

# THE MILITANT

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## PUERTO RICO -- WALL ST.'S COLONIAL HELL-HOLE

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## Production Falls, Jobless Increase In "Test" Month

By Art Preis

This month so far has brought no halt to what the CIO on March 15 called the "dangerous rush toward a full-blown depression." Employment and production are continuing to go down in the month that Eisenhower on Feb. 17 had said would mark the turning point of the economic decline. "Some of the President's loyal subordinates wish that he had hedged these Feb. 17 press conference remarks a little more," reports Washington correspondent Joseph A. Loftus in the March 14 N. Y. Times. "They are afraid the public will look for too much too soon."

### UNEMPLOYMENT RISES

After stalling around for 10 days, the Department of Commerce's Bureau of the Census finally decided to make public its latest pre-shrunk figures on unemployment. These showed a further big rise in the number of jobless.

The unemployed, according to the government's own figures obtained by a new method, increased another 584,000 in February, to a total of 3,671,000. By its old method of figuring, abandoned last month, the February increase showed up as 1,026,000, or double the new method's results.

It is safe to say that the number of unemployed has now risen to well over five million. By whatever method the government obtains its figures, they all exclude, among others, those laid off with a "promise" of rehiring within 30 days; those laid off in so-called "seasonal" industries and trades; and those reduced to part-time of even one day or one hour a week.

### DOUBT OWN DATA

Loftus had previously reported in the March 12 Times that the latest unemployment data would be made public "with the [Commerce] department casting doubts on its own product." It has a choice of either the higher total of the new "sampling" method or the higher monthly rise shown by the old method. Evidently, the administration decided it would be better to use the figure that showed a lower rate of monthly increase but a higher total. "There is apprehension that

this may undermine faith in other Government statistics, produce an uproar in Congress, and result in appropriation slashes," says Loftus. But how could the administration know that its phony statistical methods, designed to conceal the true facts of unemployment, would produce such an embarrassing dilemma?

A clear indication of the upward trend is given by the figures on new unemployment compensation claims. These amounted to 318,000 in the single week ending March 6. For the previous week ending Feb. 27, the new claims were 288,200. The total of state jobless payments on the latter date was 2,221,000. These payments cover only 36 million of nearly 64 million persons in the civilian labor force.

### FASTER THAN '49 DROP

Industrial output figures are even more tell-tale. It is now revealed that the pace of the current initial stages of depression is even faster than in 1949. Commenting on the Federal Reserve Board's report that industrial production, as of early February, was 10% below the July, 1953 peak, the National City Bank of New York observes in its March Monthly Letter:

"This means that the contraction in output up to this time has been as large as the entire decline during the 1949 recession. In fact, it has proceeded somewhat faster."

The latest production figures, for the month ending March 6, disclose a still further drop. The index fell off another two points, and possibly three, to 123 or 122, compared to 138 in March, 1953. That means output is now down by 11 to 11½%.

### BASIC INDUSTRIES LAG

This fact is more ominous because big lags are found in the basic industries like steel, auto, heavy construction and private housing starts.

Steel operations for the week of March 16 were scheduled at (Continued on page 3)

# Both Parties OK McCarthy's Witch Hunt, But Hit 'Methods'

## Layoffs Aid McCarthyism, Says Weiss

Sharply rising unemployment and the continued growth of the witch-hunt atmosphere have served to stimulate appreciable interest among workers and students in the appearance in key mid-west industrial areas of Murry Weiss, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member now on a nation-wide anti-McCarthy speaking tour.

Speaking in Youngstown Feb. 20 to an audience composed mainly of steel workers, Weiss stressed the fact that with well over 10% of the Youngstown labor force now jobless, it becomes imperative for the union movement to give organized expression to the already considerable sentiment among the workers there to fight for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay. "This is necessary," he explained not only because it is the only effective way to cope with the already acute problem of unemployment; but it is a strong weapon in the fight against McCarthyite fascism which will surely prosper on the economic crisis if the labor movement fails to provide a program capable of resolving that crisis."

The continued spread of unemployment was reflected at the meeting held for him in Cleveland Feb. 25, where a number of workers in the audience had been hit by plant layoffs. Despite this fact the meeting contributed generously to a collection to further the Socialist Workers anti-McCarthy campaign. Several of the unionists present stayed after the meeting to discuss the effect of the witch hunt in their unions and ways of combating it.

### "DISTRESS AREA"

Addressing an enthusiastic audience that packed the meeting hall of the Socialist Workers Party in Detroit Feb. 28, Weiss said, "Detroit, with its 150,000 unemployed has been declared by the Federal Government a 'distress area.' Detroit is not alone. I have just come through the steel centers and can tell you unemployment is the number one concern of the workers there."

Again underlining the deep connection between growing unemployment and the rise of McCarthyism, and observing that the Detroit workers are now facing a showdown with the witch-hunting Velde committee which is scheduled to open hearings there shortly, Weiss hailed the growing movement in the UAW locals to "scotch this fascist, plan of the Velde Committee to divide and conquer the labor movement."

Relating the growth of McCarthyism to the beginnings of depression, the conference adopted a program, including the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, to protect the workers from layoffs, wage cuts and speedup.

A general resolution on Civil and Equal Rights called for FEPC legislation and condemned "segregation and such riots as the one now going on in Trumbull Park [Chicago housing project where white racist mobs have tried to drive out Negro families], and insist that all responsible authorities immediately end the disgrace now going on by vigorous enforcement of the law."

### HOW TO FIGHT FASCISTS

How mass labor action can combat McCarthyism was illustrated by a delegate from the 5,000-member Swift Local 28. He reported the 24-hour strike of the San Francisco longshoremen against Velde's House Un-American Activities Committee that forced the inquisitors to cut short their hearings and quit town.

The same delegate amended the McCarthyism resolution along the following lines: That the UPWA recognize McCarthyism as a fascist menace and that the conference select a committee to organize a united labor demonstration of all unions against McCarthyism.

### Another Korea?



The sending of American Air Force skilled technicians to Indo-China battlefield by Eisenhower has aroused grave apprehension that this is a step calculated to plunge the U.S. into another civil war like the one in Korea. At top, an American crew works on a plane at Do Son air base. Below, U.S. Air Force men catch up on reading during lunch hour break.

## UPWA PARLEY CONDEMNS McCARTHYITE FASCISM

By Bert Deck

CHICAGO, March 14 — A strongly-worded resolution condemning McCarthyism as the tool of Big Business was adopted unanimously today by the nearly 600 delegates to the Political Action Conference of District 1, CIO United Packaging Workers of America.

The conference likewise denounced the FBI for assuming "to itself the power of super-government." The conference noted "the development of a myriad of autocratic witch-hunting committees which are used to attack those who fight for the interests of Labor and the people."

### BACK "30 FOR 40"

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## Workers Must Remain on Guard, Step Up Fight on Fascist Senator

By Joseph Hansen

What is the meaning of the appearance of opposition in the capitalist class to McCarthyite fascism? Did the Wisconsin demagogue overreach himself? Is he about to be smashed? Is the wave of hope justified that an "irresistible tide" has set in against McCarthyism? The harsh fact is that such hopes are premature to say the least. They can lead to the dangerous delusion that the struggle is over. Actually the fight against the American form of Hitlerism has just begun. The rise of a bourgeois opposition settles nothing, guarantees nothing. It only raises once again the decisive questions: How can McCarthyism be stopped? Who will do the job?

To assess this newly arisen counter-force and fix its relation to labor's struggle against the fascist menace, we must determine its origin, its aims, and therewith its limitations.

For some time those in the capitalist class who profess to believe in democratic political forms have been critical of the Wisconsin super-witch-hunter. The criticism, however, has mostly been perfunctory, amounting to not much more than grumbling for the sake of the record.

Reputations were smeared by McCarthy, witnesses before his inquisition were browbeaten, slandered, and pilloried; jobholders fired, careers ruined, without creating undue alarm among these self-avowed sterling defenders of democracy. They even watched McCarthy infiltrate the FBI, the State Department, the Federal Communications Commission, without giving off much heat. With two exceptions in the entire Congress, their political representatives voted funds to the witch hunt committees to continue their activities.

This complacency stemmed from their agreement with McCarthy's basic witch-hunting premise that "communism" is no pattern of thought, a political viewpoint that must be judged on its merits, but a "conspiracy" and that it is the main danger confronting America. As a matter of fact they saw McCarthy as nothing but an effective continuator of the loyalty purge launched by Truman which they had approved from the beginning as part of the preparation for another world war.

In addition they felt that the pressure McCarthy exerted against the labor movement was decidedly to their advantage in dealing with militancy in the unions.



MCCARTHY

Then all at once they changed when McCarthy laid profane hands on the army brass. Why this sensitivity over the military caste? Why should Gen. Zwicker be any more of a sacred cow than a striped-pants ambassador of the State Department like Acheson?

It is not because of any democracy in the armed forces that must be defended against encroachment. Precisely the opposite. The military caste, an evil heritage of World War II, is one of the most reactionary institutions in the country. Its Prussian mind is stamped in the police-state mold.

Actually it was the reactionary character itself of the military caste — plus its enormous weight in the government bureaucracy — that tipped the scales for those in the capitalist class not yet

prepared to dump democratic forms completely and definitively. The military caste in America today, as in Germany during Hitler's rise, is a natural breeding ground for fascism. It would take little to start McCarthyism raging through its ranks like smallpox in pre-vaccination times.

To hand this powerful, career-minded force to the Wisconsin upstart would give his movement a qualitatively different weight on the national scene. It would mean that effective political command of the armed forces would shift from the White House to the Senate committee headed by McCarthy.

Thus the calculated attempt to McCarthyize the army forced a section of the capitalist class, primarily the Eastern section, to ask itself: Is it prepared to strengthen native fascism that much today? Is it ready to turn to fascist rule now or in the immediate future? Or to turn the timing over to the judgment of this ambitious pupil of Hitler?

### DECIDE TO CURB HIM

The answer it gave was, "No; not yet." And since the fascist demagogue, backed by the Texas and mid-west capitalists, refused to make a voluntary tactical retreat, it was necessary to put a check rein on him. Not to smash him, but to curb him, to "save him from himself," as one commentator put it.

That is why we witnessed the rare spectacle of such newspapers as the staid N.Y. Times and the conservative Republican N. Y. Herald Tribune mobilizing a campaign against McCarthy; and the aluminum trust permitting its TV commentator Edward A. Murrow to do a carving job on the Wisconsin fascist.

The army brass, at a level in keeping with its mental, moral and political stature, joined in with an exposure of the efforts of McCarthy and his committee counsel, Cohn, to get preferred treatment in the army for one of

(Continued on page 2)

## Faction Struggle Splits Top NMU Leadership

By Art Sharon (First of several articles.)

An unusual document was released this week by the CIO National Maritime Union, a stenogram of a five-day meeting of the union's national council. The meeting was called to deal with the internal situation of the union and the contending officials "spilled their guts" as the saying goes. The top leadership of the NMU, which came to power on a program of expelling all oppositionists, has now split in two. The opposition to the Curran group charges that the union is becoming a one-man outfit that favors white supremacy.

What emerges from the mass of double talk, hypocrisy and just plain wind is the fact that the NMU is drifting toward the shoals with the bridge in the hands of an incompetent and demoralized gang.

Officials confessed at this meeting that efforts to enforce the union's contracts are meaningless. One of them said, "When you confront them (shipowner representatives) with the facts all they do is smirk."

The steady deterioration of conditions on the ships evokes no action, but bigger and better plans for co-ordination, reshuffling of union machinery and new policy documents. All this of course brings no change and the gang on top move around in a daze, exchanging innumerable inter-office memos.

Confronted by the union's attorney with the "brutal facts of life" — a description of the new climate in Washington and the dangers faced by the union — reflexes of the officials proved

dead. Curran thought everything might go to smash because you can't fight "Uncle Sam."

It is safe to say that the dominant concern of most of this union brass is their own individual fate. As National Secretary Neal Hanley put it: "Where is a guy at my age (51) going to get a job at \$12,000 a year especially when all I ever did was squirt a little fat on an engine?" A good question, deserving the answer that he will receive from thousands of seamen.

Hulbert Warner, a vice president of the union, is leading the fight against Curran. Warner and Leo Sloute, another Negro official, made about the only speeches that had a little dignity. Both of them are conscious of defending the rights of the minorities in the union, and their speeches reflected this position.

Warner mentioned an incident that verifies a suspicion long held by union militants of the close bond existing between the FBI political police and certain union officials.

He said that Hoyt Haddock, CIO maritime representative in Washington, came to him sometime last year and told him that he had been approached by all the intelligence departments of the armed services and informed that Negroes and Puerto Ricans were taking over the union under the guidance of an agent (presumably Warner). And that then the FBI came to Haddock with the same information and instructed Haddock, "You will go to New York and you will bring us back information concerning this matter." Haddock came a scotching — performing this task as the FBI's errand boy.



MURRY WEISS

## MURRY WEISS Tour Schedule

Seattle: March 20-23  
Oakland, San Francisco: March 26-29  
Los Angeles: March 31  
New York: April 16

## SWP Opens Intensive Campaign on McCarthy

By Myra Tanner

The story of how a national fascist movement is being written right now. In Yorkville, a section of New York City, there's a group of young hoodlums called the National Renaissance Party that is pro-Hitler, pro-McCarthy and anti-Semitic. This gang distributes dirty, slanderous literature about a "Jewish plot." In the same neighborhood stickers saying "Jew-Communist!" have been pasted on doors of Jewish homes.

In the South Side of Chicago some Negro families have been terrorized by Jim Crow white lynchings. These families have managed to get police protection against the terrorists. However, one of the neighborhood newspapers has been putting pressure on the mayor to withdraw the token police protection of the victims. The same newspaper is sponsoring a meeting for McCarthy on March 18.

The only way this development toward the formation of a national fascist movement can be stopped is through the overwhelming strength of the union movement and the minority organizations. Here alone are the forces and the capacity for a militant anti-fascist struggle.

That is why the Socialist Workers Party directs its main activity toward rousing the labor movement to anti-fascist action. That is why we are now opening a concentrated anti-fascist campaign for the period immediately ahead.

The first and most important job is to provide the SWP with financial means for its anti-fascist activity. The \$14,000 Party Building Fund drive will enable us to maintain our headquarters, our staff, publications and all the other essential requirements of a national organization.

The success of this Fund Drive must be the first concern of every anti-fascist militant. For the Socialist Workers Party is the only organization that not only has the fully correct analysis of the fascist menace in America and the program to meet it, but also the cadres with the audacity and courage to stand in the forefront of the struggle to stop McCarthyism.

The \$14,000 Fund Drive started February 15 and will conclude May 15. With the publication of the first scorecard in the Militant today we see that Detroit leads the way with 60% of its quota already met. The biggest organizational effort now being made by the Party anywhere is in

Detroit to put the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot.

Detroit is the scene of great social unrest with mounting unemployment in the auto center. It is also in Detroit where the fascist demagogue, Coughlin, has come out in the open again after 14 years of silence.

The Socialists of Detroit are inspired by the reception they have had to their petition campaign. The work done now will make it possible to deliver some telling blows against fascism in the coming election campaign in Michigan.

The enthusiasm over the prospects there is indicated by the report of the Fund Drive Director: "One comrade who had to work on Saturdays and so couldn't go out petitioning donated his full Saturday's pay to the petition campaign."

The second immediate task in our anti-fascist campaign is to rouse the working class to the fascist danger. For this reason we are launching a two-month concentrated effort to sell anti-fascist literature from March 15 to May 15.

This campaign, to be recorded with a point system in a score-board soon in the Militant, will include sale of McCarthyism: (Continued on Page 2)

Notebook of an Agitator

Notes for a Historian

Dear Sir: I received your letter stating that you are working on a history of the American communist movement. I am interested in your project and am willing to give you all the help I can.

Your task will not be easy, for you will be travelling in an undiscovered country where most of the visible road signs are painted upside down and point in the wrong directions. All the reports that I have come across, both from the renegades and from the official apologists, are slanted and falsified. The objective historian will have to keep up a double guard in searching for the truth among all the conflicting reports.

The Stalinists are not only the most systematic and dedicated liars that history has yet produced; they have also won the flattering compliment of imitation from the professional anti-Stalinists. The history of American communism is one subject on which different liars, for different reasons in each case, have had a field day.

However, most of the essential facts are matters of record. The trouble begins with the interpretation; and I doubt very much whether an historian, even with the best will in the world, could render a true report and make the facts understandable without a correct explanation of what happened and why.

As you already know, I have touched on the pioneer days of American communism in my book, The History of American Trotskyism. During the past year I have made other references to this period in connection with the current discussion in our movement. The party resolution on "American Stalinism and Our Attitude Toward It," which appears in the May-June issue of the Fourth International magazine, was written by me.

I speak there also of the early period of the Communist Party, and have made other references in other articles and letters published in the course of our discussion. All this material can be made available to you. I intend to return to the subject again at greater length later on, for I am of the definite opinion that an understanding of the pioneer days of American communism is essential to the education of the new generation of American revolutionists.

My writings on the early history of American communism are mainly designed to illustrate my basic thesis, which as far as I know, has not been expounded by anyone else. This thesis can be briefly stated as follows:

Began As Revolutionists

The Communist Party originally was a revolutionary organization. All the original leaders of the early Communist Party, who later split into three permanent factions within the party, began as American revolutionists with a perspective of revolution in this country. Otherwise, they wouldn't have been in the movement in the first place and wouldn't have split with the reformist socialists to organize the Communist Party.

Even if it is maintained that some of these leaders were careerists — a contention their later evolution tends to support — it still remains to be explained why they sought careers in the Communist movement and not in the business or professional worlds, or in bourgeois politics, or in the trade union officialdom. Opportunities in these fields were open to at least some of them, and were deliberately cast aside at the time.

In my opinion, the course of the leaders of American communism in its pioneer days, a course which entailed deprivations, hazards and penalties, can be explained only by the assumption that they were revolutionists to begin with; and that even the careerists among them believed in the future of the workers' revolution in America and wished to ally themselves with this future.

It is needless to add that the rank and file of the party, who had no personal interests to serve, were animated by revolutionary convictions. By that I mean, they were believers in the perspective of revolution in this country, for I do not know any other kind of revolutionists.

The American Communist Party did not begin with Stalinism. The Stalinization of the party was rather the end result of a process of degeneration which began during the long boom of the Twenties. The protracted prosperity of that period, which came to be taken for permanence by the great mass of American people of all classes, did not fail to affect the Communist Party itself. It softened up the leading cadres of that party, and undermined their original confidence in the perspectives of a revolution in this country. This prepared them, eventually, for an easy acceptance of the Stalinist theory of "socialism in one country."

For those who accepted this theory, Russia, as the "one country" of the victorious revolution, became a substitute for the American revolution. Thereafter, the Communist Party in this country adopted as its primary task the "defense of the Soviet Union" by pressure methods of one kind or another on American foreign policy, without any perspective of a revolution of their own. All the subsequent twists and turns of Communist policy in the United States, which appear so irrational to others, had this central motivation — the subordination of the struggle for a revolution in the United States to the "defense" of a revolution in another country.

That explains the frenzied radicalism of the party in the first years of the economic crisis of the Thirties, when American foreign policy was hostile to the Soviet diplomacy; the reconciliation with Roosevelt after he recognized the Soviet Union and oriented toward a diplomatic rapprochement with the Kremlin; the split with Roosevelt during the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and the later fervent reconciliation and the unrestrained jingoism of the American Stalinists when Washington allied itself with the Kremlin in the war.

The present policy of the Communist Party, its subordination of the class struggle to a pacifistic "peace" campaign, and its decision to ally itself at all costs with the Democratic Party, has the same consistent motivation as all the previous turns of policy.

Became A Cheering Squad

The degeneration of the Communist Party began when it abandoned the perspective of revolution in this country, and converted itself into a pressure group and cheering squad for the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia — which it mistakenly took to be the custodian of a revolution "in another country."

I shouldn't neglect to add the final point of my thesis: The degeneration of the Communist Party is not to be explained by the summary conclusion that the leaders were a pack of scoundrels to begin with; although a considerable percentage of them — those who became Stalinists as well as those who became renegades — turned out eventually to be scoundrels of championship caliber, but by the circumstance that they fell victim to a false theory and a false perspective.

What happened to the Communist Party would happen without fail to any other party, including our own, if it should abandon its struggle for a social revolution in this country, as the realistic perspective of our epoch, and degrade itself to the role of sympathizer of revolutions in other countries.

I firmly believe that American revolutionists should indeed sympathize with revolutions in other lands, and try to help them in every way they can. But the best way to do that is to build a party with a confident perspective of a revolution in this country.

Without that perspective, a Communist or Socialist party believes its name. It ceases to be a help and becomes a hindrance to the revolutionary workers' cause in its own country. And its sympathy for other revolutions isn't worth much either.

That, in my opinion, is the true and correct explanation of the Rise and Fall of the American Communist Party.

Yours truly, James P. Cannon

Puerto Rico -- Wall Street's Colonial Hell-Hole

By Joseph Keller

The shots that rang out in the House of Representatives on March 1, wounding five Congressmen, reminded the world once more that Wall Street imperialism rules one of the most impoverished and exploited colonies in the world.

Puerto Rico — an island two-thirds the size of Connecticut and right in America's own Caribbean backyard — after 54 years of U.S. subjugation has slum areas in its capital city, San Juan, rivaling in hunger, disease and filth Asian cities like Singapore and Calcutta.

American capitalism's mouthpieces and press agents have hastened again to throw a propaganda veil over conditions in conquered Puerto Rico. They depict the Puerto Ricans as eager to continue in their present status of "dependents" — that is, colonial subjects — of the great foreign power to their north. But the stench of poverty and oppression rising from this "sun-soaked island" — as the travel folders describe it — cannot be hidden by sweet-smelling words. The odor seeps into even the capitalist press.

"A POOR LAND"

Thus, the March 7 N. Y. Times Magazine section, under the heading "Puerto Rico — Problem Island," describes it as "a poor land, rich in only one thing — a pack of people." There are 2,226,000 of them packed into an island 100 miles by 36. The result: poor housing, inadequate education, unemployment, insecurity. Thousands of Puerto Ricans (50,000 last year) tried to solve their problems by emigrating to mainland United States.

These vile conditions, according to this account, are "one result of overpopulation" and the fact that "much of the island is lacking in fertility and broken up by mountains." But the arguments of "overpopulation" and "lack of fertility" are demolished by the Times' own words in one sentence: "What arable land exists is given over to cash crops — sugar cane and tobacco."

In short, Puerto Rico's plentifully fertile soil was long ago grabbed up by U.S. sugar and tobacco interests protected by U.S. guns. The Puerto Ricans slave on these "cash crop" planta-

tions for abysmal wages. In 1949, tobacco workers averaged 29.4 cents an hour — and their wages have scarcely risen since. But while the workers toil to produce these "cash crops" at starvation wages, they must pay terrifically high prices for rice imported under high tariffs imposed by the U.S.

AVERAGE INCOME-\$306

The Inter-departmental Committee on Children and Youth, headed by the then Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing, on Nov. 3, 1950, issued a report on Puerto Rico. This official report, couched so as to tone down the frightful conditions, nevertheless described the needs of the Puerto Rican people as "greater than any comparable group under the United States flag."

The per capita income in 1947 was only \$306 a year, compared to \$659 in Mississippi, the "poorest state in the Union" where the worst conditions of backwardness and Jim Crow prevail. The average per capita income for the United States as a whole, including the South, was nearly five times higher than for Puerto Rico, or \$1,323.

Last year, the official average wage was \$13 per week. For women, it was a mere \$8. Unemployment was placed at 114,000 by the government, or 14% of the working force. Actual unemployment is believed to be considerably higher. "Relief" is provided on the sumptuous scale of \$7.50 per family — per month. Although U.S. subjects, Puerto Ricans are not covered by U.S. minimum wage laws and cannot collect unemployment insurance.

WALL ST. COLLECTS

Almost all public utilities are owned and controlled by U.S. financial interests, which have invested \$204,000,000 in Puerto Rican municipal bonds. Wall Street collects heavy interest through skyrocketing water and light bills. Water rates have shot up from \$0 and 50 cents in 1942 to \$2 and \$3 a month in 1953; electricity costs \$6 a month now, compared to 50 cents 12 years ago.

No wonder the Puerto Ricans can support only one physician for every 2,500 persons, compared to one for every 200 in New York

state. Some 25% of the population are illiterate, compared to 3% in the U.S. The infant death rate is more than 2½ times as high as in this country.

HAVE NO REAL RIGHTS

We frequently hear the Puerto Ricans spoken of as "citizens of the United States like us." This is false. Puerto Ricans, as individuals and as a nation, have no rights except as granted arbitrarily by a foreign government. They do not have even the "second-class citizenship" of the Negroes in America, who are recognized as "equal" under federal law, although denied equality by a system of illegal terrorism, discrimination and unconstitutional segregation laws in local communities and states.

Puerto Ricans are permitted a limited measure of local self-government, where this does not involve U.S. financial, diplomatic and military interests, and subject to veto and nullification by the U.S. Congress and courts. But the foreign government in Washington controls completely all matters of foreign affairs. It maintains troops and military bases in Puerto Rico and conscripts Puerto Ricans into the U.S. armed forces.

MASS DRAFT DEFIANCE

Some 38,000 Puerto Rican youth were drafted into the U.S. Army during the Korean War. They suffered 3,500 casualties, a far higher rate than for troops from the United States itself. Those who represent the Puerto Ricans as eager to "fight and die for Uncle Sam" need to explain why there have been 100,000 violators in Puerto Rico of the draft law passed by Congress in 1948. It is admitted that 28.5% of those eligible have refused to register for conscription. And only a dozen or so have been brought to trial.

The Puerto Ricans, of course, had no say in the passage of the draft laws or any other U.S. federal law. Puerto Rico has no voting representation in Congress. "Its single Resident Commissioner in Congress has no vote; its inhabitants do not vote for President. Federal laws apply here but Puerto Ricans have no voice in them," notes Peter Kihss, San Juan corres-

pondent, in the March 7 N. Y. Times.

SELF-GOVERNING?

When Puerto Rico secured a "commonwealth" constitution on July 25, 1952, it became official practice to call this colonial holding of U.S. imperialism "self-governing." Puerto Ricans are permitted to elect a Governor and local officials, and to enact purely local legislation, although Congress has veto power. The U.S. was able to bully 26 countries in the UN General Assembly to vote that Puerto Rico is "self-governing;" but the surprising number of 16 others voted no to this description and 8 abstained.

Under this "self-governing" constitution, as has been pointed out, the U.S. directs all Puerto Rican foreign relations, military affairs and international trade. The constitution specifically provides that Puerto Rico may not take any measures to eliminate its status of economic dependency on the U.S. U.S. Federal Law takes precedence over any local Puerto Rican laws.

CONGRESS DELETES

Prior to enactment of the Puerto Rican constitution, Congress in Washington before ratification deleted from the original text a section on human rights taken word for word from the United Nations Charter. This expunged section read in part: "The right of every person to receive free primary and secondary education. . . The right of every person to obtain work. . . The right of every person to enjoy a level of living adequate to assure health, welfare, housing, medical assistance and necessary social services for himself and his family. . . The right of every person to social protection against unemployment, sickness, old age and physical incapacity. . . The right of every pregnant or nursing mother and every child to care and special aid."

Since these are rights that the capitalist government in Washington does not recognize for American workers, it was hardly likely that Congress would approve them for colonial slaves in Puerto Rico. At any rate, the fact that the constitution is subject to ratification, amendment and change by a foreign government

not elected by the Puerto Ricans themselves is sufficient to indicate the kind of "self-government" this constitution provides.

INDEPENDENCE ISSUE

After the gunplay in Congress by members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, the American capitalist press, echoed by Washington's governing puppets in Puerto Rico, claimed there is little sentiment among the Puerto Ricans themselves for independence. It was asserted that both Truman and President Eisenhower pledged the Puerto Ricans independence if they vote for it, but that they have rejected it. These absolute lies are repeated even in the liberal Nation magazine — which usually tries harder than most other publications to stick to the facts — in an article by Waldo Frank on March 13.

Truman did once promise that Puerto Rico will be given independence if the people vote it and in October 1945 proposed a plebiscite "to ascertain from the people of Puerto Rico their wishes as to the ultimate status which they prefer. . ." But in 1946, the then U.S. governor of Puerto Rico, Rexford Guy Tugwell, vetoed a resolution adopted by the island's legislature asking for a plebiscite. Repassed by the legislature, the resolution was ultimately vetoed and killed by Truman himself.

NEVER GIVEN CHOICE

As for Eisenhower, he has never pledged that the Puerto Ricans will be permitted to vote on independence. As a gesture to sidetrack a UN report, Eisenhower issued a publicity statement to the effect that Puerto Rico could get its independence if the legislature — not the people — controlled by the U.S.-controlled Governor Luiz Munoz-Marin asks for it. Munoz-Marin won't ask for it, naturally.

The fact is that the Puerto Rican people have never had the right or opportunity to vote on independence. In the often-cited case of the referendum to adopt the "commonwealth" constitution in 1952, the question of independence was not on the ballot. Moreover, only a minority of the people even voted in the referendum; because of a widespread voting boycott initiated by the Nationalist Party.

U.S. RETALIATION

The response of American imperialism to the shootings in Congress (an act of individual terrorism which Marxists do not approve, although we recognize the extreme provocation by U.S. imperialism) has been a campaign of mass terrorism against Puerto Ricans both in the island and in this country. Hundreds have been picked up by the FBI and police agents, brutally third-degree and thrown into jail. An effort has been made to link the Nationalist Party to the Communist Party and to incite a lynch spirit against all "reds," who are falsely associated with the terrorists.

Moves are afoot in Congress to ship unemployed Puerto Ricans in this country back to Puerto Rico, while Puerto Rico's Secretary of Labor Fernando Sierra Berdecia issued a warning to would-be migrants that they cannot get jobs any longer in this country, especially in New York and Chicago, where large numbers of first- and second-generation Puerto Ricans reside. Thus, an avenue of escape from what Peter Kihss calls an "economic enemy" — Puerto Rico's widespread hunger, "that had opened during the war years when U.S. needed cheap labor, is now being closed. For Puerto Rico, freedom from imperialism lies only along the road of mass struggle.

Debs Club to Hear Murry Weiss

BERKELEY, Calif., March 18 — The Eugene V. Debs Club, an organization of University of California students, will sponsor a talk by Murry Weiss on McCarthyism Friday, March 26 at 8:00 P.M. The address, Stiles Hall, 2400 Bancroft Way.

NEW YORK Friday Night Socialist Forum

Will the Catholic Hierarchy Support McCarthyite Fascism? Speaker: Marvel Scholl Friday, March 26, 8 P.M. Militant Hall 116 University Place (Near Union Square) Questions, Discussion, Refreshments Contribution 25 Cents

... Both Parties OK McCarthy Aims

(Continued from page 1)

their intimates, the wealthy draftee Schine.

The expose, played up as a bombshell by the press, was a hypocritical display of concern for the standards of fair and equal treatment for all in face of the traditional army system of preferred treatment for those with money and influence from whom it primarily selects its candidates for promotion, commissions and pay.

THE LABOR OPPOSITION

Meanwhile another significant development had occurred that played a substantial part in bringing the eastern capitalists around to checking McCarthy. Sections of the labor bureaucracy had begun to open their eyes to the fascist character of McCarthyism and influential voices in the labor movement had begun demanding action to stop McCarthy before it was too late.

The importance of this political turn in the labor movement cannot be over-estimated. It was an indication of the growing polarization of American politics and of growing recognition that labor must roll up its sleeves and take the lead in the struggle against McCarthyism.

From the viewpoint of the strategists of the dominant sections of the capitalist class this represented a grave political danger. It meant that even if McCarthy were given a free hand his drive for power could lead to civil strife that might sink the capitalist system. At a later stage they would be prepared to take this risk. At present the rise of labor opposition causes them to retreat.

And so Stevenson, the titular head of the Democratic Party took to the air. His obvious aim was to capture leadership of the grassroots opposition to McCarthyism which had lifted its head on a nationwide scale at the first encouraging signs of displeasure with McCarthy in high circles.

This in turn precipitated a new crisis in the Republican Party, which is much concerned about the 1954 elections, and which hunter Nixon was delegated to counter Stevenson's bid by vigorously slapping McCarthy on the wrist.

Unquestionably the capitalist opposition to McCarthy — if it persists — can deal the fascist senator a setback. But that is all. They agree with McCarthy's central thesis about "communism," in fact they praise him for his aims and commend him for past services rendered. What they disagree with is only his methods.

But this is a self-contradictory position. McCarthy's stand from the same premise is much more powerful because it is internally coherent. The best way to conduct a witch hunt, as this expert has explained over and over again, is by witch-hunt methods. The end determines the means.

As the March 13 Nation observes in criticizing those who agree with McCarthy's aims but object to his methods: "A good end never justifies the use of evil means; but with how much greater force can it be said that evil ends can never be justified by 'proper' means."

It need only be added that it is not so much a question of "justification" as of determination. You can't adjust a TV set with a sledge hammer or exercise a witch with a strawberry milk shake. To clean out witches you need a rope or a faggot.

The witch hunt fosters and feeds all the dark reactionary forces latent in society including the fascists. These tend to grow at the expense of the others, for they are conscious and know what the game is about. In the world of reaction, they correspond to the necessities of the times. And so at a certain point the witch hunt gives rise to a fascist movement.

The witch hunt contradicts democratic forms. The logic of this contradiction is the destruction of democratic forms. But they are not replaced by a vacuum. They give way to fascism unless labor takes power and extends democracy into the economy itself. We see this lesson in dialectics right before our eyes in America today.

MCCARTHY AS "MARTYR"

Thus no matter what temporary setbacks the democratic capitalists may deal McCarthy, they acceptance of his central thesis means that their opposition cannot prove enduring but will inevitably serve to feed McCarthyism and help prepare its resurgence on a new and more powerful basis.

McCarthy with his cries of "smear" and "blackmail" has already indicated what can happen. His network of protagonists are busy picturing him as a "martyr" and "victim" of communism and its protectors, who hypocritically agreed with his aims but crucified him for his effectiveness in carrying them out. The net effect of the capitalist opposition can be simply to harden the cadres of American fascism assembled today around McCarthy and put a halo around their hero's balding skull.

More important, it can instill the most dangerous delusion in the labor movement about the capacity of Stevenson, Eisenhower and the rest to stop McCarthyism. The delusion is that the job can be farmed out to capitalist politicians. It was this delusion that brought catastrophe to the Italian, German and Spanish labor movements.

TWO APPROACHES

It is noteworthy that the noisy campaign of the democratic capitalist opposition to McCarthyism fails to call the movement by its right name. Allusions are made to its "totalitarian" methods. Yet it is not called what it is — fascism. At most McCarthy is compared as an evil or psychopathic personality to Stalin or to Hitler. Only labor and liberal circles have correctly called it fascism.

This is a manifestation of a fundamental distinction between two approaches to McCarthyism. The Marxists, as the most conscious section of the labor movement, begin by determining the origin of McCarthyism and what McCarthyism is and what its methods stem from. The capitalist opposition is mute about the origin of McCarthyism and what McCarthyism is, showing concern only about the secondary phenomena — its unsavory methods.

There is a reason for this reluctance to find fascism rampant in America, even threatening to capture the Republican Party and the White House. To name McCarthyism for what it is raises an embarrassing question. How did it happen after plunging America into World War II under the slogan of smashing fascism that fascism shortly reared its head in the camp of the victor?

To answer that would invite inquiry into the basic economic and social causes of this scourge and in that way invite exposure of the decay of capitalism. To show that capitalism itself in the epoch of its death agony as a world system is the ultimate cause of fascism does two things: (1) It demonstrates the ephemeral character of the democratic capitalist opposition to McCarthyism. (2) It shows that only by replacing capitalism by the superior planned economy of socialism can the menace of fascism be ended once and for all.

These happen to be the premises to the life-and-death need for the labor movement to have no confidence in any force but its own to stop McCarthyism. The appearance of resistance in the capitalist class to fascism is no novelty. It occurred at a certain stage in Italy, Germany and Spain. Marxist theory took its appearance in the United States into account long ago. Likewise it long ago predicted that this capitalist anti-fascist opposition would prove short-lived. And it explained why. The capitalist class does not like fascism. It is dangerous and costly to turn to the fascist form of rule. As fascism rises it sets off the opposition of capitalists who prefer to cling to democratic forms. But this opposition is feeble, for at bottom it is prepared to junk democratic forms to save capitalism, thus revealing the underlying identity of its outlook with that of the fascists.

All that is required to knock the breath out of the wheezy lungs of the democratic capitalist opposition is a first-class economic and social crisis such as is certain to accompany a major depression. Then these fellow travellers of democracy will swallow their fears and resentment in statesmanlike silence while the fascist demagogue attempts to carry out his assignment of saving the dying capitalist system for a while longer from its socialist alternative.

\$14,000 Fund Scoreboard

Table with columns: Branch, Quota, Total Paid, %. Rows include Detroit, Buffalo, Newark, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Akron, Allentown, Boston, Cleveland, Oakland, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle, Youngstown, General.

...SWP Opens

(Continued from page 1)

American Fascism on the March, one point each, The Case of the Legless Veteran, 10 points, and America's Road to Socialism, five points. The first edition of the anti-McCarthy pamphlet has already been sold out. The second edition has just come off the press. A new anti-McCarthy pamphlet will appear shortly. Sale of The Case of the Legless Veteran is part of the struggle for civil liberties. The case of James Kutehr has been a rallying point for some time in the fight against the witch-hunt. The popularization of this case is a fundamental task in the anti-fascist fight.

America's Road to Socialism by James P. Cannon gives a broad analysis of the economic, social and political problems of the American workers in this epoch. It offers as the alternative to the fascist danger the inspiring future of socialism.

Other aspects of our Anti-Fascist Campaign include the current national tour of Murry Weiss, two more tours planned for later, and many election campaigns in which the SWP will appear, often as the only working class opposition to the boss parties.

Such an ambitious program of anti-fascist struggle deserves the whole-hearted support of every working class militant. We ask you to help us in the campaign. Sell anti-fascist literature. Contribute to the Fund Drive. And join the Socialist Workers Party!

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# ACLU Ranks Oppose Giving Up to Witch Hunt

By Harry Ring

The American Civil Liberties Union, for more than three decades the most important and influential defender of civil rights in this country, is today confronted with a serious internal crisis.

While the bulk of the ACLU membership remains solidly in support of the organization's founding principle of forthright opposition to any infringement of the Bill of Rights, the steady pressure of reaction has exerted a powerful reactionary influence on the organization's national Board of Directors.

Last June, the Board of Directors adopted three policy statements which made concessions to the witch hunters of such a fundamental nature that, if permitted to stand, they would have destroyed the organization's effectiveness in defense of civil rights.

The first of these statements, stripped of qualifying verbiage, endorsed the McCarthyite concept of guilt by association. "It is not a violation of civil liberties to take into account a person's voluntary choice of association when that choice is relevant to a particular judgment."

A second statement defended the extension of the "loyalty" purge to the United Nations, adding only the meaningless proviso that such purges be conducted by the UN itself, rather than by its member organizations.

The third statement lent support to McCarthy's drive to nullify the Fifth Amendment. It asserted: "... it is not a violation of civil liberties for employers in... government, the United Nations, and educational authorities to take into account the refusal of an employee or prospective employee, on the ground of possible self-incrimination, to answer questions... relating to his present, recent or pertinent past membership in, or submission to the discipline of, the Communist Party or other totalitarian organizations."

to this sweeping retreat from ACLU principles. Only three of the smaller chapters voted in favor.

Despite this clear expression of the will of the membership, the Board's majority members decided to veto the referendum decision. This thoroughly undemocratic action was made possible by a constitutional clause which gives the Board that right when it "believes there are vitally important reasons for doing so..."

Fortunately, this bureaucratic effort to scuttle the organization's basic program and enlist it in the McCarthyite camp was blocked, at least for the time being, by the energetic intervention of the ACLU affiliates at a Biennial Conference held in New York Feb. 12-15.

**PRESSURE FROM RANKS**

Despite a voting structure that gives individual board members enormously greater voting strength than representatives of the local chapters, the Conference voted to recommend withdrawal of the three policy statements. So strong was the pressure that a subsequent meeting of the Board, by the narrow vote of 13 to nine, yielded to the will of the organization and withdrew their statements.

The Conference recommended the adoption of a substitute "restatement" of policy which was then adopted by the Board. The militant Northern California chapter, which has sparked the fight to maintain the ACLU's program, characterized the statement adopted as "not entirely satisfactory to anyone, but... generally satisfying the wishes of the various delegates."

The Conference also voted to recommend elimination of the Board's constitutional power to override decisions reached by referendum. It set up a committee to consider establishment of a convention system to run the organization. This committee is to report to a conference to be called in 1955 or no later than 1956.

Demonstrating their awareness that any concessions to the witch hunt weakens the fight against it, the delegates attempted to strike from the by-laws a clause, included at the initiative of the

board in 1940, which bars from office in the organization any person "who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country or... indicates his support of such principle."

A resolution to eliminate this clause was supported by a three to one vote of the affiliates. Its defeat was made possible only by the organization's undemocratic voting set-up.

**UNDEMOCRATIC SET UP**

The present organizational pattern permits the national Board to veto the entire strength of the organization, while representatives of the affiliates cast bloc votes strictly in accordance with their membership. Thus, 12 Board members cast 28,000 votes while a powerful affiliate like Northern California casts only the 3,500 votes of its membership.

Delegates representing 9,970 members voted for the resolution, with the representatives of 3,250 members voting against. Thus it was the 28,000 votes in the hands of 12 board members voting solidly in the negative against the majority of the members that defeated the resolution.

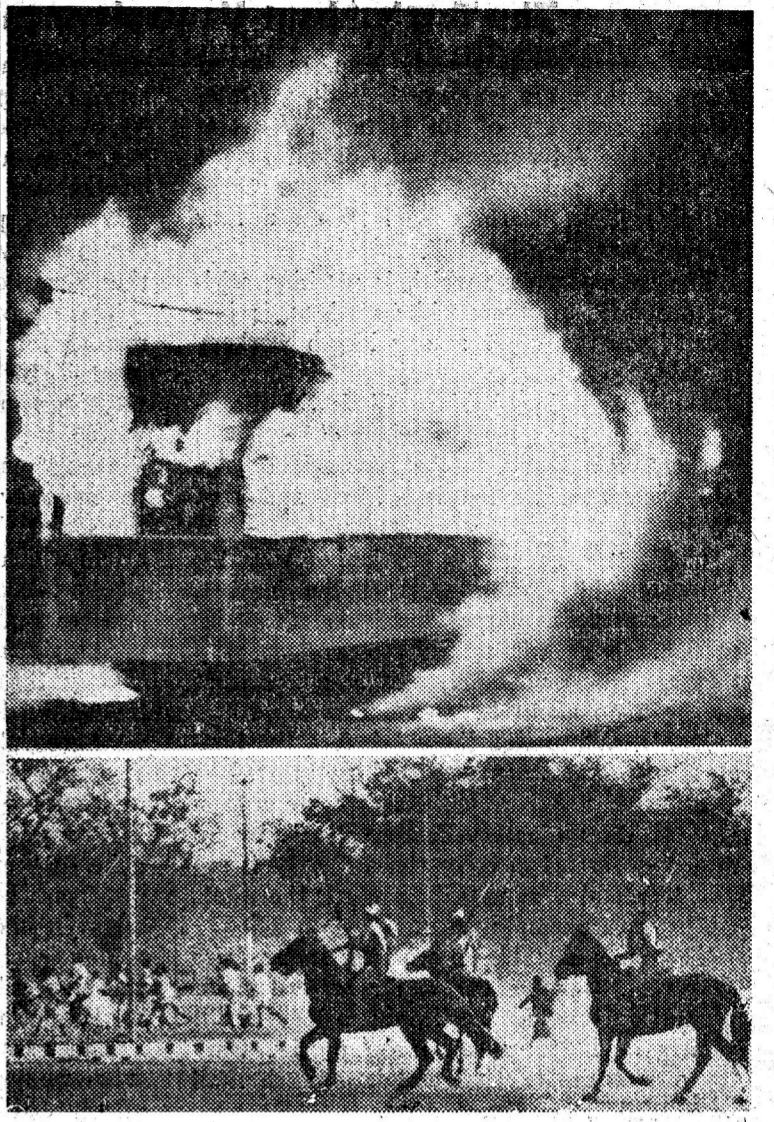
While the affiliates registered certain encouraging successes at the Conference, their fight is far from over. In the hands of the national Board is the power to interpret and execute policy. By its actions during the past several years, the Board has shown a strong tendency to compromise with the witch hunt.

**ELIMINATE LAMONT**

The increasingly conservative temper of the Board was clearly indicated by its stubborn and finally successful efforts to block the renomination of Corliss Lamont to the Board, after 22 year continuous membership on it. A left-wing liberal, sometimes identified with Stalinist causes, Lamont had waged a consistent struggle against the Board's effort to conciliate with reaction.

With each step to the right, the Board majority has repeatedly rejected the counsel of such outstanding civil libertarians as Professor Alexander Meiklejohn, Professor H. H. Wilson, Roger Baldwin and others.

## Indian Police Attack Strikers



A streetcar is set afire during demonstrations that followed police attack on striking schoolteachers in Calcutta, India. At bottom, mounted police seek to keep the streets clear after troops opened fire on crowds and used tear gas.

One of the most vociferous of the right-wing elements on the Board, it is reported, is Norman Thomas. Thomas was one of the original champions of the 1940 resolution barring "communists" from ACLU office.

The anti-civil rights majority of the Board will be strengthened by the newly elected members. These include Earl Brown, Republican member of the N. Y. City Council, Lewis Galanter, program director of Radio Free Europe, John Jessup, chief editorial writer for Life magazine, and C. D. Williams, formerly of the Commerce Department staff, who recently published an article in the reactionary Freeman maga-

zine supporting "immunity" legislation to compel testimony before Congressional investigating committees.

The ACLU has made many important contributions to the fight for civil liberties. Today, more than ever, it can render great service to the cause for which it was founded. But to do so requires unwavering support to its founding principles. The membership of the organization have in the recent internal struggle demonstrated their understanding of that fact. Every serious fighter for civil rights in this country should rally in support of their struggle.

## "Instant Retaliation"

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles made a speech in New York Jan. 12 that did much to heighten the already prevalent suspicion that the Eisenhower administration was planning to plunge the American people into the Indo-Chinese war in the same way that the Truman administration hurled us into the Korean war.

In that speech Dulles asserted that on the issue of war or peace, Eisenhower and his National Security Council had reached a "basic decision... to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly, by means and at places of our choosing."

This policy of war by "instant retaliation" immediately became the subject of wide-spread discussion. Political commentators took it up in their columns. The Democrats asked what it meant and why they weren't consulted about it in view of the bi-partisan policy both had agreed to follow.

Finally at a March 10 press conference Eisenhower issued a "reassurance" which was widely interpreted by the press as a "substantial modification" of the Dulles policy. In response to a question as to the possibility of the U.S. becoming involved in the Indo-Chinese war by Presidential declaration, Eisenhower stated emphatically: "There is going to be no involvement of America in war unless it is a result of the constitutional process that is placed upon Congress to declare it. Now, let us have that clear. And that is the answer."

The least impressed with this declaration apparently was Dulles himself who repeated March 16 that "an attack on one of our allies is the same as an attack on the United States," and "That gives the President of the United States the same authority to react as he would if the United States were attacked."

Finally on March 17 Eisenhower got Dulles' point and, in total disregard of his previous statement, declared that he would instantly plunge the country into battle against any "aggressor." If time permitted, he assured, he would seek a declaration of war by Congress, but, if he considered the threat "dire" he would act first and "consult" later.

Eisenhower chose to enunciate the policy of war on his say-so the same day that administration authorities revealed that the U.S. had set off a hydrogen bomb with a shattering power hundreds of times greater than any previous man-made explosion.

Rattling the frightful new bomb, Eisenhower announced that in the war of "instant retaliation" he would discard the pattern of the past, such as the Normandy invasion, and rely upon the devastating new atomic weapons.

Coming just in advance of the five-power Geneva conference, called primarily to discuss the Indo-Chinese war, the Eisenhower-Dulles threats reveal that they are still giving serious consideration to the idea of directly involving the U.S. in that war.

Most strikingly of all it reveals that to prevent a catastrophic atomic war the American people cannot permit the war-making power to rest in the hands of either Eisenhower or a Congress of power-mad capitalist politicians who, in truly bi-partisan fashion, support the war program of a Wall Street intent on conquering the world, even at the cost of destroying it in the attempt.

The war-making power must be wrested from the hands of both Eisenhower and Congress. The people themselves must decide this life-and-death question. The need for requiring a national referendum before America can be plunged into any war is now more imperative than ever.

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## Misnamed Guaranteed Annual Wage

In the Militant's recent articles on proposals for a guaranteed annual wage advanced by top CIO leaders we have pointed out that every worker favors a program that will ensure continuation of his regular income even if he is laid off. It is in this sense that most workers think of the term, "guaranteed annual wage."

But we have warned that there are all kinds of programs being peddled under this label and none that we have read about which fits what the workers have in mind and expect. Last week, for instance, we analyzed the plan advocated by President David J. McDonald of the CIO Steelworkers and showed that it was not a guaranteed annual wage at all. It was merely supplemental unemployment insurance.

Only a few days later, on March 16 in Pittsburgh, McDonald confirmed our analysis in his talk before the Pennsylvania CIO convention. He spoke of the "misnamed" guaranteed annual wage and said it should properly be called "supplemental unemployment compensation." At least, that's what his specific proposal to the Aluminum Corporation of America amounts to.

Well, that's fine. We're all for increasing unemployment compensation. But we don't like it to be advanced under the pretentious

title of "guaranteed annual wage" and described as "insurance against depression" and a "basic answer to the prevention of any depression ever getting under way in America," as McDonald speaks of his program in the Feb. Steel Labor.

In fact, his plan would not provide even supplemental unemployment compensation to many unemployed steel workers, including the 150,000 laid off right now. It is really nothing but a promise of 30 hours' pay per week, at present hourly wages, only for workers with three or more years continuous service in a given plant. In short, it is the 30-hour week at 30 hours' pay — a 25% cut in weekly take-home pay from the regular 40-hour week.

McDonald indicated some awareness of the weakness of his proposal in the same talk. He spoke of the "outside possibility" of the six-hour day also being a means of keeping down unemployment and protecting the workers.

We think it is more than an "outside possibility." It is the key to any successful attack on the unemployment problem. Without the reduced work-week and a compensating increase in hourly wage rates, any guaranteed annual wage plan could prove a trap instead of a boon for labor. Every unionist should give serious thought to this vital question.

## On Einstein's Birthday

On March 14, Albert Einstein, the great scientist and valiant fighter for human rights, celebrated his seventy-fifth birthday. Consistent with his firm position that preoccupation with scientific research does not permit one to turn his back on the world, he renewed his appeal for opposition to the witch hunters.

His reaffirmation of the need for unceasing struggle against the inquisitors took the form of answers to five questions submitted to him by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which held a conference on civil liberties and academic freedom in Princeton March 13 in honor of his birthday.

Declaring that intellectuals are in a strong position to mobilize public opinion against encroaching fascism, the world-famed physicist said, "This is the reason why those who are about to lead us toward an authoritarian government are particularly concerned with muzzling and intimidating this group. It is, therefore, in this situation, especially important for the intellectuals to do their duty."

"I see this duty in refusing to cooperate in any undertaking that violates the constitutional rights of the individual." This, he said, "holds in particular for all inquisitions that are concerned with the private life and political affiliations of the citizens."

This duty, he held "is imposed on every one, which no one must evade, notwithstanding the risks and dangers to him and his family."

Standing in disgraceful contrast to the intellectual course so eloquently pleaded for by Einstein, is the shameful conduct of the self-styled "Committee for Cultural Freedom," which answered the Einstein-dedicated civil rights conference with a red-baiting smear attack on the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and by inference on Einstein himself.

Associated with this "cultural" committee, are professional witch hunters like Ralph de Toledano and ex-radicals in flight like Sidney Hook, Jay Lovestone and Norman Thomas. These capitulators to the American Inquisition, who mouth brave phrases about fighting "totalitarianism behind the Iron Curtain," have nothing more to offer the American people than forums on "Can Communism be fought responsibly and intelligently?" and cowardly attacks on intellectuals courageous enough to emulate Einstein's example.

The conduct of the self-proclaimed "cultural freedom" committee was pegged by Einstein last June in a defiant anti-witch hunt declaration that scornfully described such intellectual cowards as "deserving of the slavery that is intended for them."

On his birthday Einstein turned away a delegation bearing flowers with the remark, "You may bring flowers to my door when the last witchhunter is silenced, but not before." We salute an intellectual capable of such a stern admonition in these times.

# Is Deutscher Objective About Trotsky?

By George Breitman

THE PROPHET ARMED. Trotsky: 1879-1921, by Isaac Deutscher. Oxford University Press, 1954, 540 pp., \$6.

Next to Lenin, Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) was the greatest revolutionary thinker and fighter of the 20th century. At the age of 26 he was the outstanding leader of the unsuccessful Russian revolution of 1905. Twelve years later he and Lenin were co-leaders of the first successful working class revolution in history. He organized and led the Red Army to victory over Russian and foreign counter-revolution. In 1923 he and Lenin (soon to die) started a fight against the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union represented by Stalinism. Expelled from the Communist International and exiled from the Soviet Union in the late 20's, he kept the banner of revolutionary Marxism flying and gathered together the forces that formed the Fourth International in 1938, two years before he was assassinated by an agent of Stalin. A profound theoretician, he vastly enriched Marxist theory, illumined the major problems of our epoch, and pointed the road along which the international working class will march to socialist victory.

Isaac Deutscher, born in Poland and now a British subject, considered himself a Marxist in his youth. He is now a member of the editorial staff and "Russian expert" of the Economist. In 1949 he published the first part of a trilogy, Stalin: A Political Biography. In 1953, after Stalin's death, he interrupted the trilogy with a book, Russia: What Next? The trilogy is resumed with the present book, the first half of a biography of Trotsky. After the second half, he plans to publish a study of Lenin.

**REACTION TO HIS BOOKS**

Deutscher's book on Stalin was widely hailed, especially in liberal circles, for its "objectivity." The late John Dewey, for example, called it "a marvelous accomplishment" because of "the method by which he achieved an objective treatment," which freed him from "the method of praise and blame."

Our own review challenged this appraisal. We noted that Deutscher had borrowed liberally from Trotsky's writings on the crimes of Stalin, while rejecting the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism, and said: "He is well acquainted with the factual and documentary materials available on his subject and handles them scrupulously on the whole, although in general

his method is to question all charges or testimony adverse to Stalin that cannot be verified beyond question, and to give him the benefit of the doubt in most such cases. It is this method, plus the curiously detached manner in which it is written, that has earned the book its reputation for objectivity in some quarters."

The same thing has happened with Deutscher's book on Trotsky. While criticizing certain aspects, the liberal reviewers are impressed by its "objectivity." Since this is its chief claim to serious attention, we must examine it more closely.

**THE BYSTANDER**

Just what do these people mean by "objectivity"? Most of the time, their ideal seems to be that of the professor who devotes 15 minutes to the pros of a question, 15 minutes to the cons, and 30 minutes to the wisdom of seeing both sides of the question and avoiding dogmatism. You start out with the notion that the truth generally lies somewhere in the

middle, according to this conception, and that you are more likely to reach it when you are detached, impartial or even indifferent than when you are involved, passionate or partisan.

This is typically the view of the bystander (always ready to assure you that he is naturally a better judge of the rights and wrongs of a struggle than the participants in it) and it appeals most strongly to middle class thinkers.

Deutscher's "objectivity," as we shall show, contains elements of the bystander conception.

**OUR CONCEPTION**

Our conception is different. To us objectivity is a scientific presentation of problems in such a way as to correspond most closely to reality. It involves approaching a problem honestly and with a check on one's prejudices, viewing it historically and in its relation to other problems.

It should never be confused with detachment or impartiality; partisanship is not necessarily a bar to objectivity, and impartiality

is no guarantee of objectivity. The fan in the tenth row or even the referee in the ring is not necessarily a better judge of what happened during a mixup between two pugilists than they are. The professor in the classroom, even when he finally arrives at a conclusion, may, with all the advantages of his hindsight and study, understand less about the French revolution than an 18th century illiterate peasant who helped make it.

**CAN MASK BIAS**

Furthermore, there is reason to be suspicious of people whose chief credentials are their alleged impartiality. The professor who prides himself on his detachment may be just as biased as the revolutionary French peasant, though in a different direction.

It is relatively simple to consider strictly on its own merits a controversy over the quality of clothing worn in China in 400 B.C.; this is not an issue that directly concerns us, our struggles and our aspirations today. But it is not so easy to do the same thing with questions of a social-political-economic character that affect us most intimately.

The professor may or may not know it, but even his attitudes toward a revolution that happened almost 200 years ago are influenced and colored by the fact that he too lives in an age of revolution. "Objectivity" can mask the most pronounced (though unconscious) bias and partisanship. This is especially true of something like the Russian revolution, toward which no person with political interests today can really have any feeling of neutrality.

Deutscher, we shall show, is grinding an axe behind his pose of objective historian.

**HISTORIAN'S DUTY**

Trotsky, who was a great historian himself, touched on these matters because he was writing about history in which he had played a prominent part and recognized that some readers would reject his treatment of history for that very reason. In his preface to The History of the Russian Revolution, 1930, he urged the serious reader to demand from historians not "the so-called historian's 'impartiality'" but "a scientific conscientiousness, which for its sympathies and antipathies — open and undisguised — seeks their real support in an honest study of the facts, a determination of their real connections, an exposure of the causal laws of their development."

"That is the only possible historic objectivity, and moreover it

is amply sufficient, for it is verified and attested not by the good intentions of the historian, for which only he himself can vouch, but by the natural laws revealed by him of the historic process itself."

A year before, in the foreword to his autobiography, My Life, Trotsky dealt with the question as it related to biographical writing. He said:

**"CONVENTIONAL TRICK"**

"This book is not a dispassionate photograph of my life, however, but a component part of it. In these pages, I continue the struggle to which my whole life is devoted. Describing, I also characterize and evaluate; narrating, I also defend myself, and more often attack. It seems to me that this is the only method of making an autobiography objective in a higher sense, that is, of making it the most adequate expression of personality, conditions, and epoch."

"Objectivity is not the pretended indifference with which confirmed hypocrisy, in speaking of friends and enemies, suggests indirectly to the reader what it finds inconvenient to state directly. Objectivity of this sort is nothing but a conventional trick. I do not need it."

But Deutscher needs this trick badly. Like Trotsky, like every historian, he writes in order to defend certain ideas. Unlike Trotsky, he does not avow these ideas openly and explicitly, but suggests them indirectly and cloaks himself behind the claim that he desires only to "restore the historical balance." What his ideas are, and why he presents them in this way, will be discussed in subsequent articles.

## ...JOBLESS INCREASE

(Continued from page 1)

a new low of 67.8% of capacity, compared to 74.6% last month and over 102% a year ago. What this means in human terms is indicated in the report of the CIO Steelworkers that 12% of its 65,000 members in the Youngstown, O., area are unemployed and another 17% working less than the regular 40-hour week.

The March 15 Wall Street Journal concedes that "steel business has taken a disappointing turn... With March half over and no substantial improvement in sight, some important producers are beginning to doubt that April will materially change things." In fact, "Guesses on 1954 output... are generally being revised downward."

**AUTO AND CONSTRUCTION**

The biggest single factor in the retarding of the steel industry is the situation in auto. Steel magazine on March 15 complained that there are indications that the auto manufacturers, largest steel users, may reduce steel orders in the next month. Production in auto has been ahead of sales. With sales running 32,000 less last month than in Feb. 1953, dealers' stocks of new cars, already abnormally swollen, were continuing to expand.

The Engineering News-Record, a standard authority, reveals that

in the first 10 weeks of this year the totals of contracts awarded in heavy construction have plummeted 38% below the same period for 1953. The News-Record figures cover large residential projects nationally as well as construction of factories, bridges, etc.

Private housing starts for January and February totaled 136,500, or 4% below the like '53 period. Public housing declined to 2,500 units — only 25% of last year's starts in the comparable period.

**WARNINGS BORNE OUT**

Eisenhower gave enlarge inventories as the cause of the decline, and production was supposed to start zooming again once the large stocks on hand were sold off. But inventories on Jan. 31 rose to \$80.1 billion from \$79.9 billion on Dec. 31. The March 15 Wall Street Journal states that "it is possible now to guess that also in February there was no substantial decrease in inventories." Continued huge inventories have been paralleled by a sharp drop in department store and chain store sales.

All the facts bear out the Militant's warnings since the end of the Korean War last July that American labor is in for rough sledding during a period of increasing economic instability.

**LOS ANGELES Anti-McCarthy Meeting**  
 MURRY WEISS presents  
 A Fighting Program Against McCarthyism  
 Chairman: JAMES P. CANNON  
 Saturday, April 3, 8 P.M.  
 Embassy Auditorium  
 839 S. Grand Ave., North Hall  
 Admission 50c  
 Unemployed Free

By Jean Blake

## The Truth About Unemployment and FEPC

The depression is already here, as far as Negro workers are concerned. Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People pointed this out to the Senate Labor Committee holding hearings Feb. 25 on a Fair Employment Practices bill.

The unemployment which is reaching critical proportions among white workers, is just about twice as great among Negro workers, he said.

The reason, Mr. White said, is the discriminatory hiring practices which limit Negro workers, as a group, to the least skilled jobs, and even then as the last hired and first fired.

That's true as an explanation of why the depression hits Negro workers the hardest. It's true as far as it goes, but it doesn't go far enough. It doesn't tell Negro workers why they are hit by unemployment at all, or what they can do about it.

If Mr. White was limited before the Senate committee to one aspect of the unemployment crisis under which Negroes are suffering, its discriminatory feature, he is by no means so limited at other times. But he is apparently unable or unwilling to tell the whole truth about unemployment.

The facts are: Negro workers suffer from depression because the capitalist system of production provides work only so long as the owners of industry can make profits. Only the owners decide what and how much shall be produced, not the workers.

The need for houses, clothing, food, medicines, and all the other products of human

labor does not determine whether or not factories remain open. The willingness and ability and productive capacity of workers does not mean a thing. The factor that decides whether we work or join the relief lines is how much profit the capitalists figure they can make by keeping the plants open or shutting them down.

There is only one real answer to this fundamental fact about the cause of unemployment — for all workers: the murderous capitalist system must be abolished. The working people must intervene and reorganize society. We must end the dictatorship which permits the minority who own industry to run our entire society. We must have a genuine democracy, in which the majority of the people, those who produce the wealth of this country, decide what plants shall operate, what shall be produced, and how much.

Only then, when we have production for human needs, not for capitalists' profits, will we have full production, with no unemployment, no depressions — and no wars needed to stimulate production artificially.

During World War II Negro workers made gains in breaking down discrimination in employment because there was a demand for labor, regardless of color. Production was at a high level in the U.S. But under capitalism this was only possible at the expense of the workers of the rest of the world.

Under socialist production for use, not profit, discrimination in employment will be completely ended because useful labor will be in demand as long as there are human needs and wants to satisfy.

## Dope, Crime and V-Girls

By Joyce Cowley

Teen-agers have been making spectacular headlines in New York City newspapers the last two weeks. The News started it with some lurid articles on the New York schools. From them you get the impression that a typical high-school student checks into class in the morning to pick up his heroin supply, joins a sex orgy that's going on in the locker room, beats up a teacher who objects to his activities, then takes off by a rear exit to meet the gang and make plans for the evening. Will it be a car theft, a hold-up or a neighborhood street battle?

The News knows, too, exactly what causes these conditions and it's not slum housing, overcrowded schools, underpaid teachers, or lack of special schools and psychiatric facilities for disturbed and delinquent children. Not at all — it's "progressive education," a secret weapon of the communists, that brought anarchy to the schools.

Supt. of Schools Jansen was forced to make a public statement denying the charges in these articles. They weren't true, he said. Furthermore, they were distorted and exaggerated. Besides, why blame the schools for such conditions when it's the parents who are responsible?

Next, the Post decided teen-agers could boost their circulation, too, and ran a sensational series on youthful vice girls in Eighth Avenue bars. They are following up with a new series: "What's really wrong with the schools?"

At this point — it may, of course, be a coincidence — Mayor Wagner called a conference of all agencies dealing with juvenile delinquents to map out a plan of action to combat teen-age dope addiction and crime.

In Brooklyn, a Grand Jury, called to investigate conditions in the Adolescent Court, was sworn in by Judge Samuel Leibowitz. Juvenile delinquency, the Judge declared in a rather long speech, has become an "odorous public scandal" and he gave some statistics to illustrate his point: Arrests of youths under 18 for auto theft have increased 61%; for robbery, 25%; burglary, 15% and assault,

10%. More serious crimes were committed last year by boys and girls of 18 than any other age group.

All of these articles, reports, speeches and conferences have one thing in common. They show remarkably little interest in teen-agers and their problems. The News and the Post obviously want to sell newspapers. Jansen, Wagner and Leibowitz are worried about being caught with a "public scandal." They assure us that they know about delinquency all along and any moment now they'll take some kind of appropriate action. The trend of their thinking seems to be: We pampered these youngsters long enough. It's time to get tough.

"Back to Old-Fashioned Discipline!" screams a headline in the News. Mayor Wagner tells us that his first move in a "long-range, comprehensive program for giving guidance and opportunity" will be to bring the Police Department to full strength. Magistrate Anthony E. Maglio said in a Brooklyn court that it was high time to "Stop coddling young punks" and underlined this by holding 31 youngsters on \$5,000 bail each, pending a hearing. According to police these teen-agers were planning a street fight (they had not yet started it) and were arrested on the technical charge of unlawful assembly.

The Magistrate told the boys' parents: "The real trouble is right in your homes." He said there were too many vacuum cleaners in modern homes and not enough brooms, because parents ought to go back to using the broomstick on wayward children. Furthermore, he said, it was time police patrolmen on the streets got permission to use their clubs.

A few years ago experts on youth problems were attempting to guide these disturbed youngsters to some kind of normal adjustment. But they refused to adjust "normally" to their abnormal perspective of joblessness or war, so there's a new approach. Hire more cops. Build more jails. Make the jail sentences longer. That sums up the "youth program" of capitalist politicians.

## Notes from the News

**BARUCH MUM ON MCCARTHY.** "Elder statesman" Bernard M. Baruch refuses to discuss the nature of the 45-minute meeting in his apartment March 9 with fascist Senator McCarthy. "It's nobody's business but mine," he said. "Mr. McCarthy made no comment and neither will I."

**LANSING, MICH.,** correspondent Owen C. Deatrick of the Detroit Free Press, reporting plans of the Michigan State Legislature March 15 to boost the pay of its members from \$3,900 to \$5,000 a year, suggested the following ad: "WANTED: Experience unnecessary. Earn \$5,000 a year for part-time work. Job may last four years. Fix your own salary for next term. Get travel expenses. Join a committee and see Michigan and America. Work an average of one hour a day in short months like February. Friday afternoons, Saturdays, Sundays and Mondays off. Six to nine months vacation a year. Fringe benefits like poker games safe from raids in House committee rooms. Be your own boss. Order State employees around. No experience needed."

**ONE IN FIVE NEW YORKERS DWELLS IN SLUMS.** Public housing costing slightly over a billion dollars has been built in New York since 1936. The utter inadequacy of this is demonstrated by a March 15 N. Y. Times report that despite this construction "One of every five New Yorkers today is a slum dweller or lives in substandard housing in a deteriorating neighborhood." Housing Commissioner Cruise says 480,000 units are needed to provide decent housing for present slum dwellers, apart from the 50,000 to 60,000

migrants a year who are mainly in the low-income bracket. Present optimistic predictions say there will be 30,000 units built a year for the next ten years.

**TAXES TO BUILD GENERAL'S DOGHOUSE.** A representative of the General Accounting Office testified before a Congressional appropriations committee that Major General Roderick Allen in "the best interest" of government security, had a kennel constructed at Fort Dix for some expensive dogs that he owns. Cost to the taxpayers was over \$1,200. The kennel had a wooden floor "so that the dogs would not lie in the bare earth." Also included was a 90-by-60-foot enclosed dog run. When queried as to the possibility of disciplinary action against the General, the committee was informed, there "doubtless never will be" any punishment. "The most that can be hoped for, our greatest expectation, would be a very rare possibility the General might be charged with the \$1,200."

**CALIFORNIA PARADISE.** A recent survey made by the California State Dept. of Welfare shows the sun-down state paying more out in old-age pensions than New York and Pennsylvania combined. A composite "photograph" of a "typical" or "average" old-age pensioner in California is a 75-year-old widow with an independent income of \$19 a month. Her pension is \$69.51 a month, making her total income a maximum of \$88.51 a month. Efforts to increase maximum payments to \$100 a month are being vigorously combated by the State Chamber of Commerce.

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## Labor Paper Recommends Kutcher Book

SAN FRANCISCO—The March 5 issue of San Francisco Labor, newspaper of the San Francisco Labor Council, AFL, contains the fourth review by the Bay Area labor press of James Kutcher's book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*. Excerpts follow:

... James Kutcher was one of the early victims of a "loyalty" dismissal from government service.

He's told his story in an informal, easy-going little book called *The Case of the Legless Veteran* (Pioneer Publishers — \$1). But it's no easy-going story, for it carries serious implications that go to the very heart of the whole question of loyalty in a democracy like ours.

Kutcher is and has been a member of the Socialist Workers Party. The party is on the Attorney General's list of "subversive organizations." Since Kutcher openly admitted his membership, he wouldn't resign, he was fired.

But, he points out, at no time was he or the party given any hearing on whether his beliefs and his party's doctrine are, in fact, subversive; whether he or it advocates overthrow of the government by force and violence.

Almost the lone question which he was called on to answer, through long hearings and court proceedings, was whether he was a member. Since he was, and since he wouldn't hide it, he was fired, and so far, has stayed fired.

But perhaps it's not so much Kutcher's beliefs or his party's dogma that are the issue. Rather, it's the right of Kutcher to hold such beliefs and not to be fired because he won't deny or yield them.

Perhaps, it's more a question of procedures that safeguard basic American rights to hold ideas that are different from those of the Administration in power or, for that matter, from those of anybody else.

## SWP Discusses Los Angeles Fight On McCarthyism

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, March 14 — The annual conference of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party outlined a program of action for the coming year based upon the growing resentment of the workers against McCarthyism and the conviction that this resentment will in the next period be channeled into political opposition to the march of fascism.

### NEW MOODS IN SHOPS

All the reports, discussion and proposals indicated that in the shops and schools the beginnings of new moods and events confirm the prognosis of the Socialist Workers Party that the workers will take the road of organized struggle to defend their living standards and their political rights.

Making the main report, Tom Kerry, the organizer, showed how the understanding of the new reality imposed new tasks and increased activity upon the party.

Projected for the rest of the year are the 1954 election campaign, on which work has already begun, expanding the anti-McCarthy campaign, defense of the civil rights of minorities and political parties, and an intensified educational program, ranging from classes on Capital to discussions of current events.

### RESISTANCE INCREASING

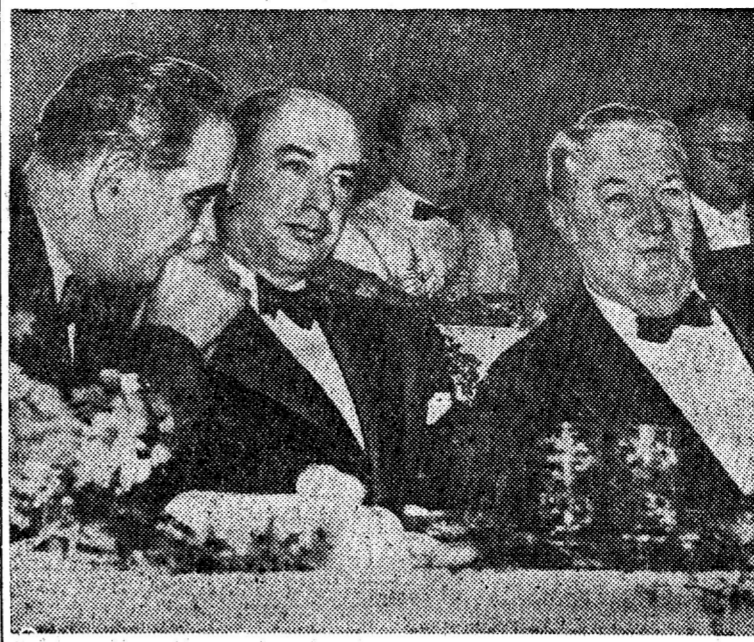
Speakers reported with enthusiasm that although there is no question of the effect of the reaction in intimidating militants in the shop, there is an increasing resistance to the witch hunt. The workers are beginning to voice objections. Committees on unemployment have sprung up in many unions and established committees, such as FEPC have become revitalized.

The conference itself demonstrated the relation between theory and action which is the foundation of a Marxist party. During the break for dinner, six comrades left to sell the anti-McCarthy pamphlet at a meeting in defense of Wells, and in 15 minutes sold 50 pamphlets, after which they returned to continue the discussion.

The next day the Local sent a telegram to Gov. Knight demanding clemency for Wells, a Negro sentenced to be executed for throwing a cuspidor at a guard.

The meeting ended with the determination to add many recruits to the party during the coming year.

## Breaks Silence on McCarthyism



Just before making speech in Miami Beach March 6, Adlai Stevenson, 1952 Democratic presidential candidate, listens to chairman Daniel J. Mahoney. At right is Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas. Breaking his silence on the fascist menace that has stirred the whole country, Stevenson charged Pres. Eisenhower had been persuaded by "a group of political plungers" to "accept McCarthyism" as the "best formula for GOP political success." (See story page 1.)

## GOOD VOTE FOR ROBERTS IN WORKER PRECINCTS

SEATTLE, March 14 — The working people of this city recorded a gratifying amount of support for Daniel Roberts, Socialist Workers candidate for the school board.

A spot check of 15 election precincts in workingclass neighborhoods shows that while Roberts polled 6% of the total vote on a city-wide basis, his vote ran from 10% to 15% in the workers' districts.

While he placed ninth in the city in a field of eleven candidates, he placed in fifth to eighth place in the precincts checked. A total of 7,301 votes were registered for Roberts.

Roberts' hard-hitting socialist campaign against McCarthyism, for a Labor Party and for free speech in teaching, reached a substantial section of the working people and members of the Negro community.

During the campaign, Roberts presented the program of the Socialist Workers Party to 21 union meetings, the parish of a Negro church, a teachers meeting, five election forums, and the regular weekly forum of the Church of the People. Along with other candidates for the school board, he appeared on a televised "Meet the Candidates Forum," which had an estimated audience of 60,000 to 80,000 people.

While the Seattle Times and Post-Intelligencer both refused to give any space to Roberts' views, they did make a special point of publicizing the fact that his candidacy was sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party.

The same approach was taken by the Municipal League and the McCarthyite Pro-America in their reports to the voters which were publicized by the press and radio.

Undoubtedly intended to injure Roberts' candidacy in a theoretically "non-partisan" campaign, it contributed to the candidate's own efforts to clearly establish his SWP sponsorship.

The two major dailies attempted to blackout Roberts' socialist views, but two neighborhood papers gave excellent coverage. The International Community News, which is circulated in the main Negro districts, published a lengthy article reporting Roberts' views on the falsification of Negro history in the text books used in the Seattle public school system.

The Queen Anne News ran virtually the entire text of a statement by Roberts on the issues of McCarthyism and juvenile delinquency.

Speeches by Roberts at union meetings and election symposiums left a deep impression on his audiences. The most dramatic of his union appearances was at a stop-work meeting of Local 1-17 of the Int'l Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. He won the right to speak after the 400 members present voted down an executive board decision that "the socialist candidate" not be granted the floor. His militant anti-McCarthyite speech was warmly applauded.

One of the most inspiring

## I. F. Stone Brands McCarthyism as Fascist Movement

Speaking in Chicago on Feb. 26, the noted liberal journalist, I. F. Stone, characterized McCarthyism as "fascism such as we saw in Europe in the 1930's." Describing McCarthyism as the most clever attempt in history to build a fascist movement, Stone said, "Upon good advice, McCarthy has avoided anti-Semitism and other acts which would peg him. He doesn't speak against the Jews, the Negroes and labor movement, as fascism did in Europe — but it's the same thing."

## CIO to Petition Ohio Voters on Pay for Jobless

CLEVELAND, March 8 — In a first move toward independent political action, the Ohio CIO Council has announced it will go directly to the voters with an initiative petition to place the issue of increasing unemployment compensation on the ballot.

The state CIO executive board announced March 3 that it has directed its officers to launch the initiative campaign because of the failure of the legislature to adopt amendments to the unemployment compensation law sought by labor in 1953.

"The constantly worsening employment picture in Ohio forces us to take this action," James P. Griffin, CIO Council president said.

"The last session of the legislature displayed a twisted sense of social justice when it increased weekly benefits only \$2 a week but handed the employers an unemployment tax rate reduction that amounted to between 25 and 40 million dollars a year," he said.

### NEGRO SUPPORT

Strong indications of support for the CIO's action from the Negro communities of the state are provided by the reports and comments on the unemployment picture in the Cleveland Call & Post, Ohio's leading Negro weekly.

On January 23, John Combs, the paper's Columbus correspondent in his column, "Ohio Politics," noted: "Despite the rising tide of unemployment in this state, Ohio Senate leaders turned deaf ears toward a recommendation designed to safeguard the welfare of those swept away by the current wave of unemployment."

"The legislature, in a special session last week for the purpose of setting up a \$500-million highway bond issue approved by the voters last November, side-tracked a resolution asking it to consider some action to cope with the tense unemployment situation."

Leading the opposition to the resolution, Combs reported, was Sen. David Ferguson, "notorious foe of all progressive legislation, who labeled unemployment compensation as nothing but a 'dole' . . . the 'dole' which led Great Britain down the road to ruin."

"And some crackpots want to lead us down the same road," he bellowed furiously.

After the prolonged discussion, Combs wrote, the majority floor leader moved that it be sent to the Rules Committee, "where it died without further action."

Combs noted that in his state-of-the-Union message, in reference to staving off a depression, President Eisenhower had said, "We rely on the good sense and local knowledge of the community and will therefore decentralize administration as much as possible so that the services of the government may be closer to you and thus serve you better."

Combs did not express any optimism as to the prospects for success of such a course.

The Call & Post reported March 6 that with statewide unemployment of more than 130,000, Negroes comprise an estimated 25 to 60 percent of the jobless. While State Unemployment Service registrations do not include racial identifications, the Urban League,

which deals directly with problems of Negro employment, gave the press the following estimates of Negro unemployed:

Akron, 35% of the total, with 7,685 claims for compensation in February; Cleveland, more than 25%, with 18,760 claims; areas like Lorain, Elyria, Massillon and Lima, as high as 60%.

Latest indication of the extent of the depression is the announcement of U.S. Steel, biggest of the steel giants, cutting production to around 60% to 65% of capacity at the Ohio Works, the basic steel plant in Youngstown.

What is being done in the district to overcome this grave crisis?

The labor leaders are significantly silent. The mayor is busying himself over the water supply for the steel mills. The local press, carrying out the policies of Big Business, is hiding the unemployment figures so as not to cause an "egg head" depression.

But the workers are beginning to talk about a shorter working week and there is considerable sentiment for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

With the deepening of the crisis, the workers will more vigorously demand action to prevent a still greater lowering of the standard of living.

**Jobs Down, Crime Up**

Commenting on statistics showing an increase in crime, Cleveland's chief of detectives said, "When times are bad and jobs harder to get we always have this type of situation. I've been noticing that, although the number of felonies have been going up, our investigations of them disclose that many of them are just piddling efforts on the part of the criminal."

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DANIEL ROBERTS

## Ford Service Carries On

By Patricia Stall

The Smith Act trial of six Communist Party leaders is over now in Detroit — over, but not quickly or lightly forgotten. One of the most shocking aspects of this trial centered around a quiet, ordinary-looking man who for 16 years followed an occupation that has been raised to national glory these days: stool-pigeoning or spying or "investigating."

Whatever you want to call it, and whatever you want to think about it, Stephen J. Schemanske did it and in so doing he perpetuated the long tradition of his employers, the Ford Motor Co., and its "Service Department."

Mrs. Schemanske explained how her husband began his career. "Steve was working as a factory hand at Ford Motor Co. when we were married. But he didn't like that so he got a job as a clerk. Then they made him an investigator. . . . He must have liked that job because he kept it for 16 years."

What made this job so attractive? It could have been the money. Schemanske revealed that he received \$650 a month from the Ford Motor Co. For reporting his findings to the FBI, on the order of Ford's, he received an additional \$100 from the government. That's a good price for a carbon copy of his company report sheets.

Perhaps his job appealed to him too because of the varied and

interesting co-workers he found in Ford Service. These men ranged from athletes kicked out of the sports world by athletic commissions, crooked politicians belonging to corrupt local machines, and hoodlums and racketeers whose crimes ranged from petty theft to rape, murder, violation of the Drug Act and a score of crimes that would furnish a Hollywood script writer with material for many a chiller.

Perhaps pride in belonging to an efficient, well-run organization helped prolong Schemanske's stay with Ford Service. When he joined the ranks of investigators, the union organizing drive was beginning to envelope the Rouge plant. In reply, the head of Ford Service, Harry Bennett, increased his "staff" until he had one serviceman for every 30 workers!

And this staff was so efficient that not a toolbox or lunchbox or overcoat pocket was overlooked in their quest for union cards or literature; and not a whisper on the line or casual conversation in, around or miles from the plant was considered unworthy of being reported.

Automobiles parked near union halls or meetings where union discussions were held were investigated and the names of the owners looked up and checked off against company payrolls. Frame-ups and beatings were the lot of known union sympathizers and organizers. Constant surveillance and small, daily occurrences be-

tween workers on the line and servicemen reminded the workers that Henry Ford had proclaimed, "We'll never recognize the United Automobile Workers Union or any other union."

And in order not to recognize the union he tried to bury it beneath the mass of Ford servicemen whose efficiency in "burial techniques" became a legend in Detroit.

With the death of Henry Ford and the presidency of the company going to his grandson, the era of Ford Service was supposed to have ended. Bennett left the company. His organization was given a new name and ostensibly new duties. The union contract that was finally signed between the UAW and the Ford Motor Co. stated that henceforth all employees who had the responsibility of "plant protection" were to be identified by badges or uniforms or some other conspicuous insignia.

Well, it must be admitted that one of their employees proclaimed himself conspicuously as an "investigator." It took him a few years to do so but, now everyone who can read a newspaper or listen to a news broadcast knows that for 16 years Stephen J. Schemanske has been listening to conversations, joining organizations and in all ways to all men fulfilling his duties as a stoolpigeon who likes his job in Ford's supposedly defunct "Service Department."