire backers are more cagey in their public statements, says the Journal, but "such talk is not uncommon in booming Texas."

Two other big McCarthy backers are oil men Clint Murchison and H. L. Hunt, sometimes called "the richest man in America."

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Just a "lunatic fringe?"

Threatens to Smear Democrats as "Spies" If They Try Fund Cut

By Murry Weiss

On Jan. 5, the day before the second session of the 83rd Congress opened, Senator McCarthy hit the headlines with a harsh denunciation of rumors that he had agreed to "curb the red hunt."



McCarthy

Coupled with the premature reports of McCarthy's "abdication" came announcements of Democratic Party strategy to "control McCarthy," "curb McCarthy," and even "stop McCarthy."

The Jan. 6 N. Y. Times reported McCarthy's reply to Democratic plans for a "curbing" action at this session of Congress: "He challenged the Democrats to carry on a fight to reduce his funds and said that he would brand the Democrats anew as the party that favored 'covering up' spies and traitors."

CHALLENGE DEMOCRATS

Two other big McCarthy backers are oil men Clint Murchison and H. L. Hunt, sometimes called "the richest man in America."

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Just a "lunatic fringe?"

TAX STEW WILL GIVE WORKERS INDIGESTION

By Harry Ring

Did you ever hear the old wheeze about the restaurant owner accused of putting horsemeat in the rabbit stew? His defense was that he did it very fairly. "I split it fifty-fifty — half a horse, half a rabbit."

Don't bother trying to tell this joke to any of Eisenhower's congressmen, though. They've all heard it before. In fact, they just wrote it into the tax "relief" program that went into effect Jan. 1.

THE NEW STEW

Here's the way they concocted the new stew. First they cut personal income taxes a straight 10% across the board, treating the worker and the millionaire "equally."

With dishes like that, it might not be a bad idea to run these cooks out by the seat of the pants. The kitchen obviously needs a new staff — and a new chef.

Adding the two items together, this means that a married couple with two children, with an annual income of \$4,000, will save \$8.40 a year, or all of sixteen cents a week.

In all fairness to the Congressmen, it should be reported that they didn't really have their minds fully on the stew. Actually they were much more absorbed with the dessert, which turned out to be a very tasty morsel — the repeal of the excess profits tax on the giant corporations.



EISENHOWER

Automation--the New Threat to Your Job

By Joseph Keller

You won't find the word "automation" in the dictionary, as yet. It has only begun to come into common usage in the past few months. Yet it may become the most important word in your life and the lives of millions of other American workers. It may wipe out your job — permanently.

Automation has been discussed in scientific circles and journals, however, for several years. It has been the hottest topic among electronics, machine and plant engineers and industrial executives for some time. Automation is the application of completely automatic processes, through electronically-controlled devices, to mass production. It eliminates all workers but a few required to operate control panels and for maintenance and repairs.

Under socialism, of course, this new advance in the expansion of productivity would be hailed by all people as a tremendous boon. With socially owned means of production and distribution, operated under the control of the workers through a scientific and democratically determined national plan of production for use and not for private profit, every new method and device for lightening human toil and increasing the necessities and comforts of life would be a blessing. But not under capitalism.

Under the class system of capitalism, with its private ownership and profit incentive, automation has fearful and sinister implications. It is coming to the fore now because industry owners are in desperate competition for a declining market and their percentage of profit in proportion to capital investment is going down. They want to greatly intensify the exploitation of labor — get tremendously more output per worker employed — and thereby cut labor costs and maintain profits.

"While the machines [automation] are expensive, they replace human labor, which is also expensive," writes William M. Freeman, in the Jan. 4 N.Y. Times special financial and business review section. "Further they need maintenance and no more; they are not subject to human ills. And they are fast, cut long-term costs, make few errors and, in general, earn their keep."

Automation is spreading so rapidly, reports Freeman, that "some engineers have termed it 'the second industrial revolution.'" And he spells it out: "Managements are aware in many instances of the potential of this new production tool, whereby a few men at a control board can direct an operation that formerly took hundreds or thousands of workers."

Automation is not some Buck Rogers fantasy. The Ford Motor Company has already completed and set into operation the first of seven such completely automatic plants — "a whole factory run largely by electric 'brains' and mechanical 'hands'" that "turns out complete auto engines, and uses so few production workers that even the button pushers are practically out of a job," reports the Dec. 4, 1953, U.S. News and World Report.

The first results at the new Brookpark Village (Cleveland) plant built by Ford show "a startling rise in production efficiency, a big increase in output per man-hour, and the beginning of a renewed concern over possible technological unemployment — something that has been forgotten since the 1930s."

General Motors and Chrysler are also going in for automation in a big way, reports the U.S. News. "Auto executives are enthusiastic about early performance" and "already regard the first 'automation' type factories as the forerunners of a new era in industry — one showing the greatest improvement in mass production since the advent of modern assembly lines about 40 years ago."

Describing this same Brookpark Village plant, a staff reporter says in the Dec. 31, 1953, Wall Street Journal: "An electronic brain, containing 27 miles of wire, helps mastermind operations. Signal lights on control boards flash warnings when a tool is wearing out and needs replacement. Red, green and yellow pushbuttons control myriad manufacturing steps." He reports further that "dozens of other big name companies are doing likewise [introducing automation]. They make everything from autos to appliances to chemicals to gasoline." And he adds significantly:

"The main attraction, of course, is the possibility of production at lower cost per unit, largely via labor savings."

The scale of this "labor savings" and "main attraction" is shown in some of the Brookpark Village operations. Where it used to take 39 workers and 29 machines to drill a certain series of 18 holes in a crankshaft, this operation in the new factory is done by just nine workers using three machines. Where drilling, reaming and cutting on a rocker-arm support took five operators at two machines to complete 38 pieces an hour, one operator at one machine now turns out more than 750 pieces an hour. One man produces what 100 did before.

Another example, cited in the Dec. 4 Wall Street Journal, is the automatic radio assembly line being completed by the Raytheon Mfg. Co. This will need only two workers to turn out 1,000 radios a day — an output requiring 200 workers before.

U.S. News writes that union leaders regard "eventual displacement of workers in considerable numbers as inevitable" and adds: "There is much talk of the 30-hour week as a means of spreading remaining work around." It better get out of the talk stage and into the action stage pretty quick.

Trotsky's Analysis Sheds Light on McCarthyism

By George Breitman

Leon Trotsky, the greatest revolutionary thinker and leader after Lenin, did more than anyone else in the world, thanks to his mastery of the Marxist method, to uncover the essence, the forms and the laws of development of fascism. Our present attempts to analyze McCarthyism therefore must take into account the conclusions he drew from his study of the fascist movements as they had developed up to the time of his death in 1940.

Considering perspectives in the United States, Trotsky wrote as follows in his last and unfinished article (excerpted in the Pioneer Publishers compilation, *Fascism — What It Is, How to Fight It*):

A HISTORICAL LAW

"In every discussion of political parties the question invariably arises: Shall we succeed in creating a strong party for the moment when the crisis comes? Might not Fascism anticipate us? Isn't a Fascist stage of development inevitable? The successes of Fascism easily make people lose all perspective, lead them to forget the actual conditions which made the strengthening and the victory of Fascism possible. Yet a clear understanding of these conditions is of especial importance to the workers of the United States. WE MAY SET IT DOWN AS A HISTORICAL LAW: FASCISM WAS ABLE TO CONQUER ONLY IN THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE THE CONSERVATIVE LABOR PARTIES PREVENTED THE PROLETARIAT FROM UTILIZING THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION AND SEIZING POWER. In Germany two revolutionary situations were involved: 1918-1919 and 1923-1924. Even in 1929 a direct struggle for power on the part of the proletariat was still possible. In all these three cases the social democracy and the Comintern criminally and viciously disrupted the conquest of power and thereby placed society in an impasse. Only under these conditions and in this situation did the stormy rise of Fascism and its gaining of power prove possible."

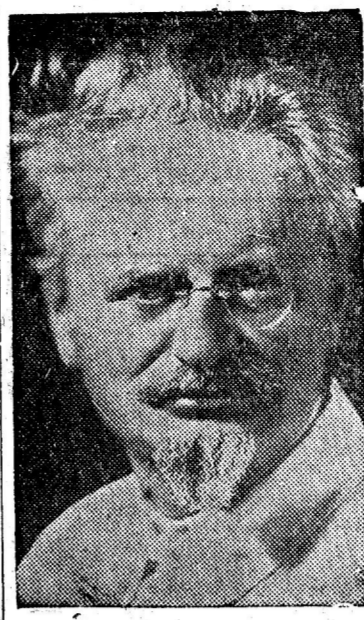
And further on in the same article: "Both theoretical analysis as well as the rich historical experience of the last quarter of a century have demonstrated with equal force that Fascism is each time the final link of a specific political cycle composed of the following: the gravest crisis of capitalist society; the growth of the radicalization of the working class; the growth of sympathy toward the working class and a yearning for change on the part of the rural and urban petty bourgeoisie; the extreme confusion of the big bourgeoisie; its cowardly and treacherous maneuvers aimed at avoiding the revolutionary climax; the exhaustion of the proletariat, growing confusion and indifference; the aggravation of the social crisis; the despair of the petty bourgeoisie, its yearning for change, the collective neurosis of the petty bourgeoisie, its readiness to believe in miracles; its readiness for violent measures; the growth of hostility towards the proletariat which has deceived its expectations. These are the premises for a swift formation of a Fascist party and its victory."

We accepted and still accept this conception. It was and it remains the basis for the Socialist Workers Party's firm conviction that before American fascism will get the chance to make a successful bid for power, the American working class will become radicalized and have the opportunity to establish a Workers and Farmers Government as a step on its road to socialism.

OBJECTIONS

But some readers of the above quotations see in them objections to our analysis that McCarthyism is the American form of fascism, that it is growing rapidly, and that it constitutes a grave fascist danger in the United States today. The objections are presented in this way: "What you say might be logical and consistent if the conditions Trotsky listed were merely the premises for the victory of fascism. But he also said that they were the premises for the strengthening of fascism, its stormy rise and its swift formation as a party. When you say that McCarthyism is a grave and growing fascist menace, do you seriously believe that the premises listed by Trotsky for such a conclusion actually exist in the United States today — that

also keep our eyes open for the effects of other laws on that situation. As we explained last week, American fascism is not going to have exactly the same appearance as its European predecessors. This is due to the different history, traditions and political structure of this country, and to the fact that American fascism, appearing on the scene later, has greater need to conceal its true nature and objectives. Those who expect American fascism to have the same forms, to proceed at the same tempo and to pass through the identical stages and transformations as European fascism will never recognize its appearance until it is too late."



LEON TROTSKY

capitalist society is in its gravest crisis, that working class radicalization has grown, that the middle classes are yearning for a change, growing desperate, becoming ready for violent measures, etc.? Surely there is a contradiction between what you say about McCarthyism and what Trotsky said about the premises for a genuine fascist danger."

This view, in our opinion, suffers from a mechanical and schematic interpretation of social and political laws in general and of Trotsky's analysis in particular. Scientific laws, both physical and social, are generalizations that single out uniform relations from phenomena that are highly complex in the real world and state them in a pure or simplified form. Even a physical law, like the law of gravity, works itself out differently under different conditions, in situations where it runs into collision with another law, and so on.

The same thing happens with social and political laws. To determine whether or how a general social law is applicable or valid for a certain concrete situation, we must make allowance for all the special and peculiar conditions that exist at a particular time in that situation alone, and that can distort or interfere with the operation of the law in its purity; and we must

also keep our eyes open for the effects of other laws on that situation.

As we explained last week, American fascism is not going to have exactly the same appearance as its European predecessors. This is due to the different history, traditions and political structure of this country, and to the fact that American fascism, appearing on the scene later, has greater need to conceal its true nature and objectives. Those who expect American fascism to have the same forms, to proceed at the same tempo and to pass through the identical stages and transformations as European fascism will never recognize its appearance until it is too late."

WHAT TROTSKY MEANT

We don't interpret Trotsky's remarks to mean that under no circumstances can a grave fascist danger arise in any country until all the conditions cited by him already exist. That would be absurd and doctrinaire. What he was actually saying was that these conditions were necessary before a fascist movement could reach sufficient strength to pose the possibility of its taking power in the near future.

That fascist movements could appear prior to the conditions he enumerated, Trotsky knew as well as anyone else. Combined and uneven development was no novelty to him. In the same article already quoted, he said that in the United States, "Already there are Fascist elements, and they have, of course, the examples of Italy and Germany. They will, therefore, work in a more rapid tempo."

Profiting from the European examples and working in a more rapid tempo is exactly what the McCarthyites are doing. Foreseeing the outbreak in the near future of "the gravest crisis of capitalist society," they are anticipating what will be needed then to crush the workers and they are preparing the fascist machinery to do that job. The gravest of the danger they are present is not that they are ready to take power today, but that they are already well advanced in their preparations, that they are finding a strong response from sections of the middle class, and that there is so little or-

ganized opposition actively engaged in preventing them from carrying their preparations further. McCarthyism is the beginning of the fascist mobilization, not the full fascist mobilization itself. It deserves to be called a grave fascist danger because it is already relatively so strong and growing, and because it is already in a position to have a stormy rise when the social crisis explodes in full force. The fact that it does not appear in the precise sequence that comes after the scene before rather than after the social crisis and mass radicalization and desperation — only adds to the danger that it represents, and detracts nothing from the lesson Trotsky was trying to teach us.

There still remains one important question, however. What about the social crisis (on which so many other factors depend, including working class radicalization, middle class yearning for a change, etc.) — is there or isn't there a social crisis? We freely concede that in this country today there is not yet a "social crisis of intolerable acuteness," as Trotsky described pre-Hitlerite Germany in 1932. But we don't mean by that to imply that elements of social crisis are altogether lacking from the American picture right now.

When people talk about the conditions that preceded the fascist victories in Europe, they usually have in mind economic catastrophe — depression, stagnation, mass unemployment and the like. Certainly these were the forms that the crisis took in some countries, and certainly those are not the conditions in this country today — not yet.

But economic crisis in such countries as Germany and Italy resulted from causes outside as well as inside those countries — principally from the broader crisis that struck the entire capitalist system after World War I. Germany, defeated and deprived of colonies, and Italy, nominally a "victor" nation but excluded from the major imperialist spoils of the war, were hemmed in, suffocating, on the verge of strangling; that was why they could not afford the luxury of democracy. Correctly viewed, the crisis in

those countries (which produced revolutionary situations that were not taken advantage of, and counter-revolutionary situations that were) resulted from the fact that the imperialist world had shrunk too small to support all the imperialists in the style to which they had become accustomed.

DEVELOPING HERE TOO

Since that time, of course, the imperialist world has grown much smaller. To the loss of Russia from the capitalist orbit has been added the loss of China, Eastern Europe and many colonial countries, whose continuing struggle for independence makes them unfit for profitable exploitation.

In a different way, but just as relentlessly, this shrinkage of the capitalist world is generating a social crisis in its last real stronghold. Lack of space here prevents an adequate discussion of the developing social crisis in the United States; readers can find it presented most strikingly in James P. Cannon's new pamphlet, *America's Road to Socialism*. Our point is that this incipient crisis is already making its pressures felt in all spheres of American life. Nobody in America has any solid sense of security.

Depression or war — both arising from the already raging permanent world crisis of capitalism — that's the terrible dilemma of American capitalism. It's in the face is a depression that can upset the whole precarious apple cart and finish off the capitalist system. That's why war is being prepared. But war too can produce social crisis leading to revolution, especially if it's a lost war (Russia in World War I), but even if it's a war that is won (China after World War II). And who in Washington feels any certainty about the outcome of the next war?

And so alongside of prosperity sit unprecedented insecurity, resentment, doubt, bitterness, frustration, worry, neurosis — symptoms of the crisis that is coming, in fact that has come so close its shadow can already be felt. This is the situation that McCarthyism has already begun to exploit so profitably. Can there be any doubt about how McCarthyism will mushroom and spread when the social storm breaks out in full force? Can there be any doubt that the time to begin fighting McCarthyism is now, before it achieves maximum momentum?

Next week's article will with Trotsky's distinction between fascism and the state, and the relevant distinction has for an understanding of McCarthyism.

McCarthy Says He Will Keep Up Witch Hunt

(Continued from page 1)

refuse to allocate funds to McCarthy's investigating committee.

(2) To "supersede" McCarthy's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations by setting up a joint, bipartisan committee.

(3) "To deny the McCarthy subcommittee further Senate authorization to operate unless Mr. McCarthy agrees to take back on their own terms the three Democratic Senators who quit the subcommittee last July." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 31.)

The Times reports the "consensus now reached is for the least severe of these approaches." (Plan number three.)

Whatever plan used, the common feature of all is to play into McCarthy's hands, to dance to his tune, and to prepare another fiasco.

Senator Ellender (Dem.) from Louisiana, as one of the leaders of the coming floor fight, set the tone: "What has Senator McCarthy done with the \$200,000 he received last year? How many Communists has he found on his own? How many Communists have been punished because of his investigations?" He accused McCarthy of "plagiarizing" and of producing "old stuff" instead of brand new witch-hunt sensations.

THE NATION'S COMMENT

This is the type of fight the Democrats will wage in Congress and in the 1954 elections against McCarthyism. As the Jan. 2 *Nation* correctly observes: "He (McCarthy) will make mincemeat out of the argument that these men (Democrats) are sturdier 'anti-Communists' than he is."

Another wing of the Democratic Party is running interference for the fascist senator. Senator McCarran of Nevada, who periodically exchanges compliments with the chief witch hunter, complained mildly about McCarthy stepping out of his jurisdiction and broadening his "red hunting" beyond his own committee's sphere. But, he added heartily, McCarthy's committee "has done good work."

Referring to Democratic party moves to stop McCarthy, the Nevada senator said: "If something should be done about McCarthy, why don't the Republicans do it? It's not our problem." McCarran dismissed the various plans to curb McCarthy's investigating activities as "impractical."

Along with rumors of McCarthy tuning down his red-baiting, have come reports of his shifting to "other fields." These reports seem to have more substance and fit

Witch-Hunt Committee



Sen. McCarthy is shown with members of his inquisitorial committee before the Democrats resigned last July, accusing him of assuming dictatorial powers. Seated, left to right, McCarthy, John L. McClellan (D. Ark.) and Henry M. Jackson (D. Wash.); standing, Charles E. Potter, (R. Mich.) and W. Stuart Symington (D. Mo.)

in with the unfolding pattern of McCarthy's fascist movement. His investigating committee is reported to be looking into "tax frauds" under the Truman administration "with communism as a minor element."

FASCIST DEMAGOGY

That's why McCarthy looks with contempt at the picaresque maneuvers of the Democratic strategists. He can pivot in any number of directions. He can take up "tax frauds" under Truman, play to the gallery as the great hero of the "small man" who carries the heavy tax load, while the Democratic "harbors and protectors of spies" gave the "rich" tax concessions. On this point he can well repeat his threat to expose the Eisenhower administration if it gets in his way. All the while the "minor element" of red-baiting will form the background for all his other demagoguery.

The point is that we are faced with a fascist movement in its incipient stage. American labor cannot contemplate this menace with smug assurance. It cannot refer policy making to the liberal Democrats. It cannot rely on the capitalist political machines to

crush the monster they gave birth to and nurtured.

The Jan. 2 *Nation*, in an editorial called "Mice or Men," continues to bank on the Democratic party as the bulwark against McCarthyism, although it deplores every move the Democrats are making to "embrace McCarthyism." "The Democrats will have to recognize the political realities of 1954," says the magazine, "McCarthy is a candidate for the Presidency. Evil is abroad in the land. There is an odor of fascism in the air."

But the Democratic high command cannot "recognize the political realities" the way the *Nation* wishes them to. And the worst fallacy, the most treacherous illusion, is the *Nation's* policy, shared by the labor officials, the Social Democrats and the Stalinists, that the Democratic Party can be made over into the vehicle of struggle against American fascism on the march.

What we need are representatives who will fight against McCarthyism on a principled basis and rally the forces of labor and the minorities from the tribunal of Congress. One fighting senator, scornful of slimy deals with the fascists, conscious of the

mighty power of 17,000,000 organized workers behind him, could sail into the McCarthyite rat-pack and put them on the run.

MUST FIGHT POLITICALLY

But for this, labor must embark on a new political policy. It must organize on the political arena to defend its own interests. Then it can wage war against the concentration-camp and slave-labor plotters.

The *Nation* speaks of "Labor slowly awakening to a realization of the threat represented by McCarthy and his phony demagoguery." They cite examples: "In Detroit, Cleveland, and Pittsburgh, all key industrial areas, labor leaders have begun to speak out. In San Francisco the independent International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union set an example for American labor by giving Representative Velde a reception he will not soon forget."

This is true. But the point is that the Longshoremen of San Francisco set an "example" because they acted with the independent power of their union in a political demonstration against union-busting McCarthyism. They organized a 24-hour protest strike the moment Velde started to witch hunt their union.

Multiply the action of the San Francisco Longshoremen by the strength of every union local in the country, mobilized in a fighting political machine of labor, and turn this power against McCarthyism — the fascist danger will be ended once and for all.

AROUSED THE COMMUNITY

The example of the Longshoremen has a deeper significance. The San Francisco ILWU is one of the key unions in the country. It was from the cadres of this union that the whole West Coast labor movement of the modern era was built. Its militancy in fighting for labor is unequalled. It has been the target of the witch hunters ever since the San Francisco general strike of 1934. And yet the McCarthyites are powerless before this union. They were practically driven out of the city as the political strike aroused all the anti-McCarthyite forces in the community to vigorous action.

The McCarthyites know that when they attack the Longshoremen they are taking on the whole West Coast working class. It is a risky undertaking. This is a profound lesson in this. The real power against fascism is in the working class and its mass organizations. Until the anti-McCarthy forces, and above all the labor movement, learn this lesson, McCarthy's fascist advance faces no serious obstacle.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Militant sales in the Detroit area continue to be as good as during the recent 25th Anniversary Militant Mobilizations, according to Comrade Al Winters. "We are carrying on with this work exactly as we did during the campaign," he writes. "We went to Ferndale, a large project here, again last Sunday. The result was 93 single copy sales in about an hour and a half. Individual scores were Frank, 15; Fred, 5; Elaine, 10; Al W., 8; Edie, 15; Kev, 15; Bob, 13; and Sherry, 12. We also sold five copies of 'The Struggle for Negro Equality.' And during the week Art obtained two six-months subs."

The Boston comrades raised their bundle order this week in preparation for a local sub campaign to begin in a few days. Seattle Literature Agent Heler Baker writes, "We have a slogan here of every comrade a Militant salesman, and so far we are doing pretty good. George, Charlie, B and Frank sell on their jobs. Jack G. and Celia have a couple of customers in their neighborhood. Leon, Ann, Dan, George and I have Sunday routes pretty well established. In addition Ann and I go with the Militant to union meetings and George sells regularly at a church group here."

Philadelphia Literature Agent George Lorca reports that the

comrades have nearly their bundles of 'The Legless Veteran' and 'America's Road to Socialism.' The pamphlet on McCarthyism getting a good response also, I writes. "At the monthly meeting of the Frankford Friends Forum Bob and Morris sold 10 copies of the anti-McCarthy pamphlet and eight copies of the Militant. Speaker at the meeting was Scott Nearing on the topic 'What is Happening in the United States.'"

Many thanks to reader J. S. of Saskatchewan, Canada, for the following letter received a few weeks ago. "I am enclosing \$5 to aid The Militant. I have been a subscriber to The Militant for many years and I think it an excellent club with which to knock capitalism in the head. I think every militant worker should have it and every worker who is not militant should have it too. It is a real good and interesting paper for all workers to read. I wish you the best of success with your good work."

Our sincere thanks also to LUK of Huntington Park, Calif. for his contribution of \$2 to help print the Militant.

Xmas Gift

The Supreme Order of Christ was conferred by Pope Pius XII on the butcher of the Spanish working people, fascist Generalissimo Franco, just in time for Christmas, according to a Dec. 21 UP dispatch.

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Monday, January 11, 1954

Three Views on Depression

Here are three views on the coming depression:

(1) Big bankers of the Guaranty Trust Co. say in their December "Guaranty Survey": "A recession is not an unfortunate accident but a corrective process due to and necessitated by the excesses and maladjustments that have arisen under boom conditions. . . These conditions (recession) . . . have generally defied analysis and prediction, diagnosis and treatment. . . Governmentally administered doses of inflation or 'reflation' . . . cannot be expected to cure the ailment." The bankers propose the following advantages in allowing a "recession" to take its course: "Deadwood is cut out." (By that they mean the small and middle-sized businessmen can be wiped out.) "Price and cost relationships are realigned." (This is a fancy way of saying wages can be cut.)

(2) Walter Reuther, President of the CIO, says in his New Year's statement: "Men of little vision, who would have us believe that depression is normal and prosperity is merely a fluke, talk of the inevitability of recession or depression."

(3) The Militant has a different view from the bankers and the labor officials.

Reuther implies that depression is not "normal" to capitalism. That's either blindness or ignorance, or both. The capitalist system has been going from boom to bust at an increasingly feverish rate. The "busts" have become deeper and the "booms" weaker. While this American "prosperity" that Reuther speaks of flourished, the rest of the world was in economic ruin and revolutionary upsurge against capitalism.

That's why the American capitalists must find a way to crush the world revolution, crush the American workers, crush the upstart capitalist competitors in their midst and "shake things out" for the big boys.

That's where we differ from the bankers. They are hard headed and they know what they want for their class. But they are whistling up a drain pie if they think they can "shake their way" out of this one, and climb out of a "normal" depression on the backs of the workers and small farmers.

It's not going to work that way. The American workers will fight them and beat them, despite the stupidity and worthlessness of their present officials. These officials were elevated to power by the workers, they can be removed by the workers.

Wagner and the Stalinists

A couple of months ago the Stalinist Daily Worker was urging its New York readers to defeat "at all costs" the "Impeller-Dewey coalition" and then the "Riegelman-Dewey gang," presumably by supporting "labor's candidate" for mayor, Robert Wagner, of the Democratic party.

Wagner won and has now been sworn in. He hasn't had much time to build up a record but so far he has done remarkably well in knocking into a cocked hat the treacherous idea that labor can profit from supporting "liberal" capitalist candidates against "reactionary" ones.

A victory for Wagner, the Daily Worker strongly hinted during the campaign, would strike a powerful blow against McCarthyism in New York. As if to demonstrate how "right" the Stalinists were, Wagner, within a few days after the vote was in, announced that some 9,000 city employees would be required to out "loyalty" questionnaires, a move denounced by the AFL municipal workers as putting "the Seal of the City of New York on McCarthyism."

This utterly shameless deal was aptly summarized by the N. Y. Times as a "gesture by both sides to heal the Democratic party wounds left by the Wagner-Impeller fight last year."

Thus everyone got paid off. Wagner ended the family tiff with the section of the Democratic party "headed by James A. Farley, the Coca Cola magnate and ardent Franco espouser."

Impeller, who raised subway fares from a dime to 15 cents, was fixed up for life with a not bad stipend for services rendered. And the Stalinists had the pleasure and satisfaction of seeing how well their election policy of bucking independent labor party politics and supporting a "lesser evil" candidate turned out.

The "New Criticism" Under Malenkov

In the very midst of the Beria purge, the Malenkov regime published "critical articles" by composer Khachatryan, author K. Simonov and others in Soviet literary, artistic and musical periodicals. This "new criticism" has created quite a sensation, especially among liberal circles influenced in varying degrees by the notion of the English journalist Deutscher that the Kremlin bureaucracy, since Stalin's death, is in process of "self-reform," "liberalizing" itself, etc. The liberal weekly Nation in this country and the Manchester Guardian Weekly in England both report this development as a wave of "genuine criticism" unlike anything in the days of Stalin. What a mockery!

Shifts in the Kremlin's doctrine of culture, always correspond to changes in the Kremlin's economic policy and the administrative requirements of the moment. The Beria blood purge, which cannot fail to recall to Soviet citizens the mass bloodlettings of the Thirties, requires some distraction, some gesture of reassurance, not to mention a "liberal" cover. The "new criticism" of Khachatryan, Simonov and others serves this purpose. And yet the sage commentators of the Nation and Manchester Guardian discuss this "new development" as if it had no connection whatever with Malenkov's blood purge, his opportunist economic policy, his administrative expediencies.

The restoration of the right of criticism in the Soviet Union would indeed mark the dawn of a new era. But the "new criticism" represents just the opposite. More accurately it is simply a revival of an old expedient practiced by the bureaucracy since its usurpation of power. Periodically the Kremlin raises a hue

and cry about "bureaucratism," as if nothing more were involved than some psychological quirk, a bad habit of thinking or a poor method of work. "Bureaucratism" is one of the charges under which the current purge, in the party and in the government, in agriculture and in industry, is being conducted. This charge is always initiated by the top bureaucrats and "is a method of self-defense on the part of the upper circles" (Trotsky).

The gist of Khachatryan's criticism, as of the others, is an attack on "bureaucratism" in the arts in this same vein. It is officially inspired. It castigates as the source of all Soviet art difficulties some unnamed officials in the Ministry of Culture or some directors, editors, producers, equally anonymous. Not a word about the Kremlin upper circles, guardians of this regime of fear, lies and flattery; not a word about the greedy, hypocritical and cynical caste of Soviet bureaucrats in whose ranks these artists occupy a most privileged position.

It is a fitting commentary on the "new criticism" that on Dec. 23 "a meeting of Soviet writers of the Ukraine" was specially held in Kiev to demand death "to Beria and his gang." Academician Nesmeyanov, President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, speaking on Dec. 25 in the name of "all the Soviet scholars" expressed his "tremendous satisfaction" at the outcome of the Beria trial. And the next day, Dmitri Shostakovich, the famous composer, expressed his "profound satisfaction" over the execution of the "vile gang of conspirators, Beria and his henchmen."

The Soviet artists and intellectuals have not changed the posture they took under Stalin — down on all fours before their Kremlin patrons.

"And Thanks from One Agitator to Another"

(The following is the text of a letter from James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, to James Kutcher, whose biography, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," was recently published. Ed.)

Los Angeles, Calif. December 29, 1953

Dear Jim,

Your book moved me profoundly, and I would like to tell you why. In my opinion the story you tell about yourself in "The Case of the Legless Veteran" is even more important than the case itself. The dramatic incident of your war injuries in Italy and the shabby pay off from the Veterans Administration in America are well worth a book for their own sake. But they are only a part — one might almost say an incidental part — of the book you have written about your life as a whole.

When you started to write the story of your case, I suppose it never occurred to you that your life, being very little different from that of millions of others, would have any special interest except as background material. In your opening chapters you seem to be hesitant about introducing personal matters into the account of a celebrated political case, in which you just happened to be the man in the middle.

You begin with the remark, "I am an ordinary man" — as though ordinary men are not supposed to talk about themselves, which as a rule, they don't. But as I see it, just because your life has been one of many; because you have seen and felt and lived pretty much the same things as the others — in speaking of yourself you have spoken for the others too, with their own thoughts and feelings and in their own language.

A MODEL EXAMPLE

In this book, which is so completely American, and yet so purely free from national pride and arrogance, so personal and yet so objective, you have unknowingly given the movement a model example of the right way to explain socialism to those who need the information most. The socialist revolution is a worldwide affair, but the man who will make it in this country does not live all over the globe; he lives right here; he is the American worker as he is, and as he will change, without ceasing to be what he is. He is the man who will decide everything, and for that reason he is the one we have to talk to. Those who don't understand that, who talk "over

his head," are in reality talking only to themselves. Nobody is listening, and they might as well shut up.

I read your book with great satisfaction; not only for its own interest and merits as such, but also because I found in it a certain justification and support of my own conception of the tasks of the American socialist movement, and what I personally have tried to do about it.

The international outlook, which takes the modern world as a unit and proceeds from that, is the necessary starting point for the orientation of a revolutionary party in national affairs. But the international outlook is only that — the starting point and means of orientation; it is not a substitute for the building of an indigenous national party, rooted in the soil of its own country and articulating the instinctive striving of its own working class. I have always wanted our party to be the most internationalist and at the same time the most American, the most theoretical and also the most practical, of all the political tendencies in the labor movement.

GUIDING THOUGHT

We were animated by this unified conception from the first, in the pioneer days of American communism, when the idea of internationalism, with our help, brought the main core of the radical American workers' movement to the Russian Revolution and the Communist Party. We clung to the same conception during the first decade of American communism, when we fought to Americanize the party; to connect it with the living movement of the American workers and to resist the tendency which later succumbed to the fatal theory of "socialism in one country," i.e., in Russia alone.

Again, in the early days after our expulsion from the Communist Party, when we were condemned by the circumstances to preoccupy ourselves in isolation with international and theoretical questions, we never lost our aspiration to find contact again with the mass movement. We regarded our theoretical work as the preparation for a more fruitful activity in the mass movement later on. It worked out that way when the revival of labor radicalism opened the doors of opportunity for us after five years of isolation.

NEW TESTS

Now we have a new situation, in which our work must be guided by a plan. The combined weight of the artificially prolonged



JAMES KUTCHER

prosperity and the raging witch hunt again submits the vanguard of the vanguard to the cruel test of isolation. We have to theorize the new situation in order to find a way out. At the same time, a revisionist current in our world movement again obliges us, whether we like it or not, to concentrate our attention on international questions. In these circumstances, once more, we need an occasional sharp reminder of our old unified conception — that theoretical preoccupation is not a substitute for mass work but a means of developing it more effectively; that international ideas and associations are not a substitute for work on the national field.

More than that, the two sides of these combined tasks should not be separated from each other, either in theory or in daily activity. The moment a party begins to neglect its external propaganda, the moment it ceases to search for new people to talk to and to recruit, it begins to die. The national and the international, the practical and the theoretical, ought to be united and carried on at the same time. This, of course, is easier said than done. It requires a conscious effort on the part of some to start the work that may be neglected on one side or the other, and set

the example. From that point of view I am especially grateful and inspired by the appearance of your work of socialist propaganda at the present time.

INSPIRING BOOK

For more than a year our movement has been up to its neck in an internal factional fight, and now has to turn its attention to an international extension of the same thing. This has been the signal for wisecracks, who never do anything themselves, to begin once again to cackle: "Oh, those Trotskyists, they're at it again; they spend all their time on factional squabbles." At such a time, it is most refreshing and inspiring to see an unpretentious man named Jim Kutcher, who takes a firm stand in the faction fight himself, come forward with a simple and powerful work of socialist propaganda, which shows that he has not forgotten the ordinary American worker and knows how to talk to him about the problems of his life and his socialist future.

Anyone who can do that, Jim, and who likes to do it and thinks it is important, is my brother. Of all the different kinds of work I have done in my time in the movement, that which I have enjoyed most, which gave me the most complete personal satisfaction, was the writing of propaganda pieces in my "Notebook of an Agitator." I would have been content to stay in a corner of the party, doing that kind of work, and let others take care of other tasks. I deeply regretted that the exigencies of the internal factional struggle interfered with the realization of this modest ambition.

But after all, the party is what counts and the party line comes first. None of us can do much by himself if the party line is not straight. If the party's policy is wrong and the leadership is inadequate, the work of individuals comes to naught. We can work effectively only in and through the party. Sometimes that requires a factional struggle to straighten out the party.

OTHER TASKS

But at the same time, we should never get so lost in the faction fight that we neglect the broad constructive work of propaganda; forget to talk to the ordinary workers; still worse, forget even how to talk to him. For my part, I am glad that I didn't forget. Despite my preoccupation with the internal struggle against a crude revisionist and capitulatory current in our party during the past year, I still managed to sandwich in my six lectures on

"America's Road to Socialism," which now take their place, in pamphlet form beside your book in the propaganda arsenal of the party. I feel good about that.

That party will win in the United States which keeps its revolutionary political line straight, and takes time to straighten it out when the line deviates, and yet never ceases to believe in the American workers, and never stops talking to them in their own language. Sometimes this two-sided task requires a division of labor among the people who make up the party. Our National Committee is giving the party an example of this combination of tasks and division of labor.

It has done its full duty on the front of the internal struggle during the past year, and is now doing all it can do to help orthodox Trotskyists on the international front to combat the revisionist tendency. At the same time, the party is bound to note with approval that the National Committee — without neglecting its international duties — is also sounding the alarm, and leading and organizing a struggle on the domestic field against the manifest emergence of a native fascist movement.

SPEAKS FOR MILLIONS

The secret of success for a revolutionary party, I repeat again, is the unified conception of its tasks and the division of labor. Your life story, which you have told so effectively in "The Case of the Legless Veteran," is a great contribution on your part to this division of labor. You can, and no doubt will, say: "Why, I did nothing but tell what I saw and experienced and felt and thought as the son of a working-class family in high school, in the long depression, in the war, and then in the witch hunt. I'm not much different from the others. I just happened to come into contact with the socialist movement — that made all the difference and changed my whole life."

But that's just the point, Jim. In your book you speak, in anticipation, for millions of others like yourself, who will also come into contact with socialist ideas. That will make all the difference for them too, and with that little difference they will change this country and change the world. Anyone who helps to disseminate these change-making ideas, in a form and language accessible to the American worker as he is, is helping thereby to change this country and the world.

With warm personal regards and thanks from one agitator to another.

James P. Cannon

Storm Clouds Mass Over Economy of U. S.

(Continued from page 1) as 64,734,000, with 1,562,000 unemployed. In October, the civilian labor force — despite population growth — was put at 63,404,000; that is, 1,330,000 less than four months previously. But October unemployment was reported at only 1,162,000, about 400,000 below June. They just wiped out more than a million of the labor force, as if with an H-bomb, and then eradicated hundreds of thousands of unemployed with a statistical A-bomb.

FACTS THEY CONCEAL

But the layoffs have been coming so fast and furious for the past five months that they can no longer be concealed. In fact, government figures show that between October and November factory employment dropped 300,000. At that rate, there will be 4,800,000 factory layoffs alone in one year. Unemployment compensation claims rose from 760,681 on Oct. 1 to 1,401,666 by the second week in December.

"Where Are the Unemployed?" asked an article in the Dec. 4 1953, U.S. News and World Report, and it answers, "When business dips from boom levels. . . some get lost in the statistics. That is happening now. . . The answer to the mystery lies in the official figures themselves. These figures do not tell the whole story of unemployment. They tend to conceal large numbers of workers who have lost their jobs. . ."

There is scarcely an industry or a plant that hasn't been laying off workers. The latest publicized example is the railroad industry. The Baltimore and Ohio line cut its working force 11% effective with the New Year. The B&O together with the Pennsylvania Railroad dropped 13,400 men. On Dec. 31 the Missouri Pacific lines announced a cut of about 2,000 because "present business was down about 10 per cent." The Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad made a similar announcement. Other big roads are expected to do likewise.

It would be safe to say that actual unemployment is now not less than double the figures given out by the government.

Eliminated from the unemploy-

ed figures today are 3 1/2-million persons over 65, who were formerly counted as jobless, but now are out of the labor force because the government gives them from \$49 (single) to \$84.75 (couple) a month on an average as "social security." This is far less in purchasing power than many of these same people got on government relief jobs back in the Thirties, when they were listed as unemployed. The armed forces absorb an additional two million potential wage-earners over the 1949 military quota.

What stands in the way of a big downside? We can dismiss assertions like that of Dr. Gordon W. McKinley, head of the Prudential Insurance Company's economic staff, who claimed that the factors leading to a slump "will be offset in a large measure by a sharp increase in consumer buying." The nation's department store sales fell below 1952 figures for 10 of the 13 pre-Christmas weeks.

Not a single important economic stimulus — including private capital investment and government military spending — is expected to reach 1953 levels in 1954. But all these factors would have to increase over 1953 just to keep the same level of business activity and rate of employment.

For it isn't enough to stay even. The population has grown ten million since 1950 — 2,700,000 in the last year alone. Every year the labor force grows by a couple of million. Every year we must have an additional couple of millions of jobs available.

"AUTOMATION"

But that's not all. A new word has entered the workers' vocabulary in the past year. It's "automation." We are going to hear a lot more of this word in the years ahead. It means almost completely automatic, electronically-directed production. It is super-rationalization that has already invaded the automobile, radio and TV and other industries and threatens to supplant millions of workers. (See article on page two.)

The factors of population

growth and automation will guarantee a vast growth of unemployment even if present production totals decline only slightly or remain at the 1953 level. A mere 1% dip in production in 1949 resulted in over four million unemployed.

The available market has already reached near saturation for cars, refrigerators and other expensive durable goods. Will the industrialists invest in bigger and better plants to produce even more goods when their markets are so uncertain? If they invest, it will be to introduce automation and cut down pay rolls.

"SOBERING THOUGHT"

"One sobering thought," said John G. Forrest, in his review of the "Robust Economy of U.S." in the Jan. 4 N. Y. Times special survey, "is the realization that there was more money and credit available at the end of 1953 than was wanted. . . The pressure of funds seeking lodgment was so great that Government bonds were at new high prices for the year, and sales of United States savings bonds were running at their highest level since 1946."

The weight and savings of the monopolists keep piling up. The corporations hold the fabulous sum of more than \$90 billion in working capital — idle capital crying to realize more profits and more capital. But the possibilities of profitable investment decline constantly. Only through the government's war program can this vast capital accumulation find an outlet today.

The "sobering thought" is precisely the fact that all economic indices reached their highest point in history in 1953. That means, the capitalist contradiction of over-production — both of goods and capital — has reached its highest intensity. It can bring a fearful economic explosion.

Coffee Goes Up

The A & P has boosted the price of its coffees two to four cents a pound, with other chains expected to follow suit, reports the Jan. 5 Wall Street Journal.

World Events

By Paul Abbott

SOOTHING PREDICTIONS that the U.S. faces only an "orthodox recession" in 1954 have failed to save the usually phlegmatic British capitalists from a nervous spasm, perhaps because they are still on edge after the harrowing experience of having a Labor Government brought to power by a people fed up with the depressions and years of capitalism. "It is a rule of thumb in British business circles," explains the Dec. 31 Christian Science Monitor, "that when United States business indices drop 1%, that is reflected in a 5% drop for British trade. Thus when American economists this week were forecasting a 5% drop in the United States figures, the British translated that into a 25% cut for themselves, and naturally became panicky."

THE CANADIAN DEPARTMENT OF LABOR'S latest figures show a sharp rise in unemployment. The total jobless in November reached 266,000, an increase of 48% over last year and 39% over October. Ontario appeared to be hardest hit. Job applications at National Employment Service offices there shot up to 84,000 compared with 50,000 last year. Canada's economy, dominated by American capital, is quite sensitive to ups and downs in the U.S. business cycle.

THE NAZIS are raising their heads in Germany, according to the Dec. 12 Frankfurter Rundschau. In Hesse, Otto Schnell, a Nazi party leader since 1932 has organized a group, Schwinn, another old Nazi, boasts that he has an organization numbering 10,000 members. At a recent meeting he maintained that it was a good thing "today to have proud SS members to rearm Germany." The Frankfurter Rundschau, which is not given to sensationalism, declared: "There can be no doubt that German democracy is undergoing a crisis and that it must find the means of avoiding the reconstitution, especially in Hesse, of the Nazi party. There are too many in Germany who think that democracy is nothing but a form of the State, quite good for clearing up the errors due

to a lost war, for getting things started again, and permitting the war criminals to be replaced by others until they again seize power by force. That is why it is necessary to act very soon."

"LIBERATING" THE KOREANS. When the Truman administration intervened in the Korean civil war in 1950 there were some 11 million people living north of the 38th parallel. When the fighting came to an end July 27, 1953, Truman's "Operation Killer," according to Peter Edson, had achieved the following results: "Of the 11 million North Koreans, approximately four million have been killed and another four million are refugees in South Korea. That leaves only three million natives in North Korea. . . The North Korean villages and countryside were so completely bombed that they must be considered totally destroyed." (N. Y. World Telegram, Jan. 2.)

WARNINGS OF THE BOLIVIAN TROTSKYISTS that the Paz Estenssoro government intended to open areas in the eastern part of the country to U.S. imperialist interests because "of radioactive minerals that could be utilized in making atom bombs," were recently confirmed inadvertently by a high government official. Hugo Salmon Tapia, president of the Banco Minero, admitted to the press: "As for radioactive minerals, their control lies with the Ministry of Mines, but the Banco Minero will do everything necessary to develop this wealth, cooperating in this with the Atomic Energy Commission which came from the United States and which has been working in the field for a year."

THE DANISH TROTSKYISTS' attack "the myth" created by the Social Democrats that Denmark enjoys model social legislation and has even created "a socialist society." The truth is that Denmark is "essentially capitalist." Unemployment in the past year rose to almost 27%, and relief allowances were "miserable." The Danish Trotskyists publish Det Ny Arbejderblad and Le Lucta, an Interlingua digest.

Nixon's Tour

By Jean Blake

The Vice President took a trip around the world recently and discovered that Asians and other colored peoples, who make up a majority of the earth's population, are more impressed with acts of segregation and discrimination against Negroes in the United States than with this country's "message of democracy."

Concerned primarily with winning the propaganda war against "communism," Nixon concluded, in a radio and television talk Christmas Eve:

"The job is to get our message to these people, and up to now we are not enjoying too much success at the task. Every act of racial discrimination and prejudice in the United States hurts us as much as if an espionage agent were giving an enemy a dangerous weapon to use on us."

We don't agree with Mr. Nixon's point of departure — mere concern for what others think. We'd be for complete destruction of Jim Crow even if the majority of the people of this war-torn world were "white" and in favor of discrimination. Moreover, we didn't have to make a trip and discover the world in order to know how hypocritical the administration's pose of "leader of the free world" is.

We warn that any civil libertarians who place great significance in Nixon's statement

will be sadly disappointed if they rely on him to lead any struggles against segregation and discrimination.

Don't forget, this is the same Nixon who has had a race-restricted home in California for some time, and who, unless he has recently been converted, opposes fair employment practices legislation!

It is not the flagrant injustice of racial discrimination that bothers the Vice-President; but only the fact that its exposure weakens the State Department's propaganda.

For example, the papers were still talking about Nixon's report when another lynching occurred. Moses Jones was arrested, handcuffed, taken away and killed by Sheriff Jenkins A. Hill in Grove Hill, Alabama, Dec. 28. Jones had testified against Hill in a bootleg case three months ago. Hill claimed he shot the unarmed man in self-defense. There were no witnesses.

Before many weeks have passed, the story will have traveled around the world as a kind of follow-up on Nixon's tour. This is the kind of incident, all too familiar in the news, that bothers the Vice President. But can we expect him to protest the lynching itself? It's not likely. White supremacists at heart approve such incidents, favorable or unfavorable to their publicity schemes.

"Come and Marry Me"

By Joyce Cowley

"Oh, come my love and marry me
And I will take good care of thee."

Until recently, these lines summed up the function of marriage in our society. The goal of every properly brought up woman was to find a husband who could take good care of her. It was considered a bit indecent for a married woman to work, and reflected on the character of her husband.

The last 50 years have brought some startling changes. The other day a young girl at my office said:

"I don't worry too much about a raise. I'm going to get married. Then I'll stay home and keep house."

Everyone laughed.

"What quaint ideas she has!" said our receptionist, who expects a baby in another three months.

Figures just released by the Census Bureau show that there are nearly 11,000,000 married women working — 57% of the female labor force. Widows and divorcees make up another 16%. This means that there are only 27 single women out of every 100 who are working. It is a complete reversal of the situation in 1900 when single women constituted 67% of the female labor force and married women only 15%. In 1900, about one married woman in every 20 worked. Now it's one in four.

Notes from the News

ANOTHER RADULOVICH. In a "loyalty" case similar to that of Milo Radulovich of Detroit, an Air Force lieutenant, Thomas Sheppard of Cleveland, was discharged because his brother Paul, an organizer for the United Electrical Workers Union, had refused to testify before the McCarthy Committee last May. Paul Sheppard protested the action against his brother, writing to Ohio senators and congressmen and Pres. Eisenhower. When the separation order came through, Thomas Sheppard's commanding officer refused to carry it out and appealed to higher authorities. These protests won a clearance for the union organizer's brother and the discharge was withdrawn.

A FORMER COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBER is suing for release from the Army on grounds of official discrimination based on his admitted former political association. Private H. L. Marshall, a dentist, charges that he is being kept in the Army as a private with the duties and responsibilities of an officer. The Army holds that, although professionally-qualified as a dentist to hold a commission, he lacks personal qualification because of his "previous record as a subversive," but, they contend, "there's no reason why he shouldn't serve in the service." (UP, Jan. 4.)

JUDGE DISAGREES WITH JURY — CALLS FBI A Federal District Judge who didn't agree with a Chicago jury's acquittal verdict of a robbery defendant has asked the FBI to investigate the background of the jurors. (AP, Dec. 21.)

"TWO MEDIUM SIZE H-BOMBS, converted into dollars, would provide all the materials to build 100,000 'aided self help' housing units, of the type erected in Puerto Rico, or enough housing for 600,000 persons on the bottom of the economic ladder," says a writer in the Washington Post.

PROFITS PER EMPLOYEE were greater for the railroads in 1953 than ever before, according to figures released by the Association of American Railways. Class 1 carriers netted \$902 million for the year, as against \$824 million for the boom year of '52. That amounts to \$751 net profit for each worker. In 1952 the take was \$674. (Labor, Jan. 2.)

A PRIVATE WIRE? There were at least 58,000 permits issued to tap telephone wires in 1952 in New York City alone, Supreme Court Douglas is reported to have told the American Law Institute.

KEPT OUT BY CARTEL A long-life cadmium storage battery, known and used abroad for years, but kept out of the American market by a cartel deal, will finally be made available here by its patent holder, the Sonotone Corp., maker of

hearing aids. The new battery is half the size of the standard battery used today, will cost two to five times as much, but will last 10 to 20 years.

PHONE FILM CENSORED. A censored version of the Rural Electrification Administration's film, "The Telephone and the Farmer," will soon be reissued. The film, in its original form pointed up the difficulties of farmers trying to get phone service. It was withdrawn under pressure from the telephone trust. Absent from the censored version is the stated fact that there are fewer farm phones today than a generation ago, and such lines as, "We've begged for a phone," and "Just what do you have to do to get a phone out here in the country?"

LAND OF THE FREE. January is "registration" month for some two and a half million aliens. Under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1951 all foreign-born residents who are not naturalized citizens are required to register yearly, with parents registering for children under fourteen. Aliens are required to carry their registration cards at all times.

AMERICAN TROOPS ARE STATIONED IN 63 lands outside continental U.S.A., according to the Dec. 25 U.S. News & World Report: Austria, Alaska, Australia, Aleutian Islands, Azores, Belgium, Brazil, Bolivia, Bermuda, Canada, Cuba, Colombia, Denmark, Egypt, England, Eritrea, El Salvador, France, Formosa, Germany, Guam, Greenland, Greece, Honduras, Hawaii, Israel, India, Indochina, Italy, Indonesia, Iceland, Iran, Iwo Jima, Japan, Kawajalein, Korea, Liberia, Lybia, Malaya, Morocco, Midway Island, Okinawa, New Zealand, Netherlands, Norway, Panama, Peru, Portugal, Pakistan, Paraguay, Puerto Rico, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Saipan, Trieste, Trinidad, Thailand, Turkey, Virgin Islands, Venezuela, Wake Island, Yugoslavia. More U.S. troops are stationed abroad today than were in the entire Army four years ago. They are in more places today than ten years ago at the height of World War II.

A STANDARD RIFLE AND CARTRIDGE will replace the seven different ones now used by member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Part of the preparations for World War III, standardization of arms on an international basis makes for more efficiency and also greatly increases the dependency of the satellite powers on Wall Street. The changeover will cost U.S. taxpayers billions of dollars.

DETROIT RENTS have skyrocketed twice as fast as in other big cities since the city's common council killed rent controls in September, 1952. Since 1949 the national rent increase has been 8%—in Detroit it was 15.9%. (Mich. CIO News, Dec. 31.)

THE MILITANT

Crisis in Italy Worries Wall Street

The resignation of the right-wing Christian Democratic cabinet of Premier Giuseppe Pella in Italy on Jan. 5, is the latest manifestation of the chronic political crisis of Italian capitalism. Pella's government was installed a brief four-and-a-half months ago after the fall of De Gasperi. The De Gasperi regime had raised hopes among Italian capitalists for a stable government on the model of the reactionary Adenauer regime in West Germany. However the acuteness of the social crisis in Italy, the strike movement of the workers, the social demands of the farmers, and the inner crisis in the ruling class toppled De Gasperi and opened the severe political crisis that still remains unresolved.

Pella became premier as a "caretaker" government until a new cabinet was formed. Once more hopes were raised in capitalist circles that a stable cabinet could be formed around Pella. These hopes were enhanced by the popularity Pella gained in whipping up chauvinist hysteria on the Trieste issue.

The immediate issue on which Pella has been forced to resign, throws light on the social and economic background of the political crisis. Pella attempted to reshuffle his interim cabinet, and install Salvatore Aldisio, a landed baron, as Minister of Agriculture. Pella's appointment of a Monarchist baron proved too raw and the Christian Democratic parliamentary group unanimously voted to reaffirm their "land reform" program. This provoked Pella's resignation.

A Jan. 5 N. Y. Times editorial says, "This is bad news for the west." They regret the "weakened governmental structure" at a time when the European Defense Community is up for a vote. They

Going Nowhere in Italy



Soldiers guard the deserted platform of a railroad station in Rome during a recent strike by a million government employees for higher wages and other benefits. Only a few trains, operated by army engineers, ran during the 24-hour stoppage. Italy's economic and political crisis is deepening.

say, "The evolution of the crisis will be watched with some anxiety."

This "anxiety" of the Times is a reflection of the deep concern in Washington over the trend of affairs in Italy. U.S. Ambassador Claire Booth Luce has been conferring with Dulles and other high Washington officials about the gravity of the Italian crisis. "Italy faces labor unrest," this is an understatement. During December Italy witnessed two 24-hour general strikes of a nationwide character, both in private industry and in government. The strikes manifest the extreme dissatisfaction of the workers with their economic conditions. But all observers concede

that they had marked political overtones.

Recent reports also indicate that the Italian Communist Party, the largest Stalinist Party in western Europe, after a heavy decline is again beginning to pick up. This is symptomatic of the fact that the "labor unrest" tends to seek radical political expression. The crisis of the capitalist government is a reflection of the crisis of Italian society. Italy has long been ripe for a revolutionary socialist transformation. The only force that has kept the capitalists in power is the Stalinist leadership of the mass workers organizations. Thus the crisis continues to simmer and threatens once more to come to a boil.

"How I Was Broiled By Senator McCarthy"

By Art Sharon

THE AGE OF SUSPICION. By James Wechsler. 333 pp. New York: Random House. \$3.75.

It is not unlikely that in the years to come, 1953 will be looked upon as the time when what had long been implicit in American politics took form and shape — McCarthyism emerged as a serious contender for political power. And those who had become alarmed over the witch hunt now had to face up to an even more sinister development.

The chief aspirant for the role of fascist dictator in America made his debut, not wearing a black or brown shirt but sporting a soft Stetson, driving a sleek Cadillac given him by multi-millionaire Texas oil kings, and displaying his inquisition from the privileged floor of the U.S. Senate.

James Wechsler, editor of the liberal New York Post, does not see this although he underwent the lesson personally of being tried by America's No. 1 witch hunter. Nevertheless his book is worth reading for what it reveals of the liberal world as it faces up to McCarthyism. Wechsler unwittingly exposes the fatal flaw that cripples and demoralizes a broad section of defenders of civil liberties and democratic rights. He agrees with McCarthy's major premise — that "communism" represents a "conspiracy" rather than a political opinion and endangers America.

McCarthy summoned Wechsler for inquiry before his committee in April 1953 to give the editor of the New York Post a sort of preliminary working over as a warning. The Post had come to the witch hunter's attention because of a series of articles it printed attacking McCarthy's methods and some aspects of his record.

A paper that reflects the opinions and sentiments of many of New York's skilled workers and large middle class, the Post flies the political flag of the Americans for Democratic Action and the Liberal Party. To the McCarthyites it is a carbon copy of the Daily Worker. The Wisconsin demagogue boasts that he never reads "the rag." To reach into New York and directly challenge this liberal Democratic paper fits well into the McCarthy pattern of intimidation and terror.

TENDER MEAT

Wechsler was tender meat for the McCarthy broiler. The young editor had spent a brief period in the Young Communist League during the middle Thirties and since then had been an active member of the liberal anti-communist camp.

In the YCL, Wechsler proved to be neither a natural-born rebel,

an incorruptible seeker after truth, or a sympathizer with the founded and the persecuted. The fight against Trotskyism, he reports, dominated the internal life of the Stalinist movement at that time. And Wechsler, as a pure-blooded liberal under the banner of Stalinism, joined the Trotsky baiters. He made a speech at a student conference of the YCL "analyzing" Trotskyism which the top functionaries of the party found so perfectly tailored to the Moscow frame-up pattern that they promoted Wechsler to the top committee of the YCL.

From a paid functionary in the Stalinist movement to a paid journalist in the social-democratic liberal press was but a natural step. (The brief pause in-between when he was not attached to any payroll was a very frightening experience, Wechsler testifies.)

"BRUTE BRILLIANCE"

McCarthy scarcely needed to touch a fork to his victim. A description of McCarthy's tactics as "brute brilliance" is cited by Wechsler as if he were fascinated by the cold, malevolent Senator, who like Hitler seems to lack a heart and to have a calculating machine inside his skull. You were either for McCarthy or you were working for the Communists. Wechsler brought along what he thought would be a bombshell — a resolution of the CP's Central Committee violently denouncing Wechsler — among others — for his anti-communism. McCarthy icily asked him whether or not he had written the resolution himself.

Wechsler, twisting, squirming and sweating as McCarthy turned him on the spit, finally felt the heat turned up too "high." McCarthy ordered him to stool pigeon on people he knew in the Communist movement.

What to do? Perhaps McCarthy did not want him to comply? How could he demonstrate a clear case of newspaper intimidation if he let McCarthy smear him as a balking witness? How could he hope to force this gangster-like senator to release the transcript of the hearing?

The Post editor came to his second hearing in Washington with the list made out. Then McCarthy gave him an unexpected reprieve, telling him that even if he did not turn over the list of old friends and comrades the transcript of the hearing would be released.

What to do now at this surprising turn? Wechsler wrestled in agony with himself. He sought the advice of his publisher, Dorothy Schiff. She gave him her sympathy but told him that the entire matter was something between him and God. He was now alone and after a dramatic in-

ternal struggle his character told — he handed over the judas list with a plea that it not be used to victimize innocent people. That is how the editor of the most important liberal paper in the country led the fight against McCarthyism.

The pay-off came when the Post submitted the transcript to a committee of the Society of Newspaper Editors with the charge that the hearing was an attempt to intimidate the paper. That worthy group, after solemn deliberation, could find no substantiation for the charge.

The publisher's blurb describing the author as a "courageous young editor" is something of an overstatement. It would have been more accurate to describe him as a coward armed with a perfect rationalization: He agrees with McCarthy in the essence of the matter, conceding that "communism" is a "conspiracy" and the main danger. His disagreement is only secondary — over the method of fighting "communism."

LIKE GERMAN LIBERALS

Wechsler is dismayed by the total irrationality of McCarthy's technique. He is demoralized by the "brute brilliance" of the fascist politician's line of attack. His reaction is reminiscent of the behavior of the German Social Democrats and Stalinists in face of the "brutal brilliance" of Hitler's judo blows. There too the liberal journalists tried to placate the witch-hunter-in-chief. It was too late. The bell tolled not for the misnamed "Communists" alone, but for the whole stratum of professional liberals, social-democratic labor leaders and so on down the line. Germany's capitalist rulers no longer needed this crew.

Through this book we can gauge the effectiveness of the Wechsler type in the fight against McCarthyism. The time for their illusion has passed. The liberal camp to which Wechsler belongs cannot save itself from destruction by accepting the premise of McCarthyism. They must face what is and speak the truth — that the real menace facing America is not a communist conspiracy but fascism and its name is McCarthyism.

The Payoff

The Daily Worker, which actively supported Robert Wagner for Mayor of New York, reported Dec. 30 that if the city fails to get sufficient state financial aid, "There is a distinct danger that Wagner, despite the unanimous opposition that such a step would evoke from the labor movement, might ask for a payroll levy to be 'divided equally' between employer and worker."

Second Slaying Revealed in Ala. Murder Case

DEC. 30 — New revelations about the lynching of a Negro prisoner by a Clark County sheriff last week give a startling picture of the state of "law and order" in Alabama.

Last September, Moses Jones, the victim, testified in Federal court that Sheriff Hill and two other men ran a moonshine "protection" racket, and beat him when he refused to pay them \$2 a gallon on illegal whiskey he manufactured.

The case against the sheriff ended in a mistrial whereupon Jones moved out of town because he feared for his safety.

Last week Jones was returned

on a trumped-up fugitive charge and turned over to the sheriff who took him to an empty jail cell and pumped three bullets into him. "He tried to get my gun," Sheriff Hill said, "but I just beat him to the draw, that's all."

It has now been revealed that G. C. Allen, one of the partners in the sheriff's shakedown racket was recently also shot to death in his presence. Sam Deas, the third partner, admitted the shooting of Allen but a local grand jury did not indict anyone for the crime.

Prior to Allen's killing, a Government investigator had testified that Allen had agreed to help the Government in its case against Sheriff Hill and Deas. The Justice Department is said to have ordered the FEI investigate the entire case. It will be interesting to watch much of the FBI's energies be diverted from "spy-hunting" to the prosecution of wanton killers.

Luciano Reported To Know Identity Of Tresca Killers

NEW YORK, Jan. 4 — The contention that the identity of the still unapprehended killers of Carlo Tresca is known to various members of the underworld has been strengthened by the appearance in the case of "Lucky" Luciano, king-pin racketeer, deported to Italy in 1946.

This was brought out this week by Norman Thomas, chairman of the Tresca Memorial Committee, in reporting plans for a meeting in memory of the slain anti-fascist fighter to be held at the Rand School, Saturday, Jan. 9, at 2 p.m.

"Several months ago," Thomas said, "Luciano was interviewed by Michael Stern, Rome correspondent for the Fawcett Publications. Mr. Stern is now in New York for a brief stay. Luciano told him that when he was trying to get out of prison upstate he offered to give to Governor Dewey (in exchange for freedom) the names of Tresca's slayers, who, he declared, were professional killers. But Mr. Dewey 'would not go for this.'"

If Stern is still in New York at the time, he will speak at the memorial meeting, Thomas said, if not he will leave a detailed statement to be read to the audience.

Stern's report on Luciano not only bolsters the idea that the identity of the killers is known to the underworld, but equally supports the widely held view that city and state officials are not particularly concerned about solving this crime which they have been "actively investigating" for eleven years without the shred of a result.

'Like Magic'

"New Industries Grow Like Magic Under Puerto Rico's Tax Clear Sky," reports the Jan. 6 N. Y. Times. Negligible corporation taxes have spurred manufacturing from a dozen or so small plants to 262 factories employing 50,000 workers. Another angle to the "magic" growth is revealed by the fact that the aggregate payroll for these 50,000 workers is only \$16 million annually, which divides out to an average weekly wage of \$6.15.

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Luther Film Banned In Quebec

The movie "Martin Luther" which deals with the role played by Luther in the historic break with Catholicism in the 16th Century, has been banned by the Province of Quebec's Film Censorship Board. Because it shows a Pope encouraging the selling of indulgences, the film would offend some Catholic viewers, the Board held.

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