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Where France Stands After General Strike

By Murry Weiss

The French general strike revealed the true relation of class forces in what has been called the "sick nation" of Europe but it has settled nothing. The workers are back on the job. The government headed by the millionaire Laniel remains in power. The National Assembly has not been called into emergency session. The economic decrees which provoked the general strike wave are still in force. And the officials of the trade unions and workers parties remain in their posts.

In these respects everything looks the same as before August 7; yet everything has changed. What is profoundly different is the balance of social forces which has shifted in favor of the workers. With one stroke they ripped away the facade of stability and strength that screened the capitalist regime of France. Rarely has history witnessed such a display of working-class power. The new consciousness the workers have of their own power and the weakening of capitalist rule is a major factor in the immediate political outlook for France.

But just as the workers showed their magnificent capacities to launch a struggle and carry it to the door of victory, so their official leaderships displayed the most cowardly urge to curb their offensive and save the day for capitalism. They fumbled, wavered and betrayed. The bureaucracies

QUESTION OF POWER

The issue was drawn over the question of power. Who would rule France? This was the burning question posed during the three weeks of mounting strikes. In essence the workers felt it was time to finish with the whole mess of French capitalism. The immediate demands of the strikers were connected with far-reaching political objectives. For example, the postal workers who started the struggle soon raised the slogan of a change in government.

The workers correctly estimated that the Laniel regime was driving toward lowering their already miserable living standards under the whip of Wall Street and the crisis of French capitalism. Their general strike challenge thus opened up two opposing lines of development. Either their offensive would lead to workers power or to an abortion of their movement resulting in the continuation of capitalist reaction.

This placed upon the workers' leadership the obligation to organize their full forces to get rid of the capitalist government and take power. Instead, the leaders capitulated to Laniel.

WORKERS' ACHIEVEMENTS

What did the French workers do in the three-week general strike? First, they forged genuine unity of action among the split-up and disorganized trade unions. They drew the mass of unorganized workers behind their united front and forced their leaders to recognize, at least in part, the reality of unity in action. This is what "surprised" the Wall Street observers who had thought that unity in action between the workers in the Socialist and Catholic unions and those led by the Stalinists was finished for good.

Second, the workers created from below viable organs for the conduct of the struggle. The strike committees in the various regions and industries were the real power in France. It was only necessary for the workers to declare this and it would have been.

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Jim Crow Disease Reported Virulent At Sault St. Marie

At Sault Sainte Marie, Mich., army base on the northern border of the United States, the disease of Jim Crow is reported to be virulent. Negro airmen can't get service in barber shops, restaurants or taverns. Negro servicemen are forced to cross to Canada where, they report, "the people seem to be more civilized."

Demands for transfers were refused by Gen. Tucker, who said: "If we were to remove the Negro boys that would be discrimination too — discrimination against the whites."

The NAACP has protested these conditions. The prevalence of Jim Crow in this northern town is a timely reminder that discrimination is not confined to the South but is epidemic throughout the country.

National Sales Tax Threatens Workers As Prices Hit Peak

Phone, Rubber Workers Strikes Win Pay Gains from Monopolies

Oakland Area Transit Strike In 6th Week

By Lillian Kiesel

OAKLAND, Cal., Aug. 27 — Some 1,150 members of AFL Carmen's Union Division 192 met here today in morning, afternoon and evening sessions and voted unanimously to support the actions of their strike committee and to reject the latest inadequate offer of the Key transit system serving the heavily populated East Bay area communities.

At this evening's meeting which I was privileged to attend, Division 192 President V. F. Stambaugh described the latest developments in the 35-day strike of Key bus drivers and trainmen against the lowest wage rates for transit workers anywhere on the West Coast.

President Stambaugh told the meeting that Key System has been accusing the Strike Committee of not keeping the union members informed about the latest company offer. The company claimed the membership would "gladly accept" this offer. Stambaugh showed how the Key System had used every possible trick in its attempts to confuse the members and the public on the question of the offer it is making. He pointed out that the company has sent letters to the union members, placed high-priced ads in the newspapers and attacked the union's leaders on the floor of the City Council here.

The current offer of the company, the union president explained, is for a six-cent an hour increase — when and if the Public Utilities Commission grants a fare increase to the Key System — and an additional three cents in six months and another five cents after an additional six months. This is a total of only 14 cents over two years. The offer also included vacations of one week for four years employment; two weeks after five years and three weeks after 15 years. Key System claimed this means a total "package" of 19 cents.

"Where they get 19 cents we can't figure," said Stambaugh. "They claim that I would not put this proposal to a vote of the membership by secret ballot. I do not think this offer, even if it were paid all at once, would be worth putting to a vote," he declared amid applause. "When we get an offer that we think acceptable we will bring it back for your approval."

(Continued on page 4)

Telephone Operators Tell Off AT&T



Disgusted with American Telephone & Telegraph Co. stalling in negotiations, 2,000 long-lines workers attended a one-day "continuous protest meeting" in Chicago.

The flare-up of large strikes in the telephone and rubber industries has subsided with the signing of union contracts granting wage increases and other benefits.

At the height of the battle by the telephone workers, nearly 70,000 members of the CIO Communications Workers were hitting the picket lines against units of the Bell Telephone system, affiliate of the American Telephone and Telegraph communications monopoly.

Most of the strikers returned to work with the signing of the contract with the Southwestern Bell Telephone Co., ending an 11-day walkout of 53,000 employees in six states. Wage increases ranged from \$1.50 to \$3 a week. The Southern Bell system had settled previously for \$1 to \$3 boosts for 50,000 workers.

For a time, it appeared that strikes of telephone workers in 10 states and the District of Columbia might spread to a national telephone tie-up. The seven-week militant, hard-fought strike of Indiana Bell workers still continues in the face of state police and National Guard strike-breaking threats.

In Marion County (Indiana), Ind., a superior court judge first ordered picketing halted and then revised his injunction to limit pickets to 20 feet apart and 10 feet from buildings, after members of other CIO unions had joined a mass demonstration around the main telephone exchange building in downtown Indianapolis. Fourteen workers were arrested and one was hospitalized after being beaten by cops. The injunction was issued without notice to the union.

In Maryland, the National Guard lent the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co. army camps and blankets for scabs. CIO President Walter Reuther demanded a congressional investigation of the guard's "unwarranted and unwelcome intervention."

The Communications Workers Union has signed contracts for more than 270,000 workers to date, with disputes still raging over contracts for some 55,000 workers.

Meanwhile, a four-day strike of 24,000 CIO rubber workers of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. in eight cities ended when the company agreed to a wage increase "package" of 12 cents an hour, including a five-cent-and-hour general wage increase. This is expected to set a pattern for the industry.

The B. F. Goodrich Company on Aug. 31 agreed one hour before the strike deadline to a similar settlement for its 18,000 union workers in nine plants.

Eisenhower Prepares Sneak Attack on Living Standards of People

By Joseph Keller

Eisenhower is preparing a sneak attack on the living standards of the American workers. Plans are under way for a national sales tax, the details of which are to be submitted to Congress next fall.

Disclosure of this new move to throw the burden of war preparations and government debt-payment on the low-income earners comes as the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reports the cost of living at an all-time peak.

Although it has been rumored for some time that the Administration has a sales tax scheme up its sleeve, more direct confirmation is now given by the N. Y. Times, newspaper of the Morgan financial interests with a direct pipeline into the White House.

"A reliable Administration informant said today the question of a federal sales tax was 'very much in the picture,'" said the Aug. 26 Times. "The Administration concedes that it will face a tough battle on Capitol Hill when it introduces the sales tax measure but the chances are that it will go ahead anyway."

In fact, the Administration "believes it might get by with the measure if sufficient pressure is applied."

WILL FAVOR TAX

Eisenhower won't have to twist the arms of many Representatives and Senators to get them to "reluctantly" yield to his sales tax demand. Most members of Congress come from states and cities where sales taxes on every dollar spent by workers are already in effect.

The White House will solemnly pretend that the Administration is against a sales tax, but "might take it as a last resort," as the

SOAK THE WORKERS

The April 1 expiration of the 1951 increases in excise and regular corporation taxes will cost the government some \$3 billion in revenue. Untold billions in excess charges to the government on the more than \$92 billion outstanding in war contracts and authorizations will be lost to any possible recovery if the renegotiations act expires. The plan is to make up these losses by soaking the workers more.

Meanwhile, corporation profits continue to boom on the basis of government war spending and inflation, rising an average of 14.9% over 1952 in the first half of 1953, the highest in history except for the brief super-peak level in the first months following outbreak of the Korean war.

PICKET N. Y. CITY HALL TO GET POLIO SERUM

By Joyce Cowley

New York and New Jersey Health Departments are saving gamma globulin for an "emergency." They refuse to supply it to youngsters at the Scouts' Ten Mile River

Reservation where there are now six polio cases and one boy has died. Parents from Bensonhurst, where three cases have been reported in a day camp, have picketed City Hall.

While children are dying, officials limit GG to "household contacts" under 30 and pregnant women. A few weeks ago this resulted in tragedy for a large family. All received GG but the father because he was 31 years old. Now the father is dead.

Gamma globulin is controlled by the Office of Defense Mobilization which has spent millions of dollars on questionable measures for civilian defense. Why, when there is immediate and urgent need for defense against polio, is the supply of GG so pitifully limited?

Two excuses are given for the scarcity of GG. First, it must be made from whole human blood which is critically short. I'm sure

that many parents would be glad to give blood for this purpose. But no appeal has been made.

Second, we are also short of blood-processing plants. It was possible to foresee that there would be a large number of polio cases at the end of the summer — we've had them before. Certainly more blood-processing plants could have been built.

The facts show that the Republicans and Democrats are little concerned about fighting polio. I say it's high time that we gave them a fight. The picket lines at City Hall and the Mayor's home are a fine example of what should be done. But the fight should be extended to the political front. That means voting against the capitalist politicians on election day by casting your ballot for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

CIO-PAC Leaders Evade Labor Party Issue

By Art Preis

The recent national conference of the CIO Political Action Committee in Washington, D. C., on Aug. 18 was its first major gathering since the Republican victory last November cracked the 20-year Democratic-labor coalition.

Every leading CIO figure was present. CIO President Walter Reuther, Steelworkers President David J. M. McDonald, CIO Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey and CIO-PAC Director Jack Kroll all spoke. Their individual and collective words revealed no understanding of the significance of the Republican triumph nor any capacity to give the political leadership labor needs in this crucial period.

"LESSER EVIL"

They did not seem to recognize that the Republican victory and the advance of reaction has been

the consequence of their own policy of placing reliance on the corrupt Democratic machine of the big city bosses and Southern bourgeois. They did not say so, if they did realize, that their policy of supporting one capitalist party against another, one evil though "lesser" — against another of the same kind, has only led to the "greater" evil they sought to avoid.

Hence, their thoughts and attention were centered on will-o-the-wisps, illusions, seeking out some non-existent good in the Democratic Party and even in Eisenhower. They still propose to find salvation within the Democratic fold and place hopes in a vague "realignment" of the liberal and labor elements within the old-line boss machines.

Reuther, for instance, made no serious and honest attempt to analyze why the labor political policy of the union leaders has



JAMES B. CAREY

ended in bankruptcy. To him, the last elections showed only that union workers must engage in more political activity — by which he meant ringing more

door-bells, handing out more literature for candidates endorsed by the union officials, etc. "Where the most work was done, the candidates we favored did reasonably well," he claimed. But why was it hard to get union workers to campaign enthusiastically? Reuther did not go into this vital, indeed basic, question.

THEIR COMPLAINTS

But even if they did not seem to grasp the real score, nevertheless on several occasions some of the key speakers indicated a certain uneasiness about the situation. PAC Director Kroll complained that reports from every state showed that the CIO state political activity had no perspective of legislative gains, only of defense against anti-labor laws. "The most important thing they (PAC state officers) said," admitted Kroll, "is that it isn't Democrats we have to fight and

it isn't Republicans. It's just plain reactionaries." By which he indicated that both parties are loaded with reactionaries and serve the capitalists.

Secretary-Treasurer Carey contended that he personally felt that "the Democratic Party must stop taking the liberal and labor movement for granted." He thereby officially recorded the fact that the Democratic Party leaders look with contempt on organized labor, think the union officials too spineless to break from capitalist politics even under the worst provocations and view the union leaders as "in the bag" under any circumstances.

Carey's words were meant as a threat to the Democrats, such as union leaders have made from time to time before. "I am convinced," he added, "that there must be a realignment within the Democratic Party. And if the realignment can't come within the

Democratic Party, then perhaps there must be a realignment outside that party."

LEASON OF HISTORY

Why the "perhaps"? Study the history of the Democratic Party for most of the 20 years it was in power under both Roosevelt and Truman and you will find that "realignment" of the "liberal and labor" forces inside the Democratic Party has been a theme song for a long time. And it has been demonstrated over and over again that labor can find no constructive political course inside the Democratic machine.

The PAC conference and its leaders had the duty to point out that labor has nothing to gain and everything to lose by fooling around with the Democratic Party. It has everything to gain and nothing to lose by taking the road of independent class politics through a new party of its own.

Fund Campaign Total Reaches 62% of Goal

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party contributed \$1,491 this week to the Party-Building and Publication Fund, which raised the total through Aug. 31 to \$11,242 or 62% of the \$18,000 goal. With the deadline only a few weeks away, the national campaign is 23% behind schedule.

Chicago went over the top to 101% and these comrades aren't through yet, according to Hilda Smith who says: "There should be some more coming in to put us farther over the top!"

Newark is coming down the home stretch at a fast clip and is within 10% of the goal post.

Buffalo scored a \$93 gain and Minneapolis-St. Paul pulled ahead with \$91. Comrade Jean writes for the Twin Cities: "Ches made a very good appeal at the Minneapolis branch meeting last night and collected money as well as getting some additional pledges."

Comrade Dave says for Los Angeles: "Enclosed is a check for \$126. We are going to make every effort to have our quota paid by Sept. 15, although the going is tough. But we're working on the problem."

Th's note from Comrade Larry accompanied \$52.50 on Boston's quota: "We will make our quota of \$550 — on time — as usual for Boston."

New York hit 51% with a \$461 contribution, and Youngstown raised its percentage to 48 with \$76.

San Francisco sent in \$163. The comrades there "are planning a rummage sale and a couple of other things" to help speed up completion of their quota.

Detroit chalked up a \$220 gain. "General" took a \$17 step forward with two welcome contributions from friends of the Socialist Workers Party — \$2

(See scoreboard: Page 3)

Brownell Hints Unions Next on Witch Hunt List

In an interview published in U.S. News and World Report of Sept. 4, Attorney General Herbert Brownell made ominous hints regarding a projected attack on the trade unions. Asked about the fields in which "communists" are concentrated, he replied, "there are more in the labor unions than elsewhere."

This statement, taken together with his declaration that the FBI considers "the Communist Party a greater menace now than at any other time," constitutes a warning signal that moves are being prepared to involve the unions more directly in the current witch hunt.

Walter Reuther, President of the CIO, was quoted as saying that Brownell was wrong; that the union officials were "eternally vigilant in fighting communism."

This kind of reply plays right into the hands of the union busters. It accepts the formula of the witch hunters. It leaves the unions wide open for union-busting McCarthyite investigation under pretext of establishing to what degree the "red menace" still exists.

STALINISTS BAIT TRAP FOR WORKERS IN NEW YORK ELECTIONS

By Murry Weiss

This is the election policy of the Communist Party in New York City: Regardless of whom you intend to vote for in November, get into the Democratic primaries on Sept. 15. By supporting Wagner against Impellitteri we can defeat the worst danger — the Dewey-Impellitteri machine. Thus we will knock the reactionaries out of the elections during the primaries and everybody can feel free to vote for whatever party he chooses in November without fear of a reactionary getting in. This will pay off with a bigger vote for the American Labor Party, Liberal Party, etc.

This latest gimmick on how to beat the capitalists at their own game is as worthless as all the past slick opportunist election tricks of the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats. The main trouble with these "clever" schemes is that they overlook the class interests of the workers and put the workers behind the eight-ball — that is, behind their worst enemies on the political field, the capitalists.

Wagner and Impellitteri represent two wings of the corrupt capitalist political machine known as Tammany Hall. It's a case of heads I win, tails you lose, in the contest between these two nominees so far as the workers are concerned. The Stalinists claim that Wagner's silence about McCarthyism shows he is a liberal while Impellitteri's allegedly "outspoken" support for the Wisconsin demagogue makes him a reactionary. Even if true, does this provide a choice for the working class? It's as much a choice as between hanging and shooting for a condemned man.

The real choice before the workers of New York as everywhere in the United States is not between one capitalist politician and party or another but: either to continue the ruinous policy of company unionism in politics; or make a complete and principled break with capitalist politics and launch a Labor Party.

As long as the workers remain trapped in the hopeless game of supporting "progressive" Tammany politicians against "reactionary" Tammany politicians, the road to a Labor Party will be blocked.

Even if Wagner were a "good man" (the Stalinist only claim that he is "less bad" than Impellitteri) he couldn't change the basic character of the Democratic-Tammany machine which is owned and operated by Big Business and Big Gangster interests.

The real purpose of the Stalinist election policy is to corral the left-wing vote into the Democratic Party camp. They are laying the basis for the next pitch when they can say after the primaries: "Wagner is a lesser evil than the Republican candidate. We must choose him instead of the worse evil of a reactionary Republican." And even if they don't say this publicly, the end result of supporting Wagner in the primaries is to start a bandwagon trend for him that can slash deeply into the vote which might otherwise have gone to the ALP, the Liberal Party or the Socialist Workers Party.

In this way the Stalinists add their weight to the treacherous policy of the labor bureaucracy which has led to one defeat after another for labor on the political field and made American labor despite its power politically helpless before the Big Business Eisenhower administration.

The Stalinists are having some difficulty selling this policy to their followers. That's why it's being dished up in this step-at-a-time, easy-to-take, it-won't-hurt form.

The Stalinists lie when they pretend that it is only a question of the primaries in New York. In Los Angeles just a few months ago they pulled a similar trick. They supported the "lesser evil" Republican Bowron against the "worse evil" Republican Poulson.

They succeeded in keeping the Progressive Party from running independent candidates and then in the run-off they continued to support Bowron against Poulson. This was the same policy the Los Angeles labor bureaucracy followed. It ended in fiasco — Bowron was defeated, Poulson got in, and the cause of independent political action wasn't advanced one inch.

The treacherous policy of the Stalinists in Los Angeles was even more flagrant because the workers had a clear choice between four capitalist candidates for Mayor and the working class anti-war candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. The Stalinists supported the witch-hunter and warmonger Bowron against the revolutionary Socialist candidate, Myra Tanner Weiss.

In New York they are giving us a repeat performance. These people, who claim to be revolutionists and against the war, have already lined up behind a Wall Street candidate while the SWP is running a campaign against Wall Street's war and witch hunt and in favor of socialism.

The Stalinists are trying to convince American capitalism that they are "respectable," "reasonable," and "harmless." "Look!" they shout, "The Stalinist tiger is Tame. You can harness it together with the Tammany tiger and they'll both pull Wall Street's wagon."

This is designed to help the Kremlin bargain for a deal with Eisenhower. It is the continuation of the same policy that lined the Stalinists up behind the Roosevelt war machine, behind the LaGuardia Republicans, behind ex-Mayor O'Dwyer, and behind the capitalist politician Wallace.

We say to the radical workers of New York — the Stalinist policy serves the interests of the Kremlin but not the interests of the working class. Opposition to Wall Street's war plans can not be furthered by deals that weaken the class independence of the workers or by cynical election maneuvers that poison the consciousness of the left-wing workers with opportunist trickery.

Support the candidates of the SWP! Fight for an independent Labor Party! That is the way to fight the capitalists and their war plans in the New York elections.

Wall Street's Drive to Sell the U.S. on Another War

By Joseph Hansen
(Third of a series.)

The "Get-Us-Home" movement of the American troops at the end of 1945 and beginning of 1946, together with the powerful strike wave that swept the country at that time, forced Wall Street to postpone the date for the Third World War which it had projected at the close of World War II. As I pointed out last week, the American people dismantled the forces needed to carry out a successful attack on the Soviet Union when it stood weakened and devastated from the Nazi assault.

Wall Street had to make a fresh start. First of all, it had to secure its home base. This meant above all convincing the American people of the necessity of going to war against the Soviet Union. To win a war of such a scope, the minimum requirement is a people thoroughly convinced of its justice and inevitability. If possible, their enthusiasm must be aroused. To drive the American people into such a conflict would most certainly prove suicidal. They must be led. This was the major problem facing America's 60 ruling families.

The capitalist class in our time, however, is capable of leading only a certain kind of people — a people that is thoroughly housebroken. They are not able to lead masses accustomed to think for themselves, concerned about preserving their liberties and willing to fight for their rights. In fact, to the capitalists, masses of that cast of mind are not only thoroughly undependable in wars of conquest but a deadly danger, particularly if they have

powerful organizations such as trade unions.

Thus to overcome the unfavorable position they found themselves in in 1946, the strategists of the capitalist class set out to achieve two main goals in the United States: (1) Try to convince the American people that the Soviet Union is an aggressor power like Nazi Germany, plotting to attack America; (2) Try to stamp out freedom of thought and hamstring the unions.

The first aim dovetailed with a vast armaments program, which in turn could help stave off depression. The second aim, of course, fitted in neatly with the open shop sentiments of the big corporations. And both aims coincided with the need to satisfy the ravenous hunger for profit-taking with which the capitalists were troubled, after feeding at the public trough during the war years.

THE WITCH HUNT

Anti-union legislation culminated in the Taft-Hartley Law and an epidemic of similar slave-labor measures on the statute books of the states. The drive against freedom of thought began with Truman's "loyalty" decrees and rapidly mushroomed into the worst witch-hunt America has ever seen. The end result was the ominous rise of McCarthyism.

Truman's "loyalty" order was promulgated in 1947. For six years the drive on civil liberties has continued. It has made deep inroads into freedom of thought in America but has not yet succeeded in its final aim of breaking up the independent outlook of the masses. The Taft-Hartley Law

likewise has made organizing difficult, particularly in the South, but the unions still remain intact. In fact they now have a membership of some 17,000,000.

The corporations have made impressive gains in imposing the speed-up, containing the struggle for better living conditions, bounding the militants, and so on. But accounts have not yet been settled with the unions. Big Business now appears to think that it may take more than the witch-hunt and union-busting legislation to discipline the union membership and make the country safe for another war. It may take a bit of depression and an accompanying strong-arm assault. But to engage in that battle with labor — a most dangerous battle for the capitalists — would require postponement of World War III.

The alternative is to try to buy off the union leadership and a considerable segment of the working class as Roosevelt did in World War II. That course, however, seems to have been ruled out by the Morgans, Rockefellers, etc. That was one reason why they wanted Eisenhower in the White House instead of Stevenson.

WAR PROPAGANDA

Let us now turn to the effort to enthrone the American people with the prospect of an atomic war on the Soviet Union. The principal vehicle for this has been the powerful propaganda machine at the disposal of the capitalist class. The warmly praised ally of World War II was converted into "the enemy." The crimes of Stalinism, accommodatingly covered up during the war years, were hustled into the limelight. The press, the radio, the pulpit and later TV began an even more sustained campaign than that waged against Nazi Germany. The moralists joined in the attack — many of them with what turned out to be the best of credentials, former sycoophancy in the camp of Stalinism.

The grist for this mill was provided by the State Department. Rejecting all overtures of the Kremlin for a deal, it abruptly cut off lend-lease to the USSR despite the desperate needs of the Soviet people. Winston Churchill, then the most admired and respected statesman of the western capitalist world, was brought to Fulton, Missouri, where in March 1946 he laid down the line against the Soviet Union in a saber-rattling speech.

Provocative actions were organized, such as maneuvers by the armed forces in the Antarctic and Arctic under conditions obviously simulating those in the Soviet Union in winter. A whole series of diplomatic incidents were touched off, all designed to display the Soviet Union as an "aggressor" power, although it is not, since its economic foundations do not require it to follow the policy of imperialist expansion at all.

With the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, the "cold war" opened up full scale, with occasional scares of possible hot war as in 1948 at the time it appeared the Communist Party might win the elections in Italy.

KOREAN WAR

All this led up to June 1950 when civil war broke out in Korea. The Truman administration seized on this pretext to plunge America into the conflict.

The Korean war appeared to give American Big Business the final clinchers in its war preparations: an excuse to convert a huge sector of the economy into war production, an excuse to vastly expand the armed forces and stockpiles of armaments, an excuse to get into a conflict which had every prospect of expanding into a general conflict in which the Soviet Union would be sucked in.

Above all, it seemed to be a perfect means for finally convincing the American people about the justice and inevitability of war with the Soviet Union.

But this war, which appeared to offer such a favorable opening for carrying out the sinister plans of American Big Business, turned into its opposite.

The fighting capacity of the North Koreans shocked America's rulers. And when the Chinese Armies took up the challenge that Gen. MacArthur flung at the Yalu river, it quickly became apparent that Wall Street had taken on far more than it bargained for. Truman's "police action" turned into a war of completely unexpected scope. In another article we will discuss the forces American imperialism ran into; right now we are interested in what happened to the effort to use Korea to psychologize the American people about fighting abroad.

MOST UNPOPULAR WAR

Korea turned out to be the most unpopular war in American history. This is admitted by every serious observer. It became a key issue in American politics. It helped bring a landslide defeat to the Democratic Party.

One of the big factors in Eisenhower's victory was the hope many people had that he would bring the fighting to an end, a hope that was fostered by Eisenhower's promise to go to Korea personally. No doubt at that time, Eisenhower and his backers had already considered the advisability of ending the Korean adventure.

Even Stevenson had to recognize on the eve of the election that it was necessary to say something

about ending the war in Korea. Of course, what he said was too little and too late to save the Democrats.

The popular opposition to the war in Korea is a tremendous new fact in American politics. The Pentagon and its spokesmen indicate their awareness of it by their openly expressed fears about a new "Get-Us-Home" movement among the American troops.

The Korean war, which was

undoubtedly a long step toward World War III, thus had contradictory effects. While enabling Wall Street to step up its military preparations for global conquest, it ended by inducing war weariness at home. The grass-roots bitterness over this "police action" is a new complication that America's capitalist rulers dare not overlook in deciding whether to start World War III soon or to postpone it.

Letters from Readers

Suggests Increased Correspondence on Union Problems

Editor:

I have been reading *The Militant* for quite some time and I notice that you have quite a bit of news on the UAW-CIO. I work in a General Motors plant and I am very interested in what *The Militant* reports in its pages. The news that you print is not available in the UAW's own publications.

I would like to suggest to your readers that they send in to your paper the news that is happening in their particular plants. Then we could get some idea of what's going on in other parts of the country. As it is now each one is only familiar with what is happening in his locality. In short your paper could be used as a means of letting each other know what's going on.

The leadership of our Union only prints what they want us to know and I'm quite sure there must be more things going on than what is printed in the UAW publications.

For instance on the West Coast the GM workers are very unhappy with the five-year contract. In fact, not even the Reutherites will claim that it's a good contract, although they were the ones that sold it to the rank and file.

The speedup in our plant is terrific and the only thing the International Representatives say is to write grievances and the International will back you up. In the meantime the worker has to maintain the pace that the employer has set and by the time the International forces the Local Union through all the steps of the grievance procedure you are practically dead. They say if you strike over the issue you won't win anything because GM will transfer the production to some other plant and you won't be able to meet your bills and they will freeze you out till you are ready to return to work under the old conditions.

I'm sure that these tactics are applied to the other unions as well.

If you will print our letters, other union members will read them, and perhaps we can exchange our ideas and information through *The Militant*.

I do not want to take up too much space, instead I think it would be better to write shorter letters frequently than long letters at longer intervals.

J. D.
Van Nuys, Calif.

Congratulations On Nomination of David L. Weiss

Editor:

Warmest congratulations on the Socialist Workers Party nomination of David L. Weiss as candidate for Mayor of New York.

I am certain that he and those associated with him in the SWP campaign will do great credit to the cause of socialism and most sincerely hope that all members of the Socialist Party in New York City will give him their full support in waging the common fight.

Fraternally yours,

George R. Stryker,
Treasurer, Local Nassau-Suffolk Socialist Party

Layoffs Increase In Chicago Plants

Editor:

The Chicago plants have started layoffs and from all appearances there are more coming.

In my shop there has been a decided increase in conversations about the economic health of the country. Invariably the workers connect the layoffs with the Korean truce. They note that layoffs haven't been so heavy since 1949. There is an immediate response to the slogan for a 30-hour week at 40-hours pay. The Republican administration is often blamed. "It's a damn shame that we can't keep these plants going without a war" is no longer a radical idea.

On the whole I would say that the workers around me are not demoralized by the situation. They feel fairly sure they can get jobs elsewhere for a while anyway. They expect a small depres-

sion but not like '29. (If you ask them why not like '29 they have no answer — its merely a hope.)

They don't know what the answer is but, "If this keeps up we're going to have to do something."

Some workers are reading the financial pages of the daily press and report to the others what plants are laying off in which city. Many have expressed admiration for the French workers — "Four million at a time, that's the way to do it."

In a word, the immediate period we are living in seems to be characterized by increased discussion of social questions and deeper thought concerning them.

B. D.
Chicago, Ill.

Offers Criticism On Two Articles In 'The Militant'

Editor:

I enclose \$2 for your fund drive. I'm not sure if the drive is over or not, but I guess you'll know what to do with the money, in any case. I've had four surgical operations since I wrote to you last, and this is my first week back on my job, and I'm sending you this money out of my first pay.

If I can ever get back enough health, I'll try to sell a few papers. Nothing would please me more than if I could build up a route of customers for *The Militant*.

And now may I say the critical part? I am addressing the important part of my criticism to Mr. Hansen; I usually admire his articles very much. In the issue of Aug. 24, he writes the first of a series of articles about the H-Bomb and the next world war. The tone of his article implies that if Wall Street attacks the Soviet Union with H-Bombs, then the Soviet Union, would be justified, in doing the same thing, even if it caused 50,000,000 civilian deaths.

And that is what I must object to — Mr. Hansen, do you believe that one atrocity justifies another?

My other criticism is on the defense of the atomic scientists in the same issue of the paper; they are as guilty as hell, they gave the capitalist class the worst weapon the world had ever known, and they KNEW the capitalist class would use it against helpless populations. When they committed this terrible crime, they earned the hatred of mankind, and they certainly deserve it!

J. M.
Cambridge, Mass.

In Reply ---

First of all, let's get clear just what the atrocity is and who is responsible. The atrocity is another world war, no matter with what weapons it is waged. The responsibility for this danger rests squarely on the shoulders of world capitalism, which long ago ceased to be progressive. This outmoded economic system now holds out a perspective of nothing but depressions, fascism, wars and the plunge into a new barbarism.

If they launch a third world war, it will be fought — no matter what the moral side of it may be — with the weapons that brought World War II to a close. Suppose that those who are attacked defend themselves with the most modern weapons. Is this immoral? Just what weapons can we put the seal of moral approval upon? In medieval times, let us recall, the use of gunpowder was considered immoral as against the sword and spear.

As to whether the Kremlin bureaucracy is capable of utilizing the same kind of weapons as Wall Street, speculation is not very fruitful. The Kremlin bureaucracy proved capable of deliberately upholding world capitalism over a period of decades, thereby paving the way for World War II and now World War III. They thereby proved themselves capable of committing any "atrocity," no matter how abominable.

To save civilization, the workers of the world must end the rule of both the Stalinist bureaucracy and the capitalist class, bringing into existence Workers and Farmers Governments capable of establishing enduring peace by establishing planned economy on a world scale.

On your other point about the atomic scientists, I do not consider them "guilty" for solving the secret of atomic energy. This achievement is one of the greatest in the history of mankind and opens unparalleled possibilities for the society of the future.

To be consistent in holding them guilty, then you must also declare the mathematicians guilty for providing them with the formulas that were essential — and of course every scientist who has made a discovery since the development of the camp fire. The whole accumulation of scientific knowledge provided the foundation for the development of atomic energy.

And you must also declare "guilty" every worker who takes a job in any plant whatsoever that contributes no matter how remotely to the production of atomic bombs.

The truth is that the decision to divert atomic energy from peacetime uses to the production of weapons was a political decision. It wasn't made by the scientists but by the capitalist politicians and the Big Business interests behind them. The real guilt lies with them.

All we can ask of the nuclear scientists, as of all other scientists and everybody interested in saving civilization from atomic destruction, is to take their stand as citizens and perform their civic duty by joining in the political struggle against the war-making capitalist class.

— Joseph Hansen

Keen Interest Shown in French Workers' Strikes

Editor:

My fellow workers have surprised me with the interest they have shown in the strikes of the French workers.

"Some strike they're having in France, isn't it?" a fellow asked me in the cafeteria while we were talking before going to work. He was a worker I had always believed was only interested in "What's the union going to get for me?"

The same morning, another fellow worker, who had never seemed at all interested in what workers in other countries were doing, asked me, "Have you been reading about the French workers? They're sure sticking together."

Another fellow I had always considered a little conservative, stopped me on the street and asked, "Charles, what do you think about the French workers?"

I answered, "They sure are united." "Yes," he answered, "If American workers had done like they're doing before the Taft-Hartley Law, we wouldn't have it."

Charles Brooks
St. Louis, Mo.

Labor's Daily reports that "corporations may have their normal income tax rates cut 4% after the excess profits tax dies Dec. 31." High-ranking Republican Congressmen are cooking up this steal which will cut government income from Big Business by \$1 billion.

Labor's Daily says: "You pay a national sales tax so the government can afford to cut corporation 'normal' taxes and do entirely without excess profits taxes."

NEW YORK
TV
Channel 5 WABD
"The Local Political Scene"
David L. Weiss

Hear and see the SWP candidate for mayor on the same program as Halley, Wagner, Impellitteri.

Tues., Sept. 8, 10:30 P. M.

Arrest in Morocco



Young Arab, second from left, was arrested and searched for arms by Moroccan troops patrolling streets of Rabat, capital city. Troops tried to curb disorders which followed installation of French-backed Sidi Mohammed Moulay Ben Arafat as new sultan, succeeding deposed Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef.

How French Workers Pushed Strike Action

The French union movement is split into four separate organizations: the Socialist-led Workers Force, the Christian Trade Union Federation (Catholic), the Stalinist-controlled General Confederation of Labor and the Independent Federation. All four were drawn into the general strike.

Pushed by their ranks, the Socialist and Catholic leaders were the first to launch and extend the strike in the civil services. They were also the first to break unity of action and call off the strikes. Many secondary leaders of their federations protested this conduct and refused to go along with it; in some cases rank-and-filers were seen tearing up their membership cards.

The Workers Force leadership apparently counted upon outflanking the Stalinists from the left by issuing their strike call in the civil services, where they were strongest, at a time when the metal workers, where the CGT is strongest, were on vacation. But their maneuver went awry because of the unexpected strength, scope and duration of the movement which posed the question of power in France. They beat a retreat and, together with the Catholics, negotiated a sell-out agreement with the government. They came out of the strike considerably discredited in the eyes of the best militants.

SP POLICY

The Socialist Party did not follow quite the same policy as Workers Force. It held aloof from negotiations and stuck to the demand for a special session of the National Assembly. The Communist Party seconded this demand which constituted a step to-

ward unity on the parliamentary field by the two big workers' parties.

The CGT leaders hesitated to throw their full forces into the struggle failed to give it clear objectives, and above all failed to follow a policy of united union action on a national scale. They were influenced in this by the policy of the CP. For several days at the beginning of the strikes the CP leadership seemed taken completely by surprise. Their paper, "L'Humanite," contented itself with publishing news about the unfolding and expansion of the movement without offering any guide to it.

Although joining the SP in the demand for reconvening the National Assembly, the CP did not issue any call for general united front action either on the union or political levels. It turned a deaf ear to resolutions adopted by certain Communist-Socialist sections demanding a united front policy and the formation of a Workers' Government.

FEARED MASSES

The CP policy exposed the Stalinist leaders' fear of the masses' participating in struggles of a revolutionary nature. It is reported that the behavior of the forces provoked widespread discontent within the rank of the CP. The best Stalinist militants wanted to take the measures required to strengthen the unity of the working class and go much farther than their leaders would permit them.

In a number of places, especially among the metal workers where the CP is strong, Stalinist leaders did not hesitate to intervene openly to crush the initiatives taken by their ranks, condemning them as too "left."

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Monday, September 7, 1953

To Safeguard Your Wages

Another rise in the cost-of-living index between mid-June and mid-July gave more than a million workers who are protected with an escalator clause in their contracts an additional one cent an hour in their paychecks.

No matter how inadequate the escalator clause is, as it has been formulated by the labor bureaucracy, it still constitutes a measure of protection against inflation. About 98% of the working class has not yet won even the principle of automatic wage adjustment to accompany increased living costs. That means that the overwhelming majority of American workers took another cut in their real wages with the new rise in the cost of living.

The need to fight for protection against inflation is emphasized with every new wave of price increases. But in this struggle the working class will not get the help of the American Stalinist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, which has opposed the escalator clause from the very beginning. The Stalinists have not confined their opposition to the obvious weaknesses in present contracts but have attacked it in principle. And naturally they attempt to ridicule an automatic wage adjustment to rising living costs as a "Trotskyist" invention.

The argument of the *Daily Worker* has been that the escalator clause constitutes a "wage freeze."

However, the *Wall Street Journal* which

is also opposed to the escalator clause, complains that just the opposite is the case. In an editorial Aug. 28 the *Wall Street Journal* says that "... labor unions which have succeeded in putting the clause in their contracts with employers have taken the first opportunity to ask that the additional pay resulting from it be consolidated into the basic wage rates." The editorial concludes that "when existing wage contracts that include the clause have expired, employers will be disposed to take another look at escalation."

Those workers whose unions are strong enough to win an escalator clause are also in the best position to increase their basic pay; and thus not only protect existing living standards but improve them as well.

The opposition of the *Wall Street Journal*, spokesman for big business, is to be expected, for every pay increase the workers win comes out of the profits of the capitalist. But the opposition of the *Daily Worker* shows how far removed the Stalinists are from the real interests of the American workers.

As inflation eats into the standard of living of the working class, all obstacles to the extension and strengthening of the escalator clause must be overcome. The conception of automatic wage adjustment must also be extended to include automatic pension increases with living costs. Those with fixed incomes are always the hardest hit in periods of inflation.

The Bar Commits a Crime

The American Bar Association, meeting in Boston Aug. 26, committed a serious crime against civil liberties. We say this despite the fact that they passed two good resolutions — one against "book burning" and another upholding the right of lawyers to defend anyone regardless of his political beliefs.

It's a fine thing to speak out against "book burning." The *Militant* is always eager to hail any step, however small, against the reactionary McCarthyite tide. But we can't stand hypocrisy and double talk. The American Bar Association policy committee passed a measure calling for a political blacklist of the legal profession. A preliminary blacklist has already been drawn up and submitted to the attorney general.

With this blacklist they open a political heresy hunt in the field of legal practice. Lawyers who don't hold the "right" ideas are subject to disbarment, likewise lawyers who don't cooperate with Congressional inquisitorial bodies.

These are the same people who passed a pious resolution against "book burning." They say they believe that the "truth can be counted on to prevail in a free competition of ideas." But it is clear they want to supplement "free competition" with coercion and blacklists.

Their blacklist is so all-inclusive that it names lawyers smeared as "communists" in the testimony of "friendly" witnesses before McCarthy's committees. Provisions

for getting off the blacklist require that a victim turn stoolpigeon.

The ABA's witch hunt measure is a big victory for the McCarthyite forces. It has been their aim all along to drive the witch hunt deep into national life by blackmailing organizations, unions and professional groups into establishing a voluntary, self-imposed purge.

The union bureaucracy has been playing this game for many years. The reasoning they used was that "if we don't clean our own house, they'll do it for us." This only resulted in feeding the demands and appetites of the witch hunters. It didn't save the union bureaucracy from becoming a target for the McCarthyites.

The American Bar Association is playing with fire. They have set a precedent that will be seized upon by the McCarthyites. They will attempt to follow up in the medical and other professions. That's why the ABA's declarations against "book burning" are worthless. Actually it serves as a cover for the blacklist move. Eisenhower has given the cue to faint-hearted capitulators to McCarthyism. He showed how to make cheap meaningless protests against "book burning" and then cover up the real witch hunters and book burners with silent consent or measures of his own.

The legal profession has a big job on its hands to reverse these reactionary moves. Lawyers will hardly be in position to fight for civil rights of their clients if they are to be straitjacketed by their own professional organization.

The Legion's Roman Holiday

The political atmosphere in the United States generated by Wall Street's war drive had its perfect expression at the American Legion Convention in St. Louis this week. Every war-mongering, witch-hunting, race-baiting proposal was passed. It was a Roman holiday for reaction with the smell of a lynching bee against anything that doesn't conform with the war preparations.

Speeches choking with reactionary hatred for unions and "Reds," patriotic hysteria and the defense of "white supremacy" are not unusual features of a Legion convention. What is notable is that the Legion no longer stands out as a reactionary sore thumb. It is entirely in tune with the times as expressed in the official summits of the government — and in the top circles of the labor movement.

This is made graphically evident by comparing the Legion resolutions, the speech of John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, and the speech of George Meany, head of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Legion called for the following measures: If peace "fails" in Korea, the United States should use its full military strength including "every weapon at its disposal" to open up all-out war. In harmony with this proposal to hurl the H-bomb it called for stepping up the witch hunt by investigating and prosecuting "if necessary" the American Civil Liberties Union. It pointed to the "communist and socialist" infiltration of unions as a "stark menace to our freedom." It called on Eisenhower to block entrance of "displaced persons" to the U.S. It defeated a proposed amendment to the Legion constitution bar-

ring race discrimination in Legion subsidiaries. It called for the disbarment of the attorneys for the Rosenbergs.

Having unburdened itself of this reactionary bile it settled down to listen to some "appropriate" speeches. Dulles didn't disappoint them. He made a sabre-rattling speech that brought cheers from the delegates. To show the United States "good faith" in the forthcoming negotiations with the North Koreans and Chinese, he revived MacArthur's threat of spreading the war into Asia and elsewhere if the talks weren't satisfactory from Wall Street's viewpoint.

They trotted out George Meany, AFL President to add an obscene note of servile crawling before this reactionary mob. "Mr. Meany asserted that there was no conflict in the basic philosophy of the Legion and the federation." (N.Y. Times Sept. 3.)

That's the picture in the ruling circles of the United States: The reactionary Legionnaire hooligans holding court for the spokesman of Big Business and the top labor bureaucrats. It would seem they are all agreed on "basic philosophy." They are all set for the mad adventure of World War III and all-out for bigger and better witch hunts. Only two small tasks remain to be performed: (1) make sure that the rank and file of the American workers hold still while the program is carried out; (2) put down the world revolutionary upsurge and its potential eruption in the United States. On these the Legion hasn't yet worked out a practical formula — but they are hard at it. If they could only find a way to keep capitalism and dispense with the producing workers they might succeed.

Republic Steel Firings Hurt Youngstown Local

By Jack Wilson

YOUNGSTOWN, Aug. 30—International officers of the United Steelworkers of America have reached an agreement with Republic Steel Corp. providing for the discharge of Charles Kalby, President of the 5,500 member Local, and the disciplining of 12 other officers and members of the Local for allegedly allowing work stoppages and slowdowns to occur at the steel plant.

The union officers who agreed to this settlement were Arthur Goldberg, chief counsel for the international, representing Pres. David J. McDonald; James P. Griffin, district director of the Youngstown area; and Russell Thomas, staff representative serving Local 1331.

The agreement included the following provisions:

- (1) Three men to get a one-week suspension.
- (2) Four men to get a 3½-week suspension.
- (3) Five workers to get a 7-week suspension and then be reinstated on probation.
- (4) Pres. Kalby to be fired and the union to take no action through grievance procedure to get him reinstated.
- (5) The union and the company to cooperate in seeking harmonious relations to increase efficiency.

URGE ACCEPTANCE

At a meeting Aug. 27, officers of Local 1331 urged the members to accept the agreement, which had been negotiated by the International officers.

Even Kalby urged acceptance, saying he had agreed to be fired. He said that he had visited a member of supervision, accepted sole responsibility for all the work stoppages, and agreed to accept being fired if the other 12 were reinstated.

In accepting sole responsibility, Kalby of course did not present an accurate picture. The company is responsible in most cases for the way it treats its workers. Moreover, Kalby was fired because he was the president of the Local. Such a firing constituted an attack against the union and not against Kalby as an individual. It was a union case and not Kalby's own grievance.

Very few of those who urged acceptance put full responsibility on the company. Most apologized for taking part in work stoppages and talked about greater utilization of grievance procedure.

Others showed fear of the Eisenhower administration, declaring that the Taft-Hartley Law

A Presidential panel that studied the first general strike in the atomic city of Oak Ridge, Tenn., last July recommended a seven-cent-an-hour wage boost Aug. 17.

The AFL Atomic Trades and Labor Council had at first demanded an increase of 15 cents an hour, later pared it to 10½ cents. It was believed that the union would accept the panel's recommendation.

might be invoked and that the union might be held liable for damages should work stoppages continue.

All in all, the leadership of both the Local and the International revealed great fear of conducting a genuine struggle against the steel corporation attacks.

WORKERS DISSATISFIED

The workers present at the meeting, on the other hand, showed dissatisfaction over the agreement. When one rank and filer took a militant position, huge applause was the response.

But the ranks could find no way to break through the bureaucratic crust and so they went along. Since the settlement, the militants in the whole area are grumbling over the capitulation of the steel union leaders to the steel trust.

How great the victory was in the view of the steel corporations can be gathered from the satisfaction shown by the Youngstown Vindicator in its Aug. 29 editorial. The "agreement between Republic Steel and the United Steelworkers constitutes welcome progress toward the change in labor-management 'climate,'" said this voice of the steel barons.

The action-by the leaders of the union was a hard blow in the Youngstown District but the workers will also learn from this that the membership must insist on having a greater voice in the settlement of fundamental questions such as were present in this case.

\$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
AKRON	\$ 150	\$ 175	117
CHICAGO	1,500	1,510	101
ST. LOUIS	75	75	100
Newark	500	452	90
Philadelphia	400	357	89
Buffalo	1,500	1,212	81
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	919	76
Los Angeles	2,500	1,693	64
Boston	550	349	63
Cleveland	350	215	61
Oakland	250	137	55
Milwaukee	400	202	51
New York	4,500	2,311	51
Pittsburgh	30	15	50
Youngstown	450	217	48
Flint	250	115	46
San Francisco	1,000	414	41
Seattle	450	183	41
Detroit	1,500	603	40
Allentown	60	10	17
General	385	178	46
Total through Aug. 31	\$18,000	\$11,242	62

Elite "Forget Times" With Biarritz Brawl

By John Black

Not all news from France deals with strikes, political unrest, colonial disorders and, the perpetual cabinet crisis.

This morning over my coffee, toast and one egg, I pondered a dispatch from the fancy resort town of Biarritz in France. There the Spanish Marquis George de Cueva, who directs ballets, and his wife, the granddaughter of the late Standard Oil billionaire John D. Rockefeller, threw the party of the century — eighteenth century that is.

They built the party on the theme of France around the time of King Louis the Sixteenth. The reported cost of this little fling is said to have been up to \$200,000.

But it was worth it. Nearly 2,000 of the choicest bums of the international elite, wearing appropriate costumes of the period of Louis XVI, showed up to to eat sucking pig off gold plates and revel in nocturnal gaiti beside a perfumed lake. They needed to perfume it.

The Marquis had the lake built for the occasion and presented his own ballet troupe. The Biarritz symphony orchestra welcomed all guests individually on arrival. A refrain of popping champagne corks all night, however, drowned out much of the instrumental music.

Hot weather failed to dull the festivities. The perspiring guests forgot the sultry atmosphere by soaking themselves with 3,000 bottles of champagne, 20 barrels of wine and 200 bottles of rum. When one servant passed out under the strain of rushing drinks to dry lips, the guests rose to the emergency by drinking straight from the bottle.

In keeping with the occasion, even the 400 cops of the Biarritz district were equipped in 18th century costume, including knee breeches and waistcoats. As for the Marquis himself, he was

prettily decked out in a cloth of gold gown, designed by the great Pierre Balmain himself, and was topped by a crown of leaves. Naturally, I wondered about the reason for this chummy get-together of international leeches. The Marquis himself explained it: "It will all be so sweet. We shall all forget these trying days of 1953 for a few hours."

Now, I'll admit he and his kind have good reason to want to forget things for a few hours. But with the situation in France and other parts of Europe being what it is, I should think he might have chosen a less suggestive theme for his fancy costume party. Louis XVI is not the person to keep in mind if one wants to forget the fate that awaits parasitic ruling classes.

Indeed the first arrivals at the party were Mr. and Mrs. Abell of Baltimore, dressed as revolutionary "Sans Culottes" peasants of the not uneventful year of 1789 in France. Mrs. Abell carried the gory head of a nobleman dangling on a 10-foot pole.

No doubt this was considered by some present as slightly gauche and a bit of bad taste considering the wealth, eminence and aristocratic lineage of those present and the current instability of mass emotions.

And not the least thing we are reminded of by the Marquis's theme is the similar revelry indulged in by Louis XVI and his court shortly before his head fell into a basket. As the little song goes:

Louis was the king of France until the revolution. Then he had his head cut off, which spoiled his constitution.

With an expected increase of 1,956,600 more students this year than last, the Office of Education in Washington reported there would be a shortage of 345,000 public elementary and secondary school classrooms.

Persian Royalists Demonstrate



Pro-royalist troops stage triumphant parade through streets of Tehran following overthrow of Iranian Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, paving way for return of recently exiled young monarch, Shah Riza Pahlavi. Shah's picture is carried on tank. The monarchist coup caused rejoicing in Big Business circles in the U.S. and Great Britain. They expect to regain their grip on the oil industry which was expropriated under Mossadegh.

Where France Stands After the Strikes

(Continued from page 1)

come a revolutionary fact. Only the treachery of the official leaderships prevented this.

Third, by the revolutionary deed of a general strike they submitted the relationship of forces between the workers and capitalists to a rigorous test. The test showed that the decisive power was with the workers. The Laniel regime was revealed to have no mass support and according to all reports could not rely on either the police force or the army.

Fourth, they balked at allowing their unity of action and their newly founded organs of common struggle to be disrupted by the treachery of the Catholic-Socialist leaders on the one hand and the Stalinists on the other. They were determined to either stay out together or go back together.

LEADERS' BETRAYAL

What did the official leaders do? They were dragged along by the enormous impetus of the mass movement of the workers. This is not in the least to their credit. The general strike demands conscious guidance toward a clearly defined goal, not merely being "dragged along." The general strike poses the question of a struggle for power. In such a situation to be "dragged along" and to maneuver "not to be outflanked from the left" is treachery. The "leaders" were chicken-hearted, frightened philistines who had been thrust against their desire to the head of a great revolutionary movement of the French working class. They proved worthless as leaders; worse than worthless, they were untrue to the trust the workers had placed in their hands.

The Socialist-Catholics, through

the agency of the MNR (Catholic party) representatives in the government, were the first to order a return to work. Without gaining even a minimum of the basic demands of the workers they accepted promises and a few token concessions. The Stalinists denounced the leaders of the Socialist-Catholic trade unions as betrayers — which was correct. They called on the workers to stay out until their demands were met and appealed to the ranks of the other trade union federations to continue the strike under CGT leadership. This "left" maneuver does not in the slightest exonerate the Stalinists for the role they played. Calling on the workers to stay out on strike without carrying the struggle to its conclusion — to a political solution through taking state power — meant compounding their treachery with irresponsible adventurism.

Together with the Socialist and Catholic trade union leaders the Stalinist leaders didn't lift a finger to organize the kind of struggle that the situation demanded from the first moment. Where was the broad congress of labor to generalize and reproduce at the top the unity of action that had been achieved below? Where was the call to establish a Workers and Peasants Government which would have given national political direction and perspective to the powerful mass initiative? The leaders killed the strike by deliberately marking down on all initiative and proposals from the ranks calling for a united workers struggle for power. They remained inactive when the moment called for audacity. This is sometimes the worst, the most despicable form of treachery.

The basic reason why these leaders were wretchedly unequal to the moment is that they owe their primary allegiance not to the workers but to the capitalists or the Kremlin. The Social Democrats and the Catholics are the direct agents of French capitalism and Wall Street. The Stalinists are the agents of the Kremlin, who, on Kremlin orders, "deliver" the workers to the capitalists in payment for some actual or hoped-for Kremlin deal.

The Stalinists in France are under orders from the Kremlin to refrain at all costs from taking power. They are motivated by two considerations in this. First, they hope that by re-establishing some kind of "national" or popular front (a coalition between worker and capitalist parties) they will be able to negotiate their way out of the war that American capitalism projects against the Soviet Union. The fact that such treacherous politics in the past has only weakened the Soviet Union does not influence these bureaucrats one bit.

Second, they fear the consequences of a revolutionary victory in France. The experience in East Germany has reinforced the Kremlin's antagonism to any independent revolutionary developments. Revolutionary victories would serve to spur the working masses of the Soviet Union to carry through a political revolution against the Kremlin. The French workers, coming to power on the basis of a vast popular movement with the activity of millions of workers thrown into the scales, could never be controlled by the Kremlin and its agents and would be a mortal threat to the Kremlin. If the East German workers, brought into the Soviet

exercising their will through these organizations against the policy of the traitor-leaders.

The moment is at hand for the Trotskyist movement in France to grow rapidly. Coming events will provide fresh confirmation of their proposals in the daily experience of the masses. Lenin's words to the Bolsheviks after the February 1917 revolution in Russia, when the leadership of the masses was still in the hands of the Menshevik betrayers — has great application to the strategic task of the French Trotskyists, whatever the intervening stages. "... Have the courage to build a new party and all the oppressed will come to you."

The American Council of Education announced Aug. 21 that 14 colleges or universities have refused to sign a contract with the U.S. Armed Forces Institute because of fear it gave the Government dismissal power over teachers. A "loyalty" clause could be used against any teacher whose ideas might not jibe with those of the Pentagon.

DETROIT Election Rally

HEAR

Frank Lovell

Candidate for Mayor

Speak on

"The Real Election Issue: How Can Labor Replace Big Business in City Hall?"

Sun., Sept. 13, 3 P.M.
 6108 Linwood.

Ralph Cooper's Parole

By George Lavan

The New Jersey Parole Board has granted a parole to Ralph Cooper, last of the prisoners in the infamous Jim Crow frame-up of the Trenton Six case.

The freeing of Cooper was predicted in the March 2, 1953, *Militant* which analyzed the court windup of the case as a symmetrical frame-up — that is, the case began with fake "confessions" and it ended with a fake "confession."

It will be recalled that after three trials, four of the Trenton Six — who had been sentenced to the electric chair — were freed by a jury. This jury brought in a compromise verdict by which two defendants — Collis English and Ralph Cooper — were sentenced to life. The "evidence" against these two, however, was the same as against the four who were freed. These were the "confessions" to which the Trenton Six had been forced to affix their signatures in order to secure an end to the merciless grilling, terrorization and administering of drugs by the police.

Cooper and English went back to prison until eventually the New Jersey Supreme Court got around to hearing the appeal. Their conviction was too raw and a new trial was ordered.

Meanwhile Collis English, whose weak heart had barely managed to keep going through the days and nights of police inquisition, a stay in the death house and three trials, died. The Trenton police and prosecutor, who wanted to end the running sore of their frame-up, which had become a political disgrace, somehow coerced or tricked Cooper into a deal.

When Cooper was brought before a judge for a routine setting of the date for his new trial he surprised reporters by stating that he wanted to change his plea from "Not guilty" to "No defense." Cooper said nothing more except to reply, "Yes, Sir," to several questions asked by the judge.

These questions with the answers were a "confession" that the police-dic-

tated "confessions" with which the trial began were true. The judge thereupon congratulated Cooper and announced that this "confession" vindicated the Trenton police and prosecutor. He then gave Cooper a six-to-ten-year sentence, retroactive to the time of his arrest. Since Cooper had already been in prison for over five years this meant that he would be paid for his four "Yes, Sirs," by a parole in a matter of months. The announcement of Cooper's parole confirms what we said about the whole dirty deal.

No blame can be placed on Ralph Cooper — his "Yes, Sirs" endangered none of the other Trenton Six victims. Four had been acquitted and were thus beyond the reach of another trial. Collis English had succumbed to the American Way of Jim Crow frame-up and prison life (possibly his death was hastened by pressure put on him to make a "Yes, Sir" confession).

Cooper also knew there was no money for his new trial and this may have greatly influenced his decision to purchase his freedom with those "Yes, Sirs." Certainly there should be some soul-searching in the top NAACP offices and in the Jersey labor movement about this lack of money for a new trial.

The blame for this new mockery of justice and the official acceptance of a "confession" that everybody knows is a fraud rests squarely on the crooked, corrupt, Jim Crow Trenton police, district attorney and their abettors and protectors on the bench and in high political office.

These frame-up artists think they have saved face. They feel safe. If Cooper tells the truth they will revoke his parole, and after his parole is over, they think they can keep him quiet by threatening to prosecute him for perjury if he admits that his "Yes, Sirs" were lies to get out of prison. But the truth will out and out with it will go those blots on the face of humanity, the perpetrators of the Trenton Six frame-up, who just now are sitting high and mighty.

Texas Quizzes the Dead

By Lynn Ruggles

"Was Shakespeare loyal? A publisher in Texas may have to answer this question if he wants his books to be used as texts in any public school. Under a recently passed Texas law the publisher must sign an oath that 'to the best of his knowledge and belief the author of the textbook, if he were alive and available, could truthfully execute the loyalty oath.'"

This brief item in the "Notes from the News" column of the Aug. 10 *Militant* is worth further thought.

If the Texas legislators effect a really thorough "loyalty check" on dead authors quite a few familiar works will be missing from the class rooms in that state.

In the English department, not only is Shakespeare to be questioned, but Milton, the great radical writer of his age, must be deleted. Shelley, who teaches that great art springs from social revolution, is verboten. Whitman must go; and, of course, William Morris, champion of the British and international working-class movement.

In the history department, we must omit one of the great historians of our time, C. A. Beard, for teaching that the class struggle is a principle of history.

In German literature, Goethe, the author of "Prometheus," must go, and certainly Heine, the associate of Marx.

The music department had better omit Beethoven. Schubert is not only occasionally seditious but downright blasphemous as well.

Notes from the News

EXPERT ADVICE. Under the caption "Invest, Don't Steal!" the financial section of the N. Y. Times, Aug. 30, reports the following item: "Why rob a bank? That in effect is what Eldon A. Grimm of Walscott & Co. wrote the Elton customers last week when the news columns were full of the story of how the Franklin National Bank on Long Island was held up and robbed of \$191,280. Mr. Grimm observed that if the robber had invested \$1,000 in twenty shares of Franklin National Bank in 1940, he now would have, as a result of stock dividends, 1,918 shares, with a market value of \$96,400. And in addition, over the last thirteen years he would have collected \$7,215 in cash dividends."

IT DOESN'T PAY TO BE SMARTER THAN THE BOSS. Preparing to lay off 400 employees, Harold E. Stassen gave an intelligence test to everyone in the Foreign Operations Administration, including himself. One of his employees who outscored Stassen on public affairs received notice that he will be put in a lower classification with a cut in salary.

ONE OUT OF EVERY FIVE NEW YORKERS today is a slum dweller, living in substandard quarters in dangerously deteriorating neighborhoods. According to Mr. Moses, head of the Mayor's Committee on Slum Clearance, the city is becoming sharply divided by class between the quite rich, living in new private housing, and the low-income families, living in public housing or the new slum jungles. The Department of Housing and Buildings, which is supposed to enforce tenement house laws, winks at many violations. According to the N. Y. Times, Aug. 30, this department "wants to know where hundreds of thousands of slum dwellers could go if it shut down every old tenement whose owner refused to make costly changes."

THE MOVIE "FROM HERE TO ETERNITY" was banned by the Navy because it is "extremely critical" of a sister service, the Army. Navy officials, after a private showing, decided that the film unfairly implied that most soldiers spend their spare time drinking and that officers and non-coms are sadists. However, the Army will not censor the film. A Pentagon official said that the Army was more or less "stuck" with it since they helped Hollywood make it.

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Petition for Strikers at Hearn's



Over 150,000 New Yorkers have signed petitions calling on Hearn's Department Stores to settle the strike called May 14 by Dist. 65, Distributive Processing & Office Workers (CIO). Above, a union member gets another signature on lower Broadway. Mass picketing was barred by a court order.

FRENCH POSTAL CLERKS SOUGHT WORKERS GOV'T

The postal workers of Bordeaux belonging to the Socialist-led Workers Force took the initiative on August 4 which touched off the French general strike. The strike movement attained its highest level of organized unity in action among these government workers.

Strike committees were spontaneously formed which at once became the directing bodies of strike action on all levels where they were constituted. Delegates elected from these strike committees became their representatives on higher levels.

After the Socialist and Catholic leaderships of the postal unions sold out the strike and disrupted the unity in struggle by issuing a back-to-work order without obtaining satisfaction of the workers' basic demands from the government, a Congress of strike committees embracing 600 delegates unanimously decided to continue the movement.

They held an enormous meeting of 20,000 postal workers at

the government Employment Office in Paris which filled the big Place de la Republique.

They set up a National Strike Committee including all the postal federations of the various unions which drew up the most complete list of demands of any category of workers on strike.

One official of the Postal Federation condemned the attitude of the Workers Force leaders and amidst enthusiastic approval formulated the three main aims of the strike as follows: abolition of the decree laws, convening of Parliament, and the constitution of a "Left" government serving the workers.

The lumber industry is the most dangerous in the country according to the National Safety Council. Coal mining is the second most dangerous. The accident rate in the lumber industry is 35.48 per million man hours as compared to an average rate of 8.4 in all other industries.

Election Policy Debated By Detroit CIO Council

By E. Kennedy

DETROIT, Aug. 30 — Spirited debate on the inadequacy of the Wayne County CIO Council political action policy highlighted the Council's one-day convention which took place recently.

Discussion began on a "Statement of Policy" submitted by the Resolutions Committee, calling for the building of a labor-liberal coalition as the goal of CIO-PAC work. The discussion was sharpened by the fact that no endorsement of a candidate for mayor of Detroit was recommended although it is generally conceded that incumbent Mayor Cobo is an anti-labor, employers' man. He has been actively opposed by the CIO in previous elections.

A number of delegates took the floor to denounce this failure of labor to have a candidate in the field. They met with considerable support. In reply, all the officers of the Council had to offer was the information that they had besieged former U.S. Senator Blair Moody to run but he had declined.

Arthur Fox, delegate of Ford Local 600 UAW-CIO, presented the most clearly thought-out contribution to the debate on political action. He began by briefly reviewing the many problems confronting the working class. He referred to the convention speech in which Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW-CIO, pointed out that the critical problem of mass unemployment that arose in the 1929 depression had never been solved but only postponed by the pre-war, war, and postwar production.

SIGNS OF SLUMP

Fox pointed to the signs of economic slump already reflected in a reduction of auto production, with considerable cut-backs expected in the next several months. He cited the attempts by the corporations to maintain their superprofits under the new conditions by assaults upon the working conditions of the workers. He urged the Resolutions Committee to withdraw and revise their statement of policy so that it unambiguously called for building a Labor Party as labor's answer to these problems.

Although the resolution on policy was adopted, there was a sizable minority vote. Moreover the general discussion on policy helped set the stage for even sharper debate as the concrete questions of endorsement for mayor and Common Council came before the convention.

In face of widespread complaints over the lack of a candidate for mayor, Harry Southwell, President of Local 174 UAW-CIO and leading Rouserite, took the floor to endorse a proposal made by delegate Fox that the Council encourage the local unions to arrange forums at which the various candidates for mayor could submit their platforms.

Dissatisfaction of the delegates reached a peak during the consideration of endorsements for the Common Council. The recommended slate included four incumbents, Council President Louis C. Mirani, Mary V. Beck, Edward Connor and Eugene I. Van Antwerp. Also recommended were Charles C. Diggs, Jr., leading candidate of Detroit's large Negro community, Orville Linek, Wayne University professor and active ADA leader, and Stanley Novak, Democratic State Representative.

Choice of this slate clearly expressed the fact that the proposed "labor-liberal coalition" policy surrendered independent political action by the workers for the sake of having a "victory" in the elections.

UPROAR OVER MIRANI

Action on endorsement proceeded routinely until the name of Mirani was submitted. The convention then went into an uproar. Delegate after delegate denounced the proposed endorsement. Mirani's anti-labor and anti-Negro actions were cited repeatedly. The presence of Mirani, Beck and Connor in the convention did not restrain the delegates.

After considerable debate the endorsement was put to a voice vote. Convention Chairman Mike Novak's ruling that it had carried provoked a new demonstration and a call for a count of the vote.

At this point, Al Barbour, more astute Secretary-Treasurer of the

Union Control of Transit Lines Urged in Oakland

By Paul Williams

OAKLAND, Cal., Aug. 28 — In voting unanimously to continue their solid East Bay transit strike until their demands are met, the members of AFL Carmen's Union Division 192 are defying the com-

posed strikebreaking efforts of the wealthy Key transit system, the boss press and radio, the capitalist-ruled politicians and the federal conciliators.

We are getting a first-class demonstration of how all these agencies work together against labor. Hardly a day passes without front page editorials lamenting the plight of the "Public" or statements and resolutions of the City Council calling for a return to work at once.

The Key System workers have voted unanimously to stay out because the contemptuous "offer" of the company and the nerve-racking working conditions have given them no other choice.

Owned by the National City Transit Corp., a nation-wide holding corporation, Key originally offered a six-cent hourly wage raise, if and when a five-cent fare increase is granted by the State Public Utilities Commission. The company refused even to examine the union's demand for wage increases of 30 to 40 cents and improvements in working conditions, particularly abolition of the split shift. When asked by the PUC and the Oakland City Council to open its books and demonstrate that a fare increase is required, Key disdainfully and evasively stated that its finances are its own business and no one else's.

The union has gradually scaled down its wage demands and is now asking for increases of 20 to 30 cents. This is generally considered a fair demand in view of the fact that the present base wage for drivers in the East Bay area is \$1.64 an hour compared to \$1.88 in San Francisco. Key has not upped its offer of a six-cent immediate raise, if and when a fare increase is granted. It has merely offered a further three cents six months after the first raise and five cents a year later. It offers no improvement in the rotten working conditions and demands a change from a one-year to a two-year contract.

The present Key fare is one of the highest on the West Coast, a minimum of 15 cents that increases by "zones" up to as much as 30 cents. If the present wage

offer were accepted, Key's additional expenses would be \$900 a day for its 1,500 employees, but its income would climb more than \$12,000 daily. Key is using the strike to blackmail the PUC into granting an immediate five-cent fare increase. The union, however, has refused to negotiate on such terms.

At the beginning of the strike, the federal conciliators arrived in town with great fanfare. Most people believed these "impartial" conciliators would get the strike quickly settled. What they have accomplished, however, is indicated by Vern Stambaugh, president of the striking union. He said that "the conciliators seem to be trying to force the union to accept terms the conciliators have in mind, rather than endeavor to draw the two sides together to agreement."

The Oakland Tribune, which speaks for the Big Business Knowland machine, has played a devious propaganda game. It does not come out openly in support of the Key System, but it tries to create the impression of mounting "public pressure" to force the workers back. Some union officials have mistakenly taken the Tribune's hesitancy to openly support the unpopular Key System as evidence that "the Tribune supports us."

The real public in this area is composed overwhelmingly of unionists, their families and friends. The solidarity of the labor movement has been well demonstrated. The Greater Alameda County (Oakland) CIO Council and the San Francisco CIO Council have joined with all AFL central labor bodies to support the strike. All unions in the area are now raising a fund to support the strike.

Pointing to the arrogant refusal of the Key System to open its books for public inspection, the East Bay Branch of the Socialist Workers Party has issued a press statement by Mrs. Lillian Kiezel, former mayoralty candidate, and a leaflet calling for "OPERATION OF THE KEY SYSTEM UNDER UNION CONTROL!"

Calling for a Bay Area Congress of Labor to discuss organized labor's intervention in the transportation emergency, the SWP urged that the profit-making Key System "be taken out of the hands of the mammoth monopoly. Transportation must be publicly owned and controlled by representatives of the workers who run and ride it. Only in this way can we get an adequate system of transportation with fares that would be adjusted to the prevailing average wage. Only then will the Carmen receive just and decent wages for their job. We extend our solidarity to the Carmen's strike."

He added that "the strike was forced on us and we are going to stay out until we get a decent offer if we have to stay out for five months." This was greeted by vigorous applause. At none of the meetings today was a single voice raised to ask "When do we go back to work?"

East Bay Area Transit Strikers Reject "Offer"

(Continued from page 1)

Emil Seals, Vice President and Strike Committee member, reported that when Key System Vice President Sims accused him of not bringing the six-cent proposal back to the membership, Seals replied: "I am not looking to be run out of town by the membership for bringing back such an offer."

Al Noel, International Vice President, informed the meeting that the international union had no intention of intervening in the prolonged, militant strike. He said the international officers had confidence in the local leadership and members to continue in the fine manner they have fought up to now. He said they were a credit to the union movement.

Vice President Noel explained that even if the Key System paid the 14 cents all at once this would raise the base pay only to \$1.82 an hour and the East Bay Carmen would still be the lowest paid on the West Coast. At the same time, the fare increase asked would raise fares to 20 cents minimum, equal to the highest charged on the whole coast.

Processing and Office Workers Union struck on May 14, the AFL union jumped in with the demand for recognition. This gave the anti-union Hearn Co. the pretext to refuse to deal with the CIO union on the grounds that the bargaining representative of the workers was "in dispute." The withdrawal of the AFL leaves the CIO union the undisputed bargaining agency.

In the Unions

By Joseph Keller

Dave Beck, Czar-President of the AFL International Brotherhood of Teamsters, has intervened in the eight-week strike of 1,200 sand, gravel and concrete truck drivers in the New York area with an ultimatum that they accept terms immediately or he will order them to end their strike and submit their demands to arbitration. Beck issued his strikebreaking order after reactionary Mayor Impellitteri called on him to come in and end the walkout.

The striking drivers, members of Local 282, have demonstrated remarkable solidarity in resisting all efforts to get them to lower their demands below the 50-cents-an-hour increase which is the rock-bottom they say they will accept. They have taken the power to make a settlement away from the union officials and have forced the union negotiators to bring everything back for a vote of the members. On Aug. 18 they refused even to vote on an offer of 40 cents put forward by the bosses after their previous offer of 30 cents had provoked the strike affecting \$600,000,000 worth of private and public construction.

On Aug. 27, the strikers took a vote on the 40-cent offer and voted to reject it by 794 to 81. It was after this that Beck sent in Thomas L. Hickey, international vice president, and two other of his key agents to take over the negotiations from the Local 282 officials. The workers were given until Sept. 1 to accept a settlement or submit to arbitration, which almost certainly would give them far less than they could win if they fought the strike out.

At any rate, Beck is not maintaining the 100% monolithic, no-strike type of union he would like.

Striking Hearn's Department Store workers in New York City gained ground in their militant four-month battle to maintain their contractual seniority system when the AFL Retail Clerks International Association ceased its efforts to help break the strike. The AFL union officials withdrew their NLRB petition seeking bargaining recognition "in the interests of good trade unionism." When 800 Hearn workers, or ganized in the CIO Distributive,

at its coming convention.