

AUTOMATION -- THE NEW THREAT TO YOUR JOB

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Build a Labor Party Now!

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Storm Clouds Mass Over U.S. Economy

By Art Preis

If American economy stays fixed at the 1953 highest level in history — producing a gross national product priced at \$367 billion — we will be in a serious depression with eight to 10 million unemployed within four years. If economic activity declines just 5% will have 8 to 10 million unemployed within two years.

It is the capitalist business cycle going down. Even the most conservative capitalist economists ask freely of a 5% to 7% "general dip" in production this year. But that's just an arbitrary figure. There isn't one of these economists who would bet his job there won't be a 10% or 15% drop or even a tumble right to the bottom of the hill, barring a big inflationary increase of government war spending.

The capitalist economists have no more scientific basis for their forecasts than did the ancient high priests seeing omens in the smoking entrails of freshly-killed sacrifices. Lawrence Fertig, in the Jan. 4 N.Y. World Telegram, admits that "all predictions are pure

guesses... We do know that industrial production reached a peak last May and is headed downward. At what point it will level off we do not know."

The Administration has been very reticent about the actual production decline that has already taken place, the way people used to be about talking of a disease like syphilis. By Nov. 30, 1953, national industrial production fell 5.1% from July, the month the Korean truce began; 6% from the March peak. The November figure was already 2.3% below Nov. 1952 — almost half-way to the 5% which the capitalist economists pray will be the stopping point. And, as John G. Forrest, financial and business editor, reported in the Jan. 4 N.Y. Times special Business Review section, "Figures (production) for December will show a rather sharp drop..."

Some Sick "Vital Organs"

Total production figures and forecasts, however, can be very misleading, like judging the health of a man with a deadly heart disease by "averaging" it with a sound liver and strong lungs. The most significant economic figures often relate to a or even one of the most vital organs" or "nerve centers" of economy.

For instance, is the basic of modern industrialism, the fall in steel output is to mean that a commensurate drop in many other fields of ion is anticipated. For the starting Dec. 21, Dec. 28 n. 4, actual steel output respectively 64.1%, 74.3% of rated capacity, com- 102% a year ago.

er, reports the Jan. 4 et Journal, "Steel men t output this year to run between 95 million and 100 million tons, which would mean a drop of 10% to 15% from 1953." Thus, anticipated production of the most basic industry is expected to drop two and three times as much as the economists "predict" production in general will decline.

The Facts on Unemployment

Thus, in auto, this most crucial consumers durable goods industry, as in steel, the actual expected decline is double and triple the "general" figure for 1954, production that the wishful-thinking economists pull out of their hats like a rabbit. Similar figures for other industries belie the "general" picture of the economic soothsayers. And freight-car loadings in Nov. 1953 had already declined 10% over Nov. 1952 — an

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

But the resolution adopted by the UAW conference not only "accepts" capitalism. It advocates Reuther's utopian theory that capitalism can be made to work. And it tries to package labor's struggle for full employment with the foreign policy of Big Business. Thus the resolution tries to serve two contradictory class interests — the war-making, depression-producing interests of Big Business, and the aspiration of American labor to achieve full employment and a higher standard of living.

This attempt to reconcile the economic needs of the workers with the profit needs of the employers undermines the effectiveness of the resolution. It replaces fighting demands with efforts to convince "enlightened" businessmen.

Racist Mob Tries to Burn Out Tenants

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

Incited by local "lily white" real-estate interests, a mob of more than 200 last night hurled firebombs at the buildings and shouted threats to the Negro tenants.

Police say the mob was dispersed in about two hours.

Similar violence first broke out in Trumbull Park last August when Donald Howard, a Negro postal clerk, moved in with his wife and two children. The Howards were the very first Negro family to move into this tax-built development, which had been kept all-white for fifteen years in violation of the public-housing law.

FAMILY HOLDS FIRM

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

"We are going to stay and fight it out," declared Mrs. Howard at the time. "But it's hard to understand. When they're taking men into the Army they don't worry about their color, but when you try to find a decent place to live it's a different matter."

POLICE NO OBSTACLE

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

Despite the existence of a permanent police "guard" at the development, a second outbreak of hoodlum violence erupted last Oct. 14, when three more Negro families moved into the project.

Again the ugly mob gathered to hurl epithets, tomatoes and rocks at the families.

Only four people were arrested by police in this most recent mob attack. Another five were picked up in the second one and a slightly larger number in the original outbreak.

NO SERIOUS PENALTY

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

Is This America's Future?



Does this scene foreshadow the fate in store for millions of American workers? This picture, made last July, shows men camped out for almost five days on sidewalk line waiting to apply for New York City laborer jobs paying from \$51.90 to \$59 a week. Some 7,500 were on the line when applications were finally handed out. Number of jobs open? 180.

DETROIT SWP EXPOSES COUGHLIN'S DEMAGOGY

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

At which Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Secretary, will speak on "How to Fight Fascism."

Father Coughlin, notorious anti-union radio priest of the Thirties, on Dec. 4 re-entered the political arena after a 14-year silence imposed on him by the Catholic hierarchy for reasons of political expediency. Coughlin made his re-entry with a demagogic appeal aimed at Detroit workers, calling for a guaranteed annual wage, trade with China and lifting of all taxes from production-line workers.

Branding Coughlin as the "most infamous of the American fascists of the 30's," whose "bitter attack on the CIO United Auto Workers in 1939 aroused so much protest from union workers that he was forced to retreat," the Socialist Workers Party leaflet "calls upon the labor movement

to convene a Congress of Labor

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

Pointing to the insecurity

arising from growing fear of un-

employment and war, the leaflet

warns, "This terrible insecurity

is the breeding ground for Mc-

Cartism, the basis of Cough-

lin's demagogic. But the Coughlins and McCarthy have no solution

[to these problems]. . . Their aim

is the destruction of the labor

movement, the end of freedom.

They want concentration camps,

military discipline, and slave

labor in America."

During the depression Thirties,

Coughlin inspired the Christian

Front, a national network of

anti-Semitic fascist gangs. The

Socialist Workers Party, played

a leading part in mobilizing labor

opposition to the fascist hood-

lums.

Just a "lunatic fringe?"

says: "If you curtail production due to your private profit in-

terests, don't expect us to become paupers in the process. We are not

going to be thrown out on the streets as in 1930 because of your mismanagement. If you can't

produce at full capacity, get out of our way and we will show you how."

This anti-capitalist element in the demand runs

against the grain of the labor

bureaucrats.

NO FLOOR FIGHT

Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, who led the fight for the 30-hour week demand at the last UAW Convention, explains why there was no floor fight at the Washington conference for the demand: "When Brother Reuther took the position that the question of a shorter work week would be re-evaluated in a collective bargaining conference, he was held in the latter part of 1954 — just prior to the '55 contract negotiations we were completely satisfied."

He is even twisting the Guaranteed Annual Wage into a scheme to create a privileged caste of "favored" high-seniority workers who are given a measure of security while the mass of the production workers are left out in the cold.

(3) The 30-hour week demand implies that the workers have no confidence in the ability of the unemployed and the destruction of

McCarthy Financed by Jew-Baiter

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

This is part of the additional information on the big money behind McCarthy presented in the Jan. 2 Labor, organ of the Railway Brotherhoods. Basing itself on recent Milwaukee Journal material, Labor helps to fill out the picture of the sinister figures subsidizing America's No. 1 fascist.

"I don't worry about Russia," Biggers said. "We could shut up in 48 hours. Just give 'em an ultimatum." The real "danger" to America, he claimed, "is being swallowed up by liberalism, socialism or whatever you want to call it." He added, "The Republicans are all through unless they embrace McCarthyism completely."

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

Listed as one of McCarthy's earliest supporters is H. R. Culkin, Houston oil man, who has accumulated several hundred million dollars. In 1952 he made the biggest contribution reported by McCarthy's Wisconsin campaign club. Dallas oil man E. B. Germany, also president of the \$135-million Lone Star Steel company, is reported to have helped finance a national television hookup for McCarthy during the 1952 campaign.

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

H. B. Beck, president of the Superior Oil Company, with headquarters in Los Angeles, makes his company plane available for McCarthy's jaunts, says Labor. John Fox, who piled up \$18 million, mostly in oil and gas, since 1945, is also said to lend his personal plane to McCarthy and recently bought a big newspaper, the Boston Post, to beat the drums for him.

Austin Hancock, Dallas insurance executive, has set up the American Heritage Protective Association, which he uses to boost McCarthy for president in 1954.

Just a "lunatic fringe?"

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

By Murry Weiss

On Jan. 5, the day before the second session of the 83rd Congress opened, Senator McCarthy hit the headlines with a harsh denunciation of rumors that he had agreed to "curb the red hunt." These rumors, he said, were "deliberate lying." Thus once again the fascist senator

from Wisconsin smashed the

perennial hope that he will

voluntarily give up the rabid

witch-hunting drive that has

brought him a big middle-class

following, a leading position in

Congress, tremendous financial

backing, and political power suf-

cient to make him a serious

contender for presidency of the

United States.

Coupled with the premature reports of McCarthy's "abdication" came announcements of Democratic Party strategy to "control McCarthy," "curb McCarthy," and even "stop McCarthy." Maneuvers were under way to line up a Congressional anti-McCarthy bloc of Democrats and Republicans.

In the past McCarthy's tactic

was to maintain a cautious silence when such reports appeared. This time he lashed back brutally. He announced that he would continue "roughly" to "expose Communists." As an ominous note of warning to the Republican high command, he added that he intended to follow this course, "even if these exposures 'embarrass' the Eisenhower Admini-

stration."

CHALLENGE DEMOCRATS

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

Thus McCarthy, having tested his independent forces in the

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skirmish following Attorney General Brownell's "spy" smear of ex-President Truman and in his "no blood-trade" with China tele-

gram campaign, swings a double-edged axe and yells at both

Republican and Democratic would-

be opponents: Get out of my way!

We have repeatedly witnessed how the "anti-McCarthy" stalwarts of the two capitalist parties scatter and run for cover when they see the Wisconsin senator in that mood. What will the out-

come be this time? It can be predicted with certainty. They'll run again. What sense then is

there in depending, as the liberals

and labor officials do, on such "heroes" to stop the anti-labor

fascist menace?

There are three "plans" under consideration in the Democratic Party for "stopping McCarthy."

(1) To persuade the Senate to

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TAX STEW WILL GIVE WORKERS INDIGESTION

By Harry Ring

Did you ever hear the old wheeze about the

Automation--the New Threat to Your Job

By Joseph Keller

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Trotsky's Analysis Sheds Light on McCarthyism

By George Breitman

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

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

A HISTORICAL LAW

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

And further on in the same article:

"Both theoretical analysis as well as the rich historical ex-

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

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

OBJECTIONS

But some readers of the above quotations see in them objections to our analysis that McCarthyism is the American form of fascism, that it is growing rapidly, and that it constitutes a grave fascist danger in the United States today. The objections are presented in this way:

"What you say might be logical and consistent if the conditions Trotsky listed were merely the premises for the victory of fascism. But he also said that they were the premises for the strengthening of fascism, its stormy rise and its swift formation as a party. When you say that McCarthyism is a grave and growing fascist menace, do you seriously believe that the premises listed by Trotsky for such a conclusion actually exist in the United States today — that

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

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

WHAT TROTsky MEANT

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

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

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

time to act before the McCarthyite rat-pack and put them on the run.

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

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

MUST FIGHT POLITICALLY

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

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

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

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

AROUSED THE COMMUNITY

The example of the Longshoremen has a deeper significance. The San Francisco ILWU is one of the key unions in the country. It was from the cadres of this union that the whole West Coast labor movement of the modern era was built. Its militancy in fighting for labor is unequalled. It has been the target of the with hunters ever since the San Francisco general strike of 1934.

And yet the McCarthyites are powerless before this union. They were practically driven out of the city as the political strike aroused all the anti-McCarthyite forces in the community to vigorous action.

The McCarthyites know that when they attack the Longshoremen they are taking on the whole West Coast working class. It is a risky undertaking.

There is a profound lesson in this. The real power against fascism is in the working class and its mass organizations. Until the anti-McCarthy forces, and above all the labor movement, learn this lesson, McCarthy's fascist advance faces no serious obstacle.

organized opposition actively engaged in preventing them from carrying their preparations further.

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

There still remains one important question, however. What about the social crisis (on which so many other factors depend, including working class radicalization, middle class yearning for a change, etc.) — is there or isn't there a social crisis?

We freely concede that in this country today there is not yet a "social crisis of intolerable acuteness," as Trotsky described pre-Hitlerite Germany in 1932. But we don't mean by that to imply that elements of social crisis are altogether lacking from the American picture right now.

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

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

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

THE MILITANT AREA

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

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

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

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

Xmas Gift

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

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Three Views on Depression

Here are three views on the coming depression:

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

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

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

Wagner and the Stalinists

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

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

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

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

Thus everyone got paid off. Wagner ended the family tiff with the section of the Democratic party "headed by James A. Farley, the Coca Cola magnate and ardent Franco espouser." Impellitteri, who raised subway fares from a dime to 15 cents, was fixed up for life with a not bad stipend for services rendered.

And the Stalinists had the pleasure and satisfaction of seeing how well their election policy of bucking independent labor party politics and supporting a "lesser evil" candidate turned out.

The "New Criticism" Under Malenkov

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

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

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

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Monday, January 11, 1954

"And Thanks from One Agitator to Another"

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

Los Angeles, Calif.
December 29, 1953

Dear Jim,

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

When you started to write the story of your case, I suppose it never occurred to you that your life, being very little different from that of millions of others, would have any special interest except as background material. In

your opening chapters you seem to be hesitant about introducing personal matters into the account of a celebrated political case, in which you just happened to be the man in the middle.

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

A MODEL EXAMPLE

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

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

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

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

GUIDING THOUGHT

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

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

NEW TESTS

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

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

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

to this division of labor. You can, and no doubt will, say: "Why, I did nothing but tell what I saw and experienced and felt and thought it as the son of a working-class family in high school, in the long depression, in the war, and then in the witch hunt. I'm not much different from the others. I just happened to come into contact with the socialist movement — that made all the difference and changed my whole life."

But that's just the point, Jim.

In your book you speak, in anticipation, for millions of others like yourself, who will also come into contact with socialist ideas.

That will make all the difference for them too, and with that little difference they will change this country and change the world.

Anyone who helps to disseminate these change-making ideas, in a form and language accessible to the American worker as he is, is helping thereby to change this country and the world.

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

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

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

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

SPEAKS FOR MILLIONS

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

But that's just the point, Jim. In your book you speak, in anticipation, for millions of others like yourself, who will also come into contact with socialist ideas. That will make all the difference for them too, and with that little difference they will change this country and change the world.

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

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

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

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

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

working in the field for a year."

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

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

INSPIRING BOOK

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

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

But after all, the party is what counts and the party line comes first. None of us can do much by himself if the party line is not straight. If the party's policy is wrong and the leadership is inadequate, the work of international ideas and associations are not a substitute for work on the national field.

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

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James P. Cannon

Storm Clouds Mass Over Economy of U.S.

(Continued from page 1) as \$4,734,000, with 1,562,000 unemployed. In October, the civilian labor force — despite population growth — was put at 63,404,000; that is, 1,330,000 less than four months previously. But October unemployment was reported at only 1,162,000, about 400,000 below June. They just wiped out more than a million of the labor force, as if with an H-bomb, and then eradicated hundreds of thousands of unemployed with a statistical A-bomb.

FACTS THEY CONCEAL

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

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

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

It

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Come and Marry Me"

By Joyce Cowley

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

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

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

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

Everyone laughed.

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

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

Notes from the News

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LAND OF THE FREE. January is "registration" month for some two and a half million aliens. Under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950 all foreign-born residents who are not naturalized citizens are required to register yearly, with parents registering for children under fourteen. Aliens are required to carry their registration cards at all times.

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

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

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

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

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

Crisis in Italy Worries Wall Street

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

Pella became premier as a "caretaker" government until a new cabinet was formed. Once

more hopes were raised in capitalist circles that a stable cabinet could be formed around Pella.

These hopes were enhanced by the popularity Pella gained in whipping up chauvinist hysteria on the Trieste issue.

The immediate issue on which

Pella has been forced to resign, throws light on the social and economic background of the political crisis. Pella attempted to reshuffle his interim cabinet and install Salvatore Aldisio, a landed baron, as Minister of Agriculture.

Pella's appointment of a Monar-

chian baron proved too raw and the

Christian Democratic par-

liamentary group unanimously

voted to reaffirm their "land

reform" program. This provoked

Pella's resignation.

A Jan. 5 N.Y. Times editorial

says, "This is bad news for the

west." They regret the "weakened

governmental structure" at a

time when the European Defense

Community is up for a vote. They

Going Nowhere in Italy



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

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Recent reports also indicate that the Italian Communist Party, the largest Stalinist Party in western Europe, after a heavy decline is again beginning to pick up. This is symptomatic of the fact that the "labor unrest" tends to seek radical political expression. The crisis of the capitalist government is a reflection of the crisis of Italian society.

The Times editorial points out that "Italy faces labor unrest." This is an understatement. During December Italy witnessed two 24-hour general strikes of a nationwide character, both in private industry and in government. The strikes manifest the extreme dissatisfaction of the workers with their economic conditions. But all observers concede

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