

THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN AMERICA

By James P. Cannon (See Page 2)

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DEMAND CLEMENCY FOR THE ROSENBERGS

An Editorial

Eisenhower's cold-blooded refusal of clemency to the Rosenbergs is the second demonstration by the administration of its brutal and callous plans.

Eisenhower's dooming of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg is a calculated political act. Its purpose is to strike terror into the hearts of all present and potential opponents of the catastrophic war that is being planned.

Eisenhower's statement denying clemency contemptuously ignored the main points of those thousands of Americans who pleaded for mercy in this case.

The protests over the death sentence have come from people of all shades of political opinion. They included America's two leading atomic scientists, liberal and labor spokesmen and thousands of clergymen and educators.

The truth is the Rosenbergs have been doomed for political reasons. Their execution will be a monstrous miscarriage of justice and an ominous stride down the road to a police state in America.

War Weariness Signs Beginning to Appear

Even before Wall Street's preparations for global war have matured, the people both at home and abroad are showing signs of war-weariness and bitterness.

Recent and widespread expression of this was the reaction to Eisenhower's threat to extend the war in the Far East. As reported in last week's Militant, a wave of revulsion and fear swept around the world at his declaration.

Several other widely publicized incidents have occurred recently which indicate the mounting disgust with the Korean war and war in general. Under other conditions and taken by themselves these incidents might have a largely accidental character.

The furor that swept this country a few weeks ago when people read the report of "Operation Smack" in Korea demonstrates the extreme touchiness and sensitivity the American people exhibit on matters relating to the Korean war and the use of the American soldiers.

The courts-martial and conviction, with heavy prison sentences at hard labor, of 87 men and one officer of the famed 65th Regiment, made up mainly of Puerto Ricans, was very revealing. These

men were accused of breaking and running, refusing to counter-attack and disobeying orders in an attack on Kelly Hill. A "large portion" of those who refused to fight, according to Maj. Walton McMullen of the 3rd Infantry Division, were not raw replacements but veterans being returned to the lines. They had some of the best combat records of the war.

Another straw in the wind is the growing number of AWOLs (absent-without-leaves) among Army recruits in this country. The Associated Press reported on Jan. 29 from Fort Meade that a group of soldiers, made up of deserters and AWOLs, was being shipped out on the way to Korea. Fifth Army officials in Chicago were quoted as saying this is part of "the Army's 'get tough' policy, which calls for shipment of runaways to Korea when they are caught. The policy was designed to curb a wave of desertions among men who, in some cases, were trying to avoid combat service."

The Eisenhower administration has not slowed down its war drive because of this war-weariness. Rather it is trying to make capital out of it by offering the desperate people new war adventures under the pretext of "shortening" the Korean war.

Union Heads Call for Drive To Improve Wage Contracts

Victimized Legless Vet Appeals to Eisenhower Price Rises Feared As Curbs End

KUTCHER CALLS FOR JUSTICE IN "LOYALTY" PURGE FIRING

NEWARK, Feb. 11 — The legless veteran James Kutcher, who has been fighting since 1948 for reinstatement on the Veterans Administration job from which he was fired in the "loyalty" purge, today appealed directly to President Dwight D. Eisenhower for the "justice that has been denied me by the preceding Administration."

In his letter, which charged the Truman Administration with political discrimination, the veteran urged that Eisenhower recommend Kutcher's reinstatement to his job with back pay and seniority and to outlaw the subversive list issued by the Attorney General. Kutcher also expressed a desire to meet with the President and explain his case further.

APPEALS TO EISENHOWER

The victimized veteran, who was fired for his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, addressed his appeal to Eisenhower after being informed that VA Administrator Carl R. Gray, Jr., had turned down the request of the veteran's attorney Joseph L. Bauh, Jr., that Kutcher's suspension be lifted and that he be returned to his job.

A U.S. Court of Appeals last October had ruled that mere membership in the Socialist Workers Party was not sufficient

grounds for Kutcher's dismissal and his case had been sent back to Gray for further action.

Since then, Kutcher has been threatened with eviction from his home in a federal housing project here because of his membership in an organization on the Attorney General's list. (Story on Page 4.)

Kutcher's appeal to Eisenhower charges that in compiling this list, "the Attorney General was guilty of some of the most arbitrary violations of traditional democratic procedure in the history of the Republic." Kutcher's full appeal is published starting in the column below.

Kutcher's Letter To the President

President Dwight D. Eisenhower White House Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

I appeal to you for an act of justice that has been denied me by the preceding Administration.

I am a veteran of World War II, who served under your command as an infantry rifleman in the invasion of North Africa and subsequent battles on that continent, the invasion of Sicily and the invasion of Italy. I lost both my legs in the Battle of San Pietro in November 1943, was honorably discharged after learning how to use artificial limbs in September 1945, and went to work as a clerk for the Veterans Administration in Newark in August 1946. I did my work satisfactorily for two years, and then, suddenly in 1948, simply because I believed the same thoughts I believed five years earlier at San Pietro, I was removed from my job and subjected to a stigma on my good name and honor.

Many years before the war I became a socialist and, exercising my constitutional right of political affiliation, joined an organization called the Socialist Workers Party, which appears on the ballot in a number of states and runs candidates for office on a socialist program. I never concealed my membership in this organization either before the war or when I was inducted into and served in the armed forces, or

(Continued on Page 4)



DETROIT CIO ENDORSES CITIZENS' COMMITTEE AGAINST TRUCKS LAW

DETROIT, Feb. 6 — The Wayne County CIO Council — with more than 150 affiliated local unions in the Detroit area — has formally endorsed the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law and has sent a letter to its affiliates containing the following points:

"The Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law is comprised of outstanding citizens from business and the professions, the clergy and the labor movement.

"This committee is a legitimate committee in terms of its work and its opposition to the Trucks Act and is a committee in which all liberals and members of labor unions can join to test the constitutionality of the Trucks Act.

"The Wayne County CIO Council supports and endorses the work of the Citizens Committee. . . .

"We urge our local unions . . . to support and endorse the work of the Citizens Committee."

The Socialist Workers Party's suit challenging the legality of the Trucks Law is backed by the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law and at present is on the calendar of a Michigan state court.

Already General Motors Diesel Local 163 UAW-CIO and Detroit Steel Products Local 351 UAW-CIO have endorsed the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law and have made cash donations to help defray the expenses

of fighting the police-state measure.

On February 2 the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments on the Communist Party's suit against the Trucks Law. It appeared from the questions asked from the bench that the court may rule the law should first be tested in the courts of the state of Michigan.

This viewpoint was demonstrated in a remark of Justice Felix Frankfurter to the effect that the Supreme Court should not rule on the constitutionality of a state law until it finds out what the state courts have said the law means.

The Communist Party's brief argued that the Trucks Law was unconstitutional because it: 1.) "is in conflict with the 1st and 14th Amendments to the Federal Constitution, in that it denies to appellants freedom of speech, press and assembly"; 2.) "is in conflict with the 14th Amendment . . . in that it abridges privileges and immunities of citizenship and denies to the appellants due process of law"; 3.) "imposes an unconstitutional burden on interstate commerce"; 4.) "is in conflict with Article I, Section 10 of the Federal Constitution, because it constitutes a Bill of Attainder"; and 5.) "is an unconstitutional interference with appellants' right of franchise."

The Communist Party brief further stated: "Ironically the Socialist Workers Party, an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet organization, was ruled off the ballot by the Michigan Secretary of State as coming within the Act." This is a typical Stalinist distortion of the position of the SWP which is intransigently anti-Stalinist but which is not anti-Soviet.

National figures who have recently joined the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law include: Warren K. Billings of San Francisco, fellow-victim with Tom Mooney of one of America's greatest frame-ups; Professor

By Thomas Raymond

With the ending of wage controls and the beginning of the lifting of price ceilings, a spreading sentiment in the labor movement favors an all-out union campaign for higher wages. Union labor, which has taken a beating under the unequal system of fake price ceilings and real wage limitations, wants to make up lost ground and to guard against the price rises which will come as a result of the government action.

The AFL Executive Council, meeting in Miami, called on all member unions to initiate a drive for wage increases. The AFL insists that wage rises are needed to "head off a major depression." An AFL economic report points to an "ominous disparity" between how much workers are able to produce and how much they are able to buy. Production per man-hour, the report says, has risen almost twice as fast as real wages during the past three years.

Anthony Valente, president of the AFL United Textile Workers, has warned that the end of price controls will mean a "sharp increase" in living costs, and asked that all local unions meet at once to "take appropriate action to prevent any lowering of their wages and standard of living as a result of high prices." George Meany, president of the AFL, has already served notice that an effort will be made to reopen all contracts considered inadequate. Many contracts contain re-opening provisions to take effect when prices are decontrolled.

The decontrol orders are a step in Eisenhower's developing program to give big business full control of the U.S. economy. The ending of price ceilings will free businessmen from what they consider to be irksome hindrances to their price-setting and price-raising policies. While they have usually been able to get what they wanted from the government boards, they dislike the intricate and bothersome procedures. Also, in some cases, price ceilings do exercise a slight restraint on their profit making, and these prices will undoubtedly rise.

AGGRESSIVE STEP

The order lifting wage ceilings and scrapping the present Wage Stabilization Board will free many unions to get previously negotiated wage rises which have been held up pending WSB approval. But it is not intended as a concession to the labor movement. In the long run, it will undoubtedly appear as an aggressive step against labor. The Republican regime is cutting off all ties with the past policy towards the labor movement pursued by the Democratic Party which had an informal "blood" with labor.

This move is intended to remove the government from the area of capital-labor conflict as a "mediator" in order to prepare its re-entry into the class struggle as an open partisan on the side of big business.

Meanwhile, Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Auto Workers is preparing to submit a resolution to the March 22 convention of the UAW calling for a "united labor conference" of "all bona fide labor organizations" in the U.S. This local union, alive to the dangers that threaten American labor, wants "a program around which all these labor organizations . . . could unite . . . to promote a common program of security for all workers in the years ahead."

Robert Moss Lovett of Chicago; Bernard DeVoto, Harvard professor, this year's winner of the National Book Award for his historical work, "The Course of Empire."

Oakland SWP Enters Election

OAKLAND, Calif., Feb. 7 — The Oakland Branch of the Socialist Workers Party has announced that it will participate in the coming city election by filing the name of Lillian Kiezel, an office worker, for Mayor of Oakland.

Lillian Kiezel, the SWP candidate, has been active in the socialist movement for the past 15 years. She is a former member of the UAW and the UE-CIO. She is an active member of the NAACP and participated militantly in the now famous Gary case last year in San Pablo, California.

The drive for signatures is well under way to assure Lillian Kiezel a place on the ballot. All Oakland friends who wish to join this campaign can write to P.O. Box 1953, Oakland, or phone Ke. 3-8005 for instructions or advice.

Chiang Move Threatens to Extend War

By Joseph Keller

Eisenhower's announcement that he intends to turn the forces of deposed dictator Chiang Kai-shek, now holed up on Formosa, loose on the Chinese mainland, has pushed to the fore the question: Does the new Administration's move threaten to extend the war to the whole of the Far East and involve the United States in a military assault on China proper?

If Eisenhower seriously intended to pose Chiang's forces in themselves as a serious military threat to China then his action could be considered foolish, to say the least. About the only real damage this might do to China is that some Chinese people might laugh themselves to death at the idea of Chiang with his own forces being considered any serious menace to the present Chinese regime.

Chiang's forces on Formosa are but a tiny remnant of his armed millions who were cut to pieces in 1949 by a smaller and more poorly-equipped Chinese Com-

munist army. U.S. military experts put the present trained troops now at Chiang's disposal at not more than 50,000. His so-called "army" of 600,000 is composed largely of members of the former Chinese ruling classes, their servants, retainers and hangers-on, Kuomintang government officials and military officers.

Lindsay Parrott, N. Y. Times Far East correspondent, wrote from Tokyo on Feb. 7: "The Communist Chinese armies, estimated at 5,000,000 men, are plainly too strong to fear much from the soldiers of Chiang Kai-shek. It is unlikely that the threat from Formosa is enough to cause a diversion of Communist forces from the Korean or the Vietnam front."

If the Chiang move has no military advantage, as most commentators acknowledge, then what is its purpose? "Primarily psychological," replies Parrott, as do most others. "The Chinese Communists are now no longer assured of a comfortable limited

war within the boundaries of Korea. . . ."

But to spell for the Chinese Communists any serious alteration of their "comfortable limited war," Eisenhower's threat of using Chiang's troops must also convey a bigger and more deadly threat of other measures. This can only be extension of the war to China by U.S. air, sea and land forces. This implied threat is what really gives Eisenhower's "denaturalization" of Chiang's forces its "psychological" impact.

Eisenhower himself, of course, has not said this openly. But virtually the entire capitalist press — ardent supporter of Eisenhower — has indicated that the Chiang move signals not a specific course of military action, but a new policy of expanded war. The Feb. 8 N. Y. Times, for instance, states that "by fracturing the limited war policy, the Formosan decision has opened up the possibility of new moves in the Far East conflict." This "possibility of new moves," which has profoundly stirred the fears

of people all over the world, has been spelled out by leading Republican spokesmen.

Rep. Dewey Short (R., Mo.), chairman of the powerful House Armed Services Committee, has called for a full naval blockade of Communist China. Such a blockade, says the N. Y. World Telegram, leading newspaper of the Scripps-Howard chain, "would be a logical follow-up to President Eisenhower's order denaturalizing Formosa." Senator Alexander Wiley (R., Wis.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, expressed the "hope" that Eisenhower's move would lead to the bombing of the 2,000-mile railroad from Manchuria to South China. Senator William F. Knowland, chairman of the Senate Republican Policy Committee and a key member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, called for cooperation of Britain and France in a blockade of China, "but if such cooperation is not forthcoming I think we could carry on a unilateral blockade."

Bombing of the Chinese railways and blockade of the Chinese coast would prove ineffective, of course. Terrific bombardment for two and a half years of the 150-mile rail system in North Korea has not halted supplying of the Communist front-line armies. It would require enormous air forces manned by U.S. pilots to effectively bomb the 2,000-mile lines in China. A blockade — and only 20 per cent of China's imports come by sea — would have to cover 4,000 miles of coastline and would involve, first of all, the halting of Soviet ships — an act of war.

Senator Taft, Republican Senate leader, indicates what would be the next logical step to bombardment and blockade. Although he denied that the Administration is encouraging Chiang to invade the mainland, he admitted: "If it seems advisable, we would help and send out troops to do it."

That's the deadly warhead on the torpedo launched by Eisenhower with his Formosa declaration.

Robert Moss Lovett of Chicago; Bernard DeVoto, Harvard professor, this year's winner of the National Book Award for his historical work, "The Course of Empire."



JAMES KUTCHER

The Coming Struggle for Power in America

By James P. Cannon
(The following lecture, the fourth in a series on "America's Road to Socialism," was given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum, Jan. 9, 1953.)

Our subject tonight, "The Coming Struggle for Power," refers to the showdown struggle between the workers and the capitalists to decide who shall be master in the American house. Is it looking too far ahead to put this question up for discussion now? I don't think so.

I know that many people can't see this coming struggle for power in our land, because immediate indications are not observable to them. They see what's happened in the rest of the world, but imagine that America has some special immunity. They are profoundly mistaken. The workers' revolution is on the historical agenda in the United States, and not too far down on the agenda at that.

Everybody knows that the rest of the world is badly shaken up. Hardly a week goes by but a new country swims into the headlines with the announcement of a new crisis, or a revolution, or something of that sort. For the past couple of weeks the Allied world has been agonizing with France, over the crisis in the French cabinet. If my recollection is correct, that particular crisis was solved the other day, if it hasn't broken loose again since the evening papers went to press.

We take it for granted that the whole world is in crisis and upheaval; the evidence is there for all to see. But here in the United States, in this land especially favored by superior virtues, by luck, or as some may say, by Providence, we are reminded that nothing of the kind is happening. That's true. It is also said that it can't happen here. That's not so true.

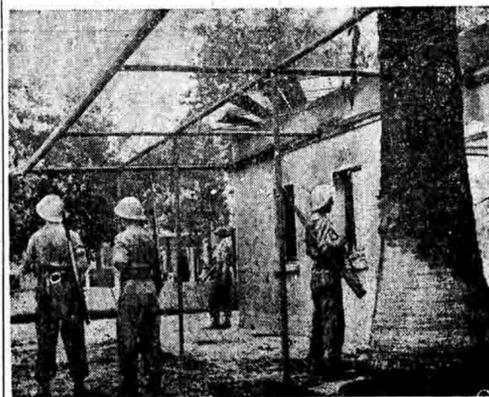
On the surface everything looks good for the ruling monopolists. In contrast to all the rest of the world, social relations in the United States alone appear to be stable. There's no crisis. No real upsurge in the class struggle. Not even serious strikes.

The recent elections gave convincing proof of this social stability at the moment. There was no challenge to the rule of the bourgeoisie in the last election. In fact, big capital felt so sure of itself that it could dispense with the Democratic-labor coalition which had governed America — for the benefit of big capital — for the past 20 years. The monopolists felt such firm ground beneath their feet in this country — not in the rest of the world, but here — that they could dispense with the political regime of 20 years, the regime which in part had leaned on the support and cooperation of the organized labor movement. They stepped forward to rule directly in their own name. That was the meaning of the Eisenhower victory, as I pointed out in the first lecture of the series. And as you have observed the appointments of Eisenhower to his cabinet, you can see that they have dared to construct their government on the narrowest class basis ever in the history of this country.

The New Republic, in the last few weeks, has been running a series of biographical sketches of the multi-millionaires who have been selected to sit in Eisenhower's cabinet, where the great decisions will be made. He has dispensed with second-rate businessmen and even with first-rate businessmen, to say nothing of hack politicians, and has stacked his cabinet with the direct representatives of the biggest capital concentrations in the country. All multi-millionaires or lawyers for multi-millionaires, plus one captive labor skate sitting meekly in a corner like the King's fool in a medieval court. Durkin is there strictly for laughs.

The New York Post Financial Editor observed that "this is not Big Business running the government; this is Big Big Business." Another paper reported an interview with one of the top financial magnates of the country about the "millionaires' cabinet" selected by Eisenhower. He said, "It looks very good, and I hope it works; but sometimes I'm scared."

Building on Volcanoes



Scenes of French auto workers battling police in strike last year (top left), and Japanese strikers wearing gas masks during demonstrations (right); — "And now that America has become the master of the capitalist world, her foundations are extended over all these volcanoes exploding or about to explode in all parts of what is left of the capitalist world."



Scenes of French auto workers battling police in strike last year (top left), and Japanese strikers wearing gas masks during demonstrations (right); — "And now that America has become the master of the capitalist world, her foundations are extended over all these volcanoes exploding or about to explode in all parts of what is left of the capitalist world."

strong sentiment in the working class of this country for such a step. Ford Local 600, the biggest local union in the world, voted the other day, after the election, for a labor party. The United Electrical Workers and UAW conventions have always been ready to pass resolutions for a labor party, if they had had a free hand from the officials. The sentiment for a labor party is held down by the bureaucrats, who think they can do better by deals with the Democratic fakers and the Dixiecrats.

The bureaucrats could put over this policy as long as workers were fully employed and getting fairly good pay. But this policy can't stand up against the pressure of a real crisis. The insurgent masses will form their own party, just as they built the CIO, partly in struggle against the con-

servative bureaucracy and partly with the help of a section of it. You must remember that this trade union bureaucracy is not a solid crystal, and is by no means invulnerable. Its power and strength are greatly exaggerated. It also, as Marx said of society, is an organism subject to change, and is constantly changing.

The trade union bureaucracy is primarily concerned with its own selfish interest, but it is under many pressures and always yields to the greater pressure. The greatest pressure of all is yet to come. An anti-union assault is absolutely in the cards; is already planned and blueprinted, I venture to say. It is being delayed only by a little memo clipped to the papers in the file. The memo reads: "Hold for later setting of date." Everything else is planned and prepared.

The Political Awakening

The bosses will set out to bust the unions and cut wages and living standards. The rank and file will demand a counter-attack to protect the unions and the living standards of the workers. Under this pressure the bureaucracy will split asunder, as was the case in the 30's with the rise of the CIO. In those days a part of the bureaucracy, Green and Company, went around the country like organized strike-breakers trying to prevent the organization of the unorganized. Some of the more far-sighted labor skates, like Lewis and Hillman and the others, who saw the great power that was in the making in this great movement, aided its development and put themselves at the head of it. But they couldn't "control" it like the old unions, not by a long shot.

In my view, a labor party will be formed under conditions similar to those under which the CIO was organized. And the party formed under such conditions and by such means cannot be a conservative party any more than the CIO could be a conservative union of the old type. Such a party will be of necessity, from the very first start, a radical, semi-revolutionary party,

with the most militant workers and the conscious revolutionists pushing it to the left.

And in this situation of political awakening of the workers, when for the first time the American workers as a class begin to turn to politics on their own account — then the revolutionary Marxist Party, which has foreseen the whole development, which has theorized it long before it began, will find its own native environment, its natural field of work. It will become, in this great expanding situation, what is said in the scriptures, the leaven that leaveneth the whole lump.

The revolutionary party represents the future of the workers' movement in the present. It begins with a theoretical program which foresees the whole line of social development, and assembles its preliminary cadres on that basis. This theoretical understanding and faith in the future deriving from it, are the conditions for the existence and dogged perseverance of the revolutionary party in time of stagnation and reaction. But for its rapid expansion into a popular party of the masses, it requires a great surging class struggle. That will come with the next crisis which is already ripening.

Threatened By Volcanic Eruptions

He may well be "scared," for this present stability rests on world foundations which are by no means firm. This forbodes great and even rapid changes in the whole situation. America's social stability of the moment occurs in the midst of a world torn and shaken by crises and revolutions and wars and rumors of war. And now that America has become the master of the capitalist world, her foundations are extended over all these volcanoes, exploding or about to explode in all parts of what is left of the capitalist world.

It is utterly utopian, in my opinion, to expect that the present stability in one country alone can endure. The very narrow class base of the Eisenhower regime will make it more vulnerable, deprive it of cushions and shock supports, such as the Roosevelt and Truman administrations had in their alliance with the labor bureaucracy and its consequent support of the official policy.

A social crisis in this country is certain. As a matter of fact, a social crisis as I view it, is already in the making. The unsolved crisis of the 30's, only artificially suppressed by the device of war and armaments expenditures of many hundreds of billions of dollars; the whole world situation; all things conspire together to generate a social crisis capable of exploding

far sooner than the wise men dream.

The social convulsion can begin as an economic crisis even before the war, if for some reason they find it necessary or expedient to postpone the outbreak of a Third World War. In the year 1953, they will be running right up against the fact that, with a military budget of 60 billion dollars a year, they are just barely keeping the economic equilibrium. The slightest slacking off of this huge expenditure for the waste of military preparations can upset the economic apple cart. The economists, the learned men, the college professors are all warning about this prospect: They are all saying, "We must expect that there is going to be a leveling off of the military expenditures. Then we must expect a recession, or a depression, or something of that sort."

What they really mean to say is, that if they don't keep spending 60 billion dollars a year — throwing it away, as far as any economic usefulness is concerned — and if they don't even increase it, and don't have a war, there is no way to avoid a depression.

Such a depression can be the precipitant of what we call a social crisis. Or, if they start the war in order to prevent the depression, among other reasons, then a social crisis will arise out of the war, in my opinion, in a comparatively short time.

War of a Different Kind

This war in preparation is not the war against Spain of 1898, a mere adventure against a helpless foe. It is not the First World War, where America was not really engaged and enriched itself while the others fought, coming in only at the end of the war to tip the scales. It is not the Second World War, in which America again was immune from attack, and gained and profited out of the agony and slaughter and devastation of other countries.

No, this war is different. America will be directly involved on all the fronts of the world; and it will cost so many hundreds of billions of dollars that they won't be able to pay for it under the present budget, or double or triple the present budget. They won't be able to afford the living standards of the American workers as they are today, and they will be compelled to try to slash these living standards. That will be one element making for a social crisis.

And then there is the terrible, ominous, unprecedented prospect for America, the prospect of military defeats and the consequent anxieties of the mothers and the wives. Why, they have been two years in Korea, and they haven't been able to conquer it yet. And they have already got hundreds of thousands and even

millions of American mothers and wives so agonized over their sons and husbands in Korea, that they turned the recent elections on the issue.

That's just one peninsula. The Third World War they have in mind is to fight the entire world, on all fronts of the world. And do you think they can conquer the world in six months if they couldn't conquer Korea in two years? No, you must anticipate military defeats and consequent anxieties, anger and protest, of which the reaction to the Korean war is a mere warning.

Out of all this, war or no war, and particularly if there is a war, the stable relationship of the classes in this country will be knocked to smithereens, and a crisis such as we have never seen or heard of will begin to unfold.

This crisis which I anticipate, as do all Marxists, will be a drawn-out affair. In the course of its development, not necessarily all at once or in the beginning, but in the course of the development of the unavoidable social crisis coming in this country, two traditional features of bourgeois rule in the United States will crumble and fall. I refer to the American two-party system and the traditional American political democracy.

features of American life and government have been the same. They are not simply the peculiar invention of American political genius. A peculiar American circumstance, rather, has made possible America's unique two-party system which doesn't appear anywhere else in the world at present, and its traditional political democracy, which up until recent times was more extensive than anywhere else in the world.

Crisis Will Shatter American System

When these underpinnings begin to give way, as they must under the blows of a social crisis, then the superstructure, the two-party system and the traditional political democracy, will shake and then fall. Not right away, I repeat. That I do not predict. And not all at once, but they will fall.

What is this American two-party system, which so many people think is a matter of our will and our genius and can endure forever? In reality, it is not a two-party system. There are not really two separate class parties, as today in England. England has a two-party system, with the Tory Party representing the capitalist class, and the Labor Party based on the trade union movement. The struggle between the Labor Party and the Tory Party is at bottom a political expression of the struggle for power in England.

What we have in this country are not two separate class parties, but two factions of the same ruling class — the Republican faction and the Democratic faction. This was a very good and convenient system for rich and stable American capitalism. From one point of view, it flexibly contained the antagonisms within the capitalist ranks. It gave a political expression for the conflicts of interests between different factions and sections of the capitalist class itself. In another respect, the two-party system, expressing the interests of two factions of the ruling class, but pretending to represent all the people, was an excellent safety valve for popular discontent.

When people got fed up with the administration in power, they could always find relief for their dissatisfaction. The traditional American slogan always was, "Turn the rascals out." The only

alternative, however, was to put another set of rascals in. That never did much good, but it gave the people a little satisfaction without disturbing the bourgeois rule.

It was a good system for them, and many capitalists surreptitiously supported the campaign funds of both parties. That's a well-known fact; it's what they call "insurance." They have one preference and give ten thousand dollars for the campaign fund, and then they have a second preference and give five thousand dollars. So, whoever wins is obligated to them.

That's a form of the confidence game known as heads I win, tails you lose, and it has been working wonderfully for a long time. And it could keep on working forever as long as the social relations are stable, and the capitalist class is not challenged on the political field by the workers.

The supports of this political system were the great riches of the United States, the social stability, the secure rule of the capitalist class, and the absence of any serious independent challenge by the working class. This is another way of saying that rich American capitalism ruled in its own house without any serious challenge, and could afford a comparatively democratic and benevolent rule in the political field.

When the Real Showdown Comes!

When the real showdown begins, labor on its side will be obliged to present real demands. The most militant and reactionary section of the capitalists, on the other side, will be setting out to smash the unions. What good is this Democratic-labor coalition going to be to the workers in such a situation? Why, it's really ludicrous when you stop to think about it. The strongest opposition to the civil rights program, and the strongest support to anti-labor legislation in recent years, has come from labor's "partners" in the Democratic-labor coalition, the Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party. That will not change. The capitalists, who in the last analysis rule the Democratic Party, will never permit labor to "capture" it.

Under the pressure of the first big crisis the Democratic Party, as now constituted, will split, and the workers will have to find another road. I don't mean to say that in the course of the crisis the coalition in government may not be tried again. There will be ups and downs. This current attempt of the American bourgeoisie to rule directly in their own name through the biggest millionaires in the country — this reckless experiment will go down in ruins under the first impact of the crisis. They may very well turn again to a new version of the Roosevelt-Truman-labor coalition. But it won't work. And the reason it won't work is that it can't give the workers what they need.

In 1933, when Roosevelt set up the first coalition, he had a large margin in his favor. There had never been any social legislation

of a section of the capitalist class with the organized labor movement. This Roosevelt-Truman-labor coalition is significant historically not for what it did, although something was done, but for the trend it signified. The significance was not the coalition itself, and not even the social gains which accrued to the workers in the course of the 20 years of the Roosevelt-Truman regime. The real significance was the fact of labor participation in politics in an organized manner, for the first time.

Despite the distorted form this coalition of the Democrats and labor movement took, despite all the illusions and disappointments that it brought, and it certainly brought plenty — this entry of the unions into politics in a deliberate, organized manner, for the first time, was a tremendous step in a direction that cannot be reversed. Labor is in politics to stay. That's the conclusion we have to draw from the present development of the Democratic-labor coalition.

The old Gompers policy is dead. It is a great misrepresentation for people to say, "All we're doing in the labor movement is what Gompers advised us." Gom-

ers' slogan was "No politics in the union." But in this new development, which began under Roosevelt, not only do the workers as individuals go to vote at the polls, but the unions as unions, go into politics. Every union in the country that isn't half asleep or half dead has its Political Action Committee and its political workers who are just as much a part of the machinery of the union as the business agents and the other officers.

Labor is in politics to stay. But labor is not going to stay in the Democratic Party. For two reasons. One the imperative demands which labor must raise under conditions of the impending social crisis, will not and cannot be satisfied in the Democratic Party as it is now constituted. Even under the most favorable conditions, the participation of the organized labor movement in politics as a faction of the Democratic Party has yielded very meager results.

For the past six years the top legislative demands of the unions have been a Fair Employment Practices law and the repeal of the Taft-Hartley law. They couldn't get either one out of their coalition with the Democratic Party.

A Political Shell Game

This political shell game was possible in its purest form only as long as capitalism was strong and secure and ascending in a stable capitalist world, and when there was no labor challenge to the capitalist rule in the country. Those conditions are fading away. The two-party system in fact, has already been seriously shaken, even though outwardly the last election showed Republican versus Democrat as though nothing had happened in a hundred years. In reality the crisis of the 30's al-

ready began to undermine the two-party system. Labor began to organize by the millions, to awaken to politics, and to participate in an organized manner in the elections. The result of this uprising of the workers, engendered by the crisis, was the Democratic-labor coalition of Roosevelt and Truman. The traditional system remained formally Republican and Democrat, but the great change was that the Democratic Party began to represent, as I explained in my first lecture, a form of coalition

A New Leadership Will Arise!

Instead of that, they'll have to turn attention to the fact that the real issue is at home, where the drive is on to break the unions and slash the living standards of the workers. This will bring great strikes of unprecedented militancy, and attempts to break them by force. In the attempts to break the strikes, the beleaguered capitalists, feeling the ground slipping from beneath their feet; stalemated at best in a war, not on two fronts like Hitler, but on every front in the whole world, including the front of the class struggle at home — the capitalists of America, finally brought to bay, with their very existence at stake will set out to break the strikes of the American workers with a ferocity and a savagery unprecedented even for America, where the labor movement was born in the most violent strikes in the world.

Where are the present leaders of the labor movement going to be when this kind of fighting takes place? They're not warriors, but as they call themselves, "statesmen" — labor

Foreign Policy and the Labor Skates

The tumultuous developments of the class struggle, under conditions of a developing social crisis, will explode in all directions, in all phases. The various prospective developments on the political and economic fields can be put into separate compartments, and dealt with serially, only for convenience in a lecture. But in real life — this is not a fabricated prognosis, but a deduction from the history of the development of revolutionary crises everywhere, in all past times — in real life, when the social crisis strikes, and especially when it develops and deepens, the developments will be simultaneous, interacting on each other in all fields. This is what history tells us.

Under Roosevelt and Truman, the labor leaders' support of the imperialist government has been absolute and unconditional — and given in advance for any kind of crime on the international field. What was that monstrous policy of all the labor fakers based on? It was based on the purely selfish calculation that they, and a section of the American workers, would share in the spoils of world conquest. For that, they were willing to betray the world and all the people in it. They thought America's foreign policy could be like England's foreign policy in the 19th century, and yield the same results. By their conquest and enslavement of colonies and subject peoples, England's capitalists became so rich that they could afford out of the super-profits, to throw a few crumbs to the bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor,

and by that they bought its support. It was the promise and prospect of such a sharing in the spoils that bought the American labor leaders' support of American foreign policy.

That is the theory in the minds of Reuther and all the rest of the labor leaders in this country, their real motivation for supporting the foreign policy of America up to now — leaving aside the bunkum about their pious concern to spread American "democracy" all over the world by guns and bombs. They hope to do the same thing in the future, but it will run up against this snag: There are not going to be any spoils. There are not going to be any conquered peoples to sweat and slave to make America rich enough to maintain a high standard of living for the workers and fatten up the labor fakers.

On the contrary, American imperialism will encounter opposition everywhere; it will fight losing battles against revolutionary peoples, as already shown in Korea. There will be terrible casualties and incalculable expenditures, and the whole damned foreign policy, instead of enriching America and giving some crumbs to the workers, will have to turn back against the workers, to squeeze them to the bone to get the money to pay for America's barren and hopeless adventures on foreign fields. And that will signify the complete and utter bankruptcy of the labor bureaucracy in the matter of foreign policy.

When the Real Showdown Comes!

When the real showdown begins, labor on its side will be obliged to present real demands. The most militant and reactionary section of the capitalists, on the other side, will be setting out to smash the unions. What good is this Democratic-labor coalition going to be to the workers in such a situation? Why, it's really ludicrous when you stop to think about it. The strongest opposition to the civil rights program, and the strongest support to anti-labor legislation in recent years, has come from labor's "partners" in the Democratic-labor coalition, the Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party. That will not change. The capitalists, who in the last analysis rule the Democratic Party, will never permit labor to "capture" it.

A New Leadership Will Arise!

Instead of that, they'll have to turn attention to the fact that the real issue is at home, where the drive is on to break the unions and slash the living standards of the workers. This will bring great strikes of unprecedented militancy, and attempts to break them by force. In the attempts to break the strikes, the beleaguered capitalists, feeling the ground slipping from beneath their feet; stalemated at best in a war, not on two fronts like Hitler, but on every front in the whole world, including the front of the class struggle at home — the capitalists of America, finally brought to bay, with their very existence at stake will set out to break the strikes of the American workers with a ferocity and a savagery unprecedented even for America, where the labor movement was born in the most violent strikes in the world.

Where are the present leaders of the labor movement going to be when this kind of fighting takes place? They're not warriors, but as they call themselves, "statesmen" — labor

"statesmen." These overweight palookas can't fight anybody, except their own rank and file, and they can't do that without the help of the government and the employers. Their favorite arena is the collective bargaining table. But the bosses are going to kick over the bargaining table.

These labor "statesmen" will not be fit for leadership in the new situation, any more than the old AFL skates were fit for the leadership of the insurgent movement of the workers in the mass production industries in the sit-down strikes of the 30's. There will be no bargaining tables. No government boards to settle things amicably, recognize the union and give the workers a few more cents. That's not going to be the bosses' program at all. They don't want to give a few more cents; they don't want to recognize unions. They want to knock the hell out of the unions, so the workers will have no means of defense against the cutting of wages and living standards. That's what is in the cards. No friendly

(Continued on page 3)

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Delayed Crisis: Averted In 1946, It Looms Now

By Harry Frankel
(Third of a series.)

Those economists and business-men who argue that the U.S. economy could sustain a decline in the arms budget without serious difficulty, point to the experience following the war. At that time, war expenditures dropped from about 41% of the Gross National Product down to only 9%. This compares with the present projected drop, late in 1954 and early in 1955, from a high of about 17% of the Gross National Product down to about 12%; a drop which is expected if there is no expansion of the fighting.

This seems like a strong argument, but is not really valid. In most important respects, the post-World War II economic situation was far different. The differences are to be seen in the other two big fields of the economy outside of the war sector: the capital goods and consumer market areas.

We turn first to the capital goods sector. Both theory and all past experience demonstrate that this sector, which gives an index to the expansion of the economy through the construction of new plant and equipment, is the basis of capitalist prosperity insofar as a boom is not otherwise sustained through a war program. The failure of this sector is always the basic cause and the chief external sign of capitalist crisis.

This is the precise history of the boom of the Twenties and the crash of the Thirties. During the upswing, the rate of expansion of industry was very high. But this very expansion prepared the way for the crash, and when it came, the capital goods sector was by far the most depressed of all portions of the economy.

The expansion in industry is roughly measured in the Commerce Dept. figure for Gross Private Domestic Investment. During the seven fat years of the Twenties, this G.P.D.I. consumed about 15% of the total national product. This big expansion of industry enlarged the fatal capitalist disproportion between productive capacity and consumption, and produced the crash.

Now the peculiarity of the boom period of the second World War is that it did not feature any such expansion of capacity. In the four war years, Gross Private Domestic Investment was held down to the extremely low average of only 4.5% of the national product. Wartime construction restrictions and the high rate of profit in other fields contributed to this. The expansion of output was achieved mainly by the use of facilities which had lain idle during the ten year slump.

Furthermore, expansion of capacity during the depression itself was at a very low level, and averaged only about half the boom level, as a percentage of total output. Thus when World War II ended, this brought to a close a 16-year period of low levels in capitalist expansion. In sharp contrast with 1929, when 1946 came, capitalism was in a position to undertake a big capital goods expansion. This was further assisted by huge accumulations of stored-up wartime profits.

This situation no longer exists. As a matter of fact, the present situation is closely parallel to that of 1929. For the seven post-war years, the rate of expansion has been roughly the same as of the Twenties: about 15% of Gross National Product. And since the G.N.P. has been, in terms of

real output, twice as big as in the Twenties, the absolute expansion has been twice as great while the rate of expansion has been about the same. There is a widespread recognition even in capitalist circles that this expansion is rapidly outstripping the possibilities of the market, and the capitalist class can count only on war to redress the balance temporarily.

Of course war cannot be a permanent solution, and in the long run this problem must catch up with them. But the capitalist outlook is expressed in the motto of the British economist Lord Keynes: "In the long run we shall all be dead." That is the extent of capitalist foresight. Lord Keynes is already safely dead, but for the living it is another matter.

We turn now to the special conditions created by World War II in the field of consumer purchasing power. Wartime rationing and shortages, coming at the same time as a big rise in consumer income, produced an unparalleled savings situation. In the four war years, consumers spent an average of only 78.2% of disposable income, saving an average of 21.8% per year. Nothing like this had ever been seen before.

In the four postwar years, the percentage of disposable income spent by consumers jumped to 95.2%. This means that even before touching their accumulated savings, consumers spent 17% more out of every dollar of income immediately after the war. To this must be added the spending of huge savings accumulated during the war, and also the rise in consumer income due mainly to great trade union struggles in 1946. The spurt in purchasing power and in actual spending was enormous. Added to this, consumers now had at their disposal those credit and installment plans which had been curbed during the war.

The savings situation in the past three years has not been at all like that of the World War II period. It is more similar to that of the Twenties. During these past three years, consumers have been spending an average of 94.7% of disposable income and saving 5.3%, which is like the 1929 situation, when 95.5% was spent and 4.5% saved.

In general, consumer purchasing power is not pressing up against limited supplies of goods today as it was during the war. On the contrary, consumer industries are barely able to sell their vast flood of products, and a great expansion of the consumer market, either in this country or abroad, is not foreseen by anyone.

In summary then, when the war program tapered off in 1946, strong upward forces in the economy were in play to substitute for it. The capital goods expansion and the consumer demand, dovetailing together, provided an upswing that lasted roughly four years, and when this began to give way to slump tendencies in 1949, the renewed expansion of the war and foreign-aid sectors revived the economy once more.

In the present period, however, any decline in the war sector would not be counteracted in these other sectors, but would be assisted by fairly well matured crisis tendencies in the rest of the economy.

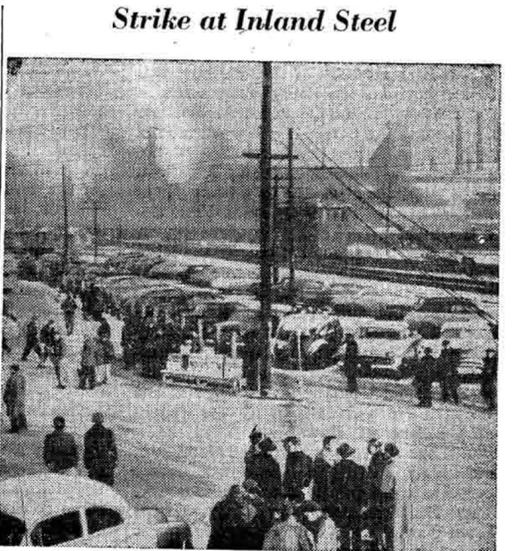
(Next Week: The So-Called "Built-in Stabilizers.")

New Steps Taken In Ohio Witch Hunt

AKRON, Feb. 3 — The finance committee of the Ohio House of Representatives has recommended that \$40,000 be allotted for the "reactivation" of the Ohio Un-American Activities Committee, according to reports received here today. According to Sam Devine, Columbus Republican, the committee would like to "investigate red activities" in Akron, Youngstown and Cleveland.

Once they purchase the hooks and worms for this fishing expedition, the corporation-minded committee will undoubtedly seek to prove that "subversives" are behind much of the militant CIO movement in the three areas mentioned. On Dec. 31 the committee asked the Ohio legislature to outlaw "subversive activity" in "basic industry in Ohio."

The local American Civil Liberties Union reports that a vicious witch hunt law, far worse even than the Michigan Trucks law, is being considered in Columbus. The law would make it a felony to "help form" or aid in any way the maintenance of what it calls "subversive organizations" and would directly outlaw the Communist party and all other "communist" organizations.



The giant Inland Steel Co. mill at Indiana Harbor, Ind., is shut down by strike of Local 1010, CIO United Steelworkers. The 18,000 workers walked out to protest suspension of three co-workers and company's new get-tough-with-the-union policy.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

THE FRENCH National Assembly forced M. Boutemy, Minister of Health, to resign from the Rene Mayer cabinet Feb. 9. Boutemy headed the secret police of the Vichy government 1941-42.

HUNGARY'S STALINIST government announced Feb. 8 a special tax to be paid by bachelors and childless couples and a bill making more stringent already drastic regulations against abortion.

GUYULA DECSI, an organizer of Hungary's secret police, was removed from his post as Minister of Justice Feb. 8. Deputy Defense Minister Nogradi and Secret Police Chief Gabopeter were ousted and arrested with Decsi, according to Radio Red-White-Red, Vienna. All three are said to be Jews.

THE WEST German Social Democrats opened a new campaign Feb. 8 against ratification of the European Army treaty. Social-Democratic vice-chairman Mellies asserted the treaty does not give Germany equal rights with France. He proposed instead a "common Western defense composed of separate military units of each nation," saying the question of integration could perhaps be considered in two years. As the N. Y. Herald Tribune points out, "observers regard the latest Social Democratic move primarily as a new maneuver to find a way to continue delaying West German ratification of the European Army treaty at all costs."

KING BAUDOIN of the Belgians, who had left his country during the recent flood disaster for a royal vacation on the Riviera, was obliged to return to Belgium under public pressure. The socialist press had protested the King's "tactless" attitude.

LARGE DEMONSTRATIONS took place in the Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia, against the arrest of several leaders of the Indian farmers who had urged the creation of a farmers' union in order to carry out the agrarian reform promised by the government. "More than 1000 Indians, armed with picks, staves and ancient weapons" invaded Cochabamba, Bolivia's second largest city, reports the New York Times, Feb. 8. The arrested union organizers belong to the POR (Workers' Revolutionary Party).

JAPAN'S PREMIER Yoshida said Feb. 7 he has been constantly urging the U.S. to return to Japan civil authority over the former Japanese islands of the Ryukyus and the Bonins but that he nonetheless believed American military occupation of these islands to be a necessity.

JOSUE DE CASTRO, a liberal Brazilian scholar and author of "The World Geography of Hunger," explains that "two-thirds of mankind live in a state of permanent malnutrition" and that many so-called "eternal" national characteristics of "inferior" races are simply the result of centuries of half-starvation.

The U.S. has spent \$138,700,000,000 on its arms build up since the "police action" in Korea began. This is more than twice as much as the cost of all U.S. wars from the Revolution up to and including the first World War.

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Let the People Decide!

Sen. Alexander Wiley, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, at a Feb. 10 hearing of his committee, spoke about a China blockade in the following terms: "Every thinking person realizes we are in war. Being at war, the President is the Commander in Chief. In war, it is not generally a legislative function to determine which steps should be taken.

"The matter of warfare and the utilization of forces is a matter for the Commander in Chief and not for us (Congress) generally. My personal opinion is that we are in war and it is the function of the Commander in Chief to determine procedure."

Let us see where this reasoning leads. In June, 1950, the then president Harry Truman issued an executive order which plunged American troops and equipment into large-scale fighting in Korea. In order to avoid the need for a congressional declaration of war and a review of this action in its true light by U.S. and world public opinion, he called this a "police action."

Since this "police action" started some two years and eight months ago, there have been almost three times as many American casualties as in all previous American wars put together, with the exceptions of the Civil War and the two World Wars.

Sen. Morse's New Party Proposal

In Washington, D.C., Senator Wayne Morse told the audience at the annual Roosevelt Day Dinner of the Americans for Democratic Action that a new political party was needed "to halt the oncoming rush of reaction represented by the Eisenhower administration."

He went on to say: "I have long since given up hope of finding liberalism in the Republican Party and I think it is on its death bed in the Democratic Party. I think it is time for the formation of a new alignment in this country to carry out the principles of representative government."

No one can quarrel with Morse's view of the death of liberalism in the two parties of Big Business. Nor can we dispute Morse's assertion that the formation of a new political party is in the cards for America.

In advocating this Morse shows his astuteness as a politician. He can see what is going on beneath the surface in this country. He knows that the disgust of the overwhelming majority of the people with the two big parties will burst forth finally in the formation of a party of labor, farmers and the oppressed minorities.

Morse sees what's coming but wants to steer this movement his way. He advocates forming a third party — but a Liberal, not a Labor party. Such a party would not represent the interests of the working people. The political history of

The direct costs of this "police action" have been at least three times as much as the costs of all U.S. wars put together up to the first World War, including the Civil War.

President Eisenhower has now arrogated to himself the power to extend this "police action" and the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee backs him up by declaring that "we are in war" and that Congress, which never acted on the matter, has nothing further to say about it.

A blockade of the China coast, together with the threatened bombings of the China mainland by Chiang Kai-shek raiders using U.S. equipment, opens up the possibility of the extension of the Korean war into an all-Asia war and even of a third World War. All this can come about as a result of the actions of one man, a militarist surrounded by a saber-rattling military cabal and following the course set by a clique of Wall Street bankers and industrialists.

There is only one reply to this dangerous situation. The war-making power must be taken out of the hands of this clique by taking it out of the hands of Congress because Congress has surrendered entirely to the militarists and financiers. Let the people vote on the question of war and peace!

America is strewn with the wrecks of such third capitalist parties. If such a party did not go down to an early grave it would soon be taken over by Big Business, sections of which would be "converted" to liberalism long enough to take over the party.

The kind of third party Senator Morse advocates would be led and controlled by "fair-minded," liberal politicians, like himself. Labor and its allies would furnish the votes. But sad experience has shown that all too many "liberal" politicians have the ability to change their principles as easily as they change their clothes.

Thus the problem of control of the new party is all-important. The only kind of a third party which stands a chance in this country against Big Business and its power to corrupt professional politicians and take over parties is an independent Labor Party.

An independent Labor Party would be controlled by and responsible to the unions, farmers' co-ops, Negro organizations, etc., which formed it. Big Business could not take it over by buying up ward heelers. In office its candidates would be responsible to Labor, not to Big Business. Nor would it pretend to be "neutral."

Only such a party can bring about the needed changes in American political life. The formation of such a party is the job all good union men should start on now.

Stalin's Aid to Imperialism

Stalin's latest abominations — his anti-Semitic frameup trials and purges in the East European satellite countries and the USSR — are of immeasurable value to American imperialism. They help the Wall Street imperialists to whip up anti-Soviet hate and war fever.

Thus, Secretary of State Dulles — whose corporation law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell was linked to deals with Nazi cartel interests — eagerly seized upon the Stalinist bureaucracy's latest trials and purges to agitate for a policy of aiding counter-revolutions in all the non-capitalist countries.

The capitalist war propagandists use the monstrous methods of Stalinism to discredit the very idea of socialism or communism. They falsely identify the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy and all its crimes with the progressive economic features of the USSR established by the 1917 Revolution.

Stalin's crimes disorient millions of workers, prejudice them against socialism and even turn many into actively hostile opponents. They are thereby made easier prey for the imperialist war propaganda.

The American imperialists are not really wrought up over Stalin's crimes. They have blinked at these in the past and even whitewashed them when it suited their purposes. They lived with Hitler's racial crimes and the savagery of other fascists and dictators like Mussolini, Franco and Chiang Kai-shek. The Jim-Crow system in

America and the exploitation of the colonial — the darker-skinned — peoples in the greater portion of the world are capitalist crimes of incalculable immensity. And these crimes are to be climaxed by the atomic war which the U.S. imperialists plan to hurl against the progressive property forms, the nationalized property of the USSR and Eastern Europe, under the hypocritical guise of "liberating" these people from Stalinism.

Stalin's crimes are of such a despicable and dangerous character precisely because they are of such immense help to these war preparations of U.S. capitalism. Stalin's monstrous actions have disoriented workers' anti-war struggles, particularly in the advanced capitalist countries, and have given the imperialists deadly propaganda weapons for war on Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Genuine revolutionary socialists will not try to conceal or minimize the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism nor its crimes against the working class. They will expose Stalinism and wage an implacable struggle against it in the world labor movement as part of the battle against imperialism, to which Stalinism gives such potent weapons.

It is only those socialists who know how to draw the line between Stalinism and the progressive economic forms of the non-capitalist countries and who tell the undiluted truth about Stalinism, who will win the ear of the workers for battle against the major enemy of mankind, imperialist capitalism.

THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR POWER IN AMERICA

(Continued from page 2)

compromises at the bargaining tables, but only mass battles and mass tests of strength.

The workers, under such conditions, must and will turn to militant and throw up leaders of a new mold, just as the workers in the 30's threw up new trade union leaders out of the ranks. And it is in just such a situation, when class collaboration is out of the window and the class struggle is on the agenda, that the supreme expression of the class struggle, the revolutionary Marxist party, will get a hearing and become the mentor of the militant new staff of leaders arising out of the shops and the factories.

That's the prospective change on the side of the working class — a change toward a new militancy, a new leadership and the revolutionary political party rising in influence and power by virtue of its character and its program. And on the other side, the capitalists must and will discard all temporizing measures, cast off the democratic facade which they can no longer afford, and turn to wholesale violence against the workers.

Fascist hands will be subsidized and armed and hurled against the strikers, against the union halls and all other workers' gathering places and institutions. The workers, for their part, will have no choice, if they don't want to be defeated and enslaved, as the German workers were defeated and enslaved under Hitler — they will have no choice but to organize their own defense guards, meet the fascist bands on their own terms and carry the battle to them.

American capitalism is not in love with democracy. It's no principle of American capitalism that we must maintain all the democratic forms — free speech, free press, free rights to organize, and all the rest. The only principle the American capitalists have is the exploitation of labor, the extraction of profits, and the enrichment of themselves at the expense of the workers. That's their principle.

If they can do it in an easy and smooth and quiet and peaceful way under political democracy, O.K. That's the cheapest way. But when that doesn't work any longer, our wonderful, democratic capitalists will turn, with the savage fury of the German and Italian capitalists, to the bloody violence of fascism. They will finance and equip a fascist movement, and check it straight up to the labor movement: "What are you going to do about it? There are going to be no more debates with you, it's going to be fight."

It will be a fight to a finish, and it will be fought on all fronts, from election campaigns to strikes and fights with fascist gangsters in the streets. Under the powerful impulsion of the social crisis

which American capitalism cannot avoid, and which is already ripening within its body, all these developments predicted here, and many more, will erupt spontaneously, simultaneously, in one general process which cannot be arrested by any device. The irrepressible conflict will lead inexorably to a showdown in the United States of America, which will bear the name: The Struggle for Power.

The alternatives in this struggle will be truly terrible: Either a workers government to expropriate the capitalists, or a fascist government to enslave the workers. Those are the alternatives.

Now who will win? Upon the answer to that question, in my opinion, the fate of mankind will depend. Trotsky once referred to America as "the foundry where the fate of man will be forged." That fate is going to be forged in the social crisis and the coming showdown battle between the workers and fascist capitalists for mastery of this land.

Who will win, in this greatest battle of all time, and of all places? That side, I say, will win, which deserves to win. That side will win which has the will to win, and the consciousness that no compromise is possible. Power is on the side of the workers. They are an absolute majority of the population. And their strategic social position in industry multiplies the importance of their numerical majority at least a hundred times. Power is on their side. All they need is will, the confidence, the consciousness, the leadership — and the Party which believes in the revolutionary victory, and consciously and deliberately prepares for it in advance by theoretical study and serious organization.

Will the workers find these things when they need them in the showdown, when the struggle for power will be decided? That is the question. We think they will. We think the workers and colonial peoples, in revolution throughout the world, will powerfully influence the American workers by their example. When all the world is in revolution, the American workers will remember their own ancestry and take fire too.

We think the American workers, who have never been Quakers, will demonstrate unexcelled energy, courage and decision when it becomes clear that their own destiny is at stake. We think they will find the consciousness, and therewith the leadership, for victory in the struggle for power. And we think, finally, that it is our duty even now, in advance, in the period of preparation for the coming times, to contribute to this consciousness and leadership. That's why we belong to the Socialist Workers Party. That's why we're building it up. That's why we're inviting you to join us in the great work of preparation for the great tomorrow.

Is It Anti-Semitism?

By Jean Blake

The first reaction of many Americans to the news of the anti-Semitic twist in the current Stalinist purges in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was that the news was distorted, that the anti-Semitic angle was just manufactured by American State Department agents as a propaganda weapon in the "cold war" against the Soviet Union.

This was a reaction not only of the blind followers of Stalin in the Communist Party, but also of many workers and others who have understood and condemned the anti-socialist crimes of the Kremlin. They knew the Stalinist regime had not hesitated to revise Marxist ideas and policies until the Soviet Union is a caricature of the workers' state envisioned by the leaders of the Russian Revolution. They knew Stalin had not stopped short of frame-ups, murder and other police-state measures to perpetuate the power of the bureaucracy. They knew he didn't have any qualms about making deals with Hitler at the cost of the lives of both Jewish and non-Jewish workers in Eastern Europe, and with Mussolini at the expense of the Ethiopian people.

But somehow — "Stalin anti-Semitic? I can't believe it!" one man told me last week. "He might use anti-Semitic prejudices of backward people in his current struggle against American diplomacy, but he couldn't be anti-Semitic!"

What is anti-Semitism? It's not just a question of whether a Stalin — or a Hitler — likes or hates Jews (any more than anti-Negro prejudice in the United States is a matter of whether or not a Nixon or a Sparkman likes Negroes).

There's nothing mystical about it, and

distinctions between Stalin's being anti-Semitic or using anti-Semitism are quibbles.

Anti-Semitism is the exploitation of backward prejudices against a minority group in order to make them scape-goats for the troubles of their oppressors.

When, in the current purges, the Stalinists rant about "bourgeois Jewish internationalism" they are just as guilty of anti-Semitism as Nazi or American reactionaries who attempt to whip up a lynch spirit against "international Jewish communism." When the police in the Soviet Zone and East Berlin raid Jewish homes and offices and order curfews in Jewish districts (read "ghettos"), as was reported January 19 and not denied, they are as responsible for violating the rights of minority groups and utilizing the undemocratic device of "guilt by association" as the police and FBI in America who use the same tactics against alleged Communists, or against Negroes.

And it doesn't matter how long or loud are the protests of the Communist Party that they are the champions of democracy and freedom for oppressed peoples, or the protests of the American government spokesmen that they are the ideological leaders of the "free world." We must "call a spade a spade" and know anti-Semitism when we see it if we are to combat such evils effectively.

As long as the Stalinist regime continues to rule as a bureaucratic caste, primarily concerned with maintaining its privileged position, it too will utilize the classical devices of tyrants through the ages to divide its victims and deflect their discontent and opposition from itself.

New York Housing Scandal

By Joyce Cowley

"Slums are being created much faster than they are being eliminated. Occupancy of dark and filthy cellars that defy description and families of 6, 7 and more cooking, eating and sleeping in one room lacking proper toilet and bathing facilities, are spreading the slum blight."

This may sound like a speech by some radical agitator, but it's quoted from a "presentation" of a Kings County Grand Jury which convened the eighth of last July as the result of a fire that killed seven people in a Brooklyn tenement. Last week they announced the results of a test survey. In 336 multiple dwellings in Brooklyn they found 12,445 violations!

In one Brooklyn tenement, 250 persons exist in 20 apartments. That's an average of 12½ people in each apartment! They eat and sleep in shifts.

30,000 families in New York City are living in cellars. Since they are illegally occupied, the landlord doesn't have to worry about rent control. \$60 per room a month is not unusual in Harlem and Brooklyn.

"The greatest city in the world," the Grand Jury said, "is surely but not slowly being permitted to deteriorate and decay."

A large section of the report was devoted to recommendations for "cycle" inspections which would assure that every building in the city is inspected at least once every three to five years. They also suggested the addition of 100 inspectors to the Brooklyn Housing Division, jail sentences for defiant violators, etc.

Any landlord charging \$20 a week for a miserable, rat-infested basement room

belongs in jail. I also agree that we should have more inspectors and more frequent inspections. But that won't solve the housing problem in New York City.

In that Brooklyn tenement where 250 people are crowded into 20 apartments, the multiple dwelling law limits occupancy to 100. But when the inspector discovers this violation, what is he going to do with the 150 extra people? Where can they go?

Housing authorities estimate that builders would have to put up 130,000 new units a year to provide adequate housing for New York by 1963. Actually they are building about 35,000. Not only that, but we all know the price of new apartments. What good is new construction at \$100 a month, and up, to the workers in the firetraps of Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem?

No one is interested in building decent low-cost housing. You don't make money that way. It's easier and more profitable to convert a five-room apartment with a \$38 rent ceiling. Put in a few pieces of used furniture, call it furnished apartments and rent to four families at \$60 a month each!

Low-income projects are the only solution to the housing problem and we need plenty of them — fast. But who's going to push legislation and get appropriations for this kind of housing? Who's going to represent the tenants at City Hall, in Albany and in Washington? We won't get much help from the Eisenhower millionaires' club or the landlords' lobby. That's why workers need their own representatives to speak and fight for them. That's why we need a Labor Party.

Notes from the News

"EQUAL" PROTECTION OF LAWS. The New Orleans district attorney has dropped rape charges against a white man who lured off and raped an eight-year-old colored child. The man, who has been set free, was found with the child and the county coroner's examination of the child showed a rape had been committed. Louisiana has the death penalty for rape. That savage penalty, however, is reserved for Negroes, as was shown by the execution last summer of three Negroes for alleged rape of white women.

VIVIAN KELLEMS, Connecticut industrialist noted in the past for her anti-labor and anti-tax eccentricities, is urging a women's March on Washington if the Eisenhower Administration doesn't end the Korean War. She told a women's patriotic conference in Washington, D. C. that Eisenhower shouldn't worry about "saving face" in Korea. "We want our boys back from Korea and we're not interested in how we get them back," she said. "Just get them back pronto. . . . If we don't get what we want we are going to organize 1,000,000 women and march on the city of Washington. Go home and tell the girls to pack their suitcases."

TEXAS FARM BUREAU, organization dominated by big landlord farmers, whose leaders were prominent in swinging that state to Eisenhower, has formulated its program at a conference in San Antonio. 1.) Repeal federal child labor regulations which are "depriving us of 60% of our native labor" in the cotton fields. 2.) Change the schools laws of Texas which bar children from working on crops when schools are in session. 3.) End the Department of Labor's practice of setting minimum wages for Mexican farm workers brought into the U.S. under contract.

PRISONERS WOULDN'T SCAB. When the CIO Government and Civil Workers struck against the Bessemer, Alabama, city departments, prisoners in the city jail, ordered out to collect garbage, refused to scab.

DR. CHARLES NUGENT, a physician of New Haven, Conn., was drafted under the doctor's draft law. Although he signed the affidavit that he was not and had never been a member of the Communist Party, he refused to fill out that part of the affidavit requiring information about associates connected with organizations on the "subversive" list. Nugent was thereupon assigned to infantry training as a private, although he is a veteran of World War II and was eligible for draft only as a doctor. The physician is a member of the New Haven chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union and it is reported that the ACLU is looking into the civil liberties aspects of the case.

BIGGEST AWARD ever made in an accident case is believed to be the \$250,000 judgment a New York jury gave to a longshoreman last week. James Gallagher, 55, who broke his neck and lost the use of his legs in the accident had sued the United States Lines.

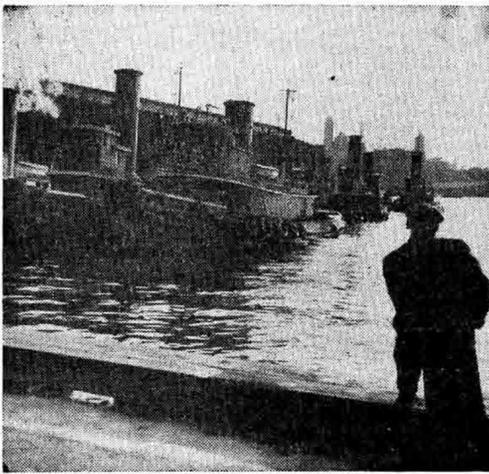
MICHIGAN workers received the highest annual earnings for 1952 in the U. S. up to September, the last month through which the U.S. Department of Labor has compiled figures. Lowest ranking state was Mississippi.

THOUSANDS OF FORMER NAZIS are applying to U.S. consulates in Germany for visas to emigrate to the U.S., the North American News paper Alliance (NANA) reports. Under the McCarran law immigrants with a "totalitarian" background are barred but the McCarran law interprets "totalitarian" to mean Communists, thus leaving the door open for followers and ex-followers of Hitlerism.

SUCCESS STORY. Ludwig R. Schlekot, bank President in New Kensington, Pa., stole \$600,000 of his bank's money over a 16-year period, it has been revealed. He used the money to buy a controlling interest in the bank itself and make himself president.

THE MILITANT

New York Tug Strike Ends



Tugboats in New York harbor are deserted as strike by AFL maritime workers ties up port. Strike was settled with 17 cent hourly increase, other contract improvements, leaving dispute over size of crews to arbitration.

BROWDER, FORMER CP HEAD, INDICTS STALIN REGIME FOR PURGES

By John G. Wright

Earl Browder, former General Secretary of the American Communist Party who was purged seven years ago, has finally broken politically with the Kremlin. He made

this break public in an interview granted to the New York Post, a "liberal" daily which published it in two installments on Feb. 6 and Feb. 8.

Browder had swallowed without any protest all of Stalin's previous frame-ups, from the infamous Moscow frame-ups of the Thirties down to the Rajk trial in Hungary and that of Kostov in Bulgaria. He now gives as his immediate reason for breaking with the Kremlin the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia and the arrests of the nine top-ranking physicians in Moscow.

According to Browder these developments with their attendant anti-Semitism mark the complete ascendancy of the "authoritarian trend" among the Soviet ruling circles. For the first time this former top Stalinist functionary in this country admits the existence of an arbitrary and all-powerful privileged minority inside the Soviet Union.

BROWDER'S CRITICISM
But even at this late date Browder refers guardedly to the Soviet bureaucracy. He singles out "three groups." These are the "industrial managers," the armed forces and the secret police. They wield the "real power" inside the Soviet Union and are now presumably engaged in a power struggle for which the Russian party serves as the battlefield.

It will be noted that Browder slurs over the Soviet party functionaries and in particular the Kremlin "big chiefs" from his list of the struggling power groups. He refused to make any comment on Stalin's role.

As Browder sees it a "Soviet equivalent of McCarthyism" is now riding the crest of the triumphant "militant authoritarianism," which "considers it necessary to check and control spontaneous tendencies to ask questions and think independently among the people."

DATES DEGENERATION
Browder now proclaims that the Communist International has completely degenerated. The "new line" was carried out by the Soviet tops "by stealth, step by step over the years, not proclaimed or debated — a method hitherto unknown on the Marxist left." Browder dates this degeneration back to 1945, that is, to the year when he personally was purged. Prior to that time, to believe Browder, the "democratic tendency" in the Communist International kept it alive and vigorous.

Among the proponents of this "democratic line" he lists himself, the deceased Dimitrov of Bulgaria, Tito of Yugoslavia and Togliatti of Italy who "succeeded in 1949" to Soviet "authoritarianism." The new Moscow line means that the Soviet leaders have "largely written off the Western communist movement." Browder is convinced. On the other hand, he doubts that the Kremlin is "thinking in terms of a revival of the popular front in the West."

It is clear that Browder has broken with the Kremlin, after seven years of silence, primarily because he has lost all hope of a return by Moscow to "People's Frontism."

If the interview reports him correctly, Browder is, in retro-

Longshoremen Aid Tug Strike: Blast Officials

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Feb. 11 — Victorious full support to the strike and at the same time intensifying their struggle against the corrupt Ryan leadership did much to affect a rapid settlement of the strike. The tugboat workers have been living under a contract that provided a pay scale \$1.36 an hour for deck hands to a maximum of \$2.35 for captains. When the strike was declared the operators stood firm on their offer of an eight-cent-an-hour increase. Within hours after the general walkout and the demonstration against the Ryan regime the operators and union officials went into virtually uninterrupted negotiations and emerged with an agreement for a seventeen-cent-an-hour increase, plus seven new fringe benefits.

Leadership for the demonstration at union headquarters appears to have been provided by the "rebel" locals associated with the anti-Ryan insurgent movement led by Gene Sampson. When Bradley appeared on the Chelsea docks last week to request that the tugboat men's picketline be respected he received a stormy reception from the dockworkers who denounced him for his treacherous role in the '51 rank and file strike and demanded that he disassociate himself from Ryan and issue a public apology for his attacks on them during the strike.

DEMAND RYAN RESIGN

The anti-Ryan demonstrations took the form of picketlines on two successive days in front of his headquarters. More than a thousand men marched on the first day. On the second day the police forced them to limit the line to two hundred. Large makeshift placards held aloft by the demonstrators included: "Resign Meat Head Ryan," "Bradley the Scab — Remember 1951," "Weep, Ryan, Weep," "Pack In, 'Packy' Connolly, While You Can," "Resign Joe Ryan, You Don't Need You." During the two

days Ryan did not set foot near the headquarters.

The action of the men in extending full support to the strike and at the same time intensifying their struggle against the corrupt Ryan leadership did much to affect a rapid settlement of the strike. The tugboat workers have been living under a contract that provided a pay scale \$1.36 an hour for deck hands to a maximum of \$2.35 for captains. When the strike was declared the operators stood firm on their offer of an eight-cent-an-hour increase. Within hours after the general walkout and the demonstration against the Ryan regime the operators and union officials went into virtually uninterrupted negotiations and emerged with an agreement for a seventeen-cent-an-hour increase, plus seven new fringe benefits.

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"DOING HIS JOB"

The only piers to operate throughout the strike were those in Brooklyn's Erie Basin controlled by the murderous Anastasia gang. A week before the strike broke "Tough" Tony Anastasia, hiring boss for the Jar-

Corporation, announced that he was quitting the docks "in protest against the lies against me" at the State Crime Commission hearing." However, when the walkout took place he reemerged on the pier to drive the men back to work. In response to questions about his sudden reappearance, a Jarca official explained, "He didn't resign. He took a vacation, and now he's back doing his job."

The AFL National Council has "instructed" Ryan to clean house in the union. Paul Hall, president of the AFL Seafarers Int'l Union, has set up a port committee in collaboration with Ryan "to clean up the waterfront." With such measures they hope to alleviate some of the stench of the ILA leadership's longstanding alliance with the companies and the politicians to keep the men in line through the use of the Anastasia-type killers that infest the union.

When Bradley ventured down to the docks last week a small incident took place. The longshoremen congregated on the Chelsea docks had already announced their intention to respect the picket lines and bitterly resented his presence. After the men got through telling him what they thought of him one of them gave him a vigorous boot in the posterior. In this incident there lies the absolutely perfect symbol of how the ILA cesspool is going to be cleaned up.

U.S. battle casualties in the undeclared war in Korea have reached 129,819. This is an increase of 395 in the last week. The total figure includes 20,499 killed in action, 96,295 wounded in action and 13,025 missing in action.

N. J. COURT POSTPONES KUTCHER HOUSING CASE

NEWARK, Feb. 11 — Restraint proceedings in the Kutcher-Lawrence case, the first legal challenge of the housing "loyalty" oath, have been postponed until Feb. 27 at the request of federal officials.

Last week the American Civil Liberties Union filed suit in the New Jersey Superior Court for an injunction to stop the Newark Housing Authority from evicting three tenants who refuse to sign the witch hunt oath required by the Gwinn amendment.

Superior Court Judge Walter Freund signed an order giving the Authority until Feb. 6 to show cause why it should not be restrained.

But the show-cause hearing has been postponed three weeks at the request of U.S. Attorney Richard, who said he wanted to ascertain whether Attorney General Herbert J. Brownell wants the federal government brought into the case as an interested party.

The suit, which asks the court to find the Gwinn amendment unconstitutional, was filed on behalf of James Kutcher, legless veteran and member of the Socialist Workers Party; his 73-year-old father, Hyman; and Harry L. Lawrence, a teacher and disabled veteran. Neither Lawrence nor the older Kutcher belongs to any of the 203 groups on the Attorney General's list who are

9 Union Militants Jailed in Akron For Strike Activity

By L. Cooper

AKRON, Feb. 2 — The final appeal to the State Supreme Court rejected, nine prominent unionists of Goodrich Local 5, (including ex-Local president George Bass, now employed as an International organizer), started serving ten days in the county jail today for refusal to abide by an injunction during the officers workers strike at Goodrich close to a year ago.

For three weeks last March, picket lines had been maintained at the track entrances to the Goodrich plants, and the train engineers did not cross the picket lines. On March 22 a sweeping injunction prohibiting picketing of street and track entrances was issued. On March 26 the union leaders were arrested for "contempt" of the injunction.

When word spread of their imprisonment, a powerful work stoppage movement swept through the Goodrich and Good-year plants. Sending an enveloping city-wide walkout in industry, the judge hastily arranged for bail "pending an appeal," and the men were quickly released.

On behalf of the imprisoned men, Bass issued a strong statement today defending "the right to organize and to choose representatives, and the right to strike."

An 'Explosive Year' In Prison History

A survey by the N. Y. Times of recent prison disturbances finds that "after coming through the most explosive year in American prison history, many penal institutions in various parts of the United States are still racked by unrest."

During the past eleven months, there have been major "disturbances" at 23 prisons or reformatories. The report says that "three uprisings last March and April in New Jersey state prisons touched off disorders in plants from Massachusetts to California and from Michigan to Louisiana."

Kutcher's Appeal to Eisenhower

(Continued from page 1)

when I went to work for the Veterans Administration.

On March 21, 1947, President Truman issued his Executive Order 9835, setting up what was popularly designated as the "loyalty program" and directing the Attorney General to compile a list of "subversive organizations" as a guide to federal agencies. Such a list was issued by Mr. Tom C. Clark, then Attorney General and now Supreme Court Justice, on Nov. 24, 1947. Among other groups it bore the name of the Socialist Workers Party.

In compiling this list, the Attorney General was guilty of some of the most arbitrary violations of traditional democratic procedure in the history of the Republic. He did not give any prior notice to the organizations that appeared on his list, thus finding them "guilty" without even notifying them they were "on trial." After the list appeared, the Socialist Workers Party protested vigorously and demanded the right to have a public hearing at which it could be informed of specific charges and have the opportunity to defend itself

against them. Though this demand was widely supported, the Attorney General stubbornly refused to grant a hearing and as of this moment no hearing has ever been held.

I was one of the first victims of this blacklist. Losing my job and my reputation, I have been appealing for the last 53 months through administrative channels and then through the federal courts to be reinstated to my job. In September 1948 I asked President Truman to meet with me and intervene to obtain justice for me, but he never even acknowledged my letter. Finally, on October 16, 1952, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington ruled that my discharge was improper because membership in the Socialist Workers Party is not by itself sufficient cause to warrant discharge from Federal employment under the "loyalty program."

The Government wasted another three months deciding whether to appeal my case to the Supreme Court, but finally on Jan. 16 announced they would not appeal, thereby admitting they had wronged me. On Jan. 31 my attorney, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.,

wrote the Veterans Administrator asking for a meeting to discuss my reinstatement in light of the court action. On Feb. 6 the Veterans Administrator replied and refused me even the courtesy of a meeting to discuss this matter. I enclose both my attorney's letter to Mr. Gray and his reply. I hope that you will not tolerate in your Administration such bureaucratic callousness to the needs of the individual citizen.

Since the Circuit Court decision in my case, I have also been threatened with eviction from my home in a Federal low-rent housing project in Newark solely because of my membership in an organization on the Attorney General's list.

I appeal to you, Mr. President, to use the power of your office to help me. Specifically, I urge you to do two things:

1. Advise the Veterans Administration to reinstate me without further delay to my job, with back pay and seniority; and 2. Direct the new Attorney General to withdraw the "subversive list" which was prepared without notice or hearing and the Department of Justice to disassociate itself completely from the

arbitrary procedures connected with it.

I would be pleased to meet with you and discuss this matter further at your convenience.

Sincerely,
(signed) James Kutcher
Copy to Attorney General Brownell.

TWIN CITIES Sunday Afternoon Socialist Forum

Eisenhower, Formosa and Chiang Kai-shek
The American workers' slogan must be:
Hands Off the Chinese Revolution!
Speaker:
V. R. Dunne
Sun., Feb. 22, 3:30 P.M.
10 So. 4th Street
Minneapolis
Questions, Discussion
Refreshments
Admission Free