Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVII - No. 13 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, MARCH 30, 1953 | PRICE: 10 CENTS

THE CREEPING WITCH-HUNT DISEASE

(See Editorial Page 3)

Union Democracy Under Attack by Reuther in UAW

By C. Thomas

ATLANTIC CITY, March 24 — The Fourteenth Constitutional Convention of the CIO United Automobile Workers opened here last Sunday with the program of the Reuther administration already outlined in advance at a series of pre-convention conferences. These conferences, actually caucus meetings of administration supporters, were organized to carry through this program at the convention.

The main objectives of UAW President Walter P. Reuther were:

(1) To divert the attention of the auto workers from their most immediate and pressing problems by dazzling them with the promise of economic security through the establishment of a guaranteed annual wage clause in the next union contract.

(2) To ward off opposition criticism by launching a fierce offensive against the leadership of Ford Local 600 which has spearheaded the opposition attack against the Reuther administration.

(3) To strengthen the bureaucratic apparatus and thereby further weaken union democracy and control of the union leadership and policies by the rank and file.

(4) Last, and by no means least, to further the foreign policy of the U.S. State Dept. by helping to extend and intensify the fight against "communism" on the international arena.

CAREFULLY STAGED

The convention was carefully staged to achieve these objectives. Visiting dignitaries played assigned roles, and the timing and content of their speeches were tailored to meet Reuther's needs.

Thus, the convention's action on Reuther's international policy resolutions was preceded by an address by Dr. Ralph Bunche, United Nations Director of the Department of Trusteeship, a talk by Ernst Reuter, Mayor of West Berlin, and an agitational harangue by Victor Reuther, CIO representative in Europe just returned from abroad. They all helped whip up anti-communist sentiment.

Victor Reuther related the difficulties he faced, especially in France and Italy, in trying to wean away sections of the Stalinist controlled trade unions. One of the greatest difficulties was the attitude of the French and Italian employers. The workers' standard of living, he related, is unbelievably low. Yet the employers stubbornly resist raising wages and thereby, he complained, they play into the hands of the "communists."

He cited an incident involving a group of French workers in one plant who had broken away from the Stalinist-controlled labor federation and joined the "free" trade union movement. These workers in this plant were forced to go on strike, but were finally starved into submission and forced back on the employers' terms. Result: The workers abandoned their "free" union and reaffiliated with the Communist Party-controlled federation, which represents the large majority of the union movement in France.

The French government is apparently no more cooperative than the employers. Victor Reuther flayed the French government for adding to his difficulties by jailing, shooting and murdering labor leaders in Tunisia and elsewhere in the French colonial empire. The answer? We've got to have more money, says Victor Reuther, to finance the "free" unions, to publish papers and leaflets to convince the European workers that their main enemy is "agressive communism." Following Victor Reuther's report the convention adopted Walter Reuther's resolution contributing an additional $50,000 to aid in continuing the job of splitting the European trade union movement for the benefit of the French agents of American imperialism.

ANNUAL WAGE

A speech by guest speaker David J. McDonald, president of the CIO United Steel Workers union, was intended, first, to scotch the rumor of an impending

(Continued on page 4)

ROBERT E. MORGAN

SWP Candidates In Los Angeles Score Korea War

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, March 22 — The Socialist Workers Party program against the witch hunt and for withdrawal of American troops from Korea reached an estimated 75,000 people here when Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate for mayor on the SWP program, appeared March 15 on TV station KNBH along with her four opponents. The interviews with the candidates will continue over the same station for the next three Sundays.

Robert E. Morgan, running mate of Mrs. Weiss as the candidate for the Board of Education on the SWP platform, is also stepping up his campaign. He is appearing before an increasing number of unions and other bodies to present the socialist point of view.

In her TV interview, Mrs. Weiss clearly revealed her great superiority over the other mayoralty candidates. All five candidates were asked the same questions but were placed in different rooms so they did not know each other's answers. The questions related to smog control, the inadequate transit system, dope traffic and the proposal to increase the mayor's salary. While the other four candidates offered only to set up more committees to investigate the first three problems, the SWP candidate exposed the role of Big Business and showed how its financial interests were involved and prevented a solution of these problems.

On the question of salary raises, the others hedged, but were obviously in favor of raises for themselves, since they hoped to be elected. Mrs. Weiss strongly advocated reduction of salaries of public officials to the pay level of average workers.

At the Laurel Canyon Town meeting, a neighborhood group which invited all mayoralty candidates, the representative of Mr. Poulson asked for more alloted time to answer political issues raised by Mrs. Weiss, intimating she was unfair in speaking on national issues rather than sticking solely to local matters. The

(Continued on page 4)

Secret Conference Held On New Korea Offensive

Stay Eviction In Kutcher Housing Case

NEWARK, March 23 — Superior Court Judge Walter J. Freund last Thursday issued a restraining order preventing the Newark Housing Authority from evicting tenants who failed to sign "loyalty" oaths required by the federal Gwinn amendment, pending a ruling by the judge on the constitutionality of that witch-hunt law.

The restraining order was sought by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of James Kutcher, legless veteran; his father, Hyman; and Harry L. Lawrence, a teacher. It also applies to the other tenants in federal housing projects here who did not sign the oath certifying that they and their families do not belong to any group on the U.S. Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist.

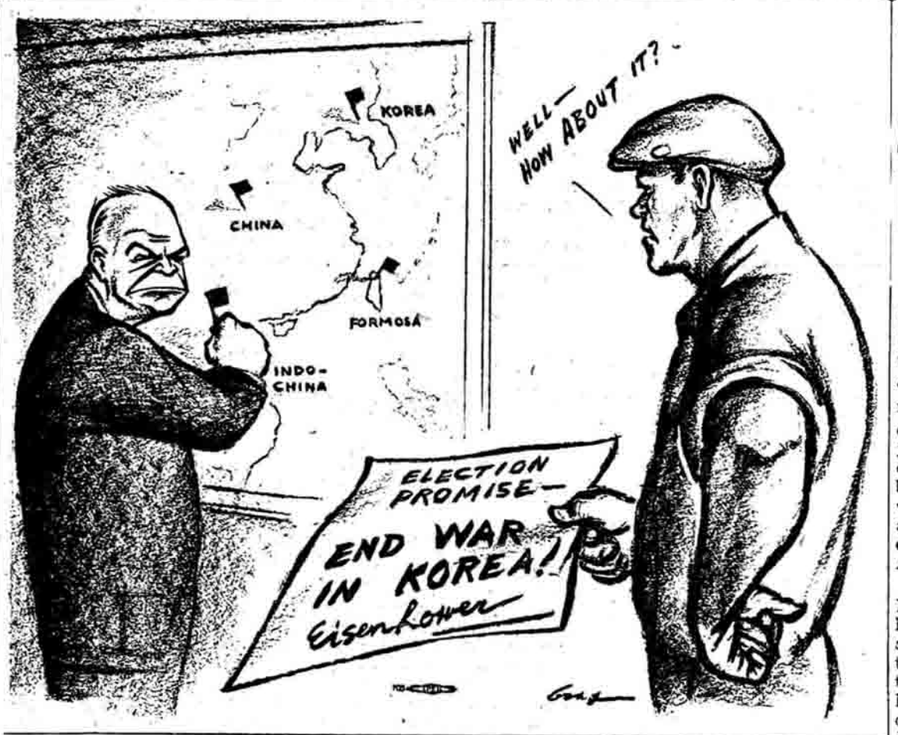
Judge Freund's restraining order was issued three days after the U.S. Supreme Court rejected a request for a special federal court hearing on the constitutionality of the oath. The request was made by the International Workers Order, one of the groups arbitrarily included on the Attorney General's list.

The effect of the Supreme Court action was to send the IWO's case back to the state courts in New York for decision before it can be heard by the federal courts. The pretext for this delay is that the oath is supposed to be enforced by local housing authorities.

Since the Kutcher-Lawrence case is already before a state court, it is most likely to become the first to reach the federal courts and to serve as the precedent for all federal housing projects.

However, there is no telling when Judge Freund will make his ruling on the constitutional issue, which he said he will not consider until the tenants have shown in court that the threat of eviction came from their failure to sign the oath.

The whole city of Newark knows that this was the reason for the eviction notices. But the Newark Housing Authority took the position that it has the right to evict at any time and for any cause that it chooses, and that it happens to want to evict the Kutchers and Lawrences entirely aside from their stand on the oath. This legalistic flim-flam may delay the constitutional ruling further.



War Moves Made Amid Peace Talk

By Art Preis

Eisenhower has buried his campaign promises on ending the Korean war deeper than the gold at Fort Knox. To questions on his Korea plans he returns a frigid silence. But that dosn't mean the Administration is just marking time. There is ominous evidence that plans are being considered for extending the war in the Far East and opening an offensive in Korea that might cost more scores of thousands of American casualties.

The Wall Street Journal of March 23 reports that the Eisenhower Administration "is holding a new series of secret meetings to decide quickly whether or not to make a major drive in Korea late this summer or fall." The big objection to the drive, says the Journal, is "the enormous cost in U.S. casualties." The offensive, even if successful, would not be designed to end the war or make possible the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Korea, but to "show the Reds and Asia our power."

That Eisenhower hasn't the slightest plans or prospects for ending the Korean war is further confirmed by Gen. Mark Clark, U.S. Commander in the Far East, who on March 20 said flatly there are "no indications" — "none whatsoever" — of an early end to the fighting in Korea.

INDO-CHINA WAR

Instead, Gen. Clark's visit to Indo-China last week raised the grave threat of more active U.S. participation in the Indo-China war. Clark said that his forces in Korea and the French in Indo-China are fighting "one war." His mission to Indo-China is of the "highest importance," reported the N. Y. World-Telegram, because "Washington rates the French war strategically equal to Korea . . . the potential U.S. commitment there is as great as the actual one in Korea. . ."

While these secret war discussions and moves are afoot, U.S. war provocations are becoming flagrant. **Sen. Ralph E. Flanders (R., Vt.) has flatly accused the Air Force of giving the American people a "false report" on the incident involving an exchange of shots between an American and a Soviet plane just 25 miles off Russian Kamchatka.**

NO "WEATHER MISSION"

The Senator gave the lie to the story that the U.S. plane had been so close to Soviet territory on a "weather mission" and asserted: "That reconnaissance bomber just was not there on weather business." He added that "the Russians appear to have been discreet in warning it off. Had we done the same thing to a Russian plane 25 miles off the coast of California it would have been considerate treatment indeed."

He accused the Air Force of trying to represent the incident as an act of Soviet "aggression" and said the Air Force "was guilty, in effect, of waging psychological warfare on the people of the U.S."

It is against this background of war provocations and threats of intensified war in the Far East that we must view Eisenhower's latest "peace" talk and maneuvers. The events throw grave suspicion on the motives of the generals and business men running Washington even if a "peace" meeting between U.S. and Soviet leaders should eventuate.

The American people can have not one iota of confidence in the peaceful intent of the Eisenhower regime. The only way to ensure a stop to the Korean war, as Eisenhower promised, is to raise an irresistably powerful organized popular demand: **Withdraw the troops from Korea now.**

BOLIVIAN WORKERS PARTY GREETS N.Y. SOLIDARITY MEETING; ASKS AID

NEW YORK, March 26 — The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party today received a message of greetings from the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) of Bolivia to be read at a meeting tomorrow night called to express solidarity with the revolution of workers and peasants in Bolivia. The text of the message is as follows:

The POR sends its warm revolutionary greetings, through its comrades of the Socialist Workers Party, to the American working class and asks it to unconditionally support the Bolivian revolution, whose complete victory will permit the destruction of the shameful oppression of rapacious Yankee imperialism and of the feudal exploitation that the peasants suffer.

We ask the American workers to mobilize in order to neutralize the reactionary pressure exerted by the Eisenhower government upon the new Bolivian Government, product of the first victory of the exploited. The Eisenhower government, representing the big trusts interested in unleashing the Third World War, seeks to destroy the nationalization of the mines and to continue the persecution of the left revolutionary parties and of the trade union movement.

An end to the economic sabotage of the Bolivian revolution!

A final end to the diplomatic pressure by the puppet governments of imperialism!

Respect the will of the workers and peasants and let them choose the form of government that best suits their interests!

An end to the demand for "just" indemnification to Wall Street investors as a prior condition to signing a contract for the sale of tin from the nationalized mines!

The workers of the U.S. well know that by fighting for the defense of the Bolivian revolution, since it is a national liberation movement, they are fighting for their own emancipation.

Brothers of America: Fight for respect of the firm desire of the exploited Bolivian people to constitute a government in the service of the Bolivians!

Workers of the imperialist metropolis: We are reviving the traditions of the international proletariat whose living incarnation was Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

From the high Bolivian plateau, we ask the workers of the U.S. to fraternize with the exploited Bolivians and to fight with us to destroy imperialism which threatens to drag humanity into the most brutal slaughter and barbarism.

Finally, the POR sends its fraternal greetings to the self-sacrificing fighters of the SWP, the genuine and sole revolutionary vanguard of the American workers.

Down with Yankee imperialism!

Long live the final victory of the Workers and Peasants!

Long live the international proletariat!

Terror Continues In Fascist Spain

Political terror continues in Fascist Spain. Latest arrests by Franco's police were 12 members of the Socialist Party. When one man sought by the police could not be found, his wife — mother of three children — was thrown in prison as a hostage.

Trade unions are outlawed in Spain but exist underground. Many union members have been arrested during the past few months.

Chicago Takes Lead In Militant Sub Drive

The first week of the **Militant** subscription campaign closes with a gain of 51 six-months subs and 29 one-year subs. Even better results are expected as the campaign gets underway and picks up speed in the areas where comrades got off to a slow start due to bad weather and other unavoidable delays.

Chicago Militant salesmen are at the top of the list this week with 806 points. The **Twin Cities** follow closely with 728 points, and **New York** is third with a score of 468. (The scoring system gives 52 points for a one year sub, 26 points for a six months sub, and one point for each single copy.)

Ray M. of **Minneapolis** is the pace-setter so far in the campaign with 210 points to his credit. **Howard A.** of **Chicago** runs him a close second with 208; and **Bob H.**, also of Chicago, has 187 points.

Literature Agent **Jacki Booth** describes some of the activity of the Chicago salesmen which has put them in first place. "All of the comrades are active and enthusiastic," she writes, "each developing a mode of operation they are most comfortable in, such as door to door work in projects, etc. The response of subscribers also has been encouraging, some wanting to know why we haven't been around sooner.

"One comrade has suggested a selling point that has been overlooked — when you buy a sub to **The Militant** you are also buying an 'in' to social functions, picnics, lectures, educationals, etc. Another point is going back on a route, visiting those people who bought single copies each week, and eventually leading up to the sale of a sub."

St. Paul Literature Agent **Winifred Nelson** writes, "The Twin Cities are off to a good start in the **Militant** campaign. We are getting in the spirit of friendly competition too. We have three teams, two in Minneapolis and one in St. Paul; and we have set 1,200 points as the goal for each team, or a total of 3,600 points for the Twin Cities. And we hope to go over the top!

"Our team in St. Paul, of course, has plans afoot to come out on top, as usual. We have designed special stationery for use in our campaign reports, and letters to friends and comrades about the campaign. And since we have such classy stationery, we are calling ourselves the Classy Strugglers, our team name. Other publicity for the campaign includes a beautiful large scoreboard designed by **Ray** of Minneapolis for the Minnesota headquarters, with thermometers for each team registering the points and a listing of the pacesetters."

Dan Roberts reports **Seattle's** first results in the campaign. He writes, "We went out last Sunday on house to house work and on recall. **Melba, Clara,** and I sold 11 **Militants** in a white working class neighborhood. Melba and Clara got very good responses and plan to keep going back each week to the same people as well as continued 'mining' of the territory. **George** sold six copies in another district and has several possibilities for subs. He also sold nine copies at his regular station at Shorters forum. **Sally** also has a promise for a sub. **John** sold one sub and **Frank** sold two on the job."

Guatemala: 8-Year Revolt Moves Left

By Harry Frankel

Testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee just before he took office as Republican Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles gave clear expression to Wall Street's haunting fear of the colonial people enslaved by American imperialism in its own backyard:

"I have a feeling that the conditions in South America, Latin America, are somewhat comparable as to the conditions as they were in China in the mid-'30s when the Communist movement was getting started; they were beginning to develop the hatred of the American and the Britisher, but we didn't do anything adequate about it. It went on and on, and then finally it came to a climax in 1949.

MAY GO LIKE CHINA

"Well," Dulles continued, "if we don't look out, we will wake up some morning and read in the newspapers that there happened in South America the same kind of thing that happened in China in '49. . ."

Latin America may go the way of China! That is the fear that is beginning to hover over U.S. capitalist heads. The great gains of peasant and worker revolt, the clear-cut signs of the spread of mass radicalization under left leadership, the signs of the process of **permanent revolution** moving from one stage to the next are responsible for this fear. Two particular cases where the revolution has advanced further than anywhere else in Latin America, Bolivia and Guatemala, raise these fears to extreme alarm.

In Bolivia, a revolutionary movement based upon the tin miners and led by the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party, section of the 4th International) is lifting that country out of the ageless muck of semi-feudal tyranny toward a socialist future. In Guatemala, an agrarian revolt allied with the city working class, and led by an unstable combination of capitalist liberals and the Communist Party, is going through protracted first stages of a colonial revolt intermixed with revolt against a semi-feudal land system. It is this revolt which we shall undertake to describe and analyse in the following series of articles.

* * *

The present Guatemala Revolution began in 1944. Guatemala is a semi-colonial land of about 3 million inhabitants, the most populous of the Central American states, which depends for its livelihood chiefly upon the cultivation of coffee and bananas. The nation has been domiated by foreign capital in the form of German capitalists, who prior to the last war controlled more than one-third of coffee production, and three giant American corporations, the United Fruit Co., International Railways of Central America which is a United Fruit subsidiary, and American & Foreign Power. These three companies account at present for almost all direct foreign investment in Guatemala. They operate under concessions that were given to them by old-time dictatorships which they dominated, allowing them extremely low taxes or in some cases no taxes at all. The Int'l R'ways Co., for example, has an extremely loose operating concession that is due to run until 2009 A.D.

UFCO AMBASSADOR

The United Fruit Company, giant exploiter of the nation, in 1951 pulled down a net profit, after taxes, equal to one-third of its investment! At this rate the Guatemalan people could consider themselves quits with the company after 3 or 4 years, but that company has been riding their backs for more than 50 years. A 1935 book called "The Banana Empire," co-authored by a man who had been a UFCO executive for 16 years and would be in a position to know, said "this powerful company has throttled competitors, dominated governments, manacled railroads, ruined planters, choked cooperatives, domineered workers, fought organized labor, exploited consumers." UFCO is so powerful that in the event of a strike it can and does blockade the nation, like a state power. It owns the docks, railroads and shipping facilities that connect Guatemala with the outside world. Samuel Guy Inman, a journalist, reports that the last President of Guatemala, Juan Jose Arevelo, told him that: "you have not had here ambassadors of the United States but ambassadors of the United Fruit Company."

AN EXPLOITED PEOPLE

The population of Guatemala according to racial divisions consists of 65% Indians, 31% mestizos — mixed Indian and white — 3% Negroes and 1% whites. The Indians have been subjected to severe exploitation in the form of virtual peonage. "The land that was once theirs is now owned largely by persons who have grown rich from the Indians' labor. The Indians . . . have been and to a certain extent still are considered chattels." (N. Y. Times, June 7, 1951.) Three-quarters of the population lives from agriculture, but only 2% of the people owned almost three-fourths of the land before the start of the present land reform.

Almost half the total farm population are farm laborers, not farm owners. More than 20% of these are children under fourteen, more than 22% are women. The average weekly consumption of food per farm worker has been only about a pound of beans, one-fifth of a liter of milk, and half an egg. The biggest part of the population was kept totally illiterate by the dictatorships that ruled the country up to 1944. The present Guatemala ambassador, Dr. Guillermo Toriello, in a speech this February, described the condition of the farm population under General Ubico, the last of

(Continued on Page 4)

America's Future Under the Workers' Rule

By James P. Cannon

(The following is the second half of a lecture, the fifth in a series on "America's Road to Socialism," given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum, Jan. 16, 1953. The first half of this lecture appeared in last week's Militant.)

* * *

The aim of the workers government from the very start will be to increase production, eliminate waste and improve the living standards of the people. And it will have to make good on this solid, practical ground. It will not be enough to say in government bulletins: "The new regime is morally superior to the old one. The new officials are more honest than the others." All this will be perfectly true, but, by itself, will not suffice. The new regime will stand or fall, like all social systems in history, by this basic criterion: Does it raise and improve the productivity of labor, or does it turn it backward? The new regime will have to "deliver the goods."

The American people will not be satisfied with official propaganda. They are from Missouri and they will say: "Show me." They will want better homes and furniture; more and better food and clothes; more tickets to good shows and circuses. Every citizen will want his own automobile and a good five-cent cigar; maybe also, for all I know, a better supply of fine wines and liquors. The new government will have to produce and deliver all that; that will be its first aim. And that's why it will nationalize industry, and reorganize production according to a unified economic plan.

Will this be superior to the present system? Will production be increased with less waste? That's for sure. After the Russian experience there can't be the slightest doubt about it. Today American industry operates blindly, without a general plan. The sole incentive for the operation of each and every factory in this country is the private profit of the owners. There's no general coordination. There's no concern about what's going on in other industries or in other parts of the same industry. There's no concern about whether the people need this or that, or don't need it. The sole driving motive for the operation of each and every individual corporation is the private profit of the owners.

The decisions on production are made, not by consumers, what the people need and want; not by the workers, what the workers would like to make; not by scientists and technicians who know best of all, perhaps. The main decisions on production under capitalism — what shall be produced, how, where and when — are made by financial magnates remote from the factories, remote from the people, whose sole motive is profit in each case.

The Waste of the Profit System

What are the results of this system, which Marxists call the anarchy of capitalist production?

One result is wasteful competition. Another result is the preservation of obsolete machinery and methods, and the suppression of patents. Twenty years ago the Technocrats exposed the shocking fact that some of the most important patents for labor-saving methods and new processes are locked up in the safes of corporations. They bought the patents and suppressed them in order to prevent the development of more efficient methods by competitors which would render some present methods and products obsolete and reduce the profits they now make.

Consider the waste represented by the profits that go to non-producers, social parasites. That is absolute waste. All the huge share of the product of American labor that goes to non-producers in the form of profits — the "surplus product" of labor for which no useful service is rendered — is all pure waste.

That's not all. Consider the waste of militarism and war. Just think of it! Sixty billion dollars a year wasted on the military budget at the present time, under the present system, which they say is the best in the world and the best that can ever be. Sixty billion dollars a year, wasted on military apparatus and preparation for war.

There is the waste of advertising, which is not only direct waste, but also irritation, which is another form of waste. You get so mad listening to the phoney commercials that it makes you nervous, sets you to quarreling with your wife and undermines your efficiency on the job. That's waste of human energy.

I would say, only ten percent of advertising is useful — that ten percent which comprises announcements, explanations of new processes and so on, which will be used under the new society. The other 90 percent of advertising is devoted to lying, ballyhoo; faking and conning the people, and trying to get them to favor one identical product over another, or to buy something they don't need and that won't do them any good, and then buy something else to overcome the effects. That is pure waste.

And then, there's another waste connected with advertising, as with so many other non-productive occupations — the waste of human material, which really shouldn't be squandered. Just think of all the people prostituting their personalities in the advertising racket. Writers concoct slick copy, artists draw false illustrations and radio announcers wheedle, deceive and lie to promote crooked advertising campaigns. That is a waste of human personality, causing neuroses based upon the justified conviction of the individual that he is an absolutely useless person.

There are millions of such people, engaged in all kinds of useless, non-productive occupations in this present society. Advertising is only one of them. Look at all the lawyers in this country. What are they good for? Look at all the landlords, lobbyists, salesmen, promoters, wardheelers, thieves and swindlers — the million-headed horde of non-productive people in all kinds of rackets, legitimate and illegitimate. What are they good for? What do they produce? All that is economic waste, inseparable from the present system.

Costliest of all the results of the anarchy of capitalist production is the waste of economic crises — the periodic shutting down of production because the market has been saturated and products cannot be sold at a profit. This is what they euphemistically call a "depression" — an unavoidable cyclical occurence under capitalism.

I wonder what the future man, the really civilized man, will think when he reads in his history books that there was once a society, long ago, where the people might be hungry for the products of farms and factories. And the workers in the factory might be eager to produce and needing the work so that they would live. But because the hungry people couldn't buy the products, the workers weren't allowed to work and produce them, and the factories were shut down, and agricultural production was artificially restricted.

What will the people of the future think of a society where the workers lived in constant fear of unemployment? There is hardly one sitting in this room tonight, I venture to say; there is hardly a worker anywhere who knows for sure whether he will have a job six months from now or not. He can work all his mature life, 40 or 50 years, and he's never free from that fear. His having a job depends, not on his willingness to work, nor on the need of the people for the products of his labor; it depends on whether the owners of the factories can find a market for the products and make a profit at a given time. If they can't, they shut down the factory, and that's all there is to it.

First Steps Under Workers' Rule

The workers government will put a stop to this monstrous squandering of the people's energies and resources, which is the direct result of the anarchy of capitalist production. Just by cutting out all this colossal waste — to say nothing of a stepped-up rate of productivity which would soon follow — the socialist reorganization of economy will bring about a startling improvement of the people's living standards.

SWP Nat'l Sec'y

JAMES P. CANNON

The first condition will be to eliminate all private profits of non-producers; to eliminate all conflicting interests of private owners of separate industries; to stop production for sale and profit and organize planned production for use.

When Marxists used to adumbrate the future along these lines, there was always some wise guy to say: "Ha! Blueprint! Utopia! It can't be done!" But that's precisely what has been done in the most backward of the capitalist countries, in Russia. First they nationalized industry. Then they set up a central plan, and by means of planned economy they eliminated the wastes of capitalism and developed production faster than any other country in the world, until they became the second industrial power. And now the same thing is being done in China and in Eastern Europe. It is no longer a speculative prospect. What has already been done in other countries, can and will be done in our own country.

As one of its first acts, the new workers government will appoint a central planning board to organize and regulate the entire economy of America according to one general comprehensive plan.

What will be the composition of this planning board? Certainly no loud-mouthed politicians, no bankers, no lawyers; I doubt whether there will be any preachers. But I would say, representatives of the unions, farm cooperatives, economists and statisticians, scientists, technicians and consumers will be appointed as a matter of course.

What will be the aims of the plan? The central planning board will concern itself with the problem of the maximum utilization of all the resources and productive capacities in the country for one single purpose, according to one single criterion: What the people want and need.

The new workers government, no doubt, will call in the atomic scientists and ask them to develop this new power for useful productive purposes. The prospect staggers the imagination. But from what has already been demonstrated in the field of destruction with the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb, we can easily recognize not only the possibility, but the probability, that the atomic scientists will show the economic planning board how to take this new discovery and put it to work for the production of power for peaceful uses. It is easily conceivable that the whole problem of power will be revolutionized. We can visualize a great system of power stations generated by atomic energy, taking the burden of labor from the shoulders of half a million coal miners and transferring it to atomic-powered machines.

Planning for People's Needs

All science will be pooled and directed to a single aim: production for the benefit of all — in agriculture as well as in industry. There will be a revolution in the production of food when the economic side of it is lifted out of this terrible backwardness of private ownership and operation for profit and handed over to the direction of agricultural scientists, seed specialists, soil experts and so on. They will go to work in earnest, unfettered by any private interest, and learn how to refertilize soil, and increase its yields. An army of chemists will be mobilized to attack all problems of economical and abundant food production. They will solve the problem of converting salt water into fresh water cheaply, and make the deserts bloom. One thing is absolutely certain, from what one can read of the scientific advances already made in this field and experiments in progress: The productivity of the farms, of the land, can be increased many times and there can be food in abundance for all.

There will be a great expansion of scientific and technical schools in this country where every talented youth will be entitled to go, free of charge at the expense of the state. The opportunity to acquire a scientific or technical education will not be simply a privilege of one whose father is well-to-do, but will be the natural inheritance of any talented young person who wants to pursue a line of science to serve the people.

Vast sums will be set aside for medical education, research and experiment. Not grudging donations, here and there, from conscience-stricken philanthropists; not the present stingy appropriations from dollar-conscious legislatures. Just take all the money we spend on militarism and wars, and try to imagine what could be done if we spent only a small part of it on a program for health; a program to educate more doctors, and to make the doctors better; to enable them to live better and to get out of the money-making "business," which most doctors are in, and attend to the business of healing the sick alone. The workers government, in its earliest period, will put a stop to this monstrous social crime of a shortage of doctors, while millions of ailing people go without proper medical attention.

The workers government will open up new medical schools and research laboratories and put vast sums at their disposal. No shaking of tin cans and asking people to "give a dime" to fight infantile paralysis. The government will appropriate billions and send an army of eager and devoted scientists into battle against polio, cancer, heart disease and other enemies of the human race. A comprehensive program for public health will come under the head, not only of humanity, and of morality, but also of economy. When the people's health is taken care of better they will be more productive at work, and more goods of all kinds will roll out of the factories and farms.

Super-Abundance Under Planning

We can say positively, on the basis of experience already accumulated under unfavorable conditions in the Soviet Union, that the early, the first, results of planned economy — eliminating all private profits and other waste, consciously employing more scientific methods, safeguarding the people's health — will be to double the present income of the workers, if they want to take it all. Or they may, and probably will, elect to take part of it to make a 50 per cent improvement in their living standards and devote the other 50 per cent to rebuilding and modernizing the factories and expanding the productive plant.

I'm not speaking now of the socialist society. I'm speaking of the first years, maybe of the first five-year plan of the workers government. The first five-year plan will work such miracles in the field of production as to raise the problem of "super-abundance," and what to do about it.

The result of super-abundance, or overproduction, as it is called, under the present system, is "depression": idle plants, and idle men; hunger; misery; homes broken up; children's education arrested; hopelessness for millions of people. The super-abundant production resulting from the operation of planned economy, very likely in the period of the first five-year plan, will appear to the people as a blessing, rather than a threat. They certainly will not even think of shutting down the factories and throwing people out of work.

The "problem" can be dealt with in various ways. The first and most natural reaction of the workers will be formulated in a question: "If we're all doing well and living good, producing more than we really need in an eight-hour day — then why the hell should we work so long?" This question will arise in the soviets of the workers in the shops at the bottom, and will be carried up through their delegates all the way to the top of the government.

And the logical answer will go along with the question: "Let's shorten the working day. Why should we work eight hours when we can produce all we need in four?" That may appear to be a simple answer to a complicated question. But many things will be simplified when the anarchy of capitalist production for profit is replaced by planned production for use.

That's only the beginning. You can count on a shorter work day, and there will still be abundance and super-abundance. Then another question will logically arise in the minds of the enlightened citizens of free and prosperous Soviet America. They will not be narrow-minded, ignorant and selfish isolationists, but will regard themselves as citizens of the world, concerned with all the affairs of the world and all its peoples, and will seek fraternal association with them on the basis of equality.

It goes without saying, that they will grant immediate independence to the Puerto Rican people and renounce all imperialistic privileges and concessions extorted from other peoples by the deposed capitalist regime.

They will go farther and say: "We've got human kinfolk in South America and Central America and in foreign lands, who haven't had the benefit of the great capitalist development of industry before they came to power. They're still working with inadequate machinery, tools and implements. Why shouldn't we help them to rise to our standards, not only as a simple act of human solidarity, but also to put a firmer foundation under the world system of socialist co-operation?"

The American workers will so decide, freely and voluntarily. I can see them doing that out of the generosity of spirit and the world outlook which the vision of socialism has given to them. I can see them deciding, freely and voluntarily, to work, say, an extra hour or two a day, for a certain period, to produce agricultural machinery, fertilizers, automobiles, trucks, machines to make machines, and other things to speed up the industrialization of the undeveloped countries. And this will not be a loan or a piddling "Point 4" with strings attached. They will simply say to their kinfolk in less-favored lands: "This is a little donation from the workers of the Socialist United States of America to help you catch up with us, and put a firmer foundation under the Socialist United States of the World."

"Missionaries" will be sent along with the machinery; not sky-pilots this time, flanked by soldiers, but scientists and technicians accompanied by doctors.

Such a gesture of solidarity, manifested practically in the voluntary labor of the workers for an extra hour or two a day, for a certain period, as a free donation to help industrialize Central and South America, Africa and Asia, will be one of the means whereby the workers in this country will take care of their "super-abundance" during the early period of the new workers government.

A New American Way of Life

The American way of life, which we hear a great deal about, will certainly begin to change under the workers government. The people will not occupy themselves only with the economic side of things. The government will consider the welfare of the people in all other respects too. Again, I'm not talking of socialism. I'm talking of the first period of the workers government in this country.

The government will enact a program of social legislation which will make the Roosevelt reforms appear as mere hand-outs in comparison. The new government will not offer a miserable pension to a worn-out work horse, if and when he reaches the age of 65, if he has worked steady all his life up to then. It will not offer the worker a small dole against absolute starvation when his factory shuts down without asking him what he thinks about it. No, the workers government will have nothing to do with such mockeries of social welfare.

In Soviet America — from the beginning of the workers government, without waiting for the full development of socialism — no child, not one, will be born under a cloud of fear as to whether he is going to have enough to eat or not; or dependent upon whether his parents are in good health; or if they have some accident; or if the old man falls out of work.

By the law and the constitution the workers government will guarantee economic security to every child from the moment of birth. The right to live securely; to have his health taken care of; to be removed from all fears of unemployment, of poverty and of old age — will be automatically assured to every child by virtue of the fact that he was born in this country under a workers government. Not only a right to live and to have food and clothes and a snug roof provided; but to have education. Education, as much as he wants, and as much as his talent calls for. Each and every person, without any exception.

That will be a very simple and natural and easy thing to do, because Soviet America will have the means, the abundance, the booming productivity — and all this will be produced for use, for the benefit of all.

The system of planned economy under the workers government will provide the people with abundance, and what is no less important, the time to enjoy it and get the full good out of it. I have spoken of the four-hour day, but that would be only the beginning, the first step, which is more than possible with the productive machinery as it is today. But the productivity of labor under the new, more efficient system will be expanded all the time.

And since there will be no need to pile up profits for the benefit of non-producers; since there will be no need to find ways of wasting the surplus — the natural, logical and inevitable conclusion will simply be to cut down the hours of labor progressively to the time actually needed to produce what is needed. **The greatest boon, and the precondition for changing the American way of life into a truly humane, cultured, and civilized way of life, will accrue from the progressive shortening of the working day.**

When the workers first began to fight for the ten-hour day in this country — I read in my histories of the American labor movement — the employers put on a tremendous campaign against it. They argued on moral grounds — "morality" of the capitalists is always happily married to their profit interests. They said: "If you cut down the hours of labor, if the worker doesn't work 12 hours a day, he will spend all his spare time getting drunk. The workers need to be working from dawn to dusk in order to keep sober and keep out of trouble." That's what they said. We won't hear such arguments in the future. When people get accustomed to leisure, they soon learn what to do with it.

A Regime of Real Democracy

The citizen of Soviet America will gradually move into a new state of affairs where his main preoccupation is no longer his struggle for individual existence — as it is today — but what he is going to do with that wonderful gift of leisure, the greatest gift, I think, of all.

Leisure is the premise for all cultural development. Without leisure you have no rights. What's the use of being told you should do this, and you should do that, you should develop your mind and let your soul expand — when you're so preoccupied with work and trying to make a living and keep your family out of the poorhouse that you have no time for anything else? What you need is time! And for that you need an efficient system of planned economy to shorten the hours of necessary labor and give everyone the time and the leisure to think and reflect and loaf and invite his soul, as the poet said. A big start in this direction will be made already in the early period of the workers government.

The regime of the workers government in this country will be a democratic regime — democratic through and through. The abundance which the planned economy will provide for all, plus the time for leisure, for education and cultural development in general, will be the surest safeguards against a usurping bureaucracy, infringing on the rights and liberties of the people as is the case today in the Soviet Union.

When there is plenty for all, there is no material basis for a privileged bureaucracy and the danger, therefore, is largely eliminated. That will be the situation in rich and highly developed America under the workers' rule. From the very beginning, we will go in for real workers democracy in this country; because, among other things, democracy is not only better for ourselves, for our minds, and for our souls, but is also better for production. Democracy will call out the creative energy of the masses. When all the workers participate eagerly in the decisions, and bring together their criticisms and proposals based upon their experience in the shops, higher production will result. Faults in the plans will be corrected right away by the experience of the workers; misfits and incompetents in the leading bodies will be recalled by the democratic process; officious "bosses" will be given the boot.

An educated and conscious working class will insist on democracy. And not the narrowly limited and largely fictitious democracy of voting every four years for some big-mouthed political faker picked for you by a political machine, but democracy in your work. That's where it really counts. Every day you will have something to say about the work you're doing, how it should be done and who should be in charge of it, and whether he's directing it properly or not. Democracy in all cultural activities. Democracy in all spheres of communal life — from A to Z.

I say, an educated American working class that has made a revolution will not tolerate bureaucratic tyrants of any kind. Another thing. The tradition of frontier democracy is deep in the blood of the American worker. He thinks he was born with certain inalienable rights and, by God, no brass-hat, fascist gangster or Stalinist bureaucrat is going to take them away from him. That sentiment will be another powerful point of resistance to any infringements on democracy.

The monstrosity of Stalinism arouses fears of the same thing in this country. These fears, in my opinion, are progressive, provided they don't lead to prostration before capitalism; because if you have capitalism you are going to have fascism, and that means a police state in its worst and most reactionary form. But that will not be a great danger, either — when the showdown comes. The American workers will take care of the fascists as well as the Stalinists.

There will be no police state. There will be democracy, flowering as never before in the history of the world. But that does not mean that there will not be some repressions, if they are necessary. This workers state, while it lasts, will still be a state; and the state is an instrument of force, used by one class to repress another. The workers government must rule, and it is not going to promise anybody that it is something to fool with. Counter-revolution will not be tolerated. But outside that, the new workers regime will be easy-going and tolerant, make itself scarce and keep its nose out of people's private affairs.

Workers Will Keep the Power

The scientists and technicians will easily be won over to enthusiastic participation in the great work of the new regime. For the first time they will be really free men, not only well rewarded in a material way, but respected and given their heads; not subjected to distrust and suspicion and not required to sign loyalty oaths; not regarded as second-rate citizens, mere hirelings at the command of some ignorant money-bag. The scientists will be honored as servants of the people, heroes whom the youth will strive to emulate. The scientists and technicians will come over with great enthusiasm to the new regime. There can be no doubt about it.

I don't think the new regime will have any serious trouble with religion. There may be some opposition from organized religion as an institution; the church bigwigs, especially the reactionary, fascist-minded Catholic hierarchy, will probably try to play a counter-revolutionary role in the actual struggle for power. But it won't do them any good. The workers will know where their real interest lies and act accordingly. People have a way of reconciling their religious convictions with their class interests. Besides, if they want texts, they can find plenty of sanction in the Bible for revolutionary action against money-changers who profane the temple and exploiters who grind the faces of the poor.

Bill Haywood used to say: "No matter what the priest says about turning the other cheek, an Irish Catholic is a handy man on a picket-line. When he's on strike fighting for his job and for his union, he finds a way of reconciling it with his religion." That's the way it will be in the revolution, and after. The communicants of the churches will find no difficulty in lining up with the mass of their fellow-workers when it comes to a showdown fight for their own interests, for their own future.

And after the revolution, what interest will the workers government have in suppressing religion, in persecuting people for their religious beliefs? None whatever, as far as I can see. Of course, the churches, as institutions, will be deprived of the support of the capitalist interests. They will have to get out of the real estate business and the charity racket; nobody will need their charity. Each church, each religion will have to stand or fall on its appeal to its communicants. It will have to defend its dogmas against scientific criticism, which will also be free. But the new society will have no interest whatever in any kind of persecution of religious sentiments.

Counter-revolution can hardly be a serious threat to the workers government in America. The workers are an overwhelming majority in this country, and their strength is multiplied by their strategic position in the centers of production everywhere. How is there going to be any kind of a counter-revolution against a government with such a broad and solid social base? I don't think the American capitalists will try it. The real exploiters are a very small minority. They couldn't get enough fools to do their fighting for them, and they are opposed in principle to doing their own fighting. The defeated capitalists will benefit from their own helplessness, and Trotsky thought it would not be necessary or wise to treat them harshly.

The little handful of recalcitrant capitalists who don't like what is happening will not have to stay and watch it if they don't want to. The workers government of rich America could easily afford to give them an island or two, for their exclusive habitation, and pension them off and get them out of the way. How big is Catalina Island here? That might be just the place for them. It will not be necessary to kill them off. Just send them to Catalina. Let them take their bonds and stock certificates with them — as mementoes of bygone days — and give them enough caviar and champagne to finish out their useless lives, while the workers go on with their work of constructing a new and better social order. That's what Trotsky said.

On the Road to Socialism

War, and the threat of war, which made Soviet Russia's path so difficult, will be no problem for the American workers government. Where would the danger come from? In Russia the danger of war was real and actual. But what country could attack the United States? If we are not the last capitalist nation to join the march toward socialism, our coming in will seal the doom of capitalism everywhere. The remnants of the whole world system will fall like a house of cards. The world victory of socialism will put an end to all national rivalries and antagonisms and, therewith, to all national wars.

The victorious American revolution will not stop very long with the 48 states. All the countries North and South of our borders will follow the United States in revolution, if they have not preceded it. In a matter of months, the new workers government in the United States will join with Canada, with Central America and with South America, in one great hemispheric federation — the Socialist United States of all the Americas. This new All-American Federation will work out a single economic plan for the entire hemisphere. This co-operative hemispheric plan will bring modern industrialization and scientific agriculture to all the countries south of the border, and raise up all the hungry people to full participation in a new and more abundant life in a better, more humane and more plentiful society.

These tremendous developments — beginning with increased production and plenty of material goods for all, and then spreading into all fields of human concern and endeavor, will bring the people, by progressive steps, to the threshold of a new stage of society, without classes and without a state, and without any form of compulsion.

As the victorious people approach that new and higher stage of society, all the repressive features of the state will wither away and die out for lack of function. There will be no class to repress. All will be free and equal. The state itself will wither away. The government of men will be replaced by the administration of things.

The transition period between capitalism and socialism will merge — without another revolution and without social convulsions of any kind, but simply by an inexorable process of development — into the socialist society.

That is the indicated line of social evolution in the United States, my friends — speeded up, as it will be, by a timely Third American Revolution. That is America's predestined road. We who see that, and strive to help it along, feel power and victory on our side, for we are in league with the future. In my opinion, to work for that future — with the sure knowledge that social evolution is working with us — is the most important, the most inspiring and the most satisfying occupation of all. The goal we strive for is worthy of anything we do for it or pay for serving it.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents

Book Review Night

(Recent books about the Witch Hunt, the Abolitionist Movement, etc.)

Fri., April 3, 8:30 P.M.

at 52 Market Street

YOUNGSTOWN Open Forum

Withdraw U.S. Troops From Korea

Guest Speaker:

Lou Cooper

Akron "Militant" Correspondent

Fri., April 3, 8 P.M.

234 E. Federal Street

—Social Evening to Follow—

To Subscribe

To subscribe to **The Militant** send your name and address to **The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.** Enclose $2 for one year's subscription or $1 for six months.

And while you're about it, why not take out a subscription for a friend? Help spread the truth by widening the circulation of America's leading socialist weekly.

Subscriptions: $3 per year; $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVII - No. 13 Monday, March 30, 1953

The Creeping Witch-Hunt Disease

When the Ober "anti-subversives" law was passed in Maryland several years ago, **The Militant** warned that it would set a pattern for state laws against civil liberties throughout the country. We said that if the organized labor and liberal forces in this country did not make the most vigorous united fight against this law it would be followed in other states by similar and even worse measures. Our warning, unfortunately, has proved all too true.

Other state legislatures have been emboldened to pass laws more drastic even than the harsh Maryland police-state and witch-hunt statute. Among them is the notorious Trucks law in Michigan, on which national attention has been focused by the splendid work of the Michigan Citizens Committee against the Trucks Law. This law illustrates the trend of this type of legislation and the increasing virulence of the disease it spreads.

Now the state of Ohio, one of the key industrial areas of the nation, is threatened with a bill which makes the Maryland and Michigan measures, on which it is modeled, seem soft and gentle by comparison. Everybody who has the desire to preserve political freedom, the right of free speech, press and assembly and all other of the cherished rights of the American people should become familiar with the Ohio measure.

The mere fact that such a bill could even be introduced into a state legislature, let alone have serious prospects of adoption, is a sign of how far this country has traveled down the road to police-statism.

This bill explicitly makes mere membership in any so-called "subversive" organization a felony subject to $5,000 fine and five years in jail. According to the wording of the bill, "No person shall become or remain a member of a subversive organization. . . "

Take note that this is not a bill against "Communism," as most laws of this type passed by other states represent themselves to be. The words "communist" or "communism" don't appear in the Ohio bill. It speaks only of "subversives" and "subversive organizations;" these are defined as groups which not only advocate, abet, advise or teach activities "intended" to "overthrow, destroy or alter" the "constitutional form" of the existing government, but which merely have the "purpose" to do so.

What a field-day it would be for the witch-hunters in Ohio if they should have at their disposal a law that enables them to throw into jail anyone they say belongs to an organization — or even a "temporary group" — which they claim has as its "purpose the alteration" of the government by "revolution, force or violence." Observe that the bill makes a distinction between "revolution" and "force and violence," so that it is unnecessary for the inquisitors to charge "force and violence" to get a conviction.

Like all such measures, this one is purposely vague as to what acts allegedly constitute a "purpose" to "advocate, abet, advise or teach" the "overthrow" or "alteration" of the government. The police-staters can read into this any meaning they choose. The law empowers them to define its terms as they go along.

The section on joining or remaining in a "subversive" organization or "group," apart from its use as a punitive device, is calculated to intimidate members of any organizations which the witch-hunters label "subversive" and frighten them to quit. It is based on the pernicious, anti-democratic and unconstitutional concept of guilt by association.

But the bill provides for victimization of individuals who may not even be accused of belonging to an alleged "subversive" organization. It says that "no person" shall "advocate, advise or teach by any means any person" to commit or "attempt to commit" any act proscribed in the bill where such an act would constitute "a clear and present danger to the security" of the United States or Ohio.

Merely to "contribute to the support" of a so-called "subversive" organization, without being a member, would be grounds for fine and imprisonment. And if convicted of personally doing any "advocating or abetting," you could be penalized by a $20,000 fine and 20 years in prison. You could be given this same savage sentence, if this bill is enacted, if you are charged and convicted of destroying "any books, records or files" or if you "secrete any funds" of a "subversive" organization.

This bill would not only provide for the prosecution of persons belonging to "subversive" organizations or themselves charged with "subversive" acts, it sets up elaborate machinery — a permanent inquisition — on state and local levels to continuously ferret out "subversives." This machinery would be centralized and coordinated under a "special assistant attorney general in charge of subversive activities." He would be empowered to publicly smear anyone as a "subversive" and to bring criminal proceedings against anyone he defines as "subversive."

This brief outline of the main features of the Ohio bill should suffice to demonstrate to what far-reaching lengths these state witch-hunt laws are going and to drive home the imperative need for united, organized action by the defenders of civil liberties to prevent passage of laws like the Ohio bill. The activities of the Citizens Committee in Michigan might well serve as a working model of the type of organization needed in every state.

Do not wait until a bill to destroy your rights is already passed in your state. Smash it before it is passed. Unite and wage the fight as soon as the threat is raised.

The Real Meaning of Stalin and Stalinism

By Michel Pablo

The death of Stalin opens, in a sense, a new chapter in the history of the Soviet Union and the international revolutionary movement.

When Stalin seized power 30 years ago, it could have been said that this had indeed happened "before the masses had even learned to distinguish his face" from among the other leaders who had become known and respected through the October Revolution.

It is only since then that his personality encountered the conditions for its full flowering, for shaping itself and acquiring its characteristic traits.

Every individual is a possibility, a potentiality, a process of development. It depends on the varying circumstances whether he fulfills himself or journeys to his end without self-realization. Men of action, politicians, strategists, revolutionists, all play the role which objective conditions allow and, in a certain sense, impose on them. In this sense, they do not create history, but express and serve it.

From this point of view Stalin is incontestably an historic personage who played an historically determined role — which must be appraised if we are to have a better understanding of the new perspectives opened up by his death.

In making this appraisal, our position is the point of view of the revolutionary proletariat.

There can be no absolute objectivity on this question. The angle from which one examines and appraises a given historic personage, his role and his works, depends on the class position of the observer.

From this flows the diversity of the judgments on Stalin. For example, "Leader, friend and father of all the peoples," "Hero"; "Angel"; or "Asiatic satrap," "the most sinister figure in history," "demon" — none of these have any meaning except as we consider the person making the judgment and the class point of view he represents. Let us begin with the appraisals by the bourgeoisie.

BOURGEOIS VIEW

The sentiments of the international bourgeoisie about Stalin interest us only as a supplementary means of emphasizing still further our own point of view on the man and his works.

In the more serious, less inflamed and more "objective" commentaries devoted to Stalin's death by the gentlemen of the bourgeoisie — especialy the European bourgeoisie — their politicians and journalists, the striking thing is their praise of "his moderation," "his prudence," even "his conservatism."

Certain bourgeois organs didn't hesitate to recount openly some of the counter-revolutionary actions carried through by Stalin (the editorial, for instance, in **Le Monde**, Mar. 7).

The commentaries of the American bourgeoisie, on the other hand, emphasized particularly the "unexpected opportunity" that Stalin's death gave for the unsettling of his

STALIN

"empire" and its break-up "without war."

The dual role of Stalin is revealed by these contradictory commentaries from the two sections of the international bourgeoisie, one of which is willing, for the moment at least, to be satisfied with the status quo and "peaceful coexistence," and the other favoring heavy pressure and an offensive strategy.

SOUVARINE AND DEUTSCHER

But let us move on to other more serious appraisals of the man and his works.

These come from authors who have had a Marxist past, even a past in the communist movement of the Third International. By far the most important and most characteristic of these appraisals, it seems to us, are those of B. Souvarine and Isaac Deutscher in their biographies of Stalin.

These two appraisals come together on one fundamental point: Each of them considers Stalinism as the organic product of Bolshevism. But whereas Souvarine finds in this consideration a reason for simultaneously rejecting Stalinism and Bolshevism as a monstrous retrogressive accident of history, Deutscher sees in Stalin "the creator of a new economy" and the pioneer of "new social techniques," "the chief and the profiteer of a tragic revolution, which bore within itself its own contradiction but which showed itself to be creative."

He compares Stalin to Cromwell, Robespierre and Napoleon. According to Deutscher, Stalin "despite all his limitations and all his faults — the limitations of an empiricist and the faults of a despot — will probably leave deeper impressions in history than any of the French revolutionary leaders left individually."

The Jacobin, Thermidorian and Bonapartist phases of the great French Revolution seem to Deutscher, in relation to the internal development of the Russian Revolution, to be combined together "in a curious fashion" in Stalinism.

On the other hand, he admits that "in its foreign policy during the Second World War, victorious Stalinism simply utilized the procedures of the former Czarist regime." (From the introduction to the French edition of Deutscher's biography.)

FAIL TO GRASP REALITY

What is the source of the weaknesses and contradictions in all these estimates of Stalin and Stalinism? It is principally **the failure and incapacity to grasp the particular character of the proletarian revolution in general, and to understand the real conditions which marked the development of the Russian Revolution, the living proletarian revolution in our epoch.**

The proletarian and socialist revolution is by its nature and its goals a conscious revolution, consciously directed by its leadership toward attaining these goals. It is conscious in its preparation and its birth, through the conscious role which the revolutionary party of the proletariat, and its leadership, plays in the stage preparatory to taking power and at the time of taking power. Thereafter the revolution consciously moves on toward the achievement of its goals.

In this whole process the conscious role of the leadership, consciously dominating the laws of the objective development, is enormous. This particular character of the proletarian revolution directed by a conscious leadership differentiates it fundamentally from every other social revolution of the past.

Deutscher judges Stalin not as a conscious director of the revolutionary proletariat but as an empirical genius, practical, realistic, who at any given time knew how more or less to turn objective possibilities to best advantage. The final success of Stalin after every test seems to Deutscher as consecrating the creative and progressive character of this genius judged on a world scale. He does not see that Stalin's empiricism had precise class roots, and that insofar as this empiricism operated, it by no means exhausted the objective possibilities or took best advantage of them, but on the contrary aggravated the convulsive development of the Soviet Union and was the main organizer of so many defeats and crises which nothing previous had indicated to be inevitable. This is valid, for example, both in regard to the way industrialization and collectivization were carried through in the Soviet Union, as well as the manner of defending the Soviet Union by means of the diplomatic policy of the years 1939-1941 and following.

THE SOVIET SUCCESSES

But how then explain that the Soviet Union nevertheless did accomplish the industrialization, became the second industrial power in the world, effectively liquidated the kulaks, consolidated collectivization of the agricultural economy, won the Second World War, established an "empire"?

Doesn't this balance sheet, definitively a positive one despite the apprehensions and fears expressed on various occasions by his adversaries — doesn't this justify Stalin and his policies?

One could object, first, that the balance sheet would have been a far more positive one under a different leadership, conscious and non-empirical, in the Soviet Union. And second, that if there has been a positive balance sheet, this is due, despite the faults and crimes of Stalin, to the enormous superiority, vitality and elasticity — far surpassing the most optimistic forecasts — of the forms of production established not by Stalin but by the October Revolution. And due, moreover, to the fact that these new forms benefited from the crisis, more grave than had been realized, of the capitalist regime.

The point where we must give a certain measure of justice to Deutscher seems to us the following: **Stalin to the very end played his Bonapartist role on the social base of the October Revolution.**

This leads us to examine to the very bottom the conditions which brought Stalin to power and favored the growth of Stalinism, so as to reach a better understanding of both Stalin and Stalinism.

TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS

It was Leon Trotsky who best analyzed these conditions. Using the Marxist dialectic method applied to the concrete process of the Russian Revolution, the first proletarian revolution, the living revolution in our epoch, Trotsky explained the important political phenomena of this revolution by relating them to their social base. In this way he revealed the social differentiation which took place within the Russian proletariat and Russian society after the taking of power, a differentiation which led to the formation of a new social layer of a special nature, the Soviet bureaucracy with its special interests.

Trotsky pointed out the reasons, both **historic** and **social**, for the appearance, development and political triumph of this bureaucracy. The historic reasons are combined, first, in the particular conditions under which the long and hard civil war in the Soviet Union took place, a war which exterminated a large part of the revolutionary vanguard and wore out and exhausted another part; and second, the inevitable bureaucratization of another part of the vanguard which was absorbed by the administrative apparatus of the revolutionary power, automatically introducing — as Rakovsky explained — an element of social differentiation from the mass of the proletariat and from the habits and mentality of the party militants before the taking of power.

The social reasons, far more determinant over the development and especially the triumph of the bureaucracy, derived from the very low economic and cultural level of the Soviet Union and its prolonged isolation in the midst of a hostile capitalist world and with an international workers' movement suffering defeat after defeat.

Whoever does not grasp the conditions of the birth and rise of this new special social layer, the Soviet bureaucracy, and does not relate the political phenomenon of **Stalinism** to the social base, is inevitably doomed to complete disorientation on the subject.

Neither Souvarine nor Deutscher escapes such disorientation.

SPECIAL SOCIAL LAYER

Deutscher, for example, speaks of Stalin and Stalinism as if it were a matter of a person and politics—as in the great bourgeois revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries in England and France — of one and the same social class, within one and the same social class. Stalin appears to him as one of the leaders of the communist proletarian leadership — the most cruel but also the most realistic — and Stalinism as "Bolshevism in isolation" before the international eruption of the revolution. The action of the Soviet bureaucracy as a special social layer escapes him — just as, for example, the social democracy escapes others as a special political phenomenon having its social grounds in a special class, the aristocracy of labor, distinct from the mass of the proletariat.

Stalin as such was created by the rising Soviet bureaucracy, which reached political power by expropriating the proletariat.

Stalinism is the politics of the Soviet bureaucry, determined by its special interests, expressing its special nature, and projected beyond the Soviet Union on to a part of the international worker's movement by means of the vassalage of the leadership of the Communist Parties to the Kremlin.

The characteristics of Stalin, his way of fighting his adversaries, of thinking and acting — unthinkable as characteristics of a leader of the revolutionary proletariat — are much more easily explained when they are seen as the characteristics of the representative of a bureaucracy, a specific bureaucracy, the Soviet bureaucracy.

Stalin's despotism, his trickery, cruelty, tenacity, empiricism, opportunism, have less to do with some mystical concept of the "Slavic soul" or an "oriental, semi-Asiastic and Asiatic" element and the Czarist traditions proper to the "Holy Russia" of all time — far less to do with these than with the methods of struggle and thought of a bureaucracy which contains within itself such explosive contradictions as those of the Soviet bureaucracy.

If it were otherwise, we would like to know how you would explain Italian and German fascism, pure products of the "civilized" West, which employed barbaric methods similar to those of Stalinism; and also the behavior of American imperialism in its war with Japan and now in Korea. Or again, it doesn't take much effort to imagine the behavior of this same imperialism in case of civil war in the United States, or of a serious crisis endangering its power there.

Traditions and the national scene often confer the form, but the content is filled by the living forces of the present.

Stalin's despotism expressed the dictatorship of the Soviet bureaucracy over the whole of Soviet society. It had to be of the extremest severity, so flagrant and intolerable was the usurpation of power from the masses, and so precarious was — and still is — the social position of the bureaucracy caught between the proletariat and imperialism.

Stalin's trickery, empiricism and opportunism were the weapons of those compelled to engage in politics when they have no principled politics, no program, no line. Resting on a social base which is not autonomous, balancing between contradictory currents, without perspectives and without future, they gauge their politics as "sufficient unto the day," turning abruptly whenever they find themselves — driven by forces which they have little control over in their mad and blind course — at the brink of the precipices of these zig-zags.

Extreme cruelty is the refuge of despots caught in panic or rage before the growing resistance of the masses and the danger of their own fall. Stalin had not foreseen or even wished, either in 1924 or 1927, the massacre of the entire old guard of the Russian Communist Party and the October Revolution, which he carried out in the years 1936-38.

Faced with the mounting opposition of the masses in the Soviet Union, which was encouraged by the economic and cultural progress and the imminence of war, Stalin decimated all elements capable either of crystallizing the discontent of the masses or of profiting by future difficulties to overthrow him.

Stalin's tenacity, his firmness, his strength as "Boss," won the admiration or the fear of the bourgeoisie, which recognized in him qualities that even they scarcely possessed.

(To be continued next week.)

MILITANT SCOREBOARD

Cities

	Points
Chicago	806
Twin Cities	728
New York	468
Los Angeles	242
Newark	221
Buffalo	182
Flint	182
Seattle	166
Milwaukee	130
Detroit	79
St. Louis	56
Philadelphia	26
San Francisco	26
Akron	0
Boston	0
Cleveland	0
Oakland	0
Youngstown	0

Pace-Setters

		Points
Ray M.	Twin Cities	210
Howard A.	Chicago	208
Bob H.	Chicago	187
Paul	Twin Cities	110
Harold R.	New York	106
Irving	Chicago	104
Sol	Flint	104
Perry	Flint	78
Charlie	Twin Lities	78
Dick	St. Louis	56

Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinism

The Struggle for Workers Democracy

By John G. Wright

(Third of a Series)

In the beginning a new and young bureaucracy arose in the Soviet Union. It was an agent of the Soviet working class. It felt and acted in that capacity. But within a period of approximately four years, from 1921 to 1924, it became converted into a force, which, as Trotsky wrote, began "to feel itself a court of arbitration between the classes. Its independence increased from month to month."

This process, molecular at the outset, required for its crystalization a special combination of domestic and international forces and conditions. On the world arena the incipient Soviet bureaucracy was nourished by, first, the isolation of the October 1917 Revolution and, later, by the successive defeats of the European workers, particularly by the 1923 defeat of the German revolution.

At home the Soviet bureaucracy was fed by the social need for an "arbitrator" and "policeman" amid conditions of general backwardness and poverty, aggravated by the havoc of war and civil war. "The poverty and cultural backwardness of the masses has again become incarnate in the malignant figure of the ruler with a great club in his hand. The deposed and abused bureaucracy, from being a servant of society, has again become its lord," wrote Trotsky.

The struggle for workers' democracy and against bureaucratism flared in a muffled form in the Political Bureau of the Russian party when Lenin fell ill. It broke into the open while Lenin lay on his death-bed. In October 1923 Trotsky presented his views on the need to strengthen democracy and on the urgency of struggling against bureaucratism because of the inherent threat of a departure from the proletarian line.

This letter to the Central Committee was immediately denounced by the Political Bureau and a struggle was then publicly launched not against Trotsky's platform, which included a vigorous advocacy of planned economy, but against the alleged "anti-Leninist" views of "Trotskyism." It was a political frame-up, the precursor of the juridical frame-ups that were to follow. The opposition led by Trotsky was defeated. This was decisive for the rise of the bureaucracy.

ROLE OF PARTY

The victory of this bureaucracy would have been impossible without the capture of the party machine; for the Bolshevik Party played a special role. It was this party that prepared and secured the victory of the proletarian revolution in 1917. It did more. It was also the creator of the Soviet state. This state, under Lenin and Trotsky, was in complete contradiction to the governmental structure erected later by the bureaucracy under Stalin.

The Bolshevik Party played a central role in the operation of the original Soviet state. It provided the skeletal structure of the Soviet state. That is why the capture of the party machine was, as Trotsky pointed out, "a first step toward capturing the machinery of the state."

Stalin assumed the post of General Secretary of the party early in 1922. His entire effort was concentrated on freeing the central party apparatus from the control of the rank-and-file membership which had, throughout the entire history of Lenin's party, enjoyed the right of defining the direction of party policy. By destroying this democratic party regime Stalin was able to concentrate enormous power in his hands.

When Lenin returned temporarily to work in 1922 the growth of bureaucratism horrified him. He prepared to launch a struggle against Stalin and his faction, offering to make a bloc with Trotsky against bureaucratism. Sickness and then death cut these plans short. On his death-bed Lenin wrote his famous "Testament" (still officially suppressed) advising the removal of Stalin from the post of General Secretary.

In 1923-24 Stalin's main slogan in the strugle against Trotsky was the "safeguarding" of the Old Guard, maintaining the "stability" of the Central Committee. This meant in reality that the Central Committee was everything. It decided everything while the membership decided nothing, but simply accepted orders passed down from above. Stalin's notorious slogan "cadres decide everything" came as a development and extension of his 1923-24 slogan. **It means that the Stalinist bureaucracy "decides everything," the mass of the party as well as the mass of the people have no say whatever.**

SECRET POLICE

In the 1923-24 struggle, the secret police was already playing a decisive role in internal party life. Today this secret police permeates the Kremlin's governmental apparatus and pervades the fabric of Soviet life.

Apart from Lenin and Trotsky, none of the other top Bolshevik leaders understood the danger implicit in a party apparatus freed from all controls. Zinoviev and Kamenev were far better known and wielded far more authority nationally and internationally than Stalin at the time. But they worked cheek by jowl with Stalin in destroying the democratic centralism of Lenin's party in order to replace it with bureaucratic centralism.

It was not until July 1926 that the eyes of Zinoviev and Kamenev were finally opened. In a signed declaration they admitted: "There can no longer be any doubt now that the main nucleus of (Trotsky's) 1923 Opposition correctly warned against the danger of the departure from the proletarian line and against the alarming growth of the apparatus regime." **But by then it was too late. The apparatus was already all-powerful. Instead of continuing the struggle, Zinoviev and Kamenev capitulated ignominiously the next year, signing thereby, as it turned out, their own death sentence.**

Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky were as prominent party leaders as Stalin. But they, too, played Stalin's game all the while, until he broke with them and smashed them in 1929. They, too, capitulated and likewise ended up in the hands of the executioners.

The defeat of the opposition led by Trotsky turned out to be the defeat of Lenin's party. Stalin ended by annihilating it physically.

(Next week: The Contradictions of the Soviet Bureaucracy.)

SEATTLE
Friday Night Socialist Forum
The Millionaire Club in the White House
Who really bosses Eisenhower's cabinet?
What can the American workers expect from these tycoons of Big Business?
Speaker:
Clara Kaye
Fri., April 3, 8 P.M.
Socialist Workers Party
201 Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave. So. and Washington St.
Questions :: Discussion Refreshments

LOS ANGELES
Friday Night Forum
Significance of the SWP Los Angeles Election Campaign
The problem of building a revolutionary party in the stronghold of world capitalism and counter-revolution.
Speaker:
Murry Weiss.
Also speaking:
Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate for Mayor
Robert Morgan, candidate for Board of Education.
Fri., April 3, 8 P.M.
FORUM HALL
1702 E. 4th St. Tel. AN 9-4953
Questions — Discussion Refreshments

NEW YORK
Friday Night Socialist Forum
The Auto Workers Convention
An analysis of Reuther's response to the challenge of Korea, threatened employers' offensive, lowered standard of living, the need for a Labor Party—by The Militant's reporter at the convention.
Speaker:
C. Thomas
Fri., April 3, 8 P.M.
Militant Hall
116 University Place (near Union Square)
Questions, Discussion, Refreshments
Contribution 25 Cents

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVII — MONDAY, MARCH 30, 1953 — NUMBER 13

The Negro Struggle

DuBois Conforms to a Lie

By George Lavan

It is a saddening performance that W. E.B. DuBois gives in the March 16 **National Guardian,** organ of what used to be called the Wallaceite Party. Dr. DuBois writes an article on Stalin's place in history and does the very opposite of those things that have made DuBois justly famous in the U.S.

DuBois' fame rests on the fact that as a historian he refused to accept the fabricated, distorted and self-serving versions of Negro history that white supremacists had put into all the textbooks and college history departments of the U.S.

In a number of books culminating in **Black Reconstruction** he exposed this official version of history and helped to show the true role of the Negro people in America.

In addition DuBois has dared to speak out in criticism of the powers that be in America. Today this is very dangerous and readers of this paper will recall that only recently vigorous protests prevented his being railroaded to prison.

But in his article on Stalin we see DuBois standing on his head. Here he uncritically accepts the official government version of history. Trotsky is condemned for his "exhibitionism" and "lying propaganda" while Stalin, who "never yielded to ostentation" and fought for "real socialism," is portrayed as the greatest benefactor of mankind in our century.

The falsification of history in America, which DuBois did so much to expose, never attained the wholesale re-writing of history, burning of books and newspapers, faking of photographs, etc., that the Stalin regime engaged in. Yet it is this falsified version that DuBois accepts and on which he bases his eulogy of Stalin and Stalinism.

This man, who has risked prison by his criticisms of the powers that be in America, displays no sympathy for the hundreds of thousands of devoted socialists in the USSR who have been persecuted, tortured, put in concentration camps and executed for criticizing the monstrous Stalinist regime.

We have a recommendation for Dr. DuBois. Let him begin an examination of the official Soviet history of Stalin's career and policies and of Trotskyism in the same spirit that he began his examination of the official version of Reconstruction in this country. Let him go to the newspapers and writings of the times and other sources.

Then he will soon discover that the "greatness," "wisdom" and "real socialism" of Stalin and the "lying propaganda" of Trotsky are historically the same as the "proven inability" and "terrible excesses of Negroes during Reconstruction" — that is, they are lies disseminated officially to serve entrenched, privileged interests.

His Mother Was a --

By Fred Hart

Two weeks ago **The Militant** printed a review of the biography of Tito by his war-time secretary, the Yugoslav journalist, Vladimir Dedijer. If anyone is interested in the book I suggest he go back to that review, for, in what is to follow here, he certainly won't find anything remotely related to the contents of that book.

Another "review" of Dedijer's book has appeared. It is printed in the Feb. 27 English edition of the Cominform's newspaper, "For A Lasting Peace, For A People's Democracy." This "review," signed by one John Smith, is in its way a gem of Stalinist literary and political methods.

John Smith devotes well over half his review to the author of the book. He starts off by literally calling him a bastard.

He charges that Dedijer's mother was a lady of easy virtue connected with the royal palace in the old days of the Yugoslav monarchy. Among the services she rendered was that of entertaining distinguished visitors. Thus "one of the guests—a visiting American — happens to be the father of her two sons — Steva and Vlado. To avoid their being an 'eyesore' in the royal household the boys were sent abroad for education at an early age. Thus Vlado Dedijer, an accidental offspring of a visiting foreigner and a lady of the court, found himself in a British school supervised by the Intelligence Service."

Since "homeless cosmopolitan" (i.e. Jew) is a favorite charge in the Stalinist arsenal, John Smith throws in a hint of this to give his article a certain flavor — Dedijer is "By profession and nationality a spy without country or race."

The Stalinist reviewer then tells how Dedijer became a journalist in Belgrade in the 1930s — on a newspaper that was "a branch of the British secret service," of course; married a daughter of an enemy of the people; and joined the Communist Party — "already then Tito tried to surround himself with the scum and degenerates, traitors and spies."

"In the summer of 1941, when occupied Belgrade was terrorized by the Gestapoites, when scores of Communists and other patriots were shot, Vlado Dedijer, together with Tito, Rankovic, Piade and Djilas, resided in the fashionable district of the capital, made merry in cafes and restaurants."

"It is understandable why the choice of the State Department fell precisely on Dedijer when the need came to manufacture a biography of Tito, the ringleader of the fascist gang: utterly dirty hands were needed for such an utterly dirty job."

After having thus described the "spy-biographer" of Tito in terms that would make Westbrook Pegler turn green with envy, the Cominform's John Smith begins his analysis of the book itself:

"As for the biography he has written all one can say is that in places it was written with the saliva of a mad dog. . . ." No doubt on account of the shortage of ink in Yugoslavia.

Notes from the News

ABOUT 30 MILLION PEOPLE in the U.S. live in sub-standard houses today. What the government spends on the military in one year would house these 30 million in good modern homes for the next **20 years.**

* * *

REFUSAL TO INCRIMINATE SELF. The CIO Oil Workers' newspaper of March 23 carries an article on the witch hunt. Under the heading "Proper Answer for Snoopers" it reports the action of a college professor before the House Un-American Activities Committee. He gave his name, address, time and place of birth and refused to answer any other questions. The **International Oil Worker** comments: "And that's about all a person ought to be forced to tell about himself. Even when a common thief is hauled into court, he is not required to testify unless he wants to. Such protection is provided in the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution." The national labor newspaper, **Labor's Daily,** on March 21 carries an article on the Fifth Amendment, entitled "A Good American Law." It defends the right of people to refuse to testify on the grounds that what they say might be used by the witch hunters to persecute them.

* * *

GLOWING EXAMPLE RUNS AWAY. The American Lead Pencil Co. is running away from union conditions in Hoboken, New Jersey, to a low-pay open-shop town in the South. Two years ago this firm was the subject of a Fortune magazine article extolling its harmonious relations with its workers. A movie about the same company was distributed by U.S. government agencies throughout the world to show how well management got along with labor under the "free enterprise" system.

* * *

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, president of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, sent a cable to the Japanese Government protesting its "persecution and oppression" of leaders of the Japanese railroad workers who are struggling for better conditions and a wage increase.

* * *

"WHAT'S GOOD FOR GENERAL MOTORS is good for the United States," may now be the slogan of the federal government, but it has long been the slogan of Michigan's politicians. An example of this is cited by the **Michigan CIO News** about the state university. Back in 1948 **University of Michigan regents jumped into** action when GM growled that the University's workers-education service was pro-labor. Without giving that department a chance to defend itself the regents voted it out of existence. Now the University runs such features as personnel-management conferences "for management only" where professors bemoan the "leniency" of the Taft-Hartley law.

* * *

IN MACON, GEORGIA, William R. Dunn, a Negro electrician, entered the election contest for City Water Commissioner. He is the first Negro to run for office in this central Georgia city since Reconstruction days.

* * *

AN EXPOSE of the strikebreaking terror of the fascist-like Duplessis regime in Quebec, Canada, is carried in the March 9 issue of the CIO **International Oil Worker.** In a 4½-page spread this paper documents the brutal smashing of the Canadian Copper Refineries strike. The Canadian company is owned by Phelps Dodge Corporation. For copies of this issue write to: International Oil Worker, 1840 California St., Denver 2, Colorado.

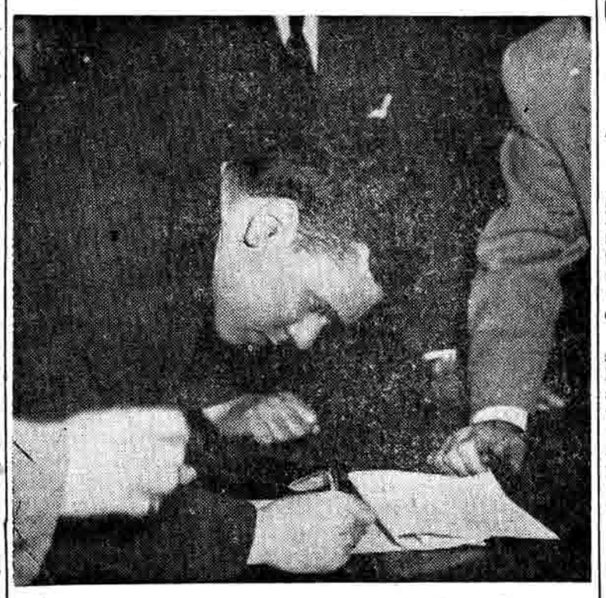
* * *

DEFINITION. Testifying before the House Labor Committee against the Taft-Hartley Law, AFL President Meany defined the difference between a union and a non-union worker. "While a union worker pays $3 or $4 a month for the privilege of being a union man," he declared, "a non-union worker pays $3 or $4 a day for the privilege of being a non-union man."

* * *

LABOR IN FORMOSA. Lee R. Smith, retired vice-president of the Railway Signal Men, is back from Formosa where he served as labor advisor to the Mutual Security Agency. He declared that labor conditions in Formosa were "appalling" and that Chiang Kai-shek might do well to forget about invading the Chinese mainland and "concentrate instead on improving conditions on Formosa." Frederick Kuh, Chicago **Sun-Times** correspondent, wrote recently from Formosa: "Labor has almost no rights. There are no trade unions in the accepted sense. So-called labor organizations claiming about 130,000 members are government controlled. . . The government supervises the election of 'union' officials and oversees their activities. No collective bargaining agreements exist. . . **Strikes are forbidden by law."**

Indicted for Brutality



Suspended New York policeman John Brullman shown as he initials bail bond after his indictment for brutality, the first brought under the 1870 civil rights law. He is charged with unprovoked assault on subway motorman Francis Galatis, whose case is being fought by the CIO Transport Workers Union. Wholesale cop brutality has been exposed in New York.

SWP Candidates in L. A. Score War, Witch Hunt

(Continued from page 1)

chairman ruled against him on the grounds that each candidate had the right to discuss what he or she considers to be the issues. This stand was applauded. **Mrs. Weiss had warned that unless we can stop the drive to a third world war, the traffic and smog problems might be "solved" by an atom bomb.**

At a meeting of the Community Service Organization, predominately Mexican-American, Mrs. Weiss stressed the importance to American labor of the struggle of minority groups against discrimination.

When asked why she referred to certain people as "minority groups," Mrs. Weiss explained that these were people of certain racial or national origins who were set off from the majority of the population by the capitalist system so that the bosses could exploit them and the rest of the workers more intensively.

This week Mrs. Weiss also covered the meetings of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and the Ladies Auxiliary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. At the latter meeting she was asked how the Edison workers on strike here can get their story to the people, recognizing that the capitalist papers print lies and slanders against union workers and protect the bosses.

Robert Morgan began this week of his campaign with a talk to a meeting of the Cannery Workers, half of whom were women. **They broke into warm and eager applause when he attacked the Korean war as part of the capitalist drive for profits, markets and new fields for investments.**

The candidate for the Board of Education also spoke to members of the Shoe Workers, AFL Cabinet Workers, CIO United Auto Workers and a Republican Women's Club. He tied the public schools issues to the interests of the labor movement and explained why it is the employers try to destroy academic freedom in the schools and undermine the independent organizations of labor.

U.S. battle casualties in the undeclared war in Korea rose by 280 last week to a new total of 131,524. This includes 23,298 dead and 95,454 wounded.

EIGHT YEAR GUATEMALA REVOLT GOES TO LEFT

(Continued from page 1)

the line of feudal-colonial dictators, as follows:

"Serfs, slaving from sunrise to sunset for ten cents a day and sheltering their misery and malaria in thatched hovels. The law became even more hostile to the workers, who comprised the great masses of the country. The use of the word 'workers' was prohibited. 'Employee' had to be used instead."

The city working class, employed mainly in marketing, transportation, textiles and other consumer industries producing for home consumption, were not permitted to organize or join labor unions. This oppression formed part of the reservoir of revolt that burst forth in the flood of 1944, and has made the working class the leading element of the revolution.

THE REVOLUTION STARTS

The revolution of 1944 initiated the condition of revolutionary upheaval which has been moving progressively leftward since that time. In 1920 there had been a revolutionary overthrow of the dictatorship of Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera, but this revolution failed because it did not consolidate sufficiently to prevent the Army officers, the feudal landowners and the foreign capitalist interests from restoring the same kind of dictatorship. For a while it looked as though the new revolution in 1944 would fall back the same way. A general was named Provisional President, and the reactionary forces gathered to stamp out the rebellion. But new forces now entered the struggle. A loose and heterogeneous revolutionary coalition was formed which decisively altered the struggle and the history of the nation.

The coalition consisted of the workers, agricultural laborers, peasants, students, rank-and-file army soldiers, and a section of the small Guatemalan capitalist class. New parties arose and organized insistent struggles against any return to the old regime. The student youth had had the honor to begin the struggle against Dictator Ubico, but now more serious forces entered the fray. On Oct. 20, 1944, an alliance of workers, soldiers, and university students stormed the ancient forts of San Jose and Matamoros where the generals were mobilizing their forces, and destroyed them. Reaction was crippled, and the new stage of the revolution began.

It was here that the revolution began to separate, to some degree, into its component parts. The workers and agricultural laborers, lead by radical groups, emerged as the motor of the revolution, driving a fearful and half-willing capitalist grouping forward. This process is still going on, and can only reach a final fruition with either a workers and peasants government in Guatemala or a return to reactionary landowner-foreign capitalist rule.

Again in Print

"The Class Nature of the Soviet State"

Leon Trotsky's searching analysis of the character of the Soviet Union makes timely reading today in the light of Stalin's death.

22 pages — 25 cents

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

The CIO's brief to the Supreme Court opposing school segregation has been printed as a pamphlet. Entitled "Enforced Segregation Denies Equal Protection of the Laws," it sells for 5 cents. Copies can be ordered from CIO Publicity Dept., 718 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Grievances Set Off Strike At Buffalo Westinghouse

BUFFALO, March 23 — The giant Westinghouse plant in the Buffalo suburbs was shut down four days ago by Local 1581 of the CIO Independent United Electrical Workers for the second time since the great strike of over a year ago.

The strike resulted from several serious grievances. The company has been twisting the "temporary assignment" clause in the contract to cover practically everything it wanted. "Temporary" assignments last for interminable periods; they cause some workers to lose overtime while giving it to others who have no right to it, and workers are forced to leave satisfactory jobs to take very undesirable ones with no added compensation.

Further, seniority was being violated in two ways: Workers entitled to advancement were being by-passed and workers with longer seniority were being laid off while less senior workers remained on the job. In addition, management was illegally keeping workers on three-shift operations without their paid lunch hour, and thus overlapping shifts in clear violation of the contract.

Management in Westinghouse has periodically encroached more and more upon the rights of the union membership, violating the contract openly or stretching and twisting it until the union has finally been compelled to take action. This has been the pattern repeatedly over the course of the nearly seven years since the union was certified in the Cheektowaga plant.

The union leadership has been compelled by these reasons and by an accompanying breakdown of the grievance procedure to take action. But it showed reluctance to do so up to the very night before the present strike. As a result of the total lack of organization, confusion reigned when first rumors of a walkout began to hit the sections.

However, the militant traditions of the Westinghouse workers saved the situation, and, section by section, they left the plant, the usual roar of machinery fading to an occasional buzz where a few scabs remained behind. The company reaction was to order the plant shut down until the following Monday.

Local union officials, who had planned to call out only sections directly affected by the above-mentioned contract violations, were thrown into a panic by the sudden snowballing of the walkout and its accompanying developments. Assuring the workers that the company would be charged before the NLRB with an unfair labor practice in locking out the workers on Friday, the leadership hastened to instruct them to return to work on Monday pending negotiations.

On Monday production resumed but the workers found the company as arrogant as ever. In open violation of the contract, management refused to allow employees to pick up their paychecks during working hours. It was a small matter but nevertheless infuriating to the workers, who recognized it as another provocation.

The results of the negotiations are not available at this writing. Also undetermined is management's strategy: whether this was merely a probing attack to determine the strength and solidarity of the union, or the beginning of another attempt of the company to force a showdown with a view toward taming or wrecking one of the most militant unions on the Niagara Frontier. Further developments will have to appear before the situation can be completely analysed, but this much can be said: **In spite of weak and vacillating leadership the membership retains that fierce self-respect which does not permit the company to take liberties with its rights without a fight.**

Should a fight develop, it is assured that sufficient pressure will be applied to the union leadership to force it to battle harder than is its present intention. There is too militant a tradition in the Westinghouse local, and too strong a core of conscious militant workers to allow the company to move against them with impunity.

Auto Union Democracy Under Reuther's Attack

(Continued from page 1)

split in the CIO; and, second, to prepare the way for the introduction of the resolution on the guaranteed annual wage. He hailed the annual wage demand as a slogan which the Steelworkers had adopted at their first convention.

The guaranteed annual wage proposal was touted as the next big forward step for the UAW. An atmosphere was created by the Reutherites in which everything else paled into insignificance alongside the glowing promise of a guaranteed annual wage when the present contract expired — in 1955. To ward off criticism that the proposal was vague, general and did not answed immediate needs, Reuther committed himself to strike action if the employers proved stubborn.

In the meantime, the auto barons are to be convinced by appeals to reason that it is to their interest to join with labor in putting pressure on the government to devise a workable plan. The resolution was adopted unanimously as no auto worker could be against a guaranteed annual wage "in principle."

But the show was given away when immediately following the adoption of the annual wage proposal a resolution was introduced condemning those who advocate the demand "now" for a 30-hour week with 40-hours pay. Although there is no contradiction between the two, the demand for a reduction in hours with no reduction in take-home pay was counterposed to the guaranteed annual wage demand.

The resolution stigmatized those who advocate the demand for 30-40 as communists, fellow travellers, opportunists, demagogues, etc. This was obviously aimed at Ford Local 600 which had submitted a resolution on the subject. The reactionary arguments against the shorter work day used by the Reutherites summed up to the charge that anyone favoring a shorter work day now is playing "the Communist game."

The Reuther resolution called forth appalling expressions of scissorbillism. One delegate stated he was now working 55 hours and would not be averse to working more. Another, going him one better, announced he was now working 60 to 70 hours, which he didn't think was too much, and concluded his speech against shorter hours by warning: Let's not kill the hen that lays the golden eggs. He was roundly booed.

OPPOSITION VOICED

A number of delegates took the floor and protested strongly against the attempt to smear those who supported the 30-40 demand and other propositions to which the administration was opposed. An increasing number of delegates were catching on to the Reutherite technique and were openly expressing resentment. Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600, joined in condemning such procedure and defended the demand for the shorter day and work week as long established UAW policy, reaffirmed at almost every previous convention.

Delegate Lou Ciccone, Local 216 Los Angeles, summed up the attitude of UAW militants in a scorching attack on the resolution. The proposed resolution, he said, "represents a dangerous and false course for our union. It contains within it false propositions which, in effect, challenge the legitimacy of the historic struggle of the American labor movement for the shorter work day and week without reduction in take-home pay."

In answer to those who raised the false issue that the 30-hour week meant a 30-hour maximum, Ciccone contended that it meant no such thing. "It means," he said, "that overtime penalty provisions will begin after 30-hours work and the length of the work day can continue to be a flexible one subject to these overtime provisions." "If we adopt this resolution," he concluded, "we are placing a knife in the back of the rubber, longshoremen and building trades unions," which have already gained the six-hour day as well as those unions which now seek to achieve that goal.

The resolution was adopted with a sizable minority voting against.

The attempt to cut down the opposition in Local 600 has led to the introduction of a number of constitutional amendments which seek to strengthen the authority of the International Executive Board to intervene in the affairs of the locals. One of the highlights of the convention up to this point was the fight over the appeal by five members of Ford Local 600 who were forbidden to run for office on the grounds that they were "members of, or subservient to," the Communist Party. This case required a night session of the convention lasting to nine o'clock. It provided Local 600 President Stellato with the opportunity of making an extended defense of his Local against the savage assault by the Reuther administration.

Stellato demonstrated, in the course of his remarks, that the real reason for Reuther's wrath against the leadership of the Local has been their determined opposition to the course followed by the top leaders of the International. **He proved that it was only after he had broken with Reuther on questions of trade union policy that the campaign to "get Stellato" was launched. An involuntary tribute, perhaps, to the opposition is the fact that the current convention is largely staged and conducted as an arena for a bitter assault by the Reutherites in an attempt to weaken, undemine and destroy the influence of the opposition in the UAW ranks.**

Unjust Firing Stirs 10,000 U.E. Men to Act

By L. Morris

PHILADELPHIA, March 23 — Some 10,000 Westinghouse workers belonging to United Electrical Workers Local 107 are holding firm as they complete their first week of meeting in continuous session.

This action has been taken to induce the company to rehire one man with 13 years seniority who, the union believes, was fired unjustly on a false charge of gambling on company property.

The company refuses to hear any evidence, and this tough stand is interpreted by the union as another example of the aim of the company to weaken the Local and destroy its high conditions.

Two plant managers were transferred from Pittsburgh to the Lester plant some months ago for the purpose, it is believed, of trying to chop the Local down. Since then there have been a series of incidents resulting in grievance actions, of which the firing of the man is but the latest.

Realization of this underlying purpose of the Westinghouse company has served to keep the ranks firm in their determination to restore the man to his job.

Police Censorship Stirs Indignation In Youngstown

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, March 24 — Police Chief Edward J. Allen's witch hunt against modern literature appears to the generating a little heat and light.

His book ban was first challenged by **New York Times** columnist David Dempsey, and in attempting to answer, the steel town's Boss Cop said the books "were removed (from sale) voluntarily without court action by the distributors."

Victor Weybright, chairman and editor of the New American Library of World Literature, Inc., answered Allen in a sharp criticism of police censorship, declaring that the assertion the books were voluntarily withdrawn is absolutely false and distributors acted only under fear of police prosecution.

The police of Youngstown, he pointed out, have forced more than 400 titles off the newsstands, including works of James T. Farrell, Sherwood Anderson, John Dos Passos, Somerset Maugham, John Steinbeck, Christopher Isherwood, Calder Willingham and other first-rank writers.

Encouraged by the growing indignation over police censorship, some local liberals have condemned the police chief's actions. But the powerful labor movement here, so often the target of the police chief's attentions, has yet to be heard from on the book-censorship issue.