

## UNEMPLOYMENT CLAIMS HIGHEST SINCE '45

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Build a Labor Party Now!

# THE MILITANT

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### Weiss Starts National Speaking Tour on McCarthyite Fascism

The Socialist Workers Party campaign to alert the labor movement against the fascist danger of McCarthyism will be stepped up Feb. 5 when Murry Weiss, one of the outstanding speakers in the socialist movement, will begin a three-month coast-to-coast lecture tour. His first speech will be given that night in Newark at 8:30 P.M. under the auspices of the Friday Night Socialist Forum, 52 Market St.

Murry Weiss is already well known to readers of the *Militant* for his penetrating analysis of McCarthyism and the current American political scene. Now 38 years old, he has been active in working-class political organizations as organizer, lecturer and writer since his early teens.

In 1932 he was expelled from the Young Communist League for his opposition to the Stalinist policies that permitted Hitler to come to power in Germany a year later. Since then he has worked energetically to build a new workers party based on the scientific program of Marxism. After World War II he took the lead in formulating the policy that helped smash Gerald L. K. Smith's efforts to build a mass fascist movement. He is now a member of the National Com-

mittee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The general subject of his tour will be "McCarthyism: What It Is and How to Fight It." Among the topics dealt with will be the following: McCarthyism — the American brand of fascism; can Eisenhower stop McCarthy?; why were the German, Italian and Spanish workers defeated by fascism — lessons for American labor; the Democratic Party and the labor movement in the 1954 elections; an analysis of the liberal, official labor, Stalinist and Social-Democratic programs against McCarthyism; the threat of depression and the effect it will have on the development of McCarthyism on one side and on the radicalization of the working class on the other; McCarthyism and the threat of World War III; the SWP program against McCarthyism.

After speaking in Newark, Weiss will be heard in Philadelphia at the Militant Labor Hall, 1303 W. Girard Ave., on Sunday, Feb. 7, at 8:30 P.M.

There will be question-and-answer periods after each speech on the tour in which the audience will have ample opportunity to participate in discussion of the problems of McCarthyism and the struggle against it.

DETROIT, Jan. 23 — Sentiment is growing among CIO auto workers here for open resistance to the threatened second invasion of this city by the anti-labor House Un-American Activities Committee, headed by notorious witch-hunter Rep. Velde. Velde follows closely the methods of Sen. McCarthy. A subcommittee of the House body, led by Rep. Clardy (R. Mich.), mouthpiece of the auto corporations, is scheduled to return on Feb. 22 for a further inquisition and smear of auto unionists.

The latest resolution expressing hostility and defiance of the forthcoming "probe" was adopted by the executive board of CIO United Automobile Workers Local 742, representing 3,200 workers of the Briggs Connor plant of Chrysler corporation. This resolution is patterned on ones already adopted by Ford Local 600 here and GM Local 659 in Flint, where the House union-haters are also scheduled to appear.

Local 742's resolution states that the board and membership of the local "will not in any way cooperate with this undemocratic committee" and calls on its membership and the UAW International Executive Board "to oppose the Un-American Activities Committee coming into Detroit, Flint and Lansing." It offers "every aid possible, including financial aid for legal defense of any member who is dragged before the Committee."

The House smear committee is anxious to do a big job of intimidation and victimization in Detroit, as it did in 1952 when it had the cooperation of Walter Reuther, CIO and UAW President. Velde wants to recoup the prestige he lost in San Francisco recently when he had to beat a retreat and halt his hearings ahead of time before the protest strike action of the Longshoremen.

Velde thinks he has a pushover in Michigan because, when his committee came to Detroit in Feb. 1952 and launched an attack on Ford Local 600, Reuther treacherously joined the witch-hunt assault on the country's largest union local and its leaders who opposed his union policies. A Reutherite international representative appeared as a stool pigeon and "friendly" witness before the House hearings in

March 1952. Immediately following the witch-burners' attack on Ford Local 600, Reuther placed an administrator-dictator over the big local and sought to oust the leadership who opposed his reactionary policies. The Ford membership, however, rallied behind their elected leaders and defeated Reuther's dirty scheme.

Of course, if Reuther gave the word now, to the auto workers to come out in open demonstration against the new hearings, the way the West Coast longshoremen did, the workers would send

Velde's agent Clardy scuttling to cover in record time. Even if a few big locals like Ford 600, with 55,000 members, put up a militant mass opposition, they could turn the inquisitors' invasion into a rout.

This would inspire similar resistance everywhere that Velde and McCarthy, the master fascist union-buster, try to wage war on labor. Faced with the prospect of giant labor demonstrations and strikes if he shows his face in any industrial town, McCarthy himself would speedily turn tail.

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## Jobless Claims Highest Since '45

By Art Preis

The largest number of new unemployment compensation claims listed in any week since August 1945, when World War II ended, were filed in the week ended Jan. 9. The U.S. Department of Labor has revealed the latest weekly figure totals 467,500. This is 43,500 more than the largest single weekly total of new applications during the 1949-50 recession, when admitted unemployment rose to more than 4,600,000.

This current terrific leap of nearly a half million new claims within seven days gives a picture of the true menace of unemployment today. According to the Jan. 23 U.S. News and World Report, the total number of those drawing unemployment benefits on Jan. 9 were 1,950,000. This is a far higher total than back in early 1950 when the total of unemployed soared to over 4,600,000.

Unemployment has "apparently jumped to nearly 2,500,000" from the government's claim of only 1,162,000 unemployed in Oct. 1953 and 1,850,000 last Dec. 12, the U.S. News reports. Thus, from Dec. 12, 1953, to Jan. 9, 1954, the number of unemployed leaped by at least 650,000.

The figure of 2,500,000 unemployed, however, is based on unemployment compensation claims filed only for those eligible among the 36,000,000 persons covered by the present compensation law. Almost 25,000,000 wage earners are not covered, including farm workers and persons in firms employing less than four persons. It is clear that the number of unemployed in the United States is not less than four million.

Factory production has fallen more than 7% since the May 1953 peak. Carloadings, always a sensitive barometer of both production and distribution, on Jan. 9 were running 8% below the year before.

In the past couple of weeks, the capitalist witch-doctors have been increasing their incantations, designed to make the economic slump appear as a mere short dip in the long and level highway of economic progress.

The biggest publicity has been given to the recent speech of Harlow M. Curtice, who replaced Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson as president of General Motors. The capitalists are reported as "cheered" by Curtice's announcement that GM plans to place "a billion-dollar bet" against a depression or a "billion-dollar vote of confidence" in the future of American capitalism. This refers to GM's promised two-year expansion plan.

### But Happy Days Aren't Here Again

Newspapers ran pictures of Curtice, GM's board chairman Alfred P. Sloan Jr., and Charles E. Wilson guffawing so hard at a Waldorf-Astoria banquet their upper plates showed.

But other sections of the auto industry aren't singing "Happy Days Are Here Again." Curtice's "bet" against a depression is actually a declaration of merciless war against GM's faltering competitors, who have been laying off auto workers by the tens of thousands.

As the Wall Street Journal of Jan. 20 and 21 explained, Curtice was actually predicting there will be no depression just for GM. He calculated, however, that total auto and truck production of all companies combined this year will fall 10% below the 1953 figure. A 10% drop in general production for the entire country would mean a severe depression with eight to ten million jobless.

"GM has set its sights on capturing an additional 2% of the nation's overall market for passenger cars and trucks this year," the Wall Street Journal states. The company grabbed 46% of the total new auto business last year, a gain over 1952 of 4%. Everything is supposed to be rosy if GM crushes its competitors and drives their workers into the unemployment compensation lines for average payments of \$23 a week for 8 to 26 weeks.

The head of one of these competitors, Paul G. Hoffman, chairman of the board of Studebaker Corporation, tried to sound the same cheery note as Curtice. He too found "a very definite upturn of confidence, partly as a result of the President's message... and partly as a result of forward planning on the part of business..." Hoffman's own "forward planning" and "upturn of confidence" is so far reflected in layoffs of nearly half the Studebaker workers.

Meanwhile, the steel industry is finding the first-quarter business "disappointing," according to the current issue of Iron Age, published on Jan. 20. "Big things were expected" of "both" the auto and railroad industries, but "after a fast start railroad buying slowed to a snail's pace" and except for GM and Ford, the auto manufacturers have been setting a "moderate" pace and "living off their inventories."

A couple of days after Curtice's "cheering" speech, such industrial giants as Westinghouse Electric, General Electric, Aluminum Corporation of America and Bethlehem Steel showed such a "very definite upturn in confidence" that they announced further mass layoffs.

The threatening economic trend has evoked not only big statistical lies from Washington. It is bringing forth a more sinister political note. This was sounded in the speech on Jan. 23 by Joseph W. Martin Jr., Republican Speaker of the House, to a banquet of the Philadelphia Real Estate Board.

Martin heaped McCarthyite vituperation on those who dare to warn the country of the danger of depression. Anybody who talks of such a possibility, according to Martin, is a "left-wing egghead" who is "trying to promote us into hard times" and "to lead us into socialism."

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# The Fascist Challenge to Labor

(The following is the text of a speech given by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, in Detroit, Jan. 10.)

recession to strike some blows at the labor movement. The National Association of Manufacturers wants the Taft-Hartley act amended to outlaw strikes for union recognition. They want what they call a "right to work" clause that would reinstate the hated "Yellow Dog" contract.

We're not the only ones to see these ominous signs of what's being prepared for labor and understand their meaning. That's made evident by the reappearance here in Detroit, after 14 years of political silence, of the well-known fascist demagogue, Father Charles E. Coughlin.

He made a speech here in Detroit Dec. 5 at the Little Friday Club that coincides completely with the growing menace of fascism in this country as represented by McCarthyism. In this speech Coughlin advanced a demagogic program based on the depression danger.

He came forward with these propositions: a guaranteed annual wage, tax reductions for the production workers, trade with China and India. Now in themselves these demands are OK. As a matter of fact, they are more or less popular among the auto workers in Detroit.

But right here is where one of the most basic criteria of politics comes into play, which is that it's a fatal error in politics to overlook who is making it. Hitler, you know, started with demagogic in Germany that purported to represent a program good for the working people and he wound up smashing the unions.

That's why the working people instinctively respond to a slogan like that raised by Local 600 of the UAW here in Detroit — "Fight for a 30-hour work week at 40 hours pay in order to protect take-home pay and cushion the shocks of unemployment."

Another threat facing the workers is the preparation by Big Business to take advantage of a



FARRELL DOBBS

on the unions through a catch-all "sabotage" clause.

Up to now they have been content to just ignore the Bill of Rights and go ahead with their witch hunt. Now they are preparing an attack on the Bill of Rights itself by introducing a measure in Congress calculated to tear the guts out of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

And in his State of the Union speech, Eisenhower advocated preparing an attack on the Bill of Rights itself by introducing a measure in Congress calculated to tear the guts out of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

Now what do these reactionaries really mean when they speak of "communism"? They mean militant unionism. They mean racial equality. They mean opposition to war. They mean any political action, or even thought, that cuts across their war policy.

What do they mean when they demand "loyalty"? They mean blind obedience to the government. They mean blind obedience to the military brass hats. And for the workers they mean sheeplike obedience to the corporations.

The masses begin to look for a solution to this crisis and the result is that in country after country a deep-going social crisis develops. This crisis causes the capitalist class to abandon any attempt to rule through democratic forms and to move instead in the direction of civil war against the working class in an attempt to smash all opposition to capitalism by force and violence.

### The Menace of Fascism

To combat the labor movement in this manner, capitalism must first create a mass counter-force. This force they seek to create mainly from the ranks of the middle class; that is, the farmers, professional people, small business people, etc. They try also to recruit forces from the military ranks and even among demoralized elements of the working class.

Fascism is not so easy to recognize in its formative stages, but let us examine the evidence as it exists today and see what we find. First, look at the political zigzags that have been taken by the middle class across the period from 1945, as a result of labor's failure to lead politically.

During the 1945-46 strike wave the workers got strong support from the middle class. But labor didn't follow through politically. Instead, Big Business was able to put over a national policy that stole money from the pockets of the middle class and the workers.

The discontented middle class swung to the right and voted Republican in 1946. The Republicans took control of Congress and labor got the Taft-Hartley act tilted around its neck.

Then in the 1948 elections, Truman became very demagogic and the middle class swung back to the Democrats. In 1952 the middle class shifted back the other way and became the key force in electing Eisenhower.

Then in the 1953 elections, only a year later, there was enough dissatisfaction developing with Eisenhower in the middle class to lead not to a wholesale Democratic trend, but at least to some significant Republican defeats.

Across this whole period from 1945, labor has quite consistently voted Democrat. What caused the shifts back and forth between Republican and Democratic victories was the shift in sentiment of the middle class. These zigzags show the political unrest among the middle-class elements and indicate very clearly that if labor

as part and parcel of this deepening witch hunt, a native fascist movement is crystallizing in this country, whose name is McCarthyism. It is rapidly developing in the Republican party and has considerable backing in the Democratic party. It is now in the process of a new leap which began last November, resulting from the setback the Republicans received in the elections.

These are the developments that brought Coughlin, the fascist demagogue, out of his hair, a deep-going witch hunt that is now hitting labor directly; the threat of a depression, for which Coughlin is a journeyman demagogue with a lot of experience, and the beginning of a fascist crystallization around McCarthy.

That brings us down to the question: What's to be done about Coughlin, McCarthy and the fascist menace? To begin with, let us look more deeply into the question of fascism itself. How does it arise? What is its aim? How does it operate?

Fascism is a political phenomenon of capitalism in its death agony. The name originated in Italy at the time of the rise of the movement headed by Mussolini. There have been similar movements in Germany, Spain, and other countries. As capitalism becomes outlived historically it becomes a brake on social progress. It produces a cycle of war and depression, so that the masses are always confronted by one or the other of these grim alternatives, or their virtual synthesis, as is the case today when both dangers are upon us simultaneously.

The masses begin to look for a solution to this crisis and the result is that in country after country a deep-going social crisis develops. This crisis causes the capitalist class to abandon any attempt to rule through democratic forms and to move instead in the direction of civil war against the working class in an attempt to smash all opposition to capitalism by force and violence.

Vigilantism is another historical form of terror the fascists can employ. It too has a long tradition in America. The organization of strike-breaking gangs is still another form they can use. We need only recall the anti-labor role the Black Legion played right here in Michigan in 1937 when the UAW was fighting to consolidate itself. All these common forms of organized violence can be used to prepare for open use of fascist storm troopers later on.

That is the tradition in this country of lynching. This is one form in which the fascists can begin to develop their extra-legal acts of violence against the Negro people and against workers. Yet they can try to make it look like an outbreak of something that has gone on for very many years in this country.

There is the instrument for violence known as the race riot which has a long history in this country. Right here in Detroit in 1943 an organized gang with a fascist mentality precipitated a race riot.

That is the balance sheet and we must therefore conclude that the danger is not only present but is already grave, graver than it was in 1939. And if labor fails to act, that danger will become graver still.

The present fascist threat developing in this country arises from the failure of the labor leaders to take the road of independent political action. Instead, the union officials remained to the Democratic party and lend support to the fascist-breeding witch hunt.

### Lynching, Race Riots, Vigilantism

We see this fascist tendency incubating in the witch hunt with help from the FBI, the Congressional Committees and the daily press. In the same way we can expect fascist acts of violence to grow out of forms with which we are already familiar.

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### San Francisco Example

I understand that the Velde Committee is due in Detroit soon to do some witch hunting against the unions. The Detroit unions should follow the example of the San Francisco labor movement, in dealing with the Velde gang when it invaded their city.

The longshoremen's union called a 24-hour protest strike against this witch-hunting invasion and organized a mass demonstration in front of the city hall where the Velde Committee was trying to operate.

This led to a resolution denouncing the Velde Committee by the East Bay area CIO Council. It inspired every anti-McCarthy element in the city of San Francisco to stand up and protest against Velde's gang with the result that they soon took it on the lam.

Labor must take up the cudgels against the Coughlin's and the McCarthyite demagogic. As I pointed out, one of the basic weapons of fascism is social demagogery. The McCarthy program does not yet represent the full flowering of fascist demagogery, but there is a start. McCarthy is already tying high prices, high taxes, the casualties in the Korean war, and the expected casualties in future wars to the issue of "spies" and "traitors" in government.

In this he parades significantly the line that Hitler took, at a similar stage of development, in the rise of German fascism. Hitler argued back in the Twenties that the German defeat in World War I, the suffering of the German people under the Versailles Treaty, resulted from a stab in the back in high places in government.

As the depression threat mounts, the McCarthyite demagogic will become more radical sounding. In fact Coughlin already began in his D.C. speech here to make his own special contribution in this regard.

Another fascist symptom in the development of McCarthyism is the anti-Semitic overtones that appeared in that investigation, that inquisition rather, at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey. Less than 25% of the whole engineering personnel at Monmouth are Jews. Yet of the 40 persons victimized there by McCarthy, 35 of them, that's 88%, were Jews, and one was a Negro, which is no less symbolical. Incidentally, not a single spy was turned up in the whole inquisition.

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People in the minority peoples if it would take that road. To the minorities, the fascist danger is a matter of life or death. All the race haters are rallying to McCarthyism and they are awaiting an opportunity to unleash their racist hysteria. In America the Negro people, along with the Jews, are going to be the scapegoats of fascism. It is in the nature of things here, with the long, unbroken record of prejudice and discrimination and acts of violence against the Negro people.

People in the minority sectors of the American population have every reason to support the labor movement in political struggle.

Similarly with the youth. What is there for youth today in America? Frustrated by the dead hand of reaction in the schools, when they graduate they are thrust into the armies organized for world conquest. Youth in this country

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Monday, February 1, 1954

## Employers Roll Up Their Sleeves

With unemployment increasing, employers are preparing a two-pronged assault against the unions. Using the threat of layoffs in hope of paralyzing resistance, they plan a power drive to slash wages. This will be coupled with the even more ambitious project of utilizing the "orthodox recession" to carry out the orthodox capitalist aim of weakening, undermining and eventually smashing the unions.

The handwriting is already on the wall. We cite two recent important cases in point:

Case No. 1 — The textile industry has already opened a wage-cutting drive. Addressing the Passaic County, N. J., CIO convention on Jan. 24, Sol Stetin, International vice president of the Textile Workers of America, reported that the Forstman Woolen Company of Passaic has proposed an 11 1/2 cent an hour wage cut, and that Botany Mills is expected to make a similar "offer" when wage negotiations begin this week.

In response to this, the union membership is closing ranks for a strike that was correctly characterized by Stetin as a "real test for the labor movement in this area."

Case No. 2 — A month ago a band of heroic coal miners in Widen, West Virginia, reluctantly voted to give up a bitterly fought fifteen month strike. "We don't like to admit defeat, but we knew we were beaten," explained one of the rank and file strike leaders. Their strike was smashed by J. C. Bradley, powerful independent mine operator. An infuriatingly snug account of how Bradley met the strikers

demands, appears in the Jan. 29 U.S. News & World Report.

Here is a sample of the attitude of this voice of Big Business: "An old fashioned mine war — complete with killing, gunplay and dynamiting — has come to an end." "The winner, after fifteen months of strife, is a rugged individualist who owns a coal mine."

The strikers were shot at by scabs, company thugs and state police. Their homes were dynamited. They were railroaded to prison. All were driven from their company-owned homes. None were rehired at the strike's end.

The mines now operate three days a week, two shifts a day. The strikebreakers are digging the same amount of coal in two shifts as was formerly mined in three. "We have efficient machinery and hard working miners," the profit-hungry Bradley complacently explains.

These two cases should alert every militant to the dangers ahead. The unions are in for a pounding that can end in shattering setbacks unless defensive measures are taken in time. The full power of the trade union movement must be mobilized — *today* in advance of the coming battles, and in preparation for them.

The American workers have demonstrated their capacity for struggle on the picket line. But in the rough times ahead this is not enough. Labor must forge new, modern weapons with which to meet the employers — the weapons of labor politics. Labor must build its own party and put its own people in office. Nothing else will succeed in blocking the coming union-busting, wage-cutting drive.

## A Victory in Steve Nelson Case

The reversal of the conviction of Steven Nelson, former western Pennsylvania Communist Party chairman, by the Supreme Court of that state will be welcomed by every principled defender of civil liberties.

The political frame-up of Nelson, which carried with it a particularly brutal sentence of 20 years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine, grew out of a campaign of witch-hunting hysteria launched by the Pittsburgh daily press during the 1950 coal miner's strike.

The actual frame-up of Nelson was engineered by the notorious fascist-minded Judge Musmanno of that city. As a "private citizen," he simply walked into the Communist Party bookshop and purchased copies of the Communist Manifesto and other publications which can be obtained in almost any Public Library. These books were then used as "evidence" to obtain Nelson's conviction under the Pennsylvania Sedition Act of 1919.

The three-year persecution of Nelson and his two Stalinist co-defendants was marked by unbridled hounding of the victims both before and after their actual conviction. Nelson's case was severed from the original trial because of an accident in which he suffered a broken leg. A year later he was hauled into court, still seriously ill, and forced to defend himself without benefit of counsel. It is reported that three times during his imprisonment, in reprisal for the campaign to obtain his release, he was thrown into solitary confinement.

The State Supreme Court decision was based on the fact that Nelson had also been convicted by the Federal government under the Smith Act. The court held that he and his co-defendants were being punished twice for the same alleged offense and that the Smith Act superseded the Pennsylvania Sedition Act.

Their ruling, while it quashed the case under the Pennsylvania law, does not affect the frame-up of Nelson under the Smith Act, which like the Pennsylvania measure, strikes at one of the most basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution — freedom of thought. Nelson is at present appealing his conviction under this Federal thought-control law.

Our opposition to Stalinism, to which Nelson adheres, is widely known. Stalinism in our opinion does not represent the emancipating views of either socialism or communism but represents instead a gross betrayal of every one of the fundamental principles worked out for the labor movement by Marx, Engels and Lenin, for whom the Stalinists claim to stand.

But this in no way alters our uncompromising stand in defense of the civil rights of the Stalinists. It is on the basis of that stand of support to every victim that we hail this partial but encouraging victory in the Nelson case.

That victory must now be extended. Steve Nelson and every other victim of the Smith Act must be freed and the police-state law itself struck off the books. It's high time to bring freedom of thought back to America.

## Why They Died in Korea

For what purpose did the American people suffer more than 150,000 casualties in Korea? Why did this country "liberate" South Korea, slaughtering four million North Korean civilians and some two million South Koreans, our "allies"?

All the capitalist politicians, Democrats and Republicans alike, claim U.S. intervention was intended to halt "aggression." The Stalinists interpret the war in the same way, only they charge, the "aggression" to the other side. According to them, it was just a struggle between peace-lovers and war-lovers, and you can take your choice as to who was who.

We have always flatly denied this nonsensical explanation of the nature and origin of the Korean war. We have contended from the first that, however much both sides try to conceal the fact, the struggle that broke out in Korea in June 1950 was a civil war, a class war, with the workers, peasants and student youth on one side and the Korean landlords, usurers, capitalists and their police and political agents on the other. Wall Street entered the war to back its class allies represented by the Syngman Rhee dictatorship in South Korea.

The Militant noted and reported all the manifestations of this class struggle. One of the things we described was how the North Korean government, when it entered a new territory, confiscated the large land-holdings of the rich landlord class and divided the land among the poor peasants.

On the other side, we quoted Rhee's interview in the Oct. 27, 1950, U.S. News and World Report in which he said that he was instituting "land reform" in areas of South Korea recaptured from the North Koreans and that "we will take away the land given the tenants and return it to the landlords."

Now we are further confirmed in our analysis of the class character of the Korean war by a Jan. 24 Associated Press dispatch from Seoul. It reports that Rhee has proposed a constitutional amendment to convert South Korea's nationalized industries into private property under the ownership of Korean and foreign capitalists.

It is not well known, but almost all the important industries in South Korea, such as mining, fishing and power, have been operating under a form of nationalization since Korea was taken away from the Japanese imperialists in 1945. Not even Rhee dared to alter this set-up before the U.S. troops and bombing planes were sent in to crush the revolutionary struggle of the Korean people.

During the war, Rhee took the occasion to wipe out the independent labor movement in South Korea. The unions had been the biggest obstacle to the seizure of nationalized industries by the capitalist gang behind Rhee. Rhee also violently crushed any opposition inside the South Korean National Assembly. Today he is reaching out to fulfill the job of robbing the Korean people for which Wall Street put him in power back in 1948.

This opportunist "bipartisan" policy, as we will call it for lack

of a better name, will undoubtedly have some attraction for a section of the Negro people — the middle class. It offers the "talented tenth" the prospect of getting "recognition" (that is, some more jobs for themselves) in exchange for acceptance of the status quo (that is, in return for giving up all opposition to the run-around that both capitalist parties are giving the Negro people as a whole).

But for the great majority of the Negroes (that is, the other nine-tenths who are workers and farmers) this policy could prove fatal. It would mean, in effect, giving up the political fight for full equality, or postponing it to the distant future. This is the kind of "realism" that the Dixiecrats would endorse with both hands because it would accomplish just what they are trying to achieve.

NO — BUILD LABOR PARTY

The Negro people should say NO loudly and unmistakably to the "bipartisan" proposals. If both old parties have turned their backs on the Negro people, the answer is not to infiltrate both of them but to fight both of them openly and more militantly than ever before. The answer is to withdraw support from both of them, at the polls and to work for the creation of a new party based on the labor movement, the farmers and the minority groups, and to use this party to throw both old parties out of power. Every other course is genuinely unrealistic because it cannot serve the interests of the great majority of Negroes now or later.

The question then is raised by many people: "But what can we Negroes achieve in the task of building an independent Labor Party when the leaders of the labor movement are blocking its formation? We want a Labor Party, but we know we can't build it by ourselves. What good will it do, how much can we accomplish until the labor movement itself is ready to break with the capitalist parties and go into politics on its own?"

This is a real question, and we will try to answer it in our next issue, when the Militant will celebrate Negro History Week, by discussing the effects of independent Negro action on the course of American political history, including the long and difficult Negro struggle for equality.

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SCORE PURGE IN USSR

Also adopted was a resolution on the secret trial and execution of Beria, which the IC characterized as a "bloody continuation of the crimes of Stalin." Malenkov, it stressed, is continuing the real tradition of the police-terror regime, not attacking it.

The privileged bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin has by this trial struck a new blow against the Soviet Union by providing the imperialists with weapons to confuse the workers and weaken their anti-capitalist struggles, and it has openly defied the hopes of the Soviet workers for the abolition of the totalitarian dictatorship.

Calling on all sections of the Fourth International to conduct a vigorous campaign against the crimes of the Soviet bureaucracy, the IC denounced the Pabloite IS for its refusal to utter any condemnation of this witch hunt trial.

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SCORE PURGE IN USSR

## The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

### To the Youth of the NAACP

More than 500 young people are expected to attend an NAACP-sponsored National Youth Legislative Conference at Howard University, Washington, Jan. 28-31, according to a news release from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The conference slogan is "Free by '63" — the one hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's emancipation proclamation — and "emphasis will be placed on plans for attaining this goal."

The purposes of the conference, NAACP Youth Secretary Herbert L. Wright announced, are "to inform American youth and young adults of the many great social, economic and political problems confronting the country today and to encourage and help prepare young people to participate in the civic affairs of their respective communities."

If the conference were a genuine youth conference, democratically organized and conducted by the membership, we might expect some interesting developments from it — the formulation of a bold, fresh program for action; the emergence of promising young leaders capable of challenging the self-appointed official "representatives" of the Negro people who are the products of our decayed and corrupted society.

We might expect the forthrightness and honesty of youth — demonstrated in the past at NAACP conventions and elsewhere — to demand direct answers to basic questions; to reject impatiently the long-term perspective of "gradualism" in the struggle for equality expressed in recent speeches by "respectable" middle-class Negro leaders like Joseph D. Bibb and others; to propose a complete break with the double-talking Congressmen and Adminis-

## "The Wild One"

By Jeanne Morgan

Against the background of a bleak, stretching road, a dense knot of roaring motorcyclists comes fiercely toward the audience in the opening scene of "The Wild One." Their black leather jackets merge with black machines and make a solid, savage unit, like strange animal creatures, unknown and fearsome.

This new Stanley Kramer Production is built around an incident which occurred in the town of Hollister — in the heart of the vigilante area of Southern California, where the edges of society, like an ice-floe, begin to break apart and divide into chunks and groups of people, battering against each other.

The events and results of such conflict are seen in this film. The plot is simple. The "Black Rebels Motorcycle Club" descends upon a small town in a mood of holiday recklessness and violent frictions spring up between the Rebels and the town's more bigoted citizens, who take matters into their own hands with a vigilante committee. Beer drinking and riotous uproar turn to street fights. The citizens, with a thirst for lynching, break out their guns and whiskey bottles and murder and violence begin in earnest.

Order is restored only when the Sheriff comes in with outside cops. The kindly Sheriff is sympathetic (as always in the fairytale of the "flicks") to the plight of the Rebels and is moved to release them and speeds them on their way with no prosecution.

Overlook this glaring flaw (the usual Hollywood attempt to enoble the police) and the film contains a beautiful portrayal of the attitudes and constant crisis of the outcast and displaced youth. We see their solidarity against the police, their restless disquiet, their sardonic humor. ("Chino," as he is being dragged off to jail, oratorically declaims, "Oh, the shame of it all, the shame of it all!") This generation is disenchanted.

## Notes from the News

**McCARTHY'S SHADOW FALLS ON CANADA.** The Premier of Quebec is attempting to jam through the legislature a law providing for the "decertification" by the Quebec Labor Board of any union "tolerating" communists among its officers. The Labor Board would be empowered to effect such decertification on a simple charge, without proof. Decertification would mean that all union activity, including negotiations and strikes, could be halted at a moment's notice, and by police enforcement — if necessary. A second bill would decertify unions "encouraging" strikes in public services. \* \* \*

**LEFT-WING EGG HEADS** are "trying to promote us into hard times for political reasons," declared Joseph Martin, Speaker of the House of Representatives, in a Jan. 23 Philadelphia speech. Their nefarious aim, he explained, is "to lead us into socialism." Martin said he doesn't know any responsible business men who are pessimistic about the business outlook. Perhaps he deduced that from his prediction that "public housing will soon become only memory."

**WEEKEND ANIMAL RESEARCH.** A government-owned two-story "cottage," with a swimming pool and two-car garage, has been made available for Secretary of Agriculture Benson as a private weekend vacation retreat. To get it in shape for Eisenhower's farm expert, \$2,018 was spent on repairs. The money was diverted from the Department's animal research appropriation. Rugs and some furniture have also been provided. Additional furnishings were kicked in by a Washington businessman as a loyal "act of friendship." Benson pays the heavy sum of \$2 a day for those days he occupies the hideaway. Eisen-

stration leaders and the compromisers who apologize for them.

But the prospects for such a development at the conference this week, a development that could stem the tide of reaction and retreat in the Negro struggle, reorient it, and inspire the colored masses, are not very promising.

The nature of the conference, like other recent NAACP meetings, is indicated in advance by the fact that the anti-Negro, anti-labor, pro-McCarthy Vice President Richard Nixon will be the principal speaker at the closing session of the four-day conference.

Another discouraging feature is the long list of government and other spokesmen for the status quo who will address the gathering, leaving little if any time for the youth themselves to discuss their real problems and express their actual needs.

Finally, the composition of the delegates themselves, if it is typical of NAACP youth leaders in recent years, is too limited, has too narrow a base. Consisting primarily of college students, of young professional people and those in the narrow segment of the Negro population who aim merely to widen their own opportunities for white-collar jobs within the framework of the present social system, they lack, to a great extent, the realism, the stimulation — and the courage of the millions of young colored workers in industry.

The NAACP youth conference will be significant to the degree that some of the young men and women present recognize its weaknesses and take steps to correct them. The independent thinkers in the group, those who base themselves on the best traditions of our civilization, those with the courage and self-confidence to throw off the "dead hand of the past" will be the leaders of the future.

NEW YORK, Jan. 23 — The bill introduced into the State Assembly on Jan. 11 by Assemblyman Van Duzer, which would bar the Communist Party and other subversive organizations from the ballot in New York State, strikes a blow at the American tradition of the free ballot," said David L. Weiss, majority candidate of the Socialist Workers Party in the last city election.

Speaking in the name of his party, Mr. Weiss continued: "The right of the Socialist Workers Party to appear on the ballot in contest for the vote of the state electorate is being directly challenged by this proposed measure. Mr. Van Duzer's bill is in complete harmony with the aims and practices of the McCarthyite hunt.

**DENIAL OF RIGHTS**  
"Under the proposed measure, any new political formation that seeks to challenge the dominant political party stands in danger of being denied the right to appear on the ballot, merely by being arbitrarily labeled 'subversive.' Existing minority parties such as the American Labor Party, Liberal Party, Industrial Government Party and the Socialist Workers Party are in imminent jeopardy of being excluded from the state ballot. The voters who support these parties face denial of their rights as citizens to vote for the party of their choice. Should the proposal become



DAVID WEISS

law, New York state will have taken a long step toward police-state. It will then be clear that the American tradition of democratic electoral practice exists neither in fact nor in law and the domination of a single political party representing powerful interests will be completely assured.

"The Socialist Workers Party calls upon all citizens irrespective of their political affiliation, to join in condemning this reactionary proposal of Assemblyman Van Duzer."

## McCarthy Submits His '53 "Progress" Report

By Harry Ring

Senator McCarthy, No. 1 contender for position of American Hitler, has submitted to the U.S. Senate a report on the progress of his assault on the Bill of Rights. The

20,000 word document, boasting that 1953 was for the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations "perhaps the most active period in its history," demonstrates that one of McCarthy's major accomplishments in the year was the virtual torpedoing of the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Those of McCarthy's "opponents" who accept his basic premise about the alleged need to fight a "red peril" but who oppose his "methods" will undoubtedly attempt to use the report as proof that McCarthy has actually accomplished very little in the way of uncovering "spies." They miss the point by a mile.

It is true that as a result of 157 "investigations" and 445 preliminary inquiries, with a total of some 1,200 people "questioned" by his staff, McCarthy can point to but four individuals ousted from government jobs as "suspect."

But for McCarthy the witch hunt of government employees is simply a device for whipping up anti-communist hysteria. It helps provide the atmosphere most favorable for his real objective — organization of a native American fascist movement that will be directed in the end against the workers and minority groups.

**CAN BACK HIS BOATS**  
Here McCarthy can boast solid accomplishments in 1953. The report implies, and not without justification, that McCarthy's continuing fierce attack on "Fifth Amendment Communists" was responsible for Eisenhower's Executive Order giving federal department and agency heads permission to fire employees who dare exercise the right guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment to refuse to answer questions of possibly self-incriminatory nature.

Further, the report boasts, this policy has now been adopted by such powerful corporations as General Electric and International Telephone & Telegraph. Six workers have already been victimized by GE for asserting their constitutional rights against McCarthy. A congressional bill is now being drawn up, the report announces, to legalize this practice.

**WIDENING THE SMEAR**  
This is clearly indicated by the whole series of witnesses hauled before his committee in recent months who have felt it necessary to invoke the First Amendment, which guarantees the right of free speech and association. They have been forced to virtually forfeit their rights guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment in an effort to avoid the stigma McCarthy has succeeded in placing on it.

**PROMISE? WHAT PROMISE?** More than 25,000 New York tenants had their rents boosted last December. 14,918 tenants had their rents hiked an average of \$4.48 for "additional services." Another 9,502 "voluntarily" came across with an average increase of \$8.94 in return for leases. 1,116 got hit for an average increase of \$13.72 to assure the landlord a "six plus two" percent profit. "It would be a good idea to bear in mind ... the state never (did) promise to freeze rents permanently at the 1948 level," points out Rent Administrator McGoldrick.

While McCarthy's victims have every right to all possible lines of defense, it must be recognized how little is needed to widen the

## THE MILITANT

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## STATE BALLOT-BAN BILL HIT BY NEW YORK SWP

By Lynn Marcus

BOSTON, Jan. 17 — Violence and the threat of violence were the outstanding features of Senator McCarthy's latest "hearing" in the New England area. It set the atmosphere and struck the keynote of what the Boston Globe today called "the most tumultuous Congressional session ever held in Boston." A flying squad of seven deputy marshals was present to manhandle witnesses and spectators who were not already intimidated and terrorized by the presence of the fascist Senator from Wisconsin. One spectator was, in the words of a TV announcer on the

spot, "jet-propelled" by five burly guards from the 12th-floor hearing into the snowbank of Devonshire St. A witness and his attorney were "escorted to the door in rough fashion," according to the Globe. Another attorney was threatened with similar treatment.

All a witness had to do was answer sharply and the marshals' hands were already seizing his arms, waiting only for McCarthy's command to throw the man out.

The purpose of this physical terrorism was revealed in McCarthy's snarling threats to imprison witnesses who failed to submit to his political terrorism and publicly reveal the names of

persons who might be "communists."

As the McCarthyite fascist movement grows, it is developing a hunger for victims that simply cannot be satisfied by the small ranks of the radical parties. In the two hearings here, McCarthy demanded the names not only of "communists" but of persons who had attended meetings sponsored by radical groups and even of persons who were accused of nothing but having contributed money to protect the civil liberties of witch hunt victims.

### COURAGEOUS STAND

Of five General Electric workers called yesterday, all but one pitiful informer refused to turn over the names of past and present associates to the McCarthyite inquisitors. One 64-year old naturalized citizen, Alexander Gregory, courageously announced: "I am placed in the position today either to testify as a political informer or lose my job." He and two other witnesses who refused to turn stooges did so on the grounds of freedom of association and speech. The fourth used the Fifth Amendment.

Two of the attorneys for GE workers called yesterday refused to turn over the names of past and present associates to the McCarthyite inquisitors. One 64-year old naturalized citizen, Alexander Gregory, courageously announced: "I am placed in the position today either to testify as a political informer or lose my job." He and two other witnesses who refused to turn stooges did so on the grounds of freedom of association and speech. The fourth used the Fifth Amendment.

The witness stated that he himself ran a store in the cell through which he made \$230 a month. A surprised committee member asked him why he freely admitted this since it was so profitable.

The witness' answer was that the present set-up did no one any good and that if prison officials

would open the commissary three days a week, he and other "storekeepers" would be put out of business, and that would be a good thing!

But the official proposal to handle this problem was to limit the amount to be spent at the commissary to \$2 a week. Naturally this would deepen the corruption and increase the necessity of non-official storekeepers.

### NEED TRAINING

An older inmate testified that a proper rehabilitation and vocational program would be of much greater value than the new million dollar cell-block being constructed by the state. It is not possible for the young people to get an education and learn a trade in the institution. For students needing instruction from the first grade through the high school level, there are only two certified teachers. Five inmates who have some special talent (like art) are used as instructors in their fields.

Those who attend school do so at their own discretion and only half a day. Some who can afford it take extension courses. Other inmates resent this, believing everyone has the right to an education and facilities.

The vocational program was just as bad. The official report, in a glowing account of vocational opportunities at the institution, said 95% of the inmates were participating in this program. But it includes such activities as picking up stones in the yard as vocational training! Direct testimony showed only about 100 out of the 600 inmates are getting anything even resembling vocational training. Most of the instructors in the trades are not certified.

The officials thought the solution to the problems at Monroe are:

(1) Higher pay for guards.

(2) Job tenure for guards.

(3) Shorter hours for guards.

(4) More training with guns for guards.

(5) More guards allowed to use guns in supervising the work crews.

The last two proposals can only worsen the problems of the youth at Monroe, and the first three have no direct bearing on the need for such things as education. This kind of "solution" is just what can be expected from a police state.

For each pack of cigarettes obtained from these "stores," you have to pay back two packs at the

prison "STORES."

This same witness also denounced the commissary set-up.

The commissary is open only one day a week, and each inmate can spend only \$4 a week there.

If he should need clothing, he isn't able to buy cigarettes and candy too.

This has led to the creation of "stores" run by inmates, operating on credit.

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Telephone rate increases in excess of \$795,000,000 have been won by the Bell Telephone system during the past seven years. Increases amounting to a minimum of \$128,000,000 are now in the hopper, with more coming up.

This giant monopoly controls 100% of interstate phone service and about 85% of all local service. Its 1953 profits were in excess of \$500,000,000. ("Your Telephone Bill" by H. R. Booth: The Nation, Jan. 23.)

## Note of Violence Struck By McCarthy in Boston

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