

## HOW REVOLUTIONS ABROAD CAN SLOW WAR TIMETABLE

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Build a Labor Party Now!

# THE MILITANT

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## Durkin Exit Ends Labor Flirtation With Eisenhower

By Art Preis

There are undeclared truces as well as undeclared wars. The appointment last December of Martin P. Durkin, AFL Plumbers president, as Eisenhower Secretary of Labor marked, in effect, an undeclared truce between the top American union officialdom and the Republican administration. It was an uneasy truce, to be sure. But union leaders by and large respected the truce insofar as the White House itself was concerned.

Durkin's resignation from the Cabinet on Sept. 11, after only eight months on the job, signifies an end to this ill-founded truce. It signifies as well the expiration of any hope the union leaders may have cherished for establishing some basis for friendly collaboration with Eisenhower and the Republican administration. It presumes the resumption of a state of war between the labor officialdom and the Republican party and government regime.

### FRONTAL WAR ON LABOR

The price the union officials asked for continuing to permit Durkin to act as labor window dressing for the White House

was so picaresque, so dirt cheap, that at first glance it seems incredible that it was not granted. All they asked was a few insignificant amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act that would not have altered the basic anti-labor, union-busting features of the Slave Labor Law an iota. They wanted just a gesture, a mere token, which could have enabled them to go before the union members and represent the Eisenhower administration as "friendly to labor" or "open-minded."

But the Republican administration slammed the door in their faces. It would not even make a gesture. The American ruling class of Big Business, having judged the time ripe to impose a harsher form of domination over labor and emboldened by the Republican sweep last November, is determined to wage a frontal war on the labor movement. It is out to completely shackle and, if possible, to destroy organized labor.

### SOUGHT COLLABORATION

The election of Eisenhower and the Republican machine to power last November should have made every union leader aware that the unions in the period ahead confront nothing less than a major struggle between capital and labor. They should have been instantaneously alerted to the necessity for the mobilization of the full power of the working people to fight all down the line against the reactionary onslaught.

The first impulse, however, was to seek some way to continue collaboration with the capitalist government, even under servile and ignominious terms. They refused to recognize the fundamental antagonism between capital and labor and how far advanced that antagonism is. Their first approach was to seek once more a modus vivendi — a way of living together — with

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## Monopoly Rule in Washington Shown by GM Contract Deal



FRANK BARBARIA

### SWP Enters Two In San Francisco Election Campaign

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 15 — The Socialist Workers Party here has announced its entry into the local election campaign with Frank Barbaria and Frances James, local party organizer, as candidates for the Board of Supervisors.

They will bring to the San Francisco workers, women, youth, Negro and Mexican people the SWP's message of socialism. The candidates expect to wage a hard-hitting campaign on the international issues affecting the working class everywhere. They will take an undiluted anti-war stand.

### David L. Weiss To Appear on Radio

David L. Weiss, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for mayor of New York, will appear on the Barry Gray show Sept. 22. That's Tuesday night at 12 p.m. on WMCA, 570 on your dial. Be sure to tune in for what promises to be an interesting interview.

### West German Unions Face Govt. Rule

By Murry Weiss

The Adenauer regime, following up its victory in the Sept. 6 elections, has brazenly moved against the West German trade unions with the unadmitted aim of demolishing their independent existence. It is clear why the Adenauer victory was hailed with unrestrained joy in Wall Street and Washington. The plans of the American and German capitalists call for the quickest possible elimination of any working class resistance to the transformation of Germany into a war base against the Soviet Union. Thus the ominous Adenauer move to throttle the unions.

The Adenauer move took the form of an ultimatum issued by the Executive Committee of the Christian Democratic Union (Adenauer's party) "to force the present leadership of the Trade Union Federation to reorganize its control in such a way as to pass it to . . . the Government party and in the final analysis the West German state." (M. S. Handler, N. Y. Times, Sept. 14.) If Eisenhower and the National Committee of the Republican Party were to demand that the AFL and CIO reorganize their leading bodies so as to allow full control by the Republican Party and administration you would have exactly the same thing as Adenauer's "plan" in Germany.

### GIVEN TEN DAYS

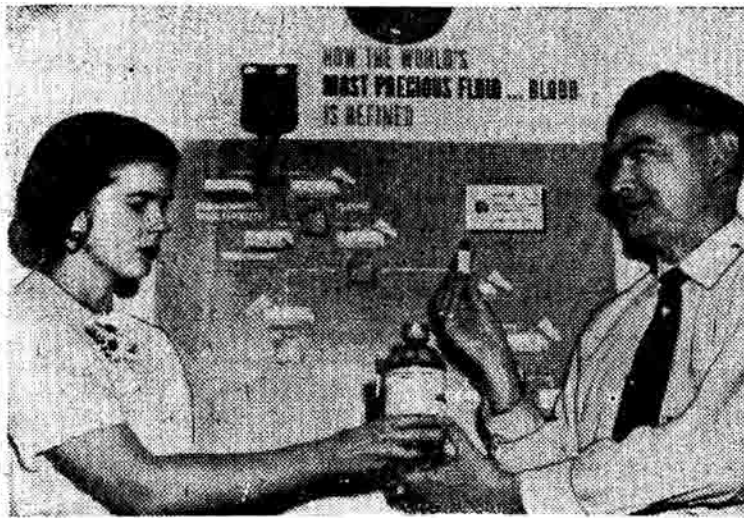
The unions were given ten days to comply with this outrageous demand to meet the ultimatum. Adenauer's deputy, Johannes Albers, threatened that failure would mean "we shall part company and take other measures." The threat of "parting company" was clearly spelled out to mean that the Catholic Trade Unions would be split from the United Trade Union Federation. "Other measures" imply a whole number of union-busting tactics from legislative action to unleashing the Neo-Nazi dogs.

Thus immediately after the election, which firmly installed Big Business in power, a major showdown is shaping up between the working class and the capitalists. There is no way for the German Trade Unions under the control of the Social Democrats to evade the challenge. Either roll over and die, or fight to the finish to preserve trade union independence.

The wavering and conciliatory policy of the Social Democrats is now ruthlessly called into question by the threatening move

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### Questioned on Gamma Shortage



Asked by reporters why gamma globulin is being withheld from polio-menaced areas, Red Cross staff members in Washington claim it is because of difficulty of production. Real reason: government officials, eager to spend hundreds of billions for war, begrudge even nickles for facilities to produce enough GG to protect children from dread disease.

## TAMMANY HALL DECIDES TO RUN NEW FRONT MAN

NEW YORK, Sept. 16 — New York City's Mayor Impeller went down in humiliating defeat in last Tuesday's Mayoralty primary. His loss of the nomination to Manhattan Borough President Robert F. Wagner in an extremely tight turnout proved that the corrupt Tammany Hall machine had decided to dump Impeller.

Wagner's victory gives Tammany Hall their least dirty candidate to meet the threat of the Liberal Party candidate, Rudolph Halley. Wagner, known as a "liberal" Democrat and enjoying the support of Senator Herbert Lehman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and the Stevenson ADA supporters of New York, has a far better chance to mend the fortunes of Tammany Hall than Impeller whose administration was marked by such outstanding "victories" for progress as the increase of the City Sales Tax to 3% and the most relentless rent-gouging of all time.

Tammany knew that it would be courting great risks and dangers to put Impeller forward once again. The widespread and bitter resentment of New York's working millions over the fare increase and steadily marching rents made this front man a bad risk. To counter the threat of liberal Democrat Halley, Tammany threw its weight to liberal Democrat Wagner.

This decision by the Democratic Party bosses now faces the Dubinsky-Rose leaders of the Liberal Party with an un-

## Wilson's Department Gives Firm He Headed Exclusive Tank Order

By Joseph Keller

By next spring GM will become the sole producer of U.S. Army tanks. This was revealed with the announcement on Sept. 11 that the world's richest industrial corporation, controlled by the billionaire DuPont family, has been given an exclusive War Department order of \$200,000,000 worth of tanks.

Thus it is clear it hasn't hurt General Motors a bit to have Charles E. Wilson as Secretary of Defense. Since Wilson formally resigned last December as president of General Motors to assume the post of Secretary of Defense, Gil seems to have attained a "most favored nation" position in the awarding of government war contracts.

Sen. Wayne B. Morse (Independent Republican, Oregon) has called into question the latest GM war contract. "Apparently these new contracts demonstrate once again that the Eisenhower administration feels that what is good for General Motors is good for the country," said Morse, quoting Wilson's famous pronouncement. "A thorough investigation is needed to see how wrong the administration may be."

Morse scoffed at an Army statement that Wilson was not consulted in the awarding of the contracts. "He doesn't have to be consulted, when his subordinates know what would please him," Morse commented.

We are here given a glimpse into the jungle of corruption, favoritism and monopoly practices fostered by the capitalist war program with its dominant profits motivation. Monopoly rule of America, already far advanced, is now being extended to its utmost limits in the most open and brazen fashion, with the former head of the biggest industrial corporation put into position to hand his own company a lion's share of war orders.

To help keep the grasping hands of greedy, profit-seeking monopolies out of government and to prevent the promotion of monopolies through militarism and war, it is necessary to expropriate the war industries and operate them, without profits, under the control of the workers.

The enormous savings, with elimination of monopoly profits from the war industries, would not only provide for highest wages and shorter hours, but help to finance the building of millions of new homes and hundreds of thousands of new classrooms so sorely needed in America today.

## 15 Million Tenants Are Victimized By Rent Gougers

"Tenants are raising the roof" all over the country, reports columnist Drew Pearson, because landlords, having won their 11-year drive to smash federal rent controls, are raising rents to fantastic levels.

"Over 15 million tenants, who had been living in rent-controlled homes, are now paying increases," reported Pearson on Sept. 8. "Rents have shot as high as 100% in some areas. The government, using 1947-48 as the base, calculates that rents have risen from a national index figure of 100 to 124. The figure is expected to hit 130 before the end of the year."

Even tenants in the 26 "critical areas" which are supposed to be still under rent control "are actually at the mercy of the landlords," says Pearson. Congress has appropriated only \$60,000 for the whole national rent-control program — sufficient to hire just eight people.

The Budget Bureau has gone so far, states Pearson, "as to order servicemen, who live in government-owned housing, to pay the going rate that the real estate boys are charging in each locality." This is expected to induce servicemen to rent from local landlords since they can't get places to live any more cheaply from the government.

Lots of American working people, who are being told they "never had it so good," are wondering how they are going to meet exorbitant rents, especially if a recession eliminates overtime pay.

After haggling with the State Dept. for years over the size of the payoff, Gen. Franco has agreed to give the U.S. the right to build military bases in Spain, according to the Sept. 18 U.S. News. The bill to be footed by American taxpayers has not yet been disclosed.

## Company's Provocations Harden Steel Strikers

BUFFALO, Sept. 15 — In spite of two and a half hours of admonitions from their leaders to go back to work, Lackawanna steelworkers voted last night to stay out on strike "indefinitely" in the biggest "wildcat" walkout seen in this area for many years.

This action followed the discharge by Bethlehem Steel Co. of four union fighters, three of them stewards. The company's previous provocative increase of work for the coke-oven crews touched off the walk-out Aug. 31 that started the giant action. The latest slap in the face instilled all 17,000 employees with fiery determination to win.

(The company attempted to impose extra work assignments on several groups of coke oven battery workers and force certain higher-paid workers to perform lower-paid, more difficult jobs. They get the same pay as on the old job, but this higher pay goes out with them when they go out, dies with them when they die.)

The company accuses the four discharged men with having "interfered with employees who wished to gain access to the plant" at an early stage in the shutdown. Apparently the management's strategy was to frighten the workers into an early return with fear of further victimization, since more than a few workers were concerned in leading the action.

But the effect has been to galvanize the latent anti-company feeling into an iron determination to face a real showdown fight.

The coke oven men in particular, who have now been out 14 days and already seen one payless payday, have shown the most heroic leadership and ingenious ability in the present situation. They have already put out two

leaflets to their local union, and have now appealed to the "steelworkers of Lackawanna, and the working men and women of Buffalo" in a quarter-page advertisement in the newspapers here.

### STATE THE FACTS

This was in answer to the full-page advertisement the company took in both capitalist newspapers. "We have read your statements to the newspapers with interest and indignation," their advertisement, which is in the form of a letter, states. "Nowhere in them have you showed the slightest concern or sympathy with the welfare of your employees, most of whom have labored for you from ten to thirty years under extremely HOT, DIRTY AND GASSY CONDITIONS. You put full-page ads in the papers at government expense (we understand you deduct the amounts from income tax as 'operating costs') and you do not even tell ALL the facts."

They explain the real facts, the extreme difficulties of the work and the extra duties the company has saddled them with. Their words ring with rank-and-file resentment against company arrogance and class exploitation.

### HANDWRITING ON WALL

They wind up: "We do not have much hope that our statement will influence you in your present high-handed mood. Already you have discharged four (4) of our members for no sufficient cause. Everything you say and do seems aimed at making us fight harder. We are ready, willing and able to do so, and so are the employees in the other departments who can easily see the handwriting on the wall, now revealed

by your present dictatorial attitude."

This spirited statement from the men themselves was the prelude to the uncompromising attitude at the meeting last night.

Meanwhile, of course, the capitalist class of Buffalo is not idle. The Buffalo Evening News, chief organ for big business here,

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## "They Were Afraid to Print My Book"

By James Kutcher

My book, The Case of the Legless Veteran, which will be published on Oct. 1, is the report of one man's experiences in modern America. It is by an American, it deals with crucial problems of civil liberties which affect all Americans, whether or not they are aware of it — and yet I could not get it published in my own country. It was finally published in Britain, against which this country made a revolution in the name of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Shades of 1776!

I think there is a certain significance in this because, like the book itself, the reception it got from American publishers throws added light on the state of civil liberties in our country today. That is why I would like to report it to the readers of The Militant, many of whom have given me inspiring support in my fight to recover the government job from which I was purged in 1948, and whom I count on for added support in the distribution of the book.

I wrote the book in the spring

and summer of 1952, bringing it up to date in the spring of this year, after it had been accepted for publication in Britain. I began to circulate it among publishers in New York City, six copies at a time, in August 1952. At the end of eight months, I had covered 36 publishing firms, all of the big ones and many of the smaller ones. Most of the replies were received after Eisenhower's election.

I sent along a letter, making three points:

(1) The great importance of the issues dealt with in the book.

(2) The fact that 800 national and local organizations had actively concerned themselves in my case, and that the initial market for the book might be drawn from among them by an enterprising publisher.

(3) My recognition that as a writer I am an amateur (I added I never expected to write another book) and that therefore I would have no objection to the book being edited, provided none of the basic facts were omitted or distorted.

Some of the replies were cold

mimeographed rejection slips, expressing no opinion one way or the other. But most of them tried to explain why. Following are some typical responses:

"You have done a good job, but after very careful thought, we have decided that this is the sort of book that we do not do well with."

"Whereas we feel the case is important, we cannot feel that enough people would read a book on the subject."

"While we found it very interesting, our sales department has told us that there is very little market for a book of this type."

"I am not at all sure however that the sizable market exists which you point to in your note to the publisher."

"We found much that was admirable and moving in your script, but we really felt that it would not be something that would fit in with any ease on our list."

"As you know, we have done other good books on this theme (which is becoming all too familiar) and I'm sorry to say that they have not been good publishing ventures. We really offered them as public services but as we do have to sell the books we print we cannot do too much of this . . . I most sincerely hope that you can interest someone else in it soon."

"We are sorry to say that it does not seem to be a possibility for our list . . . In addition to the timeliness and general concern with your case, we were particularly interested in your literary style and therefore disappointed in your statement: 'I am not a writer, and will never even try to write another book.' If you ever decide to write again, we would appreciate seeing additional work. A copy of our catalog is being sent to you under separate cover, which will give you an idea of the type of book we publish."

### "WE ARE GRATEFUL"

"We are grateful to you for making available to us your stirring story. It is, in our analysis of the market . . . You can see the great and terrible story of

the fight for civil liberties, which we are all of us now engaged in. There is no question in our minds but that you have been badly treated, and at the same time become a symbol for all of us, a symbol of courage and strength and perseverance and self-abnegation which is particularly meaningful now . . . The above is not merely to assuage what must be your disappointment that we cannot make you an offer for your work. But it is to express to you something of the regret which I personally feel that this important story does not lend itself, in the opinion of this company, to successful commercial handling. And we are, after all, a business firm which has to show a profit. Probably only a foundation or otherwise subsidized organization could publish this book, significant as the story is and as crucial as it is for our lives. This is a story everyone should be familiar with, but unfortunately few people would pay money to become familiar with it. This, at any rate, is our analysis of the market . . . You can

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JAMES KUTCHER



# Happy Birthday, Arne Swabeck

By James P. Cannon

(On Sept. 4, the Chicago branch of the Socialist Workers Party held a surprise birthday party for Arne Swabeck, one of the original founders of American Trotskyism. The greetings sent from other parts of the country included the following tape-recorded speech by James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the SWP.—Ed.)

Birthday parties in ordinary life are pretty much the same, but this gathering in honor of Arne Swabeck is different, a sort of upside-down birthday party.

For most people a birthday is a good excuse to lay off and eat cake and let others do the work. It was characteristic of Arne to book himself for an educational lecture at a branch meeting on his birthday, so that the celebration had to be held up until he finished his party chores.

This birthday party is different in another respect too. Usually friends assemble to present gifts to one who has passed another milestone, the implication being that he needs something to help him up the hill that gets a little steeper every year. Here the birthday celebrant is the giver and the assembled guests, present in person or in spirit — all his party comrades throughout the country and throughout the world — are the grateful beneficiaries.

What we offer him tonight, in the way of trinkets and mementos, are not so much for his benefit as for our own. They are intended not as material gifts to sustain him, but rather as receipts, as acknowledgements of all that he has given to us, to help us, to instruct us by his teachings, and above all to inspire us by his example, and thus to sustain us in the long fight for socialism to which our lives, like his, are committed.

This is a gathering of friends. The word "friend" is one of the biggest words ever spoken, but it is often used too lightly. Friendship formed in fair weather is an unknown quantity. It takes the test of adversity to measure its true value.

## WHEN ROAD GETS ROUGH

We used to have a saying in the old IWW, that you never know a man until you have been in jail with him, or broke and on the bum with him. That was just another way of saying that you can't really tell what a man is made of until you see how he conducts himself when the road gets rough, when the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune fly at him from all directions.

Such were the conditions under which I first got acquainted with Arne Swabeck 32 years ago at an underground convention of the Communist Party. We met as comrades of a persecuted band at a rough spot in the road. We have travelled together ever since, always sticking together, with our eyes on the goal ahead, no matter who else might falter and fall by the wayside. In the course of the long journey we became friends.

The road we have travelled together has had many twists and turns; we have seen and experienced many things, and the goal we saw 32 years ago is clearer than ever in our vision; but we haven't found a smooth road yet. They don't run that way this side of socialism.

The firmest bond of sustained personal association is allegiance to common ideas and ideals. That is what makes the difference between someone you know and someone you can depend on in hard and heavy struggle. That is the iron bond which unites Arne Swabeck with those who celebrate his triumphant birthday tonight. It has united some of us with him over the long stretch since the pioneer days of American Communism; and this association, in turn, has maintained the unbroken continuity of the movement, its tradition and its leadership. This allegiance to common ideas and ideals unites the old

guard with the party youth — the leaders of tomorrow.

Arne Swabeck has always believed in this primacy of ideas and taught others to believe it. He took Marxist theory seriously, studied it attentively, and taught it to others. That has been his chief service to the party, and especially to the younger generations of the Chicago branch, who have learned from him and who gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness at this birthday gathering tonight.

But the lesson would be barren without its correlative. Our theory is a guide to action, not only for the party but for each individual member. It is only by action that one can give valid testimony to his theoretical convictions. Faith without works is dead. The true revolutionist lives and acts the way he thinks and talks.

Here, too, Arne Swabeck has set us the perfect example. He has taught us, by the consistent example of his entire life, what it really means to be a socialist, not only in theory, but also in practice; not only in words but in deeds.

The true art of being a socialist consists not merely in recognizing the trend of social evolution from capitalism to socialism, and striving to help it along and hasten on the day. It consists not merely in the prophetic vision that life will be better and fairer under socialism; that human nature, crippled and deformed in the class society, will assert itself and change for the better; and that people in the socialist society will be different and better.

The true art of being a socialist consists in anticipating the socialist future; in not waiting for its actual realization, but in striving, here and now, insofar as the circumstances of class society permit, to live like a socialist; to live under capitalism according to the higher standards of the socialist future.

## TAUGHT BY EXAMPLE

The comrade whom we honor to night has helped to teach us this art of being a socialist by the method of the good teachers, who teach by example: by living a socialist life himself.

His contributions and achievements in many fields of work have been gratefully acknowledged here tonight. But his greatest achievement of all, that which we honor above all, is the simple fact of his consistent socialist life — not just on special occasions, but every day in the week and twice on Sunday.

And that is the main reason he has turned out such good pupils, who in turn have become teachers, here and in other sections of the party. For Arne has taught not only from the books, important as that is, but also from life, by the example of his own life.

I understand that the Chicago branch has decided to demand less active work from Arne in the future and give him more time for writing. You can afford to do that now, precisely because he has done his work as a leader well — by the highest socialist standards, not as an individual performer, crowding others from the stage, but above all as a teacher, teaching and inspiring others by precept and example.

## HIGHEST COMPLIMENT

Those who have been so taught and so inspired — and that includes everyone of us — will be well able to take care of things if Arne obeys the command of the branch to ease up his strenuous activity a bit. This is not an underestimation of his leadership, but the highest possible compliment to it; for the best socialist leaders are those who teach and inspire others, and prepare them to take their place.

If the leaders do this, as Arne Swabeck has done so well, and still stick around to lend a hand once in a while, it is all the better. The comrades of Local Chicago are doubly fortunate in this respect. They have the benefit of his past teaching and example — and still have Arne too. Thus equipped, they can confidently face their great future.

In toasting Arne Swabeck, and all that he stands for, they are saluting their future victory.

# How Revolutions Abroad Can Slow War Timetable

By Joseph Hansen  
(Fifth of a series)

The United States emerged from World War II with such crushing preponderance of industrial power that no combination of countries matched it. Since industrial strength can prove decisive in a war where the political factor does not intervene, it seems strange at first sight that Big Business has not yet launched the war it projects on the Soviet Union. It is particularly difficult to understand if you view America as homogeneous — as a monolithic force without fissure.

However, if you look at the internal divisions, the separation of the country into opposing classes, then you can see that the colossal power of the U. S. also measures the power of the American working class and therefore the degree of its political explosiveness. The American working class, viewed politically, is like an H-Bomb lodged in the economic base that gives Wall Street its imposing world stature.

In previous articles we saw how the assertion of the will of the American people compelled Wall Street to postpone its war plans immediately following World War II when it had a monopoly on atomic weapons and when the Soviet Union lay weak and devastated after the invasion by German imperialism.

And we have seen how strenuously the capitalist class has tried since 1945 to convince the American people to go to war against the Soviet Union, even plunging the country into an undeclared war in Korea as part of the preparations — again with consequences, above all in America, that has brought about another postponement of World War III.

## CONSOLIDATION OF BASES

Besides the domestic reasons, other considerations of a weighty

character have forced Wall Street to revise its timetable of war. While it has constructed an interlocking system of military alliances such as the world has never before seen, it has not yet been able to complete the consolidation of its two main bases: Japan and Western Europe.

In both areas, following World War II, American Big Business had the immediate problem of forestalling revolutions, bolstering the native capitalists and restoring the economies ruined by war. Much of this has been accomplished, thanks primarily to the helping hand of the Stalinists and the Social Democrats, but in neither place has rearmament really got under way. In fact it took from 1945 until the victory of Adenauer in the recent election to prepare the base for the rearmament of Germany, the key sector of Europe. The most crucial stage still lies ahead.

In Japan, reports indicate a considerable growth of anti-American sentiment, a desire by the Japanese capitalists to engage in trade with China, and a fear of the consequences of participating in another war. These feelings will not prove easy to overcome even under the terrible pressure of Wall Street's urgent prodding.

Meanwhile in France, the greatest general strike in the nation's history shows that this essential base for the projected war on the USSR is, from the viewpoint of Wall Street, far from secure. Indeed, drained white by the attempt to reconquer Indo-China, shaken by revolutionary fevers, the capitalist France of today scarcely resembles the kind of power Wall Street would consider placing under the additional stress of atomic war, at least for the moment.

The problem of Germany, Japan and France indicates in a dramatic way what Wall Street faces in all the countries brought into its far-reaching military al-

liances. None of them wants war. Even the various bourgeoisies, who are closest to America's 60 ruling families, shrink at the fearful perspective they are ordered to face. This inertia acts like sand in Wall Street's war machine.

## REVOLUTIONS ABROAD

One of the major causes impelling Wall Street to make haste in launching World War III is the development of revolutionary movements abroad. The big corporations feel toward them much as they felt toward unions in the days of the open shop — nip them in the bud. However, the experience in China, Korea, Indo-China, and in fact throughout the colonial world, shows that these elemental forces have gathered such headway that they cannot easily be stopped. They are capable of sustained, tough, exhausting war.

If the conflict were to remain on the strictly military plane, perhaps the United States in combination with the other imperialist powers could beat them down — at the risk of bringing down civilization at the same time and perhaps precipitating the use of atomic missiles that could destroy mankind.

But this counter-revolutionary war constantly risks touching off a force far more potent than military conflict. This force is revolutionary politics on a mass scale. One successful socialist revolution in any major industrial country could cancel out completely Wall Street's industrial supremacy, could in fact, through a political chain reaction, bring it against Wall Street by turning it into play the revolutionary political power of the American workers.

## MARX AND TROTSKY

This possibility has long been known in theory. For example, in 1853 — exactly a century ago — Karl Marx observed: "It would

be a curious spectacle, that of China sending disorder into the Western World while the Western Powers, by English, French and American war-steampers, are conveying 'order' to Shanghai, Nanking and the mouths of the Great Canal."

This concept recurs in the writings of Trotsky. In the period of the death agony of capitalism, Trotsky was of course able to give it much greater concreteness than Marx could. Here is an example, written in 1928:

"... It is precisely the international strength of the United States and her irresistible expansion arising from it, that compels her to include the powder magazines of the whole world into the foundations of her structure, i.e., all the antagonisms between the East and the West, the class struggle in Old Europe, the uprisings of the colonial masses, and all wars and revolutions."

"On the one hand, this transforms North American capitalism into the basic counter-revolutionary force of the modern epoch, constantly more interested in the maintenance of 'order' in every corner of the terrestrial globe; and on the other hand, this prepares the ground for a gigantic revolutionary explosion in this already dominant and still expanding world imperialism power. The logic of world relations indicates that the time of this explosion cannot lag very far behind that of the proletarian revolution in Europe." (Third International After Lenin, p. 8.)

If we bring Trotsky's metaphor up to date, we can say that Wall Street, in extending the frontier of the United States to the 38th parallel in Korea and up to the Iron Curtain in Europe, has included the atom bombs that can trigger the political H-Bomb represented by the American workers.

Faced with such possible consequences, it might seem that

America's 60 ruling families would prefer to retreat, withdrawing from overseas and concentrating North America into an island fortress. But this is not economically feasible. American capitalism is the heart of a world-wide system. Cut it out of that system and it will soon stop beating.

Besides, to retreat would precipitate a depression that would

make the 1929 crash and the stagnation of the Thirties look like a war boom by comparison. That, too, would have most unhappy results politically so far as the giant corporations are concerned, for the American workers, looking at the idle factories — shut down for lack of war orders — would not be long in deciding to put an end to the insanity of capitalism.

# The American Way of Life

## 'I Don't Want Any Timid Souls'

When the McCarthyites dug up the "evidence" that actress Lucille Ball had helped the Communist Party in 1936, the newspapers had a field day. Miss Ball was panic-stricken. Her whole career was at stake. She confessed her folly; blamed her "mistake" on her Socialist grandfather who had "pressured" her into registering Communist in 1936; and eagerly offered the information that although she was a Democrat she had voted for Eisenhower.

Lucille Ball was saved by the skin of her teeth, or rather by the thoroughness of her "confession." The revelation of her youthful "crime" of 17 years ago didn't end her career — this time. But the lesson the witch hunters wanted to drive home is plain; if you want to get along in America, don't go around thinking and voting as you please... someone's keeping tab on you and it may mean your job or your neck some day.

Mrs. Hildur Josephine Hughes, West Seattle High School teacher, also had everything at stake when the Seattle School Board recently turned into an Inquisition Board. They wanted "some information" about her "pertinent to our knowledge of a teacher." They made it clear that their questions "had nothing to do with Mrs. Hughes' skill or ability as a teacher." Just as no one had questioned Miss Ball's charm and skill as an actress in the "I Love Lucy" TV program.

But Mrs. Hughes followed a different and far more American tradition in her response to the witch hunters. Asked if she had ever been a member of the Communist Party, she replied, "You have no right to ask it, and I'm not going to answer it."

She stuck to her guns. With calm dignity she turned the hearing into an indictment of the "hysteria and witch hunts that are sweeping the nation." "I shall not submit," she said. "If I submit, a precedent could be established that... could be used to intimidate even further the teachers of this city."

We don't know yet what happened to Mrs. Hughes. But we do know that in the past Seattle was a center of militant trade unionism and radicalism. The memory of the 1918 Seattle general strike is not dead. It was present at Mrs. Hughes' side when she put up her valiant fight. One of the School Board members, James Duncan, came to the defense of Mrs. Hughes.

"If I were not a Communist," he said, "and if I were teaching in the public schools, I would take exactly the same position as Mrs. Hughes... if she doesn't want to answer any questions, it is all right with me... She has shown her qualification as a teacher this afternoon. I don't want any timid souls in our classrooms."

James Duncan, the lone member of the School Board who fought for Mrs. Hughes, was a member of the Seattle General Strike Committee in 1918.

— Manuel Rodriguez

# Letter to a Stalinist on "Lesser Evil" Theory

Dear Phil,

It's been some time since we talked about the politics of American Stalinism. Now that we have before us a whole series of new betrayals of the world Stalinist movement, it should be worthwhile to turn to the American Communist party and see where it fits in the picture.

According to the Daily Worker of Sept. 2, a "multi-class coalition" is the basic political line of the American Stalinists. S. W.

Gerson, New York legislative chairman of the CP, says in reply to a question about the connection between "coalition policy" and the notorious "lesser evil" theory. "The question seems to imply that to build a coalition means somehow to accept the lesser evil theory. That is not so."

Gerson sets out to embellish the coalition tactic which he contrasts to the "lesser evil" theory as "an utterly different concept."

In doing this he manages to wrap two lies together in one package: He disclaims all Stalinist responsibility for the "lesser evil" theory and he presents "coalition" as an independent working class tactic. This is completely false. The "lesser evil" theory is always a justification for the coalition tactic. Coalition is the "lesser evil" theory applied under certain definite conditions — primary among these is the existence of mass political parties of the working class.

When the leadership of these mass working-class parties drags them into coalition governments with capitalist parties we have one of the end results of the "lesser evil" theory. The capitalist parties in such coalition governments are fraudulently passed off by the bureaucrats as the "lesser evil" to other capitalist parties. And in these coalition governments it is the capitalist parties that dominate, invariably and inevitably.

Now, it is clear that the Stalinists do not lead a mass working class political party in the U. S. Properly speaking, the Stalinists cannot practice coalition in America, they can only support one capitalist politician or another. Their coalition talk is merely the "lesser evil" theory stripped down to its naked, scrawny reality. It reminds me of the criticism Vern Smith, former foreign editor of the Daily Peoples World (West Coast Stalinist paper), made of the American Communist Party's policy when he became a dissident Stalinist. He said, as you will recall, that the People's Front policy was OK for France where the Communist Party had a mass following, but was ruinous in the United States where the party had yet to win the masses. He advocated a Socialist and independent electoral policy for America, until the Stalinists gained mass support. Then it could use the People's Front (coalition) tactic.

When Vern Smith said this, I told you at that time that it was like saying, "before we can betray the workers we must win them." In my opinion the American Stalinists will never get the chance to repeat their treachery in the U. S. on the scale they did in France, because they will never win the mass following here that they had in France; the Socialist Workers Party will prevent that.

Gerson presents the CP line in France as a model application of the coalition policy. "When Communists, for example, took part in coalition governments in France and Italy in the 1946-47 period, they did not give up their class independence or their program. While they sought the unity of the coalition, they at the same time maintained their independence and critical position."

Let's take one close look at

this "independent" coalition policy as practiced in France. In this way we will clear up just what the Stalinists mean by coalition.

## SAVED "UNITY"

On March 22, 1947, the French cabinet was in a deep crisis. A vote of confidence for the Ramadier government was taken on the question of military credits for the imperialist war of France against Indo-China. The Stalinists had five ministers in the Cabinet. Their policy was supposed to be "critical" of the French imperialist aggression although they said, "The national interests demand the maintenance of the influence and position of France in the Far East." Nevertheless, they were opposed to the way these "interests" were being defended, for they were under pressure from the rank and file communist workers who hated the capitalist war in Indo-China then as much as they do now.

What did the Stalinists do in this showdown? They voted for the war credits! They "saved" the "unity" of France. They kept their cabinet jobs and betrayed the colonial struggle for independence. As Joseph Stalin put it in the Daily Worker of March 23, 1947, "The Communists have emphasized their devotion to the parliamentary regime... Let those who so snidely and blindly defame Communists observe the enormous contribution which the Communists of France are making to peace, to stability, and democracy." I wonder what the Indo-Chinese workers and peasants thought of this Stalinist contribution to "peace" by voting war credits?

Maybe the Stalinists showed their "independent and critical" position in the French situation I have just cited, by the way they supported French imperialism? Let's see. N. Y. Times correspondent Harold Callender reported on March 22, 1947, that the Stalinists showed their displeasure by "refusing to rise with the rest of the assembly when Premier Ramadier paid a tribute to the 'courage and heroism' of the French forces fighting in Indo-China. Instead they applauded moderately while seated."

This is the way the coalition policy works, Phil, when the Social Democrats use it or when the Stalinists use it. That is why Lenin carried on a lifelong struggle against coalition as the policy of class betrayal.

Next week I want to take up the "lesser evil" theory as practiced by the American Communist Party. I think I can show that the Stalinists (1) have followed that policy in America many times (2) they are following it right now in current elections

Murry Weiss

# DURKIN'S EXIT ENDS LABOR'S FLIRTING WITH EISENHOWER

(Continued from page 1)

the capitalist regime, even to the extent of abandoning their long-proclaimed demands on such vital issues as the Taft-Hartley Act. They shifted with utmost readiness from their demand for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act to its amendment — amendment in line with what even the late Senator Taft himself had been ready in great part to concede.

## SHUN LABOR PARTY

Even though, as some of the union leaders now claim, they didn't expect much from the Durkin appointment, they were still ready to attempt collaboration with the Eisenhower administration on almost any basis in order to avoid a struggle. They especially abhorred the idea of genuine independent labor political action through formation of labor's own party, because such a step would have signified a real battle of the most far-reaching scope and aims.

We, for our part, denounced the acceptance of posts by labor in the capitalist government and editorially blasted the AFL leaders for hailing Durkin's appointment last December as a "master-stroke" and "evidence that Eisenhower has recognized the fact that his administration must recognize all the people." On the contrary, said the Dec. 15 Militant, the appointment of Durkin "as labor window dressing for the Big Business cabinet of Eisenhower, which the labor leaders hail as a mark of esteem, is in reality a gesture of contempt for them. It indicates how cheaply Eisenhower thinks they can be bought off."

## OUR VIEWS CONFIRMED

We were not guessing then about the true nature of Durkin's appointment and its consequences — as the latest events have so speedily confirmed. We based our judgment on an understanding of the capitalist class character of the government and the trend of developments — particularly the heightened war drive. These excluded any possibility for long-term collaboration

between the union leaders and the Republicans in power. Indeed, even if the Democrats had won, there would have been no room for even the meager concessions to labor granted back in the early days of the New Deal. It was all the more apparent, therefore, that the Republican administration, which owed nothing to the labor leaders, would make no concessions. It would only press to take away labor's hard-won gains.

Faced with the cold facts of the irreconcilable hostility of the present administration, the union leaders dare not appear simply to be shrinking away. But their idea of fighting reaction is to turn once more to the Democratic machine, to play the side of the "outs" against the "ins" in the old game of two-party capitalist politics. They are trying to delude the workers into believing that the discredited, corrupt Democratic machine, under whose rule the tide of reaction swelled, will somehow turn that tide now.

## THE POLITICAL LESSON

It is true, of course, that the Democrats, as the party on the "outs," can safely make all kinds of demagogic promises about what they will do for labor when they are in once more. But Truman was very radical. But Truman had four years to keep his promises — in the 1948 election — including repeal of the Taft-Hartley law — and kept none of them. What will the Democrats do differently if they get in once more?

The labor leadership's sorry flirtation with the Big Business regime of the Republicans and its disgusting inevitable climax should make it apparent that the time has come for a complete break with the old policy of seeking alliances with one or another of the Big Business political machines and trying to gain anything worthwhile for labor through back-door handouts from the White House. Labor can fight the advancing forces of capitalist reaction effectively only with a party of its own and a program of its own.

# THE MILITANT ARMY

Dick Carter relates some of his experiences talking to workers in St. Louis about recent issues of The Militant. He writes, "I found the paper with the headline for the defense of the Rosenbergs when they were electrocuted and near it a headline on the East German revolt a good one to use in explaining our position on the Soviet Union and the C. P."

"I used this issue to make more clear our differences with the Stalinists to several colored readers who are friendly to C. P. and to The Militant too. I showed how we defend the Stalinists, people accused of being Stalinists, and people accused of helping them, against the witch hunt; but at the same time we fight against the Stalinist bureaucracy."

"Using this issue I took time to give a fuller analysis of our position than I have formerly given to one Militant reader who has been taking our paper for about seven years. I am quite sure he has thought the C. P. was likely to do more for the workers than we were, but after our discussion he told me, 'You explain much better than you used to. You make a fellow believe you.'"

"I told him some of my experiences in distributing The Militant and this prompted my friend to tell me some of his own experiences. A friend of his would never read the paper so my friend occasionally clipped out articles and gave them to him. One day his friend asked him

where an article from The Militant came from. My friend answered, 'The Militant.' The fellow who was not interested in The Militant before said, 'That was a good article. My friend is going to ask his neighbors to subscribe to the paper.'

"Another worker I had considered conservative surprised me by starting a conversation about the strikes in France. Then after I gave him a Militant with an article on the French strikes, he surprised me again by saying, 'That's a good paper!' I'll try to sell him a subscription."

St. Paul Literature Agent Winifred Nelson writes, "Our two comrades who go out selling the paper door to door are doing quite well, we think. They sell six to eight papers a week, and many of these are repeat sales." Winifred sends in a sub for another new St. Paul subscriber.

C. H. D. of Potlatch, Penna., sends in his renewal to The Militant and writes, "Our town is hit pretty hard with strikes but I must read The Militant."

Many thanks to W. G. H. of Chicago for his donation of 25 cents sent in with his renewal to The Militant and to Fourth International, theoretical magazine of American Trotskyism. Thanks also to M. Q. of Toronto for his contribution of \$1.50 sent in with his renewal to The Militant.

Walter Reuther said in his Labor Day speech that talk of a depression is "dangerous and reckless." Hoover, who had the same idea about the mysterious power of "talk" preached that if you talked about prosperity it would appear just around the corner.

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### Witch-Hunting the Lawyers

One of the basic techniques of the current witch hunt is monotonous pounding carried to the point of deadening the senses. People become numbed. Trial after trial, smear after smear, victimization after victimization, subversive listing after subversive listing, where it will stop nobody knows; and what's worse — some people who used to become outraged at injustice seem to prefer to turn away, either because they're too sick and nauseated to look, or because they're afraid to take account of what's happening.

Attorney General Brownell, in his speech at the American Bar Association Convention on Aug. 12, announced that he was placing the National Lawyers Guild on the subversive list. The delegates cheered. Only four years ago this same organization voted down a resolution that Guild members be disbarred. But these have been four years of which hunt. And now the Attorney General has dared to take the step that two previous Attorney Generals, McGrath and McGranery, hesitated to take.

The National Lawyers Guild is a rival of the conservative American Bar Association. There are a number of extremely ominous aspects to the move to blacklist it.

First, Brownell has advanced a formula that will enable him to declare any organization "Communist" and "subversive." He accuses the Guild of following the Communist Party line on all questions "excepting only those issues so notorious that their espousal would too clearly demonstrate the Communist control."

This is indeed a handle for the witch hunter's knife. An organization can be called "subversive" despite differences

from the Stalinists, because, you see, these differences are cleverly constructed camouflage. How do they prove this? Never mind, we have Brownell's word.

The second ominous aspect of the new blacklisting is the fact that it is aimed at the group of lawyers who have been most ready to take up cases of victimization and infringement of civil liberties. This is very much like bombarding your own medical corps in a battle. The blacklisting and smear of lawyers who may be counted upon to defend victims of blacklisting and smears is a new high in the witch hunt.

Can we expect next that doctors will be required to ascertain the political opinions of their patients before they treat them? Can you expect the McCarthyites to see any difference between the relation of lawyer to client and the relation of doctor to patient?

It has been correctly observed by the well-known liberal journalist I. F. Stone that the "loyalty" orbit has a steadily widening tendency. Beginning with government employees, it spread to defense plant workers and the maritime industry; it invaded the professions one by one and it is now reaching out like a hungry monster into all fields.

The latest move against the National Lawyers Guild is timed just before the opening of the planned McCarthyite investigation of the unions. In anticipation of the trade union probe, the reactionary press is licking its chops and preparing the big newspaper type. What are the unions doing? Now that lawyers are being blacklisted wholesale it's going to be a tough job to find legal assistance for a union when the McCarthyites put the finger on them.

### Dulles' Bloody Scheme for Indo-China

Recently, the Chinese Republic has been broadcasting proposals for a peace conference with France aimed at bringing about a settlement of the Indo-Chinese war. Washington is worried because the French capitalists, shaken by the revolutionary threat at home, seem quite receptive to these peace proposals.

But Wall Street will have none of this peace talk. They want to keep the war going. It has been on for seven years! They think that it can be won in two more years.

The Wall Street Journal of Sept. 15 tells how Dulles' State Department is maneuvering to keep an unwilling France at war in the quicksands of revolutionary Asia. "The State Department experts think their strongest ally in this move to keep the French in the war is the present French cabinet, headed by Premier Joseph Laniel. But State Department men are worried that strong French sentiment against the Indo-China war . . . might force the downfall of his already-shaky cabinet."

Thus the problem becomes: How can the State Department convince the Laniel regime, beset as it is with the problem of its imminent demise, that it should continue the war? The Wall Street Journal says, "Dulles is even more determined to win the Indo-China war than he was to

end the Korean war." But it also says, "French war weariness has been intensified by the armistice in Korea." Maybe the French capitalists are getting the impression that Wall Street is more concerned with its own problems than with theirs.

The Wall Street Journal recites the arguments the State Department will use to persuade Laniel. "We'll tell the French that if they're willing to shut their ears to the siren songs of Communist peace proposals this one more time, and put up a little more of their men, then there's a real chance that this war can be won and that the French will be able to pull back to Europe in a couple of years."

But that's just it. The Laniel regime doesn't have "a couple of years." And they will also have some difficulty in "putting up a few more of their men." The French people are "weary of the 'endless' war." You might say they are "weary" of the capitalist system.

Dulles may convince Laniel, but can Laniel convince the French workers to bleed and die for Wall Street on the battlefields of Asia for a few more years? We doubt it. At any rate he didn't do very well in convincing them that they should take a pension cut, so it doesn't stand to reason that he will succeed in persuading them to give up their lives for the greater glory of imperialism — French or American.

### Once Again -- the Lesson of Germany

Last week, Wall Street's favorite in West Germany, Chancellor Adenauer, made a threatening move against the trade unions. He demanded a controlling power in the West German trade unions for his government party, the Christian Democrats, or else a union-splitting and union-smashing campaign would be launched.

This move puts an ugly blotch on the glossy picture the American newspapers have been painting for us of the "democratic" victory in the recent West German elections. But there is a deeper meaning to Adenauer's anti-union move.

When capitalism enters the period of decline and chronic crisis it cannot tolerate the independence of the unions. It must incorporate unions into the very state apparatus of the capitalists. There are two historically established methods for doing this. (1) The trade union officials are drawn into the net of "co-operation" with the government apparatus practically to the point of merger. (2) The trade unions are smashed and their dead husks "incorporated" into fascist states, as in Italy under Mussolini and Germany under Hitler.

Incorporation of the unions through the merging of the union bureaucracy with the capitalist state apparatus, is a limited and temporary expedient under conditions of the general decay of the capitalist system. The trouble with this method is that the unions still retain their character as organizations of the working class capable of being transformed into fighting organizations. Also, they stand in the way of any really drastic reductions in living standards of the workers. And those drastic

reductions are necessary for a dying capitalist system. Thus this method of dealing with the trade union bureaucrats must always give way to more open attacks.

But let no one get the idea that all this is something only the German workers need worry about. The "little Eisenhower" regime in Germany is attempting what the "big Adenauer" administration projects for the United States. And you can be sure that the testing out in West Germany will be studied with great care by the Taft-Hartleyites in this country.

Dulles threw the whole weight of American Big Business and its government behind Adenauer — the senile darling of the West German industrial magnates. And now Adenauer is assigned to do the same job on the unions that Eisenhower is plotting in the U.S. And for the same reason. The Third World War, that desperate adventure to save a capitalist system in death agony, has its greatest obstacle in the organized working class. High on the agenda in the preparation for World War III is the campaign to bust the unions wide open and smash their potential threat of resistance to capitalist war. The American workers face the same kind of threat the West German workers face. The Taft-Hartley Law is only the beginning. The projected McCarthyite "investigation" of the unions is another ominous feeler. They are sharpening the knife and looking for the soft spot. Defense of the very existence of unionism is on the order of the day throughout the capitalist world.

# Iran Added to List of Stalinist Betrayals

By John G. Wright

There is a reign of terror in Iran. For weeks mass arrests have been taking place throughout the country under the military dictatorship of Zohreh. Among the Government employees alone the victims number in the thousands. The Sept. 13 N.Y. Times reported that "Premier Zohreh has dismissed or suspended 3,000 government employees as members of the Tudeh (Communist) party or as fellow travelers, a source close to the Premier's office asserted today. . . . Arrests continue in Teheran and in the provinces." It goes without saying that those "dismissed or suspended" on the charge of belonging to or sympathizing with the Tudeh party are among the first arrested.

## WILL KRUPP COIN HUGE WAR PROFITS AGAIN?



Alfred Krupp, whose armaments empire armed Hitler, and his wife, who lived fifteen years in the U.S. and acquired American citizenship. After serving six years of a 12-year sentence as a war criminal, Krupp was released, his vast industries restored to him.

The name of Krupp is again coming to the fore in Germany. In 1947, Alfred Krupp, head of the family that dominated German war industries through the world wars

and a century of previous bloody conflicts, was in prison branded as a war criminal. Today, after his release in 1951, he is the head of a humming industrial empire and preparing once more to make vast profits out of the next war.

He is not making armaments today, of course. Much of his industries for direct military production were bombed or dismantled during and after the last war. But his plants are now producing a host of products from false teeth to ships. His personal fortune is estimated at 150 million dollars.

When interviewed recently by two correspondents of the Associated Press on whether he would ever make munitions again, Krupp "answered the question carefully." He claimed that with the still numerous plants left him after the recent German-Allied agreement forcing him to sell his coal, iron and steel interests, "it would be impossible for us to make arms."

But he did not say he would never make them again. "Would he, under Allied urging return to munitions production for western defense?" — that is, would he produce for the western imperialist war criminals as

he did for the Nazis? He replied: "At this time, I can't answer the question. It would be necessary to build new plants." American money and government cost-plus contracts could fix that.

Krupp was imprisoned and all his holdings confiscated after his conviction by a U.S. war crimes court in Nuremberg of employing slave labor provided by the Nazis. As Wall Street's government pushed its plans for rearming West Germany and converting it into a base for attack on the Soviet Union, it began releasing former Nazis like Alfred Krupp. In 1951, Krupp was released from prison and his confiscated property restored to him.

He now controls, among other enterprises, shipyards, a locomotive works, 10,000 houses and apartments, a dynamo plant, a wire factory, chemical plant, a cement factory and false teeth concern. He can rest from his labors of amassing profits at his 400-room Villa Hugel outside of Essen. If he starts producing arms under the U.S.-sponsored war program for capitalist West Germany, he may soon be able to say that even under the Nazis he "never had it so good."

It was this false and treacherous policy that paved the way for the victory of the counter-revolution in Iran. This policy was pursued on the eve of the disaster, just as it had been pursued in the entire preceding period.

CAUGHT BY SURPRISE  
As has happened so often in the past, the architects of the defeat in the Kremlin were caught by surprise. On Aug. 19, the very day of Mossadegh's downfall, Pravda carried a lengthy editorial devoted to Iranian events over three columns on its fourth page, signed "Observer." This editorial boasted of the "Collapse of American Adventure in Iran."

It boasted among other things that the "conspiracy against the existing government (Mossadegh) caught no one in Iran by surprise." This conspiracy "was exposed and smashed at the most decisive moment. The Shah has fled from Iran."

In conclusion the Pravda editorial gloated: "It is high time for the lovers of adventures and provocations to understand that such a policy has not and cannot have any chances for success. . . . On Aug. 16 they received one more instructive lesson in Iran."

On Aug. 20 Pravda tried to dismiss the coup of Aug. 19 as merely another "adventure." One of its headlines read as follows: "Partisans of Fleeing Shah Undertake a New Adventure." In the days that followed, the dispatches became briefer and briefer, until finally they were dropped altogether.

The chagrin and embarrassment of the Kremlin is of little moment. More important is the fact that the revolutionary masses of Iran, because of the Stalinist policy, were caught completely unawares. They had been lulled into a sense of false security; they now find themselves helpless in the face of triumphant counter-revolution. And foremost among the victims are

the misled and betrayed militants of the Tudeh party.

The first lesson for them, as for the revolutionary workers throughout the world, is to break with counter-revolutionary Stalinism and forge a genuine revolutionary socialist party. This iron necessity for the mobilization of the revolutionary vanguard under a new program and a new leadership has been driven home in recent weeks by the events in East Germany and in France where the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism has revealed itself. To its list of post-war betrayals, Stalinism has now added Iran.

## \$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
AKRON	\$ 150	\$ 175	117
PHILADELPHIA	400	434	109
CHICAGO	1,500	1,594	106
MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL	1,200	1,210	101
BUFFALO	1,500	1,506	100
LOS ANGELES	2,500	2,500	100
NEWARK	500	500	100
PITTSBURGH	30	30	100
ST. LOUIS	75	75	100
SEATTLE	450	450	100
Flint	250	230	92
Cleveland	350	305	87
Boston	550	458	82
Milwaukee	400	315	79
Allentown	60	45	75
Youngstown	450	328	73
New York	4,500	3,081	68
Oakland	250	137	55
San Francisco	1,900	446	45
Detroit	1,500	603	40
General	385	196	51
Total through Sept. 16	\$18,000	\$14,615	81

## 10 Branches Complete Their Drive for Funds

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager

This week's contributions from Socialist Workers Party branches to the Party-Building and Publication Fund totaled \$1,922, the largest weekly total since the campaign began. The national total is now \$14,615 or 81% of the \$18,000 goal.

Minneapolis-St. Paul, Buffalo, Los Angeles and Seattle crossed the finish line, making a total of 10 branches now sharing the 100% honors. Several of the branches which have not yet fulfilled their quotas have asked for an extension in an effort to reach their goals. The campaign is being extended, therefore, to Oct. 15.

Akron still tops the scoreboard with 117% but some of the other branches are vying for first place. Philadelphia, for instance, topped its score to 109%, commenting: "We are doing our best to keep sending money for the fund in view of the picture nationally."

Chicago hit 106% with an \$84 contribution and speaks of sending "another check tomorrow."

Minneapolis-St. Paul scored 101%: "We are all in good spirits up here and quite pleased with our accomplishment in the fund campaign."

Buffalo: "This \$160 puts us over the top!"

Los Angeles: "\$572.55 enroute."

Credit L. A. \$2,500 in full and on time."

Seattle: "In full and on time. Placing \$77 in mails for balance of our \$450 pledge."

Some of the branches not yet 100% are working hard to complete their quotas. Flint sent in \$115 "which leaves only \$20 to go."

Cleveland forwarded \$65, of which \$25 "was raised at a house party attended by 20 people." Comrade Jean says that "We'll try to go over."

Boston made a \$74 gain; Milwaukee \$113. H. Mahler writes: "All responsible comrades are going to do everything possible to realize our pledge of \$400. But it is going to mean a great deal of hard work."

Youngstown added \$111 to its score. New York \$253.

L. S., a friend of the Socialist Workers Party in the South, sent \$3 to be credited to "General's" quota.

Two friends in Ohio contributed \$15, explaining: "We had a two-month layoff and got our first check just in time for school clothes, so will try to send more later."

## "They Were Afraid to Print My Book"

(Continued from page 1)

be sure that the majority of those who think are hopeful that the final decision concerning your case will be a favorable one for you — and for this country."

### "CRUEL BUT TRUE"

"Certainly your situation is worthy of more public attention than it has been given; personally I would agree with you and those who have come to your defense that there is a great deal of injustice and hysteria involved not only in your specific case but in the fact that these sort of things are happening today. . . . All in all, it does not seem that any purpose would be served by publication of this manuscript in book form; after all, few people other than those who already know and sympathize would be sufficiently aware of or interested in the matter to pay their money for a full book on the subject. This is undoubtedly cruel but true."

"We have read your story and were rather impressed by it. Although your presentation is a bit rough in spots, it seems to me that you might have a publishable book here. However, it is not the sort of book with which (X) as publishers have had any marked degree of success, and we are taking the liberty of sending it over to our colleagues. The (Y) Company, who are better equipped to promote to the best advantage a book of this sort. You will be hearing directly

from Mr. (Z) of that organization." And later Mr. (Z) wrote: "We have read it with great interest and sympathy. After giving the matter considerable thought, however, we have very reluctantly concluded that we cannot justify its publication on commercial grounds."

### OTHER REASONS?

I couldn't help wondering why they had turned me down. I have no author's pride, and know that many literary faults can be found with my book. But as a reader of books I know that many are published which are not at all superior to mine in style or human interest — to say nothing of the importance of theme. I noticed that if I wanted to, I could easily call several "blurbs" from the publishers' letters of the kind that are often printed on the back of books.

I also thought it odd that although most of the replies related to the need for a market, none of them displayed the slightest interest in questioning my statement that there already was a substantial market for the book among the many organizations that had supported my fight for reinstatement. So I decided to personally visit some of the publishers and editors who had written me to try to find out what they really thought. I saw five editors and publishing company officials altogether.

One told me: "I was quite interested when I saw the title —

it looked like it might be a myst. ery with a new twist. It had me fooled for a few minutes." Our discussion made it clear that his only interest was profit-making — he did not even pretend to be interested in performing public services — and that he had a very low conception of the intelligence of the people who bought his books.

I told him maybe the people would buy less trashy books if the publishers would offer them with the same crusading zeal and advertising that they expend on their present wares. But he was not impressed.

### A FRANK REPLY

Another man said: "I'll be frank with you. With some expert editing, such as we can provide, I think your book would be publishable, and two-three years ago we might have been willing to take a chance on it. Not expecting that it would make a lot of money, you understand, but to fill out our list and reach a certain portion of the public. But things have begun to change since the Korean war, and now with the election (of Eisenhower), they are altogether different. I tell you frankly I wouldn't take the chance even if your book was five times as good as it is and even if it meant a decent profit."

He was not reticent about the reason, although he said he would not admit it publicly, and would deny having said it:

"Sooner or later McCarthy or those other congressional com-

mittees are going to start in on the publishing business. Hollywood, Broadway, the schools, the unions — sooner or later, they will go to work on us. And no publisher today wants to be put on the spot and smeared for publishing any book that can be labeled as radical. You can call it cowardly if you want to, but I call it caution and common sense. I don't want censorship any more than you do, and the cleaner our skirts are, the less chance there is that those committees will be able to do lasting damage to our business."

I thanked him for his honesty, and pointed out that self-censorship could be just as harmful and destructive in the long run as outside censorship. But he thought this view was impractical, idealist and unbusinesslike, and assured me that if I had as much to lose as he did I would feel the same way.

### ONE OF THE ELEMENTS

Convinced that this fear must have been at least one of the elements in some of the rejections I had received, and knowing that there was nothing I could do to overcome such a fear, I gave up hope of getting the book accepted by any commercial firm in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Only one company of the 36 I sent the manuscript to offered to print it — Pioneer Publishers,

whose aim is to spread the truth, not to make money. But their shortage of funds meant a long delay in publication. So I sent the thing off to a new company in Britain, New Park Publications Ltd., which accepted it at once. An arrangement was made for Pioneer to handle the American distribution.

Thus my efforts to get the book published — and read — fall into the framework of the same civil liberties fight as my effort to reverse the "loyalty" purge and recover the job that was taken away from me because of my political opinions and associations.

### I ASK YOUR HELP

That is why I hope that the readers of The Militant will join me in a campaign to break through the mounting tide of reaction and censorship and enable this book to get the audience that its subject merits.

Thanks to the economies effected by the publisher, The Case of the Legless Veteran, which is of normal book length (about 20,000 words), will be sold here for only \$1. This extremely low price, plus its attractive format, will make mass sales of the book possible if enough people take a real interest in it and push it.

Those publishers claimed that their chief concern was the lack of a market for this book. I'm still betting that they don't know any more about this question than they do about a lot of others.



## Time to Resign!

By Jean Blake

The resignation of Martin Durkin from his post as Secretary of Labor for the Eisenhower Administration last week, coupled with the GOP's latest insults to Negro Americans, puts on top of the agenda the question: When are Negro leaders going to say "We're through! No more covering up for a Jim Crow government!"

For almost nine months the Negro leaders, like the labor leaders, kept giving the new administration the "benefit of the doubt" as to what its policies would be on discrimination and other social issues. They waited, less and less patiently, while important posts were being handed out to bankers, businessmen, and other outright opponents of any kind of reforms. But they swallowed their chagrin and kept pleading for crumbs.

Now that appointments have reached the bottom of the trough, the administration has acted: It has slapped the Negro people in the face, first with the front, then the back of the hand.

The Agriculture Department made it absolutely clear who decides government policy when, on Sept. 4, it announced reversal of its previously stated policy requiring private bankers to sign anti-discrimination clauses before taking part in the government's price-support program.

The clause that Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina and the rest of the viciously reactionary Southern Bourbons objected

to required bankers handling price-support loans for the CCC to promise not to discriminate against any bank employees or job applicants because of race, creed or color.

The South cracked the whip, and John H. Davis, president of the Commodity Credit Corp. of the government, promptly notified the bankers: "We can now advise you that . . . the inclusion of the clause is unnecessary."

"There appears to be no practical reason for departing from past departmental practices of writing lending agency agreements without a non-discrimination provision."

At the same time, as though to underscore the class nature of the government, Eisenhower appointed Louis B. Toomer, Georgia Negro banker, to a post with no meaning but a political pay-off — Register of the Treasury in Washington.

Then this minion of his white capitalist masters — who had been begging for the post of customs collector for the port of Savannah but settled for the lesser post Senator George of Georgia would let him have — told the press:

This appointment shows "what the G.O.P. thinks of the Negro compared to what the Democrats thought."

"It goes great ways to show that the party appreciates the vote and help of the Negro race."

The Toomer appointment was the back of the hand. It's time to resign!

## "Rome -- Eleven O'Clock"

By Trent Hutter

The Italians have produced another excellent motion picture in the realistic style they developed after World War II. "Rome -- Eleven O'Clock" is based upon a story that actually happened in the Italian capital in 1951. It eloquently accuses a social order — shouldn't we rather say disorder? — that degrades and kills human beings despite their willingness to work hard and live decently.

There are millions of unemployed in Italy. . . A typist's job is advertised in a newspaper. To be the first one there, a young girl spends part of the night on the street in front of the building. Morning sees a gathering crowd of girls and women who need the job desperately.

The door is opened and they jam into the building — about 300 women and girls, each hoping to get that job. Yet the firm needs only one person. . . When a young woman by-passes the line, commotion breaks out on the staircase on which 200 or 300 persons are standing. Suddenly the staircase collapses.

Many are injured; one girl fatally.

The police inquire into the cause of the accident. Who is guilty? The landlord who may have neglected the necessary repairs? The architect who may have miscalculated the staircase's strength but couldn't foresee, on the other hand, that so many people would be standing on it simultaneously? The accountant who was to interview the applicants and didn't foresee how many might crowd the staircase? The superintendent's wife who made them wait on the stairs because she didn't want the corridors to be blocked? Or the desperate young woman who did not wait her turn and thus created the turmoil?

This young woman feels guilty. Her feeling of guilt increases when she learns that one of the injured girls has died at the hospital. But is she really a criminal? The police official who conducts the investigation doesn't think so. And we don't either. She made a mistake because the suspense became unbearable — because she was weaker than the others. But a criminal? No.

And the landlord, the architect, the super's wife, the accountant? They probably made some mistake or another, a serious mistake perhaps. But is any one of them clearly responsible for the accident? The official says no. He closes the inquiry without indicting anybody.

Asked by a reporter, "Who is guilty?" he merely shrugs his shoulders. He feels where the guilt lies, but he is a policeman and cannot say what he thinks about the case. . .

It is the capitalist system that is guilty, for it forced 300 women to compete and almost fight each other on a staircase for one miserable, underpaid job.

The movie also takes us into the lives of some of the girls and women who needed the job, their problems, their families, the men they love. . . It shows not only the humiliation and harshness they face in life but their human qualities, their courage, their basic decency. . . But it refuses to spread any Hollywood-type illusions about relief from poverty under capitalism.

At the end we again see the young girl spotlighted at the beginning, again waiting in the night in front of the same sinister building. That job hasn't been filled yet, after all. . .

## Notes from the News

**AFL PLUMBERS PRESIDENT** Martin P. Durkin played out to the bitter end his miserable role of window dressing for the union-hating Republican administration. His letter of resignation as Secretary of Labor made no reference to disagreement over Taft-Hartley policy as the precipitating cause of his break with Eisenhower. "I didn't want to be interpreted that I was trying to pressure him to carry out the agreement" on amending the T-H Law, Durkin told the press afterward. Although he sent his resignation to Eisenhower on Aug. 31, it was not effective until Sept. 9. This prevented it from being a topic for discussion on Labor Day. Even after his resignation had been accepted and made public, Durkin made no unfavorable reference to Eisenhower and declined to label the administration as "unfair to labor" when the question was put to him point-blank.

**POPE PIUS XII** seems to fear that in any mind open to reason the dogmas of Catholicism cannot resist the attractiveness of the theories of scientific socialism. In a letter Sept. 12, the head of the powerful and enormously wealthy hierarchy warned priests who discard their robes and rub shoulders with workers both inside and outside factories to be particularly careful not to become "dupes" of Marxism and other social theories that the Catholic Church condemns. One of the pillars of feudalism in the Dark Ages, the hierarchy today approves capitalism, particularly under such political forms as General Franco has imposed on the people in fascist Spain.

**THE TRENTON SIX CASE** is not yet dead. Ralph Cooper, last of the Trenton Six still in prison, has been granted a parole after "confessing" that the police-dictated "confessions" used in the famous trial to frame up the victims under a murder charge, were "true." But a Negro doctor who testified for the defense is still being persecuted. The physician, Dr. J. Minor Sullivan 3rd of Trenton, testified that two of the six defendants appeared to be drugged when he examined them after police had tortured "confessions" out of them. For this expert testimony, he was indicted on grounds

of "perjury." The case went to the N. J. Supreme Court. This body took its stand on the side of Jim Crow justice Sept. 14 when it announced refusal to hear the doctor's appeal.

**ESCALATOR WAGE ADJUSTMENTS**, in effect in Australia since 1913, were abolished by the Commonwealth Arbitration Court Sept. 13. Begun on an annual basis, the nation-wide adjustment of basic wages to changes in the cost of living was shifted in 1922 to a quarterly basis. The court action, a victory for employers follows a wave of witch hunting having much in common with the witch hunt that has plagued America since 1947.

**A NEW SALES TAX** in Pennsylvania may be a preview of the one the Eisenhower administration is planning for the entire United States. Coal to keep the home fires burning is taxed, but coal for the boss' factory is exempt. Other wrinkles include exemptions for fur coats but a tax on neckties and garters. Pennsylvania is the 34th state to impose a sales tax.

**"THE FARMER AND THE TELEPHONE,"** a color film produced by the government that shows how farmers organized co-ops to get phone service and which was withdrawn by the Eisenhower administration under pressure from the telephone trust, may be viewed despite the ban. The National Farmers Union made the film available through its Madison office. The Wisconsin farmers said: "We don't believe in censorship, bookburning, and destruction of valuable educational material prepared for the benefit and use of taxpayers. . . We believe Wisconsin farm taxpayers, who now struggle with poor antiquated telephones, have a right to know how to go about improving this means of communication."

**WHEN KIDS WON'T TAKE CANDY.** Sgt. James D. Tesso, of Tacoma, Wash., reported that North Korean children were unresponsive to friendly advances by the G.I.s. So embittered were they that they refused candy: "The kids threw it right back at us." Tesso reported, "One piece hit me in the head."

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## OHIO WITCH HUNTERS LEVEL SIGHTS ON AKRON

By L. Cooper

AKRON, Sept. 13 — In Columbus last week, the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission gathered "testimony" in preparation for a red-baiting, witch-hunting invasion of Akron "within 30 days."

The witnesses were two renegades from the Communist Party and a professional stool pigeon who admitted joining the Communist Party on instructions of the Goodyear Rubber and Tire Company during the strike of 1936.

"There had been a lot of trouble and violence and Ferguson (Police Chief at Goodyear at the time) and Kidney (safety director of Goodyear at the time) came to me and asked if I could find out about subversive activities and I did," Ralph Kern, the stoolie, pointed out. "Did you have any previous experience in this kind of work?"

The Commission Chairman Isaacs asked him, "Yes, during the First World War Goodyear officials had asked me to check on the FWW," Kern stated.

Thus a professional labor spy who was used during the unionization efforts of the Wobblies after the strike of 1913 was an inside finger man against militant unionists during the crucial Goodyear rubber strike of 1936.

The three witnesses listed 52 alleged former and present members of the Communist Party in Akron, and the Commission announced that it would subpoena those named, at its hearing in Akron.

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