

## WHAT'S CAUSING THE ECONOMIC SLUMP?

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Vol. XVIII - No. 8

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## Get Out Of Indo-China!

An Editorial

The American people are bitterly opposed to U.S. military intervention in Indo-China, where the French imperialists, armed and financed by Wall Street's government, have been butchering the Indo-Chinese people for eight years. Popular opposition to involvement in Indo-China is reflected in the alarm expressed by some Senators and Congressmen when it was revealed that U.S. Air Force personnel had been sent secretly into Indo-China eight months ago and 400 more were on their way.

Eisenhower claims that only "technicians" are aiding the French despots to bomb and burn the Indo-Chinese villages and people. But as Senator John C. Stennis correctly pointed out: "If we are going to send men for the purpose of keeping airplanes on the firing line, it is only natural that we send in pilots and trigger men. It is a logical next step."

Eisenhower assures us he won't take that "logical next step." But did the American people realize what we were getting into when Truman announced the first dispatch of U.S. armed forces to Korea? U.S. forces in Indo-China, we are told, won't be in combat areas. But, states a Pentagon official quoted in the Feb. 9 N.Y. Daily News, "such areas in Indo-China are very fluid and we don't know."

Whether Eisenhower sends only 600, or 6,000, or 600,000 U.S. military personnel to Indo-China is not the real issue. If he can send 600 to aid the Indo-China invasion, he can send 600,000 or 6,000,000. Isn't that what Truman did in Korea and who in Congress spoke against it?

The war in Indo-China is a naked imperialist aggression. It began in 1945, immediately after the close of World War II, when Ho Chi Minh's government, which had ousted the Japanese and French collaborators, was founded. French imperialism, quickly switching its allegiance from the Axis to the "democracies," tried to smash this government which the Indo-Chinese people had established.

So strong was the resistance of the independence fighters that the French tyrants were forced to make "peace" — temporarily. In Paris, March, 1946, the French government signed a treaty recognizing the Ho Chi Minh government. In December 1946, the French treacherously broke the treaty and suddenly started to seize the public buildings in the capital city of Hanoi. America is now paying a billion dollars a year to keep this "dirty war" — as the French people themselves call it — going.

We want no part of this "dirty war." Tell Eisenhower: Hands off Indo-China. Bring our men back. Not a cent, not a gun, not a man for this brutal aggression.

## Negro People's Stake In Anti-McCarthy Fight

By Jean Blake

American Negroes reacted almost instinctively against Italian and German fascism. Conditioned by second-class citizenship and their experience with the brutality of the Southern ruling class, colored Americans recognized fascism as the ideology of a desperate ruling class.

Negroes were quick to point to the similarity between tendencies in this country, particularly in the South, and the rampant European nationalism, militarism, thought control, theory of the master race, persecution of scapegoats, and destruction of the one force capable of fighting back — the independent working class organizations.

But now, when McCarthyism is providing the most serious fascist threat this country has yet seen, neither the Negro press nor organizations leading the struggle for equality have clearly labeled McCarthy and sounded the alarm.

One reason for this is the crisis in leadership of the Negro struggle. Those who head the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations representing Negro interests are either unwilling or incapable of voicing the demands and policies needed today. Failing to understand that Jim Crow is an inherent part of American capitalism, they act as if it can be eliminated through campaigns for reform of the present system.

Thus their whole political activity consists of drives to register Negroes to vote, and their political program is limited to publicizing the voting record of Democrats and Republicans on relatively better or worse civil rights bills.

How short-sighted this criterion is can be shown by McCarthy's voting record in the 82nd Congress. Out of 12 bills the NAACP wanted passed in 1952, McCarthy voted for three and against six. Not a good record, but not as bad as some others.

This only demonstrates that votes on civil rights bills are as inadequate a basis for evaluating



MCCARTHY

a Senator as the Tuskegee Institute's statistics on the number of lynchings each year are for judging progress in the Negro struggle. Oppression of colored people takes different forms today, and different standards must be adopted.

### WHAT IS IMPORTANT

More important in analyzing McCarthyism and its relation to discrimination against minorities are these questions:

What interests does the McCarthy movement represent? Who are its supporters, its base?

What effect has McCarthyism had on the Negro struggle already? What will be the prospects for Negro equality if McCarthyism continues to grow?

McCarthy's strongest supporters have been the most reactionary race-baiters in America: the Ku Klux Klan, the followers of Father Coughlin and Gerald K. Smith — extremist elements who were isolated for a time but are now coming back to life and activity because they have found

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# THE MILITANT

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## Pleas for Relief Food Mount With 2 Million More Layoffs

### Scene of Mexican Border Violence



Nine thousand Mexicans massed at border gate at Mexicali, seeking U.S. entry to do seasonal harvest work in California's Imperial Valley under sub-standard wages and conditions, were dispersed with riot guns and tear-gas by U.S. authorities who allowed only 600 to 800 to enter. U.S. refused agreement for decent pay and conditions asked by Mexico. Mexican farm workers are lured by big-pay promises.

## FASCIST SENATOR BEATS WAR DRUM IN L.A. TALK

By C. Thomas

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 10 — Appearing last night before a hand-picked middle-class audience at the First Congregational Church, fascist Senator McCarthy made a sabre-rattling speech punctuated by a thinly-veiled call for total atomic war to "free" the people of the world from the "threat of communism."

McCarthy's junket to California was organized as part of a national tour under the auspices of the National Committee of the Republican Party to commemorate the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. No greater obscenity could have been committed against the memory of that great man.

In his only reference to Lincoln, McCarthy quoted the clarion call of the leader of anti-slavery forces in the civil war to crush the slave power: This country cannot endure half-slave and half-free.

Paraphrasing Lincoln, McCarthy blared: This world cannot exist half-slave and half-free. The fascist demagogue turns everything upside down. Lincoln called for the revolutionary overthrow of the slaveocracy and the freeing of the slaves. McCarthy calls for

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## Kerry, Cannon Hit McCarthyism At L.A. Meeting

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 12 — More than 100 friends and members participated in the spirited Socialist Workers Party meeting here tonight to challenge McCarthyism and to call on the labor movement to organize against Senator McCarthy, who spoke here three days ago at an "invitation only" meeting sponsored by Rev. Fifield, local fascist hate-monger.

McCarthy made his meaning abundantly clear as he spelled out his program of counter-revolution. To begin with, the United States, he said, must:

(1) Establish immediately an air-tight embargo around the coast of China to prevent any goods from entering that country.

All goods, he declared, should be considered "strategic" and banned.

(2) Issue an ultimatum to China like "Teddy" Roosevelt did to the Moroccan bandits: Release all American prisoners (allegedly) held in China — or else!

(3) Withdraw all aid from countries, especially Great Britain, who continue to carry on trade with China.

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### PREPARE FOR SHOWDOWN

Just as the period prior to the Civil War was one of clashing ideas which finally led to the irrepressible conflict between the then young, rising capitalist system and decadent chattel slavery, so today the fascist forces

are preparing for a new conflict.

The meeting was opened by James P. Cannon, SWP National Chairman, who compared Lincoln's struggle against chattel slavery with the socialist struggle now against fascist slavery.

The audience demonstrated its appreciation of the talk with a liberal financial contribution. For

almost an hour after the meeting, an informal discussion continued on what socialism has to offer as an alternative to the wars, depressions and fascist barbarism of capitalism.

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## REUTHER'S "SILENT TREATMENT" NO WAY TO FIGHT M'CARTHY

By John F. Petrone

The Republican answer to the present recession is to demand that it be given the silent treatment: "Don't talk about it, make believe it isn't there, and maybe it will go away."

CIO President Walter Reuther, after trying this policy for a while himself, is now forced by pressure from the union members to disavow and condemn the silent treatment as a method of fighting the evil of spreading unemployment.

But at the same time he advocates the silent treatment as a method of fighting another major evil — McCarthyism.

Speaking to the Conference of Canadian Managing Editors in Windsor, Ont., on Feb. 6, Reuther complained that "Newspapers give too much publicity to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy." Condemning McCarthyism as "evil, immoral and un-American," he said he "believed that if newspapers kept Senator McCarthy out of headlines for six months he would become a forgotten man in politics." (N.Y. Times, Feb. 7.)

If the American labor movement accepts this approach, it will end up where the German labor movement ended in 1933 — its unions smashed, its militant workers in concentration camps. Reuther's line was played for all it was worth in Germany in the ten or twelve years before Hitler came to power.

### 'Just Another Crackpot --'

Hitler wasn't taken very seriously when he first appeared on the German political scene. "Just another crackpot looking for publicity," was the verdict of the German labor and liberal leaders. "Ignore him, and he'll fade away," they predicted.

This "brilliant" advice, as we know, didn't stop the Nazis. Instead of hurting Hitler, the silent treatment gave him badly needed time in which to build and spread the foundations of his fascist movement. Ignored instead of being opposed, pooh-poohed as of no importance instead of being relentlessly exposed as the mortal enemy of labor and democratic rights, Hitler got enough of a breathing spell to survive the early and difficult days of his movement, when it would have been easiest for labor to crush Nazism.

By the time the labor movement woke to the fallaciousness and ineffectiveness of the silent treatment, it was too late to stop Hitlerism by anything short of civil war. And since the German labor leaders were afraid to go all-out in the fight against the Nazis, Hitler was able to take power with comparative ease and to destroy the labor movement in a few months.

### It Wouldn't Work Anyway

Even if the silent treatment should be used against McCarthyism, it wouldn't work. McCarthy is already a dually powerful figure in American political life; he wields more influence than he in the Senate; no blican dares to take him on; even the liberal Democ's cover in his presence; already he has more strength than Hitler had at a comparable stage in his political career. No newspaper that makes even a pretense of covering American politics could exclude McCarthy from its headlines.

Aside from this fact, most of the newspapers to whom Reuther makes his appeal have no desire to stop McCarthy. Many of the biggest capitalist publishers sympathize strongly with his fascist objectives and want to help rather than hurt his drive for the presidency. Others, who say they are repelled or offended by his "methods," share his premise that communism is the main menace in this country and feel duty-bound to report his charges on the ground that "there may be some truth in them."

### Heads in the Sand

That is why there is no chance of Reuther's line being accepted by the capitalist newspapers. The real danger arises from the fact that this line is already being accepted and applied by the labor movement and its press. Most of the union papers carry relatively little material about the growth and menace of McCarthyism. Some labor papers have correctly characterized McCarthy as a fascist, but for them it is largely a matter of rhetoric; after making such a designation, they go on acting as if nothing has happened, as if McCarthyism poses no distinct and special problems.

There are various reasons why the present labor leaders incline to the silent treatment approach to McCarthyism. Some of them, who know better, are afraid to speak the truth about McCarthyism because it would clearly impose on them the duty to advocate or support a militant and independent labor struggle to stop American fascism before it gets any stronger. Others evidently believe that if they ignore McCarthy, maybe he will ignore and leave them alone.

That's the most suicidal notion of all. The chief target of fascism is the labor movement. McCarthy prefers not to come into a head-on struggle with labor until he feels strong enough to defeat it (just as Hitler in the early stages professed sympathy for the labor movement, and tried to organize unions, and even supported some strikes, until he felt strong enough to attack the labor movement openly).

### Use the Club of Politics

If McCarthyism conquers, it will mean the end of the labor movement. The longer labor waits before entering into a full-scale political struggle against McCarthyism, the more chance there will be for McCarthyism to conquer. That is why labor must have no use for the silent treatment, must discard every trace and semblance of it, and substitute for it a fighting and irreconcilable treatment of the following kind:

No peace to McCarthyism, no concessions to McCarthyism, no rest until the whole labor movement and all its allies are awakened to the real meaning of McCarthyism and mobilized in an independent Labor Party to defeat it once and for all.

# What's Causing Economic "Slump"

By Art Preis

Last week's article, "The Slump — Worse Than They Admit," pointed out that "enormous war spending remains the main prop of the economy." It demonstrated that

"even a slight reduction in government spending, especially in the war sphere, means a downslide in the economy." And it concluded: "So far as the two key factors — production and employment — are concerned, the economic decline has gone far deeper and will continue longer than Administration and Big Business leaders admit."

This conclusion is now strengthened by information not available when the above was written. For instance, in the period from Dec. 15 to Jan. 15, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, more than two million workers were laid off. This is double the amount previously admitted by the U.S. Census Bureau. (See article on Page 1.)

As for the rose-colored production forecasts of the Administration and capitalist leaders, the latest information presents the facts in a more somber hue. A Feb. 14 N. Y. Times report from Pittsburgh states that in steel there are "no significant market changes anticipated by sales officials for the near future." The steel production rate has "remained unchanged at 74 per cent of capacity" — that is, it continues 25% below last year's peak.

In auto, unsold new cars at the end of January rose to "an all time record of over 600,000," while the number of new cars at the end of January rose to "an all time record of over 600,000,"

### How Commodities Have Piled Up

Eisenhower's economic report to Congress on Jan. 28 tried to explain the cause of what he called "the slight decrease in production since midsummer" as "primarily a decline in the rate of inventory accumulation." The "readjustment process" has been "largely a matter of reducing excessive inventories, especially of consumer durable goods."

This matter of "excessive inventories" — the huge glut of unsold commodities in the factory warehouse and on the store shelves — is a trifling problem in Eisenhower's view. He thinks inventories can be reduced enough to permit a renewal of a free flow of goods "by adjusting prices here and there, and by applying more effort to selling."

The capitalists would be very happy to liquidate their piled-up and unsaleable goods by finding customers for them. But, alas, a lack of enough customers is one reason why the goods piled up to begin with. Consumer spending reached a peak in 1953 before the Korean truce. Yet mass purchasing power could not absorb the flood of goods pouring from America's mass production industries with their constantly expanding productivity.

The attempt to cut inventories by Eisenhower's "slight decrease in production" has not panned out so well, thus far. Last August 31 inventories were estimated at the gargantuan total of \$77.8 billion, 50% higher than in 1950. By December 31, after national production has been reduced 4%, inventories had actually increased to \$79.8 billion. This was \$3.8 billion more than in December 1952.

The December inventories were a \$2.5 billion reduction from a high of \$82.3 billion. But this was almost wholly the reflection of Christmas buying, a seasonal factor. Retail stocks dropped \$2.5 billion; wholesale, \$500 million. But manufacturers' stocks "actually climbed nearly \$500 million," says the astonished Feb. 10 Wall Street Journal.

Despite Eisenhower's injunction to "apply more effort to selling," inventories in certain basic industries are rising. Steel magazine reported on Feb. 15 that "mills are building up certain stocks of finished steel so they can make immediate deliveries" — just in case some new rush orders came in. As for the auto industry, dealers' stocks of unsold cars by the end of January increased another 100,000 over the 500,000 left over from 1953, "an alarming figure almost any time of the year," complains the Feb. 15 Wall Street Journal, but especially so now "in a period when sales are seasonally low."

The Feb. Fortune magazine — whose reading audience at \$1.25 a copy is generally limited to businessmen — gives a more accurate slant on the program for inventory liquidation than Eisenhower's proposal to hypnotize the consumers into buying more.

Fortune forecasts that inventories will be cut only "about 7 percent by the end of 1954, but sales will probably be down 5 percent from the last quarter of 1953."

### Worker, Farmer Incomes Drop

Figures for retail sales already indicate that the liquidation of "excessive inventories" will not be achieved by drumming up more trade somehow. Retail sales, according to Commerce Department estimates, fell in both January and December below the annual rate in November. And where the aggregate income fell only 1% from the previous July, payrolls in manufacturing industries fell 6%.

This trend toward declining workers' purchasing power is not just a post-Korean War phenomenon. The Feb. Fortune magazine's Business Roundup admits: "It took three years for his (U.S. worker's) wages to catch up with the post-Korea advance in prices and taxes. The total amount of 'real' disposable income rose, of course, but only because employment increased. Now laid-off workers are taking (a) steep cut in 'real' income."

"Rising unemployment and reduction of operating schedules are expected soon to be reflected in a decline of consumer spending. This, it is felt, is likely to bring trouble for many marginal industries and companies."

This is inaccurate on only two points: (1) the decline of consumer spending is not merely "expected" but here; (2) it is already bringing "trouble" to the big as well as "marginal" industries and companies.

The decline in sales is not a matter of mere fear and unreasoning caution — that is, psychological factors. The drop in sales reflects an actual drop in mass purchasing power. Thus, the December 1953 Monthly Letter of the National City Bank of New York noted that "personal income ceased to increase last August. . . . Lower factory payrolls, reflecting reductions of overtime, have caused the flattening out. Recent layoffs may have some further depressing effect."

In November, 1953, personal income registered a fall of \$2 billion over the annual rate in October.

The major cause of this decline, said the Office of Business Economics of the Department of

was estimated at 1.7% compounded annually.

Thus, Paul Mazur of Lehman Brothers, the investment bankers, points out in his recent book, "The Standards We Raise," that "the fantastic manufacturing mechanism gives substantial evidence of its ability to create products faster than they will be consumed."

Where will the market come from for this tremendous expansion of car production? All the indices indicate that consumer buying power, unable at its peak last year to absorb production, is heading downward fast.

The "self-regulatory" school of capitalist economics argues against any serious drop in buying and for the "self-expansion" of the market with the claim of an enormous "backlog of savings" that can be tapped for consumer purchases. Thus, the previously cited Monthly Letter of the National City Bank of New York says: "Individuals are estimated to hold nearly \$200 billion of cash or cash-equivalent assets, which is an immense source of financial strength."

This article describes a "revolution" in the auto industry with "big new 'tools'" that "almost think for themselves in tens of thousands of an inch." It is for the purpose of introducing big-scale automation, in competition with Ford and Chrysler which are also gearing to increase productivity per worker at a tremendous rate, that General Motors is undertaking its billion-dollar expansion program, announced with such fanfare recently by GM President Harlow M. Curtiss. Mr. Curtiss refused initially to tell how his billion would be spent in detail," reported the Times article on automation, "and up to yesterday he has been similarly reticent. But the highly competitive divisions of General Motors boasted of their plans."

What is involved is not a program to provide more jobs and more and cheaper autos, but a ruthless war to the death between the industry giants for control of the narrowing auto market. "In Detroit, a titanic auto race is shaping up between Ford and Chevrolet to win first place in the market," writes Richard L. Strout in the Feb. 8 Christian Science Monitor. Henry II has let it be known he is out to capture the lion's share of the market from GM's Chevrolet, while Curtiss "hopes to increase GM's sector of the car market from the present 46 to 48 percent." The smaller groups — Chrysler, American Motors Corporation (Hudson-Nash merger), Packard — "are pushing their cars."

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## Rewarding Your Hangman

(Reprinted from the Feb. 9 Labor's Daily)

Last week in Charleston, W. Va., Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy began his slanderous campaign tour against the Democratic Party. With that speech he made crystal clear to all what has long been obvious to many: McCarthy makes popular his political crusade by announcing that his target is the Communist Party, but he is in fact bringing his heaviest guns to bear upon the Democratic Party of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He is the mouthpiece of the wealthy few who for 20 years have nursed their hate for the New Deal reforms which benefited the many.

Said McCarthy, in Charleston: "The hard fact is that those who wear the label—Democrat—wear it with the stain of historical betrayal. They wear it with the corrosion of unprecedented corruption; they wear it with the blood of dying men who crawled up the hills of Korea while the leftwing politicians in the Democrat (sic) Party wrote perfumed invitations to the Communists to join them at the United Nations."

McCarthy's speech reveals that Communism will be made an issue by the Republicans so long as the GOP exists—which may not be for long if this ace card fails to win the political trick. That this would be true has been clear to Labor's Daily for long time.

For the Republican Party has absolutely no positive program to offer the voters, and that party knows it! It knows that to stand a chance of winning any future election it must resort to the McCarthy demagogic of asserting that Democrats are traitors!

Will the voters swallow this bilge? These is danger. In Germany the people swallowed similar spewings and a Hitler rose to power. It can happen here.

How will Liberal and Labor forces defeat the Westbrook Pegler mentality epitomized by Senator McCarthy? There is no pat answer other than the generalization that it can be done only through hard political struggle.

There is however, an easy answer to the question: How will liberal and labor forces NOT defeat McCarthy and company? That answer is found in the behavior of our liberal senators as revealed in the Congressional Record of Feb. 2.

By the amazing vote of 85 to one, 10 not voting, the Senate gave well over \$200,000 to McCarthy's permanent investigations subcommittee. This means that our tax money is again

to be spent (more of it this year than last) to advance the political fortunes of McCarthy and destroy every vestige of the New Deal.

Where were Lehman of New York, Morse of Oregon, and Neely and Kilgore of West Virginia while this was going on? Why did they not make at least a token protest in order to prove to the people back home that they have the courage to face the most dangerous demagogue now loose in the land? They remained silent and they voted to advance McCarthy the funds. Sen. Allen J. Ellender (D-La.) was the only man to take the opportunity, at any length, to protest the McCarthyite methods of smear and fear. And even he, in the end, voted for McCarthy.

The only Senator to stand firm was J. William Fulbright, Democrat of Arkansas. He was the sole solon to vote against funds for McCarthy. Labor's Daily hereby commends Fulbright, most sincerely and respectfully, for his courageous action. It will mean, for him, a torrent of abuse in future political campaigns, and the blame for part of that abuse he can truly place on the shoulders of liberals who failed to stand with him against Joseph McCarthy.

On the Senate floor, shortly prior to the opposition vote, McCarthy calumniated the Rooseveltian Democrats in much the same terms he later used in Charleston, W. Va.

It is a sad day indeed when New Deal Senators (Morse excepted from this category, of course) vote money to a man who has just a few minutes before told them he is going to use that money in order to undermine the very principles for which they stand. It is like giving ammunition to a man who has just told you he wants that ammunition in order to blow out your brains.

McCarthy accuses the New Deal Democrats of treason, says he wants money to "prove" their treason, and the New Deal senators still remaining in Congress meekly hand it to him!

It is time to fight, not back down! Labor expects its congressional supporters to do battle on labor's behalf, and this most emphatically means seizing every opportunity to render harmless the McCarthyite monster which, after all, has boldly announced it intends to gobble up New Deal senators. It behoves these senators to pluck the monster's teeth, not only on general principle, but in order to save their own "treasonous" hides.

By Joseph Hansen

To attack Pablo and his line publicly is "in fact to break with the world Trotskyist movement," according to the reply drafted by the Pabloites to the Open Letter addressed by the 25th Anniversary Plenum of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party to Trotskyists throughout the world on the danger to the Fourth International of Pablo's pro-Stalinist political line and Stalinist-type organizational methods.

But since the false charge that the SWP seeks to split the Fourth International is rather weak binding material for a faction whose aim is to handcuff and muzzle or expel orthodox Trotskyists from the Fourth International, Pablo is forced to seek a stronger political cement.

According to him, the Socialist Workers Party is suffering from "degeneration." This was brought in by an "ossified" leadership trying to counter objective difficulties by "sectarian" appeals to past tradition instead of facing up intelligently to living reality and getting into "the real working-class movement in the USA of today," which we may assume to mean the Stalinist milieu, since this is what Pablo's American co-thinkers, the Cochranites, advocated.

The "degeneration," according to Pablo, has gone so far that the SWP is succumbing to the pressure of American imperialism. Pablo does not hesitate, in pursuing this line of "explanation," to go so far as to charge that James P. Cannon, the National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, one of the founders of the Communist movement in this country, later one of the founders of the world Trotskyist movement, and a long-time collaborator of Leon Trotsky, is "on the way to becoming an enemy of the Movement."

None of these "explanations," most of which are simply bare-faced plagiarisms from the 1939-40 arsenal of the Shachtmanites, can possibly convince a seasoned Marxist acquainted with the facts, particularly since Pablo was writing just the contrary, for public consumption at least, as late as May.

To bolster his excursion into the psychology of Cannon and the other leaders of the SWP, Pablo requires political manifestations of the alleged "degeneration" of the SWP, especially its "buckling" under the pressure of American imperialism. This is not easy to find. The SWP has an unsullied record of consistent opposition

to Wall Street, its political representatives, its anti-labor policies and its imperialist war drives.

The Cochranites, faced with the same factional need that Pablo began to feel acutely upon publication of the Open Letter, sought to find in the SWP record on Korea something that might be twisted into an indication of "buckling" under the pressure of American imperialism. This strained effort blew up in the faces of the Cochranites when the facts were laid on the table, for the SWP was opposed to Truman's intervention in the Korean civil war from the date it occurred, June 25, 1950. The Cochranites eventually dropped the attempt as unprofitable and costly to their faction, a judgment that for once corresponded to the living reality.

In his "reply" to the Open Letter, Pablo nowhere indicates what he thinks about that attempt of the Cochranites to slander the SWP. His position on that, for public consumption at least, is presumably still the same—it's all obscure. Unable—at least publicly as yet—to approve the slanderous attempt of the Cochranites to besmirch the record of the SWP on Korea, and resolved in no case to rally in defense of that record, he tries to abstain and get rid of the troublesome question by saying that he for one is unable to find a tangible political difference between the Cochranites and the SWP leadership.

The question of Korea is of decisive importance. On what other issue since 1950 could a more acid test be demanded to determine the genuine political position of any party toward American imperialism? Incapacity to see this is a sign of political blindness—surely not the most reassuring quality to observe in the Secretary of the Fourth International. But Pablo is not really that blind. On this issue, he understands very well. And because he understands, he chooses to cover up the Cochranite slander by silence. He does more. He sets out to demonstrate how the cult head himself with the greatest of ease proposes to succeed where his American followers failed.

To do this, he places Iran and East Germany before the court of public opinion as the corpus delicti. His choice is by no means accidental, since a successful attack on these two issues would also constitute a successful defense of his own position on the Iranian and East German questions.

## The Stalinist Betrayal in Iran

He accuses us of having passed over "completely in silence the organization by American imperialism of the coup d'état in Iran which overthrew Mossadegh, and of denouncing only 'the Stalinist treachery' in this affair." (Pablo's emphasis.) That is the whole charge so far as it concerns Iran. There is nothing more. He simply hits and runs.

Now it is true that we did not expose "the organization" of the coup d'état by American imperialism. We have no inside information, no access to State Department files, no way of learning the specific facts that are covered by the secret diplomacy of Wall Street's political representatives. When we get such facts we customarily give them all the publicity possible, but it is not our custom, and never has been, to try to report any more about the actual organization of such things as a coup d'état than we actually know.

But this does not affect our political position by one iota—and that is what is decisive. We opposed the role of American and British imperialism in Iran at all stages of the struggle from the very beginning. The headline in

## The Uprising in East Germany

Now let us turn to East Germany. In the Open Letter we charged that the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, which is controlled personally by Pablo, in issuing a public declaration of its position on the uprising of the workers in East Germany last June against the Stalinist-dominated government, took position in violation of the declaration itself, we proved that "instead of demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops—the sole force upholding the Stalinist government—Pablo fostered the illusion that 'more ample and genuine concessions' would be forthcoming from the Kremlin's gauleiters."

In response to this charge based on the document issued by the IS for publication throughout the world, Pablo offers some truly dexterous crawling. He says not a word about the "concessions" which he made much of in this world-wide declaration of position. And why not? Isn't that of interest today in verifying whether or not Pablo saw the living reality

correctly at the time? Unfortunately for the hopes Pablo placed in the Stalinist bureaucrats during the uprising of the East German workers, reality proved more brutal than our Stalinist conciliator expected.

The Stalinist-dominated government made promises of concessions but paid off in miserly fashion. They were more generous in the savage repression they inflicted on the rebellious workers. What has been verified to the hill is the charge made in the Open Letter that "Pablo fostered the illusion that 'more ample and genuine concessions' would be forthcoming..."

But about failing to call for withdrawal of the Soviet troops, "What a shameful lie!" says Pablo. First of all, the declaration of the IS was not "intended" for the German workers "in the course of the events." It was addressed, it appears, to everyone except those involved in a life-and-death struggle with Stalinism. What are we to conclude from that? That no one except

the German workers should call

for the withdrawal of the Kremlin troops that were used to crush the uprising?

But the German workers "for tactical reasons and correctly kept this out of their agitation so as not to have to fight from the beginning both the German Stalinist bureaucrats and the Soviet troops at the same time." (Pablo's emphasis.) The logical conclusion of this is that since the German workers couldn't raise the slogan for "tactical" reasons, it should have been raised by the rest of the world working class for them, and especially by the Fourth International.

Pablo then all at once concedes that the demand is "always correct" but should be made "within the framework of the more general demand for withdrawal of all occupying troops from Germany." So after all Pablo's crawling, the demand for withdrawal of the Soviet troops when they are suppressing a workers' uprising is just "chatter"! What is chatter is Pablo's glib talk about preparing a political revolution while leaving out the demand for withdrawal of the Soviet troops from East Germany as an essential part of the preparation for that revolution. Above all, what is chatter is Pablo's boast about taking "steps" to rebuild a secret revolutionary organization in East Germany. You can't do something as serious as that while building a secret pro-Stalinist faction in the Fourth International.

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## Going to the Dogs

By Joyce Cowley

"We intend to make it absolutely indecent for a dog to appear in public without being properly dressed. Dogs enjoy getting dressed up just as much as people do and while at it, why not have their clothes custom made?"

This statement was not made by the inmate of an asylum but by Gregg Juarez, a former actor who has opened a new shop in New York on East 55th Street, Canine Couturier. You can buy your dog a mink cape for anywhere from \$50 to \$95, pajamas from \$17.95 to \$65.50, mink collars from \$22.50 depending on the size of your dog's neck.

"And your dog will simply love our special perfume," says Juarez. "Kennel No. 9. It smells something like new-mown hay."

Dog hats which start at \$35 are also available. Small derbies for males, flowered bonnets for females and a special feathered job.

"It's really exciting," Juarez assured a reporter from the Daily Mirror. "We have pearl clips, necklaces and bracelets for dogs, all designed by Gabors — and we are getting complete collections of dog clothes from Jacques Fath, Hubert de Givenchy and Oleg Cassini."

At this point Mr. Juarez's partner, Thomas Ryan, announced that it was dog-tail time and began shaking up dog-tails for a group of well-dressed customers gathered there on afternoon shopping jaunt with their socialite owners.

If I were a dog, faced with the prospect of wearing pajamas and pearl necklaces, I would certainly feel the need for a bracer. But Juarez and Ryan have thought of everything. In case your dog collapses under the strain of adapting

himself to mink, perfume and pearls, a dog analyst is on hand to fix him up.

The American press frequently laughs at the fantastic lies and exaggerations of Soviet anti-American propaganda. But if a Soviet writer turned in an item like this I think it would be rejected as too improbable. The Mirror, apparently unaware that such a story could undermine their readers' faith in the American way of life, gave it a lot of space on page two.

I wonder how many mothers, who started reading it as I did with the idea that it was a big joke or possibly a case for the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty of Animals, began to get mad. The article, "A Shop for Dogs with Scratch," was supposed to be pretty funny. It is funny to think of a dog in a feathered hat wearing Kennel No. 9. On the other hand, there are 5,000 girls in my daughter's school, and she hasn't got a desk or a locker of her own. Lunch rooms are so crowded that she has to wait until nearly two in the afternoon to eat her lunch and she sits next to garbage pails. The distracted gym teacher has a class of more than ninety.

With the rise of McCarthyism lending fresh inspiration to local Ku Klux Klan elements, as well as to the followers of Gerald L. K. Smith, the repeated attempts to make the Mexican people the subject of organized mob attack assumes sinister new implications.

If this poisonous new anti-Mexican campaign is not effectively challenged, the Mexican people will find themselves inevitably the target of an assault that they, as a minority group, will not be able to beat back solely with their own forces.

It is the responsibility of the leaders of the Mexican community to enlist the organized support of the unions and all minority groups in the city, making it clear to them that their own future safety is also at stake.

The Community Service Organization, which a few years ago spearheaded the movement that elected Edward Roybal, an independent Mexican representative, to the City Council, must assume the leadership in this fight.

The CSO has so far limited itself to calling for a boycott of the anti-Mexican papers. But such an action can be effective only if it is backed by the power of the union movement and by the city's minority organizations.

At a recent CSO meeting a proposal was made to call a broad conference of unions and community organizations for united action on this issue. The proposal was resisted on the grounds that "reds" might infiltrate such a movement.

Organized terror against minority peoples is the inevitable outgrowth of the present "red-hunting" hysteria. For the leaders of a minority group to yield to its pressure to any degree is to become powerless in the face of the Hearstlings and the McCarty.

He is soon arrested, his former conviction for murder providing a convenient pretext.

Berto now admirably describes how the isolated peasants' revolt breaks down after the loss of their leader. Rende escapes again, and, like many Italian fugitives before him, takes to the mountains. However, he lives as a "brigand" not because of his personal conflict with the authorities, but because of his thirst for a better society.

Rende's situation gets increasingly difficult. Together with his young bride Miliella, he leads a life of hide and seek. The end is death after a valiant fight...

Berto's book offers a realistic portrait of the villagers, their rural class struggle, their social layers, problems and reactions. Despite the tragic ending, it glows with steadfast hope, never renouncing the goal for which Michele Rende and his wife Miliella so bravely live and die.

And we know that Nino, Rende's adolescent brother-in-law, will not forget what he learned from the revolutionist. We are sure that he will continue to study the books in Rende's library and work the tough piece of land Rende delivered from barrenness — until the time becomes ripe for the great harvest.

## "The Brigand"

By Trent Hutter

**THE BRIGAND.** By Giuseppe Berto. A Signet Book. New York, N.Y. 166 pages. 25 cents.

Giuseppe Berto was born in Italy in 1914, the son of a poor shopkeeper. He managed to get through high school and then joined the army for want of a job, serving for ten years before ending up as a prisoner of war in Texas. It was here that he started writing, completing his first successful novel, *The Sky Is Red...*

This is what the publishers say about the author. They deserve credit for making his masterpiece available to the American public. *The Brigand* is not only well-written and

g, it tells a profoundly interesting and

ant story of poor Italian peasants attempting to seize the land belonging to an antebellum baron and of their leader Michele Rende, one of the truly pathetic and unforgettable figures of contemporary literature. The drama of Michele Rende is seen through the eyes of his young brother-in-law, Nino. Rende returns from the African campaign of World War II. Falsely convicted of murder, he escapes when Italy is transformed into a battlefield, joins the partisans who fight the German occupiers and the fascists.

Distinguishing himself in the struggle, he soon starts to study Marxist writings and becomes convinced about the need for social change. After the war, back in the village, he

cultivates a piece of land so barren no one thought of touching a plow to it before and leads the landless peasants in action against the landlord.

He is soon arrested, his former conviction for murder providing a convenient pretext.

Berto now admirably describes how the isolated peasants' revolt breaks down after the loss of their leader. Rende escapes again, and, like many Italian fugitives before him, takes to the mountains. However, he lives as a "brigand" not because of his personal conflict with the authorities, but because of his thirst for a better society.

Rende's situation gets increasingly difficult. Together with his young bride Miliella, he leads a life of hide and seek. The end is death after a valiant fight...

Berto's book offers a realistic portrait of the villagers, their rural class struggle, their social layers, problems and reactions. Despite the tragic ending, it glows with steadfast hope, never renouncing the goal for which Michele Rende and his wife Miliella so bravely live and die.

And we know that Nino, Rende's adolescent brother-in-law, will not forget what he learned from the revolutionist. We are sure that he will continue to study the books in Rende's library and work the tough piece of land Rende delivered from barrenness — until the time becomes ripe for the great harvest.

## Notes from the News

**CLEVELAND YOUTH HIT BY UNEMPLOYMENT.** There has been a 40% to 50% drop in the number of Cleveland's school-issued permits allowing boys and girls from 16 to 18 to go out on part-time or steady jobs. Reporting on this, one school official said, "Youngsters are the first to feel the payroll cuts of business and industry." His assistant added, "Four weeks ago the hiring of such boys came to a dead stop. It's the first time this has happened since the start of the Korean war."

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**VICE PRESIDENT NIXON** recently advised a National Youth Conference of the Nat'l Ass'n for the Advancement of Colored People that the people of the U.S. must prove to the world that "we are working towards the principles which will guarantee to all peoples, regardless of their national origin, background, color or creed, an equal opportunity — equal recognition under the law as American citizens." We wonder if Nixon intends to start the ball rolling in this direction by scrapping his signed agreement not to resell his California home to any Negro or Jew?

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**NEGROES IN NASHVILLE, TENN.**, for the first time will have the opportunity to indulge in Eisenhower's favorite sport, golf, on city-owned links. A Federal Judge ruled that one of the three city-owned golf courses should be made available two days a week solely for Negroes until a separate Jim Crow course is built for them. Last year another federal judge ruled that segregated golf courses are not unconstitutional provided the city furnished "separate and adequate" facilities.

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**MILWAUKEE POCKET BOOK READERS** can still buy copies of the famed war novel, *The Naked and the Dead*, by Norman Mailer, as a result of the District Attorney's reversal of his personal ban of the book on grounds of obscenity. He withdrew his ban after the Milwaukee County Literary Commission voted 5 to 1 that the book did not violate a county ordinance covering obscene publications. The Commission is still considering two other novels referred to it on the same ground by the District Attorney: *From Here to Eternity*, by Ernest Jones and *To Have and Have Not*, by Ernest Hemingway.

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**CANT STOMACH McCARTHY.** Dr. Samuel Fernberger, a University of Pennsylvania psychology professor has resigned from the Philadelphia chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution in protest against that organization's plan

to honor the fascist Senator with a Good Citizenship medal. McCarthy's methods, he declared, "stifle those things for which my ancestors fought in the Revolution, and for which I fought" in both world wars. In a return letter, the chapter president, D. L. German, said the decision to honor McCarthy was made "over my strenuous objection" and that he would have no part of it. He added: "I can't imagine any outstanding citizen feeling honored at being tendered the Good Citizenship Medal... after the stigma attached to our having presented one to McCarthy."

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**TEN YEARS VS. ONE HOUR.** For ten long years Local 37 of the Upholsterers Int'l Union, AFL, tried to get a contract with the Atlas Casket Co. in Philadelphia. During that time they won innumerable unfair labor practice cases against the company, but they never did get a contract. Finally the workers decided a different approach to the problem was needed. They went on strike. After being out for just one hour, the men won a standard union contract. The company even agreed to pay them for the hour they were out.

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**ANY BOOK WHICH INCITES** the down-trodden workingman to revolt should be removed," Mrs. M. F. Lougheed, a member of the Library Board in Victoria, Canada, said in a speech defending an announcement by the Mayor that he intended to burn all "subversive" books in the public library. The book-burning move was greeted by a storm of protest. Students in Victoria did some burning of their own — they burned the Mayor in effigy.

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**BIG MAGAZINES BOOST POSTAL DEFICIT.** Magazines are responsible for 68% of the \$240 million a year deficit on second class mail, asserts the Postmaster General. Life magazine, with a mailing of nearly a million copies a week, pays an annual postage bill of about \$5 million. The Post Office says it costs about \$13 million to deliver them. The Saturday Evening Post pays about \$3 million a year in postage. Its distribution cost is put at \$9 million. The department figures it loses about \$3,668,000 on the Readers Digest and another \$1,632,000 on the Ladies Home Journal. The magazines contend they are entitled to this for "informing" and "educating" the public. Incidentally the Post Office does not mention the biggest deficit of all, the million of dollars in free mail sent out under "franking" privilege by Congressmen, military brass hats, and a host of other government officials and departments.

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# THE MILITANT

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1954

NUMBER 8

## Seek to Halt Hearst Attack On L.A. Youth

By Dave Dreiser  
(Second of Two Articles.)

The efforts of the Los Angeles Hearst press to incite lynch violence against the Mexican community must be stopped in its tracks. Their manufactured "crime wave" with smear headlines that scream of Mexican "Rat Pack Killers" is deliberately calculated to renew an even bloodier scale the anti-Mexican riots instigated here in 1943.

With the rise of McCarthyism lending fresh inspiration to local Ku Klux Klan elements, as well as to the followers of Gerald L. K. Smith, the repeated attempts to make the Mexican people the subject of organized mob attack assumes sinister new implications.

If this poisonous new anti-Mexican campaign is not effectively challenged, the Mexican people will find themselves inevitably the target of an assault that they, as a minority group, will not be able to beat back solely with their own forces.

It is the responsibility of the leaders of the Mexican community to enlist the organized support of the unions and all minority groups in the city, making it clear to them that their own future safety is also at stake.

The Community Service Organization, which a few years ago spearheaded the movement that elected Edward Roybal, an independent Mexican representative, to the City Council, must assume the leadership in this fight.

The CSO has so far limited itself to calling for a boycott of the anti-Mexican papers. But such an action can be effective only if it is backed by the power of the union movement and by the city's minority organizations.

At a recent CSO meeting a proposal was made to call a broad conference of unions and community organizations for united action on this issue. The proposal was resisted on the grounds that "reds" might infiltrate such a movement.

Organized terror against minority peoples is the inevitable outgrowth of the present "red-hunting" hysteria. For the leaders of a minority group to yield to its pressure to any degree is to become powerless in the face of the Hearstlings and the McCarty.

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J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Arkansas Democrat, was only Senate member to vote against appropriation for McCarthy's witch-hunt committee. 89 Senators, including so-called "liberal" Democrats, voted funds for McCarthy. (See story, Page 1, and editorial, P. 3.)

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