Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

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Mass Caravan Will Demand More Jobless Aid in Mich.

Liberals Pave The Road for Sen. McCarthy

By Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

Last December the Socialist Workers Party issued a statement calling attention to the grave fascist threat to America presented by McCarthyism, the evil product of the witch hunt that has raged unchecked since 1947. The SWP called on the people, especially the labor movement, to unite in militant defense of our liberties and aspirations against McCarthy's drive for power.

Since then the McCarthyite menace, profiting from the lack of any large-scale organized opposition, has grown larger and bolder. Today it is necessary to repeat our warning, and to add another:

The Democratic Party and the liberals, who claim to be opposed to McCarthyism, are actually helping it by capitulating to it. They are repeating all the crimes and errors that led to the triumph of fascism in Europe.

When Congress reconvened in January, Washington rang with reports of Democratic and Republican plans to "stop McCarthy." These plans received their test on Feb. 2, 1954, when the fascist from Wisconsin arose in the U.S. Senate to demand an appropriation of $214,000 to finance his witch-hunting activities for another year.

McCarthy did not even bother to conceal his contempt for the liberal wings of the Democratic and Republican parties. Boasting about his methods of spreading smear and fear, he challenged his "opponents" by coolly announcing that he intended to continue these methods without change. Previously, he had threatened to "expose" any vote against his appropriation as an act of aid to "communism."

The Democrats especially were on the spot. They were faced with a smear if they voted against the appropriation. But they also knew that if they voted for it, McCarthy would use the money to smear them as "the party of treason" just as he has been doing for some time. The question was: Would they show some courage, resist McCarthy's blackmail, and at least uphold their claims of principled opposition to McCarthyism by refusing to endorse funds for his fascist activities?

To their everlasting discredit and shame, all of the Democratic Senators, liberal and conservative alike (with one lone exception), voted along with the Republicans by 85-1 to pass the appropriation.

McCarthy was jubilant. Even more valuable to him than the money was the vote of confidence he got from both capitalist parties. By a single word, Yes, the Democrats and the Republican liberals in effect retracted their

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NAME BREITMAN TO RUN FOR SENATOR FROM N.J.

NEWARK, Feb. 26 — The Socialist Workers Party here today announced that George Breitman will be its candidate for U.S. Senator in the fall general election. Petitions to place his name on the ballot will be filed with the Secretary of State next week.

GEORGE BREITMAN

Accepting the nomination, Breitman said:

"There's nothing I'd like better than to be elected to the Senate so that I could take on the fascist bully McCarthy under conditions of combat where all the advantages would not be on his side, as they are at the so-called hearings of his inquisitional committee."

Breitman scored both Republican Senators from this state for having endorsed McCarthyism by voting on Feb. 2 to give the Wisconsin fascist the money he had demanded to finance his witch hunt. He promised:

"Our party this year is going to conduct the most vigorous election campaign of our history. We are going to do everything we can to awaken the people of this state to the menace of McCarthyism, the depression that has already begun, and the imperialist war that is being prepared."

Weiss Meeting Scores Success in Pittsburgh

PITTSBURGH, Feb. 19 — Murry Weiss, Socialist Workers Party spokesman, who is touring the country as part of a campaign to warn labor of the danger of McCarthyite fascism, was greeted here with a hostile front-page article in the local Hearst Sun-Telegraph and by an attentive and interested audience of steel workers and others, when he spoke under the auspices of the Northside Militant Readers Forum.

"I note there have been some changes in Pittsburgh since my last visit," he said. "For one thing, the air pollution has been reduced. To what extent is this due to the shutdowns in the steel mills?"

He told the audience that he had found two different reactions to the growing shutdowns in the area. He cited the response on one hand of such labor "statesmen" as David McDonald, whose first concern is his friendship with Benjamin Fairless of U.S. Steel. McDonald recently declared that he was not going to get hysterical over the layoffs that now have hit at least 10% of the steel workers. McDonald declared that he felt the steel industry would revive as soon as the soft-drink and beer industry switches from glass to steel containers.

In contrast to McDonald's soft-drink and beer response, Weiss underlined the bitterness of the steel workers over McDonald's cynical nonsense and their indignation at his joint trip with Fairless through the steel plants. "For the slave in the U.S. Steel empire, the visit meant an engraved cigarette lighter freely distributed to commemorate the joint visit of union and company heads and a promise by McDonald that he would see if present sick benefits could not be extended to cover mental disorders."

In his speech on the threat of fascism in America, Weiss pointed out that on the local scene it had been proved to the hilt that labor cannot trust the so-called "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party to look out for its interests. Workers in Pittsburgh still feel outraged at Democratic Mayor Lawrence who was elected on a "stop the wage tax" platform and who then turned around and in indecent haste steamrollered the wage tax through a 100% Democratic city council. **"How can labor look to such a party to meet the coming crisis? How can we look to these**

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MURRY WEISS Tour Schedule

Detroit: Feb. 27 - Mar. 2.
St. Louis: Mar. 4
Chicago: Mar. 6 - 9
Milwaukee: Mar. 10 - 11
Twin Cities: Mar. 13-16
Seattle: Mar. 20-23

Can't Witch Hunt Chief Justice -- But They Did

By Fred Hart

The daily press of the country is virtually unanimous in its denunciation of the redbaiting smear-attack on Earl Warren, nominated by Eisenhower to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

There were no bounds to the indignation they expressed over ten charges against Warren submitted to the Senate judiciary subcommittee delegated to make a recommendation on the nomination. One of these charges was that Warren has a "100% perfect record of following the Marxist . . .revolutionary line."

To make such accusations, to give publicity to them, or to even consider them in passing on Warren's nomination, the press roared, is dishonest, disgraceful, degrading, demoralizing, irresponsible, improper, slanderous, vicious, shocking, undemocratic and unprecedented.

It truly is all of these things — except the last. It used to be unprecedented, but it no longer is. In fact, during the last seven years of witch hunt, smear-by-accusation-and-hearsay has become the main pattern in American politics.

The capitalist press screams because the charges against Warren have not been supported by any proof. But how about the thousands of government employees who have been grilled and hounded out of their jobs not for any wrong-doing or violation of law but merely for their alleged associations, conversations and "tendencies"?

Why doesn't the press come to the defense of these victims of the witch hunt? If the smear against Warren (who will be confirmed to the Supreme Court anyhow) is

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Unionists Boo M'Carthy At Schenectady Hearing

By Harry Ring

Hundreds of workers from General Electric's Schenectady plant travelled to neighboring Albany, at their own expense and the loss of a day's pay, to voice their opposition to fascist Senator McCarthy at a smear hearing there Feb. 19 and 20.

The workers jammed the hearing room and hundreds more milled through the corridors and outside the building. They booed and jeered McCarthy's tirades and shouted approval of seven subpoenaed GE workers who defied the witch hunter. Workers in the corridor held aloft for photographers an outsized valentine inscribed "GE Loves McCarthy."

The seven GE workers hailed before McCarthy's inquisition emphatically denied his charges of "espionage" and "sabotage." All invoked the Fifth Amendment against efforts to pry into their political beliefs or associations. Some typical McCarthy questions were: "Have you engaged in espionage during the past week or month?" "As a member of the Communist conspiracy, do you believe in the Communist teaching that this Constitution, including the Fifth Amendment upon which you rely, should be destroyed?"

The audience applauded vigorously as a Negro worker told McCarthy, "Before this fascist committee I have no rights. Until such time as I can appear before a democratic body I will use my privileges under the Fifth Amendment."

Answering a McCarthy outburst, he shouted back, "Go down South and subpoena Gov. Byrnes and Talmadge. Yes, subpoena those enemies of my people, of America. Why don't you investigate subversion by GE, of the Jim Crow system, of the profits taken from the sweat of my people? You fascist bum, why don't you investigate that!"

A women seated with her two small children in the audience cried out when McCarthy tried to pressure her husband, "While you're so busy smearing people, why don't you think of their families?" As marshalls moved towards her, McCarthy ordered them to wait while he demagogically declaimed, "To the lady who asked whether we don't think of their families, let me say I don't enjoy this task, but we are also thinking of the families of boys who died in Korea. Some of them died there because of spies and traitors in this country." He then had the woman thrown out.

When the seventh witness leaned forward in the stand to tell him "I don't want to be framed. I will rest upon the Fifth Amendment which guarantes that innocent people be protected," McCarthy suddenly announced he had received an "urgent" phone call from New York and abruptly ended the hearings. He left the courthouse with the boos of the audience ringing in his ears.

The hearing revealed strong anti-McCarthy sentiment throughout the union and community generally. The union local took full page ads to denounce the hearings as a frameup. A strong denunciation of McCarthy was issued by UE President Albert Fitzgerald. On the eve of the hearing 600 shop stewards held special meetings in support of the union's stand.

After the hearing a group of McCarthyites in the plant circulated a petition for the ouster from the union of the seven workers who will be suspended by the company. They could only claim 300 signatures of the plant's 20,000 workers.

The local Council of Protestant Churches issued a statement defending the workers and blasting both McCarthy and GE.

Native Fascism in Action

McCarthy, fascist demagogue, top, is shown making a rabble-rousing speech in Los Angeles which ended in a near riot. At bottom, hoodlum admirers of the Wisconsin senator hurl clods at a former state assembly candidate of the Democratic Party who parked across the street and sought to defend his organization through a loudspeaker against McCarthy's charge that it was guilty of "20 years of treason."

Key UAW Locals Ask Action Now

By Joseph Keller

A call for America's first mass action to win improved benefits for the growing army of unemployed has been issued in Michigan, heart of the heavily hit auto industry. CIO United Automobile Workers Local 659, representing more than 14,000 Chevrolet workers in Flint, has taken the initiative in issuing the call for a state-wide mass caravan to Lansing, Michigan's capital, on a date soon to be announced.

"Local 659 calls for a mass delegation to demonstrate for higher and extended unemployment benefits and for a state Fair Employment Practices Commission Law," announced the Feb. 18 issue of the Searchlight, Local 659 paper.

"All state labor organizations are urged to support the mass caravan to Lansing," adds the Searchlight. "Church, fraternal and community groups are asked to participate jointly with labor. Thousands of people are expected to turn out. Watch for the date to be set."

PUSH FOR CIO ACTION

If a successful mass caravan and mobilization at the state legislature is carried through as a result of Local 659's initiative, an inspiring example will be set for further real action by labor throughout the country.

The resolution to launch the mass caravan was adopted unanimously at a spirited membership meeting of Local 659. "So once more our local union takes its place in the front line in the fight for labor's rights and democracy for all," says the Searchlight.

This move is intended to expedite action on the program adopted at the recent Michigan CIO state legislative conference. There was much talk of action at this conference by the top leaders, including UAW officials, but nothing has come of this talk since.

MOVE WINS SUPPORT

Local 659's announcement says: "We have already had encouraging words from several local unions that they are going to act in support of our move. We expect that the State CIO Council will give leadership to all the city councils and affiliates to make this a real united effort. We furthermore believe that the AFL and all other Unions in the state should also unite in this OPERATION DEMOCRACY."

Local 659's paper explains that its members know the "severe hardships that workers throughout the state feel due to unemployment" and that "it is only a matter of time until the Chevrolet workers will begin to get thrown out into the streets. Already a good number of our people are down to 30 and 32 hours per week."

Therefore, says the Searchlight, "we in Local 659 are not waiting until our people are in dire need of assistance to take action. Our slogan is "IT IS BETTER TO ACT WHILE WE ARE WORKING 4-DAY WEEKS THAN TO WAIT FOR THE NO-DAY WEEKS."

"30 FOR 40" STRESSED

In this same issue of the Searchlight, Local 659 President Robert Murphy hammers on the need for the shorter work week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay. Speaking of the program on which he was elected to union office, Murphy writes:

"I advocated a thirty-two hour work week with forty hours' pay, because the handwriting was on the wall at that time that we were going to go on short work weeks or mass layoffs. To date

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The Issue of McCarthyism in a Nutshell

(The following introductory remarks were made by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, at an anti-McCarthy rally held by the Los Angeles Local of the SWP Feb. 12. — Ed.)

We meet on Lincoln's birthday. A very important date in the history of our country, and one which the American people rightly hold in reverence.

Lincoln, as President of the United States, was the executive leader of the forces of the union in the great Civil War, which smashed the abominable system of chattel slavery and formally emancipated the slaves, unified the country, and created the conditions for its industrial development and expansion.

The great Civil War under Lincoln's executive leadership was a glorious victory for the American people and for all humanity. It is rightly regarded as the Second American Revolution. This Second American Revolution prepared the way for a Third Revolution which, in its turn, will emancipate the working class and finally put an end to all forms of discrimination in society. We do well to honor Lincoln and the glorious war he led to victory.

Lincoln's birthday may seem like a most inappropriate occasion to talk about Senator McCarthy; but I think there is a Freudian law known as the "association of opposites." Perhaps we can speak of Lincoln and McCarthy together under this head. Where the name of Lincoln symbolizes progress, McCarthy is the outstanding demagogue of reaction. Where Lincoln symbolizes the emancipation of the black chattel slaves, McCarthy is the representative of those dark forces in America whose ultimate objective is to fasten the chains of fascist slavery on the American working class.

Before the Civil War of the Sixties broke out in full fury in 1861, there was a long period of preparation for it, when both sides fought with ideas and arguments and mobilized their forces around these ideas. In those preparatory days, William H. Seward described the debate as an "irrepressible conflict" which could not be resolved by argument alone.

That would be a proper way to describe the present situation in this country. We are witnessing a clash of ideas and arguments, and the preliminary mobilization of forces, for a coming showdown in what is indeed another "irrepressible conflict." It also will not be decided by argument alone.

In the years prior to the Civil War, the Abolitionists, of reverential memory, conducted a great agitational activity to alarm the people to the dangers of the time and to clarify their ideas as to what was really involved in the irrepressible conflict. The modern heirs of the heroic Abolitionists of a hundred years ago, the advocates of the abolition of the capitalist system of wage slavery, are conducting a similar campaign of agitation and explanation, of clarification of ideas as to what is now involved in the new irrepressible conflict. The clearer we see the picture as it really is, the better we will be prepared for things to come.

There are differences of opinion as to what the shape of things to come will be; but there is almost universal recognition that the present state of affairs has no permanence. We are now coming toward the end of the long prosperity artificially promoted by huge government expenditures for war and preparations for war.

A serious recession is already under way; and the prospect of a deep economic crisis, paralyzing industry and depriving many millions of workers of the opportunity to work and to live, looms directly before us. At the same time we are nearing the end of the stalemate in the cold war, and stand face to face with the prospect of an atomic war on a world scale.

Which will strike first — the depression or the war? The present situation may be described as a race between war and depression, with the winner not yet decided.

Parallel to this race between war and depression, and as a result of it, there is an impending conflict between two different forms of governmental rule and a race between them. The winner in this race is also not yet decided. In order to wage an atomic world war, and to provide the incalculable expenditures which it will entail more than military preparation is needed. The monopolists who own this country and control its government are both required and determined to reduce the living standards of the workers and make them pay the expenses of the contemplated war.

The barrier standing in the way of this program is the great trade union movement, 17 million strong. Before an all-out wage-cutting program could be put into effect, this trade-union movement would have to be smashed, or at the very least, intimidated and domesticated to such an extent that it would lose its powers of resistance.

A large section of the ruling capitalists are playing with the idea that a depression would facilitate this program. They see in a prospective depression not the untold misery of tens of millions of people, but a golden opportunity to smash the unions and to deprive them of their combative power.

This ambitious program is easier said than done. It requires among other things, a mobilization of reactionary forces by a tremendous campaign of demagogy, incitement and intimidation. This campaign is already under way. Although it is first ostensibly directed against "Reds" and "subversives," its real target is the organized labor movement of the United States. That is the real meaning of the incipient fascist movement in this country, spearheaded at the present time by McCarthy, the senatorial demagogue from Wisconsin. McCarthyism is a dagger pointed at the heart of the trade union movement, and at all the civil rights and freedoms of the American working class.

On the other hand, if the labor movement is to survive it cannot stand still. It must go forward or perish. And the only road forward is the road, first toward recognition of the mortal danger that confronts the labor movement, and then toward the mobilization of its own forces for an offensive struggle to change the relation of social forces in favor of the workers. That is the road of militant struggle, of radicalization, and in the ultimate show-down, of social revolution — a Third American Revolution which will complete the work of the First and Second and put the working class in power.

The present period of the new "irrepressible conflict" can be properly described as the period of the clarification of ideas and of the preliminary mobilization of forces, similar to the preparatory period of the irrepressible conflict a hundred years ago. We are in the preliminary stages of a race between fascism and workers' revolution.

The issue is not yet decided. Power is on the side of the workers. They will win if they see the issue clearly, and begin their counter-mobilization in time. To help them to see, to warn them of the danger of waiting too long with a counter-attack, is the purpose of the agitational campaign against McCarthyism which is now being conducted by the Socialist Workers Party.

COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW QUESTIONS EXECUTION OF THE ROSENBERGS

By Harry Ring

Skepticism continues to be expressed in even the most conservative quarters about the legality of electrocuting Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and railroading Morton Sobell to 30 years in Alcatraz as their "co-conspirator."

The Columbia Law Review now sees strong merit in the arguments for a new trial for Sobell and finds that the rights of the Rosenbergs did not get full legal consideration in the final stage of their case.

The new question mark over the entire Rosenberg-Sobell case is a 42-page study in the Review's February issue, "The Rosenberg Case: Some Reflections on Federal Criminal Law."

Although it does not challenge the legal procedure employed in the trial of the Rosenbergs, the review finds itself compelled to conclude:

"The inevitable conclusion is that in this last stage of an extraordinarily protracted litigation, the rights of the Rosenbergs did not receive the precise and extensive consideration that must characterize the administration of the criminal law. Whether the Rosenbergs were in fact guilty is beside the point. In the vindication of their rights they were entitled to the equality of treatment afforded by the technical safeguards of the law."

In the case of Sobell who was convicted on the basis of evidence so flimsy that the government did not attempt to prove him guilty of actually committing espionage, but rather of "conspiring" to do so, the journal supports the argument for a new trial on two counts.

Citing the lack of evidence that Sobell was a co-conspirator in crimes of which the Rosenbergs were accused, it draws the conclusion that his case should have been considered a separate conspiracy.

Inherent in this argument is the conclusion that the case was not considered separately because it could not stand up in court.

The review also cites a Sobell affidavit which recounts how he was kidnapped by the Mexican police during a vacation stay with his family in that country, and was illegally turned over by them to the FBI.

Had this question of kidnapping been litigated, the journal said, "Sobell may have prevailed with the argument that a judgement cannot stand when jurisdiction is obtained through federal officers' violation of the anti-kidnapping law."

A major section of the study is devoted to the unseemly haste with which the Supreme Court decided against the Rosenbergs in the final stage of the case.

"Even assuming the ultimate validity of the decisions," the journal comments, "there is still doubt as to the propriety of deciding them with the extreme haste exhibited by the Supreme Court."

Can They Stop the Depression?

By Art Preis

Early in February, Republican leaders declared that anyone who spoke of a "recession" or depression was a "communist" and probably guilty of treason. Speaker of the House Joseph W. Martin Jr. called such persons "left-wing eggheads." GOP National Chairman Leonard W. Hall termed them "reckless men" who ride over the land "like the Four Horsemen" of the Apocalypse. Eisenhower himself called them "prophets of gloom" and his Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams described them as "political sadists."

By the end of the month, however, the Administration spokesmen could deny the facts of mass layoffs and production cutbacks only at the risk of complete discreditment as conscious liars. Thus, the U.S. Department of Commerce admitted that unemployment as of Jan. 9 exceeded 3,000,000 instead of the previously reported 2,359,000. The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics indicated the number was considerably past 4,000,000, when it disclosed there were more than 2,000,000 layoffs from mid-December to mid-January alone.

A Federal Reserve Board expert, Winfield W. Riefler, then publicly described the production decline as "equal to the full decline in the 1948-49 reaction." Martin R. Gainsbrugh, chief economist of the National Industrial Conference Board, said the country is "definitely" in a "recession" not a "rolling readjustment."

Eisenhower conceded Feb. 17 that "for the last several weeks all of us had been alert to this [economic decline] day by day" and that if it "looked like we were going into anything major, I wouldn't hesitate one second to use every single thing that this Government could bring to bear to stop any such catastrophe. . ."

The Feb. 18 Wall Street Journal wrote that "his [Eisenhower's] words amounted to the strongest public admission by the Administration that the economic situation this spring might require more drastic anti-recession medicine than has been prescribed to date."

This "anti-recession medicine" will have to be strong indeed, last week's article in this series indicated. We stated flatly that America's capitalist economy is in the first stages of a depression. This depression, we said, involves not merely a "slight inventory readjustment," as the Administration economists had been saying, but the development of the major classic factors of all serious economic crises of the profits system.

These include huge accumulations of idle capital; increased productive capacity, productivity and output; declining markets in relation to output; a vast accumulation of unsold goods; production cutbacks; reduced employment; falling worker and farmer incomes; shrinking markets; lowered capital investments.

What the Capitalists Propose

Against these powerful "built-in" factors of capitalist economic crisis, the capitalist government has several types of measures it may attempt to employ. However, these measures contradict each other, as will be pointed out, and have only a limited efficacy, at best. And each introduces new elements of economic imbalance that help to create a more explosive crisis a little later on, if they succeed at all in temporarily halting the present downturn.

The principle measures available to the government to meet an economic crisis — or, rather, measures which it is claimed will alleviate the danger — are: (1) reduction of taxes; (2) "built-in stabilizers" like old-age pensions, unemployment insurance and public works; (3) increased government spending.

A major section of Eisenhower's economic report to Congress on Jan. 28 was devoted to the question of tax cuts as a measure of forestalling depression. Eisenhower asserted that with tax cuts made effective last Jan. 1, "more than five billion dollars of tax savings are now being left with the American people to increase their purchasing power this year. More will be released to taxpayers as rapidly as additional savings in Government expenses are in sight."

No one is against having his taxes cut. But who really benefits from these tax cuts and what

EISENHOWER

effect, if any, will such tax reductions have on the economy?

Very little of the $5 billion cut in taxes on Jan. 1 went to workers and farmers. Much of the cut was in corporation excess profits taxes. A large part of the income-tax reduction favored those in the higher brackets, whose incomes go in great measure into savings. Herbert Koshetz, in "The Merchant's Point of View" column of the Feb. 21 N. Y. Times, noted:

"The cuts made at the beginning of 1954 thus far have not proved too effective in bolstering business. . . Actually, the tax saving for salaried consumers was partly offset by the increase in their contributions to social security. In salary categories below $30 a week there were no net savings and in some instances take-home pay was reduced a few cents a week."

Further "tax savings" of this type are projected by Eisenhower in his Jan. 21 Budget Message calling for "revision and overhauling" of the tax system. With a very few minor exceptions, his 24 proposed tax changes are designed to benefit the higher income brackets and the corporations. Among his proposals, for instance, are reductions on dividends and liberalization of depreciations that corporations are allowed to deduct from their taxable earnings.

Eisenhower's tax proposals are within the framework of a budget scaled for only $3 billion less expenditures in fiscal 1954 than in 1953. It is based on the condition that billions of dollars of corporation income tax cuts that are to take effect in April won't go into effect and the belief that Congress won't enact bigger cuts than his budget calls for.

At any rate, the contemplated tax cuts will benefit the workers least of all and little would flow into the stream of consumer purchasing.

The opposite argument — that tax savings for the rich and corporations will be an "incentive for investment" — is equally false. The corporations already have an enormous accumulation of idle capital that has continued to expand despite the largest investment, last year, in new plants and equipment in their history. **The prospect of profits is what induces investment; it is precisely the lack of such prospects for profitable investment that is germinating the present decline. The tax cuts for corporations are merely a handout to ensure a continuation of profits and dividends, not for investment that will provide new jobs.**

We have heard much talk in recent days about "built-in stabilizers" which can greatly hold back if not completely prevent a depression. Such "stabilizers" are referred to in Eisenhower's economic report, including "modernizing unemployment insurance," "broadening the base and benefits of old-age insurance" and "making improvements in the planning of public works programs."

Unemployment insurance and old-age pensions have been mere subsistence pittances designed to alleviate the worst immediate suffering of unemployment and the disability of old age. Eisenhower's own proprosals for improvement of the old-age pensions would raise the present $50 a month average payment by a mere $5 to to $6. As for unemployment insurance, the payments are determined by the states and now average but a third of the wages lost by the average worker when he loses his job.

But the gimmick in these systems is that they withdraw more from the workers generally than they pay out. As reported in the Dec. '53 Monthly Letter of the National City Bank of New York, "The trust funds [of the federal government], the largest of which is the Old Age Fund, currently have nearly $4 billion a year coming in over and above their outlays."

No provisions have actually been made in Eisenhower's program for public works. These are merely in the "planning" stage. But we must recognize that the capitalists are bitterly opposed to public works of a beneficial character because these tend to interfere with capitalist profit interests.

Will More Spending Save Them?

"Suppose the government took the money it now spends for war and put it into low-cost housing, schools, hospitals?" I asked in my pamphlet, Welfare State or Socialism?, published in 1950 by Pioneer Publishers. "How long would the housing and building shortage last? What would happen to the exorbitant profits of the construction and real estate interests, to the landlords' high rents for tenements, if there were enough homes for everyone? A plentiful supply of modern houses might be a great boon to the people, but it would be viewed as a catastrophe by the profiteers.

"It would be no less a catastrophe for the monopolists if the government provided the aged with decent pensions and the unemployed with adequate aid. Would the workers in the factories, mills and mines stand for low wages, speed-up, long hours, the arrogance and abuse of the bosses, if they did not fear starvation? It is the whip of hunger and insecurity, the sight of the miserable unemployed outside the factory gate, that keeps the workers toiling on the belt-line turning out huge profits for the capitalists. That is why the capitalist class fights adequate welfare programs tooth and nail."

In any case, the program of "built-in stabilizers," including public works, would require a vastly greater outlay of federal funds than presently earmarked in the current deficit budget to have any appreciable effect on the economy, even temporarily. This program was put to the test in the Thirties by Roosevelt's "New Deal," which tripled government spending, mostly for welfare measures. But Roosevelt had to turn to all-out war spending that totalled nearly $400 billion in four years to revive American capitalism.

Since 1931, the government has had to resort to progressively expanding spending and debt to prevent the total collapse of the economic system. Only in three of the past 23 years have government receipts exceeded expenditures, in 1947, 1948 and 1951. **It must be pointed out that a $40 billion level of government spending in 1948 — almost eight times the 1939 figure — could not keep the economy stable. It quickly fell into the 1949-50 "recession." Only by jacking up the government spending through the Korean War to about $75 billion in 1953 was a depression averted.**

Having observed the effect of such government deficit spending in the past (at the cost of war and inflation, to be sure) certain capitalist economists of the liberal school and the pro-capitalist union leaders advocate a continuation and expansion of government spending to prevent a more rapid plunge of the capitalist system.

Thus, Colin Clark, the highly-touted Oxford economist who has been over here giving the U.S. business men the benefit of his opinions, has said that only through a large federal budget deficit over the next 18 months — "nearly two billion dollars a month during the worst months that lie ahead" — can a depression be averted. Similarly, the Dec. 1953 CIO Economic Outlook is devoted to the thesis that by increasing the government spending "around $10 or $12 billion" — although "naturally, all of the foregoing figures for 1954 . . . are somewhat tentative since no one can forecast the future exactly" — the total of all U.S. spending might be raised to halt a depression.

There is a good probability that an additional large injection of government spending, surpassing even the titanic $71 billion and $65½ billion budgets already projected respectively for fiscal 1954 and 1955, can jack up the economy once more. But Colin Clark, CIO President Walter Reuther and others who propose this are curiously silent about how long this may work and what other baleful, long-term effects it may have on the economy.

It is not out of either malevolence or stupidity that the Eisenhower administration, as the spokesman and agent of Big Business, hesitates before the prospect of further deficit spending and increased debt. **It cannot dismiss the colossal $275 billion current federal debt lightly, like Reuther and Clark. They pretend that government debts don't have to be paid.**

But that's the first big financial headache facing the Republican administration. Four-fifths of the stupendous debt accrued during World War II is maturing within the next five years. The government has been able to keep abreast of debt payments only by new borrowing at higher interest rates or exchanging of higher-interest-bearing bonds for the old bonds as they come due. In 1953, the Treasury exchanged $34 billion of old maturing debt into new, and borrowed about $13 billion. More than 90% of this new debt matures within one to five years.

This year, after refunding nearly $20 billion of maturing debt, the government still faces the task of handling another $71 billion of maturations by the end of the year. The government could confront bankruptcy if those who hold the debts, or a large part of them, demanded repayment or even big interest rates for taking new debts. This prospect was envisaged last September by W. Randolph Burgess, deputy to the Secretary of the Treasury, who told the American Bankers Association that "with this huge debt, getting shorter day by day, you have to run fast to keep even." The government would have to run still faster if the debt were boosted by increased deficit spending.

But what happens when Clark's 18 months' of bigger and better government spending are up? Won't the government be right back where it was before, or worse? No one — not Clark or Reuther — has given an answer to that one.

Instability -- Keynote of Next Period

And what effect will government super-spending have on the economy as a whole? We know from past experience. It would result in a new and very likely more rapid inflation. Taxes would be bound to shoot up. Prices would go galloping. So great is the inflationary pressure of government debt and spending even now during an economic decline, that Nov. 1953 prices reached an all-time high of 115 points on the government index and stayed at 114.9 in December, as more hundreds of thousands were laid off. It is very likely that a great increase in government spending sufficient to reverse the economic downtrend would bring in its wake a raging inflation such as this country has never before known.

It is by no means excluded that a desperate Republican administration will do this rather than face a deep depression. But it will not bring economic stability. Rather "planned super-deficits," as the February Monthly Letter of the National City Bank of New York states, would only provide the inflationary "ingredients of economic instability."

Thus, whichever way the capitalists choose to turn in the future, toward depression or inflation, they face the prospect of instability and crisis. The workers cannot preserve their living standards in any event. They face a future of grim and constant struggle to keep hunger away from their door and a roof over their heads. Depression or war-inflation — the period of relative U.S. capitalist economic stability is over.

...Liberals Pave Road for McCarthy

(Continued from page 1)

thousands of statements denouncing McCarthyism, or at any rate they proved they don't take their own statements seriously.

Immensely strengthened by this vote of confidence, McCarthy set out on a Lincoln Day lecture tour in which he expressed his gratitude to the Democrats by branding their tenure in the White House as "twenty years of treason." This tour was like a triumphal procession, testifying that McCarthy has come a long way since the 1952 election campaign.

At that time he was tagging along behind Eisenhower's campaign train, groveling for a friendly gesture, with Eisenhower uncertain as to whether he should endorse him. This year the local Republican candidates are clustering around McCarthy, hoping they can be photographed shaking his hand. To them, the Feb. 2 vote was a convincing demonstration that he is the most powerful figure in the Republican Party.

Just a few months ago Eisenhower said he hoped "communism" wouldn't be the main issue in the 1954 elections. But McCarthy contradicted him, and Eisenhower's Republican National Committee sponsored McCarthy's Lincoln Day tour, in which McCarthy's line prevailed, and which set the keynote for the whole 1954 campaign.

McCarthy's rapid rise to the political summits and the liberals' panicky retreat and betrayal together serve notice that the American fascist danger is clear, present and becoming more critical every week. They also provide an alarming parallel with the rise of fascism in Europe.

Neither Mussolini or Hitler was taken seriously by Big Business when they first appeared on the scene. But when Big Business began to get into deep economic and political difficulties in Italy and Germany, they made greater and greater use of the fascists against the workers and finally called them into office to crush the labor movement.

The Eisenhower - Dewey - Brownell wing of the Republican Party, which reflects the interests of Wall Street, wanted nothing to do with McCarthy at first. But with the start of the present recession last fall, and with the political setbacks suffered by the Republicans last November, they began to look at him in a different light.

McCARTHY GAINED

First they set out to imitate him by using the Harry Dexter White case to smear Truman and the Democrats. This was widely interpreted as an attempt to push McCarthy into the background by "stealing his thunder." Whether or not that was the intention, it did not succeed; the chief result of the White affair was to enhance McCarthy's prestige.

Now Eisenhower goes further and lets McCarthy keynote the 1954 campaign on his own terms. It would be a case of total political blindness to deny that McCarthy, who already has the support of the Texas oil interests, is making big strides toward being accepted by the Wall Street interests as well. In a few short months he has recorded tremendous progress in his drive to become the first fascist President of the United States.

In Europe the liberal and labor leaders were paralyzed and panicked by the fascists. When Mussolini and Hitler claimed to be protecting their countries from the "menace of Bolshevism," the liberal and labor leaders did not dare to challenge them for fear that they would be accused of aiding and covering up for Bolshevism. When they tried to compete with the fascists by presenting themselves as the truest and best anti-Bolsheviks, they were easily snowed under in the competition and only succeeded in strengthening the fascist slogan about the "menace of Bolshevism."

The European liberal and labor leaders knew that the only way to defeat fascism was by exposing its fraudulent claim on who was menacing democracy. They knew that the only way to bar Mussolini and Hitler from power was to reveal the Big Business connections and aims of the fascists, and summon the workers to militant struggle on an anti-capitalist program. But such a struggle might end in the abolition of the capitalist system which they, like the fascists, wanted to preserve at all costs, and they feared the independent action of the workers more than they feared the fascists.

Instead of mobilizing the workers, they "fought" fascism by urging the workers to give their support to the reactionary monarch Victor Emmanuel in Italy and to the reactionary militarist Hindenburg in Germany, falsely representing them as dependable opponents of fascism. The outcome, of course, was that the king appointed Mussolini premier and Hindenburg appointed Hitler chancelor, and the fascist bloodbath began.

Step by step, the American liberals and labor leaders are following in the footprints of their European cousins. They are silent when McCarthy justifies his actions by the lie that the American people are menaced by "communism" — either because they agree with this lie, or because they are afraid of being smeared as "reds" themselves if they expose it. Their occasional whimpering complaints about McCarthy's "bad methods" carry no weight as long as they accept his main thesis. They are afraid to call the workers to action for the same reason as their European counterparts.

No American should ever forget the act of treachery and cowardice committed by the Fair Deal Democrats on Feb. 2, 1954. It was a preview of how they propose to "fight" McCarthyism in the future. They are capable only of leading the workers into the concentration camps.

Whom should the labor movement rely on if it cannot rely on the liberal Democrats? On itself. And on its allies, those who have the greatest stake in the fight against McCarthyism — the racial and religious minority groups, the poor farmers, the housewives, the young people, the lower middle class.

They, and they alone, will beat down the fascist menace. All they need is a correct program of action and a leadership able and willing to fight for it boldly and intransigently, and the United States will be spared the horrors of fascism.

We repeat the proposals we made last December:

(1) An abrupt break of all ties with capitalist politicians. An end to the witch hunt in the unions. A decision to swing labor's power and influence against the witch hunt in every walk of life.

(2) Immediate steps to form an independent Labor Party. A national Congress of Labor should be called at once to consider the problem of fighting McCarthyism. This Congress should work out practical plans for an all-out campaign to put labor's own candidates in office in 1954 and a Workers and Farmers Government in power in Washington in 1956.

Smash McCarthyism before McCarthyism smashes us!

The government now has 59 areas on its "critical" unemployment list. An area is so listed when 6% or more of its labor force is jobless, with no immediate prospect of work.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent **John Tabor** reports an encouraging increase in sales by **New York** comrades of the Militant and other socialist literature. Here are the results over the past ten days.

"Saturday, Feb. 6, **Janet, Pete, Carol, Tom, Greg, Earl, Manny, Meryl** and **Ray P.** sold 71 copies of the Negro History Week issue in Harlem and gave out hundreds of forum leaflets. The following day **Edith** and **Greg** sold 32 Militants at an Adam Clayton Powell meeting and in front of a movie house. At a house-to-house sale in Brooklyn comrades **John, Howie, Nat, Frank, Julie** and **Calvin** sold four copies of 'The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore,' 24 Militants, three anti-McCarthy pamphlets, and one copy of 'The Socialist Workers Party, What It Is and What It Stands For.'

"Also on Sunday, **Johnny** and **Calvin** distributed 150 forum leaflets in Bedford Stuyvesant and **Elaine** gave out leaflets at a Brooklyn UE shop. Tuesday, **Murry** and **Ray P.** sold four Militants and four anti-McCarthy pamphlets at the New School. **Norma** and **Pat** sold two Militants in the project.

"Wednesday, **Cathy, Tom** and **Johnny T.** sold 13 anti-McCarthy pamphlets at a District 65 meeting. **Pete** and **Janet** sold another six months sub and one Militant in the project. Thursday, **Carol** and **Tom** sold five anti-McCarthy pamphlets at a library in Harlem. **Ann, Greg, Ethel P.** and **Ruth** visited subscribers in Harlem and sold four anti-McCarthy pamphlets.

"Saturday, on our second street sale in Harlem, **Janet, Pete, Carol, Manny** and **Meryl** sold 34 copies of the Militant and one anti-McCarthy pamphlet. A lot of interest was shown in the articles on the layoffs. One worker who had bought the paper last Saturday said, 'Give me a copy. What has the Militant to say this week?'

"Monday, **Cathy, Greg** and **John** sold six Militants and nine anti-McCarthy pamphlets at a District 65 meeting; and Tuesday, **Ethel B.** and **Dorothy** distributed around 100 Militants with forum leaflet attached and sold 10 anti-McCarthy pamphlets at a Cooper Union forum."

Janet MacGregor reports sales in **Detroit** at the Dodge Union meeting and the Plymouth Union meeting. "Fifteen Militants were sold in spite of the bitter cold. **Frank** finished up his route in the project and sold six Militants there."

Chicago had a sale of 15 Militants at the university along with a leaflet distribution. Salesmen were **Wilson, Dee** and **Bert.**

Seattle Literature Agent **Helen Baker** writes, "Our route work is very encouraging. Three people on **George's** route attended our last forum. **Ann** and **Leon** have sold several pamphlets as well as two Kutcher books to friends they have on their route."

Oakland Literature Agent **Dolores Seville** reports a very good Sunday sale by **San Francisco** and **Oakland** comrades. "We went out to one of the projects here in a Negro neighborhood and got a good reception. We sold two copies of 'America's Road to Socialism,' 11 Militants and 16 anti-McCarthy pamphlets.

"Tuesday night at a joint religious meeting at **Berkeley, Oakland** comrades **Ada, Dolores** and **Bill K.** sold 31 anti-McCarthy pamphlets and received a 50c. donation. We were very pleased with these results. On the campus we got a good response also. Yesterday I sold 14 anti-McCarthy pamphlets there and one Militant."

E. C. of **Detroit, Mich.,** writes, "I am a steady reader of the Militant. I mail my paper after I read it to friends who are interested in the socialist movement." E. C. asks for two copies of "The Case of the Legless Veteran," 10 anti-McCarthy pamphlets and 10 copies of "America's Road to Socialism."

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Pegler Spells It Out --"Smash Unions"

Westbrook Pegler, that bred-in-the-bone McCarthyite, has voiced the true aims of McCarthyism. He has declared himself publicly for fascism — and that's the exact word he uses. He says the purpose of the fascism he advocates is "smashing" all the unions — and that's his precise word, too.

Pegler put this in cold print, not mincing words. It is carried down a whole double-column in the Feb. 24 issue of the widely read N.Y. Journal-American, one of the chief papers of the Hearst chain, and in a number of other newspapers, reaching millions, that feature his syndicated column.

Let every worker, every union man and woman, every union leader read and absorb the meaning of Pegler's words. They bear the stench of the concentration camp, the torture chamber, the executioner's axe. Smell them. These words are meant for you.

"I am now convinced," brazenly asserts Pegler, "that all that prevents us from smashing the AF of L, the CIO and the 'independent' predators is a sentimental fear on the part of lay citizens and public men that they would be charged with fascism if they advocate this desirable reform . . . Even laymen and politicians who find it impossible to say a single word of excuse for the abominations of unionism . . . are afraid to plump for state control of unions . . . They are afraid to advocate anything like State management of unions, because that, they say, would be fascism.

"I agree. Yes, that would be fascism. But I, who detest fascism, see advantages in such fascism . . ."

There it is — right on the line. No one can mistake his meaning. As against unionism, he's for fascism and he spells it out — "smashing the AF of L, the CIO and the 'independent' predators," by which he means labor organizations like the United Mine Workers and Railroad Brotherhoods.

And while you're pondering the ominous implications of Pegler's words, you might do well to consider several other sinister events of the past couple of weeks that fit into the developing fascist pattern and give substance to our warning about McCarthyism being fascism on the march.

There is the rise and open foul expression of anti-Semitism — Jew-baiting on the Hitlerite model. From Moline, Ill., on Feb. 21 came the report of anti-Jewish signs being pasted on windows of 35 stores in that area, including Davenport, Iowa, and Rock Island and Moline, Ill.

The signs, printed in ink, bore the words: "This place owned by Jews." And rubber-stamped over the printing were the words: "Anti-Jew Week, Feb. 21 to 28."

You think that's just the work of screwballs, crackpots or the "lunatic fringe"? Millions of Jews who died in Hitler's gas chambers started out with the same illusion. Those anti-Semitic paste-ups in the Moline area are genuine signs of the times.

Right in the heart of Times Square in New York City, where 2½ million Jewish people reside, the anti-Semite fascists have dared to unfurl their banner. They are distributing in the streets a flamboyant, shrieking two-page paper, as large as this Militant, howling about the "plot" of the "Asiatic Marxists Jews" to "control the world" and how "by their control of gold the Jewish international bankers get richer while Gentile America gets poorer and poorer."

You may think it ridiculous, but this slimy sheet declares that even "Eisenhower is completely subservient to the Jewish Plotters. . ." And amongst the evidence of this are the facts that "he refused to blockade Red China" and "refused to cut off aid being given to our so-called allies, who are trading with Red China." Why, that's McCarthy's program, you will say. And you're right. In fact, the biggest point of indictment against Eisenhower is: "He is against McCARTHY . . ."

Smash the unions! Wipe out the Jews! But that's not all the McCarthyite vermin now dare to cry aloud in the streets and in the public prints. Death to political dissenters! is their newest outcry. And it is raised by no less a person than Gov. Allen Shivers of Texas, a tool and crony of the oil multi-millionaires who are financing McCarthy's drive to become the American Hitler. This Democrat, if you please, has announced he intends to propose a law in Texas to make "Communists" subject to "suitable punishment — up to and including death." In the McCarthyite vernacular even Truman Democrats and conservative union leaders are "Communists."

Think these facts over carefully and then ask yourself: Why does Pegler — who has always been a fascist at heart — now dare to openly acknowledge that his real aim — the aim of a simon-pure McCarthyite — is to establish fascism, which he bluntly and correctly defines as a movement to annihilate the unions, to "smash" them? Why are the vile anti-Semites beginning to come out in the open and speak as the defenders and most devoted admirer of McCarthy? Why does a political henchman of McCarthy, a Negro-hating Southern Democrat, now feel that the time is ripe to press openly for the legal lynching of anybody who opposes the rule of the moneyed class and its McCarthyite agents, who are spreading like blood poison throughout all the agencies of government, federal and state?

These fascist elements have been emboldened above all by their latest victory in the Senate. They have seen how the Democrats — including the so-called "liberal" Democrats like Lehman — and the Republicans, including the so-called "liberal" Republicans like Morse — have abjectly capitulated under the lash of McCarthy's whip.

The fascists have seen how these "liberal" cravens, whose only answer to McCarthy is that they are even better witch-hunters than he, knuckled under and voted 85 to 1 for the appropriations McCarthy demanded to continue his smear-drive in Congress against them.

There is a life-and-death lesson to be learned in this whole development — and organized labor, the racial minorities, the Jewish people will ignore it at the peril of fascist enslavement, torture and death.

Fascism is on the march in America — and its name is McCarthyism.

The ultimate aim of McCarthyism is to destroy — to "smash" — the labor movement and set up the naked dictatorship of the capitalist class.

McCarthyism will not hesitate to use Negroes and Jews as scape-goats and turn America into a charnel house, with lynchings, legal or illegal, to gain power.

America will suffer the fate of Germany and Italy under Hitler and Mussolini if the American workers put their trust in the Democrats to fight fascism.

Only the independent mass struggle of labor and its allies, through their own independent Labor Party, can smash McCarthyism before it smashes them.

What the H-Bomb Can Do

A fresh warning that World War III can mean the destruction of civilization has been given inadvertently by Congressman W. Sterling Cole (R., N.Y.), chairman of the Senate-House Atomic Energy committee.

Making public for the first time the results of a U.S. hydrogen bomb test made in the Marshall Islands a year and a half ago, Cole, in a Feb. 17 speech, revealed that the explosion of a single bomb "completely obliterated the test island in the Eniwetok atoll."

"It tore a cavity in the floor of the ocean — a crater a full mile in diameter and 175 feet in depth at its lowest point."

If this blast had been touched off in a modern city, Cole said, the resultant heat and blast would have completely devastated an area three miles in all directions from the point of the explosion.

"This is an area of complete devastation — using the word 'complete' in its most precise meaning — six miles in diameter," he explained. "The area of severe to moderate damage would stretch in all directions to seven miles from Ground Zero.

"Finally, the area of light damage would reach to ten miles from the point of detonation. In other words, an area covering 300 square miles would be blanketed by this hydrogen explosion."

Cole declared that "it is more sinful to hide the power of the atom than to reveal it." With this we can agree. When a spokesman for Wall Street stresses American atomic power, the basic purpose is to terrify the people of the Soviet bloc and the colonial world into submitting to the predatory demands of American imperialism. But these facts can also serve a different purpose. They can help bring the American people to a clear realization of the fact that we are confronted with the most important decision in all history: either forward to socialism and a world of enduring peace or backward to barbarism and even a world of radioactive ruins.

Writing in the pre-atomic year 1940 on the compelling need to abolish capitalism and its wars, Leon Trotsky declared, "Today it is no longer a question, as was the case in the nineteenth century, of simply assuring a more healthy development of economic life: today it is a question of saving mankind from suicide."

Unwittingly, Congressman Cole underscores these prophetic words.

"I Subscribe to the Open Letter"

MONTREAL, Can., Feb. 15 — **R. Kane, national secretary of the Iceland section of the Fourth International, in a statement received here today declared his support of the International Committee which was formed to save the Fourth International from degeneration at the hands of the revisionist Pablo faction. He also emphatically denied that the Pabloites have the support of the Iceland section, as they have been claiming.**

In his statement, Kane also blasted the bureaucratic, slanderous and splitting activities of the Pabloites and gave a detailed report of the evolution of his thinking from last November, when he was shocked by the publication of the Socialist Workers Party's Letter to Trotskyists Throughout the World, to today, when he approves its publication and solidarizes himself with it against the Pabloites.

The Pabloites, Kane reveals, are circulating a bulletin containing letters and excerpts of letters designed to create the impression that various sections of the International, including Iceland, support the Pabloite faction against the International Committee. This bulletin attempts to impress anybody who doubts that the IC and its supporters are "disoriented cectarian capitulators to imperialist pressure" that "everybody else thinks they are and he should shove any doubts aside and jump on the bandwagon."

Acquainted only with the meaning and significance of the Iceland letter, which he himself drafted, Kane writes: "If the letters from other sections have, as evidence in the case, the same weight as the Iceland letter, this whole attempt to impress the International is a dud."

The Iceland letter of course had never characterized the authors of the SWP Letter as capitulators to imperialist pressure, or anything like that; nor did it even take a stand on their internal dispute. It went no further than to "disapprove of the publication" of the Letter, expressing the opinion that this was a breach of international tradition.

Furthermore, "The letter itself, presented as the views of the 'leadership' of the Iceland section, in actuality represented the views of the three leading members of the section who signed it — the signatures being excerpted by the (Pabloite) editors. And we use the past tense 'represented' advisedly, for this letter is dated Nov. 29. A lot of water has flowed under the bridge since then. . ."

On his own part, Kane continues, the Iceland letter represented "a crude reflex action" to the SWP Letter. Iceland's relations with the Pablo IS, while most fraternal, had been extremely intermittent and limited. They were totally unacquainted with the conflicts between the British and New Zealand sections on the one hand and the Pabloites on the other prior to publication of the Letter.

Their knowledge of the French experience, in which the Pabloites expelled a majority of the French party, "was limited to information supplied by the IS itself. On such matters as the IS Manifesto on the East German upheaval I must admit to having, under the grind of day to day work, dropped my guard. But then I had no idea that I was moving in circles unfriendly to our orthodox views."

Thus "The Open Letter when it appeared hit us like a block-buster. I did not understand the need for an open fight in the pages of the press. I saw no basis for such a rupture with the process that a Bolshevik movement normally provides for adjustment or correction of program and personnel. I must admit that the charges, while backed up by what appeared to be fact, were nonetheless so sweeping, so damning, and so startling that they first overtaxed my credulity."

When the SWP Letter arrived, the Iceland section was discussing the Pabloite IS document, "The Rise and Decline of Stalinism." Doubts had arisen about some of its formulations. "Upon publication of the Open Letter these doubts took on a wider significance. Still my first reaction was one of loyalty to the International." Why, he thought, couldn't the disputed questions of policy and leadership be settled at the next World Congress? The International was "our most precious achievement" and he found it "hard to come to the belief that this achievement is being undermined and compromised by those who have helped to build it and have it in their trust. My reluctance to believe this — transposed into 'loyalty to the International' — that was the motivation of my drafting and signing the letter."

At this time, "I did not understand what it was all about. A few weeks later we received from the IS a draft of a letter which it had drawn up as a reply to the Open Letter. This draft letter helped me to get a clearer picture." Kane then answered Pablo on Dec. 21, explaining why he rejected Pablo's invitation to sign the IS draft: Instead of answering the charges made by the SWP Letter, Kane wrote Pablo, "your letter makes sweeping countercharges — and worse still, just in passing — such as your suggestion that the SWP is going to dump defense of the USSR, the attack on the authors of the Open Letter for supporting Eisenhower's packages to Berlin; and, instead of answering some of the old problems, poses new ones such as the claim that Hansen's articles on the 3rd World War are a revision of the Third World Congress decisions, that the authors of the Open Letter are calling into question the traditional Trotskyist conception of the dialectical relationshhips between the spontaneous upsurge of the mass revolutionary movement and the formation of a new revolutionary leadership."

Kane also objected to Pablo's slanderous characterizations of Cannon, and refused to go along with the Pabloite endorsement of the provocative behavior of the SWP minority, which he strongly suspected had split the SWP.

The Pabloite IS replied to Kane's letter "with all kinds of public announcements of political positions not adopted as the movement's by previous congresses, with more revisions not submitted to the coming World Congress. **The IS replied with more suspensions, more high-handed removals of leaderships that had been elected by national sections of the movement.**

"The doubts that I had on Nov. 29 and on Dec. 21, by Feb. 8, thanks to the actions of the Pablo leadership, were completely cleared away.

"At least on my part the signing of the Iceland declaration was based not on the politics of the dispute but on blind 'loyalty to the International' and upon the lack of information available. Loyalty to the International! — that has a powerful appeal. As an appeal, loyalty has a long record of being utilized to deceive and trick. Loyalty to the International means not only loyalty to the organized form that it takes on but also to our conception of what an International must be to serve its revolutionary function.

"We give our loyalty to the International but we also demand loyalty from those whom we place in charge of the International — loyalty to the decisions, the political line of the World Congresses — to our program. No misuse of authority by a junking of our program in public declarations such as the Manifesto on the East German uprisings. No manipulation of the forces of the International to serve any new views that the group who are now entrusted with its apparatus might now hold about its program. **When such a thing comes to pass, to be loyal to the International means to struggle irreconcilably against those who pervert our International.**

"I now completely grasp Comrade Cannon's valuable Dec. 16 Letter to an International Comrade in which he prophetically warned: 'It is later than you think. What is involved is a wide open fight to preserve the Lenin-Trotsky heritage and prevent the disruption and dispersal of the cadres. You and everyone else will have to take a position on the issues of political principle involved in the struggle.'

"The Open Letter, now, looking backwards, was completely justified in my opinion. For their formation of the International Committee to fight Pablo's usurpation of the International, the British, New Zealand, French and Swiss sections, now joined by the Chinese, have performed a signal service to our movement. I subscribe to the International Committee as well as to the Open Letter.

"In the light of accumulated evidence it takes a lot of gall to call it and the International Committee a split. Who are the splitters? As if to remove the last doubts that I had, the IS-IEC, drunk with authority, moving in on its opponents (and of all times just prior to a World Congress) has crashed down on the movement with a decree to suspend those leaders who have the temerity to reject the slander that the Open Letter and the Committee are a split from the International.

"None of the three signers of our Nov. 29 letter now being circulated by the (Pabloite) group support the implementation of his IEC decree. An important section of our party has already taken its stand in support of the Open Letter and the International Committee. The discussion goes on in our ranks. Its normal development is being complicated by the continual new revisions announced by the Pabloist IS — the latest being an attack on the Transitional Program and the perspectives of the American Revolution.

"Its normal development is being compromised by the fact that leading participants have been high-handedly suspended by the rump Pabloite IEC as members of the world movement. Three leading members of our party, comrades Blake, Williams and myself, have already declared themselves for the International Committee. Neither they nor our party will ever submit to such an ukase as this, obviously designed to decapitate our party.

"The situation in Iceland, you see, is now quite the opposite to what it would appear from the international bulletin. . . Probably the same holds true for other sections."

Is Capitalism the Best Of Possible Systems?

By Myra Tanner

The **Wall Street Journal** was so pleased with Hayek's introduction to "Capitalism and the Historians" (The University of Chicago Press) that it printed an abridgement of it under the heading "Economic Myth." (Feb. 4.)

The "supreme myth" which Hayek wants to dispel is "the legend of the deterioration of the position of the working classes in consequence of the rise of 'capitalism'." Hayek assures us that "The widespread emotional aversion to 'capitalism' is closely connected with this belief. . ."

He bases his attempted refutation of the "legend" on the ground that the increased productivity that accompanied the development of capitalism made possible a growth in the population. "The proletariat which capitalism can be said to have 'created' was thus not a proportion of the population which would have existed without it and which it had degraded to a lower level; it was an additional population which was enabled to grow up by the new opportunities for employment which capitalism provided."

This argument evades the question of the relative well-being of the modern worker compared to the feudal serf. It amounts to saying that modern producers cannot be considered poorer because they are more numerous.

However, in all fairness, if the conditions of life of the serf are compared to the modern worker the comparison must be based on the relative productive capacity in both periods. Modern man includes in the list of his consuming needs a far greater variety of goods than did the more primitive serf. But modern man produces this greater variety and has the capacity to produce much more.

In addition we should take note of the following important difference between the two social systems: Like modern man, the feudal serf was always compelled to labor — for himself and for the rich. But he was never prevented from laboring. If he suffered famine or too much poverty, he never wondered why. It rained too much or not enough. There were pests that destroyed crops. Or the nobility was too greedy. The reason was understood.

Modern man's experience is quite different. He is compelled like the serf to labor to provide for himself and the rich. But periodically he is compelled not to labor. Unemployment is a unique capitalist phenomenon.

In the richest capitalist country of the world there are today between 4½ and 5 million men and women who cannot even labor for themselves. In over two decades only war or the preparation for war has permitted full employment.

Furthermore, Hayek argues, capitalism created so much more wealth than its predecessor systems, that it also increased human aspirations. This is no more than a restatement of the conception that socialists have always held, that the one progressive feature of the capitalist system was that it increased the productive capacity of man to the point where poverty was no longer materially necessary.

"But," Hayek admonishes us, "we must not allow a distortion of the facts, even if committed in humanitarian zeal, to affect our view of what we owe to a system which for the first time in history made people feel that this misery might be avoidable."

This Professor of Social and Moral Science at the University of Chicago is so anxious to show his gratitude to capitalism for the chance to aspire that he forgets to aspire and is content. Hayek says that popular opinion thinks "this misery might be avoidable." And in this case popular opinion is right. Step aside, Professor Hayek with your gratitude. The people see the "chance to aspire" to end the age-old suffering of humanity. And we will end it.

..Can't Witch Hunt

(Continued from page 1)

a crime, isn't the stigmatizing of thousands of government employees as "security risks" (and the actual loss of their jobs) a much bigger crime?

The press is bitter about the fact that the accusations against Warren were lodged by disreputable our unknown persons. But how about the thousands of workers in so-called vital war-plant jobs and on the waterfront who have been fired on the basis of accusations that are impossible to disprove because they are made by persons whose identity is kept secret from the accused?

Why doesn't the press express any outrage over such procedures that undermine the Bill of Rights?

Why doesn't it exhibit any sympathy for less famous but equally maligned victims?

How many of these newspapers that are demanding justice for Warren voiced a single line of editorial criticism of the General Electric corporation's infamous decision to fire workers who stand on their constitutional rights and refuse to cooperate with the fascist McCarthy? A tiny minority, at most.

Why are they so vocal about one case of injustice and so silent about thousands of others? Can it be that their concern is not really for any principle, but only the welfare of a particular man, whom they regard as one of their own? We think it can.

Far from being unprecedented, the attack on Warren is only the extension of the witch hunt that has already taken thousands of victims and done vital damage to democratic processes. For the logic of the witch hunt is that nobody is safe from it.

This was demonstrated a few months ago when the victim was a Democrat, Harry Truman, who takes credit for having started the "loyalty" purge, the "subversive" list, the Smith Act persecutions of the Communist Party, etc.

It is only one short step from red-baiting a Democrat and former occupant of the highest executive post to red-baiting a conservative Republican and future occupant of the highest judicial post. And this doesn't mark the end of the road along which the witch hunters are marching. Their objective is to discredit and destroy anybody and everybody — radical, liberal or conservative — who won't join them in the destruction of ALL democratic liberties and the creation of a fascist state.

The democratic principle of equal rights for all requires that ALL victims of the witch hunt be defended, not just some. This is not just a question of consistency — it is a necessity. There is no other way to stand up to the inquisitors whose voracious appetite grows with every victim they feed on.

Next Week:

Report on My Tour

By Murry Weiss

...Weiss Meeting

(Continued from page 1)

people to stop the ruthless fascist McCarthy?"

He pointed to the recent visit of the Butler investigating committee to Pittsburgh as proof that the witch hunt is in reality aimed at the labor movement. "McCarthy would like to see the union movement reduced to 100% pure McCarthy-type unions: no radicals, no union militants, no contracts, no conditions, no collective bargaining, of course no strikes, and damn few members."

Pointing to the sign that decorated the hall, "Only a United Labor Movement Can Stop McCarthy," he explained that if a gigantic Congress of Labor with all sections of the labor movement represented could be convened in Washington, this would do much to halt the threat of McCarthyism and be the beginning of labor's independent intervention in the political arena. **From such a Congress to the creation of a strong party of labor would be a small step.**

Comrade Weiss expressed his pleasure at the rebirth of the Pittsburgh Branch of the Socialist Workers Party and stated that its existence and growth represent the greatest guarantee that the workers in Pittsburgh will join the rest of the labor movement in its coming resurgence.

Virtually the entire audience contributed to the expenses of the tour and stayed for several hours to discuss with the visiting speaker and the group that sponsored the forum.

World Events

By Paul Abbott

MY LIFE, the autobiography of Leon Trotsky, has just been republished in French by Gallimard Publishers. It is translated from the Russian by Maurice Parijanine, with revisions by Alfred Rosmer from notes made by Trotsky. The preface and appendix are also by Rosmer.

Following are excerpts from a review which appeared in the French periodical, L'Observateur:

He writes as a revolutionist, that is to say, as a man who wishes above all to understand, analyze, explain. . . My Life is unique, perhaps in all literature, not only as an autobiography, but because of this intimate fusion of a life, an epoch and a program. . . It is the dialogue of a man with History — History that he has made as much and more than he has submitted to it. . . It is so clear and so deep that the least reminiscence . . . takes on a Shakesperian resonance, with this difference, that the scene is always history . . . and one knows that these words have already directly affected the destiny of millions of men.

* * *

MALENKOV was back of the false charges that a group of doctors and "international Jewish organizations" had plotted to kill top Stalinist leaders, in the opinion of Harry Schwartz, Russian expert of the N. Y. Times.

Schwartz bases his deduction on the fact that when the frame-up was exposed, Semyon D. Ignatiev was made a scapegoat, being charged with "political blindness." He dropped out of sight.

Since the purge of Beria, under whom the frame-up was exposed, Ignatiev has reappeared. The Feb. 16 Izvestia announced that he has been made first secretary of the Communist Party in the Bashkir Republic.

It would thus appear that Malenkov, after cutting down Beria, rewarded one of his loyal henchmen who participated in the frame-up of the doctors.

* * *

SHUMABAY SHAYAKHMETOV, first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, one of the Soviet Union's largest Republics, has been purged, Moscow Radio announced Feb. 12. The reason given for dismissing him was that he gave Communist Party jobs to friends and relatives. He was replaced by Lt. Gen. Ponomarenko, former Soviet Minister of Culture.

On Feb. 13, the Republic's Premier Yelubai B. Taibekov was denounced along with the second secretary of the CP, Afonov.

Associated Press said Feb. 13 that "The first hint that Kazakhstan stood in the path of an actual purge came last Sunday when Premier Georgi M. Malenkov sent two Central Government aides to clean up the party organization."

* * *

A PURGE IN AZERBAIJAN was admitted by Tass, the Moscow news agency, Feb. 18. After a Communist Party congress scored "big shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the Central Committee and its bureau and in the work of the Councils of Ministers of the Republic," three new secretaries were named, I. D. Mustafiev, V. U. Samedov and M. A. Iskanderov. How many more were affected in the purge was not revealed.

* * *

THE STALINIST PURGE IN EAST GERMANY is still continuing. Wilhelm Zaisser, former head of the Soviet zone secret police, Rudolf Herrnstadt, former editor of the official East Zone Stalinist newspaper Neues Deutschland, and Hans Lauter, former head of the culture and education section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, were publicly expelled from the East German parliament Feb. 17.

Zaisser and Herrnstadt were made scapegoats for the uprising of the East German workers against the Stalinist regime last June 17. They were expelled last month from the party.

* * *

A MASS PURGE OF 3,011 members of the Communist Party took place during the last 17 months in Soviet Georgia, according to a broadcast from the official Tiflis radio monitored in London and reported by Reuters Feb. 21.

The purge was revealed by V. P. Mzhavanadze, party chief for the republic, as occurring between Sept. 1952 and Feb. 1, 1954. He asserted that the "overwhelming" majority had been expelled from the party for embezzlement and misappropriation of state, collective farm and cooperative funds.

Mzhavanadze denounced Beria, the former head of the secret police who was executed by Malenkov, declaring that Beria and his "criminal gang . . . these enemies and traitors got their just deserts."

He did not reveal what proportion of the victims were purged before and after Beria's downfall.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, MARCH 1, 1954 — NUMBER 9

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

'Right to Work' in Mississippi

The Mississippi House of Representatives passed a "right to work" bill Feb. 17 which had been passed by the Senate two weeks earlier and will soon be law, if it is not already, since the Governor indicated he would sign it.

This action by Mississippi should make Negro workers in particular take a good look at these "right to work" bills which have been passed in a number of states and are being introduced in others. How do they affect the Negro's right to work?

A lot of high-sounding language is used in the "right to work" bill to give the impression it is a measure to protect the individual worker against abuses by powerful unions. The bill prohibits denial of work because of membership or non-membership in a labor union; outlaws the "union" shop (in which all employees are required to join the union), and allows employers to refuse to "check off" members' union dues (even though the employees request the check off).

Some demagogues try to give colored workers the impression that such a law would protect their right to work in cases where unions discriminate against Negroes. This is so obviously false in Mississippi that it should reveal the true nature of these bills in others states as well.

Mississippi is just about the most benighted state in the country. From 1900 to 1952 there were more lynchings in that state than in any other. As of the 1950 census the 2,178,914 population included 990,282 colored, living, for the most part, in conditions as bad as any to be found in America.

It takes an intimate acquaintance with life in Mississippi to appreciate fully how great a hangover from the slave-holding past still exists there. But even the cold statistics of the World Almanac give an indication of it:

"A large plantation state, it was the second to join the Confederacy . . . A century of one-crop farming and erosion exhausted much of the soil and led to the introduction in the 1930's of crop rotation and soil conservation." Still, in 1952, the state produced more cotton than any state except Texas.

Only 27.9% of the population dwell in urban communities of 2,500 persons or more.

"Mississippi has 10 colleges and universities, 2 teachers colleges, 18 junior colleges and 12 institutions (sic) for Negroes."

Under such conditions, it should be clear that the "right to work" bill is intended only to prevent organization of unions; certainly not to better the lot of the majority of workers, white and colored. Those who howl the most for "right to work" bills on the ground that they protect the indivdual worker from discrimination also violently oppose Fair Employment Practices bills designed to bar discrimination in employment.

Another important point to note is that it is not just the Republicans who advocate these anti-union "right to work" bills. The Mississippi Legislature is 100% Democrat.

No bills which give employers weapons to use against union organization can advance the Negro's "right to work." Colored workers in the South, who know how powerless they are individually, can appreciate even better than many white workers the truth of the words from the song, "Solidarity Forever" —

"Yet what force on earth is weaker than
the feeble strength of one
"But the Union makes us strong!"

Another Fire

By Joyce Cowley

This was not a particularly big headline or a particularly big fire. Almost every week, you read about a similar fire somewhere in New York City. This one for some reason or other caught the eye of the city editor of the New York Post and he sent a reporter out to 2971 W. 25th St., Brooklyn.

Apparently, there was nothing illegal about conditions in this rooming house. The house was originally built for one or two families and there were 60 people living there at the time of the fire. But the building conforms to existing requirements.

The Post reporter found an elderly Negro woman poking among the ruins.

"I got to thinking," she said, "while we were in the shelter. I was hoping that we might have something left, but —. We didn't want to move here, but where could we go? They tore down the house where my man was Superintendent in Harlem."

She added that she thought $15 a week was too much for one room, but there were only five people in her room, not as bad as the room upstairs where there were nine.

As I said, the Buildings and Housing Dept. reported that 2971 was a legal rooming house. It didn't have fire escapes but it had a hall sprinkler system.

"There was no water coming out of the sprinkler in the hall when we got out that morning," said the old woman.

A teen-age girl explained: "The lady what owns the house was here last night. She said she was having people in to fix it up. They were only closed up a month or so when they had that other fire here two years ago."

The Fire Dept. and the Police Dept. and the District Attorney's office and the Welfare Dept. all agree that the fire was "unfortunate," as indeed it was since two children died in the blaze. They are all conducting investigations. But "the lady what owns it" will fix up her rooming house and go into business again.

I doubt if they investigate the real-estate lobby that dictates the "requirements" for these rooming houses. They won't investigate the laws that are rigged in favor of landlords who feel that making money is more important that safeguarding people's lives. They probably won't explain why city departments fail to enforce the laws we've got. They certainly won't put the landlord in jail. I don't know of a single landlord in jail in New York City. Not one.

I wonder how many people will be killed in next week's fire?

Notes from the News

SOUTHERN PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS FIGHT JIM CROW FIRING. 150 members of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers have been on strike for several weeks against the Dressed Beef Company in Kansas City, Mo. The u...n, 60% of whom are white, walked out when the company fired a union steward with eight years seniority who had been the first Negro to be upgraded to a skilled job. Answering the company's charge that he was a "troublemaker," the victimized steward, Thomas J. Brown declared, "They didn't want any Negroes in the boning department and the union had to exert pressure to get me the job I was entitled to . . . and I am not a troublemaker unless insisting on my rights as a union worker makes me one." The union membership voted unanimously to maintain their picket line after the company refused to negotiate the grievance.

* * *

RESERVES LACK JOINERS. Lt. General Palmer told a National Defense Week luncheon in New York that of 900,000 men separated from the service last year "less than 5% have joined a national guard or reserve unit." The General complained that the Army gets only about six months of useful work out of a draftee doing a two-year hitch because of the time spent in basic training, specialist schooling, traveling and furloughs. "Therefore," he said, "when we get a man trained we want to hold on to him."

* * *

THE CHICAGO LOCAL of the Socialist Workers Party has moved to a new and larger headquarters at 777 W. Adams. The new offices and meeting hall will be opened to the public March 6 at 8:30 P.M. when Murry Weiss, staff writer of the Militant, will speak on "McCarthyism: What It Is and How to Fight It."

* * *

"THERE IS MORE JIM CROWISM in America at 11 o'clock on Sunday morning than any other time," said Rev. R.J. McCracken in a sermon Feb. 20 at New York's Riverside Church. Denouncing "that observance of Christianity which says one thing and does another," the minister declared, "The shameful fact is that the churches, South and North, are among the most segregated institutions in America." Many Negroes and Chinese are members of the Riverside Church.

* * *

LABOR PRESS ASSOCIATION DISSOLVED. The nation's only major labor news service, which provided 150 AFL, CIO and independent union papers with daily news copy, cartoons and feature material has been suspended after a five-year life. Announcing the suspension, LPA director Ruben Levin, also editor of the rail union paper, Labor, said the cause was an annual deficit of about $13,000. Such an amount could have been easily underwritten by any number of the powerful unions supporting the service. The decision to dissolve LPA is particularly regrettable, coming at a time when the unions should be moving forward to establishing their own daily national paper, one capable of taking up the cudgels against the growing menace of unemployment and McCarthyite fascism.

* * *

MONTGOMERY-WARD GETS OFF CHEAP. A Chicago court has ordered the Montgomery Ward Co. to pay $250,000 in damages to Local 20 of the United Mail Order, Warehouse & Retail Employees Union, CIO. The award came after 11 year of litigation arising out of the company's defiance of an NLRB ruling to recognize the union. Without a contract since that time, the union's membership has declined from 4,000 to 70. The company would find it profitable to pay ten times the amount of the award for the privilege of maintaining an open shop.

* * *

"THE SLANDER OF REPUTATION, the assassination of character, the destruction of careers, is not the property of McCarthy alone," declares the February issue of the Catholic Worker. "It is part of a program instituted by a **liberal** administration (the 'Fair Deal') and carried out by Eisenhower. But the reaction to this kind of revelation is an even more disturbing element. First, that the Democratic, liberal-labor line is increasingly becoming a boast that it was 'we' who put the Communists in jail, 'we' who started the loyalty and security program, etc. Thus, President Truman. The defense against witch-hunting is to boast that you started it!"

* * *

THE FINGERPRINTS OF NEARLY HALF the population are now in the files of the FBI. Of the 70 million people whose prints are in the files of America's secret police, 60 million are noncriminal. Included are the prints of immigrants, applicants for citizenship, defense workers, the armed forces, federal employees and applicants, taxi drivers, etc.

* * *

NO "WIDOW'S MITE." Congressional opponents of the proposed law to reduce the federal tax on dividends charge that they have an Internal Revenue Bureau report which shows that 70% of all dividend payments go to 3% of the nation's taxpayers.

SIX VICTIMS SENTENCED IN DETROIT LABOR CASE

DETROIT, Feb. 19 — Six leading members of the Michigan Communist party, convicted under the Smith "Gag" Act of "conspiracy" to overthrow the government by "force and violence," have been ordered held in bail totalling $112,500 pending appeal.

The six newest victims of the infamous law, under which the mere holding of unpopular political opinions suffices to establish "conspiracy," have been sentenced to prison terms of four to five years, and the maximum fine — $10,000 each.

The jury reached its verdict in less than seven hours after hearing a strongly biased charge by presiding Judge Picard.

The bulk of the "evidence" against the defendants consisted of testimony offered by renegade Stalinists and FBI stool-pigeons planted in the Communist Party. One such stool-pigeon was revealed to have been in the pay of both the FBI and the Ford Motor Company.

The maximum penalty of five years was given to Nat Ganley. The other sentences were, Helen Winters and William Allen, four years, Saul Wellman, four years and eight months, Thomas Dennis, four years and six months, Phillip Schatz, four years and four months.

The trial marks the fifth time the Smith Act has been used against the Communist Party. It was initially utilized in 1941 to railroad to prison 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party for their anti-war and pro-socialist views.

Forty-one Stalinists have now been convicted under the Act. Six other groups are now under indictment and awaiting trial in various states.

In a statement to the press after being sentenced, the defendants pointed out the impossibility of getting a fair trial in the present reactionary atmosphere and declared that they were "victims of McCarthyism and Congressional investigations approaching the Salem witch hunts."

...MASS CARAVAN

(Continued from page 1)

we are fortunate the layoffs have not come [in Flint Chevrolet], but the workers at the Assembly Plant and Pressed Metal Division, principally, are being forced to live on thirty-two hours per week."

This same point is strongly stressed by Carl Stellato, President of UAW Ford Local 600, with more than 55,000 members. In the Feb. 13 issue of Ford Facts, he declares: "We again raise the question of a 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay. To some in our union this may seem repetitious, but to ignore it would be tragic!

"Even now all over the country shops are working on a shorter week basis. Chevrolet is working 32 hours a week, and the workers are receiving 32 hours' pay. We now have a short work week. The only question is WILL WE FIGHT FOR 40 HOURS' PAY?"

EMERGENCY CONVENTION

Listing the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay as the first point of a 10-point program to combat unemployment, Stellato warns: "We feel that this program should be taken off paper and put into action. We feel that the first step in this direction would be the calling of an emergency convention of the UAW-CIO." **Local 600 has previously urged the UAW to sponsor a National Congress of Labor to mobilize all the unions in a united fight against unemployment.**

Stellato is especially emphatic in proposing to push the "30 for 40" program as a contract demand right now. In this connection he raises the issue of scrapping Reuther's five-year contracts.

"No one can deny that we are faced with an emergency. We must bear in mind that it may be necessary to scrap the five-year contracts in 1954 rather than wait until '55. Our 'living documents' must be evaluated in the light of present conditions. **If we wait too long to fight we may be too weak to fight. '55 may be too little and too late."**

The urgent need for action and for a fight to win the shorter work week with no loss of take-home pay has so far been ducked by Walter Reuther, president of both the UAW and the CIO. He has done a lot of complaining and whining in letters to Eisenhower about how bad the unemployment situation is, but he does nothing to mobilize the union workers for independent action to improve conditions.

He has consistently refused to push the program of the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, although he paid lip service to it at the last UAW convention, where his resolution said it would become "an immediate, practical and urgent issue as soon as it becomes possible to produce in less than 40 hours the goods and services needed to provide high and satisfactory living standards."

Now that hundreds of thousands of auto workers are being "automated" out of jobs and reduced to short work weeks and short pay, Reuther has no immediate program to offer except to plead with General Motors and the other auto companies to continue the 40-hour work week. **But what's important is that the workers continue at the living standard of a 40-hour week, and insist that the companies continue to pay that standard while operating on a 30-hour work-week basis to keep all the workers employed.**

GIVE UP BENEFITS

Not only is Reuther missing a golden moment for pushing for the shorter work week with no loss of pay, but his lieutenants are using the pretext of mass unemployment in various parts of the country to give away previously won benefits.

Thus, Richard T. Gosser, a UAW vice president, has taken the lead in the so-called Toledo Industrial Development Council, an employer-labor collaboration set-up, to secure jobs for some of the city's 16,500 unemployed by inviting plants to locate in the area under agreement to set aside certain union contract conditions.

Gosser helped to negotiate a contract with the Allied Chemical Company, it is reported, that cancelled traditional union overtime provisions. As a condition for purchasing a plant in Toledo and hiring an additional 500 workers, the company demanded that the UAW contract permit seven-day shifts without overtime for Saturday and Sunday work, which the previous contract provided. "That was a tough one," said Gosser, "but we went along. Allied wouldn't have bought the plant unless we had and we wanted it here."

The way to fight unemployment, however, is not by offering the corporations sweat-shop conditions. It is along the road pointed out by Local 659 and Local 600. It is through a program to protect the jobs and take-home pay of all the workers and through mass union action to win this program.

Extradition Balked

DONALD RITCHIE, key witness to solution of 1948 shotgun shooting of CIO Pres. Walter P. Reuther. Ritchie, paid $5,000 by the United Auto Workers for naming Reuther's alleged assailant, slipped from a loose Detroit police guard and escaped to Canada. Authorities there dismissed extradition proceedings Feb. 18 on grounds the $5,000 payment constituted an "inducement," making the information inadmissible in court.

Carey Testifies

Testifying before Senate Labor Committee against proposed Taft-Hartley amendments, CIO Sec.-Treas. James B. Carey (above) clashed with Sen. Barry Goldwater (R. Ariz.), who complained that he was part of a captive audience and was tired of listening to labor. "You can come late and leave early," Carey told the senator. "You aren't a captive audience. No boss can fire you if you don't attend these sessions."

Bay Area Unions Welcome Book by Legless Veteran

James Kutcher's book, The Case of the Legless Veteran, is beginning to make an impact on the labor movement as favorable as the impact made on it by his courageous fight against the witch hunt, which began in 1948.

Only one daily newspaper has given the book any publicity; all the others have used the fact that the book had to be printed in England as a pretext for ignoring it.

Despite this, the book is getting around, being sold and finding an appreciative audience. The credit for this achievement goes to sympathizers of Kutcher's fight for reinstatement in the government clerical job from which he was purged, readers of the Militant, local members of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, and people who have read the book themselves and want others to know about its absorbing story and lessons for the fight against McCarthyism.

In the San Francisco-Bay Area, for example, the San Francisco CIO Council and the Greater Alameda County CIO Council have both ordered blocs of the book. This demonstrates their support of Kutcher's fight for reinstatement and makes copies available to CIO members unable to buy it themselves.

In the same area Chevrolet Local 1030 and Amalgamated Local 76 of the UAW-CIO have also purchased blocs of the Kutcher book.

In addition, Spark Plug, official paper of Local 1030, printed an article on the book in its Feb. 16 issue. "The book is written in a simple and interesting fashion, and is very informative," says the article, reviewing the main events in Kutcher's six-year fight. It concludes:

"It is encouraging to see our local take such a firm stand for the defense of civil rights at a time when the witch hunters and redbaiters have begun an all-out attack on their main objective — the trade unions and minority groups. For only if the labor movement as a whole takes a firm stand can McCarthyism and 'subversive'-listism be prevented from developing into an American brand of fascism."

"An interesting book" was also the estimate made in a front-page article in the Feb. 11 issue of Ohio Works Organizer, paper of Local 1330 of the CIO United Steelworkers, Youngstown. The article points out that all royalties from the book will be donated to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee to aid its continuing efforts to win justice for the legless veteran in the courts.

The Case of the Legless Veteran was published by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. It sells for $1.

CHICAGO
Public Meeting
McCARTHYISM
What it is and How to Fight It
Hear
MURRY WEISS
One of the Country's Outstanding Speakers and Writers
Saturday, March 6, 8:30 P.M.
Socialist Workers Hall
777 W. Adams Street

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum
presents a talk on
"I Accuse McCarthy of Being Anti-Semitic, Anti-Negro and Anti-Labor"
Speaker:
George Breitman
Friday, March 5, at 8:30 P.M.
at 52 Market Street

Curran Clique Splits as Crisis Flares in NMU

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Feb. 18 — The top leadership of the CIO National Maritime Union has split. United for the past seven years on a program of expelling all opposition-ists, they have now turned on each other.

CURRAN

The current crisis takes place on the eve of the union's general election and was precipitated by the exposure of considerable corruption in the union's largest port, New York.

The owner of a cafe across from the union hall admitted that he had been part of a group, including a number of top officials of the NMU, that had sold membership books in the union over a period of time. His admission in the form of a letter to National Secretary Neal Hanley was used by Hanley to consolidate a group in the top leadership to oppose the union's National Treasurer, Hedley Stone and other officials. Siding with Hanley were Vice-President Hulbert Warner, Galveston Agent John Moriarity and the New York Port Committee.

Moriarity organized the movement which was instrumental in consolidating the victory of the present gang in 1949. The principal charges of the Hanley-Warner-Moriarity group were that Stone and others were anti-Negro and that the top officials did not permit a union investigation of the corruption in the Port of New York.

Joseph Curran, President of the union, played no part in the first break up that occurred. He had been sick for some time and virtually out of activity. Upon his return to activity, he intervened directly against the opposition grouping. Charging them with being agents of outside interests with a union-busting program, he proceeded to organize a campaign now in progress which will culminate either in their expulsion or capitulation.

The background of this internal struggle in the top leadership is the steady decline in shipping. Nearly twice as many ships are tied up and out of commission as are still sailing. The steady growth in unemployment prepares favorable ground for shipowner and government attack against the maritime unions. It also provides new opportunities for corrupt and cynical union officials to "get theirs and get out."

The observations of a union rank-and-file seaman writing in the current issue of the union's newspaper, the Pilot, are in refreshing contrast to the bombast and repetitious self-adulation in the official editorial line. In his letter he warns that he has had his "ear to the keel of the ship NMU, and there is a ground swell that is getting larger and larger.

"Before it turns into a tidal wave, someone should put in writing in the organ of the membership . . . the questions, opinions and arguments that are bandied about from time to time in bars, on street corners, at coffee time and early evening hours aboard ship, in hotel lobbies and rooms and corners of the different Union halls." The rest of his letter is a graphic description of the steady deterioration in working conditions that he has himself observed.

This dissatisfaction and apprehension finds only the vaguest reflection in the current faction struggle. The opposition group calls attention to the censorship and dictatorship that is now used against them, and decries the methods of McCarthyism practised by the Curran group. But they themselves helped fashion the oppressive and anti-democratic regime which rules the NMU today.

Nevertheless it is too simple to dismiss the struggle as a falling out of thieves. The history of the labor movement affords many precedents of just such a split and struggle foreshadowing and precipitating a movement in the ranks of great significance.

TO MOTHER--A DAUGHTER OF THE ABOLITIONISTS

By Belle Montague

My mother, Belle Bartlett Montague, died January 18, at the age of 86.

She was an ardent sympathizer of the Socialist Workers Party, and although her income was very tiny, she saved nickels and dimes, bit by bit, as her donation to the cause. Almost her last act in life was to send a contribution to the Boston branch.

She admired the SWP, considering it the most determined fighter against Wall Street that existed anywhere.

Mother judged every person and every party by that standard — what was the attitude of the person or party toward Wall Street and its crimes against humanity.

She refused a visit from a clergyman at the hospital: She said, "You had better not send him to see me! I might ask him what he was doing when Wall Street's bombs fell upon millions of helpless people and condemned them to death in flames or hideous mutilation!"

She enjoyed writing letters to politicians, accusing them of being tools of the capitalist class, condemning them for their crimes against the human race, taunting them with prophecies of their eventual doom.

She was born in 1867, just two years after the close of the great conflict against the southern slave-owners, in which her father fought.

She often said: "My father was an abolitionist against slavery; I am an abolitionist against capitalism! The time has come to abolish all exploitation forever!"

She was once asked if she believed that capitalists should be compensated for their losses, in the event of a socialist victory.

She replied, "Exactly as they compensated previous ruling classes for their losses, penny for penny, dollar for dollar!"

Her last debate was with an army officer. She asked him to explain the crimes of the U.S. army against non-combatants. His reply was evasive; he said that his best friend attended a theater in Moscow and saw an anti-American play, depicting U.S. atrocities against children; he strongly condemned Moscow for allowing such a play on the stage.

My mother asked, "But why do you commit crimes against children? And why did you become a puppet of Wall Street in the first place?"

He left the house vanquished, without another word.

I always marveled at how well Mother could see the truth of things like that.

I especially remember her indignation at prison sentences and executions, meted out to those who had done so little harm compared to the crimes of the ruling class, and she always insisted that the ruling class itself should be held responsible for every crime, as it creates and maintains the conditions that cause violent actions of man against man.

Mother was an internationalist through and through — her conscience never ceased to function at the national boundaries. She was just as indignant over the burning of Tokyo in 1945, as though Boston, or even Cambridge, had been set ablaze.

To the entire human race, she was a friend; equally interested in people, no matter in what part of the world they resided.

To her friends, she was like a mother — in fact, they often addressed her as such.

To me, she was everything — mother, sister, companion, friend — ever since I can remember.

A dear, wonderful woman has departed from us; I shall miss her all the days of my life.

Mississippi is the fifteenth state to enact legislation outlawing the union shop. Only railway workers are exempted from the law. A state Representative says the statute will aid in attracting new industry to the state.