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Beria Offered As Scapegoat In Soviet Crisis

By John G. Wright

When secret police chief Beria was purged some seven months ago, the Militant explained that this signified a blood purge patterned after the mass purges of the Thirties. This was confirmed Dec. 16 with the release of the official indictment of Beria and six other "co-conspirators," all of whom have reportedly "confessed" to being "foreign spies," would-be restorers of capitalism in the Soviet Union, "terrorist murderers," etc. etc. A show trial is scheduled to take place, with or without the presence of the defendants.

Meanwhile mass meetings have been taking place in every city, town and village demanding death to these seven "traitors to the motherland."

The Dec. 16 indictment is especially significant because it includes the name of a prominent minister, V. A. Merkulov, one of the 25 ministers nominated by Malenkov personally in the March reorganization of the government following Stalin's death.

As Minister of State Control, Merkulov voted together with his colleagues for Beria's purge at the end of June. He retained his post through the August sessions of the Supreme Soviet. The first news of his downfall came with the release of the indictment. This must have come as a shock, especially to other government dignitaries.

The sudden elevation of five more ministers to the post of deputy-premiers, a post which all of them held under Stalin, was undoubtedly calculated by Malenkov as a gesture of reassurance to the uneasy functionaries.

HITS FAR EAST

The inclusion of S. A. Goglidze in the list of defendants is significant because it discloses that the purge has struck into the Far East regions of the USSR. Goglidze was the dictator in that area for years.

From the indictment it is also clear that in addition to the Far East, the main centers of the purge have been the Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia.

In recent issues of Pravda there is tell-tale evidence that the purge has hit highly placed party functionaries in Leningrad province, Tula, Krasnoyarsk, Krasnodar and other key provinces.

While the indictment seeks deliberately to convey the impression that the purge is aimed primarily at the secret police (from Beria down, each of the defendants is identified as an important secret police chief), the fact is that Malenkov's purge has already struck deeply at party and government figures, local as well as national. And it will strike deeper.

The new indictment and the announced "trial" of Beria and his "six aides" comes not as a culmination but rather as an intensification of the purge already seven months in progress. Otherwise, these steps would never have been taken.

WHY THE PURGE?

The question naturally arises why does Malenkov find such a course necessary? Because he has no other way of securing his rule except, as Stalin did, through the method of blood purge, "confessions," show trials and the rest. Like Stalin, Malenkov must rule for the benefit of a multi-millioned bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. In a literal sense this horde of functionaries — party, government, police, trade-union, military, administrative, etc. — are parasites on the Soviet economy and the mass of the Soviet people. They have expropriated the workers politically, usurping power, arrogating to themselves positions of power and privilege.

In its mode of life, its mentality, its role, this bureaucracy represents one of the most reactionary formations in modern times. Its needs and its interests collide head on with the needs and interests of the Soviet masses. At the same time, the bureaucracy straddles the Soviet economy, new social institutions and productive relations — nationalized property, planned economy, the direct conquests of the 1917 Russian Revolution — the most progressive economic forms in mankind's history.

The bureaucracy as a ruling minority cannot crystallize into a ruling class on the basis of Soviet economic foundations; it is barred from elaborating its own organs of rule, its own legal system, class traditions, class code and the like which are necessary to every ruling class. As Leon Trotsky long ago pointed out, this bureaucracy has all the vices but none of the virtues of historic ruling classes. It substitutes measures of naked force — administrative, police measures — for other measures traditionally available to genuine ruling classes.

ROLE OF BLOOD PURGE

The most naked and hideous administrative or police measure is precisely — the blood purge. Every autocracy has resorted to it when its rule was threatened. Stalinism is compelled to act in this way, with this difference, (Continued on page 2)

President Eisenhower Wilts Under Heat from McCarthy

Wasn't a Spy



A Capitol policeman ejects engineer Henry J. Shoikey from hearing room in Washington on order of McCarthy. The Wisconsin fascist senator, conducting a witch hunt at Fort Monmouth, N. J., ostensibly in search of "spies," called for a cop when the witness demanded his right to deny before the committee that he was a spy.

Senator Seeks Total Power Liberal Weekly Warns U.S.

By John F. Petrone

Those who want serious and detailed information about the forms and scope of the current witch hunt will find a great deal of it presented in the special 64-page issue of the liberal Nation dated Dec. 12 and entitled "Freedom and the American Tradition: 1953." Unfortunately, the issue is stronger on telling what is than in saying what should be done, and those who are looking for an effective program to stop the witch hunt will have to search elsewhere.

The Nation is unquestionably one of the last centers of the liberal tradition in American journalism. Determined not to abandon the "old-fashioned" concepts in the Bill of Rights, as so many liberal publications and organizations are gradually doing under the pressure of McCarthyism, it attracts many of the best and most courageous writers and participants in the fight for democratic rights.

Most of the 17 articles and editorials in this special issue are well-written, thought-provoking and worthy of attention. "TOOLING UP" Laurent B. Frantz contributes a hard-hitting analysis of the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950, the combined "subversive registration" and concentration-camp law produced when Congress, "puzzled by the relative merits of several rival schemes for the curtailment of liberty, resolved the matter by combining them all into one." Outlining the dangers in the law and the Subversive Activities Control Board, (Continued on Page 2)

Irving Dillard, editor of the St. Louis Post Dispatch's editorial page, briefly explains "the blackest thought I have had in my lifetime. I am convinced that the Bill of Rights would not be submitted and ratified as part of the Constitution were it presented in Congress today."

Fatal Flaw in UAW Resolution on Unemployment

By Manuel Rodriguez

The United Automobile Workers of America, CIO, held a national conference in Washington, D. C., Dec. 6-7 on the problem of unemployment. This conference marks a step forward in one important respect: A powerful section of the labor movement has taken action to meet the growing threat of unemployment.

The conference correctly noted that not a single organization or leader of Big Business has come forward with an answer to the threat of depression. Big Business accepts "a slowing down of our economy and a reduction in our living standards. . . . Some of them even seem to welcome it as a means by which they can restrict labor's gains and impose speed-ups and wage cuts on their workers."

The conference adopted a resolution which was later published in the Dec. 12 issue of Ford Facts, Local 600 newspaper. This resolution is fully in line with the basic policy of the Reuther administration. And that is the source of a grave weakness.

The resolution points out that the trend toward depression arises in the face of a tremendous need for housing, hospitals, schools, roads, and all types of consumer goods among millions of Americans. It points out that America has the capacity to produce all these goods in abundance.

Einstein Calls For Defiance Of McCarthy

Albert Einstein, world-famed physicist, has again provided a splendid example of how to fight McCarthyite witch hunting. For the second time he has boldly and demonstratively advised a witness before the McCarthy "spy hunt" committee, "not to cooperate with this or any other investigating committee."

Appearing under subpoena before the committee, Albert Shadowitz, an engineer, disclosed Einstein's advice to him in response to a question from McCarthy as to whether or not he had been a Communist at the time he was employed at an Army base. "In answer to this question," Shadowitz replied, "I am going to follow completely the course of action advised by Dr. Albert Einstein both to every one in general and by personal consultation to me in particular."

He went on to say he would refuse to answer "any question which invades my right to think as I please."

STAND ON RIGHTS

"I discussed this question personally with Dr. Einstein," Shadowitz said, "and he advised me to do exactly as I am doing now. He advised me not to cooperate with this or any other committee of the same nature."

"He said any questions relating to my personal beliefs, politics, association with other people, reading, thinking, and writing I should refuse to answer as a violation of the First Amendment. I should not invoke the Fifth Amendment."

He further informed the committee that "Dr. Einstein did not ask me whether I was a Communist or a spy." McCarthy retorted he "would suggest if you don't want to spend considerable time in jail that you advise with your lawyer rather than Dr. Einstein."

"SOUND GROUND"

Mr. Shadowitz' attorney stated that he believed the witness was "on sound ground, both legally and morally."

Dr. Einstein, last May 16, wrote to a Brooklyn High School teacher, urging every "intellectual" to refuse to testify before the committee, even at the cost of "jail and economic ruin . . . in the interest of the cultural welfare of this country."

Detroit SWP Rally To Fight Coughlin

NEW YORK, Dec. 21 — Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, today urged the Detroit labor movement to take up the cudgels against the fascist demagogue, Father Coughlin of Royal Oak, Mich., who reentered the political arena Dec. 4 with the approval of the Catholic hierarchy after a 14-year silence.

In his first appeal since 1939 for a new mass following, the former fascist radio priest called for a guaranteed annual wage, trade with India and China, and the lifting of all taxes from production line workers.

The fact that Coughlin thinks he can attract auto workers with such issues is a grave warning signal, Dobbs held. "It shows that the labor leaders are remiss in developing a fighting program against unemployment. Thus they leave the field free for demagogues."

"In and of themselves," Dobbs declared, "these particular demands are good ones and happen to be popular among the auto workers who are threatened with mass unemployment in the face of a rising cost of living. But it would be a fatal error to overlook who is making this appeal and why he is making it."

"We must never forget that Hitler, like his predecessor Mussolini, made all kinds of demagogic appeals to rally a mass following. Hitler claimed he was pro-labor and even went so far as to promise socialism. Once in power, however, he gave the people hunger, forced labor, concentration camps, gas chambers, and another world war."

Dobbs branded Coughlin as "in the Hitler tradition." He recalled the notorious record of the fascist radio priest in the Thirties when he started out as a supporter of the New Deal only to end up as a rabid opponent of the United Automobile Workers and an advocate of a made-in-America fascist program.

Coughlin is raising his head now, Dobbs continued, "because he obviously feels that the soil in America, after six years of all-out witch-hunting, has been thoroughly prepared for the swift growth of a fascist movement."

"American fascism is now headed by the would-be dictator McCarthy. But the field is wide open for every race-hater, witch-hunter, labor-baiter, panacea-monger, and promoter of war who thinks in the pattern developed by Mussolini and Hitler. In the McCarthyite movement, Father Coughlin undoubtedly hopes to win a leading position by taking care of the social demagoguery that so far has been missing from McCarthy's poisonous witch-hunting propaganda."

Dobbs declared that it would be suicidal for Detroit labor to try to smother the Royal Oak priest with silence. "The tactic of trying to ignore Coughlin will only play into his hands. You can't ignore fascism, because fascism refuses to ignore you. Coughlin's game must be exposed right now before his demagoguery has a chance to roll up a big movement of deluded followers that can be turned at a later stage, along with the rest of the McCarthyite forces, squarely against the unions."

Dobbs announced that he has accepted an invitation from the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party to speak in Detroit against Father Coughlin Sunday, January 10 at 3 P.M. The meeting will be held at the Danish Brotherhood Hall, 12th and Forrest.

Agrees on Stepped-up Witch Hunt

By Murry Weiss

America's number one fascist, Senator McCarthy, scored another victory at the Republican caucus meeting held in Washington, Dec. 17-19, when Eisenhower and the Republican high command knuckled under to McCarthy's demand to deepen and extend the witch hunt.

President Eisenhower himself announced that the domestic program he now projects "will give our people a guarantee that they can depend on the Administration to protect the security, the welfare, and the economic stability of each individual citizen."

The authoritative Big Business mouthpiece, the N. Y. Times, interprets this double-talk to mean, "President Pledges Tougher Red Drive."

Legislation to legalize wire tapping and to scrap the Fifth Amendment was unanimously approved by the conference. These measures will now be barreled through Congress, provided there is no powerful opposition from the labor movement.

MCCARTHY GLOATS

McCarthy announced after the meeting, "I was not displeased at anything I heard." Later he declared, "It was tremendously impressed with his (Eisenhower's) handling of the conference."

McCarthy's henchman, Congressman Volde of the House Un-American Committee, said "cooperation of the highest type" prevailed at the conference; it was "very congenial."

Thus ended weeks of wish-thinking by American liberals and labor officials, who looked to Eisenhower "to assert his leadership" and "stand up to McCarthy."

How strong the illusions were can be judged from the comments of the liberal New Republic's Washington correspondent. "The fact is that Ike is being pushed into a posture of leadership," he wrote Dec. 14. While deploring Eisenhower's "wasted year" he said that "word has gone out that Ike really means what he says and is going on the offensive." He meant on the offensive against McCarthy.

The other major liberal weekly, The Nation, editorialized, Dec. 19, "The President has begun to act and sound like a leader and to (Continued on page 4)

Jim Crow Schools Will Not Be Ended in 1954

By George Breitman

One safe New Year's prediction is this: Jim Crow segregation in the elementary schools of the South will not be ended in 1954.

Great hopes were kindled by the recent Supreme Court re-hearings of suits filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to have school segregation declared unconstitutional. In Washington, according to Cliff W. Mackay, editor of the Afro-American newspapers, the consensus is that the Supreme Court "will split 5 to 4" in favor of a decision to order the abolition of separate schools.

But that's only a guess. Nobody can say with absolute certainty how the political appointees on the Supreme Court will rule on this issue. And still it can be said with complete confidence that school segregation will not be ended in 1954.

The reason why this is sure is that the members of the Supreme Court themselves made clear by their questions that even if they rule against segregation, they have no intention of ordering that segregation should be abolished immediately.

On the contrary, their plan is to give the Southern ruling class a period of grace — one year, two years, perhaps even longer — to "adjust" themselves and their school systems to a new arrangement.

That would give the Dixiecrats additional time for attempts to circumvent an anti-segregation decision.

It is important to remember that what the Supreme Court is considering are specific suits from five specific areas — in South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, Kansas and the District of Columbia. The court's decision will apply to these areas, but not necessarily to all others.

As Mackay puts it, "the fight is just beginning when the decision comes. A series of suits will have to be filed in school districts throughout the South before Jim Crow is finally put to rout."

DIE-HARDS WILL RESIST

If that happens, we can surely expect to see the Dixiecrat die-hards resisting in every available way — including more fights in the courts, and new appeals to the Supreme Court. If the court's decision is a close one, the white supremacist politicians in the South will seek to have more long drawn-out legal proceedings in the hope that in the meantime an anti-segregation member of the Supreme Court will drop dead and be replaced by a new member who will vote to continue segregation.

Another reason for expecting Jim Crow in the Southern schools to survive the coming year is the already announced plan of the Southern Democratic politicians in South Carolina, Georgia and other states to abolish the public school system and replace it with a state-financed "private" school system in which segregation will continue unimpeded.

Will the Supreme Court dare to denounce this as an evasion of the Constitution, and order the so-called "private" schools to be opened to Negro children? It is not likely, and anyhow the legal proceedings around such an issue would certainly drag on for a long long time.

DECISIONS EVADED

Another important fact should never be forgotten: Supreme Court decisions can be and are evaded on a wide scale, not only "legally," but in outright illegal ways.

The Supreme Court has ruled that Negroes can vote in the South both in Democratic pri-

(Continued on page 4)

Letters to a Stalinist

Where the Stalinists Go Wrong in the Fight Against McCarthyism

Dear Phil, I'm sure you hope that your last question will prove to be a stumper: "Since the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party have both analyzed McCarthyism as the American brand of fascism, doesn't this show the closeness of the two parties despite their mutual hostility?"

You say that the Militant and the SWP have made a "deep analysis of McCarthyism" and that you are "all for the anti-fascist campaign" they are conducting. You observe that our campaign has influenced the Daily Worker and Peoples World "to step up their agitation on McCarthyism, deepen their own analysis and keep the Militant from stealing the show."

You are right of course on that last point. Nobody has a patent on correct policy. And we would be fools to complain if anyone took up our analysis and proposals for action. The question is, do the Stalinists have a correct policy on McCarthyism?

I'm going to give it to you cold turkey, Phil. The American Stalinists are dead wrong on McCarthyism in both their analysis and program of action. They are following the same policy that defeated the European workers in the fight against fascism. Moreover, it is the same policy followed by the labor officials, Social Democrats and liberals in the U.S. If this policy prevails, it's curtains for the American workers, for McCarthyism will surely triumph.

Don't allow your desire for unity of all radicals to blind you, Phil. Policy is all-important in the fight against fascism.

I will not mince words with you; the stakes are very high, nothing less than the fate of humanity is involved. For that reason the Socialist Workers Party will do its utmost to prevent the labor bureaucracy and the Stalinists from following the criminal policy of their European predecessors.

There are three major points on which we differ from the Stalinists on McCarthyism.

(1) The Stalinists lump all capitalist reaction into one basket and call it "fascist." Eisenhower, Dewey, Dulles, McCarran and McCarthy are all "fascists." They also smear all their revolutionary opponents as "fascist provocateurs" when they rose against the East German Stalinist dictators last June.

The danger of this insane use of the term "fascist" is very great. If you think the fascists are merely run-of-the-mill reactionaries you can break your neck. The German Stalinists followed this policy in 1929-33.

They accepted Stalin's formula, "Fascism and Social Democracy are twins." They refused to fight for unity of action between the Communist and Social Democratic workers organizations against Hitlerism. As a result Hitler marched to power unopposed, without firing a single shot. Once in power, Hitler taught the workers that the mistakes of their leaders are very costly.

(2) The Stalinists do not make a class analysis of McCarthyism and anti-McCarthyism. They picture the choice America faces as: McCarthyism or the Democratic Party. This is false. The choice is McCarthyism or Socialism.

The current orientation of the Stalinists toward the support of the Democratic Party reinforces the policy of the labor bureaucracy. This is a policy of treachery in the fight against fascism. If labor continues on the ruinous course of supporting the capitalist "democrats" against McCarthyism they will commit the same blunder that resulted in the victory of Hitler and Mussolini.

The labor officials in Europe, while professing to be Socialists, followed the policy of not "frightening" the middle class with revolution. The middle class was timid, they explained.

But the fascists knew better. They took advantage of this default of the labor leaders and appealed to the middle class on a "radical" program. The desperate middle class, squeezed by the terrible crisis of capitalism, and seeing nothing but parliamentary maneuvers from the workers' leaders, turned to the fascist "anti-capitalist" demagogues. They wanted action.

The fascists gave them action all right. They used the middle class to smash the labor organizations and then turned around and demolished the middle class mass organizations. Monopoly capitalism came out on top.

(3) The Stalinists do not come with clean hands in the fight against witch hunts. In the current Beria purge in the Soviet Union for example, the Kremlin is once again peddling the Big Lie. The whole world learned the baseness of this type of frame-up lie in the Moscow Trials. The American fascists will use this to the hilt. They will use the Kremlin's frame-ups to justify their own. The American Stalinists cannot effectively fight the Big Liars in the United States while they support the Big Liars of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

These are some of the differences between us and the Stalinists on McCarthyism. I hope you will consider them in the light of the seriousness of the situation in the United States. Murry Weiss

Why the Right Name of McCarthyism Is Fascism

By George Breitman

"Say, what's happening to you people?" My friend, who tries to keep abreast of radical politics and theories, was referring to the Militant and the Socialist Workers Party.

"How come you're labeling McCarthyism as fascism and designating fascism as a grave danger in this country today? I'm used to that kind of stuff from the Daily Worker and the Stalinists; they do it all the time; they call Eisenhower a fascist and they called Truman a fascist, and they used to call Roosevelt a fascist too at times when they weren't supporting him. But you people always know better, you were always more exact, more scientific, in such matters. Do you really mean that you consider McCarthy to be the American Hitler, despite all the differences between them?"

"Yes," I told him, "we do consider McCarthyism to be the American form of fascism." And I called his attention to various articles in the Militant which explained why. Our long discussion showed the need for repeating and elaborating some of our analysis, and adding to it.

"Take the Soviet Union," I told him, "that was the first workers state, the beginning of the world socialist revolution. After Lenin's death when Stalinism came to power through political counter-revolution, the workers state in that country suffered a terrible degeneration."

"Now the question I would ask you is this: Must every workers state since 1917 be an exact duplicate of the Soviet state after Lenin's time or Stalin's time before you would be willing



HITLER

to characterize it as a workers state? Or do you recognize that the workers state created in Russia is only one form of working-class power, with many specific features that are due to the social, political and economic climate of Russian society and of the international situation at the time the revolution took place?"

"Of course the Soviet state is only one form of the workers state," he answered sharply. "You know my position has always been that a workers state in the United States, with its advanced technology and industry and its different traditions, will be quite different from the workers states created in industrially backward countries. That's ABC." He seemed a little offended that I had asked him such a stupid question.

"Well," I said, "if you grant that workers states can have different forms, just as capitalist states have different forms, then

you should also grant that fascism can have different forms, and you should not assume that McCarthyism is not fascist merely because the form in which it appears is somewhat different from the form in which the European fascist movements appeared. What we must do is to take account of the differences as well as the similarities, and to determine which are formal or secondary, and which are essential."

Few problems in politics are more crucial than the one of distinguishing between form and essence. Most of what we know about fascism we have learned from our study of the fascist movements in the countries where they came to power — Germany, Italy, Spain. The tendency of the mind is to regard as fascist those movements which resemble the generalized abstract conception that we retain of those European movements, and to dismiss as non-fascist those movements which do not conform to that conception.

This can be misleading on a number of counts. In the first place, we can go astray by failing to remember that fascism, like everything else, went through a process of development in Europe between the time the fascist movements were formed and the time they came to power and the time they were driven out of power.

It is easy enough to show fundamental differences between the McCarthyism of today and German fascism after Hitler came to power. The different stages of the development of each of those must be grasped if comparisons between McCarthyism and Hitler-

ism are to have any validity. Secondly, we can err by overlooking the fact that German, Italian and Spanish fascism, despite their essential similarities — they were all aimed at the destruction of capitalist democracy and the labor movement, and the institution of a naked dictatorship in the interests of the capitalist class — arose out of specific needs of capitalism in their own country as they were shaped by the class relationship of forces and the international situation, and that they underwent unique developments in each case.

German fascism was not quite the same thing as Italian fascism, and both of them differed in some important respects from Spanish fascism. One reason was that they operated under different conditions; another was that Hitler was able to learn from Mussolini's experiences and to avoid some of his mistakes, just as Franco was able to come to power partly because of the fascist victories in Italy and Germany that preceded his own.

PEOPLE HATE FASCISM If the German, Italian and Spanish fascist movements all had their unique national characteristics, it would be surprising if American fascism did not have them too. It would be all the more surprising in view of the time when McCarthyism comes on the scene.

After all, the world has already had an unforgettable experience with fascism and hundreds of millions know it and hate it. The American fascists, operating in a country which was indoctrinated to accept World War II as a conflict to rid the world

of fascism, must get even more circumspectly than the European fascists, especially in the early stages and must do more to conceal their real nature and aims. Of course the question "What is McCarthyism?" may not appear as urgent as the question "How can we stop McCarthyism?" But the two questions are intimately linked.

If McCarthyism is the American form of fascism in the 1950's, as we contend, and if this can be demonstrated to the politically advanced and class-conscious workers of this country who already

understand that they and fascism cannot co-exist peacefully, then the job of alerting and mobilizing them around a militant program of action to stop McCarthyism will be made easier and completed sooner. In subsequent articles we shall compare McCarthyism with the European forms of fascism, with special emphasis on the ways in which they are alike and unlike each other, and with the aim of considering all of the objections to the Socialist Workers Party's analysis of McCarthyism as "the American form of fascism."

THE MILITANT ARMY

The last of the 25th Anniversary Militant Mobilizations ended Dec. 20. In the series approximately 300 subscriptions and 3,000 single copies were sold mostly in door-to-door work in new neighborhoods. New York and Twin Cities comrades set the pace nationally. Campaign Director Tom Denver reports, "The New York comrades are proud to finish off this campaign with 3,008 points. We did a little better than we did last spring and we now have a large group of new readers."

week. To finish out the campaign and the year with this kind of achievement can mean only greater success for the Militant in the year ahead. Chicago finished third on the national scoreboard with another week to go in their local campaign. Literature Agent Alice Wiley reports six six-months subs and 15 single copies sold over the weekend. In addition 19 Militants were sold on the campus by Bert and Wilson. Most of Los Angeles' score is the result of single copy sales in a number of different neighborhoods, according to reporter Dick Kirby. "The reception to the paper was friendly and the campaign was an enormously valuable experience for us. We now plan to go after the renewals and general subs. Our high scorers were Erroll, 81; May, 74; Carolyn, 59; Clyde, 58; and Toby, 48. This includes no subs but just individual papers."

In fifth place on the national scoreboard, Seattle has one more mobilization* to go in their campaign. Literature Agent Helen Baker writes, "We have one team in Seattle, Jack and Celia, who because of illness, have only been able to work in the few blocks surrounding their home. Their success is not so spectacular as Leon's and Ann's, but they have sold one six-months sub, have a promise of two more and have two neighbors who will buy the paper each week as they bring it to their door."

"A door-to-door mobilization next Sunday will complete our campaign. So far our pace setters are George with 139 points and Frank with 107. They secured most of their high score by getting subs on the job. Ann and Leon, who have scores of 100, and 80, account for theirs by going door to door, almost entirely by single copies."

The Buffalo comrades sent in 14 subs this week to bring their total to 841. Cleveland brought in 734 points for the campaign, and Detroit rolled up a score of 606.

Milwaukee more than doubled its score in the last week of the campaign, bringing its total to 488. Local high scorers are Al C., 144 points; Paul R., 94; Jim B., 88; Francis, 82; and Fred, 46.

Pittsburgh got a late start on sales. "But we are chalking up some fair results anyhow," writes Literature Agent Marianne Moore. "Yesterday Mary and I went out house to house and sold 15 single copies in a little more than an hour. Enclosed are one new six-months sub and one new year sub. We have sold a total of 76 single copies so far."

The final scoreboard for the campaign:

All of our Militant salesmen were enthusiastic about the last issue of the Militant on McCarthy and the fascist danger. We consider this one of the most important that the Militant has ever published and only wished that we had had many more copies for our work this last week. This issue of the Militant marks the Socialist Workers Party as the first to speak out loud and clear against the union-baiting, race-baiting American fascist McCarthy and the danger of fascism in America!"

Literature Agent Helen Sherman reports "a rousing windup" of the 25th Anniversary sales in Minneapolis. "Our score of 1,583 points, together with St. Paul's 771 points, will put the Twin Cities on the national scoreboard with a grand total of 2,354."

Minneapolis honored the three leading sub-getters with prizes. Chester, with 244 points, was awarded a copy of James Katcher's book "The Case of the Legless Veteran" inscribed by the author. Alice, who placed second with 156 points, was given a pictorial album of the 25th Anniversary Banquet. Ray, third prize winner with 135 points, was presented a framed reproduction of Gray's cartoon which appeared in the anniversary issue of the paper. A social hour following the meeting completed the festive occasion.

"During the five-week campaign, 179 single copies of the paper and four subscriptions were sold in Minneapolis to new readers of the Militant. Thirty-five renewed subs were turned in, many of them from new Militant readers of last spring. Unquestionably, the best and most rewarding work of this period is selling the Militant. Reports from all over the country show that workers are receptive to the line and program of the paper. ... Popularize the Militant by getting it out! Continued, aggressive circulation is the aim and plan of the Minneapolis campaigners."

Last week, Bill, Fanny, Charles, Donald, Helen, and Chester sold 29 copies of the Militant while going house to house distributing leaflets and advertising the Twin Cities Sunday Forum. One who attended the forum took a sub. Fifteen other subs were turned in during the

Among the pace setters, Chester of the Twin Cities was national top honors with a score of 244. Cleveland subgetter Jean S. is second with 211 points; and Winifred of the Twin Cities is third with 173. Other high scorers are Bert, Chicago Militant salesman, 165 points; Alice, Twin Cities, 156; Ethel B., New York, 151; Belle, Boston 150; Al C., Milwaukee, 144; Paul, Twin Cities, 141; and George, Seattle, 139.

McCarthy Seeks "Total Power"

(Continued from page 1)

Frantz warns: "We are moving from political trials of individuals to political trials of groups and movements. Repression is tooling up for mass production."

A. L. Wirin and Sam Rosenwin, civil liberties lawyers, present a valuable summary of the record and pattern of the Smith Act trials to date.

The repressive nature of the federal "loyalty" program is revealed in an anonymous article by one who experienced it in real life, "The Strange Case of Miss X."

Alexander Meiklejohn, the noted educator, has an article on the First Amendment which finishes with the warning that "the Supreme Court, more than any other agency or person in our society, must be held responsible for the destruction of those constitutional principles which that court is commissioned to interpret and defend."

There are three personal accounts of lively interest: "The Fear I Felt" by Kermit Eby, formerly CIO research director and now a faculty member at the University of Chicago, who was hauled before the Jenner committee; "Challenge to McCarthy" by Carlisle Lamont, who invoked the First Amendment in refusing to cooperate with the Wisconsin witch hunters; and "How Crazy Can They Get?" by Janet Scott who was fired from a reporter's job because she would not discuss her political views with the House Un-American Activities Committee.

In another section, a group of articles written from abroad, the novelist Kay Boyle, who has lived most of her adult life in Europe, tells why she is disregarding the advice of her European friends and returning to her own country now to join the struggle of "the other America," that is, the anti-McCarthyite America. Included in this section is an important article by Claude Bourdet, French editor, which will be discussed at another time in this paper.

THE ADVICE THEY GIVE

And that's exactly what is missing from the conclusions presented by the editors of the Nation in their "Call for Leadership."

They offer advice to Eisenhower on what to do "to defeat the program of his own Attorney General" — fire Brownell, prevent passage of wire-tapping and anti-Fifth Amendment legislation, take "resolute action" against the concept of guilt by association, appoint men of high caliber to a presidential commission to study and report on the civil liberties situation while getting Congress to declare a moratorium on the witch hunt, etc., etc.

They offer advice to the Democrats — be a principled opposition, stop trying to show they are more "anti-communist" than McCarthy, "learn to stand erect in the presence of J. Edgar Hoover," "formulate a foreign policy consistent with (their party's) domestic program and one that does not breed McCarthyism at home," etc., etc.

They even offer a few words of advice to the labor leaders — "If the Democratic Party is to resist McCarthyism, then the labor movement must encourage it to act in this fashion. To this end, the unions must quickly step up the tempo and scale of their political-action programs."

What a pitiful program! "All Americans of good will, conservatives and liberals, Democrats and Republicans alike" are summoned to urge Eisenhower not to act like Eisenhower and the

Democrats not to act like Democrats. This doesn't make much sense than urging McCarthy not to act like McCarthy.

The fact is that McCarthyism owes its present sinister power first of all to the Democrats initiators of the witch hunt whose leadership McCarthy has seized, and second of all to Eisenhower, who helped McCarthy get re-elected last year and does not dare break decisively with him today.

No program is worth the paper it is written on if it fails to understand the thousand class lines between McCarthyism and the two parties of Big Business, or if it proceeds from the notion that American fascism can be effectively checked through traditional politics along two-party lines.

SOMETHING NEW

McCarthyism is something new in American politics. It doesn't recognize the old rules, and it can't be destroyed through parliamentary maneuvering. It already has a large mass base, and one that is growing. It will be beaten only by another and more power-

ful and more independent mass movement — a new political party, based on the labor movement and its allies who have the most to lose from the victory of fascism.

The longer the formation of a Labor Party is delayed, the more time McCarthyism has to gather its fascist cadres and prepare its bid for power. The Nation's proposal that the labor movement should continue to limit itself to acting as a pressure agency inside the Democratic Party (although on an expanded scale) should be rejected as a disservice to the fight against fascism.

The Nation's program has already been tried historically. In Germany too the liberals tried to prevent the fascist victory by putting their hopes in the democratic capitalist parties, or in their reform. This was supposed to be the "realistic" and "practical" way of fighting fascism. But it didn't work. Let's learn the lessons of history.

Either we will build a fighting Labor Party to destroy McCarthyism, or McCarthyism will destroy us.

MALENKOV OFFERS BERIA AS SCAPEGOAT IN CRISIS

(Continued from page 1)

first, there is no historical justification for its terror and second, police-terror is a permanent necessity for the bureaucracy, because every relaxation or impairment of its repressive apparatus carries with it the threat that the Soviet masses may assert themselves as an independent force and overthrow the bureaucracy.

This threat became a reality with the death of Stalin and the hopes it undoubtedly engendered among the Soviet masses for a relaxation in the bestial oppression. Amid a highly critical domestic and world situation, it was necessary to assure a definitive succession to Stalin's mantle as Purger-in-Chief and Supreme Arbitrator. Two purge waves, the first one under Beria, and the second, Malenkov's purge of Beria, have demonstrated that this critical problem of succession could be solved in one way and one way only, and that is — through the blood purge.

By launching the purge of Beria and the entire all-powerful secret police, Malenkov sought to solve at a single stroke this crisis of succession. In any case that was the tenor of his speech in August when he assumed publicly Stalin's mantle. There are some indications that Malenkov envisaged originally a rather leisurely, more or less masked operation: "Shaking up" the party, government, police army and the rest of the apparatus; that is, hand-picking his henchmen, nationally and locally, over a period, say, of two or three years.

It seems hardly likely that he would have originally chosen the eve of a new year, inaugurated customarily by all kinds of "successes" and promises, as the time for launching a show trial, the public signal of blood purging the terrible reminder of the mass

blood-lettings of the Thirties. But leaving aside Malenkov's time-table of the purge, it is a fact that his show-trial coincides with an unexpected worsening of the Soviet agricultural crisis. A harsh winter set in much earlier than any one expected.

Since October the columns of the Russian press have carried a long list of "alarm signals" about thousands upon thousands of acres of grain, potatoes, vegetables and fodder crops suddenly buried under mounds of snow and irretrievably lost.

The extent of the actual damage remains unknown. It is not excluded that the 1953 grain crop may have been seriously affected. Obviously enough, no official reports concerning the 1953 crops, grain or otherwise, have yet been issued, although the dates for state-deliveries, purchases, etc., have long elapsed.

The most critical year for Soviet agriculture will be 1954. The crisis now unfolding clearly caught the Kremlin by surprise. The inclusion in the Beria indictment of the charge that he and the others "plotted... to create food difficulties (read: shortages) in our country" — a charge previously never mentioned — is irrefutable evidence that precisely such difficulties are becoming a reality. The bureaucracy in all its major moves, all the more so in its charges at show trials, pursues invariably an immediate aim, and a highly practical one.

In this case Malenkov needs as Stalin did in the past, SCAPEGOATS for the "difficulties" in food supply as in all other fields. This need for scapegoats, on whom to unload the ruinous results of the Kremlin's own policies and methods of management, plays an important part both in the timing and staging of Malenkov's 1953 model of the notorious Moscow frameups.

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A Letter to an International Comrade

(The following is the text of a reply by James P. Cannon to a letter from one of the leaders of a national section of the Fourth International. — Ed.)

Los Angeles, Calif. December 16, 1953

Dear Comrade: We have received your letter of December 2, in which you express some provisional opinions on the factional struggle in the Fourth International. We have noted your statement that "it appears that we see eye to eye on the political aspects of the question" as well as your criticism of our procedure. Somewhat similar opinions have been expressed in other letters received in New York since the publication of our "Letter to All Trotskyists" in the November 16 issue of the Militant.

The "political aspects" of this factional struggle involve not the narrower questions of tactics, or even of strategy, but fundamental issues of principle — as we have already demonstrated and will continue to demonstrate in an unceasing and relentless struggle to preserve our great heritage. For that reason, all secondary aspects will have to be subordinated, as we, acting with full consciousness and deliberation, have already subordinated them. For that reason, we cannot agree with your objection to our action in making public through the Militant our "Letter to All Trotskyists."

You write: "It is my opinion that you have prejudiced your getting a proper hearing on the political issues at stake by this utilization of the press, by this taking of the political issues at stake to the public." You are mistaken about that, as were those who counseled us in 1928 to refrain from publishing the Militant and carrying our revolt against Stalinism "to the public." It's the same kind of a fight now, and you will soon have to recognize it. Measures taken in a struggle cannot be determined by a rigid formula; they follow from the nature of the struggle and the way it is conducted by opponents.

PABLOITE REVISIONISM ALREADY PUBLIC

The Pablo faction has already attacked our basic principles in public. They are openly and publicly working to revise the Trotskyist doctrine out of existence by the devious and tricky device of filling the old formulas with a new and different content. They are carrying out in practice a pro-Stalinist policy of their own factional devising which has no sanction or authorization in any officially adopted resolution of an international gathering, nor in any of the classic writings of our teacher and founder. We are fighting against that, and we are fighting in the open because that's the only effective way to meet such a challenge.

The Pabloites know very well that they cannot hope to secure formal and official sanction for their criminal policy as long as the historically created cadres of Trotskyism, educated in the doctrine and hardened in struggle, stand in the way. They must first break up or "excommunicate" these cadres and convert minorities into majorities. That's why they have provoked and instigated splits in one country after another — first in France, then in Ceylon, and now in England and the United States. All these splits are now public affairs.

It is later than you think. What is involved is a wide-open fight to preserve the Lenin-Trotsky heritage and prevent the disruption and dispersal of the cadres. You, and everyone else, will have to take a position on the issues of political principle involved in the struggle. These issues of political principle stand above all formalities, as they have always done since the Left Opposition in the Russian Party raised the banner of revolt against Stalinist revisionism and degeneration thirty years ago.

"ORGANIZATION METHODS"

By this I do not mean to state that we advocate or practice irresponsible conduct in matters of organization and discipline, any more than our predecessors and inspirers did during the first heroic period of the struggle in the Russian Communist Party. We know all about organizational formalities, perhaps better than others — if you will permit me to say so — and have never been the first to brush them aside. We also know the difference between an honest system of democratic organization and a formalistic trap for the innocent.

We do not belong to that school of super-politicians who say that "organization methods" do not matter; that any abuse of authority, any organizational enormity, is permissible as long as the "political line" appears at the moment to be more or less correct. The "organization question" is important in and of itself; and it is even more important as the first tell-tale indicator of undisclosed political aims. This was the case in the Russian Party in 1903 and again in 1923. We saw the same thing in the SWP in the great battle of 1939-40 with the



JAMES P. CANNON, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. The above picture, taken when Cannon together with L. D. Trotsky led the fight against the petty-bourgeois opposition headed by Shachtman and Burnham, shows the American Trotskyist leader as he waded into the revisionists at the 1940 convention of the Socialist Workers Party.

Burnham-Shachtman revisionists. We see it now again in the present struggle for the Fourth International.

Our "organization methods," so well advertised by our various opponents in the past, are and always have been the instrument of a political line. This has eventually turned out to be the case with others too, even though they didn't always plan it that way. It is perhaps no accident that the specific organizational methods of Pablo — which are not Leninist, but to speak plainly, purely and simply Stalinist — made their appearance in the administration of the Fourth International coincidentally with his departure from Lenin-Trotsky orthodoxy and his attempt to impose a pro-Stalinist line on the movement against its will. Such a monstrous project could not be attempted, nor even seriously contemplated, by the method of honest, democratic discussion in which our movement was educated by its founder.

Now, as in the Russian Party and the Comintern, this question of organization is turned upside down; and the real violators of discipline, those who trample on every principle of democratic centralism as taught by Lenin and Trotsky, are precisely those who launch such accusations against their opponents. You will have plenty of chance to convince yourself of that too, when you get the true, detailed and documented story of the Pabloite operations in France and England.

VIOLATED PRINCIPLES

The fact of the matter is that the Pabloites started the public struggle by publicly violating the basic principles of our movement in the policy they followed in connection with great historic events during the past six months. They have done this without authorization of any Congress or any adopted resolution. We never recognized their right to do this. Our press has been defending the orthodox Trotskyist line and counterposing it to the line of the Pabloites for the past six months.

Our "Letter to All Trotskyists," adopted by our 25th Anniversary Plenum, was nothing more and nothing less than an extension of the six-month-old indirect polemic — a public answer to the Pabloites' infamy, naming names. Our "Letter," as you can see for yourself by reading it attentively, is by no means a collection of epithets and unsubstantiated accusations. Our indictment lists concrete actions and cites precise texts which show the unauthorized and anti-Trotskyist position of the Pabloites on the post-Stalin events in the Soviet Union, on the revolt of the East German workers and on the French General Strike.

How did the Pabloites, who are presumably responsible for their conduct of office to the Trotskyists who make up the world movement, including, we take it, its founders and most loyal and most consistent supporters and builders — how did the Pabloites reply to this indictment by the 25th Anniversary Plenum of the SWP?

STALINIST-TYPE ANSWER

Their answer appears in a special issue of the Paris organ of the Pabloite faction, "La Verite de Travaillleurs," December, 1953. It will probably surprise you when you read it, but it didn't surprise us. We encountered identically the same kind of answers from the Stalinists in 1928, and ever since over a period of 25 years, and we know the Stalinist mentality, the Stalinist method of answering revolutionary critics and opponents.

Here's what the Pabloite answer to our concrete and specific indictments, our precise quotation of their texts, consists of:

First, the Majority of the SWP — which is more than an 80% majority — is "excommunicated," without notice or hearing, and the pitiful Minority, running to the Shachtmanites for sympathy,

are "recognized" as the Majority (as in France and England).

Then, having changed us overnight from a majority into a minority by a sort of papal bull, they proceed to change us just as suddenly from revolutionists into imperialist agents by papal anathema. They say: "The American Majority has just betrayed our cause. . . " "deserters" and "capitulators before the pressure of the class enemy. . . " "buckling before the reactionary pressure now prevailing in the United States" — and other pleasantries on the same order plucked fresh from the Stalinist garden.

The Stalinists said precisely the same things about us, word for word, in 1928 and ever since, and we have been wearing them proudly as decorations all this time. The Pabloites didn't even bother to "revise" the wording. Nothing is changed except the identification of the donor on the gift card.

But nowhere and never, in 1953 as in 1928, in a single paragraph of the special issue of their paper, do the Pabloites find space for an attempt to answer our indictment for concrete actions taken by them, or to deny the precise accuracy of our quotations from their texts. This is known as the method of evasion by counter-accusation. The reason for this method is as evident now, as it was evident in the Stalinist answer to our revolt and indictment in 1928. They cannot answer our accusations within the framework of our doctrine, and they cannot deny the accuracy of our quotations from their published writings.

STALINIST-TYPE APPEAL

Billingsgate is the only weapon left to them; that, and the appeal to all Trotskyists in the various sections to be "loyal to the International." When they say "The International," they mean the perfidious Pablo faction which is working night and day to disrupt and destroy the International and to pervert the Trotskyist movement into a left cover and apologist for Stalinism.

There is and can be no doubt whatever that the Trotskyist militants throughout the world, who have stood at their posts a long time under hardship and persecution, are profoundly attached to the Fourth International, which represents their greatest collective achievement. The Communist militants were animated by the same sentiment toward the Comintern during the first years of Trotsky's heroic struggle against its Stalinist degeneration. We know how this confidence was abused and betrayed by the Stalinist usurpers and converted into a force aiding the corruption and eventual destruction of the Comintern as a revolutionary organization. If you want explicit and detailed information on how this job was done, I can give you plenty. I was there.

The whole trick was to identify "the Comintern with the administration and to represent the criticism of the Left Opposition as an attack on the Comintern and the Soviet Union by 'agents of imperialism.'" The same trick is being attempted now in the struggle within the Fourth International by the Pabloite faction. This time, however, the game will meet with a sturdier resistance, especially from the "old Trotskyists" who have been instructed by the experiences of the past.

Normally, of course, the Trotskyists, like any other organized political tendency, reserve the right to discuss their internal affairs among themselves. The leaders of the SWP, schooled in a long tradition of responsibility and discipline, would never be the first to violate this normal procedure and resort one-sidedly to a public discussion. We are great believers in organizational formalities, regular procedure, responsibility and discipline. These concepts and practices have been deliberately built into the SWP and are a part of its solid structure.

But we are also believers in the Lenin doctrine that the essence stands above the form. The essence of the matter is that the conspiracy to prostitute the principles of our movement, and to break up and disperse its cadres, is already a wide-open public scandal in several countries. That is the reality, and that is what we must deal with.

THE FACTS

In France, during the General Strike, the Pabloites denounced the French Trotskyists of the Majority in a published leaflet addressed to Stalinists.

In Ceylon, the split of the Trotskyist faction has been widely exploited by the capitalist press of that country and has been publicized throughout the world by the international press agencies; we read the first reports of the Ceylon split in the New York daily papers.

In England the agents of Pablo publicly attack the Trotskyists in the mass movement and combine with Stalinist fellow-travellers against them.

And in the United States, as if to demonstrate that little things take the same pattern as the im-

portant, the pitiful Pabloite minority of the SWP, suspended from the party for their public boycott of our 25th Anniversary Celebration and election rally, appealed for public sympathy in the Shachtmanite press.

That is the essence of the matter, dear friend. The Pabloites by their actions have made the battle for the Fourth International a public affair; and we have no choice but to fight it out in public. We resolved at our 25th Anniversary Plenum to do our part to rally the Trotskyist militants everywhere to the defense of their program and their organization before it is too late. Our Plenum deliberately decided to talk openly to our international comrades through our press, this precious instrument which was not given

to us but which has been created in 25 years of international collaboration.

But our appeal is not addressed to the public, to the Shachtmanites, or to the Stalinist fellow-travellers. It is addressed, as the Open Letter of our 25th Anniversary Plenum says: "To All Trotskyists." By no means and under no circumstances do we advocate a split among the Trotskyists. Their task, as we see it, is a directly opposite one: to conduct an honest, democratic discussion in preparation for an honest, representative Congress; to maintain and strengthen their own unity in the struggle to defeat the splitters and to liquidate the liquidators.

Fraternally, James P. Cannon

"America's Road To Socialism"

By Kenneth Lewis

"The Republican Party as at present constituted is by no means a fascist party, and it would be quite false to characterize the incoming Eisenhower administration as a fascist regime. The Republican Party, however, has already organized many of the reserve forces of a future fascist movement. If such demagogues as Nixon and McCarthy are not the prototypes of American fascist demagogues, they will do until the real thing comes along."

It was just one year ago that James P. Cannon made this observation in the first of a series of six lectures now published by Pioneer Publishers under the title, "America's Road to Socialism." When they say "The International," they mean the perfidious Pablo faction which is working night and day to disrupt and destroy the International and to pervert the Trotskyist movement into a left cover and apologist for Stalinism.

There is and can be no doubt whatever that the Trotskyist militants throughout the world, who have stood at their posts a long time under hardship and persecution, are profoundly attached to the Fourth International, which represents their greatest collective achievement. The Communist militants were animated by the same sentiment toward the Comintern during the first years of Trotsky's heroic struggle against its Stalinist degeneration. We know how this confidence was abused and betrayed by the Stalinist usurpers and converted into a force aiding the corruption and eventual destruction of the Comintern as a revolutionary organization. If you want explicit and detailed information on how this job was done, I can give you plenty. I was there.

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Who will win in this struggle? Cannon answers: "Power is on the side of the workers. They are an absolute majority of the population. And their strategic social importance in industry multiplies the importance of their numerical majority at least a hundred times. All they need is the will, the consciousness, the leadership — and the Party which believes in the revolutionary, victory, and consciously and deliberately prepares for it. . . That's why we belong to the Socialist Workers Party. That's why we're building it up."

SOCIALIST AMERICA

In a final brilliant chapter, this veteran socialist warrior presents his own vision of "What Socialist America Will Look Like."

This is not based on a utopian ideal, but is grounded solidly in the rich materialist conceptions of Marxism. And what a magnificent canvas he paints of the revolutionary transformation of human attitudes and activities in his new world of peace, fraternity and super-abundance.

With bold strokes he sketches out the magnificent wonder cities that will blend town and countryside harmoniously together.

Pointing to the enormous capacity of a productive machine unfettered by the need to make profit, he shows how everyone can be freed from toil and given leisure to help construct a new civilization of undreamed cultural attainments.

"All will be artists. All will be workers and students, builders and creators. All will be free and equal."

World Events

By Paul Abbott

"THE SPECTACLE OF VERSAILLES." The two houses of the French parliament have been locked in "bitter and acrimonious" debate over the election of a President. Ten ballots had been taken by Dec. 23 without result. The leading contender, Premier Joseph Laniel, who headed the regime during the general strike of last August, was forced to withdraw. But this did not resolve the crisis. Leading figures in capitalist circles are expressing alarm at this dramatic demonstration of the political bankruptcy of the regime. The Dec. 23 N. Y. Times reports: "There was talk of a threat to the Government itself and there were comparisons of the atmosphere here (France) to the public disgust aroused in 1934 by the Stavisky financial scandal resulted in the sharp division of France into a fascist and workers camp, a struggle which culminated in the general strike of 1936."

SOUTHERN JUSTICE IN KENYA. Lashing Mau Mau suspects with "rhinoceros-hide whips" was charged against three white policemen in Kenya. A Dec. 21 Reuters dispatch reports that one of the cops, Frantz Hyvass, "pleaded guilty on five counts of beating natives and was fined \$140. As soon as the judgement was announced, a white settler came forward from the back of the court to present him with a check for the full amount."

OPERATION KILLER IN KENYA. Military operations against the Kikuyu people in revolt against British despotism have reached the stage of 600-pound and 1,000-pound blockbuster bombs dropped on what are described as "Mau Mau hideouts" in central Kenya.

MAU MAU ACTIVITY is now reported in another sector of the British empire, Tanganyika. The Mau Mau movement is one of the forms of struggle of the colonial people of Africa against the rule of white supremacists.

IRAQI OIL WORKERS battled police Dec. 15 at Basra. The clash followed strike action that began Dec. 5 at the Zubair oil field and spread to the terminal at the Persian Gulf. The company conceded 16 demands made by the strikers, but rejected their seventeenth — a wage boost.

CHEDDI JAGAN WAS REFUSED ENTRY in Ceylon by the reactionary UNP government. Jagan was the head of an elected government in British Guiana. His cabinet was deposed by imperialist action of the British. Jagan is now in India pleading his cause to the people of that country.

BRITISH WORKERS opened a general wage increase offensive after the railway union won a 6% wage increase following threat of strike. The Dec. 22, N. Y. Times reports that the British capitalists are worried. "Millions of workers in some of Britain's key industries who are demanding wage rises may see the settlement given to the railway men as a pattern." The Times reports demands and plans for strike action in the engineering, shipbuilding, mining and building industries.

A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY CONFAB of Wall Street's puppet regimes in South and Central America is scheduled to take place in Caracas, Venezuela, next March. The secret police chief of Venezuela, remembering "el Bogotazo" of April 1948, when a similar conference in Bogota, Colombia, was disrupted by a popular uprising, said: "There will be no trouble even if we have to round up every suspicious character in the country and jail them all through the conference."

Wall Street's Hand in Bolivia

No. 56, of Lucha Obrera (Workers Struggle), the newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia (POR), was published underground on Dec. 9 despite the repressions of the Wall Street-dominated Paz Estenssoro government.

Since the revolution of April 1952, the POR has become the popular organized expression of the Bolivian workers and peasants movement.

The Bolivian workers pressed for nationalization of the tin mines. Revolutionary mass action forced the government to stop promising and take action.

The peasants have been demanding the land. They formed peasant unions firmly allied with the workers organizations. In certain sections of the country the peasants have taken the land.

The capitalists, landlords and Wall Street interests have been trying to stop this revolutionary tide.

The government of Paz Estenssoro, dominated by the middle class National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), has steadily moved away from its initial responsiveness to the pressure of the revolutionary masses.

It has been maneuvering to take repressive measures against the spearhead of the revolution, the POR.

The MNR regime has been persecuting the POR militants in the factories and provinces. Lucha Obrera explains the reason for this: "The present Government has not been able to break with the foul politics of Eisenhower who continues to prepare war against the Soviet bloc and the national liberation movements. The historic campaign of the Yankee

power against every free man and free tendency is being transplanted to Bolivia. The visit of Milton Eisenhower, the U. S. Senate Committee, and at present, General Craig, has no other purpose than to tie Bolivia to the Yankee chariot and push the persecution of the POR."

Lucha Obrera tells how the government started with scattered persecution, then took the brazen step of ordering print shops to refuse POR publications or suffer reprisal.

The POR expects the next step of the government reprisals to coincide with the arrival of necessities from the U.S. under the economic aid deal consummated during Milton Eisenhower's visit.

Persecution of the POR and its press is a blow against all mass organizations of workers and peasants in Bolivia. The MNR is betraying the revolution and opening the door to counter-revolutionary attempts at seizure of power. The rightist Falange has already engaged in such attempts with the aim of crushing the revolution by fascist methods.

Condemning government attempts to smear the POR by ascribing falangist-like aims to it, Lucha Obrera says, "We defend the present government against the Right because the masses through this will take the road of constituting their own government. . . . Our party is not putchist. It does not substitute palace maneuvers for the revolutionary potential of the workers and peasants."

The POR declares it is confident the government persecution will not be successful. It will rally all its forces to meet this persecution, consolidate its growing mass support and organize the next stage of the revolution.

How to Fight McCarthyism

A reader of the Militant asks us, "What concrete proposals can I make to my union local on fighting McCarthyism? I am following your campaign closely. I agree with your position. But I would like to know what you suggest the union movement do right now to fight McCarthyism?"

We can answer this question by pointing to the action of the San Francisco longshoremen, reported in last week's Militant. They gave the whole labor movement a splendid example of how to fight the McCarthyites. When the Velde Un-American Committee swaggered into San Francisco to do a witch-hunt job on the Longshoremen's Union, they met with the first real resistance to date.

The longshoremen told them, "If you try any witch hunts against our union we will take it as a hostile move against our union security and act accordingly."

The San Francisco longshoremen aren't in the habit of bluffing. When the Velde Committee put up stoolpigeons to "expose red control" of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the answer came — 6,000 longshoremen struck in a 24-hour protest strike. The Velde Committee was set back on its heels.

The unions throughout the country can profitably study the action of the San Francisco longshoremen. There is much to be learned from it. On the basis of the excellent beginning of the longshoremen, we think a series of recommendations logically follow:

First, no co-operation with the witch hunters. Every union local in the country should make it a principle to refuse to deal with the McCarthyite "investigating" committees. A complete boycott of all their activities should be put in force.

Second, the unions must go into action to meet McCarthyism on the political field in the 1954 elections. McCarthy has served no-

tice that 1954 will be a "for or against me" election. Labor must accept McCarthy's challenge. But not by crawling behind weak-kneed Democratic Party capitulators to McCarthyism. Labor must enter the 1954 elections in its own name and rally the people of the country behind a Labor Party. This would strike a mortal blow to the McCarthyites.

Third, action must be taken to co-ordinate all activities of labor and the minorities in the struggle against McCarthyism. For that purpose a giant Congress of Labor should be organized. Delegates from every local union and minority organization in the country should gather to decide on a united program of action.

Fourth, internal union witch hunts should be halted at once. Labor officials open the door to the union busters with their vile hounding of radicals and militants within the unions.

Fifth, the secret collusion of labor officials with the FBI should be ended forthwith. Emil Rieve, vice-president of the CIO, has declared that the FBI is a secret political police endangering the liberties of the American people. He is dead right. Secret dealings with these political police endanger basic rights won over long years of hard and bitter struggle. Keep the FBI from tampering in union affairs. Close the lists of union members from their prying and snooping. It's high time to drag this secret "co-operation" between labor officials and the secret political police into the light of day and put a stop to it.

Any one considering what his union local can do in the fight against McCarthyism should consider these recommendations for adoption. They will help put a fighting edge to the systematic education every union local should sponsor on the menace of McCarthyism.

Jackass, Elephant, Parrot, and Wolf

"I have destroyed more reds than anyone," brayed the Democratic jackass.

"You lie," snorted the Republican elephant. "I am the greatest red hunter and the record will prove it."

"The jackass is right," squawked the labor official parrot. "And while we are at it, examine my record. I have done some red hunting myself you know."

"You're all wrong," howled the McCarthyite wolf. "Red hunting wasn't known until I came along. And you ain't seen nothing yet," he added, eyeing the well-feathered labor official hungrily.

This true story taken from Aesop's Fables, has a modern parallel:

A "fact sheet" has been released by the Democratic Party national committee. It lists the accomplishments of the Democratic administration in the witch hunt.

Among these accomplishments is the claim that under the Democratic administration the loyalty purge was started, the Smith Act Trials against "reds" were conducted, and many witch-hunt laws were passed.

Republican House Speaker Joseph Martin labeled this claim as "bunkum politics." But he didn't try to refute the Democrats' facts and figures.

They show that when the Democrats came into office in 1932 the FBI had 801 cops on its staff. By 1952 the Democrats had increased the secret political police force to 15,181. In 1932 the FBI was spending only \$2,978,520. By 1952 the Democrats had run that up to a \$90,000,000 annual appropriation.

The Republican whip, Leslie Arnsed of Illinois, scoffed at the facts and figures. It sounded to him as if the Democrats were "trying to get the cat off their back." Ignoring the powerful array of facts demonstrating Democratic priority in the witch hunt, he sneered, "They had better take another look at the record."

This is the contest the labor officials want to drag the unions into in 1954 under the banner of the Democratic Party. And this is the Democratic Party's answer to McCarthyism. Perhaps Meany and Reuther can produce a "fact sheet" demonstrating their prowess in the contest?

By Joan Blake

He wasn't one of the best people. In fact, if the truth be told, there was some question as to the legitimacy of his birth.

But there were much more serious charges against him.

He held very unorthodox views. He had no respect for any of the established institutions. He condemned their hypocrisy and commercialization. He had no use for the rich. In fact, he advocated ousting them from the seat of power. He saw no future for them.

He refused to jump on the bandwagon and condemn those ostracized by society. He ignored and refused to answer questions of frame-up artists seeking to trap him into making statements that might be used against him.

He condemned those who made a big show of their "loyalty" to the church, praying or going through the regular ritual in public. He insisted that people be judged by their actions rather than pious professions of faith.

He wasn't a bit worried about guilt by association. He associated with sinners and criminals even when he knew he had been invited to do so by persons deliberately trying to frame him.

He was particularly contemptuous of "lawyers" — those who would plead any cause but take responsibility for none, who load ordinary people with laws and technicalities restricting their actions, but which they are not equipped to handle.

"Woe unto you also, ye lawyers!" he said, "for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne, and ye yourselves touch not the burdens with one of your fingers. Woe unto ye, lawyers! for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered."

He was a dangerous radical. No doubt about it. He told men to recognize no one on earth as their master. He predicted (not "advocated") the destruction of the existing social order. He agitated for change.

He knew he would be framed. He knew he would be sold out, but he kept right on telling the truth as he saw it, sticking to his principles.

Yes, he was quite a man. He was lynched, of course. The McCarthyites of his age saw to that.

They threw the book at him: disloyal, subversive, sacrilegious. But the most serious charge of all — "He stirreth up the people."

It was a long time ago — almost two thousand years. Long enough for men to distort completely the facts and significance of the man's life.

But perhaps this Christmas, when millions of people in the western world celebrate the anniversary of his birth, some among them will turn away from the official interpreters and exploiters and distorters of the life of Jesus, the radical. Perhaps they'll take a historical view and try to learn a few lessons from one who made it his life's work to champion the cause of the poor and lowly, to agitate for change.

Merry Christmas — and let's oust the McCarthy's from the seats of power.

THE MILITANT

Eisenhower Concedes to McCarthy

(Continued from page 1) reassert his command of the party.

NERVOUS AND BEWILDERED These yearnings for Eisenhower to "be strong" and act as a bulwark against McCarthyism is a reflection of the nervous and bewildered state of the middle class liberals. They fear the rise of fascism. They are unable to understand that the working class alone can deal effectively with fascism by revolutionary socialist methods. Thus they look for a savior and begin to believe in miracles.

The labor officials simply reflect the state of mind of the liberals. That is the best that can be said for them. They are waiting for the Democratic Party liberals to stop McCarthy; the Democratic liberals are waiting for Eisenhower. In the meantime, McCarthyism gathers momentum.

Since his Nov. 24, "I am the issue" radio-TV speech, McCarthy has been chalking up one victory after another. Brownell smeared Truman. Truman tried to reply. Then McCarthy took over the show. He reinforced the smear of Truman, and turned around and attacked Eisenhower. This attack went unanswered by any Republican office-holder. Only Eisenhower's appointee, Dulles, offered a feeble token defense which didn't even name McCarthy.

"CONTAINMENT" POLICY STRENGTHENS MCCARTHY Dulles' "anti-McCarthy speech" was hailed rapturously by the liberals, but all he said was that he is opposed to "bullying" as a method of foreign policy. A few weeks later Dulles shocked the whole world with his brutal ultimatum to the French to line up with Wall Street's European Army scheme "or else."

And now the conference has set the seal of capitulation on the "anti-McCarthy" Republicans. Eisenhower, trying to retreat after the scandalous smear of Truman by his Attorney General, said that he had an "issue" in 1954. McCarthy replied in his Nov. 24 radio-TV speech, "Communism will be the issue in 1954." And he formulated the way this issue will be settled: For McCarthy or for the "spies."

It is clear now that McCarthy has maintained all his power in the Republican party and even strengthened it. The strategy of

Smeared by Velde



Rep. Robert Condon (D. Calif.) is welcomed by his family when he arrived in Oakland, Calif., to fight the smear attack by the Velde Un-American Committee hearing in San Francisco. The Independent Longshoremen's Union in San Francisco responded to Velde's witch-hunting attack on their union with a 24-hour protest strike on Dec. 3.

"containing" McCarthyism within the framework of capitalist politics has once again fizzled.

How can we explain this strange phenomenon of the President bowing before the Senator? From a formal standpoint Eisenhower has infinitely more power as the head of the American capitalist government than McCarthy could possibly have.

The secret lies in the different bases of power represented by the two men.

Eisenhower represents the government apparatus of capital in its historically outworn democratic form. He is a candidate for the head of the police state ruling in the name of Big Business and developing directly out of the old democratic forms, destroying them without the expensive and dangerous device of fascism. Eisenhower represents Big Business' desire for a "fascism on the cheap" plan.

McCarthy represents a different force, which is just beginning to reveal its ominous power. His power rests on a fascist movement and a powerful machine that is part of, and yet separate from, the regular government apparatus.

Wagner Silent In Scandal Over Slum Clearance

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Dec. 23 — The post-election exposure of a dynamite-packed, suppressed housing report of the City Planning Commission fully confirms the pre-election charge of the Socialist Workers Party that a victory for Wagner would mean a new victory for the city's real-estate and financial sharks.

The explosive facts contained in the long bottled-up report constitute a damning indictment of Construction Coordination Robert Moses — and of Mayor-elect Robert Wagner whose first public act was the reappointment of Moses.

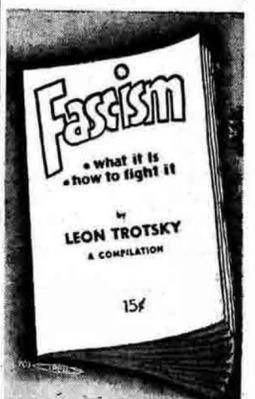
The report demonstrates that Moses has functioned throughout his long tenure as a conscious tool of the city's powerful real-estate and financial interests. It reveals that his so-called "slum clearance" program has served to drive several hundred thousand slum dwellers into even worse slums while providing a tremendous land and rent steal for the landlords and bankers.

It shows how true the charge of the SWP candidates was that the Negro and Puerto Rican people have been hit the hardest by this reactionary program. Throughout the entire election campaign, in which housing was a white-hot issue, this report was hidden from the electorate by the Planning Commission of which Moses is a member.

While the report was kept secret from the voters it could not possibly have been a secret to Wagner, since he had three supporters on the Commission with copies of the report in their hands. Elsewhere on this page, Joyce Cowley, who was the Socialist Workers candidate for Comptroller, reports the most important facts of this still officially unrelaxed document as they were first presented in the N. Y. Post last week.

These facts strip bare the shameful hoax perpetrated on the slum-ridden workers of the world's largest and wealthiest city by Wagner and his supporters. With full knowledge of the real score, this self-styled "fighting liberal" brazenly pro-

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New York's DP's

By Joyce Cowley

"Don't make us D.P.'s," says a sign in the hallway of the building where I live. This is directed at "Construction Coordinator" Moses whose proposal to redevelop the area below Washington Square went to the Board of Estimate this week. It turned out to be a rather hot issue and the Board of Estimate cautiously postponed it for at least another month. They hesitated because just a few days before the hearing on this proposal, details of a report on housing by the City Planning Commission leaked out to the daily press.

Moses has suppressed this report for several months. The Citizens Housing and Planning Council, the New York State Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, and 16 other civic groups are demanding its release.

The report reveals that thousands of slum families are being driven out of their homes so that new housing can be built. But few of them ever move back into these new developments. They go from bad slums to worse slums. 40% of the people who are displaced move into areas already marked for clearance. Many families have been forced to move more than once.

Negroes and Puerto Ricans are particularly hard hit. They face discrimination not only in private housing but in many tax-aided projects. Right now, more than half the people living in sites to be cleared are "non-white" minorities.

A City Council law passed in 1944 penalizes any insurance company or housing redevelopment company for discrimination in rentals or occupancy by removing it from tax exemption. This law has not once been invoked in 9 years! Not more than 50 Negro families have been admitted to the 18 tax-aided developments throughout the city. Even when there is no formal discrimina-

tion, these families haven't much chance of getting in. Most of the redevelopment projects rent from \$23 to \$30 a room, and some as high as \$48 a room. An income of \$4,000 a year is necessary for even a one-bedroom apartment. Only 5% of the non-white families who are being displaced have incomes over \$3,500.

The proposed Washington Square development, which is to replace \$25-a-month cold-water flats, will consist mainly of one and two room units renting at \$48 a room. As one of my neighbors said bitterly: "I guess that kind of housing is intended for young executives who are sterile."

State Housing Commissioner Stichman recently disclosed that New York City was behind all other large cities in the state in slum clearance. This is really stating the matter backwards. New York City slums are not being cleared at all. They are growing much faster than they are being replaced. Construction is far lower here than in the United States as a whole. We would need about 44,000 new housing units annually to replace buildings over 75 years old in 22 years. 29,000 units are being built. This is just an estimate of units needed to replace old buildings and doesn't allow for the expansion of housing to take care of tens of thousands of families crowded into single rooms or living illegally in basements and cellars.

While children grow up in dark, airless, rat-infested rooms where large families eat and sleep in shifts, city funds are being used to aid redevelopment at \$48 a room, and thousands of new "D. P.'s" have to hunt for homes in sections of the city that are even older, dirtier and more crowded. That's what capitalist politicians call a "public housing program."

Fight Jim Crow Schools

(Continued from page 1)

maries and general elections. But in many parts of the South a Negro puts his life, his liberty and his property in real jeopardy when he dares to try to register for an election. And neither Eisenhower nor Stevenson says a word in protest.

In the case of voting, a Supreme Court decision approving it is one thing, and Jim Crow lynch-violence is another. Isn't it possible that the same situation will arise in connection with the schools?

All of the above thoughts are based on the assumption that the Supreme Court will actually hand down an anti-segregation ruling. But this assumption, I repeat, is only a guess, and a guess that I personally do not share.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUE

The main constitutional issue before the court concerns the 14th Amendment, which prohibits the states from making or enforcing laws that "abridge the privileges of citizens or deny them 'the equal protection of the laws.'" The NAACP contends that this amendment prohibits segregation in the schools, while the Dixiecrats deny that it has any application.

The history of the Supreme Court is not one to inspire much confidence that it will accept the NAACP's position. In 1896 it ruled that segregation does not violate the 14th Amendment if Negroes and whites have "equal" public facilities. On seven different occasions since that time, the court has reaffirmed the so-called "separate but equal" doctrine, which has become one of the foundations of the entire Jim Crow system.

Will the court now say "yes" where it has eight times said "no"? The tradition of the court, at any rate, dictates caution.

But of course the court has been known to reverse itself, or previous members of the court, quite drastically. Where once it shrieked that child-labor legislation was unconstitutional if not ungodly, it today solemnly proclaims such legislation both legal and beneficial. Such contradictions are among the wonders of the American way of jurisprudence.

Therefore it is not impossible that the court may throw out the "separate but equal" doctrine that has brought so much misery, low incomes and ill health on the Negro people.

But the possibility of such a thing happening is all that I can concede. I don't think it is probable.

RADICAL MEASURE

Effective abolition of the Jim Crow system in the South is still a relatively radical measure, despite the increased readiness of large sections of the white population to accept it. It would deal a blow to the Jim Crow system as a whole, and encourage broader struggle against other segregated institutions and facilities. In the eyes of both conservatives and reactionaries, it would "upset" the South, with potentially explosive social, political and economic consequences for the status quo.

The present Supreme Court, it may be necessary to state here, is a basically conservative body — even more conservative than it was ten years ago. The recently appointed Chief Justice Warren has been termed an "unknown factor," but the only thing that's really "unknown" about his views is the particular brand of conservatism he will espouse.

Therefore the tendency of this court, as I see it, will be to go slow, not to upset the apple-cart, not to hand down an air-tight decision prohibiting segregation in the schools.

This too is only a guess, but it's at least as strongly grounded as any other. And it has the advantage of not being the kind of guess that leads to illusions, complacency and unfounded optimism — all of which can be dangerous for the anti-Jim Crow movement.

THE FIGHT GOES ON

Whatever the court rules, the fight will continue after the decision, as Mackay points out. And even before the decision, the fight goes on.

Byrnes, Talmadge and Go, know that very well. Their predictions and threats that grass will grow or blood will flow in the streets

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Notes from the News

TRIBUTE FROM A FOE. Fred Turner, Buffalo Evening News Trotskyist baiter, discussing his peculiar conception of Trotskyism vs. Stalinism, feels compelled to write, "Nothing illustrates the difference between the two . . . so much as comparison of the Daily Worker . . . and the Militant. The former is, from the newspaperman's standpoint, a rag; the latter is well edited. The slogan of the Militant is that it is published 'in the interests of the working people,' and there is reason to believe that its editors sincerely believe they are doing that—no matter what others may think."

SIT TIGHT! This free advice is given to its supporters by the Reading Labor Advocate, official organ of the Reading Socialist party, which has decided not to enter the 1954 elections. On the basis of articles they have published, the paper explains, readers may get the idea they plan to support the Democrats, but "Such an impression, while it may be based on fact, does not alter the situation . . . SIT TIGHT you have nothing to lose at this time!"

AN ANTI-TRUST SUIT brought by the Justice Department against the giant Du Pont monopoly has been dismissed by a Federal Judge who ruled, "Neither Du Pont or any other American company similarly situated, should be punished for its success." The Judge said Du Pont's record reveals "rapidly declining prices . . . and other benefits of a free economy."

INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IS DOWN about 6% since March, according to the Dec. 11 US News and World Report. The Big Business weekly says that, "Businessmen and bankers all across the country now accept the prospect of a slow decline in business that will continue into 1954, possibly into 1955."

PRODUCTION SLOWDOWN is showing up in rising unemployment, according to The U.S. News. Claims for unemployment benefits were 850,000 a week in November. This is higher than

the same month in '51 or '52. However, they cheerily note, the number of people working is uncommonly high.

LAYOFFS HIT CHRYSLER WORKERS. About 13,000 of Chrysler's 111,000 workers have been laid off during the past two months. (Wall Street Journal, Dec. 17.) UAW spokesmen charge that the figure is actually higher and say that the company "has scheduled three and four day weeks for thousands of those still at work for the remainder of December."

THE POOREST FAMILIES would be hit 60 times harder than the richest by the contemplated Federal sales tax, says the CIO, Economic Outlook. They also note that general sales taxes are in effect in 32 states and innumerable cities.

ONE OUT OF FIVE farm implement workers are unemployed in four midwestern cities that constitute the "Detroit" of that industry, according to Pat Greathouse, director of the UAW Agricultural Implement Division. In addition to the 10,000 unemployed in this key area, 30,000 implement workers are jobless nationally, he adds.

A NON-EXISTENT IWO is being tried by the Subversive Activities Control Board on charge of being a "Communist front." The International Workers Order, a fraternal insurance group of 150,000 members, has been ordered dissolved by the state of New York. The State Supreme Court has issued a ruling denying the organization, now in the hands of a state receiver, the right to allocate funds for its defense before the Subversive Board. The "legal" right of the accused representatives of the "dissolved" organization to even appear at the hearings has also been challenged.

ADVERTISING UP as buyers' resistance increases. "Manufacturers know they must get out and sell harder and they're advertising more," says Andrew Heiskell, publisher of Life magazine.