

STALIN'S "ANALYSIS" OF THE WORLD CRISIS

(See Page 3)

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PP Ranks Torn By Bitter Dispute Over Stevenson

By Art Preis

The politics of the "lesser evil" has risen to haunt the Progressive Party. A furious dispute is raging in and around the PP and Stalinist circles over supporting Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for President.

I. F. Stone, N. Y. Daily Compass columnist, sparked the discussion when he announced on Sept. 21 that he was switching from PP candidates Hallinan and Bass to Democrats Stevenson and Sparkman. This struck such a responsive chord in PP ranks that both PP and Communist Party officials felt obliged to take up Stone's arguments.

A full-blown debate was arranged in the Compass (Sept. 30 and Oct. 1 and 2) between Stone and former congressman Vito Marcantonio, spokesman for the American Labor Party, New York affiliate of the PP. The Stalinist Daily Worker joined the fray against Stone with three special articles.

Whether Stevenson or Hallinan represents the true and genuine "lesser evil" as compared to Eisenhower seems to us to be splitting hairs. None of these candidates represents the American workers. All support the capitalist system. We are for a class party of labor, opposed to capitalism which breeds imperialist wars. We are for socialism that alone can guarantee enduring peace. We are against the pernicious "lesser evil" theory that is used to lure the American workers into upholding the old capitalist two-

party system instead of building their own class party.

In this article, we take up Stone's contentions first, since he expresses this theory in its most blatant form. We will examine the more concealed — and treacherous — stand of Marcantonio and the Daily Worker next week.

Lacking any sound arguments to justify support for Stevenson, (Continued on page 3)

N. Y. Radio, Forum Talks on Elections

The socialist side of the debate between I. F. Stone and Vito Marcantonio in the N. Y. Compass over policy in the elections will be presented by George Clarke and Mike Bartell in forum and radio speeches this week.

Clarke, editor of the Marxist magazine Fourth International, will speak at a forum on Friday, Oct. 17, 8 P.M., at 116 University Pl., N. Y., near Union Sq. Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from N. Y., will speak on WNEW (1130 on dial) on Tues., Oct. 14 at 9:20 P.M.

Eisenhower Seeks to Exploit Bitterness Over Korean War

Progressive Party Aids Ill. Democrat

By Bert Deck

CHICAGO, Oct. 5 — The Progressive Party will give back-handed support to the Democratic opponent of the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 2nd District, according to the Sept. 28 issue of the Illinois Worker.

The Worker states, "Leaders of the Progressive Party are reported to favor direct participation in the Congressional campaigns of the 2nd and 9th districts. In the second district the witch-hunting Richard B. Vail is seeking reelection to Congress on the Republican ticket against Barrett O'Hara, Democrat whom he defeated in 1950."

The article continues with a further attack on the reactionary Vail but contains not one more word about O'Hara. The implication is obvious: The only alternative to Vail is O'Hara and O'Hara is "the lesser evil."

SUPPRESSES FACTS

In order to support Barrett O'Hara, the Worker was forced to suppress the following facts: (1) O'Hara, with a vicious red-baiting harangue before the Board of Election Commissioners, was instrumental in having the Socialist anti-war candidate, Irving Beinin, ruled off the ballot. (2) In spite of the efforts of the war parties the SWP is conducting a vigorous write-in campaign for Irving Beinin. His candidacy represents a real anti-war alternative to both war candidates. (3) O'Hara has been a consistent supporter of the Democratic administration's war policy.

SHAKEN BY DESERTIONS

Nationally, the Progressive Party is being shaken to the core by the heading flight of many of its supporters into the Stevenson camp as a "lesser evil." The Progressive leaders, to prevent the utter collapse of their election campaign, are compelled to denounce the "lesser evil" theory in the strongest terms. But these denunciations are hollow and unconvincing because while the Progressive leaders say one thing on the national campaign, they do another in the local campaigns. O'Hara is the candidate of the Stevenson machine in Illinois; he doesn't differ with Stevenson on any important question; he is in 100% agreement with the pro-war policy which the Progressives cite as the main reason for opposing Stevenson.

And yet the Progressives back O'Hara (a small-time Stevenson) while rejecting Stevenson (a big-time O'Hara). Is it any wonder that members of the Progressive Party are wondering just what their leaders are out to achieve?

BEININ SCORES PROGRESSIVE LEADERS

In a statement today, Irving Beinin said, "By supporting O'Hara, the leaders of the Progressive Party show that they are captives of the pernicious 'lesser evil' theory themselves, and cannot be trusted by those who are prepared to see the anti-war, anti-capitalist fight to the finish."

"We, of the Socialist Workers Party, are so prepared. We urge all opponents of the bipartisan war policy in the Second District to vote for the Socialist Workers Party and to reject the old party candidates, even if they have unofficial Progressive Party backing."

NATION-WIDE TV

Sunday, Oct. 12
4:30-5:00 P.M. EST
MYRA TANNER WEISS
on
"Where Do You Stand"
CBS-TV (Check local paper for channel)

It's the Same Difference



STEVENSON PLAYS UP TO REACTION WITH TOUGH TALK AGAINST LABOR

By Myra T. Weiss

SWP Vice-Presidential Candidate Myra T. Weiss, who has been a vocal critic of the anti-labor stance of the Stevenson campaign, has been surprised to find that the labor movement has appeared so enthusiastic about her.

The reason he's surprised, he admits, is that his Taft-Hartley repeal promise is hedged with anti-labor conditions. "Actually, three of the five proposals that I made up in Detroit almost a month ago," Stevenson said, "have not been very palatable to labor."

For instance, Stevenson was something less than candid about his real labor program when he spoke before the AFL convention on Sept. 23 and said he was for replacing the Taft-Hartley Act with some other union-regulating law. He disclosed his real views after he had the AFL endorsement in the bag. He has since made one statement after another to show the anti-labor elements how little he thinks of the union leaders and how tough he intends to get with labor if he is elected.

On Sept. 24 in Baltimore, at a breakfast meeting of Democratic politicians and businessmen, Stevenson confided: "I didn't and haven't asked myself just what labor wanted, but what I thought people needed." In fact, he admits, "I was rather surprised that the labor movement... has appeared so enthusiastic about me."

The reason he's surprised, he admits, is that his Taft-Hartley repeal promise is hedged with anti-labor conditions. "Actually, three of the five proposals that I made up in Detroit almost a month ago," Stevenson said, "have not been very palatable to labor."

That same day in another Baltimore speech, Stevenson — who has never once talked about reducing war profits — proposed "tighter wage controls" and indicated his displeasure with "the wage and price increases which came out of the steel case this year." Before he was nominated,

Stevenson had urged use of the Taft-Hartley Law against the steel strike.

DIDN'T QUITE SUCCEED

Finally, I noticed in a clipping from the Sept. 27, N. Y. Post which someone sent me that Stevenson, according to this pro-Stevenson paper, "did not quite succeed in identifying himself with his low-income listeners and their fears and anxieties" in a factory-gate speech he made in Evansville, Ind.

The reason? "No labor bosses are ever going to boss me," he said in the very language of the Chamber of Commerce, and he raved about "goons and violence and property damage... in labor disputes."

His references to the union leaders as "labor bosses" is wholly derogatory and contemptuous — and he's talking about Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and William Green. But why shouldn't he show contempt for them? While the price of everything else is inflated, the price of their support for capitalist politicians like Stevenson has slumped to almost nothing.

Both Democrats, GOP Silent About Bringing GIs Home from Korea

By Farrell Dobbs
SWP Presidential Candidate

Widespread bitterness and popular opposition to the Korean War, on which I commented last week, have forced a crack in the bi-partisan agreement of the Democrats and Republicans to keep the war issue out of the election campaign.

Republicans agree with Democrats, of course, on the

basic war program of U.S. imperialism. But the GOP is trying to pick up votes by exploiting the feelings of the American people against drafting and sending their sons to die in Korea.

Public opinion polls show that Korea is the top issue in the minds of many voters who have not yet made up their minds about the candidates. Eisenhower is making a play for this anti-war sentiment, although in a most cautious manner.

In his Oct. 3 speech in Illinois, which enraged the Democrats because they feel so vulnerable on the Korean war issue, Eisenhower said:

"We must avoid... the kind of bungling that led us into Korea and could lead us into others. The young farm boys must stay on their farms; the students must stay in school... What we must do, first of all, is to make certain that those Southern Koreans, of whom there are 20 million, can be prepared to defend their own front lines... If there must be a war there, let it be Asians against Asians, with our support on the side of freedom."

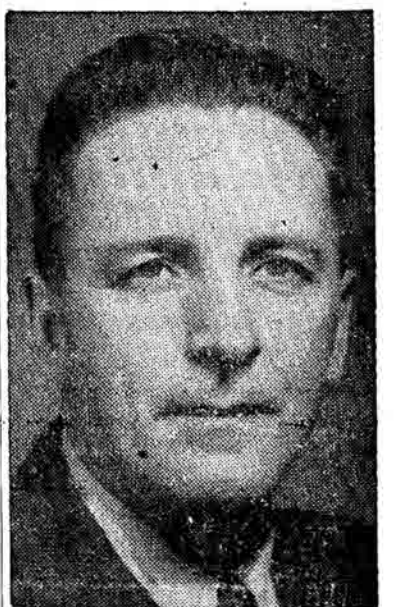
SLICK TALK

Observe the slick deceptiveness of this statement. Eisenhower doesn't call for the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. troops from Korea. He doesn't call for an end to the Korean war now or offer any hope for its end in the foreseeable future. He tries to make the people think he has a "cheaper" way of running the war in terms of U.S. casualties.

But the U.S. hadn't intervened on the side of dictator Syngman Rhee in a struggle of "Asians against Asians" to begin with, the civil war in Korea would have been over long ago and American boys would not be dying there today.

By his demagoguery on Korea, Eisenhower can affect the election results. But this will not alter the basic policy of both capitalist

For President



FARRELL DOBBS

parties and all their candidates to utilize Korea for the preparation and promotion of a grand-scale war against the colonial revolutions, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

If either Eisenhower or Stevenson — who are not interested in promoting peace in Korea or anywhere else — make the decisions, more and more farm boys and students will be dragged off to fight in a cause that most Americans know is not theirs.

That is why the Socialist Workers Party, which I represent as presidential candidate, proposes a national referendum of the American people to decide by a democratic vote whether or not to continue the war in Korea. That is why all opponents of war should support the SWP candidates in demanding immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Korea.

Truman's Witch-Hunt Benefits McCarthy

By James E. Boulton
SWP Candidate for U.S. Senator in Wisconsin

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 5 — Pessimism and gloom are widespread among the capitalist politicians opposed to Senator McCarthy, Wisconsin's most famous witch hunter, and among their labor and liberal allies. McCarthy's overwhelming vote in last month's Republican primary has destroyed most of whatever confidence they had in their own colorless "responsible" red-hunter, Democrat Thomas Fairchild.



As predicted by the Wisconsin Socialist Workers Party before the primaries, Fairchild has made communism the "main enemy" for his own campaign. This under-scores one of the real reasons for the McCarthy triumph — the lack of a basis for distinguishing one capitalist party politician from another.

The most common view of the McCarthy victory is that it was

a strong endorsement of the nation-wide witch hunt and a deepening of reaction in Wisconsin. But there is evidence to show that this view is grossly exaggerated. Part of this evidence was what happened to Republican Secretary of State Fred Zimmerman in the primary election.

Zimmerman is a life-long Republican, an office-holder for more than 20 years and one of the top vote-getters of his party. He is a lot more "progressive" than most of the Democrats and Mayor Frank Zeidler, nominally a socialist and actually a left-front for the Wisconsin Democrats. Among other things Zimmerman periodically advocates nationalization of the big utilities and railroads. By comparison with Stevenson's officials in neighboring Illinois, who flout civil liberties by barring minority party candidates from the ballot, Zimmerman is scrupulously fair to minority parties qualifying for the ballot.

OPPOSED MCCARTHY

Zimmerman is known as an open opponent of McCarthy and the state machine backing him. The GOP convention this year refused to endorse him for reelection, and the McCarthy machine campaigned for his op-

ponent. Zimmerman called for McCarthy's defeat in The Nation, and he did not carry on any active campaign for himself.

And yet on election day Zimmerman received another huge vote, easily winning renomination in the same primary that McCarthy ran in. The only fair interpretation of his vote is that it expressed approval of his independence of the party machine behind McCarthy, and to a lesser degree of his "progressive" ideas. Zimmerman, like McCarthy, was opposed by the Milwaukee Journal, the biggest newspaper here and a dominant force in Wisconsin politics. But the Journal's attacks, instead of hurting, seemed to help them.

ANTI-TRUMAN VOTE

McCarthy became identified in the mind of many voters as the main target of the Washington Administration responsible for the Korean war, which is as unpopular here as elsewhere in the country. Truman came to Milwaukee at a Labor Day rally to work for McCarthy's defeat. As the campaign shaped up, with a well-financed stunt by talkathon Republican Len Schmitt thrown in, McCarthy took on the features of an under-dog, of a knight against a field of foes. His vote

was in large part an anti-administration vote. There was no candidate in the primaries behind whom the labor or anti-war vote could be seriously mobilized.

The Socialist Workers Party met many pro-McCarthy people while collecting 5,500 signatures to put me on the ballot as the sole opposition candidate for U.S. Senator. Here are a few examples of common reactions to the anti-McCarthy campaign:

"Sure, McCarthy is a crook, but aren't they all?"

"McCarthy worked his way up from the other side of the tracks; that's why the Journal is against him."

"Why are all the big boys against Joe?"

"If communism is such a menace, what have they got against McCarthy?"

PRODUCT OF WITCH HUNT

This last view is especially important. McCarthy is a product of the anti-Soviet campaign begun in 1946 by Truman's program of "containment" of communism abroad and of "loyalty" purges at home. He has benefited from the Administration's propaganda that communism is not a political movement but a cloak-and-dagger conspiracy of spies and saboteurs. McCarthy attracts the support of

many people who accept this notion because they think he is more serious and consistent in his anti-communism.

If communism is really the greatest menace to the welfare of the American people — as both Truman and McCarthy insist — then the question of "method in fighting communism" becomes subordinate. Most people have little sympathy for McCarthy's striped-pants victims, suspecting that the State Department is a war-making agency meddling in foreign affairs.

LABOR NEEDS OWN PARTY

As I said at a meeting here last week for Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President:

"Only a clear-cut distinction along class lines could defeat McCarthy, could organize a victorious opposition vote. This will be possible when organized labor has its own political party and quits supporting other red-hunters and silver-spoon boys like Thomas Fairchild, who broke four utility strikes while serving as state attorney general."

The real lesson of the Wisconsin election is that capitalist democracy itself cannot survive in the U.S. without labor forming and building its own mass party.

SWP Election News Campaigning for Socialism

By George Clarke
SWP Campaign Manager

I don't know how many of you pay any attention to the reports of campaign plans of the Republican candidates that appear from time to time in the press. Behind this information — which doesn't even begin to tell the whole story — you can see two giant Big Business institutions employing thousands of well-paid campaign workers, buying radio and TV time to their heart's content, writing copy for newspapers as though they were writing for party papers — and they are! — and all of it greased by tens of millions of dollars.

What strikes me about these stories is the contrast they highlight between Big Business campaigning and campaigning for socialism in USA 1952. Just about everything our candidates do and get in the line of audiences, newspaper publicity, radio and TV time is "done by hand." There is a constant battle to crack an opening in the wall of silence with which the capitalist public information monopoly surrounds the genuine socialist program and candidates, while the Republicans fill the air waves and the press with phony attacks against "socialism."

Our candidates have to perform all campaign functions: besides making speeches, writing radio and TV scripts, do much of their own publicity work, etc. This is all very usual in the socialist movement but if you look at the way the "Big" campaigns are run you can see how unusual it is in American politics.

All of which leads us to the first-campaign Myra Tanner Weiss is making. She rings a bell everywhere, and she keeps things moving all the time. When reporters won't come to a press conference arranged by our local campaigners, Myra goes right up to the newspaper office and badgers them into giving our campaign a few inches of space.

Her visit in the Ohio area was extremely successful from every point of view. In addition to good campaign rallies in Akron and Cleveland, Myra appeared on a 15-minute TV interview show on WEWS Cleveland where she concentrated on the crime of the Bi-

Branches Smash Goal in Election Fund Campaign

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

The Socialist Workers Party four-month campaign to raise an \$18,600 Presidential Election — Anti-Trusts Law Fund has ended in a smashing success. On Oct. 8 when the scoreboard figures were added up for the last time, the grand total was \$19,194. This pushed the campaign over the goal to 103%.

Not only was the national total pledged by the branches fulfilled on time, but every branch scored 100% or better with only one exception.

VICTORY FOR PARTY

This splendid showing under adverse circumstances represents a victory for the party. It testifies to the loyalty and sacrifice our great socialist program inspires.

The campaign finished with Connecticut in first place with a score of 120%. Cleveland, Allentown, New York and San Francisco likewise over-subscribed their pledges. But each and every branch wins top honors for the extra push and effort that put the finishing punch in the campaign.

A letter from Glen Kerwin, fund director of the International Socialist Youth Branch of New York Local, is a good indication of the determination shown by the branches to make this campaign a 100% success. Comrade Kerwin writes: "True to its promise, the International Socialist Youth Branch, which exceeded its pledge of \$1,000 on Aug. 27, never stopped until the end of the campaign. It collected \$1,258.08, or 126% of its quota, for the highest score of any branch. The comrades know the party needs the money so we were determined to break all records in fund collecting. In party work the Youth always intends to be there 'fustest with the mostest.'"

Ruth Thorne says for New York Local: "We are very happy and proud to go over our quota. Thanks to the hard work and devotion of the comrades, and some generous contributions from friends of the party, we did better than we thought we could."

"We tried hard," explains F. Seymour for the Oakland comrades, "but fell a little short. The branch discussed this and decided that if the outstanding pledges are paid, we will make our \$300 pledge late."

(See scoreboard on page 2.)

(Continued on page 2)

Why White Workers Should Fight to Abolish Jim Crowism

The following talk was prepared by George Breitman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey, for presentation over N. Y. station WNEW on Oct. 8:

The Dixiecrats are having trouble this year trying to make up their minds whom to vote for. Both the Democrats and Republicans are wooing the Dixiecrats, and assuring them they will not interfere with the Jim-Crow system. Some Dixiecrats have

swung to the Republicans, others are sticking to the Democrats, and still others haven't decided what to do.

But one thing is sure: No Dixiecrat is going to vote for the Socialist Workers Party because they know our party is the enemy of everything they represent. They know it because the Socialist Workers Party platform on civil rights is clearly and unmistakably opposed to the Jim-Crow system from top to bottom.

We oppose any and all forms of discrimination and segregation — in hiring, in upgrading, in private industry, in government employment, in the armed forces, in schools, theaters, restaurants, housing, trade unions, churches and politics.

FOR FEPC WITH TEETH

We fight for a federal fair employment practices law (FEPC) with the power to prohibit violations and punish violators, to be enforced aggressively and not in the namby-pamby fashion that state anti-discrimination laws are now handled in New Jersey and New York.

We fight for the abolition of poll taxes used to prevent both whites and Negroes from voting. We fight for a federal law to outlaw lynching.

We condemn the federal government and the FBI for failing to catch and punish the white supremacists guilty of committing such atrocities as the bombing murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Florida last Christmas.

We fight police brutality against minority groups in both the North and the South. We fight for the freedom of the Trenton Two and other victims of racist frameups.

We fight for the abolition of the filibuster rules that are used to block the majority of the United States Senate from even voting on civil rights legislation.

It is not necessary for us to tell the Negro people and other minority groups how important it is to carry out such a program.

They know all about it already — from harsh experience.

The United States Bureau of the Census reports that in 1950 the median income of white families and individuals was \$3,135 a year, or about \$60 a week, while the median income of non-white families and individuals was \$1,569 a year, or about \$30 a week.

In other words, as a result of discrimination in jobs and pay, non-whites receive only about half the income that whites get, which proves that Jim Crow is a very profitable business for employers and explains why they have such a big stake in maintaining it, no matter what they say in their election platforms for vote-catching purposes.

Other government statistics show that the average colored American dies about seven to eight years earlier than the average white. This too is the direct result of economic, social and political discrimination.

JIM CROW HURTS WHITE WORKERS

It is not necessary for us to urge the Negro people to fight against these conditions — they are fighting against them already, and whatever gains they have made in recent years are due to that fight, and not to the benevolence of the employers and their politicians. Our purpose tonight is rather to urge white Americans, and white workers especially, to join actively in the fight to end the Jim-Crow system.

Why? Because if you are a white working man or woman, your conditions are harmed by the discrimination practiced against the Negro people. Low wages for Negro workers help the employers to keep the wages of white workers from going up. Racial divisions and lack of solidarity between white and Negro workers weaken the power of the unions.

The Jim-Crow system makes it extremely difficult to unionize the plants in the South, and that has a big effect on wage standards and working conditions in the North too. The non-union plants in the South pay lower wages than in the North and they speed the work up faster; that is why many employers are running away with their plants to the South. As long as an employer can threaten to move his business to the South, he has a heavy sword hanging over the workers' heads, and this is used to discourage Northern unions from fighting for higher wages. It even results in some Northern unions accepting wage cuts, as happened in the textile industry recently.

And that is only half the story. Here in the North there are big campaigns urging everybody to register and vote. But in the

Not a Witch Hunter in Sight



Charlie Chaplin points out the sights of London to his wife, Oona. In the U.S., Attorney General McGranery accused Chaplin of making "leering, sneering statements," and having an alleged "contemptible regard for the high estate of womanhood" and possible belief in Communism or some sort of dangerous thoughts.

South the pressure is all the other way, so far as Negroes are concerned.

Poll taxes are used to bar them from the ballot, and when that doesn't work the white supremacists use force and violence — bombs and bullets — to intimidate and disfranchise the colored people.

The result is that the most reactionary, anti-labor politicians in the country are elected in the South. That's bad for the South, but it's also bad for the North, because these reactionary Southern politicians go to Congress too, where they exert great influence and help to vote down practically all the progressive laws favored by the working people in the North.

These facts prove conclusively that white workers and middle-class people are injured by the Jim-Crow system, and have a big stake of their own in the passage of laws to end second-class citizenship for the Negro people.

FIGHT RACE PREJUDICE

If you understand this, you should fight against race prejudice and discrimination whenever and wherever you find it, and on election day you should vote against the big business parties that have collaborated in the run-around on civil rights.

The Republicans controlled the 80th Congress in 1947 and 1948, and they did not permit a single civil rights law to be passed. The Democrats have controlled Congress since 1948, and their record is exactly the same. Their records speak louder and more truthfully than the pretty promises on civil rights in their election platforms and speeches.

In New Jersey, where the labor and Negro vote will be decisive, both the Republican and Democratic candidates for United States Senator are talking a lot about how much they favor civil rights legislation.

SMITH AND ALEXANDER

But remember this: The Republican candidate, Senator Smith, was one of the men who voted with the Dixiecrats for the present filibuster rule that enables a minority of Southern Democrats to keep any civil rights bill from even coming to a vote.

And remember this: The election of the Democratic candidate, Archibald Alexander, would help to give the Democratic Party a majority in the Senate, and that in turn would help to keep the Southern Democrats, as a result of their seniority, in control of most of the Senate committee chairmanships and in a position to throttle civil rights and other progressive bills.

The Socialist Workers Party urges you to vote against both major parties because they aid and abet the continuation of race discrimination and segregation. We urge you to elect the Socialist Workers Party candidates who are fighting for the complete abolition of the Jim-Crow system, root and branch, today and not in the distant future.

And we urge you to join in helping to build an independent labor party, based on the solidarity of all races and dedicated to the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government that will do away, once and for all, with all forms of social, economic and political exploitation and oppression.

Who Made America?

By George Lavan

When Debt Meant Prison

Very few people seem to realize that at one time you could be imprisoned for debt in this country. For example, the debtors' jail in New York City had 1,984 prisoners in 1816. Of these, 1,139 owed debts of less than \$50, while 729 of them owed less than \$25.

From January 1, 1820 to April 1, 1822, the records of the debtors' prison in Boston show 3,492 inmates. Of these, 2,000 were in for debts under \$20.

In 1831 the Baltimore County jail contained 959 debtors. More than half of them had been imprisoned for debts less than \$10, and only 34 for debts over \$100. It is estimated that in this period 75,000 people annually were jailed for debts. With few exceptions they were the poor people — that is, workers, artisans and small farmers.

In 1830 84% of all those in jail in the New England and Middle states were poor debtors. Conditions for these prisoners were worse than those of ordinary criminals. For decades, no food, clothing, beds or heat were provided for the prisoners. They depended on relatives, friends or charity, or they simply starved. Those few prisoners with well-to-do relatives or friends, however, could pay the warden and receive special furnished, heated lodgings and have their meals sent in from restaurants.

In Boston, a creditor dragged a woman and her infant off to prison for a debt of \$12. After 20 days in an overcrowded cell, the infant became insane, was taken away from the mother and soon died. In another case, a woman was taken away from her two children under two years old for a debt of \$3.60.

FROZEN TO DEATH

Without outside help, imprisonment for debt could become a life sentence, as in the case of Matthew McKenny of Ulster County, N. Y., who languished in a debtors' prison for 30 years till death released him. Sometimes release was rapid as in a case in Cambridge, Mass., where a debtor jailed one cold winter day was found frozen to death in his cell next morning.

Each decade following the Revolution brought some amelioration of the debtors' laws. Several

states exempted women and veterans of the Revolution. Some improved prison conditions. New York, for example, appropriated seven cents a day for food for debtors. But it was not till the rise of the Workingmen's Party and the Equal Rights movement that any basic victories were won. In the late 1820s and early '30s workingmen's parties sprang up throughout the country. They held meetings, parades, published papers, organized unions and strikes and fought court battles. Foremost demand was abolition of imprisonment for debt.

CAPITALISTS FOUGHT TO RETAIN DEBT LAWS

The capitalists fought the reform bitterly. They declared such a "dangerous innovation" as abolition would destroy the "sanctity of contracts," and "endanger the credit system" of the country. They pointed out that the "Workmen" movement was led by self-avowed radicals. Merchants, bankers and lawyers put pressure on members of the legislatures and sent petitions in defense of the vicious debt laws.

In Congress the fight was led by Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, who thereby became the idol of the American working class. From 1822, at the beginning of each session of Congress, Johnson would introduce a bill for abolition and make an impassioned speech which would be widely reprinted in scores of workingmen's newspapers. After ten years, the bill was passed.

By the early 1840s the back of debt imprisonment laws had been broken. The few holdout states were brought into line in the 1850s.

So whenever you hear the capitalist propagandists telling what benefits "free enterprise" has brought America, just remember that all our liberties and our relatively high standard of living came — just as did the end of imprisonment of working people for debts — as the result of long and bitter struggle against the ruling classes.

Farrell Dobbs Tour Schedule

Oct. 11-13 Seattle

Seattle Public Meeting
Frye Hotel
Fri., Oct. 10, 8 P.M.
Seattle Forum
Church of the People
Sun., Oct. 12, 1 P.M.
4033 University Way

Oct. 16-18 Minneapolis-St. Paul

Oct. 19-20 Milwaukee
Oct. 21-24 Chicago
Oct. 26 St. Louis
Oct. 28-Nov. 2 Detroit-Flint-Toledo

Myra T. Weiss Tour Schedule

Oct. 12-16 Boston

Boston Public Meeting:
Mon., Oct. 13, 8:15 P.M.
Workers Educational Center
30 Stuart St.

Oct. 17-18 Newark

Newark Public Meeting:
Fri., Oct. 17, 8:30 P.M.
52 Market St.
(Social after speech)

Oct. 19-20 Philadelphia

Philadelphia Public Meeting
Fri., Oct. 24, 8:15 P.M.
1303 W. Girard Ave

Oct. 21 Allentown

Oct. 23-26 New York

New York Banquet & Dance
Sat., Oct. 25, 8 P.M.
116 University Pl. (N. Union Sq.)
Reservations necessary for banquet

Oct. 27 New Haven

Oct. 29-31 San Francisco-Oakland

Nov. 1-2 Los Angeles

In Central Jersey

Hear George Breitman
(Candidate for U.S. Senator)
Monday, Oct. 20, 2:00 P.M.
Over Station WCTC
1450 on the dial

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"From Lenin to Stalin"
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CAMPAIGNING FOR SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 1)

partisan war against Korea. The interviewer had to agree with Myra when she said that the main issue before the American people now was the ending of the Korean war.

A number of people who saw the interview got into their cars and went all the way cross town to hear Myra speak.

A FAIR STORY IS NEWS

There was also a briefer telecast of a news interview of Myra over station WKEL Cleveland. While the Cleveland Plain Dealer ran a two-inch story about our VP candidate under the caption "Labor's Own Party Forecast for '56," the Akron Beacon Journal put out a big spread, practically a full column. The fairness of the story, giving our views on many major issues, the main planks in our election platform and some biographical notes about Myra makes us believe that the editor, who wrote the sneering editorial we commented on a few weeks ago, was looking the other way.

I should also report here that our comrades in Cleveland and Akron have told us a number of times, each time with new evidence, that the visits of our candidates to their cities is helping to build our movement there. Milwaukee writes us that they had a very enthusiastic meeting for Myra. There was a good deal of discussion about the need for a labor party. James Boulton, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Wisconsin, who shared the platform with Myra explained that the absence of a labor party representing the needs of the American working people has made it possible for McCarthyism to flourish.

DOBBS ON THE WEST COAST

Farrell Dobbs began his west coast campaign with a bang-up meeting in Los Angeles filling the SWP Hall. He also spoke at an outdoor meeting at the L.A. city campus to several score students, many of whom remained a long while after to question and argue with Dobbs about socialism. There was a half-hour interview with Dobbs over a local TV station; news write-ups appeared in four of the five local dailies; and to cap off a very busy and successful weekend, there was a buffet supper for Dobbs and Milton Snipper, SWP Congressional candidate, at the party hall where friends and comrades enjoyed a very congenial evening with the candidates.

"FORTUNE" GLOATS TOO SOON

Most of the readers of this column don't usually make the practice of reading the swank Big Business magazine *Fortune* which retails for \$1.25 a crack. Anyway, they decided to cheer up their clientele with a Big Brag story about the state of American radicalism today which purports to give objective treatment to the parties on the left including the SWP. The caption of their story reads: "Where Are the Radicals?" — Reforms, prosperity, and the cold war have wrecked the campaign prospects of the left-wing political parties."

If we had the space here, we

could show how almost the identical kind of story was appearing in practically every American paper and periodical in the era that preceded the 1929 crash. Then as now, the pundits were gloating over the "death of Marxism" and the triumph of "free enterprise." But overnight the tune went flat and sour on their lips and it remained that way for ten years. Many of the same crowd that are now running a capitalist "social revolution" from the pages of *Fortune* magazine were then puncturing the hollowiness of the Big Brag of the Twenties.

Have your fun now, gentlemen! You'll have to do a lot of fast talking and explaining when that inevitable turn in the cycle brought on by war or depression "wrecks the prospects of capitalism" all over again — this time for good.

The "experts" and the "economists" of the Twenties really believed the anti-Marxist nonsense they were peddling. This gang knows better. . .

"Point Four" Cannot Halt Colonial Revolutions

By Harry Frankel

The wisecracks who claim that Lenin's theory of imperialism has been "refuted" by American development should read the story on foreign investment in the Sept. 27 issue of *Business Week*. It starts:

"The U.S., greatest creditor nation in history, has to export huge hunk of private risk capital if there's to be a stable, expanding free world economy. So say most experts on international economic policy. Lately they're been bawling the fact that less than \$1 billion annually in direct new investments (last year: \$963 million) is going abroad — and oil investment alone accounts for half of that. A yearly outflow of about \$4 billion, they say, might be more in keeping with U.S. aims and needs."

FRUSTRATED BY REVOLUTION

American imperialism, like every other before it, is impelled by a profound need to export capital; that is, to obtain ownership of new portions of the world. This need is drastically frustrated by the rising colonial revolution which makes foreign investment ever more risky, and by the growth of the Soviet bloc, in which investment is impossible. For the present, American imperialism has relieved the capital-export pressure by the arms program.

However, the capitalist class is faced with the threat that the arms program will taper off slightly after a year or two. Further, private capital investment for plant and equipment in this country, fostered by the arms program, has been running at record levels but is almost certain to decline next year. For these important reasons, Wall Street is turning increasing attention to foreign investment. And where Wall Street turns, Washington turns also.

Foreign investment possibilities have been made the responsibility of the so-called Point Four officials. These officials pretend that there sole objective is to raise living standards abroad and thus "combat communism."

CENTRAL FOCUS OF IMPERIALISM

Actually, Point Four is nothing more than capitalist imperialism. Point Four means investment, and investment is not a gift, but the acquisition of ownership over means of production, and such acquisitions abroad are the precise central focus of capitalist imperialism. The fact that Washington tries to cover up with "philanthropic" talk is not at all impressive: all previous British, French, Dutch, Belgian, German or Japanese imperialism was also rationalized by talk of "the white man's burden."

When businessmen and government officials get together they dispense with the camouflage. For example, Eric A. Johnston, former head of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and now chairman of Truman's International Development Advisory Board is holding conferences with businessmen throughout the country. *Business Week* makes it quite clear that Johnston is appealing to their cupidity, not their (fabled) generosity. He wants to "kindle in businessmen some of the buccannery spirit that drove British investors," and he tries to bring a drool to their faces with "a hatful of little yarns. . . about how Yankee business daring and initiative have paid off handsomely in various parts of the world."

JOHNSTON'S PROFIT YARNS

Johnston cites the case of the former airlines pilot in Brazil who parlayed a \$10,000 bankroll into half-a-million-dollars in a single year, he mentions Sears-Roebuck's "three Brazilian stores

with good profits," and brags about Firestone's \$45 million worth of rubber exported from Liberia last year. India is another scene of triumphs for Point Four: the American Cyanamid Company in digging in there and "the profits prognosis is excellent." *Business Week* reports: "Washington adds another word of advice. The prospective investor would be smart to rope some local capital into a project. More and more big U.S. firms are doing it — thus parrying the charge of 'dollar imperialism' and gaining a lot more pull with the local government authorities."

PAYING FOR TRADE

Another reason why U.S. capitalism is paying increasing attention to foreign investment is the balance of payments crisis. Foreign nations find it impossible to pay for their trade with the U.S. Exports from this country are running about \$4.5 billion a year more than imports. Heretofore, the U.S. government has, in effect, been giving the capitalists of the rest of the world that \$4.5 billion so that they could pay the U.S. capitalists. But now that economic aid is being virtually cut off in favor of military aid, the dollar shortage in Europe is becoming quite acute.

So Wall Streeters say: "Instead of insisting on dollars from Europe in return for goods, let's take our pay in the form of a piece of Europe's economy." That's what they mean when they advocate foreign investment to alleviate the dollar shortage.

The hope that U.S. capitalists can make good the lopsided balance of trade by taking its payoff in pieces of foreign economies is quite foolish. The U.S. has at least \$4 billion a year coming to it from the rest of the world on the export-import account. In addition, U.S. investments abroad, now over \$20 billion, pay off at the rate of more

than 13% a year, or over \$2½ billion last year. Thus, adding the two there is a total dollar gap of about \$7 billion right now that must be made up.

\$7 BILLION PIPEDREAM

The notion that U.S. imperialism could raise their capital exports from a present \$1 billion to anything near \$7 billion is a pipedream. They can never be convinced to enlarge their investments abroad in this revolutionary period on such a gigantic scale.

But even assuming they did so, this kind of "solution" is one that would only intensify the problem. If the rest of the world owes the U.S. \$2.7 billion a year on its present foreign investments of \$20 billion, and if the imperialists succeeded in adding \$7 billion more investments in a single year, then at the same rate of return the world would owe U.S. imperialism about \$3.5 billions a year. Thus the next year the dollar crisis of foreign lands would be intensified because they would owe more profits to the U.S. because of the increase in foreign investments.

Nor would U.S. success in boosting foreign investments help in combating colonial revolutionary movements as the Point Four planners hope. First of all, industrialization expands the class of industrial wage workers, and this is the most revolutionary segment of the colonial population, which leads all the others in the anti-imperialist battle. And secondly, it is precisely this type of economic overlordship that created the colonial revolutionary movement in the first place.

No one can give any reason why the same sort of economic exploitation which produced the revolutionary upheavals in the colonies in the first place will now halt it, even if it is labeled Point Four.

THE MILITANT ARMY

New York campaigners report a very favorable response to Socialist Workers Party rallies in Harlem, according to Literature Agent Ethel Swanson. "People who stopped at our street meeting for Dobbs last Saturday night stayed throughout the entire meeting, asked questions, and applauded the speakers enthusiastically."

We sold 74 Militants and 22 copies of 'The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. H. T. Moore,' in addition to distributing 150 of our election platform. Sharon, who sold 22 Militants and six Moore pamphlets, was our best salesman that night. Dorothy, Anne and Lenny were next in line.

"Sometimes we go on a Militant sale and the results are meager compared with those of our last street meeting, but they usually chalk up to being worthwhile. For example, at a poorly attended CIO meeting a week ago, I sold *The Militant* to only five people. But one of them attended our election forum that week. It's *The Militant* that finds friends and makes new ones for socialism."

"Please send a Twin Cities bundle of 1,000 Militants of the Oct. 6 issue," writes Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman. "The Militant during this election campaign has inspired us all to go out 'campaigning,' and especially now with Farrell Dobbs' visit in the Twin Cities coming up!"

Literature Agent Louise Maxwell reports some of the experiences of Los Angeles Militant salesmen at a rally called by the Stalinists to protest the arrival of the Un-American Activities Committee: "Nine of us went to the rally — three selling *The Militant*, one selling 'The Road to Peace,' and the rest distributing campaign literature. The intensification of the witch hunt, as indicated by the arrival of the Un-American Activities Committee must have had a deep effect on many Stalinists, for unlike our usual experience, we had a number of favorable reactions."

"One man, when requested to buy a pamphlet, asked who published it. When he was told that it was put out by the Socialist Workers Party, he hesitated a

few minutes, and said to his wife, 'I'll buy it. After all they're against capitalism just like we are.' The wife disagreed with him but he bought it anyway. Another bought the pamphlet remarking that we may be doing some good after all."

"Apparently concerned, a woman approached one of our comrades with the plea that we get together before the witch hunt gets all of us individually. When told that we favored a united front to fight the terror, but that the Stalinists did not, and that they actually sabotaged the fight when they refused to support our 18, the first victims of the Smith Act, she said she knew about that but that somehow we must find a way to fight together."

"That evening we sold 28 Militants and 10 pamphlets, in addition to distributing hundreds of pieces of campaign literature. Generally I noticed that even if they do not buy anything, they cannot help being affected by our slogans, especially in this period."

Nick Bennett writes to increase San Francisco's bundle order and to report on the increased sales resulting from the spirited election campaigning by the Bay City comrades. "We are into the campaign here and literature is moving. Besides our Sunday morning sub drive, we have street sales Friday nights during our street corner meetings. Saturday afternoon we are out in another district that we make it a practice to hit every week."

"Saturday evenings we have sales to our friends during the socials. And now we are selling on two campuses here in the Bay Area. Frances and I sold 10 Militants and two FT's at the University of California in less than 40 minutes. In fact I have been running out of papers and have to do some real planning to ensure enough papers for sales all around. Also we have Dick and Mary hitting one of the projects with about 22 papers on Sundays. The papers are sold out and time is spent talking to these people about the campaign and our program."

Next Week

Report from London:
"Evans' Victory Opens New Phase of Struggle for Socialism in Britain."

THE MILITANT

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They Know What They're Getting

Governor Stevenson, darling of the liberals, made his bid in an Oct. 7 speech at Detroit for the title of America's witch-hunter-in-chief. He ridiculed Republican opponents as "noisy amateurs" and set himself up as a "cautious, silent professional" in the business of destroying the Bill of Rights.

Stevenson referred to the issue under discussion throughout his speech as "the fight against communism." But what he really meant is the destruction of the rights of free opinion, free speech and free press in America, and he made that absolutely clear.

He made it clear by endorsing Truman's witch hunt point by point. He backed the so-called "loyalty" purge program of government employees which looks into such matters as whether a government worker is friendly with Negroes and then throws him out of his job without disclosing evidence or specific charges against him.

He backed the Smith Act and the jailing of people under it. He even went so far as to praise J. Edgar Hoover and his FBI for "providing the evidence that sent the thirty-one (Communist Party) leaders to prison." Everyone knows that all the evidence that was "provided" by the FBI could have been provided by any one taking the trouble to read the *Daily Worker* since all those who have been jailed under the Smith Act have been punished for their opinions only. Nevertheless, Stevenson endorses this gag law and pledges to continue it.

Stevenson backed every aspect of the Truman witch hunt and promises more of the same, "strengthened" if possible. One praiseworthy point about his speech, the only one, is that he has made his stand unmistakably clear.

What will his "liberal" supporters do now? What will the CIO and AFL, both of which have condemned Truman's witch hunt, say about this promise of more of the same to come if Stevenson should be elected?

What will the liberals of the Americans for Democratic Action, the liberal organization which is both opposed to the witch hunt and in favor of Stevenson, have to say about this plainly-phrased speech?

Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., who is a member of the executive committee of the ADA, is also the chief "researcher" for Stevenson's campaign committee. Will he now resign in protest? Or perhaps he has so cast-iron a digestion that he himself did the "research" for Stevenson's witch hunt speech.

Stevenson has been very slippery on many matters in the course of this campaign. He has been elusive about the Taft-Hartley Act and other such issues. But on the witch hunt his position is now so clear that there can be no mistake. No liberal, no unionist, no supporter of civil liberties will be able to say, if Stevenson should be elected, that he didn't know what he was getting.

The General and the War Boom

General Eisenhower, speaking in Peoria, Ill. last Thursday made some very important observations about American capitalism over the last 20 years. The facts he cited, although demagogically intended, bear repetition.

He said: "I propose to show you tonight that whatever economic gains have been made since 1932 have been due . . . to war or the threat of war."

Eisenhower went on: "If we look closely at the last twenty . . . years we find a startling thing. Nineteen twenty-nine was the last year in which we enjoyed prosperity in a time of peace. From then until 1939, when World War II began, our economy showed no growth whatever in real output per person."

"The New Deal never actually solved the unemployment problem. In 1939, after seven years of New Deal doctoring, 9½ million Americans were still out of work. . . . Then came World War II. . . . World War II did what the New Deal was unable to do. . . ."

The Republican candidate then went on to the post-war period, of which he said: "In spite of the illusion of improvement created by larger dollar signs on payrolls and prices, there has been since the war no economic growth and no rise in living standards." Following this, the war came to the rescue again: "Just as . . . the economy was beginning to weaken, along came Korea. Defense production again propped up the economy."

From these facts Eisenhower drew this conclusion: "There is no future for America in economic policies that depend upon the stimulus of war and threat of war to create and maintain prosperity."

Eisenhower's picture of U.S. trends is fairly, although not completely accurate. But his interpretation is fantastic. He wants us to believe that this deep-seated trend of American capitalism towards war or depression can be corrected merely by placing the Republican Party in office instead of the Democratic Party.

There is no "correction" for this condition under capitalism. It results from the fact that the productive capacity of the American economy is enormous, while the capitalist system prevents the consuming capacity from ever catching up with it. It is not that the consuming capacity of the people is too small. The people can use everything the economy produces, and more. But the capitalist system prevents this because it does not permit the consumption of goods unless the capitalist can make a profit on that consumption.

The war-tendency pointed to by Eisenhower is the result of this dilemma. It substitutes war orders for depression, and coins profits out of human blood and misery. Neither Eisenhower nor Stevenson can straighten this out, nor, we might add, can any other human being or party, unless it ends the capitalist system and runs society on a socialist basis.

Stalin's "Analysis" of World Crisis

By John G. Wright

On the eve of the 19th convention of the Russian Communist Party, the first such gathering in 13 years, Stalin printed in the Moscow magazine *Bolshevik* a 25,000 word document, entitled "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR."

It is the most important and far-reaching statement of foreign and domestic policy that has emanated from the Kremlin in the postwar period.

In it Stalin advances a new "analysis" of the world economic and political situation, shifts the axis of the Kremlin's foreign policy, and by the same token orders a shift in the line of Communist parties in capitalist countries, a shift that was already inaugurated last month in France.

Economically, according to Stalin, the Soviet Union no longer lives, as it did in the pre-war days, in a capitalist encirclement. Instead the Soviet Union now leads a "parallel" existence at the head of a "united and powerful Socialist camp" embracing

"China and other people's democracies in Europe."

In this new postwar world, which has been, according to Stalin, definitively divided into two world markets, "parallel" and "counter-poised one to the other," the advantages are all on the side of the Soviet Union and the "socialist camp" it heads. It is strong and bound to grow stronger.

On the other hand, the "parallel" camp of capitalism with its "parallel" world market is weak and bound to grow weaker, being torn apart by economic and political contradictions and conflicts. The main task therefore is to maintain indefinitely the status quo so favorable to the Soviet Union.

HOLDS SATELLITES WILL BREAK FROM U.S.

Politically, according to Stalin, the situation in the imperialist camp is highly unstable, even explosive. The U.S. leadership of the capitalist world is neither secure nor lasting. The U.S. is

bound to run up more and more against the opposition of its victorious allies (Britain and France) and the defeated capitalist countries (Western Germany and Japan). These countries, Stalin asserts, cannot possibly suffer "without end the oppression of the United States." Instead they "will try to break out from American slavery and set forth on a path of independent development." In other words, the main enemy for the workers in these lands is not capitalism at home, but Washington abroad.

Stalin has suddenly discovered that there is little chance for a combined imperialist assault on the USSR. It is possible "theoretically," but excluded "in practice." Why?

"Because, in the first place, a war with the USSR, the country of socialism, is more dangerous for capitalism than a war between individual capitalist countries." Such a war "obligatorily" must put the question of the very existence of capitalism. In the second place, because the capitalists "know that the Soviet Union will not attack the capitalist countries."

On the other hand, what is assured is war between rival imperialist combinations. In fact, such a war, even a series of wars, is "inevitable." And presumably the Soviet Union would not become involved in the conflict.

SOURCE OF "ANALYSIS"

In what dream world has the "realist" Stalin conjured up this incredible "analysis" of the existing world relations and perspectives? This analysis flows directly from the counter-revolutionary school of Stalinist thought and politics whose point of departure is, as it always has been, the maintenance of the status quo at all costs.

Unable to arrive directly at a deal with Washington, Stalin now proposes to achieve the same end indirectly — through deals with Britain, France, Germany and Japan, individually or collectively.

Stalin now offers to the European capitalists, and particularly to the German and Japanese capitalists, sweeping guarantees to preserve capitalism in their respective countries.

"The contemporary movement for peace," that is to say, the



STALIN

policy pursued by the various Communist parties, declares Stalin, ". . . does not pursue the purpose of overthrowing capitalism and the establishment of socialism — it limits itself to the democratic purposes of struggle for the keeping of peace."

LINE SHIFTS IN FRANCE

What this means in action has already been spelled out in France. The "urgent task" is the immediate formation of a "UNITED NATIONAL FRONT" composed of "the great mass of French men and women determined to fight for peace and independence of the homeland, irrespective of political conviction, religious belief and social status." This directive was issued by Jacques Duclos, secretary of the French CP, in his Sept. 3 report to the Central Committee of that party. The shift in political line was underscored in France by the purge of Marty and Tillon, the most prominent proponents of the previous leftist line.

The "United National Front" is a revival of the policy of the pre-war days when one or the other of the rival capitalist camps was singled out as the main enemy.

"Defense of peace" and the "winning (of) national independence" (read: a deal with the Kremlin) are the main planks of this "United National Front" to which henceforth all other issues become subordinate.

If the British and French capi-

talists refuse to make such a deal, then Stalin threatens to enter into a deal with the German and Japanese capitalists, helping them to stand on their "own feet" again, that is to rearm — of course, on the condition of "national independence" (from Washington).

THE REAL WORLD

In contrast to Stalin's "analysis," what are some of the real facts in the existing world situation? There are no contending imperialist blocs in the world today as there were in the days before World War III. There never was a capitalist country that dominated the capitalist world economically, financially, diplomatically and militarily so overwhelmingly as does the United States today.

There is no European capitalist country or government strong enough to survive without economic aid, without grants and loans from the U.S. To add to the crisis of world capitalism, there is the sweep of the colonial revolution.

In the face of all these and other decisive factors, the "genius" in the Kremlin has set out to recreate imperialist rivalries and contending imperialist blocs in the hope of maneuvering between them as he was able to do in the pre-war days. Stalin is repeating under new conditions, the false and fatal course that led to the crushing defeats of the European working class in the Thirties, paving the way for Hitler's rise, expediting the outbreak of World War II and facilitating Hitler's subsequent assault on the USSR.

In the old days Stalin dangled before the Soviet people and the various Communist parties the theory of "building socialism in one country." He has now modified and expanded this into a new theory of successfully building socialism within a "new world market" comprising China and Eastern Europe under the leadership of the USSR.

Under the old theory the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union were reduced to the role of mere patrol guards, safeguarding the Soviet borders, sacrificing the vital interests of the workers in their respective countries to the needs of the Kremlin's foreign policy. Under the new "theory" they are assigned the same role as safeguards of the periphery of the "new world market."

Under the old theory Stalin dangled the promise that the Soviet Union would "quickly" catch up with and surpass the advanced capitalist countries. Today he dangles the illusion that the "socialist camp" will "soon" become not only completely self-sufficient economically, but will grow so much stronger than the capitalist sector as to be able to dump "surplus merchandise" into it "on the side."

But even assuming that this is economically feasible, will history grant the time for such a vast construction? Will the imperialists sit by with folded hands while it is being carried on?

DIVISION IN BUREAUCRACY

From Stalin's document it is perfectly obvious that there exists a section of his own bureaucracy that either questions this, or has serious doubts about it. They fear a concerted imperialist assault upon the USSR on the ground that "the contradictions between the camp of socialism and the camp of capitalism are stronger than the contradictions between capitalist countries."

Stalin's document is in part a veiled but harsh polemic against "certain comrades" who hold this view. How large or serious this opposition is remains unknown. But it is dangerous to Stalin both at home and abroad. This indicates a purge of Stalinist ranks in order to consolidate the bureaucracy and its agencies abroad behind the "new" theory and the corresponding shift in foreign policy.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

THE JAPANESE ELECTIONS
 Oct. 1 resulted in Premier Yoshida's Liberal Party retaining control with a reduced majority, a serious defeat for the Socialists, but notable gains for the other left-wing parties. The Liberal Party (which is really not liberal but thoroughly conservative) is backed by the Japanese millionaires and by the U.S. State Department.

Here are the election results:
 Liberals — 240 seats in the Diet (285 in last house); Progressives — 85 (67); Right Socialists — 57 (30); Left Socialists — 54 (16); Stalinists — 0 (22); others — 30 (26). These figures indicate a shift to the left generally, but within the working class a shift away from the Stalinists and toward the socialists. The success of the Left Socialists is particularly noteworthy, for their parliamentary representation increased from 16 to 54 seats. This party was backed by the Japanese Trade Union Council. It waged its election campaign around the following slogans:

An independent, neutral foreign policy; abolition of the military clauses of the Peace Treaty and of the Security Pact; return of the Kurile Islands, the Bonin Islands, Okinawa and South Sakhalin to Japan; maintenance of peace through collaboration of the Big Powers and efforts to carry out the founding spirit of the UN; fight against rearmament through defense of the Constitution which bars rearmament; unification of the police system under democratic Public Peace Preserving Committees; opening of Sino-Japanese trade; full employment; complete freedom of political activities for the labor movement; and a wage increase of 40% over the present starvation level.

NEW ELECTIONS IN GREECE have been set for next month. Recent articles in the *N. Y. Times* have stressed the "spreading disillusionment" of the Greek people. The U.S. puppet rulers in Athens have been unable

to stop inflation, depressed areas have received no relief, and corruption is worse than ever. An Athens newspaper recently quoted U.S. Ambassador John Peurifoy as urging new elections and seeing Greece's economic salvation in a "strong government" that would push through "unpopular measures."

BOLIVIA SEIZED TIN MINES of the Big Three mining companies — Aramayo, Patiño and Hochschild — Oct. 7. Details of the nationalization demanded by the Bolivian labor movement will be made public later, government spokesmen said. Receivers were named for the mines and government engineers were sent to prevent sabotage by the former foreign owners.

RAIL STRIKERS IN PERU won a 20% general wage increase from the British-owned Central Railroad. The 3,400 railroaders were out for two days. This is the fourth consecutive victory for Peruvian labor in recent strikes. First strike was of the nation's 35,000 textile workers who shut down all Peru's 56 plants; second was of 11,000 miners; third was a typographical strike which became a general strike of workers in the state of Arequipa. Hotel and restaurant workers threaten a strike. A University strike of students, backed by the unions, constitutes a serious political danger to the government.

NO NOBEL PEACE PRIZE will be awarded this year. The Prize Committee gave no reason, perhaps because it thought the reason was obvious.

Two Speeches

by
LEON TROTSKY
 "Europe and America"
 71 pp. 35 cents
 "Assassination of
 Leon Trotsky"
 (Proofs of Stalin's Guilt)
 by
ALBERT GOLDMAN
 74 pp. 25 cents

New York SWP on the Air
 WNEW (1130 on dial)
 Programs for Farrell Dobbs, Michael Bartell and George Breitman

Sun., Oct. 12; Tues., Oct. 14; Thurs., Oct. 16; Mon., Oct. 20; Thurs., Oct. 23; Sun., Oct. 26; Wed., Oct. 29; Fri., Oct. 31. All at 9 P.M.

PP Ranks Torn Over Stevenson

(Continued from page 1)

Stone picks up anything loose he can find. And finding little nearby, he seeks ammunition in history. He starts off by going all the way back to Lincoln in 1860. Stevenson, he says, is a "lesser evil" like Lincoln was.

FALSE ANALOGY

But if the example of Lincoln has any relevance for our time, it is in a revolutionary class sense. Lincoln was not the "lesser evil" as compared to Breckenridge, the Southern candidate. Douglas held that role. Lincoln was the head of a new, revolutionary party guided in a certain direction by historic forces. As a political representative of the then rising and progressive capitalist class, Lincoln led the anti-slavery forces in a bloody civil war that crushed the slave-owning system and class.

Stone would surely look askance at any suggestion that Stevenson is the representative of the revolutionary progressive class of our time, the working class, and that he is destined to be the leader of a civil war against the capitalist system and class. Yet, any other analogy with Lincoln would not only limp but fall flat on its face.

In his Sept. 21 article, Stone wandered over to Germany in 1932 to find another precedent. He attributes the victory of Hitler solely to a refusal of the Communist Party to join with the "lesser evil," the Social-Democratic Party, in a struggle against the Nazis. But the more precise analogy in the support the German Social-Democratic party gave Hindenburg as the "lesser evil" to Hitler. Hindenburg, we remind Stone, made Hitler his Chancellor.

CP AND ROOSEVELT

Stone presents as his historical clincher the case of Roosevelt in 1932. The Stalinists, who are the chief influence inside the PP, "mistook FDR for a betrayer of the masses" in 1932, Stone asserts. Wasn't Roosevelt a "lesser evil" to Hoover and didn't Roosevelt turn out to be one of the "most important progressive figures" to arise in America? Stone challenged Marcantonio.

The Communist Party was not wrong in opposing Roosevelt in 1932, although it exaggerated by calling him a "fascist." But from 1935 to this very day the Stalinists, like Stone and the anti-

Stalinist labor leaders and liberals, have falsified the true role of Roosevelt. His reform activity, which diverted the labor movement from independent class political action and thereby saved American capitalism in the great depression, scarcely outlasted his first term.

By the fall of 1937, having failed to solve the problem of capitalist economic crisis and unemployment, Roosevelt turned toward war preparations. He laid the basis for the current witch-hunt with his signing of the Smith "Gag" Act of 1940 and his prosecution of the Trotskyists in the Minneapolis labor trial of 1941. And his war program, with its reactionary domestic consequences, continues under Truman to sustain American capitalism today and to nourish McCarranism and McCarthyism.

FATAL ADMISSIONS

Leaving history, Stone ventures to take up Stevenson's program. Here he tries to be deceptively disarming. He concedes a great deal about the identity of fundamental program and aim-starting with the key question of foreign policy — between the two major capitalist parties. These admissions alone damn his "lesser evil" case.

"Both parties," Stone writes, "talk peace, but espouse policies which lead toward war." In fact, from the stand-point of the "lesser evil," there was a time not so long ago when the Republican Taft, and more recently Eisenhower, "seemed to promise a possible path to peace" for "some men of good-will like Walter Lippmann." But "today the China Lobby has swallowed Taft, Nixon overshadows Eisenhower, Jenner is embraced and McCarthy is triumphant."

However, sighs Stone, "on the other side, the outlook is not much less bleak. The Democratic Party is the party of the Truman Doctrine, the Atlantic Pact and the arms race. It has maintained prosperity by rearmament. It has fought the Red-scare attacks upon it by initiating a replica of the Alien and Sedition Law period and (in quieter but no less extensive form) of the 'deportation delirium' which followed the first World War. Its campaign of 'total diplomacy' . . . has sought to make the word negotiation subversive and to read the word peace out of polite and patriotic discourse."

Stone even sees the possibility of a "new intrigue to step up

the war after the elections irrespective of which side wins. Beyond this, giving it substance, is an economy which fears to throw away the crutch of war." And "even a man as intelligent as Adlai Stevenson" is affected by "an atmosphere so thick with paranoid nonsense."

BACKS WAR IN KOREA

What Stone here concedes should by itself prove to all but the most thick-headed that Stevenson is no "lesser evil" on the decisive issue of war. But Stevenson goes further than Stone points out. Stevenson supports the Korean war to the hilt. About the war he said, "We can keep it up as long as we have to and we will." He calls for more military aid to British and French imperialism to subjugate the Malaysians and Indo-Chinese. He chides Republicans for even talk about reducing military spending and cutting taxes.

As a matter of fact, the differences between Stevenson and Eisenhower on foreign policy are of a secondary, tactical character — where, when, precisely how to implement the agreed-by-partisan course toward world conquest.

Trying to strengthen his weak case, Stone even advances his own personal impressions. He feels "confidence" in Stevenson's peaceful intent. On what does Stone base this psychological judgment? Stevenson said, in passing, that he would "never fear to negotiate" with Stalin. That's all.

TRUMAN PROMISED MORE

But Truman promised even more than that before the 1948 elections. He even spelled out how he intended to negotiate and whom he was sending as negotiator. Stevenson now figures that an even vaguer promise to negotiate will pick up PP votes in 1952. Stone's shift indicates that in this at least Stevenson is right.

Although Stone admits that Stevenson's single phrase about "never fearing to negotiate" with Moscow was enough to get his vote, he tries to sell Stevenson on other grounds too. He thinks Stevenson is less anti-labor and more liberal on civil rights than Eisenhower. Stone huffs and puffs about the Republicans Nixon and McCarthy and speaks softly about Democratic witch-hunter McCarran and Jim-Crow champion Sparkman. He hails Stevenson for attacking McCarthyism but ignores Stevenson's proposals to kick "communist" teachers out

The Tax on Child Care

By Joyce Cowley

When the boss takes a customer to dinner, he writes off the Scotch and sirloin as "entertainment." It's a legitimate deduction from his income tax. But when a working mother pays \$15 a week for the care of her child, that's not a business expense!

Recently nationwide publicity was given to the bill introduced by Congresswoman Edna Kelly of New York providing tax relief on the cost of child care, but it was limited to working widows and widowers. Three other bills have been introduced, the most liberal of that of Congressman Keating of New York which provides for the deduction of all necessary expenses paid for nursery care or a housekeeper's wages.

I'm sure every working mother bitterly resents paying taxes on the money that has to go to a nursery or child-care center. But if she doesn't have a child-care center, that's even worse.

A year ago Spencer Crookes, Executive Director of the Child Welfare League of America, admitted that even in "normal" times few cities have enough facilities to care for the children of working mothers. The present emergency (which looks kind of permanent) has resulted in "growing hardship... caused by the severe shortage." The number of working mothers has continued to increase this last year, but the House Appropriations Committee recently excluded any funds for child care, stating that Federal assistance was not justified.

There are Federal laws to furnish support for state and community day-care programs, but Congress doesn't appropriate any money to make them effective. During the war there were more than 3,000 centers throughout the country subsidized mainly by Lanham Act funds. When the war ended, the government dropped the child-care program. Today there are less than 2,000 centers and many cost \$13 to \$18 a week for each child.

The program was dropped because working mothers were supposed to go back home "where they belong." But rising prices have forced more and more mothers to take jobs. Over 70% of the women in the labor force today are married, widowed or divorced and at least 4 1/2 million have children.

When a married woman goes to work, it may solve the problem of that 15% rent increase and buying hamburger. But it creates a lot of problems, too. Just how does a woman work eight hours a day, provide for the care of her children, buy groceries, cook meals, clean the house and get her laundry done?

Publications of the Women's Bureau in Washington give a number of suggestions to help married women who work. Some of them don't sound practical to me, like the one about laundries in the plant. Take your dirty clothes to the plant in the morning and bring them home clean at night — I can't help seeing a dozen or more women struggling into a crowded bus or subway with heavy bags of laundry!

A militant and practical program to answer the problems of working wives and mothers should include tax deductions on money spent for child care. It should include Federally financed nurseries, hot lunches, after-school care and summer camps for the children of working mothers, maternity leave before and after childbirth with cash benefits while on leave and the right to return to your job, expansion of restaurant, laundry and shopping facilities in housing projects and plants.

It's not just a dream. Cooperatives in Sweden have achieved all these things and a lot more — non-profit restaurants, hot food service delivered to your apartment, nurseries that are open day and night — weekends, too. England has made nursery schools a part of public education. In many countries maternity leave with cash benefits is included in the Social Security laws. The International Labor Conference held in Geneva in June set standards of 12 weeks maternity leave with disability insurance, provision for medical care and the right to return to your job.

The United States as an ILO member is under obligation to refer its recommendations to Congress and state legislatures where, in accordance with past traditions, they may be quietly buried. But the working women of this country can decide differently. If we have a militant program and are ready to fight for it, we can win these benefits for ourselves and our children here in the United States.

A Graduate Reutherite

By Emmett Moore

Not too many people outside of the CIO United Automobile Workers Union are acquainted with Art Johnstone. However, in the General Motors department of the UAW, which he directed the last several years under the watchful eyes of his close friend and associate Walter P. Reuther, he is only too well known.

His friendship with Reuther dates back to the early days of the union. Through the years he shared Reuther's ups and downs until a few weeks ago Reuther abruptly fired him from his post.

In the GM ranks this event was universally hailed. They didn't know the exact reasons nor did they particularly care. The unanimous judgment was that the action should have been taken years ago.

Johnstone was not an elected officer. It is doubtful that he ever held an elected post in his long career in the union. He was strictly an appointed pork-chopper with the usual high pay and expense account.

Search high and low and you couldn't find a more perfect symbol of the Reuther machine man. Johnstone seemed to idolize Walter Reuther. If he crawled before his master, he more than made up for it by lording it over the GM workers.

At GM union conferences opposition delegates were bowled over by this ruthless, undemocratic chairman. His opponents were invariably described as stupid, asinine, utopian schemers, dreamers, seekers of the millennium, etc. On one occasion Johnstone tongue-scraped the bottom of the boss's barrel when he had the gall to dub Flint Chevrolet delegates "pinks, punks, and parasites."

As the leader of a department covering 350,000 members Johnstone had plenty of power. All big grievances, penalties and firings crossed his desk. Tens of scores of good, honest militant workers with long years of seniority never had a chance

while he was in office. Recall those fired militants, Hill, Rockwell, Butler, Fitzgerald, Tucker? Johnstone was the man who negotiated the five-year contract. He defended this evil contract countless times and carried it out to the letter of the law no matter how it benefited the corporation.

After only two years, he stood alone in its defense. Nowhere in the GM set-up can you find a worker, committee man, or local officer who has a good word for the contract.

At a special meeting in Flint not so long ago, after the Ford pension plan was adopted, Chevrolet workers and others had a chance to even a few scores with Johnstone. They never gave him a chance to sell his miserable pension package. They greeted him with deafening, continuous unrelenting boos until he got off the floor. Never before had any union leader been received in this manner.

Reuther has passed the word along that Johnstone was responsible for the five-year contract and had to go. No one believes this. After all Johnstone only obeyed his master's voice. The simple truth is that he had become a hindrance to the machine. He was creating too many enemies in the ranks.

Today we learn that Johnstone, the man who despised the militant auto workers, the man who lived a soft and easy life at the expense of hard-working production hands, has obtained a new job.

Johnstone is now a management man where he always belonged. He is the executive secretary of the Detroit Newspaper Publishers Association. One of his main jobs will be to represent the publishers in negotiations with the CIO Newspaper Guild.

Johnstone has changed employers. His ideology remains the same. The machine that created him will continue to manufacture corporation agents.

Notes from the News

BRUTAL SENTENCES were passed by an Army court martial at Camp Atterbury, Indiana on five over-seas veterans, two of whom had been wounded in Korea. The soldiers, prisoners in the stockade, were convicted of refusal to obey an officer's order to take part in a fire drill. Though the oldest of them was only 24, they were given sentences of 35, 30, 20, 15 and 10 years at hard labor. Those not familiar with how brutal army stockades can be, should read the newspaper stories about the Litchfield army stockade during the last war of James Jones' novel *From Here to Eternity*.

POLICE BEAT PACIFIST. Richard Kern, member of the War Resisters League, was beaten by police for distributing anti-war leaflets during a practice air raid in New York. The N. Y. Daily Compass published photographs of Kern's battered and bruised face and chest taken immediately after his release from jail.

BEHIND BRIDGES' DEPORTATION CASE. Harry Bridges, West Coast longshore leader, who is fighting deportation, declared in his union's newspaper that in 1948 he was told "by representatives of National CIO and Phil Murray that I must support and do my best to have the union support Harry S. Truman for reelection, or else. I was told point blank that refusal meant that deportation proceedings would be instituted against me..." CIO head Phil Murray denied in the CIO News that he or "any duly authorized representatives of the CIO" had had such conversations with Bridges. Bridges replied was to name the representatives as CIO Vice-president Allan Haywood and his assistant R. J. Thomas, place Whitcomb Hotel. Bridges added that shortly after his refusal to give up supporting Wallace's third party, agents of the Immigration Department were in town investigating him.

TWO PROGRESSIVE PARTY members on the West Coast have been screened off merchant ships by the U.S. Coast Guard. Association or membership with the Progressive Party was cited in each case by authorities, although the Progressive Party is not on the Attorney General's "subversive" list.

KU KLUX ELEMENTS in Perryopolis, a small town near Donora, Penna., threatened bombings and arson to prevent a Negro veteran and his family of four from occupying a 42-acre farm. As Robert Baird tried to move his furniture to the

farm he had arranged to buy, the white owner, who lives on an adjoining farm, cancelled the sale stating that he had received "letters and telephone calls threatening to burn you out and bomb me out of my place."

LEON JOUHAUX, head of the Force Ouvrier trade unions in France told Paris reporters after returning from a trip to America that organized labor in the U.S. may soon be ready to form a Labor Party.

CHANGE OF TUNE. Steel executives, according to the Journal of Commerce of Sept. 5, now fear a surplus of their product. Just a few months ago they were shouting that the CIO steel strikers were traitors because they endangered output.

POLITICAL ASSASSINATION IN N. Y. Andres Reguena, editor of *Patria*, a Spanish language paper, printed in the same shop as *The Militant*, was shot to death in New York October 2. *Patria* is a paper got out by a group of exiles from the Dominican Republic, a Caribbean country that suffers under a brutal dictatorship.

Reguena made his living as a tailor, devoting his spare time to *Patria*. As editor, he attacked not only Dictator Trujillo but the Dominican consul in New York, Felix W. Bernadino, whom he repeatedly accused of being a gunman and convicted murderer released from prison by Trujillo.

Patria on several occasions printed stories of death threats to its editors from the consul. When these were reported to the N. Y. police, Reguena was told it was a problem for the State Department. When he informed federal agents, they told him it was a problem for the N. Y. police. Attempts had been made to bribe Reguena into renouncing the Dominican revolutionary movement. His wife has revealed that he was offered money and a job with the UN if he would give up writing for *Patria*. (Dominican Consul Bernadino's sister Minerva is Trujillo's delegate on the Commission of Human Rights of the United Nations.)

All friends of the Latin American people and haters of tyranny should honor the devoted life and martyrdom of Andres Reguena at the hands of the Trujillo regime.

His murderers should be tracked down and punished no matter how much this may embarrass the State Department which treats very softly where the feelings of Trujillo's pal, Cuban dictator Batista, are involved.

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Eye-Witness Reports Mood Of Germans

By Karl Bauer

FRANKFORT, Germany — As one who has returned to Germany after a prolonged stay abroad, I am able to confirm that the difference in atmosphere and mass moods is striking. Important changes have taken place in the attitude of the mass of the people, especially the workers, to the existing state of affairs. Apathy and passivity have disappeared. Moods of resistance and struggle are being generated.

The unpopularity of the capitalist government is apparent. There are times when everybody one meets in the streets simply says: "This government must go!"

This mood is being fed by the passage of one law after another which places new burdens on the shoulders of the poor. The government's taxation policy rivals that of France, while the Polish tax system seems in comparison a paradise of equalitarianism.

The steadily declining living standard is pressing harder and harder on labor, spurring the ranks to action. Prices keep climbing from day to day. Wages, of course, lag further and further behind as the inflation spirals. Profits meanwhile keep swelling.

A common sight in the streets is the faces of poor children glued to the windows of the beautiful displays of food and clothes in stores, while their mothers, dressed in threadbare, almost ragged clothes, and with their faces averted, tug at the children's hands, pulling them away from these alluring displays.

Often to be seen are the flashes of anger in the sad and tired eyes of passers-by as some of the merciless masters of this kingdom of misery and poverty ride by in their brand new automobiles. An occasional muttered curse is to be heard. The capitalist masters of the United States are mistaken if they think that the German people will gladly or docilely defend this "democratic" paradise of profit-making and human degradation. It is obvious that the existing state of affairs cannot last forever.

AGAINST REARMAMENT
In my first eye-witness report from Germany I especially want to warn against the claims made in the European and American capitalist press that in Germany there is a growing acceptance of the rearmaments program, or a spirit of "moderation" toward it.

Exactly the contrary is true. Resistance to the Adenauer government's arms program has not abated but steadily increased. As a matter of fact, in my opinion, this resistance has already reached the stage where it is passing from expressions of opposition and displeasure to militant political slogans and battles. The signs of growing awareness by the masses to the meaning of rearmament are as many as they are unmistakable.

REVEALING POLLS
Recent polls are quite revealing. Resentment over rearmament is most widely spread among the workers. Of those polled, about 70% have responded with a flat "No." About 15% refused to commit themselves. But it would be a mistake to think that even among this 15% there are any enthusiastic supporters of reaction. It is simply that government intimidation and the presence of occupation troops make some workers refrain from publicly stating what they think.

That such a majority of workers do not hesitate to speak up and voice their opposition is a sure sign of the growing radicalization. Actually the issue of rearmament seems to have served to awaken the workers and to arouse their energies, especially in the political field. The German working class as a whole is moving toward resolute struggles.

The reformist trade unions have felt the pressure from the ranks to an extent unknown in the postwar period. The left wing in the unions has been strengthened and there is a slow but discernible movement toward the left among a section of the Social Democratic leadership.

Off-duty U.S. troops were called in by army heads to break a strike of over 3,000 Japanese drivers, mechanics and other workers in three major motor pools in Yokohama. The strikers were demanding higher wages.

The federal tax on 100% proof spirits is \$10.50 a gallon. If your state tax is \$1.50 a gallon the combined tax bill, then, is \$12 a gallon or at the rate of \$3 a quart.

Acquitted in Smith Act Trial



Isidore Begun (L) and Simon W. Gerson are shown in New York federal courthouse after Judge Edward Dimock directed a verdict of acquittal in their Smith Act cases. The judge took this action after defense had asked that all 15 defendants be freed. His ground: that no evidence of a conspiracy had been shown against the two. Observers wondered why all 15 Communist Party leaders were not freed, since the same type of evidence was presented against the other 13.

MILTON SNIPPER SCORES L. A. THOUGHT-CONTROL

By Ernest Rief

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 5 — The House Un-American Activities Committee, which has come to Los Angeles to whip up the witch hunt, was scored last night by Milton Snipper, running for Congress in the 19th District on the Socialist Workers Party platform.

"This committee," stated Snipper, "is attempting to stifle free speech and halt opposition to American imperialism in its drive toward war. The witnesses who are defying the committee, regardless of our political agreement or disagreement with them, are to be commended for using the hearings to help expose its true role."

These hearings come on the heels of a visit by the California state Un-American Committee which is investigating "communism" in public housing in an attempt to disrupt this much needed program.

Over 100 people have been subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee as it begins its nosing into movies, radio, TV, medicine, law and labor unions.

In the first five days of hearings, the committee has dragged in 40-odd people, of whom 38 were definitely "unfriendly." While three or four witnesses from the entertainment industry gave sorry lists of people who were allegedly members or sympathizers of the Communist Party, the 38, all doctors and lawyers, defied the committee with such statements as:

"You are nothing but mediocre politicians who are trying to hoist yourselves into high office. I challenge the right of this committee to ask me anything," and "You can keep your 30 pieces of silver, I don't want them."

People who applauded such statements were expelled from the room by John S. Wood, Dixiecrat chairman of the committee.

One doctor related that he had been discharged from Cedars of Lebanon hospital merely on being named in a previous hearing of the committee. Attorney Grover Johnson declared, "The FBI and Immigration Department have offered me money to be a stool pigeon." When attorney William Esterman demanded, in the interests of his clients, to cross-examine one "friendly" witness, Wood had him thrown out.

An attempt by the committee to hear the lawyers in secret session was quashed by defense attorney Daniel Marshall who accused it of "no longer daring to carry out its lawless practices in the open and now seeks to retreat behind closed doors."

Outside the federal building where the hearings are held, a picket line of about 100 has been

Says U.S. Set Up German Terrorist Organization

The President of Hesse, a state in the U.S. Zone of Germany, told his Parliament that U.S. authorities had financed and trained a terrorist organization of between one and two thousand former German officers. In event of war and Soviet occupation of West Germany, he said, this organization was to engage in sabotage and to assassinate prominent Communists and "politically undesirable" Social Democratic leaders.

Social Democrats slated for "liquidation" covered 80 pages, Communists, 15 pages. When German authorities uncovered the organization by arresting several members, U.S. authorities secured their release and also prevented questioning of the organization's leader by keeping him on U.S. Occupation property.

Victimized School Teachers in N.Y. Lash Witch-Hunt

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Oct. 2 — The witch hunters have lashed out with loaded gloves in a brutal attack on those teachers in the New York public school system who would dare to think for themselves and discharge their obligations to their pupils by teaching them to do the same.

Six teachers have been summarily fired from their positions by the Board of Education solely for their principled and courageous refusal to answer the prying questions at the McCarran sub-committee hearings on "communism in the public schools." The victimized teachers stood up today before a jam-packed public hearing of the Board, proudly and defiantly, in a demonstration for academic freedom that every opponent of the witch hunt can be proud of.

The fighting spirit of the teachers is indicated by the challenge of Louis Cohen, English instructor at William Taft High School in the Bronx: "Have your second thoughts now, not twenty years later when you will look back and say this was a bad, hysterical time. Have your second thoughts now — it's vital to our national life!"

Sarcastically "thanking" the Board for permitting him to speak, Louis Relin, dismissed English teacher from Abraham Lincoln High School, Brooklyn, told them he "was a real subversive." In indignant tones, he said, "I am subversive of bigotry." The audience burst into applause when he expressed confidence that the witch hunters would not win out, and declared, "I will be back."

BASKET BALL STAR
In a moving speech, Louis Spindel, fired from his position at Textile High, told of his one-time fame as a star on the celebrated basketball team, The Original Celtics. "I was considered one of the all-time greats," he said. "But I left basketball because I couldn't live without teaching after seeing the suffering all over the world."

Welcoming the thinking provoked among students by the Board's action, he said, "I've marched in May Day parades where the students threw eggs at the marchers. But as a result of my dismissal those kids treated me like a real guy today."

Dr. Vera Shlakman, of Queens College, said she had refused to answer questions on her political beliefs because she "would find it very difficult to face my students, with whom I have been concerned recently to discuss the role of free inquiry in self-government. The question is such as to impair and destroy self-government."

AUDIENCE APPLAUDS
Two other teachers spoke in emotion-choked voices. Their speeches were punctuated by sustained applause from the 250 spectators who attended the hearing.

In the midst of a fiery attack on the Board, which she charged was "making a shame and a shambles of our public schools system," Mrs. Rose V. Russell, legislative representative of the Teachers' Union, was arbitrarily cut off by A. G. Clauson, Jr., President of the Board. "Let her speak!", roared the 250 people at the hearing. "I'll determine who speaks here!", Clauson angrily shouted back.

LEGAL TRICKERY
The Board's decision was based on the crassest kind of legal trickery. As a result of the public clamor created by the Seabury investigation of corruption in city government in the early Thirties, a section was included in the city charter providing for the firing of crooked officials who refused to testify before an "authorized" hearing on "the property, government or affairs of the city."

But the McCarran Committee hearings were not "authorized," and teachers are employees of an independent state public corporation, not city employees.

In an editorial, the Queens College *Crown*, the student weekly, called upon the Student Council to lead a campus fight against the McCarran Committee which it described as "an actual threat to our education, to our very reason for attending college."

TOP BOARD OF UAW ASKS LITTLE FROM COMPANIES, MUCH OF RANKS

DETROIT, Sept. 28 — In the past couple of weeks, Reuther's International Executive Board of the CIO United Auto Workers began to reveal its economic and organizational program for the coming spring convention of the union. This program consists of piecemeal economic demands on the corporations accompanied with not-so-piecemeal demands on the convention to give Reuther increased powers over local unions that insist on their local autonomy.

The economic demands which the UAW is "requesting" consist of:

- (1) An increase in the annual productivity factor from four cents to five cents an hour for the remaining two and a half years of the five-year agreement.
- (2) Conversion of 21 cents of the 26 cents now received under the escalator clause into base rate pay.
- (3) An increase in pensions to make up for the rise in the cost of living since the pension plan went into effect.

The one-cent rise and pension demand would add about two cents an hour to General Motors "wage bill."

Switching 21 cents from an escalator rise into a base pay increase would be equivalent to base rate wage gains obtained by other CIO unions since the UAW's five-year agreement went into effect.

The UAW resolution adopted at the recent General Motors conference stated: "On May 29, 1950 the annual improvement factor was computed at a rate of 2 1/2%, which equaled 4 cents an hour, based on the then current average wage of GM employees. Current

hourly rates have increased 35 cents an hour since May 29, 1950 so that the 2 1/2% improvement factor translates into a sum of 4.9%."

The Steelworkers union, in the brief prepared during its last wage fight, proved that annual productivity increases are now higher than the 2 1/2% the UAW refers to. The Steelworkers showed that productivity increases for 1948, 1949 and 1950 were slightly higher than 4%.

The statistical report at the AFL convention said that productivity is currently rising at a rate of 5 1/2% a year.

The one-cent rise the UAW is asking for in no way reflects the rising productivity of labor. It merely compensates for the present inflated wages.

LEVEL SIGHTS ON LOCAL AUTONOMY

The demand for constitutional changes to increase Reuther's International Executive Board's administrative power over local unions was coupled with the return of local autonomy to Ford Local 600.

Under present constitutional provisions, the UAW can place administrators over local unions for only limited periods. The International constitution provides that local elections must then be held and the locals turned back to their rank and file.

In their fight against Reuther's administrative control over their local, the Ford workers proved that he was not all-powerful. Reuther's political machine could not win a fair and honest election in Local 600. The stampede against his machine was of such proportions that when the final election for local union officers

In South Jersey
... Hear George Breitman ... (Candidate for U.S. Senator) Thur., Oct. 16, 1:45 P.M. over Station WGSJ 1240 on the dial

came, Reuther did not even dare to enter a slate against Carl Stellato, president of Local 600.

The International's statement, returning the local union to its duly elected officials, declared:

WITCH-HUNTING HAMPERED BY CONSTITUTION

"However, it will be necessary at the coming UAW-CIO International Convention to review the whole matter of just how a free and democratic union such as the UAW-CIO, can deal with the few communists in our ranks..."

"A free and democratic union, like the UAW-CIO, must necessarily devise adequate constitutional protections against people who would use the very freedom and democracy of our union as a screen behind which to destroy the free labor movement."

"Because of these changed conditions, the present provisions of our Constitution, adopted at the Buffalo Convention in 1941, are no longer adequate."

Reuther's political defeat in Ford Local 600 is apparently driving him toward constitutional changes which would put an end to such humiliating election defeats as this.

It seems that the smaller the economic demands of the auto union on the companies, the more necessary it becomes to limit the right of the rank and file to democratically choose and control its leadership.

British Socialism
For a better understanding of the problems of the British labor movement read "Socialist Outlook," a newspaper, and "Labor Review," a magazine. Send for the latest issues "Socialist Outlook" \$10 "Labor Review" \$25
The Militant
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.