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Dobbs Exposes Coughlin at Detroit Meeting

DETROIT, Jan. 10 — A spirited audience of 75 workers and students this afternoon heard Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, deliver a slashing attack against Father Coughlin, whose reappearance on the political scene was branded by Dobbs as "inspired and heartened by signs of a resurgent fascist movement in America."

The meeting was organized by the Socialist Workers Party as the opening gun in its campaign to publicize the need for the organized labor movement of this city to mobilize against the newly developing fascist movement represented by McCarthyism.

The attendance at the meeting was a heartening indication of the beginning of a general awareness of the existence of a gathering fascist movement and the need for an effective program of action to combat it.

As the result of a widely distributed hard-hitting leaflet announcing the meeting and its purpose, the audience included a good representation of auto workers, members of the Negro community, and students from Wayne University.

A lively question and discussion period followed the speech by Dobbs which included an analysis of the McCarthy-Coughlin movement, and the program advocated by the Socialist Workers Party to fight it successfully.

Indicative of the warm response to his speech was the generous response to an appeal for funds to aid in spreading the Socialist Workers' message on this burning issue.

An additional sign of the high degree of audience interest was the brisk sale of current socialist literature. The best seller of the afternoon was the new pamphlet, "McCarthyism — American Fascism On the March," a compilation of articles analyzing the danger of fascism in America and what labor should do to smash it.

After tracing the infamous

career of Coughlin through the Thirties, when he openly supported Hitler and Mussolini and asserted that American labor must be dealt with in the same way as the fascist dictator Franco dealt with the Spanish workers, Dobbs strongly criticized those official leaders of the powerful UAW-CIO who would counter the reappearance of "this dangerous fascist demagogue" with the "silent treatment."

Declaring that the reborn American fascist movement "is incubating in the atmosphere of the cold war and the witch-hunt," Dobbs underscored the fact that the real target of the witch-hunters is not "communism" but the organized labor movement.

The recent militant demonstrations of San Francisco's longshoremen, which effectively balked the witch-hunting activities of the Velde Committee in that city, was a good example, Dobbs said, of the kind of action labor should take throughout the country if it is "to shake off the dead hand of reaction which threatens to strangle labor's struggle."

Dobbs explained the Socialist Workers Party's program for a successful labor struggle against fascism, and cited its record of participation in previous anti-fascist fights. "We call for a Congress of Labor to take the first steps in forming a Labor Party — a Labor Party that will put labor's own candidates in Congress in 1954 and a Workers and Farmers Government in power in 1956!"

"Only through independent political action undertaken by the workers as a class, conscious of their collective needs and strength, can the problems of fascism, war and unemployment begin to be solved."

Eisenhower Urges New Strike Curb

Eisenhower recommended to Congress on Jan. 11 that it enact 15 changes in the Taft-Hartley Slave Labor law. These changes are designed, in part, to sugarcoat the poisonous T-H act. But the sugar coating itself contains an additional load of anti-union cyanide.

Offered as "fair" to "both" labor and employers, the amendments include seven which the Big Business press call "pro-union." They also contains six admitted "pro-employer" proposals.

Chief of these pro-employer proposals, and a real indication of the deadly character of the amendments taken as a whole, is Eisenhower's demand, in reference to strikes, that every employee involved "should have an opportunity to express his free choice by secret ballot under government auspices."

It is not clear whether Eisenhower proposes a government-controlled vote of both union and non-union men before a strike is called by a labor organization or after it is under way. Senator H. Alexander Smith, Republican of New Jersey, has introduced a bill, embodying Eisenhower's proposals, which provides for a government poll after the strike starts.

GOVT. STRIKEBREAKING

In either event, Eisenhower's proposition is an out-and-out measure to further deprive the unions, as the legitimate independent organizations of the workers, of their right to freely conduct strikes. As a CIO spokesman expressed it, "It is clearly a provision for Government strike-breaking."

But it would be fruitless for the unions to get involved in the question of whether these particular amendments are or are not in labor's interests. The very idea of seeking amendments to the T-H law implies acceptance of the law as such. Eisenhower himself spelled this out when he asked Congress to enact his proposed amendments promptly, "for they will more firmly establish the basic principles of the law."

The basic principle of the T-H law — as of all laws enacted by the capitalist government to regulate unions and organized labor activity — is to place the unions under the supervision of the employers through the government controlled by the capitalist class. In this sense, John L.

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Eisenhower Seeks Law To "Alienize" Citizens

By Murry Weiss

In a bid to take first place in the witch-hunting pack, President Eisenhower, in his Jan. 7 State of the Union message, demanded an unconstitutional law to strip "subversives" of their citizenship, create a new category of native-born "aliens" in the United States, establish an internal passport system, and give the witch hunt a powerful shove — to help make it the central issue of the 1954 elections as McCarthy has demanded.

Eisenhower's dreary 54-minute message, barren of a single idea on how to meet the growing economic depression, was received with apathy and boredom by the assembled joint session of Congress. But his proposal to breach the Constitution of the United States by enacting a police-state measure to convert native-born Americans into aliens was met "with wild yells of approval," in the words of the said N. Y. Times.

McCarthy applauded Eisenhower's proposed police-state measure as "a very good idea."

Thus ended the first round of the "stop McCarthy" session of the 83rd Congress. Since Eisenhower's address, comments from top Republicans and Democrats indicate doubts as to the feasibility of the proposal to make "aliens" out of native-born Americans. A somewhat cynical reporter even suggested "that the whole thing is a political gesture; relatively meaningless insofar as the law is concerned, but efficacious in showing how determined this Administration is to root out the Communist evil." (Cable Phillips, N. Y. Times, Jan. 10.)

WITCH-HUNT RIVALRY

Undoubtedly cheap grandstanding to the witch-hunt mob is a factor. But proposals like this have their own logic. The witch hunters begin to vie with one another in carrying the ball. Thus, Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R., Maine), who up to now has been

reckoned a liberal, hastened to introduce a bill embodying Eisenhower's proposal. Max Lerner, N. Y. Post columnist, apologizes for her, saying "that she may think she needs" such an act of McCarthyite zealotry after "having once dared to oppose McCarthy."

And then Senator Langer, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, who at first didn't think Eisenhower's scheme "adds anything to the present law," said he would organize hearings on the proposed bill "out of respect for Mrs. Smith."

In this way, the hysterical push the frightened and the frightened shove the reluctant into line. Does it matter that the 14th Amendment to the Constitution clearly prohibits Eisenhower's proposed law? Who among the present members of Congress will dare stick to that objection if the witch-hunt pack begins to howl for its enactment?

The fact is that despite the

(Continued on page 3)

CIO Leader Charges Government's Figures Conceal True Facts

By Art Preis

Eisenhower's "State of the Union" message to Congress on Jan. 7 brushed over the swift growth of mass unemployment within the past six months. The stark truth is that there are now not less than four million jobless and the total is mounting rapidly.

Recognition of this basic economic fact must be the starting point for any sound program to ensure jobs and plenty for the American people. Eisenhower's ignoring of this vital fact indicates the worthlessness of his proposed measures to "stabilize" U.S. capitalism. His program is based on a lie — the government's falsified unemployment figures.

The government statisticians do admit that the number of jobless in just two months, October and November, 1953, swelled by some 648,000. But they fix the total unemployed, as of Dec. 12, 1953, when the count was made, at only 1,850,000, less than half the actual number out of work. This included a rise of 422,000 in the four weeks ending Dec. 12.

CIO SAYS 3,250,000

The CIO has sharply challenged the government's falsified figures on unemployment. CIO Vice President Emil Rieve, chairman of the union's Economic Policy Committee, states the number of those "willing to work" but without jobs at the time of the last government count was close to 3,250,000.

He points out that where the Census Bureau now claims 700,000 fewer persons employed than

a year ago, "under healthy economic conditions" there should have been an increase of 700,000 gainfully-employed workers. He said it was "tommyrot" to explain the alleged decline in the total working force — from 63,825,000 in Dec. 1952, to 62,614,000 in Dec. 1953 — by the voluntary withdrawal of "marginal workers" from the labor force. He added, "When the economy was on its way up, in preceding years, the jobs were there and people stayed in the labor force. . . ."

If the CIO figure of 3,250,000 unemployed as of the middle of last December errs, it is on the side of underestimating the scope of the layoffs. The government reported a labor force of 64,734,000 in June 1953, with 1,562,000 unemployed. The federal statisticians then arbitrarily cut the labor force figure to 62,614,000, with 1,850,000 unemployed, on Dec. 12. Somewhere in between, 2,120,000 workers were "lost" — and at a time when the population growth was at a rate of 2,700,000 a year.

But even government economists admit that the Dec. 12 figures on unemployment would be "swelled by the discharge of temporary Christmas help" and "in addition, sizable layoffs have been reported in industry and the railroads since the week of Dec. 12, 1953."

(Continued on page 2)

"AFRO-AMERICAN" HITS DANGER OF M'CARTHYISM

The growing realization that McCarthyism represents an especially acute danger to the minority peoples of America is expressed in the Jan. 2 issue of the influential Negro weekly, the Afro-American.

In a full-page article, "The People Fight Back Against McCarthyism," Charles R. Allen Jr., cites the growing list of Negro newspapers and clergymen who have publicly levelled blasts against McCarthyism.

"Colored people have suffered too much not to detect the presence of an enemy," he writes. "More than anyone else, they know when someone is gunning for them. That is why the most

crucial evidence for McCarthy's profound anti-colored tendencies is to be found in the reaction of the American colored community to McCarthy."

Besides the Afro, attacks against McCarthyism are quoted from the following Negro papers: the N. Y. Amsterdam News, the Pittsburgh Courier, the Philadelphia Tribune, the Louisville Courier Journal, and the Journal-Guide of Norfolk, Va.

"INSIDIOUS PURPOSE"

Commenting on the anti-Negro aspects of McCarthy's campaign against governmental circulation of "subversive" books, the Afro declared editorially: "The insidious purpose of Senator McCarthy's latest junket into the darkened caves of the book-burners is becoming increasingly clear. . . ."

"His aim is to create the impression that authors who dare expose or protest American racial shortcomings are 'following the communist line' and therefore what they write must be subversive."

In support of its stand, the Afro reprints the resolution on this question adopted last June by the annual convention of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP resolution declares in part: "Books which displease Sen. McCarthy or others are to be banned, if not burned. . . . In the atmosphere of inquisition which is whirling unchecked . . . until it now borders upon the proportions and destructiveness of a tornado, it is conceivable that any organization working for interracial democracy may be challenged for its campaign against race prejudice, discrimination and inequality."

ACLU Files Defense Of McCarthy Victims

The American Civil Liberties Union filed a "friend of the court" brief Jan. 11 with the U.S. Supreme Court, challenging on First Amendment (free speech) grounds, the power of Congressional investigating committees to ask questions concerning political beliefs and association.

The brief supports the appeal of Julius Emspak, United Electrical Workers Union official, which will test the right of the House Un-American Activities Committee to question him about his alleged "Communist" affiliations and beliefs. This is the first case to come before the Supreme Court involving the power of Congressional committees to "inquire" into political beliefs and associations. Oral hearings on the case opened Jan. 12.

The ACLU will also support the cases of Corliss Lamont and Harvey O'Connor who refused to answer McCarthy's questions on the same grounds as Emspak.

Patrick Murphy Malin, ACLU's executive director, said in a Jan. 11 press release that the cases of Emspak, Lamont and O'Connor, "were especially significant because they represented a sharp departure from the present practice of witnesses claiming the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination in appearing before Congressional committees." Apparently the ACLU feels that the First Amendment is a more effective legal ground for refusing to testify.

"If the First Amendment is a restriction upon congressional inquiry," the ACLU brief states, "and no one can doubt that it is — for Congress cannot by inquiry accomplish that which it is forbidden to do by legislation — then it is clear that an inquiry

directed towards propaganda, which is . . . nothing more than the exercise of free speech, is the most flagrant violation of the First Amendment. . . . For it takes courage these days to exercise the right to speak freely, when one knows that — apart from the social consequences following in this day and age from voicing unpopular ideas — any expression of speech, or any association relevant to the exercise of free speech, may enable a congressional committee to subpoena him and make him account for every chapter of his life."

MCCARTHY'S RESPONSE TO ALBERT EINSTEIN

Meanwhile, McCarthy's Permanent Investigation Subcommittee voted Jan. 7 to recommend to the Senate full committee and the Senate proper, a contempt citation against Albert Shadowitz, who refused Dec. 16 to answer McCarthy's questions. Shadowitz announced at the time that he was acting on the advice of Dr. Albert Einstein, and invoked the First Amendment.

At this same meeting McCarthy recommended contempt citations against the prominent civil libertarian Corliss Lamont and Abraham Unger, a New York attorney. O'Connor has already been indicted by a federal grand jury for contempt of Congress, but his trial is being held up pending the Supreme Court ruling on the Emspak case.

The legal scope of the battle with McCarthyism is thus widening. The issues raised by the cases now pending are profound and go to the heart of the struggle to defend the democratic rights of the American people. However, these legal moves, like the anti-McCarthy maneuvers in Congress, lack the power of an independent mass political mobilization of American labor to act as the primary battering ram against the witch hunters and fascists.

William H. Teto, who appeared as a witness before McCarthy's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations in Boston, and complained that McCarthy exposed his connection with the FBI, was charged as a criminal and hoodlum by a number of sources. "The Boston office of the FBI came to Teto and revealed he had been for seven years."

N. J. Town Orders 'Alien' Registration

The Lakewood (N. J.) Township Committee has approved a local "alien registration law" requiring that all workers not living in Ocean County be fingerprinted. The measure, passed two weeks ago, demands registration, fingerprinting and photographing of all workers over 18 within 24 hours after they reach Lakewood. Non-resident workers will be required to carry special identification cards at all times. Workers who fail to comply face fines of up to \$200 or jail terms of up to 90 days. Is this the start of an internal passport system in America?

McCarthyite "Minute Women" in Action

An ugly picture of organized McCarthyism in action on a "grass roots" level is presented in the Jan. 9 issue of the liberal weekly, the Nation. Ralph S. O'Leary tells the story of the "Minute Women — Daughters of Vigilantism."

For three years Houston, Texas, has been kept in an uproar by a powerful campaign of witch-hunting. "There has been nothing like it since the days of the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's," says O'Leary.

Nationally prominent scientists and educators have been witch-hunted out of town for such reasons as support of the United Nations. A hundred of the city's clergymen, who petitioned for reinstatement of the school system's UN Day essay contest, which had been banned as "controversial," became the target of a vicious smear attack.

When the re-baiting hysteria reached the point of forcing the

missioner, despite his excellent record, the Houston Post assigned O'Leary to investigate.

Although the red scare has permeated every corner of Houston's life, O'Leary's two- and a-half month investigation disclosed that the overwhelming bulk of the city's 600,000 population had taken no part in promoting it.

THE FOUNTAIN HEAD

Who then was responsible? O'Leary's search led him directly to the fountain head of the witch hunt — the Houston Chapter of the Minute Women of the U.S.A.

Who are the Minute Women that have done such an effective hatchet job on civil liberties in Houston? The main bulk of the organization's 500 odd members are wives of the wealthy residents of Houston's swank River Oaks suburb.

The largest single segment of its members are wives of executives in the oil and allied industries. Another grouping of not quite the same size is composed of wives of many of the town's physicians and surgeons. In ad-

dition there is a sizeable group of business women who depend largely on the wealthy River Oaks residents for their business.

As part of a national organization with a claimed membership in 46 states, the Houston chapter operates, as does the entire organization, in a dictatorial and streamlined military fashion. All of its officers are appointed, not elected. No business can be discussed at chapter meetings except that decided upon in advance by the officers.

Meetings are called on a few hours notice by chain use of the telephone, with members relaying officers' instructions to five other members. These five in turn notify five more.

By the same method powerful telephone protest campaigns are organized on short notice.

ANONYMOUS SCREEN

The organization has a strict rule that Minute Women never act as a group, but only as individuals. With this formula the fear of God is put into politicians who might ignore the protest of

an organization of 500 people, but who could easily view protests lodged by 500 individuals as the expression of an aroused population.

Despite its imposing list of victims, National Secretary Mrs. Willard G. Hedrick, wife of a Houston oil-well supply firm executive, insists that the organization is nothing but "a study group," enabling members to express their views on legislation.

The local chapter president asserts, "It could be said that the activities of individual Minute Women have followed the suggestions made by the national Chamber of Commerce."

The Chamber of Commerce guide for these "patriotic individuals" is a booklet entitled "A Program for Community Anti-Communist Action."

The booklet outlines ways of organizing "protest" campaigns when "a known Communist sympathizer is brought into the community." It explains how "the best anti-communist literature," such as Counterattack, the Freeman, and similar reactionary and

fascist publications, should be utilized.

Impressive evidence of the growing power wielded by the Minute Women is cited by O'Leary. While victims of smear attacks by the House Un-American Activities Committee or the California Tenney Committee find it virtually impossible to get to the "strictly confidential" files of such bodies, the Minute Women apparently find it very easy to do so.

"Citations" from Washington and from the files of the Tenney Committee are produced in Houston on a few days notice to force the ban of allegedly "subversive" guest speakers.

One of the two anti-UN candidates elected to the school board in 1952 was the chairman of the Minute Women's Speakers Bureau. The other was the husband of a Minute Woman.

After studying the whole setup, O'Leary grimly warns that where similar organizations are operating elsewhere, "their communities should wake up and act before it is too late."

From the Green Into the Red

By Reba Aubrey

A million-dollar idea, born early in 1952, has already withered in the first frost of the "orthodox recession." The idea was to create in every man, woman and child such an overpowering "need" for chlorophyll that they would have little or no sales resistance to any commodity containing the green stuff.

This million-dollar idea was a good bet since the grass-colored filler is made mainly from alfalfa meal. One ton of alfalfa yields four to eight pounds of chlorophyll. And one pound of chlorophyll sells at \$110. That ain't hay.

Toothpaste went green in January 1952, and advertising went into high gear. The sponsors claimed that chlorophyll was death on mouth and body odors. Producers expanded capacity and unleashed output. Chlorophyll brightened tobacco, diapers, inner shoe soles, popcorn, dog food and toilet paper, as well as the toothpaste which had been a drab white all these years.

By the summer of 1952, 300 different kinds of chlorophyll-containing items were on display. The Saluda Corp. even made up samples of chlorophyll-treated men's shorts, but never put them in their line. Maybe Saluda already felt the chill wind that was to freeze the green.

By the summer of 1953, chlorophyll sales were on the toboggan. If consumption for the year totals one-quarter estimated production capacity, remaining producers will consider themselves lucky. Prices have already been cut from \$110 a pound to about \$45. "The demand for chlorophyll has failed to meet even the most conservative estimates" made in 1952, laments T. L. Daniels, president of the Archer-Daniels-Midland Co. of Minneapolis, one of the nation's leading flour millers and vegetable-oil manufacturers as well as a top chlorophyll maker. (Reported by the Wall Street Journal.)

National Alfalfa Dehydrating and Milling Co. stopped construction on its \$1-million plant in Colorado (planned capacity, 100,000 pounds of chlorophyll a year). The partly completed installation is "in moth balls for the time being." Probably until another million-dollar idea comes along.

"Behind the bust in the development of chlorophyll demand are two factors," says the Wall Street Journal. "The first one is the withdrawal from the market of many firms whose attempts to peddle chlorophyll-laden products soon fizzled. The second... surviving consumer companies are not using as large a quantity of the chemical in each item they manufacture as the chlorophyll producers had anticipated."

It could be that the second "factor" caused the first. Chlorophyll manufacturers "say tests show that stomach odors can be killed by 0.7 to 2.8 ounces of chlorophyll, and they had expected confectionary makers to use more than the under one-tenth of an ounce that they were using in each piece of candy or gum."

The confectionary makers, of course, skimped on chlorophyll, using just enough of the expensive stuff to color their products. In their hunger for a fast buck they overlooked the fact that consumers know how to discover whether green gum makes their breath baby-sweet after a slice of onion or hooker of whiskey. Thus the chlorophyll producers, who are interested in saturating everything eatable, drinkable, and wearable with chlorophyll, attribute to "improper usage the consumer's dissatisfaction which has sent so many... chlorophyll-using firms out of the field."

Quaker Oats admits, for example, that it has had complaints from consumers that its chlorophyll-treated dog food didn't really kill doggy odors. It also admits that a liberal dose of the chemical will kill a dog's odors — the only unfortunate side effect being that doses of chlorophyll as heavy as that kill a dog's love life as well. With an eye to the mounting sales resistance to other chlorophyll-spiked products, a Quaker Oats chemist hastily assures us that this doesn't carry over into humans because they don't depend on their noses for such urges the way dogs do.

However, not even the most powerful sales slogans of the hucksters seem able to rescue the chlorophyll industry now. From the green and into the red. They had a chance to convince us we could live in a deodorized world by just leaving everything to chlorophyll, but they muffed it.

What's the next "need" they'll decide to build into us consumers?

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What Distinguishes McCarthy from Eisenhower

By George Breitman

As every scientific thinker must be, Leon Trotsky was always most precise with his terminology. We think important light can be shed on the nature of McCarthyism by one of the distinctions he made — the distinction between a fascist dictatorship and a military or police dictatorship (or, as it is popularly called nowadays, a police state).

To some people this distinction seemed insignificant or quibbling. But Trotsky showed it was a matter of theoretical and practical importance, and he stressed it many times.

In 1931 he insisted, for example, that Primo de Rivera's military-police regime in Spain (1923-30) and Mussolini's fascist regime in Italy were "two totally different forms of dictatorship. It is necessary to distinguish between them." In 1940, after France fell to the Germans and Petain became

dictator, his military-police regime was widely designated as fascist because many of its trappings resembled those of the Nazis. Trotsky disagreed: "In France there is no fascism in the real sense of the term."

WHY IT'S LESS STABLE

What difference did it make? Petain's regime, Trotsky explained, "contains no element of stability and can be overthrown by a revolutionary mass uprising much sooner than a fascist regime."

Why is a military-police regime less stable than a fascist regime? First of all, because it has less social support. The fascists come to power by mobilizing large sections of the middle class suffering from desperation over social conditions and the delusion that the fascists will solve their problems; military-police regimes generally lack widespread popular support.

There is a second reason why a military-police regime is less stable. The fascists use their middle-class following to crush the labor movement after they come to power (Germany, Italy) or while they are fighting for power (the civil war in Spain). In the case of a military-police regime, the working class is still capable of recovering relatively quickly from repressions and resuming militant struggle (as they did after de Rivera's dictatorship in Spain and Petain's dictatorship in France). But under a fascist dictatorship the working class has suffered a decisive defeat and takes a much longer time to recover confidence in itself, overcome inertia and reorganize itself (fascist Germany, Italy and Spain).

Of course after the fascists are in power and the labor movement has been crushed, the fascists have a problem with their middle-class followers, who demand the fulfillment of the promises the fascists made to them. This compels the fascists to use the vise of the state to crush the middle class too — the process that Trotsky called "bureaucratizing the Fascist party itself."

And he added: "Fascism, become bureaucratic, approaches very closely to other forms of military and police dictatorship. It no longer possesses its former social support." But it still is harder to overthrow a fascist dictatorship, even in its bureaucratic or Bonapartist stage, than a non-fascist military-police dictatorship because the fascists rule on the basis of an already decisively defeated working class.

QUESTION OF FOLLOWING

It is not easy to distinguish between a fascist state and a military-police state, or between a fascist movement and a military-police state movement, because they have a great many resemblances arising out of their common objective — which is the establishment of a counter-revolutionary dictatorship serving the interests of monopoly capitalism.

But there are important differences. The main difference is not, as is often supposed, in the way they come to power. Fascism can come to power "legally," that is, on the invitation of the previous government (Germany, Italy), or "illegally," that is, through civil war (Spain). A military police dictatorship can



McCarthy

also come in "legally" (Petain in France) or "illegally" (South America).

The main distinction is this: the fascists come to power at the head of a mass movement, with a strong middle class and plebeian following that is mobilized to crush the working class, while the military and police dictators come to power or, if already in power, establish their dictatorship through their control of the army or police, don't necessarily have any mass following whatever, and haven't generally succeeded in crushing the working class in decisive fashion.

Now let's try to apply this distinction to America, making the necessary allowances for different times and different conditions.

American capitalism has been moving in the direction of a police state for seven years now, and although the journey is not yet finished, it is much more advanced than most people realize. This trend started under Truman but he could carry it only so far because of his coalition with the labor leaders. Eisenhower, whose election on a conservative platform ended the 20-year coalition between the White House and the labor leaders, has a freer hand and he is building on and extending the foundations that Truman laid.

Where does McCarthy fit into this picture? Until recently he could be considered as the leader of the right wing of the gang that was engaged in knocking the props out from under the Bill of Rights and in transforming the country into a police state. The thing that made him stand out from the others was that he made

the witch hunt the axis of his policies and concentrated on it to the exclusion of other things.

But a differentiation has now taken place inside this gang. Eisenhower and McCarthy are both working toward the establishment of a dictatorial regime, but they obviously differ over how to install it (as well as over who should head it). McCarthyism, emerging from the general police state trend promoted by Truman and Eisenhower, has now become something distinct and different.

DIFFERENCES

Eisenhower wants to introduce the police state in stages, a few steps at a time, making use of the state institutions. Already in power, he does not have to cope with the problem of gaining control of the police apparatus; he therefore does not have to take steps that someone outside of the White House might have to take, such as a coup d'etat. Moreover, he feels a sense of responsibility to his party and to the ruling class which it represents, and he does not want to initiate measures that would needlessly damage their positions.

McCarthy, on the other hand, is more impatient — either because he estimates the urgency of the situation differently than Eisenhower, or because he is in a hurry to get into power himself, or both; the reason is not so important. Being in a different situation than Eisenhower, he wants to proceed differently and more rapidly. He is willing to take more chances. He wants to brush aside all legalities and traditional procedures. He doesn't give a damn about the Republican Party — he'll use it if he can, and smash it if he has to. He knows that he doesn't yet have the support of the decisive sections of Big Business, but he also knows that he'll get it if he can produce the goods and demonstrate in action that he has what they need or will need.

A new stage in the McCarthy-Eisenhower relationship was marked by the events beginning with Brownell's use of the Harry Dexter White case to smear Truman and culminating in McCarthy's skillful exploitation of the whole affair to come out top dog and establish his independence of Eisenhower. For through these events McCarthy clearly and openly began the job of coalescing behind himself an independent mass movement which he will use to gain power — through the

Republican Party if possible, and against it if necessary. He already has assembled a sizeable movement under his banner; this is what makes McCarthyism distinct and separate from police statism in general.

Both Eisenhower and McCarthy are headed in the direction of dictatorship. But while Eisenhower wants to achieve it through manipulation and the traditional party structure, McCarthy is prepared to achieve it through "irresponsible" means, backed up by a mass movement that can serve as the nucleus of a new party. If we correctly grasp Trotsky's distinction, then the difference between Eisenhower and McCarthy is the difference between the would-be leader of a "strong" or police state, perhaps retaining some remnants of the democratic capitalist state, and the would-be leader of a fascist state.

STOP ITS DEVELOPMENT

It is easy to recognize a full-blown mass fascist movement after it has emerged from its incipient stage and acquired great strength, thanks to the failures and defaults of the labor movement to present a militant anti-fascist alternative to the people. Anybody can do that, with or without Marxism.

But it's not so easy to put your finger on the start of a fascist movement, when its true nature is at least partly concealed by peculiarities of form due to the time and place in which it appears. We think that the Socialist Workers Party and the Militant have performed an important service for the American labor movement by doing that in connection with McCarthyism, and by sounding the call now for the mobilization of the struggle against it.

Fascism reaches its "classic" and easily recognizable form only after the labor movement defaults on its political obligations. We don't guarantee that McCarthyism will assume all the features of Hitler's or Mussolini's movements; in fact, we doubt that it will. If the labor movement does its job, McCarthyism will never reach that stage.

Our analysis of McCarthyism as the American form of fascism in its initial stages and, more particularly, the program we have presented to combat it now, will help the labor movement to destroy McCarthyism before it becomes strong enough to destroy us.

Mossadegh Appeals Sentence



Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh (signing appeal document) is shown in Tehran after he was sentenced to three years in prison for alleged "treason." His government was overthrown by a violent royalist coup d'etat backed by British and U.S. imperialism trying to snatch back oil resources nationalized by the Mossadegh regime.

Four Million Jobless; President Indifferent

(Continued from page 1)

where the Census Bureau made the count announced yesterday." (Associated Press, Jan. 6.)

In the country's two most basic industries — steel and auto — new layoffs and cutbacks were announced almost immediately following Eisenhower's speech, in which he described America's "strong and growing economy."

Studebaker, Chrysler and Hudson announced thousands of layoffs on Jan. 8, while the grim prospects for auto production were indicated by the National Automobile Dealers Association convention at Miami Beach, Jan. 9. NADA President Robert S. Armacost keynoted the convention by demanding that auto manufacturers gear production schedules down to the number of cars "that can be sold at a profit." This he intimated was 4,500,000 cars in 1954 as contrasted with the manufacturers' "far too optimistic" quota of 5,500,000. This latter figure itself is 650,000 less than the 1953 output.

Bethlehem Steel Company on Jan. 9 cut its production at the huge Lackawanna, N.Y., plant, employing 17,000 workers, to two-thirds of capacity. The company claimed it held layoffs to a "minimum" by putting everyone on a four-day week — with a minimum cut of 20% in take-home pay. The N.Y. Times reported from Pittsburgh on Jan. 11 "that first-quarter steel business will be only slightly better than in the fourth quarter of 1953," which period, it adds, "was one of the slowest since 1949." The operating rate for the industry, compared to 1953 capacity, has been between 75% and 80% for the last four weeks.

"RECESSION JITTERS"

The Wall Street Journal of Jan. 8 — the same issue reporting Eisenhower's speech — gives an estimate of the situation strangely at odds with Eisenhower's rapid and professionally optimistic statements. "Returning lawmakers list 'recession jitters' as the voters' top concern," reports the Journal. "They've practically stopped talking about the atom bomb or Communists in Government," says one Senator. "Legislators report farmers chafing over shrinking income, workers worrying most about layoffs and lost overtime, businessmen brooding the heaviest about a 'buyers' market,' bulging inventories." Eisenhower's closest intimates of any economic difficulties was his claim that "we are in transi-

tion from a wartime to a peacetime economy" — this "transition" to "peacetime" being a decrease of just \$1 billion from the 1953 war spending of \$52.9 billion to the \$51.9 billion projected war spending for the fiscal year starting June 1954.

Eisenhower included in his economic proposals several similar to those the "Fair Dealers" always put forward as their answer to a possible depression, but which they were never called upon to really test because they depended on war spending and war to stave off the economic collapse of American capitalism. Eisenhower promised, among other things, a "strengthened" old-age and unemployment insurance program, tax measures to "stimulate consumer and business spending" and public works.

STARVATION HANDOUTS

By "strengthening" old-age and unemployment insurance, Eisenhower means simply extending the coverage to more people. In reality, unemployment insurance payments average only \$23.30 a week for 22 weeks — a third of the average take-home wages of employed workers. This "economic cushion" is "not as plump as its sponsors hoped it would be," said the Nov. 13 U.S. News and World Report, which admits the payments are "not enough to pay debts and expenses" of the unemployed. In 1953, the average pension payments to aged persons over 65 ranged from \$49 a month for single persons to \$84.75 a month for a "retired" worker and his wife. These semi-starvation relief handouts, disguised as "retirement" pensions and unemployment "insurance," scarcely compensate for the immense loss of purchasing power suffered by laid-off and "retired" workers.

Symbolic of the real nature of Eisenhower's program was his withdrawal, by omission from his speech, of his previous request for cancellation of the increase of the Social Security tax on the first \$3,600 of annual income. This tax increase will mean higher total taxes for millions of workers despite a slight decrease in income tax rates. Meanwhile, the profits of the corporations are buttressed by elimination of the excess profits tax, reduction of corporation income taxes and other big business tax benefits.

Big Business spokesmen and newspapers do not appear to be alarmed by the so-called "New Dealish" features of Eisenhower's

speech. Ralph Hendershot, financial editor of the N. Y. World-Telegram, candidly said on Jan. 9 that Eisenhower's program, which "in many respects... matches those of the New Deal and Fair Deal regimes" is nevertheless one "with which big business can live in comfort. In fact, former industrial and financial leaders had a part in putting it together."

"CHASING A RAINBOW"

While Eisenhower promises to spend more for social welfare, public works, etc., he promises at the same time to reduce government expenditures and the huge and mounting government deficit. But the decline in corporate and high-income-bracket taxes is going to drastically cut government revenues and, in the words of the U.S. News, "make a balanced budget more remote. It's sort of like chasing a rainbow. You cut arms spending. Cuts in spending affect business. Yet the cuts encourage Congress to cut taxes. Lowered tax rates applied to lower volume of income reduce revenue." This is the vicious circle of debt and deficit the government faces.

Some of Eisenhower's strongest supporters sneer at the idea that his program — especially the so-called "built-in shock absorbers" on which he depends and which many capitalist economists say guarantee against any big depression — can be a serious obstacle to a real economic crisis. "McCarthyism... overemphasizes what the government can do to meet adverse economic trends," says the Jan. 8 Wall Street Journal editorially. "Consequently he has raised hopes which are impossible to fulfill."

Arthur F. Burns, chief of Eisenhower's own Council of Economic Advisers and one of the main authors of the President's program, said in a recent interview quoted in the January, 1954, Reporter magazine: "I don't put any stock in the notion that the government's built-in shock absorbers can automatically stabilize the economy."

The truth is that nothing can stabilize the American capitalist profit system. Eisenhower and the Big Business gang in Washington, like their predecessors of the Democratic Party, can hope to stave off an economic collapse in the end only by vastly expanded government spending and war. Increased government spending in the face of the monster federal debt, which has already reached the \$275-billion legal

limit, means deficit financing and inflation on a vastly greater scale than ever before. It would bring ruinous price and tax increases.

AT LABOR'S EXPENSE

What Eisenhower and Wall Street aim to do is to try to "ride out" a period of growing unemployment and declining production by underwriting profits and cutting labor costs. Thus, basic to Eisenhower's program is a sharpened anti-union Taft-Hartley Law which will squelch strikes more effectively and pave the way for wage cuts and intensified exploitation of labor. (See article on Eisenhower's T-H proposals on page one.)

Organized labor, for its part, will be wasting its breath to appeal to Eisenhower's good will and liberality to put forward any program that can effectively meet a real economic crisis. Nor can they rely on the Democrats, whose basic program, like the Republicans', is war spending and war. The unions need to get together through a Congress of Labor as soon as possible to map out an independent program and action to meet the depression and war threats of capitalism. Steins must be taken to launch the fight for a 30-hour week with no loss of weekly take-home pay and adequate unemployment compensation; to build an independent party of labor; and to drive toward a Workers and Farmers government that can deal in a fundamental and permanent way with the problems that the capitalist regimes are incapable of solving.

Robert Hedrick, a Long Island City steelworker, used a home-made slug in a New York subway turnstile. In a Flatbush court Jan. 8 he explained he earned only \$66 a week from his steel-fabricating job and his wife and three children were badly in need of money.

Fascism and Big Business

By DANIEL GUERIN

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THE MILITANT ARMY

New York Literature Agent John Tabor reports the following sales of the Militant and other literature during the past week: "Wednesday T. O. M. Bob, Nat, Manny and Myrl sold McCarthy pamphlets and Militants at the St. Nicholas Arena 'McCarthy on Trial' meeting."

"Thursday at the Monthly Review Forum where Scott Nearing spoke, Donald and Ethel B. sold five Militants and six McCarthy pamphlets. Forum leaflets were distributed. Friday at our forum we sold 20 Militants, one Kutcher book, two 'The Socialist Workers Party, What It Is and What It Stands For,' one 'Death Agency of Capitalism,' one McCarthy pamphlet, one 'America's Road to Socialism,' and two copies of Fourth International. We are continuing our work in the project where we received such a good response during the 25th Anniversary campaign. Pat and Norma, Janet and Pete met with encouraging results there this week."

"Our campaign to sell the Kutcher book, 'The Case of the Legless Veteran' has started with a bang. At a Union local we sold 37 copies to an attendance of about 60. Most of the comrades are buying extra copies to sell to their friends."

Literature Agent George Lorea reports a sale on the Bryn Mawr campus in Philadelphia. At a meeting for Chester A. Bowles, comrades sold five Militants and two copies of the McCarthy pamphlet.

St. Louis Literature Agent Dick Carter sends in a new sub obtained from one of the readers he became acquainted with in the sub campaign. He writes that he expects to sell more subs to readers on his route.

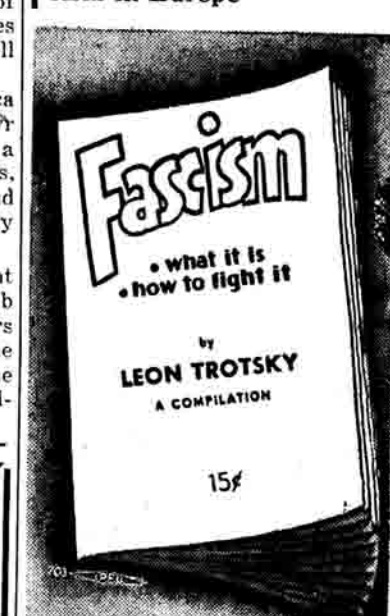
Detroit Literature Agent Janet MacGregor writes, "Due to the fact that we were late in getting all our papers we had a small sale this week of 46 copies. We are finding the route system very good. Kev now has 18 call backs and they all are waiting for him to come, and have the money ready each week. One of Elaine's weekly route readers is going to subscribe now."

"The total for this week is as follows: A. Winters, nine Militants; Fred, eight; Bob, six; Sherry, four; Frank, eight; Edie, 11. We are also having excellent sales of the 'Struggle for Negro Equality' and are ordering more of this pamphlet. We just show them to people while talking about the Militant so it's no extra work to sell them."

FJM of Detroit sends in his renewal to the Militant and writes, "We enjoy reading The Militant because it keeps us informed of happenings the other newspapers don't. Be sure to keep the paper coming."

Many thanks to FDP of Lowellville, Ohio for his contribution of \$1.50 to help print the Militant.

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Pablo "Answers" the Open Letter

World Events

By Paul Abbott

1. Putting McCarthy "In His Place"

Do you remember all the loud talk recently about how McCarthy was going to be "put in his place" at this session of Congress? He was put in his place all right. On Jan. 12, five days after the session opened, McCarthy was named to the powerful Senate Rules Committee.

This Committee determines what legislation should reach the floor of the Senate. It can, and has, bottled up bills distasteful to Big Business and the Southern plutocrats, like anti-lynching, FEPC and progressive social security legislation. It gives the green light to war appropriations, anti-labor legislation, witch-hunt measures and the like.

Another jurisdiction of the Rules Committee is over funds voted for Senatorial investigations. One of the most advertised features of the various Republican and Democratic plans to "stop McCarthy" was to put a financial squeeze on his investigating committee if he doesn't behave. Now McCarthy, by a mere

request, has been placed on the very committee that wields power over committee finances. Thus he can fight for the finances he needs from the strategic position of Rules committee member.

And because of the other crucial powers of this committee, McCarthy can broaden the power of his fascist machine in Congress. If one doesn't want to be blind, that's the first result of the Democratic-Republican "battle to stop McCarthy" at this session of Congress.

Lesson one: Every time the chiefs of the two capitalist parties declare war on McCarthy it ends up in a fiasco, with McCarthy strengthened. He takes another big step in his drive towards the White House.

There are good reasons why McCarthy thrives on the maneuvers of the Republican and Democratic anti-McCarthyites —

2. The "Outflanking" Technique

The capitalist party politicians use two methods to fight McCarthy: (1) Steal his thunder. Outflank him from the right. Use bigger and better red-baiting than McCarthy. (2) Curb him, and if necessary crush him by the power of the party machines.

Neither of these methods work. They don't work because McCarthy is not just another reactionary politician who has fallen out with the machine. McCarthy heads an incipient fascist movement. His political machine is fundamentally independent from the two capitalist party machines — although he uses these machines for all they are worth to him.

Stealing McCarthy's thunder doesn't work as a tactic to undermine him. It was tried when the Republican high command ordered Attorney General Brownell to spy-smear ex-president Truman. McCarthy, far from being undermined and outflanked, stepped in and took over the whole show. He thrived on the maneuver.

It was tried again by Eisenhower in his super-red-baiting project of "alienizing" native-born Americans. The N. Y. Times is dead wrong in saying that by this act Eisenhower "certified publicly once again his own leadership in the battle against communism." (W. H. Lawrence, Jan. 9.) All Eisenhower "certified" by his speech was a craven capitulation to McCarthy. And that's all he's been "certifying" during the whole year in office.

John O'Donnell, N. Y. Daily News back.

3. To Run or to Fight?

There are two instructive examples of how labor is reacting to McCarthyism.

(1) When McCarthy opened his investigation of the "red menace" in General Electric, the United Electrical Workers Union (CIO) played right into his hands. The union leadership proclaimed its own witch-hunting record. It permitted victimizations; it ran for cover and cowered. Result? The GE system was "McCarthyized." The union-busting "loyalty" purge was officially introduced into private industry. GE's 230,000 workers are subject to dismissal for their political beliefs or refusing to turn stool pigeon for McCarthy. The union is weakened. The company has a new union-busting weapon.

(2) The Velde House Un-American Committee came to San Francisco, with the usual advance publicity about uncovering "red" control of unions, etc. The Independent Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union calmly served notice: One witch-hunting peep out of you against our union and we'll strike.

Velde was cautious. Did they really mean it? He tried a sly ruse. He prompted a stool-pigeon witness to speak about "red domination" of the Longshoremen's Union. The next

morning the waterfront of San Francisco was shut down tight. Not an ounce of cargo moved. The Longshoremen massed thousands of pickets at the doors of the witch-hunting Velde committee. They considered it a matter of elementary union security to slap down hard on this labor-baiting McCarthyite stooge.

Result? The whole San Francisco Bay Area labor movement was aroused to new militancy and confidence in the fight against reaction. Students, professionals and workers organized large anti-Velde meetings all over the Bay Area. Velde retreated on witch hunting the Longshoremen. He cut his hearings short. The unions were strengthened. The union-busting employers were weakened.

Lesson three: Militant action by labor can beat the McCarthyites. The unions must refuse any form of co-operation with the witch-hunting committees — and back up their refusal with all the power at their command.

But militancy is only half the battle. Labor must have a correct social program — it must offer a fundamental solution to the problems of war and depression —

4. The Struggle for the Middle Class

McCarthyism already shows clear signs of unfolding a demagogic social program to direct the discontent of farmers, small businessmen, and workers into fascist channels.

The fascist observe, just as the revolutionary workers do, the oncoming depression and the beginnings of a wave of mass discontent with capitalism — and they are preparing to use it. As the social crisis becomes more acute the question will be posed: who offers the solution to the crisis — the labor movement or the fascists?

If the workers' organizations don't have the answer, the fascists will utilize the rising discontent of the middle class, its disgust with the blundering labor leadership, and its frenzy at being ruined economically, to build a mass fascist movement with armed detachments and hurl them at the unions. While spouting a lot of radical-sounding demagoguery they will deflect the anti-capitalist wrath of the middle class and deploy it against labor, and establish the iron-wheel dictatorship of Big Capital on the ruins of union halls.

McCarthy has already come out with a farm program! He blithely outbids all offers to help farmers threatened with ruin. Eisenhower speaks of 75% parity. The Democrats likewise. McCarthy is for "100% and more" parity.

McCarthy is talking of "broadening" his field of investigations. He said, "I may divide forces and run simultaneous investigations." The reason for this is the facility such diversification will provide for outlining a fascist program to meet the needs of all the discontented with wild demagogic promises — all the while spinning it around the main theme of the "communist menace."

Thus lesson four: If labor clings to the capitalist parties, if it fails to organize a Labor Party and adopt a deep-going program of socialist reorganization for America, the fascist demagogues will have a clear field. Only the working class, organized independently on the political field and armed with a revolutionary program, can defeat fascism.

By Joseph Hansen

Pablo, who was elected Secretary of the Fourth International and charged with the duty of preserving the integrity of the Trotskyist program of world socialist revolution, but who utilized his position to attempt to foist a revisionist program on the organization founded by Leon Trotsky, held a three-day meeting in Paris at the end of December with the principal European lieutenants of his faction.

He took a series of measures that completely confirm the warning issued by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in the open letter addressed to Trotskyists throughout the world (see the Militant, Nov. 16, 1953) about the danger represented by the uncontrolled, personal faction organized in secret by the secretary in whom the Trotskyist movement placed too much trust.

In its open letter, the SWP warned: "The Pablo faction has demonstrated that it will not permit democratic decisions truly reflecting majority opinion to be reached. They demand complete submission to their criminal policy. They are determined to drive all orthodox Trotskyists out of the Fourth International or to muzzle and handcuff them."

And that is precisely what the Pabloite leaders did at their meeting. They demanded complete submission to their criminal policy under threat of expulsion from the Fourth International.

The Pabloite faction leaders labelled their meeting the "Fourteenth Plenum of the International Executive Committee" although no one was present outside of themselves and none of the major sections of the Fourth International had representatives present. Then they proceeded to pass a "unanimous" motion without precedent in the Fourth International:

"To suspend from membership in the International all the members of the IEC who subscribed to the split appeal which appeared in the Militant of November 16, 1953, as well as the appeal of the 'Committee of the Fourth International' or who approved it and are trying to rally on this base the sections of the International."

"To suspend from their posts of leadership in the sections all those who signed these appeals, or approved them and are trying to rally on this base the sections of the International."

"To refer the final decision on these cases to the Fourth World Congress."

What the Open Letter Did

The open letter, which this fiat refers to as a "split appeal" — although it was nothing of the kind — did three things:

(1) On the political level, it called the attention of Trotskyists everywhere to the fact that in flagrant violation of the program of the Fourth International the Pablo faction had covered up and apologized for the Stalinist betrayal of the French general strike in August; had failed to call for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from East Germany when they were used to crush the June 17 workers' uprising against the Stalinist gaudieries; had painted up the treacherous temporary concessions granted by these besieged rulers; had similarly painted up the concessions deceptively promised by the Malenkov regime to allay mass unrest in the Soviet Union; and had projected the possibility of self-reform of the Stalinist bureaucracy and even the Soviet workers sharing power with it.

(The revisionist "sharing of power" concept was advanced by Clarke, a Pabloite high priest, in the magazine, Fourth International. When Clarke was called to order by M. Stein and the editorial board, Pablo's response was an attack — on M. Stein and the editorial board.)

(2) On the organizational level, the letter called public attention to the secret faction Pablo had organized in the Fourth International as part of his preparation for a "coup." It noted that in line with this aim, Pablo had unjustly expelled the majority of the French section of the Fourth International and committed other acts of a similar character in flagrant violation of the organizational methods bequeathed the Fourth International by Leon Trotsky.

The letter charged that Pablo was systematically injecting Stalinist conciliationism into the organization, utilizing "piecemeal" tactics for the operation, and in similar piecemeal fashion trying to "get rid of those who come to see what is happening and raise objections."

(3) On what to do about this, the letter urged the orthodox Trotskyist majority of the Fourth International to assert their will against Pablo's usurpation of authority, to remove Pablo and his agents from office and "to replace them with cadres who have proved in action that they know how to uphold orthodox Trotskyism and keep the movement on a correct course, both politically and organizationally."

These conclusions about Pablo's organizational methods and the danger they represent to the Fourth International were not reached lightly. For a time, some

of the facts seemed incredible to us, but they turned out nevertheless to be only too real. Here are three typical ones:

(1) In May 1953, almost two years after the event, a shocking example of how the Pabloites operate came to light. One of their leaders revealed that at the Third World Congress of the Fourth International held in August-September 1951, certain criticisms of some of the formulations in the documents under discussion were sent in by the New Zealand section. But they never reached the delegates for consideration, the reason being that this Pabloite leader, in his own words, "burned" them.

(2) Some months ago, Burns, one of the outstanding leaders of the British section of the Fourth International, indicated his sympathy with the political position of the majority of the SWP in its struggle with the revisionist minority headed by Cochran. Burns also indicated that he disagreed with certain revisionist views held by Pablo.

He was ordered by Pablo to keep his mouth shut and not reveal his differences to the British rank and file. When Burns refused to obey this Stalinist-type ukase, Pablo immediately organized a "with Pablo" faction in England that sought to cut Burns down. To accomplish this aim the faction did not hesitate to publicly violate party discipline in the pattern of the revisionist Cochranite faction secretly fostered and inspired by Pablo in the Socialist Workers Party.

(3) The Pablo faction misrepresented the hounded and

persecuted Chinese section of the Fourth International as "sectarians" and "fugitives from a revolution." The truth is that they participated in the revolution against Chiang Kai-shek as revolutionary socialist representatives of the Chinese working class and are stout defenders of the New China in its struggle against world imperialism.

Pablo even went so far as to suppress two of the appeals of the heroic Chinese comrades for help against assassinations carried out against them by Mao's secret police. We do not know whether Pablo "burned" them as the New Zealand criticisms were burned. But up to this day he has maintained a guilty silence about them. They were made public only after they reached the Militant by an indirect route, appearing in the issues of Oct. 19 and Nov. 2.

Pablo did not care to see the appeals published, perhaps because they clearly indicated the genuine position of the Chinese Trotskyists, perhaps because they placed the Mao regime in a sinister light for murdering revolutionary socialists.

These three cases are all that space permits me to cite. They should prove sufficient, however, to give every militant trained in Trotsky's school an idea of the grounds that led the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to raise the alarm and the British, French, Swiss and New Zealand sections to set up an International Committee to struggle for the life of the Fourth International against ruin by Pabloism.

Next week: Trotsky versus Pablo on the coming American revolution.

"Irremovable" Secretary

The reaction of the secretly formed Pablo faction to the political and organizational charges levelled by these two bodies and the remedial measures they propose, was, as indicated above, to further abuse its control of the administrative apparatus of the Fourth International by suspending from membership all who subscribed to the critical document, honestly and openly presented by the Socialist Workers Party, or the declaration of the International Committee of the Fourth International that raises the banner of orthodox Trotskyism.

In addition to actual subscribers to these two documents, the Pablo faction ordered all leading Trotskyists suspended who have the temerity to approve these documents or seek to rally support for them.

This means that Pablo has now in effect declared that serious political differences with him or his arbitrary interpretations of program, or an effort to replace him in office, constitute crimes equivalent to organized sabotage, calling for summary expulsion from the Fourth International.

Typical Pabloite Propaganda

To what lengths the Pabloites are prepared to go to maintain the pretense that their revisionist views and Stalinist methods represent the views and will of the majority of the Fourth International can be judged from their latest propaganda about the British section.

There the Pabloites ended up in the minority as they did first in France and then the United States. Nevertheless, they are circulating the false story that the British section is "with Pablo."

This is a lie. Pablo read the rank-and-file elected leadership out of office, appointed a personal lieutenant to take over like a receiver sent by a trade-union czar to handle a rebellious local, and thus converted his minority in England into an "official"

He has in effect, in the well-known tradition of Stalin, declared himself irremovable, even though he represents only a minority faction. In the same familiar tradition he has declared for monolithism in the Fourth International — the monolithism of a personal cult.

In accordance with this program of utter perversion of everything that Trotsky stood for, the leaders of the Pablo faction issued Papal bulls from their December meeting, labelling them "resolutions" of the "International Executive Committee." These edicts of the cult head declared the Socialist Workers Party beyond the pale and also excommunicated the overwhelming majority of the British section from the Fourth International. Although the Swiss section was not specifically named as also expelled, the blanket resolution excommunicating all who disagree with Pablo politically applies to them too.

By such desperate organizational methods, borrowed right out of the corrupt school of Stalinism, Pablo hopes to maintain the personal control he usurped of the administrative apparatus.

British "section." Naturally, the newly born "section," small and despondent though it be, raised an "overwhelming" majority of hands for their Pope in Paris. Thus the cult could claim the British "section" was "with Pablo," and could also claim they were not lying about it.

In England the rank-and-file majority only laughed at this flimsy ruse, as it served no political end there except to further expose Pablo's affinity for Stalinist methods. Elsewhere it seems to have taken in some people for the time being. The Shachtmanite Labor Action, for instance, which was chosen by the American Pabloites as a sympathetic forum for their first public declaration, printed as good coin the misinformation that "the size of each group is approximately equal at the moment."

THE MOUNTING CONCERN of the Eisenhower administration over the possibility that the Indo-Chinese freedom fighters might win in their seven-year struggle against French imperialism, does not stem solely from the philanthropic interest Wall Street takes in the well-being of the French profiteers. The Bulletin of Informations Coloniales, published in Paris, presented some facts in its Nov. 15 issue that cast a new and most revealing light on the anxiety of the U.S. State Dept. about the "communist menace" in Indo-China.

At the beginning of 1952, for example, the U.S. Rubber Co. bought control in a French company, giving the U.S. outfit control of some 42,000 acres of choice rubber plantations in Indo-China. Not to be outdone, Goodrich rubber also acquired similar holdings in a similar way.

Several years earlier, such companies as American Smelting and Refining, American Metal Co., and others acquired silver, lead, tin and tungsten holdings in the strife torn colonial land.

Atlas Constructors and Morrison-Knudsen carried on a bitter struggle with each other for a monopoly of such strategic construction work as roads, airbases and ports.

And International Telephone and Telegraph, after gaining control of the French company, Le Matériel Telephonique, got a monopoly on supplies and repairs for the whole telephone network of Indo-China.

THE SOUTH KOREAN puppet government reports that the obliging Eisenhower administration has given it a free hand in spending 60% of the \$500,000,000 Korean rehabilitation fund. The 40% remains subject to administration by United Nations and U.S. agencies. Where part of that 60% is going can be gathered from the charge made last month by Congressman Brownson (R. Ind.) that a swank, luxury hotel "complete with bars, cocktail lounges, a star-lit room and a western steak restaurant" was being built in Seoul at American expense under orders from Dictator Syngman Rhee while "assistance to the hungry, freezing people must wait."

MALENKOV REGIME PROMISES, made last March, to reduce the severity of the Stalinist criminal code, have still not been carried out. Although no specific laws were indicated, the aim of the promise was to imply that it meant relaxation of Soviet labor laws. Russian workers are frozen to their jobs and cannot leave without getting official permission. If they do change jobs in the absence of such permission they are subject to criminal prosecution and imprisonment.

RIFTS APPEAR TO BE FORMING in top circles of the Yugoslav Communist Party. Recently Milovan Djilas has stressed the necessity for free thought and for remodeling party organizations along more democratic lines. A recent article by him attacking the snobbery of the wives of high-ranking CP leaders toward Gen. Dapcevic's actress-wife was formally denounced by the Executive Board of the Central Committee. The Jan. 11 Borba, official CP newspaper, attacked articles by Djilas criticizing CP practices. It likewise attacked Mose Pijade, who along with Djilas and advocated increased liberality. Tito is said to have approved the denunciation of Djilas by the CP Executive Board.

GERMAN CARTELS are making a fast come-back under the beneficent eye of American Big Business and its political representatives. The Dec. 10 Manchester Guardian Weekly reports: "The 'big three' German banks have already begun to frame a common policy which expresses itself in identical annual reports. Key steel plants have already been given back 75% of their coking-coal supplies, which they may own once more. The five former major aeroplane constructors — Heinkel, Dornier, Messerschmitt, Focke-Wulf, and Daimler-Benz — have formed the 'Aero Union' and will, as Dr. Claudius Dornier put it, 'avoid fighting each other economically.' Observers have even forecast the reconstruction of the I. G. Farben combine — originally due to be split into over a hundred components and eventually divided into three huge and two 'small.' The Germans, it is sure, want a disciplined and cohesive economy. They believe that cartels will play their own part in that and that Allied action in destroying the trusts was no more 'final' than that of the child who knocks down his bricks — only to build them up again tomorrow."

EISENHOWER SEEKS LAW TO "ALIENIZE" CITIZENS

(Continued from page 1)

clear meaning of the 14th Amendment the witch hunters have already taken a considerable number of steps violating the constitutional rights of American citizens. The McCarran Immigration Act already provides for "alienizing" naturalized citizens. Conviction under the Smith "gag" Act, already means loss of many citizenship rights, such as the right to vote and hold office. Passports are denied persons suspected of harboring "dangerous thoughts."

Now Eisenhower proposes to deprive native-born American "subversives" of citizenship, thus converting political dissenters into "stateless aliens." The Jan. 10 N. Y. Times says that victims would be "subject to such restrictions as being annually registered and fingerprinted; denied passports and their right of travel even inside the country without official permission; possibly even to deportation."

How do they propose to get around the obvious unconstitutionality of the measure?

MCCARRAN'S DEVICE

Arthur Garfield Hays, noted civil liberties attorney, referring to the citizenship clause in the McCarran Act, says: "apparently the act is worded the way it is on the theory that anyone who commits an act of attempting to overthrow the Government has presumably voluntarily given up his United States citizenship."

And that's the device they will use to solve the constitutional difficulty with Eisenhower's proposed law. The victim will "voluntarily" renounce citizenship!

This is like passing a law stipulating that all accused who plead "not guilty" have "voluntarily" admitted their guilt, and are therefore punishable. If this witch-hunt logic is incompensable, the McCarthyite professors in democratic law will not doubt make it all clear — after

they have taken away your legal rights.

It is whispered around Washington that the General himself thought up this police-state scheme without anyone's help. Cabell Phillips says, "This is a peculiar personal expression of Mr. Eisenhower's abhorrence of even the shadow of treason. As a life-long soldier, it is said, he countenances no middle ground between loyalty and disloyalty in the military and can see no reason why the same criteria should not apply in the civilian world. In any event, the idea was largely his own."

BARRACKS RULE

Max Lerner, commenting on this says: "American society is not an army." Oh no? That's a matter of opinion. The army brass, the witch hunters, the union busters, the Wall Street rulers of destiny, are all eager to turn American society into a gigantic barracks. The fascists have streamlined plans to do precisely that to America.

It is but a step from legislation creating a special class of fingerprinted, registered, restricted and hounded "aliens" to an internal passport system, concentration camps, universal job-freezing and the outlawing of unionism.

It is time for the labor movement to stop listening to liberal prattle about built-in safeguards of American democracy. Eisenhower's proposal to destroy the rights of American citizenship should have been greeted the next morning by a 24-hour general protest strike. But the parasitic slugs of the labor bureaucracy are capable of nothing but deadening the militant reflexes of the rank and file.

However, Eisenhower's bill to make aliens out of Americans, and all the rest of the bi-partisan, anti-labor, anti-democratic legislation before the 83rd Congress is not yet passed. There is still time for labor to act. And act it must if it is not to be destroyed.

"Strong" Moves

These edicts of excommunication undoubtedly appear to Pablo as "strong" moves, the strongest possible answer to the political fire levelled at him in the letter of the Socialist Workers Party and the appeal of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The fact is that such stringent measures are simply the organizational reflection of Pablo's political line which is to liquidate the Fourth International as an independent organization. To dissolve the Fourth International politically, it is necessary to first break up its cadres by expelling them, or reducing them to silence if not acquiescence. In this way, Pablo seeks to smash those organizations where the orthodox Trotskyists are the strongest and the resistance to his revisionist course the greatest.

Cochran, under the slogan "junk the old Trotskyism," laid down a similar tactical line for the American contingent of the Pablo cult. The tactics included

Eisenhower's Message

By Jean Blake

The Malan white supremacists in South Africa undoubtedly read President Eisenhower's State of the Union message to Congress last week with great interest. They must have noted two points in his speech in particular:

(1) He proposed a formula for legislation to deprive citizens of their status and rights as citizens. (Hitler and Mussolini also started with categories like "Jews" or "Communists" and extended the proscribed groups to all critics and opponents.)

(2) He devoted only three sentences in his hour-long talk to the problem of racial discrimination — and that only in the introduction to his discussion of foreign affairs. He said:

"Segregation in the armed forces and other federal activities is on the way out. We have also made progress toward its abolition in the District of Columbia. These are steps in the continuing effort to eliminate inter-racial difficulty."

Even the most reactionary southern racists can go along with that "eliminate inter-racial difficulty" formula; they just have their own ideas about how they'll eliminate it. Their method is to smash any movement to change the status quo, the Jim Crow system. Moreover, riding the Eisenhower-McCarthy white horse of reaction, they can even project new legal means of restricting the rights of categories of citizens, just as the Malan regime has been doing.

Malan, we must remember, proceeded

through legal means to deprive colored citizens of rights they previously had held. His legislative bodies voted him whatever legal means he needed to carry out his aims.

Now Eisenhower and his administration are calling on their Congress to start the process of secular excommunication of American citizens. Taking away citizenship of "convicted" Communists is only the beginning. The President made this clear when he added that the attorney general would soon ask for "additional legal weapons with which to combat subversion in our country and to deal with the question of claimed immunity" — a clear reference to Brownell's proposals for wire-tapping legislation and tearing up the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

The situation in the states is not substantially different. Talmadge, in Georgia is also preparing the legal weapons in his legislature for reinforcing segregation if the U.S. Supreme Court should issue a decision in the current cases that might chip away at the southern system.

The Eisenhower message should alert all fighters in the Negro struggle to the danger of relying on legalistic means alone. The present law-making bodies — in Washington as in Georgia — will not abolish racial discrimination; only the working class in power, with everything to gain and nothing to lose by it, will complete the emancipation of colored people from the last vestiges of the southern slave system.

"Music from Oil Drums"

By Harry Ring

A new and intriguing music is sweeping the West Indies. A new drum is beating out old rhythms and melodies. The story of its development is told in the November 1953 issue of the Lamp, lush house organ of the giant Standard Oil of New Jersey, a corporation that coins billions out of its colonial operations.

Emitting a warm cultural glow, the Lamp tells the story of "Music from Oil Drums."

"Today on many a Caribbean island more people dance to the music of an oil barrel than any other instrument."

"Trimmed with a hacksaw, tuned with a sledge hammer, the oil barrel has a fragile, muted, bell-like tone that has created a new kind of music, melodic and haunting, which is becoming as expressive a part of West Indian culture as the spontaneous rhymes of the calypso singers. Orchestras of oil barrels are called 'steel percussion', and there are hundreds of them."

"Oil barrels turned into musical instruments have a soft dulcet tone that is sometimes compared to the tone of a xylophone or a Hawaiian guitar."

"To see what part the oil barrel can play in the life of a musical people," the Lamp declares, "you must go to Trinidad."

But the new music is not strictly confined to Trinidad. With quiet pride, the Lamp notes that "You can hear their soft thrumming music on the island of Aruba, played by the Aruba All Star Boys, a twelve piece steel band or-

ganized by the employees in the refinery of Lago Oil & Transport, a Jersey affiliate."

The Lamp explains the purpose of the steel drums, or as they are called, "pans." "Every pan is carefully designed to fill a particular role in the band in which it is going to be played; every pan is a counterpart of, for example, the violin, trumpet or drum of the traditional orchestra. Basically, pans are in one of three categories: the Ping Pongs, which carry the melody; the Tune Booms, which make up the harmony section; and the Base Booms, which are rhythm instruments."

The praise for the musical oil drum, so generously extended by the Lamp, is not unjustified. A new long-playing record of several of the top steel-drum bands contains some first-rate music. The record notes, however, fail to give proper credit to Standard Oil for its part in the development of the new music. They simply indicate that the "ersatz" violins, trumpets and drums grew out of the musical resourcefulness of Trinidad's impoverished slum dwellers.

We look forward to the not distant day when Standard Oil will hear another new music, the steel-drum music of colonial revolt that will drive them out — and without proper thanks for their gracious contribution to colonial culture of empty oil barrels. The classic calypso line, "Ole lady, yuh mashing me toe," will make an excellent opening for that political music.

Notes from the News

APPLICATIONS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION in New York City for the week ending Jan. 1 totaled an estimated 202,000. This is 30% higher than the same week in 1953.

ALMOST 100,000 Ohio workers were jobless as of Jan. 2, reports the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, which says this figure is nearly twice as high as that of Jan. 1953.

THE ARMY AND STATE DEPARTMENTS have "mutually agreed" to postpone the release of an Army film of "atrocities" in Korea. The State Dept. has declined to say whether the film was postponed because of the impending Big Four conference in Berlin on Jan. 25.

TWO POLICEMEN WERE INJURED and 25 pickets arrested in a fracas at the strike-bound Ken-L Ration dog-food plant at Rockford, Ill. The plant has been struck by the UAW-CIO since Nov. 16. The company has refused to sign a union contract.

CHICAGO NOW THE STEEL CITY. Chicago surpassed Pittsburgh in 1953 to become the world's largest steel producer, the Ass'n of Commerce & Industry reports. They list 1953 output of Chicago area mills as 20,628,100 net tons, compared with 19,848,800 net tons for the Pittsburgh area.

"FILTHY AND INDECENT," and as such ineligible for mailing, a Post Office hearing examiner ruled Jan. 8 on a gag post card proposing a picnic for those cattlemen who voted for Eisenhower. The card promised "all the crow they could eat." A drawing of a jackass was coupled with a statement that there would be a kicking. "Cowboy" Williams, originator of the card, contended the word held objectionable referred to the animal.

THE ABSENCE OF OFFICIALLY RECORDED LYNCHINGS in 1953 is no millenium in the Negro fight for equality, but "is due to significant changes in the status of the Negro and to the development of other extra-legal means of control, such as bombings, incendiarism, threats and intimidation, etc., says the Annual Lynching Letter of the Tuskegee Institute, which points out "that a new standard for measuring race relations is needed . . . in such areas as employment and other economic conditions, in political participation, in law . . . health, and other fields."

RAT BITES CHILD IN CRIB. A 15-month-old girl was bitten on the thumb by one of four rats that invaded her crib during the night, the New York Police reported Jan. 12. The Health Dept.,

the report says, has begun an investigation of living conditions in the building on W. 95th St., center of New York's Puerto Rican community.

IN AN OBVIOUS EFFORT to bolster moves of the Eisenhower administration to void the right, guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, to decline to give self-incriminatory testimony, a rumor, originating in Washington and reported in the Jan. 4 N. Y. Times, named Earl Browder, deposed Communist Party leader, as "about ready to talk" to one of the witch-hunt committees. "Unquestionably, more former American Communists could be induced to tell their story," said the Times dispatch. " . . . If Congress should pass a measure . . . permitting grants of immunity to subsequent Federal prosecution." In reply to the editor in the Jan. 8 Times, Browder said, "The idea suggested in your correspondent's story that years of persecution from both the Communist Party and the United States Government have 'softened' me up so that today I would give a different kind of testimony displays a profound ignorance of the facts. I have survived a lifetime of persecution without being 'softened' into becoming anybody's agent, whether it be the McCarthys of Moscow or Washington. I am rather old and tired, and my wife has been made invalid by the special persecution against her and we wish nothing more than to be left in peace for our remaining years."

RENT CONTROLS AT OAK RIDGE have been lifted by the Atomic Energy Commission and a minimum increase of 28% ordered. In answer to union protests, the commission argued that the law requires it to set rentals at the prevailing level for comparable private housing in the surrounding area.

MCCARTHY'S FORT MONMOUTH SPY-HUNT has been blasted by the papers of that area. McCarthy's tactics "can easily become a threat to American principles of liberty and justice," editorialized the Nov. 28 Asbury Park Press. The Dec. 18 Long Branch Daily Record denounced "the specter of McCarthy daily sitting in sole judgement on free American citizens like a demigod."

TOLEDO HAS BEEN WORSE HIT by layoffs than any other city of comparable population in the U.S., says Richard Gosser, UAW-CIO vice president. The Bureau of Unemployment Compensation has estimated current unemployment at 14,000, but Local 12 of the UAW sets the figure at close to 20,000. This is 10% of the total working force of the city.

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THE MILITANT

Admit 167,000 Unemployed Among Detroit Auto Workers

By Beatrice Evans

DETROIT, Jan. 11 — Latest unemployment figures here reveal that some 107,000 persons are jobless in the Detroit area alone. Hastily revised estimates by the Michigan Employment

Security Commission (MESC) put the total idle in Michigan at 167,000. And they admit that the trend toward still fewer jobs. City and state officials have been flooded with appeals from union representatives to mobilize to combat unemployment.

The Dodge Division of the Chrysler Corp. is one of the hardest hit by layoffs in the Detroit area. 20,000 employees of the Dodge main plant have been laid off, some since last June.

Prospects for the 13,000 still working are uncertain. Already they are working less than five days, some three, some four-and-a-half-day weeks. In some departments men with 20 and more years seniority have been laid off.

New machinery, to be installed in some departments during the layoff, will not even be delivered until March.

Cancellation Saturday by the Government of \$140,000,000 worth of military truck contracts at six major automobile companies will bring more layoffs. The companies affected include the Dodge Division of Chrysler Corp. in Detroit, GM in Pontiac, Rec Motors in Lansing, Checker Cab in Kalamazoo, Willys Motor in Toledo, and the Cleveland plant of Fruehauf Trailer Co.

This cancellation order came on the heels of layoffs this weekend of 2,350 employees at the Plymouth plant and 5,300 at the Chrysler automotive division which now includes the former Briggs plants that Chrysler recently bought.

Still jobless are many of the former workers of the Kaiser Motor Co. at Willow Run. An additional 10,000 workers are expected to be unemployed by Feb. 15, bringing the total unemployed in the state to 177,000, the director of the MESC stated.

Gov. Williams told a delegation from Dodge Local 3 UAW-CIO that he "did not have the answer but my staff is working on the problem."

UNION OFFICIALS WORRIED

Dodge Local officers sent a telegram to Pres. Eisenhower telling him of 100,000 jobless in the Detroit area and asked him to take "positive action to prevent a depression."

They asked the Detroit City Council to get going now on a public works project scheduled to begin in two years. They also proposed a city moratorium on workers' debts. A union committee has been calling on finance companies, appealing for a halt in repossessions of household goods and automobiles of jobless workers. Many workers who are drawing unemployment benefits are now nearing the end of the 20-week maximum allowed here.

Management is cracking down on the few workers left in the Dodge plant, trying to get more production from each job.

With the cut in production of automobiles, fewer foremen are needed, and so the company has shown its appreciation toward its "faithful servants" (foremen of pre-union days) by laying off some with 20 to 30 year seniority, keeping younger foremen with less seniority at work.

Reporting another layoff of 5,000 workers while their delegates met in Washington at the

United Automobile Workers conference on unemployment, the Dodge Main News, UAW-CIO Local 3 newspaper, commented that the pre-Christmas layoff was in the "best tradition of big business" and that the "layoffs can be directly attributed to management's policy of planning only for profit, never for human welfare."

The president of the local stated in his column that the "Republican Party, backed by the big corporations, is rapidly building up to another depression."

He said, "We would like to warn these people that we will not allow them to repossess homes to be sold again with only a few hundred dollars mortgage remaining. We will not allow Hoover-villes to spring up like they did in the last depression. We will not allow misery to creep across the land and into the homes of workers whose greatest crime was being born poor and dispossessed. We will fight with whatever weapons will be at our disposal. We promise that we will make full use of our political power at the ballot box and sweep the Republican Party, and those associated with them in another depression from the political face of America."

N.Y. Slum Areas Growing Faster, New Study Shows

Slum areas in New York City are growing faster than they are being eliminated, reported the Citizens Housing and Planning Council Jan. 10. Unless this trend is "checked immediately and effectively," the city faces a slum problem "vastly greater" than the one it faced when the present redevelopment and housing programs began about 1940.

The report is based on a pilot study of eight blocks in Manhattan's Central Park West area just south of Harlem. Until a few years ago this was considered one of the city's best upper middle-class neighborhoods.

Investigation showed a 36% increase from 1950 to 1953 in the number of family dwelling units although "there has been virtually no new housing built in the area since 1940." The population has grown from 13,899 in 1950 to 19,000 in 1953 and many families occupy a single room.

MULTIPLE VIOLATIONS

Out of 208 buildings covered in the study, 118 were found to have multiple violations pending against them for unauthorized occupancy, illegal occupancy and cellar occupancy. Even more numerous pending violations include fire hazards, rubbish and garbage accumulation, vermin, faulty plumbing and structural weaknesses. Only 38% of the buildings were found in good condition.

The area population increase since 1950 has been due mainly to the influx of Puerto Ricans. Their number has grown in three years from 1,045 to "approximately 6,000." Landlords gouge them mercilessly on rents.

Painting a Rosy Picture



Eisenhower meets with his economic advisers in his office to prepare his economic message to Congress in which he paints the down-swinging American economy in rosy hues. Aiding Eisenhower (left to right) are: Chairman Arthur Burns of the Council of Economic Advisers and economists Gabriel Hauge, Kevin McCann and Charles Moore.

Eisenhower Urges New Curb on Union Right to Strike

(Continued from page 1)

Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, indicated more correctly than any of the other union leaders (although he does not hold a class conception of government) what stand organized labor ought to take on the whole question of Taft-Hartley.

He said of Eisenhower's proposals that "a few piddling amendments won't make a slave law palatable to free-born citizens. . . . Piecemeal tinkering with its multiple provisions will not make it wholesome or acceptable to those who abhor its trespass upon their constitutional and statutory rights."

In short, organized labor should demand, fight for, and settle for nothing less than full and unconditional repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

TRAP FOR LABOR

The whole idea of attempting to greatly weaken or gut the Taft-Hartley act by a series of amendments is a trap for labor. It not only diverts the struggle for repeal of the law, it opens the way to additional amendments that can give even deadlier anti-labor weapons to the corporations. It was the Truman administration, violating its 1948 campaign promises to repeal Taft-Hartley, that initiated the moves for its T-H amendments in 1949. Eisenhower's union-busting proposals are a continuation of this line.

The labor-hating members of Congress aren't disturbed by the few little concessions some of Eisenhower's proposals appear to give to labor. Once the issue of amending Taft-Hartley is taken up by Congress, the Big Business-controlled legislators can put through their own amendments. This is the view voiced by the N. Y. Times in hailing Eisenhower's proposals as "courageous" and "constructive."

"It is well that the President did not attempt to set down in detail the suggested changes. This will permit flexibility in their consideration by the Congressional Labor Committees whose task it will be to formulate the bills," says the Times.

Will the labor leaders use the occasion of these proposed "flexible" amendments to advance the political interests of the capitalist Democratic Party and play the game of "amendments" or will they lead an independent mass labor struggle, on the economic and political field, against the whole law? If they now rely on the Democrats, as they did in the case of the passage of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947, we will wind up with an even more brutal anti-union law than the original.

Two "eminently respectable" college boys were detained by immigration inspectors in Florida on their way home to Canada from a vacation in the Bahamas. According to the Jan. 9 World Telegram, one of the boys "confused the examining official by saying he had worked for the Progressive Conservative party in Canada. The inspector didn't know that was about the same as our own Republican party."

UNION-BUSTERS NAMED IN REUTHER SHOOTING

Detroit police authorities and Wayne County Prosecutor Gerald K. O'Brien have announced that well-known gangsters and union-busters, including several named by the Militant three

years ago, are now being charged with the attempted shot-gun killing of CIO United Automobile Workers President Walter Reuther on April 20, 1948. Reuther, now also CIO President, has been left with a crippled arm from a blast through his kitchen window. His brother Victor, now a Washington representative of the CIO, was similarly attacked from ambush on May 24, 1949, and lost the sight of one eye.

Under arrest for complicity in the earlier shooting are Carl Renda, son-in-law of Santo (Sam) Perrone, rich scrap-dealer racketeer and anti-union rough-arm mobster, now a fugitive in the same case, and Clarence Jacobs. Another named among eight warrants issued in the case is Peter Lombardo, already serving time in a federal prison for counterfeiting.

Renda, Perrone, Jacobs and Lombardo were named by ex-convict Donald Ritchie, who confessed himself to be the driver of the murder-attempt car in the first shooting. Ritchie escaped from police custody, after making his statement, but finally surrendered in Canada. Two policemen assigned to guard Ritchie when he escaped have been suspended.

At the Kefauver Committee hearings in Detroit in February 1951, it was revealed by former Briggs officials that Renda had been given a million-dollar scrap hauling contract, at great loss to Briggs, shortly before the attacks on Briggs unionists began and after a series of strikes. Perrone, Renda's father-in-law, subsequently pleaded guilty to conspiracy to terrorize workers of the Detroit Michigan Stove Co. from joining the UAW. Perrone was put on probation for 15 months.

The Feb. 19, 1951, Militant said: "The Senate Kefauver Committee findings in Detroit not only clear up the so-called mysterious beatings of Briggs unionists but will, if followed through, also shed light on the murder attempts on Walter and Victor Reuther."

Immediately following the assault on Walter Reuther, the Detroit police tried to convert the case into a witch-hunt against "Reds" and Negro workers. They arrested and grilled hundreds of good unionists who were known to be in opposition to Reuther's union policies. The Militant at

Why Rebel Youth Turn to Crime

By H. Baker

(First of four articles.)

Recently a hearing was held in Monroe, Wash., that highlighted the problems of young people in reform schools and the brutality of officials designated to "solve" these problems.

Youths today are subjected to greater strains than at any time in history. They are surrounded by all the things that man's ingenuity has provided in such abundance, yet are forbidden to touch them unless they are fortunate enough to have well-to-do parents.

In an age in which most wealth has been concentrated in the hands of a few multi-billionaire families, only a few enjoy privileged lives. The retainers of these multi-billionaire families, especially the capitalist politicians, "get theirs" through the most unbridled corruption.

Young people know this and at the same time realize their complete inability to obtain riches through individual initiative. They react to such social conditions with a cynicism that is unusual for a younger generation.

Rebelling against the injustice that gives some so much and

others so little despite great sacrifices, they determine to cheat the system regardless of "illegal" methods.

THE BACKGROUND

Most youths in reformatories and prisons come from the poorest homes. Many are orphans or were brought up in broken or unhappy families. Often in such homes responsibility for the support and welfare of the children falls on the mother. She is overworked and underpaid, and consequently exhausted, nervous, irritable. After coming home from the job and cooking the dinner and taking care of the house, she has little time or energy left to cope with the emotional problems of the children.

At a later age, these children, now at the difficult adolescent age, face the problem of getting a job. It is difficult enough to settle on a compatible type of employment; it is still more difficult to find it. Many employers will not take on a young worker who may be drafted shortly. The better paying and more interesting trades require years of apprenticeship that are not easy to secure. Thus when a youth does

find a job, he is often paid and unskilled capacity where he has little if any union protection.

On top of this is the emotional strain of the war danger. All have friends and acquaintances who were killed or maimed in Korea, many just 18 or 19 years old. Is it any wonder that they want to enjoy a car, good clothing and some spending money before this future catches up with them?

THE TURN TO CRIME

That is the usual background of youths who come to realize that the wealthy get all the breaks. While they can see this, they don't see that the only real solution to the inequalities and injustice is through social ownership of the means of production.

Their intense cynicism diverts them from understanding the need for a group solution, for the joint organization of all the oppressed against capitalist inequality.

Pressured by economic insecurity and the draft, by harassed or uncaring parents, the more daring take the initiative and help themselves to the abundance that surrounds them. While they attempt at personal show courage and nevertheless find

themselves in a blind alley. Many are convicted at first for only minor crimes such as stealing a car for a brief time or stealing clothing from a department store. Then the very society that thus forces them into delinquency proceeds to punish them for their reactions to a world they never made. Huge reformatories and prisons are built to cage and brutalize them.

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