

Packing Workers Challenge War Drive, Witch Hunt

The boldest challenge to the war-drive and the witch hunt yet to be made by organized labor has been proclaimed by the CIO Packinghouse Workers Union.

The UPWA's declaration of war against the powerful pro-war, pro-witch hunt forces is printed on the front page of the March issue of the union's newspaper. The statement is entitled: "We Shall Speak Up Now" and it takes up all of page one.

Here is the complete text: "What's behind the witch hunts, the growing domination of military power over our civilian government?"

"Who are the men taking over the top jobs in our government? What interests do they represent?"

UAW Convention Hits Trucks Law

The recent CIO United Automobile Workers convention in Atlantic City adopted a resolution condemning the Michigan Trucks Law as "infamous" and as opening the way "to prosecution of labor unions for legitimate trade union acts." The resolution urges local UAW members to cooperate with other groups "in order that together we may take positive action to reassert and recapture our civil liberties."

The Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, whose office is at 1709 Ford Bldg., Detroit 26, Michigan, is a group of 200 prominent citizens which is coordinating the state-wide fight against the witch-hunt law.

what is their stand in the struggle between special interests and the general welfare?

"These are questions that must be considered by working people today. A look at the first fruits of the Eisenhower administration clearly shows that the military clique has lined up with the big business boys to usher in a new era of reaction."

"They plan to do nothing to end the tragic waste of life in Korea, but instead, they are preparing the way for a bigger war on more fronts."

"Their blueprint calls for a divided and weakened labor movement that will not fight back nor voice any resistance."

"Confusion, distrust and fear are their tools. They have swamped the newspapers, flooded the air waves with lurid stories of investigations, mysterious agents and evil doings in high places."

"Our schools, social institutions, labor unions and even churches are under attack. Let anyone protest or be so bold as to speak in defense of free thought and democratic action, then they will feel the lash of the merchants of hate."

"Men of courage and conviction are driven from their jobs, scorned in the public press. The privacy of their homes is invaded and their friends harassed."

"The documents of our free nation are also under attack. History books are being rewritten and the liberties guaranteed

(Continued on Page 2)

SWP PROGRAM REACHES WIDE AUDIENCE IN L.A.

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, March 28 — Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate for mayor, broadcast the Socialist Workers Party program to a city-wide audience for a second time in the hour-long television program.

She shared with four other major candidates over KNBH-TV station last Sunday. The series of three weekly programs featuring the mayoralty candidates began March 15.

An estimated 100,000 people saw the well-advertised program, to which they were invited to send questions. Four of these questions were selected by a committee of professors; all candidates at each telecast were asked these questions and given the same time in which to answer.

SOCIALIST ANSWERS

The program has provided the opportunity for a large cross-section of voters to see and hear the candidates confront each other several times on equal terms.

In the programs thus far, Mrs. Weiss has given the socialist perspective in answer to the specific local problems on which the candidates were questioned. She was able to contrast the program which expresses the interests of the working man with the weak arguments of the cynical careerist office-seekers.

For example, when they asked the country of origin of the candidates, Mrs. Weiss answered the question but attacked its intent. Such reference, she charged, indicated prejudice since it was designed to bring attention to the fact that some candidate might be foreign-born. This was

discrimination and directly connected with the witch-hunt.

While most of the candidates proposed to solve problems like juvenile delinquency and dope addiction by police measures, Mrs. Weiss connected these problems to the crisis in society, the Korean war-bred insecurity and the capitalist drive to a Third World War.

SCHOOL BOARD CANDIDATE

This is the first city-wide election campaign in which more than one candidate is running on the SWP program. Robert E. Morgan is campaigning for Board of Education member as a running-mate of Mrs. Weiss. Together they have been able to almost double the number of meetings of unions and civic groups addressed in previous campaigns, sometimes covering two and three meetings an evening.

Both candidates were able to speak on the same evening before a meeting of about 600 members of the League of Women Voters and to present the SWP program as the only one counterposed to the combined reaction and witch-hunt.

The campaign of Mrs. Weiss and Robert Morgan against imperialism war and for withdrawal of the American troops from Korea is making a deep impression on young people. After Mrs. Weiss spoke to one neighbor

(Continued on Page 4)



LILLIAN KIEZEL

Socialist Anti-War Candidate Speaks At Oakland Unions

OAKLAND, Calif., March 31 — Mrs. Lillian Kiezel, Socialist Anti-War candidate for Mayor who is sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, is forging ahead in her campaign to bring her working-class program to every labor and civic organization in the community before the April 21 elections.

Starting on her speaking tour this week, Mrs. Kiezel has already spoken before six labor unions and four civic organizations.

Volunteer workers for her election are engaged in a door-to-door bell-ringing campaign to bring Mrs. Kiezel's socialist antiwar program to the Oakland working-class neighborhoods and Negro community.

Mrs. Kiezel is the only candidate who stresses the need for an FEPC. Her platform calls for: "Full social, political and economic equality for all minorities. Smash the Jim Crow system. Stop segregation wherever it exists. For an FEPC with powers of enforcement by minority and labor organizations."

LABOR GROUPS APPLAUD

The Committee for the Election of Lillian Kiezel for Mayor is organizing street corner meetings throughout the Oakland area. Today the committee announced that Mrs. Kiezel has been invited to speak over Radio Station KROW on the campaign issues; the time of the broadcast will be announced in the near future.

Attempts of right-wing elements to block acceptance of Mrs. Kiezel's request for time to address the local AFL Laborer's union were defeated. The membership, after an hour-long debate, voted overwhelmingly to hear her speech.

The membership of CIO United Auto Workers Local 1031, which is notable for its militant record in this area and its strong stand for a labor party, enthusiastically applauded Mrs. Kiezel's speech demanding the withdrawal of American troops from Korea, calling for "an end to company unionism in politics" and the building of a labor party in urging the complete repeal of the Taft-Hartley Slave-Labor Law.

Rally in N.Y. Hails Bolivian Revolution

NEW YORK, March 28 — A large, enthusiastic audience last night heard an analysis of the great revolution now in progress in Bolivia, and voted unanimously to go on record in support of that revolution. A telegram containing the resolution of support and a condemnation of U.S. imperialism's attempt to thwart the revolution was sent to the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia (POR) and to the U.S. State Department.

The meeting sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party, was addressed by Bert Cochran, noted Marxist lecturer. He traced the history of the usurpation of the working class in the mineral-rich South American country. He showed that the revolutionary forces had recently received tremendous reinforcements in the persons of the oppressed Indian peasants, who just now are beginning to emerge on the political stage of Bolivia. He also showed that the great historic work of awakening the peasants to the agrarian revolution had been led by the party of Bolivian Trotskyism — the POR.

The audience, which included some Latin American workers and students, listened attentively to the analysis of the Bolivian events and responded generously when the collection was taken.

The meeting resolved: "That we protest the measures taken to freeze funds of the Central Bank and the Mining Bank of Bolivia now on deposit with New York banks and we demand that these funds be released immediately. That we also protest the conditions laid down by the United States government for further purchases of tin from Bolivia; that is, the demand for so-called 'just compensation' to foreign imperialists for the Bolivian mining industry, the repression of the labor movement and revolutionary parties within Bolivia and the withdrawal of left-wing ministers from the Bolivian Administration. Besides being a direct interference with the internal affairs of Bolivia, this refusal to purchase tin is an attempt by Washington to starve the Bolivian people into submission."

It was further resolved "that we express our solidarity with the struggle of the Bolivian people against domination by Yankee imperialism which is the main enemy of working people throughout the world today, including and above all, the American workers."

Workers of the World, Unite!

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Peiping, Moscow Offer Concessions for Truce

Christmas Hope Ended



Grief-stricken family of Clifton, N. J. gathered around a Christmas tree after learning Sgt. Edward Luissier was killed in Korea before he was due to start home. The sergeant wrote he would like to see the tree, so it was saved.

Peace Jitters Strike Wall Street; Stock Market Starts to Dive

By Joseph Hansen

Hopes for an end to the war in Korea and a general settlement between the Soviet bloc and the Anglo-American powers have been aroused throughout the world by concessions offered by Moscow and Peiping to Washington. Speculation on the real meaning of the concessions fills the press. Is a long-lasting deal in sight?

It is not easy to pierce the veil of secret diplomacy covering what are undoubtedly the most important moves now on foot; nevertheless it is possible to determine general answers to the questions raised by the swift turn in events.

First, as to the facts. Following Stalin's death, the rigidly controlled Kremlin propaganda apparatus abruptly softened its tone toward American imperialism. Regret was expressed over the loss of British lives in the shooting down of a British plane and talks were initiated with the British to avoid a repetition. Moscow advised Britain and France that it would undertake to secure the release of their diplomats interned in North Korea since the beginning of the Korean civil war. Then the Mao regime announced that while retaining its views about the return of all prisoners of war it was willing to make a major concession, immediately exchange sick and wounded prisoners and resume Korean truce talks on the basis of voluntary repatriation of prisoners as demanded by Washington. Finally General Chuikov indicated that Moscow was willing to discuss the question of a German peace treaty. All this is taken to indicate readiness of both the Kremlin and Peiping to make important concessions.

With Stalin's death, Eisenhower publicly stated his willingness to "meet the Russians halfway." UN representative Henry Cabot Lodge echoed Eisenhower's invitation in the United Nations. Secretary Dulles told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he would welcome diplomatic advances from the Kremlin.

"In short," say the Alsops, "we have been winking, waving and yoo-hooing rather harder than the Russians. But if any formal and final American approach has been made as yet, it is a well kept top level secret."

It is not too difficult to see why Malenkov is eager for a deal, even a temporary one. He

(Continued on Page 2)

MILLION N.Y. TENANTS HIT BY RENT-HIKE LAW

NEW YORK, March 31 — The Republican-sponsored New York state rent "control" bill that will boost rents of more than a million tenant families was signed into law yesterday by Governor Dewey in Albany.

Under the terms of the landlord-written law, an estimated 1,000,000 residential tenants, including some 800,000 in this city, will be compelled to pay a flat 15% rent increase starting May 1.

All tenants who have not received a 15% increase over the 1943 ceiling are automatically required to pay such an increase on demand by the landlords. The law makes no allowance for deterioration of quarters and services or landlords' reduced operating costs and taxes.

The law also guarantees a 50% increase in returns for landlords on the assessed valuations of their property. Landlords are allowed to raise rents to provide a 6% instead of a 4% return as under the previous law. Thousands of tenants who already are paying a "voluntary" 15% increase will be subject to another rise of up to 15% under this "net return" clause.

The rent increase will affect the workers mainly. There is an appalling shortage of low-rent apartments in New York City. Residents of the over-crowded slum and tenement areas cannot move elsewhere to cheaper quarters if the rent increase bears too heavily on them.

Mass mobilization of tenants and their families in militant action, including rent strikes, could still persuade the organized landlords not to demand the rent increases the Dewey law permits them to exact. The labor movement in alliance with tenant organizations has the power, if it will use it, to block the rent gouge.

Many thousands of the poorest families will face eviction if they cannot meet the rent sharks' demands. It is imperative to take organized steps to stop such evictions.

U.S. casualties in the Korean "police action" last week increased by 404. Battle casualties now total 131,928. This includes 23,394 dead, 95,756 wounded and 9,062 missing in action. This list does not include the casualties of the recent heavy fighting in the area of "Old Baldy."

Reuther replied in a similar vein. He made a fervent plea that the delegates do not compel the leadership to expose its hand by "laying all the cards on the table," while negotiations with General Motors were in progress for changes in the agreement. Both Livingston and Reuther pledged that the members of the union would be given the opportunity to decide on the length of any subsequent agreements when the current five-year contract expired in 1955. These appeals had the desired effect. The delegates were obviously reluctant to do anything to injure the union's bargaining position. The debate was quickly closed and the resolution adopted. But it was unmistakably evident that the sentiment of the convention was clearly against the long-term agreement.

It would be false to assume that the delegates who opposed the administration on such issues were consistent anti-Reutherites. On the contrary, in the main they probably considered themselves

(Continued on page 4)

TWIN CITIES TAKES LEAD IN SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

The Militant Subscription Campaign picked up speed this week with a gain of 47 six-months and 23 one-year subs, bringing the total to 150. This week the Twin Cities, making a sensational gain of

1,235 points over last week's score, took the lead away from Chicago. The Chicago comrades are by no means resting on their laurels however. In the past week they rolled up 880 points for a total of 1,687 so far in the campaign. New York, Newark, Flint, Milwaukee and Cleveland also made good gains.

Among the pace-setters, Ray of the Twin Cities added 104 points to his last week's score, thus maintaining first place position; Howard A. of Chicago, still in second place, added 52 points to his score; and Twin Cities sub-getter Paul piled up 122 points to take third place from Chicago's Bob H. The Twin Cities and Chicago have a virtual monopoly of pace-setters at the moment. However, Detroit and Flint each have two, and New York and St. Louis have one each. Other cities will no doubt soon be offering their competitors for top honors in the campaign.

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman, reporting for the Twin Cities, writes: "The Twin Cities Militant sub-getters really picked up steam this week to bring our total up to 2,013 points. The big question is — how do the Twin Cities rate on the National Scoreboard? Is Chicago still ahead? Or did one of the other branches pull a fast one to make first place? We can scarcely wait for the next Militant to see what is happening."

"Eleven subs were brought in this week in Minneapolis by Ray,

(Continued on page 3)

How the Auto Union Convention Met Key Issues

By C. Thomas

ATLANTIC CITY, March 28 — The Fourteenth Constitutional Convention of the CIO United Automobile Workers, concluded here yesterday, was the first held since its president, Walter Reuther, became head of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. That the UAW now occupies a special position in the CIO was made apparent by the character of the proceedings and the importance attached to broad policy questions.

One of the guest speakers, CIO National Maritime Union president, Joseph Curran, summed up the new relationship in the following words:

"We in CIO," he said, "while looking forward to the actions of this convention can feel confident now that the UAW now recognizes it no longer is the UAW alone. It now has to take its place as the backbone as well as the spiritual and the labor-leading union of CIO and the message that comes from this convention will have a great

impact on the decisions made on CIO in the future."

Reuther was very conscious of his dual position. He left nothing to chance in questions of policy affecting CIO. Before submitting such measures for convention action, the stage was as carefully set as for a Broadway production. One or more visiting dignitaries preceded the introduction of such policy resolutions, lending the weight of their names, prestige or titles toward facilitating convention action.

There is no doubt that Reuther's prestige in the UAW was greatly enhanced by his recent election as CIO president. He was lauded as one of the great "labor statesmen" of the day. His political line, embodied in the various policy proposals, carried the convention with scarcely a ripple. This line committed the union to support the counter-revolutionary policy of the American State Department abroad and the capitalist two-party system at home.

Those political policy proposals which Reuther considered the most important came before the

delegates in the first few days of the convention. Veteran newspaper correspondents who had covered previous conventions remarked on the apparent apathy of the delegates. These sentiments were echoed by delegates who had participated in the stormy conventions of the past which were part and parcel of UAW tradition. The whole thing seemed to be cut and dried.

However, this evaluation was soon proved superficial. For when the delegates were confronted with issues which they clearly understood and which affected their immediate interest they reacted with spirited opposition. One such revealing incident occurred over the administration proposal to extend the term of office for Local union officials from one to two years. After heated debate Reuther asked for a show of hands and after some hesitation declared the proposal carried. This led to the demand for a roll call vote. The convention rules required a minimum vote of 775 delegates for a roll

On a show of hands Reuther ruled that the opposition lacked the necessary 775 votes and declared the motion for a roll call lost. Upon an appeal from his decision a tally was taken and disclosed 812 delegates voting in favor. Such a roll call would have required that each delegate record his vote on the proposal. At this point a personal plea from Reuther led to the withdrawal of the proposal which was resubmitted later in an amended form giving the Local unions the option of deciding whether the term of office be one or two years. This compromise was accepted by the delegates.

Similarly, an administration proposal to limit the number of meetings of Wage-Hour Councils to two a year was defeated by the convention. These councils, called for the purpose of discussing problems relating to wages, hours, production standards, working conditions, etc., are an important medium for giving expression to the grievances and demands of the ranks.

The most controversial issue

WIRE-TAP SNOOPERS SEEK LEGAL O.K.

By Harry Ring

The snooper with the big ears, who has really come into his own with the witch hunt, may now receive an official stamp of approval. Attorney General Brownell is preparing to ask Congress to legalize the use of evidence obtained by wire tapping "in cases of espionage."

The invasion of individual privacy by wiretapping is so widespread that many people are surprised to learn that until Congress gets around to rectifying the situation, the practice is actually illegal.

In 1934, Congress incorporated into the Federal Communications Act a clause intended to outlaw all wiretapping. Violations carried a two-year prison term, a \$10,000 fine, or both.

In the 19 years since the passage of that law, one lone individual has been prosecuted and convicted. That was a private citizen who got caught cutting in on the phone conversations of a government agency.

The government's stubborn refusal to prosecute anyone else for violating this law was best explained in a candid moment by former Attorney General Jackson, who said, "I cannot feel that the Department of Justice can in good conscience prosecute persons... for a practice... engaged in by the Department itself."

It is precisely this governmental violation of the law, and its ignoring of its violation by others, that has made this insidious perversion of constitutional rights so common a practice. This is proved in a blistering study of wiretapping by *The Reporter* magazine, in its issues of Dec. 23, 1952 and Jan. 6, 1953.

They charge that "wiretapping today is actually the freest of free enterprises... indulged in with virtual immunity from Federal prosecution by government agents, municipal police, political parties, business firms, witch hunters, divorce lawyers, private detectives, sharpers, freebooters, and blackmailers of all sorts — all of whom practice it in the serene conviction that there will never be any penalties."

In connection with their charge that anyone with a telephone is fair game for a tapper, they point out that a line can be tapped within 24 hours, no matter where it is located in the country, no matter what the private or official capacity of the user. Once installed, they say, the chance of accidentally discovering such a tap would be at least ten thousand to one.

In general, according to *The Reporter*, wiretaps are connected into the victim's line in the vicinity of his home. However, in the case of certain official agencies, the telephone company permits them, "in very special cases," to "backtap" right at the exchange.

The use of wiretapping by official agencies first became public back in 1916, when it was revealed that Mayor Mitchell of New York, in co-operation with the telephone company, had been tapping the phone of a priest who was heading a charity against which the Mayor had an axe to grind. In defending itself against the ensuing clamor, the company explained that it had co-operated with local officials in this manner since 1895.

With this incident, wiretapping became a subject of popular interest and indignation. So strong was the protest that Congress in 1918, then operating the exchanges as a war-time measure, imposed a blanket ban on wiretapping "for the duration." After the war, with the ban lifted, wiretapping quickly came back into its own. The first great "anti-red" drive was on, and Attorney General Palmer ordered wiretaps regularly in preparation for his raids.

Despite the fact that it had been made illegal by Congress, it was none other than that sterling "champion" of the "four freedoms," Franklin D. Roosevelt, who gave an important new boost to what was already the every-day practice of the Justice Department. According to *The Reporter*, Roosevelt in 1940 sent a memo to the Department of Justice which "approved wiretapping when necessary in situations involving national defense."

Since that time the government has continued this clearly illegal practice on the basis of a very simple, if somewhat crude, formula to the effect that the law prohibits "intercepting and divulging" telephone information. They blandly submit that the act of interception by itself is not a crime and since the entire government is an "entity," information is not being "divulged" when it is passed from one of its agencies to another!

The compelling need to sneak into the private lives of its citizens is the hallmark of every police state. Brownell's proposal to "legalize" the rampant governmental practice of snooping indicates an immaturity on his part to push this country even further down the road of vanishing civil liberties.

More than a decade ago Democratic Senator Burton K. Wheeler declared, "Wiretapping is especially dangerous at the present time, because of the recent resurgence of a spy system conducted by Government police. Persons who have committed no crime, but whose economic and political views and activities may be obnoxious to the present incumbents of law-enforcement offices, are being investigated and catalogued." His words are a hundredfold more true today.

Labor Takes Lead in Guatemala As Revolution Attains New Stage

By Harry Frankel
(Second in a series.)

With the overthrow of the Ubico dictatorship in the summer of 1944, and with the destruction of the armed centers of landlordism and foreign imperialism in the revolution of October 1944, the Guatemalan capitalists and petty-bourgeoisie considered that the revolution had ended. But the newly aroused forces of the working class in the cities and on the land thought otherwise. They now began to provide the forces, the impetus, the motive power for the further continuation of the revolution.

What did the capitalists and middle class of Guatemala want from the revolution? Small and weak, economically and politically oppressed by imperialism and feudal landlordism, they wanted

more freedom and more prosperity for themselves. Insofar as they were concerned with the plight of the mass of the people, it was merely in order to employ them as weapons in the struggle and out of the not-too-serious humanitarian liberalism which characterizes the petty-bourgeois democrats in their periods of flight against reaction.

THEIR OWN CAPITALISM

The Guatemalan ambassador to the U.S., Dr. Guillermo Toriello, in a Feb. 28 speech delivered in New York to the Pan-American Women's Association, made the outlook of the Guatemalan bourgeois and petty-bourgeoisie democrats very clear. Dr. Toriello is an eloquent and forceful speaker. His talk contained moving descriptions of the plight of the Guatemalan poor under the dicta-

torships before 1944, and forceful protests against such conditions. His view of the revolution was, however, most clearly set forth in the following remarks:

"These two companies — International Railways of Central America and United Fruit Company — constituted real powers within the state, which did not adequately share in their big profits." Dr. Toriello makes even clearer what he sees as the task of the revolution in these words about the Ubico dictatorship of 1931-44: "The landowners' power grew, but they took no step toward a capitalist system of production."

A greater share in the profits of industry and agriculture, and an attempt to develop the capitalist system of production; these were the aims of the weak Guatemalan capitalist class in the revolution.

IMPOSSIBLE ATTEMPT

This attempt to establish a new capitalism on the model of the capitalist states set up by the revolutions of one hundred and two hundred years ago is, of course, foredoomed to failure. Oppressed colonial capitalists have, during the past half-century, shown themselves to be incapable of such a feat. Where the far more powerful Russian and Chinese capitalist classes failed in trying this road, how can it be expected that the Guatemalan capitalists can possibly succeed?

The role played by colonial and semi-colonial ruling classes in their half-hearted struggles with their masters has been, in recent years, that of opening a struggle which is then deepened by the workers and peasants, who do not limit themselves to a capitalist framework but who push demands that set them in conflict with both foreign imperialism and native capitalist-landlordism. The strongest class of the oppressed colonial nations, the class which can effectively fight imperialism and free the nation, is the working class allied with the peasant masses. This is being shown once more in Guatemala.

In the first period after the new government was set up under Juan Jose Arevalo as the president, attempts were made on the part of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces to move rightward. Jorge Toriello, foremost proponent of expropriating foreign capitalists was dismissed from the cabinet in Jan., 1946, and Arevalo issued repeated denials of any intention to carry out any expropriations. This same period was, however, marked by a series of important labor strikes and political struggles.

During 1946 a 10-day strike in

the textile mills at Guatemala City resulted in a 40% wage increase. During October, a three-week strike of 15,000 workers on the banana plantations of United Fruit Company paralyzed that company's northern division. President Arevalo had been compelled in 1947 to issue a labor code, despite the fact that at one stage of the struggle he had prohibited union activity. The workers now took advantage of that code to broaden their battles. In July, 1948, the agricultural workers won an amendment to the labor code permitting them to organize into unions.

During the six-year Presidency of Arevalo, he confronted no less than two dozen uprisings of the right. It was solely the forces of the organized labor movement that tipped the scales in his favor and permitted continuation of the revolution. Samuel Guy Inman, liberal journalist, in his pamphlet: "A New Day in Guatemala," wrote: "When President Arevalo's enemies at home and abroad started frequent uprisings, he was compelled to accept help from radicals with whom he did not agree as well as from workers who were his natural allies. It was organized labor that enabled him to finish his six-year term."

Inman describes one such occasion: "These tactics were demonstrated during the most serious uprisings following the assassination of Colonel Federico Arana. Fighting lasted for three days, but was finally put down because of the help given by loyal members of organized labor..."

"An inventory showed that the government was in a precarious position. The rebel fort contained more than half of the military personnel in the city. At about 5 P.M. the government sent out word that civilian volunteers would be given arms at the Aurora Airfield, two miles from the center of the city. The headquarters of the two labor federations were filled with workers who rushed to Aurora by every possible means of transportation. As each new group of volunteers arrived, it was greeted with cheers. Between two and three thousand rifles were handed out to organized workers who were joined by students, teachers, and liberal exiles from other Central American countries. The volunteers were organized into platoons of 87 men apiece. Each platoon was headed by a military man, frequently a young cadet from the Military Academy. The workers were enthusiastic in defense of their government. Laborers from other parts of the country poured into the city to aid in the fighting... At 2 P.M. the third day, the rebels asked terms. Approximately 150 persons had been killed and over 300 wounded."

An even more instructive example occurred in 1950, after soldiers and workers broke up a rightist demonstration on July 20. The workers joined by students and others, holding the Minister of Interior in the Arevalo cabinet responsible for the rightist attack, organized another demonstration demanding his resignation, some demonstrators going so far as to even demand the resignation of the president himself! In Sept. the government, which had been supported by the Communist Party, banned the CP newspaper and ordered the CP school closed, arresting 40 students. But the national congress voted no confidence to the minister of the interior who had ordered the moves, and forced his resignation.

WORKERS' INDEPENDENCE
Evidently, the workers were supporting "their" government, but supporting it in ways which always make a timid and half-way government nervous: independently, with the beginnings of their own program, and always with their own demands brought to the fore...

The six years of strife over which Arevalo presided pushed the revolution forward in a double way. Insofar as the workers became the chief prop of the government in defending it against the right, they thereby made the government ever more dependent upon the left for its existence. And, insofar as the government was beset in granting certain labor demands, the workers struggled independently and often forced the government to yield. This lengthy development showed that the government could not halt the revolution at its simple "capitalist" stage. It had to go forward, or collapse entirely. And since the mass movement prevented it from collapsing, it went slowly forward.

(Next Week: The Agrarian Reform.)

News from Canada

'Defending' Arctic Lanes--in Europe

By Peter Farnsworth

By the time Canada's three-year "defense" program is completed in 1954, it will have consumed almost \$5¼ billion — more for each of the three years than was spent at the peak of World War II, according to Defense Minister Claxton. We are told that the purpose of this colossal expenditure, at the sacrifice of subsidized housing and a national health program, etc., is to defend Canada and our southern neighbor the U.S. from a threatened attack by the Soviet Union.

Flying distance from key Russian air bases to Canada averages less than 3,500 miles; the Russian air force has almost 20,000 planes, 700 of them of the TU-4 type which have a 6,000-mile range, we are constantly warned.

A network of radar stations has been flung across the frozen wastes of the Canadian Arctic to give us warning when the Soviet government signals the attack — but, according to Wing-Commander Richard H. Rohmer, commander of two of Canada's nine auxiliary fighter squadrons, Canadian territory is "defenseless." "Canada could not put up a single modern aircraft in its own defense. (She) is absolutely helpless to an air attack," he told the Canadian Progress Club in Toronto March 27.

Air defense of Canadian territory, he said, is entrusted to "9 auxiliary fighter squadrons spread between Montreal and Vancouver, equipped with a few hopeless Second War Mustangs and less than 50 obsolescent worn-out English-made Vampires, manned by pilots who... can fly only in their spare time on week-ends and by ground crews who are in a similar position but augmented by regular force ground crews."

It isn't that the \$5¼ billion hasn't been enough to outfit powerful squadrons of interceptors or that there has been a delay in getting results from off the assembly lines. Canada produces the Sabre jet — the only match for the Russian MIG-15. It can intercept high-flying bombers. Canada has 9 squadrons completely equipped with Sabres. Not only that, 400 more, at \$280,000 apiece, are coming off the lines right now.

But they are not strategically situated in the Canadian north on "the Russian invasion route." Canada's 9 squadrons of Sabres have been planked down in far-away Europe right on the front door step of the USSR and the buffer countries. The 400 more Sabres that are coming off the lines are not going to fill in the "gaps" in the north — they have been promised to Britain.

Do you sometimes wonder if the USSR really has aggressive intentions towards the American continent? Despite what they say, despite all the fear and hysteria that they are attempting to whip up, by their actions the Canadian government and its military advisers in the Pentagon say, "NO!" Defense of Canadian territory? Don't be absurd! There isn't the slightest possibility of a Russian air attack — that's why we can plank all our air forces within a few minutes of the industrial concentrations of the USSR and the buffer countries.

PACKING UNION CHALLENGES WAR DRIVE AND WITCH HUNT

(Continued from page 1)

under the Constitution are ground under the heel of reaction.

"A new type of germ warfare is going on in this nation. It's a creeping disease that strikes at the minds of men and paralyzes their action. The droppers of this type of bomb are the men who want to drive Americans into subservience to the wishes of the military and war profiteers."

"This is the challenge facing labor today. The men and women who work for their wages, their unions and union leaders must speak up now or lose their franchise as free citizens."

"The United Packinghouse Workers are aware of these dangers. We intend to have our say about the affairs of our nation. We shall point out the enemies of the people and expose them so that the people can act."

"It is to do this task that the UPWA called a conference of its staff and officers to examine the forces that seek to destroy the free labor movement."

"We shall not submit ourselves to silence of fear, for not to speak or act now is to default on our responsibilities."

"The forthcoming editions of *The Packinghouse Worker* will discuss freely the basic issues that face the American people. We invite all expressions of thought on these problems. We will not press our thinking into any mold, but shall strive to keep our minds

clear and our actions honest to the needs and wishes of the men and women who are members of our union."

If the Packinghouse Workers Union carries on its fight in the spirit proclaimed in its important policy statement it may well influence the entire American labor movement.

Up till now labor has been retreating before the assaults of the reactionaries. To bring this retreat to a halt and then — antedily — to launch a counter-offensive against the reactionaries is the only hope for the American people. For the only force in the United States that can possibly stop the drive to a police state and to World War III is labor. But it can only do it if it fights tooth and nail.

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French Cops Stage Union Raid



While French Premier Mayer was begging more money and military aid from Washington, a thousand French cops demonstratively staged an anti-Communist raid on Paris headquarters of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), arrested two CGT officials and also jailed Andre Stille, editor of the Stalinist newspaper *L'Humanite*.

China, USSR Offer Truce Concessions

(Continued from Page 1)
needs time to consolidate his position. But in addition, this course is the one followed by Stalin. It flows from the desire of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union to maintain the status quo, to stave off the showdown with American imperialism. To achieve this, they will make big concessions, but not so big as to endanger their own rule. They cannot open up the Soviet Union to foreign capital, for example.

The reasons for Eisenhower's course are not so self-evident. However, they can be discerned. I discussed them more than three months ago in the January 12 *Militant*.

First of all, Eisenhower needs to overcome the bad diplomatic position he inherited from Truman. By intervening in the Korean civil war, Truman was able to take tremendous strides in advancing the war preparations of American imperialism. The economy was turned more decisively toward war, the witch hunt was deepened and widened and above all the public was psychologized to the inevitability of war with the Soviet Union.

But certain disadvantages also appeared and began mounting. Korea seemed to be a side issue — a "useless" war in the eyes of the American people. Wall Street's capitalist allies found it difficult to "sell" the Korean war to their peoples. Finally, on the diplomatic level, it became more and more evident to the whole world that the aggression in the drive toward World War III rested with American imperialism.

"ARTS OF DIPLOMACY"

The advantages gained by plunging into the Korean civil war thus became exhausted while the need to refurbish American intentions became pressing. This called for a turn. As Joseph E. Evans puts it in the March 20 *Wall Street Journal*: "An end to

the hot wars, a lull in the cold war would give the U.S. an opportunity to practice those arts of diplomacy which in recent years may have been somewhat subordinated to the principle of supposed military strength."

To take a "breathing spell" in the cold war would not mean an end to the war-drive of American imperialism. It would simply mean that the main emphasis shifts for a time from the military side to the diplomatic — and this can prove more dangerous in the final analysis because it is more deceptive.

Besides attempting to camouflage Wall Street's war aims with peace paint, Eisenhower would attempt to wring new concessions through diplomacy that could be turned to military advantage at a later stage. "If Malenkov actually did make a general settlement, or individual settlements," says Evans, "it might be possible to maneuver him into further concessions. It might be possible, by recasting our foreign policy to exploit the breathing spell..."

STEP UP DEMANDS

A truce in Korea, for example, would not mean the withdrawal of American troops. They would remain there in position to resume fighting under one pretext or another. Washington would maintain its economic blockade of China and insist that New China cease aiding the Indo-Chinese in their struggle for freedom from imperialist France. At the same time it would continue to protect dictator Chiang Kai-shek and proceed full speed with the rearmament of Japan, Germany and the rest of its allies.

Other concessions that would be demanded would involve Malaysia, Burma, India, Iran and other parts of the colonial world. These would include demands that the Kremlin help contain the revolutionary movements there. Similar concessions of a political character would be demanded in the rest of the world, par-

ticularly Europe, and the pressure would be great for withdrawal of Soviet forces from Austria, Germany and Eastern Europe.

Sooner or later these demands would become so exorbitant that the Kremlin bureaucracy would be forced to resist. Then we could expect new incidents which the Eisenhower administration would turn into excuses for resumption of the military pressure, this time perhaps in more favorable areas of the world than Korea.

WOULD PROVE UNSTABLE

If a breathing spell does occur, how long could it last? In my opinion it would prove highly unstable and short-lived. What is finally decisive in Eisenhower's course is the needs of American economy. The whole war drive reflects the economy's imperative requirement for expansion. The alternative is a depression worse than the thirties.

Thus at the first indication that a truce in Korea might be in sight, the stock market took a dive. According to the Washington staff reporter of the *Wall Street Journal* March 30, "Everywhere you went, the Government was taking a hurried fresh look at the economy in the light of the new Chinese proposals for ending the war."

In response to Wall Street's peace jitters, administration spokesmen, according to Donald I. Rogers of the *New York Herald Tribune* April 1, "raised placating hands and promised that defense spending would not stop."

We may be sure that the Republicans will prove sensitive to the threat of depression and that a major dip in the economy would swiftly impel them toward war. The threat of depression cuts across all other considerations in the final analysis, and since the American economy is perilously close to one, even with heavy military spending, we can expect that any truce or deal that does not bring major Soviet concessions will prove to be short.

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The Menace of Militarism

"Creeping Militarism" is the title of one of the most outspoken articles that has been published in years in the union press. It appears in the Labor Research column of the March 26 *Labor's Daily*, America's only daily labor newspaper.

"The richest nation on earth (in which 30,000,000 people don't even have a decent house to live in) is beginning to depend more and more on its military . . . as a dumping ground for its excess produce . . ." says the column. "What would be the solution to over-production if there were no army to be used as a dumping ground? What will happen if the Korean war ends and peaceful relations with Russia and the rest of the world result? The United States would still maintain its army. It would have to."

The profound truth of these words is borne home to us with the first repercussions of the mere suggestion of a possible peace in Korea. Stock market prices began to "sag," as the press headlines phrased it, immediately on announcement of the latest truce bid by the Chinese and North Koreans. The prospect of peace gives shivers to the American capitalists. They must at all costs maintain their huge military "dumping ground" to keep their profits system going.

The consequences of this capitalist dependence on militarism and war, points out the

Labor's Daily's column, is an ever-growing trend toward military dictatorship.

"If the present trend toward reliance on the military continues, the U.S. will eventually reach a point at which it will be too vulnerable for criticism. Its policy will be definitely militaristic and military governments always have too much to hide. . . . As more and more reliance is placed on the military at home, the military will take more and more privileges, just as it has abroad. It will seize more and more power, just as it has abroad." Finally it will become so "unhealthy to criticize the government" that "a dictatorship will have arrived in fact," concludes the column.

Thinking people in the labor movement are becoming more and more aware that the war danger does not come from abroad; that the greatest threat to the democratic rights of the people lies here at home. They are rooted in the "unplanned economy" of American capitalism, as the column indicates.

The column stops short of drawing programmatic conclusions. But they are obvious. If we are to halt war and the trend to dictatorship the organized labor movement must mobilize the people in independent political action to take power in Washington and establish a planned economy of socialism that will produce for the needs of the people and won't need a military "dumping ground" for "surplus" goods.

Lesson of November 4th

In his speech to the recent UAW convention, CIO Secretary-Treasurer James Carey said the following:

"None of us denies that we still have much to learn about politics and political action. That, certainly, was re-emphasized to us last November 4. It was a harsh lesson, but perhaps not without some beneficial consequences. . . .

"Perhaps the new climate will result in organized labor making itself more self-reliant, more self-sufficient. Perhaps it will mean a greater dependence on our own resources, our own economic strength, our own solidarity. . . .

"Reaction and special privilege are seldom capable of restraining their own greed and lust for power. Out of their own stupidity, therefore, they may help create a far stronger American labor movement, perhaps a far more militant labor movement."

There is a lot of truth in what Carey said. The blows of the reactionaries will stimulate new thinking in the ranks of organized labor, will drive workers to be less dependent upon "friends" in the two capitalist parties, and will eventually pave the way for a movement in the direction of a Labor Party.

But none of this can come automatically. It needs leadership, organization, program. The very point that Carey stresses, the need to "learn much" about "politics and political action," is the paramount one. The labor movement needs a leadership that can really learn

the lessons of last November, and of the Novembers that preceded it.

The chief lesson is the need for independent political action by labor in the form of labor's own party. Whoever has not learned that from last November has learned nothing. And Carey gives no sign that he has been taught that paramount lesson.

It is true, as Carey says, that the greed and arrogance of "reaction and special privilege" will stir new currents in the American labor movement. That's what happened during the depression, and that's what gave birth to the CIO. But it must be recalled that the great majority of the leadership of the old AFL, out of which the CIO was born, refused to learn the new lessons or to see the new opportunities. A new leadership had to be fashioned, much of it directly out of the shops of the mass-production industries. Walter Reuther and Carey himself were examples of this new leadership.

Carey talked a great deal about the early days of the CIO. If he wants to learn something important from them he should consider this fact: The labor movement will not wait forever on timid and hesitant leaders who refuse to take the necessary steps of labor progress. If the old leaders won't serve, new ones must be drawn up from the ranks. And that is the situation which these old leaders must soon face as the labor movement becomes re-vitalized and re-radicalized under the blows of reaction.

Stalin and Stalinism -- Their Real Meaning

By Michel Pablo
(Continued from last week.)

Stalin was the representative of a social caste that is parasitic, to be sure, but which drinks the sap from a young and vigorous tree. He was the representative, that is, of the Soviet bureaucracy administering the economy and power of the first Workers State. As against the decadent capitalist West, he represented the energy of the Barbarian — but a Barbarian who rested upon a new social order.

Must we conclude from this that Stalin was an impersonal figure, the impersonal and passive sum of the characteristics of the bureaucratic machine that created and formed him, the general and abstract face of the bureaucracy — a face without its own physiognomy?

Leon Trotsky, who did not live through the Second World War and the new postwar period, and wrote his biography of Stalin under the intolerable pressure of Stalin's abominable crimes at the time of the trials and extermination of the Old Guard, that is, at the very height of the Thermidorian reaction — Trotsky spoke, in the unfinished introduction to his book, of Stalin's "exceptional and special personal qualities." "But," he added, "they were not the qualities of the thinker, writer, or orator."

We should remark, in passing, that the bureaucratic machine has created the legend of Stalin as "thinker," "theoretician," "Marxist classic" in the lineage of Marx, Engels and Lenin. But the sole piece of valid Marxist literature written by Stalin is *The National and Colonial Question*, which he wrote in 1913 with Lenin's help and supervision. Mao Tse-tung now adds Stalin's *Questions of Leninism* and, of course, his last work *Economic Problems of Socialism* (see Mao's article "The Great Friendship" in the Peking newspaper *Jing Ming Ji Pao*, Mar. 12). The former, written in 1924, codifies in a pedantic and over-simplified fashion the rich dialectic teachings of Lenin. As for the latter, comrade Germain's analysis (see *Fourth International*, Nov.-Dec. 1952) exposes its real "theoretical" and "Marxist" base.

There is room for a complete study of Stalin's literary and theoretical works as an expression of the strange mixture of Byzantinism, scholasticism, empiricism and opportunism which pervades the entire thinking of the bureaucracy.

As for the art of the most flagrant falsification of events and documents, Stalin's *History of the Russian Communist Party* will remain an unequalled monument.

But to return: Stalin's qualities were those of a man who understood thoroughly the milieu of the party apparatus and its people, and knew how to use it for his own ends of usurping power. Once in power, Stalin knew how

to perfect his special role of Bonaparte within the Soviet bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy, product of multiple social contradictions, plays in its entirety a Bonapartist role within Soviet society, raising itself above the working masses of the Soviet Union and profiting from the equilibrium between imperialism and the international proletariat.

(On the multiple social contradictions of the bureaucracy, Trotsky wrote: "The Soviet bureaucracy is the product of social contradictions between the city and the village; between the proletariat and the peasantry (these two kinds of contradictions are not identical); between the national republics and districts; between the different groups of peasantry; between the different layers of the working class; between the different groups of consumers; and, finally, between the Soviet state as a whole and its capitalist environment.")

BONAPARTIST STRUCTURE

Heterogeneous, full of internal contradictions, the bureaucracy contains within itself a Bonapartist structure which goes from bottom to top.

Stalin, Boss of the "Bosses," became the super-arbiter of the bureaucracy, the Bonaparte par excellence. To maintain himself in this function he had to find the necessary strength and prestige. Neither of these were the exclusive product of the simple functioning of the bureaucratic machine which, in any case, required an indisputable "Boss."

What was required in addition was a combination of favorable historical conditions, personal talents, and sufficient time. Stalin the Bonaparte was able to play his particular role thanks to the historical conditions which, in the period between the two wars, favored the Soviet bureaucracy; thanks to his past and prestige as an Old Bolshevik; his knowledge of the party apparatus, his tenacity, will and lack of scruples; and thanks to the many years which history allowed him for shaping and relatively consolidating himself.

Stalin was not simply the formal Boss of the Soviet bureaucracy and its controlling nucleus, the incarnation of its unity, the collective conscience and prestige of the bureaucracy. He possessed a real strength deriving from a personal apparatus composed of men in his personal confidence who were placed in all the key posts of the party, the government, the police and the army.

Thanks to this personal apparatus directly tied to himself, "secret and omnipotent, and above every other power" as Souvarine correctly remarks, Stalin controlled and dominated each and every member of the leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It was this real personal strength and prestige, created as a result of favorable objective conditions during the course of a long career, that made it possible for Stalin to play his role of the indisputable super-arbiter and the unifying and stabilizing element of the bureaucracy.

CHANGED CONDITIONS

This particular function cannot be fulfilled today or tomorrow by any one of his successors. It cannot be fulfilled in an identical manner even after longer periods of time. And the main reason for this is that the objective historical conditions that favored the rise of the bureaucracy and the reign of Stalin have changed fundamentally since the Second World War.

The equilibrium on which the Soviet bureaucracy and Stalin's Bonapartist power rested has been broken on every plane, internal and external: in the field of the relationship of the Soviet bureaucracy with the masses of the country and with the international masses, and in the field of the relationships between the masses, imperialism and the bureaucracy itself.

The Soviet bureaucracy finds itself caught today between the offensive pressure, on the one hand, of the imperialist coalition led by Washington; and, on the other hand, the steadily increasing pressure exerted by the powerful upsurge of the colonial revolution, and by the growing opposition of the Soviet masses to the police regime on the basis of the economic and cultural progress achieved in the Soviet Union.

The last factor is not the least important. Trotsky always maintained that the economic and cultural development of the Soviet Union, although in the first

period working to the advantage of the bureaucracy more than to the advantage of the masses themselves, would inevitably turn against the police-controlled and bureaucratic political regime.

The Soviet Union has not retrogressed either economically or culturally, despite the bureaucratic control of the economy and the state, and despite the war. The possibilities, the viability and the vigor of the social system born of the October Revolution have revealed their enormous scope.

Economically and socially the system is today stronger, more solidly rooted than before the war. The rupture of imperialist encirclement and the aggravated crisis of capitalism have contributed powerfully to the strengthening, not weakening, of the system.

Trotsky, in *The Revolution Betrayed*, posed the question of the future of the Soviet Union in the decade 1936 to 1946 — which he considered, quite correctly, as critical — by pointing out the extent of the Thermidorian actions of the controlling nucleus of the bureaucracy and the approaching threat of war.

If we examine the present situation of the Soviet bureaucracy from the basis of the global effects of the evolution of the Soviet Union itself and the evolution of the international situation (which is characterized by the upsurge of the international revolution and the aggravated crisis of capitalism), we can safely summarize it as follows: The equilibrium of the Soviet bureaucracy in its entirety is becoming more and more precarious within Soviet society. Within the bureaucracy itself, the restorationist wing, which wants to denationalize and de-plan the economy, is in retreat in relation to the (properly speaking) Bonapartist wing, which rests on the social bases of the system born of the October Revolution.

From this analysis two important conclusions follow: The controlling Bonapartist nucleus of the bureaucracy can reckon on a base which is larger than ever within the bureaucracy, but a base which is narrower than ever within the masses. It is this latter which counts as the essential factor in relation to the future of Stalin's successors. We speak of successors and not one successor, because the sum of historical conditions which favored Stalin's reign have been finished with once and for all.

CENTRIFUGAL TENDENCIES

From this point of view, Stalin was unique and will be irreplaceable, both in his function as the inviolable super-arbiter and as the stabilizing and unifying element of the bureaucracy. His disappearance liberates, in a certain sense, the centrifugal tendencies that pervade the Soviet bureaucracy and the leadership of the Communist Parties in vassalage or tied to the Kremlin. It will render the whole situation of the Stalinist bureaucracy more fluid, more shifting; it will accelerate the crisis and the differentiations of the bureaucracy.

Other observers than us perceive already that in a certain sense Stalinism was dead before the death of Stalin. They perceive, even though in a confused way, that the dynamics of the international situation, nourished by the crisis of capitalism and the upsurge of the international revolution, has undertaken the demolishing, piece by piece, of the "theoretical" scaffolding of Stalinism: the theory of "socialism in one country," the schema of non-proletarian revolutions and systems capped with so-called "peoples' democracy." They perceive what a mortal stroke for Stalinism in general and for Stalin personally was the unforeseen and undesired victory of Mao Tse-tung, who was himself forced to struggle for power under the pressure of the revolutionary peasant masses.

In an article in the *Manchester Guardian*, Mar. 6, Deutscher — after emphasizing that Stalin had played the role of brake rather than accelerator in the international revolution and must have been completely surprised by the victory of Mao Tse-tung whom he had always instructed to come to an understanding with the Kuomintang — expresses the opinion that all of Stalin's efforts were aimed at keeping the revolution "within a single country." But, Deutscher remarks, Stalin had not foreseen the extent to which the victory over Germany and Japan would compel the Kremlin to move out of the old framework within which it would have liked to consolidate itself.

Denies Soviet Is War Threat



After visit with Pres. Eisenhower (L.), Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, chief of staff of North Atlantic Treaty Organization army, told reporters: "My own opinion is that the Soviets are not ready to go to war." This belies propaganda that it is the USSR that is "aggressively" pressing for war.

In this sense, "Stalinism," Deutscher states, "died before Stalin."

We must not, of course, rush to the conclusion, from the disappearance of Stalin, that the confusion and crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy will bring immediate and decisive results.

Stalin is dead, but the final fate of Stalinism is bound up with still more important victories of the revolution over imperialism. As to the immediate results of a new succession to Stalin at the head of the bureaucracy, we can at the moment only speculate.

FIRST REACTIONS

The first reactions of the Bonapartist nucleus of the bureaucracy indicate that they did not expect such a sudden disappearance of their Boss; that they feel disoriented, threatened from both right and left, and react by proceeding toward an extreme concentration of power in the hands of a team made up in its majority of old-timers.

This concentration of power, arbitrarily annulling the recent decisions of the 19th Congress of the Russian CP, is revealed in the creation of the "Presidium of the Council of Ministers," a real "war cabinet" bringing together Malenkov-Beria-Molotov-Bulganin-Kaganovich, all five of them old-timers; as well as in the new "Presidium of the Central Committee," with 10 full members and four alternates instead of the 25 full members and 10 alternates of the Presidium elected by the 19th Congress (the

former Politburo, abolished by the 19th Congress, being thus revived).

The Secretariat of the Presidium of the Central Committee seems to be composed of eight members and is more or less mixed with the Presidium.

In the two Presidiums, a narrower team of three members stands out: Malenkov, Beria and Molotov.

We notice the promotion of Beria to second place from the fourth place he occupied while Stalin was alive (Stalin, Molotov, Malenkov, Beria). Does he occupy this place with the voluntary agreement of Molotov and all the other members of the leading team, or has he, in alliance with Malenkov, imposed this on the others (as well as Malenkov's place)?

Malenkov is proposed for the role of formal successor to Stalin, Boss of the "Bosses." But he is far from fulfilling the same function. Malenkov rests on a team every member of which is at the head of an autonomous department and autonomous force (Beria head of the police, Bulganin head of the army, Molotov head of foreign affairs); and he possesses no personal power or prestige of his own.

The relationship of forces between Malenkov and the team he rests on is exactly the opposite of the relationship of forces between Stalin and his teammates. He is still only a candidate for the real succession to Stalin. The likelihood is that he will remain no more than that.

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TWIN CITIES TAKES LEAD IN SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

(Continued from page 1)

possibilities of getting subs are excellent and that the need for a paper like *The Militant* is being felt."

Newark, now in fourth place on the national scoreboard, gives an example of the kind of persistent hard work that pays dividends in the end. Their comment on the campaign: "It's slow going but we're making progress. Like any other kind of socialist work — the more we put in, the more we get out of it. We hope to do better before the campaign is over."

Cooper found a good response to the special "Stalin" issue in his plant in Akron. "Last week," he writes, "I sold seven copies in the shop. This issue also had my article on the Akron witch hunt. I heard good reactions. One worker told me that his daughter, whose husband is away in the service, picked up the paper at home and asked him, 'Dad, where

did you get this paper? Do they give it out at the plant?' Dad answered, 'No, but they should.' The daughter commented that it had many good ideas. One worker said, 'The paper proves that they had a good thing in Russia until the gangsters took over.' Another worker made similar comments."

Bob Rodney, of New York, reports an excellent reception to the Mar. 23 *Militant* by delegates to the UAW Convention. He and Sherry distributed over 500 copies to the Monday morning session where they were greeted with many friendly and encouraging remarks. Most of the workers were familiar with *The Militant* and were glad to get this issue with its excellent articles on the problems of the convention.

The CIO United Auto Workers Union now has 150,000 women members. This is a 50% increase since the 1951 convention.

The Story of a Japanese-American Girl

By George Lavan

NISEI DAUGHTER by Monica Sone, Little Brown & Co., Boston, 1953, \$3.50.

This is the autobiography of a young American woman of Japanese ancestry.

The author was born in 1918 in Seattle. Her hard-working, immigrant parents became proprietors of a small hotel on Seattle's Skidrow. The obvious drawbacks of such an environment were in the case of a minority-group youngster more than compensated for by Skidrow's advantages. While, in a middle-class suburb, Nisei children would have been practically quarantined to the Japanese community, on Skidrow they were accepted. For every drunk or corrupt cop, Monica Sone found men of good will who reached a friendly hand across the color line.

The estrangement between American-born children and immigrant parents who nostalgically try to pass on to their offspring some of the old-country culture is a well documented theme in American literature for almost all immigrant groups. Yet here, to my knowledge, is the first place it has been described in the case of Japanese-Americans.

With the passing of childhood Monica became increasingly aware of the wall of discrimination that had been erected around the West-Coast Japanese-Americans. As the conflict between Imperial Japan and imperialist America drew closer, it overshadowed the lives of the Nisei and their parents.

Finally, after the outbreak of war they were herded into trucks and deported from the West Coast to inland concentration camps.

In treating this black page in U.S. history the author leans over backward to be "dispassionate." Apparently wishing to avoid being labelled a sorehead, she points out wherever she can the silver lining. That lining was the solidarity of the prisoners, their determination to preserve their human dignity, to keep their spirits up, the sometimes happy events that took place behind the barbed wire and the actions of individual white friends who braved the war hysteria to do kindnesses to the imprisoned.

(It may be pointed out here that *The Militant* was one of the few papers during the war to protest vigorously the brutal treatment of Japanese-Americans.)

Miss Sone obviously hopes that such a nightmare will never again occur. She apparently believes that America is suffering remorse and that out of the whole tragic episode greater tolerance has come.

PREJUDICE REMAINS

For a more hard-headed analysis of the present "tolerance" for Japanese-Americans, I recommend a short article entitled "Old Stereotyped Pattern" by George Yamada that appeared in the Jan. 1953 *Crisis*, magazine of the NAACP.

How much of the present "acceptance" of Americans of Japanese extraction by public officials and editors is real? How much of it is dictated by foreign policy considerations? Have the economic groups who profited from the dispossession of the

West-Coast Japanese-Americans ceased to be a threat?

What would happen to the official "friendship" for this minority group if Japan were to go the way of China? And if U.S. imperialism should go into all-out war with Japan (and China) would not the Japanese-Americans (and Chinese-Americans) again be the victims of an officially encouraged racist propaganda?

KAWAKITA CASE

Would the courts in World War III do what they failed to do for Japanese-Americans during the last war — that is uphold their constitutional "guarantees"? A sinister omen in the judicial field is the fact that in all the trials of Americans convicted of aiding Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy or Imperial Japan during the last war, only one person, Tomoya Kawakita, a Japanese-American, has been given the death sentence. It is noteworthy, too, that the charges against Kawakita were not as grave as those for which white Americans were given prison sentences.

Nisei Daughter may not give the complete picture of the present-day problems of Japanese-Americans, but that is no defect of the book, for Monica Sone nowhere indicates that this was her purpose. Instead she gives a personal narrative of one young Nisei girl. She does this very well. She writes, it seems, effortlessly. She has a fine talent for humor. The book is excellent and all who read it will find not only entertainment but instruction as well.

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Segregation in Housing

By Jean Blake

In housing, as in almost every other social field in this country, colored workers suffer from the effects of the twin evils of capitalism and Jim Crow. They must struggle against both the unequal status all workers have in comparison with the privileged groups in our class-divided society, and the special forms of discrimination maintained to keep the working class divided.

Colored workers generally have come to recognize that the problem of fair employment practices, of equal opportunities in making a living, cannot be solved apart from solutions achieved by the working class as a whole. They know that what hurts "labor" hurts them, and have sought to build a strong alliance between the labor movement and Negro reform movements. As a result, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the unions now have very similar legislative programs for social reforms, and appear together lobbying for FEPC, low-cost public housing, minimum wage laws, and defense of civil rights.

But in dealing with the special problem of Jim Crow discrimination in each field, Negro organizations usually have to take the initiative in organizing protest and calling the attention of the labor movement to the fact that it too has a stake in abolishing every source of division of the working class.

However, since reforms, by their very nature, have limited objectives — alleviation of some of the most dangerous slum conditions, for

example — the common underlying causes of the evils are not always clear. As a result reformists frequently lose their perspective, so that white workers can be deluded into thinking they can win their objective without bothering about fighting Jim Crow, and Negroes into thinking they can end segregation without fighting capitalism.

This results in blind-alley movements. Backward white workers attempt to get low-cost housing projects that bar Negroes. The familiar patterns of segregation are instituted. Prejudices based on ignorance are maintained and the strength that comes from united struggle on the job and in every other field is lost.

Or, Negroes, convinced their white worker "allies" cannot be depended on, become more receptive to proposals for Negro capitalist enterprises which depend on "our own economic strength" to provide housing. The net result of such projects usually is no change for the mass, who continue to live in miserable, crowded ghettos. And it means disillusionment for those with small capital to invest. Either they lose that small capital to promoters who, in the "American Way," must make their profit; or they become profiteers themselves, doubly exploiting desperate fellow-workers who can only buy or rent from them.

As long as separate Negro housing reform movements limit themselves to building or renting on a capitalist basis they are (1) segregated, and (2) subject to duplication of all the evils of capitalist housing as a whole.

Killing Yourself to Live

By Joyce Cowley

A report in *The Christian Science Monitor* this week shows that you really can beat inflation and maintain a decent standard of living. If you're willing to work 70 to 80 hours a week it's possible to make ends meet and if your wife goes to work, too, you may even save a dollar.

It is the consensus of a large number of employment agencies that more people are holding down two jobs today than ever before in America's history. Men struggling to raise a family find they can't meet the bills with a regular week's pay. A steelworker in Pittsburgh explains:

"I'm making more money than ever before, but I'm getting less of the things I want all the time. We went to installment credit and borrowed. Now we're in the hole and I'm working down at Joe's garage every spare minute to get squared away."

Workers in this country went through a bitter struggle to win an 8-hour day. Now, with a man holding down one 8-hour job five days a week, a second job Saturday, Sunday and maybe a couple of nights, we seem to have won only the opportunity to be exploited by two different employers.

This report shows how even a man in the \$25,000 a year bracket — president of a corporation — is forced to take extra work. Seems that's the only way he can pay his income tax and keep up appearances. I don't think he's typical. The majority of people taking extra work are low-salaried white-collar workers. A sampling of 10,000 school teachers revealed that 69% found it necessary to get an extra job. The Federal Employment Service reported that almost half the women, most of whom

had children or other dependents, were seeking part-time work from necessity. Most of the men were those who found their full-time salaries inadequate.

Older workers and retired people are also looking for part-time work. They can't get along on their miserable pensions and Social Security benefits. If you take a look at what amounts are generally paid, you'll understand the "psychological" resistance to retirement, which I just read about in an article on older workers.

A couple of weeks ago I discussed proposed legislation to put young children to work on fruit and vegetable farms. Looks like pretty soon everyone will be working — "little men and women" of six, people in their eighties who can't make out on social security payments — nurseries, I suppose, will take 10-day-old babies so mother can rush back to her job, and every able-bodied younger man will have at least two jobs. We ought to get rich but the worst of it is, we'll only be struggling to make ends meet and still going in the hole.

Somebody will be getting rich. The people who own the mines and factories and utilities aren't really pinched for cash. They made record profits this year. It's obvious that you don't make money because you work hard. If you've got a mine or a factory, you don't need to work at all.

That's why I'd like to see all the people in this country own its industries and natural resources. Then instead of working to make millionaires richer, we'd work for ourselves. We wouldn't have a 70-hour week or even 40-hour week and we would be able to produce all the things that we need and want.

Notes from the News

THE NAACP has asked the House Subcommittee, which has been looking into the deal between the U.S. Dept. of Justice and the New York police on police brutality, to investigate "whether there exist any other agreements between the Department of Justice and police officials in other cities."

MINE OF MISINFORMATION. "In 1848, in a Paris attic, two Russian emigres, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, sat down together to draft a blueprint for world domination. Their blueprint was the Communist Manifesto," Congressman Jackson of California recently told the U.S. House of Representatives. Some of Rep. Jackson's errors are: (a) Marx and Engels were Germans, not Russians. (b) The Communist Manifesto was written in Brussels, not Paris. (c) The "blueprint" was worked out in 1847, not 1848. (d) It wasn't written in an attic, conspiratorial or romantic as that many sound. But this can go on through the letter "z." Few ordinary mortals could pack so many mistakes into so few lines. It takes that special kind of genius seemingly possessed principally by Congressmen.

REUTHER AND ROYALTY. The delegates to the CIO United Auto Workers convention in Atlantic City had to stand in silence for a minute as "God Save the Queen" was sung in memory of the recently deceased Dowager Queen Mary of Great Britain.

THE ANTI-RED CRUSADER in the UN, bloody dictator Trujillo of the Dominican "Republic," has been denounced by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for refusing entry to a mission from the International Labor Office, which hoped to study labor conditions in that Caribbean country.

TEXTILE UNEMPLOYMENT is graphically illustrated by the fact that employment in the woolen and worsted industry in the U.S. has declined approximately 33% in the last seven years. The CIO Textile union adds that of the 115,000 still working, the great majority is on part time.

GOES TO DOGS EITHER WAY. A man in Paris, Illinois, died leaving \$40,000. His will

specified that it should be used for the care of his dogs and what was left over should be given to the Democratic Party. With all due respect for the dead, it is possible to say that the deceased showed, if not much wisdom, at least a certain consistency in his choice of beneficiaries.

MURAL CENSORED. The New School for Social Research in New York, which became famous as a haven for anti-Fascist German and Italian professors, has succumbed to the witch-hunt hysteria. It has covered a section of the murals painted by the great Mexican artist, Orozco. Reason was that this section of the mural contained portraits of Lenin and Stalin. Some time ago the New School put a plaque below the mural stating that the opinions expressed in it were solely those of the artist. But that disclaimer apparently wasn't enough. It is rumored that the New School would like to give away the artistically first-rate murals but hasn't found a suitable institution. One solution is that which the great "art patrons," the Rockefellers, decided on when Radio City was built. Diego Rivera had painted a mural containing a portrait of Lenin. Rockefellers promptly had the whole mural destroyed.

BURMA has informed the State Department that it will take no more economic aid from the U.S. Reason is not that Burma doesn't need aid, but that it can't swallow all the U.S. strings attached to it. This became apparent when Burma asked the UN to condemn the aggression of Nationalist China. Chiang Kai-shek has 12,000 troops in Northeast Burma and Burmese attempts to make them leave have failed. These troops are supplied with U.S. weapons and it has been said that they are supplied by U.S. planes and that they are, in part, led by Central Intelligence Agents from the U.S. Chiang's troops have been reported, in true Chiang style, to be raiding and pillaging Burmese villages. In a recent fight against the Chinese Nationalist invaders the Burmese army was left in possession of the field of battle. Among the enemy dead were three white men. Papers on their bodies contained various Washington, D. C., and New York addresses. The U.S. Embassy in Rangoon, however, stoutly maintains that the dead men are not Americans but Germans.

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Public Blocks Ban on Books In Cleveland

CLEVELAND, March 29 — The reactionary tide of thought-control received two set-backs in Ohio recently. In Cleveland, on March 18, a wave of public indignation stopped passage of a new ordinance to provide for police censorship of publications sold here. The next day a bill was introduced in the legislature in Columbus to repeal existing laws providing for state censorship of movies.

From the time Councilman Joseph Flannery's proposed ordinance, ostensibly aimed at banning publication, sale and distribution of sex and crime publications, was first reported in the local press, a steady stream of objections to such censorship has appeared in letters to the editors. When the public hearings on the measure were held March 18, more than 75 persons jammed the committee rooms to oppose it.

Among the speakers against the ordinance were the president of the World Publishing Co. and L. Quincy Mumford, librarian. Even Police Capt. Arthur Roth and Chief Police Prosecutor Bernard J. Conway admitted they believed existing ordinances are sufficient to police obscene literature. However, an 18-year-old student from a Catholic high school presented a petition with 11,000 signatures in support of the proposed ordinance.

Continued vigilance in defense of freedom of the press will be needed in this city, it was made clear, when Councilman Mary T. Sotak announced she will introduce another measure calling on Mayor Burke to name a censorship committee of Parent-Teachers Association, religious, business and police membership. In introducing his bill to repeal censorship of motion pictures in Ohio, State Sen. Charles Mosher of Oberlin said:

"I am not concerned about movies one way or the other, but I am concerned about freedom of the press and speech."

Mosher is editor and publisher of the weekly Oberlin News-Tribune, president of the Buckeye Press Assn. and a member of the Ohio Newspaper Assn.'s committee on freedom of information.

Ohio's movie censorship law was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1951, but a new test of the law's constitutionality is being prepared in the light of the U.S. court's decision last May upholding a New York ban on Rossellini's "The Miracle." A Toledo court's ruling last September, that the state's \$3-a-reel licensing fee to censor newsreels is unconstitutional, is being appealed.

SWP in L.A. Gets Wide Audience

(Continued from page 1)

hood church group of about 100, she was surrounded by a dozen young people who talked to her for at least an hour. A few days later they asked her to appear before their group for further discussion.

The SWP candidates have been able to speak before such minority and political groups as the Negro Labor Council and IPP. The Negro Labor Council, apparently under Stalinist influence, had invited all the mayoralty candidates but Mrs. Weiss. She was able to get the floor, however, and informed the audience that discrimination must be fought on all levels, including discrimination against race, sex, national origin as well as against working-class political opponents.

A-BOMBS OR SCHOOLS?

Candidate Morgan has spoken to more than 1,000 people this past week alone. He has pointed out how problems concerning the Board of Education, such as more schools, cafeterias and school buildings, are related to the needs of the war economy which puts A-bombs before education.

A significant question asked Robert Morgan at the meeting of the League of Women Voters was whether the current hearings of the Un-American Activities Committee here would have an effect on the elections. He said there is a good deal of evidence which tends to indicate that these hearings are held to coincide with such events as elections and strikes in order to intimidate the people.

Those who are interested in learning more about the SWP and its programs are invited to the Friday night forums at Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles.

Harvester FE Workers Fight Back Against Company's Union-Busting

Leaders at UAW Convention



CIO United Automobile Workers leaders at recent convention in Atlantic City: (l. to r.) Sec-Treas. Emil Mazey and Pres. Walter P. Reuther; (standing) Vice Presidents Richard T. Gosser and John W. Livingston. See Page 1 for report.

EX-SPANISH STALINIST LEADER BARES DETAILS OF GPU MURDER OF NIN

By George Lavan

Sensational new disclosures of the Kremlin's betrayal of the Spanish Civil War have been made in Mexico by Jesus Hernandez, a leader in the Spanish Communist Party and Stalinist cabinet minister in the Popular Front Government during the Civil War. Among Hernandez's revelations are the first inside facts on the GPU kidnapping and murder of Andres Nin, leader of the anti-Stalinist Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM).

This story was broken by Worldover Press in the form of an article by its correspondent in Mexico, Victor Alba, himself a Spanish Socialist and author of books against Franco. Alba gives the highlights of a book by Jesus Hernandez that has just been published in Mexico. The book is entitled "Yo Fui Un Ministro de Stalin" ("I Was a Minister of Stalin").

In the early 1930s Hernandez returned to Spain, following training in Moscow. He then directed the Communist Party daily newspaper *Mundo Obrero*. He became a member of the Spanish CP's Political Bureau, remaining on it until 1943. During the Civil War he represented the Communist Party in the Popular Front government as Minister of Public Education. He was also made a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. After the triumph of Fascism in Spain he went to the Soviet Union. In 1943 he was sent from the USSR to Mexico. There he began talking about the things he had witnessed in the Comintern. As a result he was expelled from the Stalinist movement and warned to keep his mouth shut.

Hernandez declares that Orlov, head of the GPU in Spain, ordered the imprisonment and murder of Andres Nin. Nin, who was a former secretary of Leon Trotsky, was tortured for 14 days in the house of Alcala de Henares, near Madrid, where the GPU had secret headquarters. The GPU tried to make Nin "confess" to being an agent of Franco — in the style of the Moscow "confession" trials where the victims were forced to declare they were agents of Hitler. Since Nin, a man of great courage, could not be forced to "confess" and since his person bore the marks of the torture, the GPU assassins murdered him and hid his body.

This terrible deed was carried out under the direction of Victor Vidal (alias Sormenti and Contreras), who staged an "abduction" of Nin by German Stalinist members of the International Brigade. Then the rumor was spread by the GPU that German "agents of Hitler" had "saved" Nin. Actually these same German militia men assassinated the Spanish working-class leader and hid the body. Hernandez adds that all these German tools of the

GPU were themselves soon "dead at the front" — killed by the GPU, under cover of combat, on the principle that dead men tell no tales.

The appearance of "I Was a Minister of Stalin" in Mexico has stirred up great interest in left-wing and Spanish-refugee circles. The magazine, *Programa Revista de Doctrina Socialista*, of which Victor Alba is an associate editor, in its January issue carries a dossier of the known facts about GPU-agent Vittorio Vidale (alias Sormenti, alias Carlos Contreras, alias "El Comandante Carlos"). It states that he participated in the machine-gun attack on the home of Leon Trotsky in Mexico. It also points out that this professional killer had gone to New York in the very period when Carlo Tresca, the beloved Anarchist leader, was shot to death. Friends of Tresca have always been certain that he was murdered either by Stalinists or Italian Fascist agents.

Hernandez also states that the GPU, headed by Orlov, at one point had prepared the assassination of Indalecio Prieto, then Minister of Defense and later Premier. The murder was to appear as an automobile accident. The GPU, however, was overruled on this by the Political Bureau of the Spanish Communist Party, for political reasons.

The most devastating charge leveled by the former top Spanish Stalinist is that the Kremlin, after Munich, cold-bloodedly decided to inflict military defeat on the Spanish Republic. This was decided upon because Moscow had already begun secret overtures to Hitler for a pact, and it was decided that the sacrifice of Spain would demonstrate the Kremlin's good will to Hitler. Accordingly, Soviet military advisors in Spain precipitated the disastrous Battle of the Ebro, in which, within two months the Loyalist army lost 70,000 men. This draining of the military strength of the Republican army made defeat in the war certain. The former Politbureau member of the Spanish CP and member of Executive Committee of the Comintern declares flatly that this was the Kremlin's purpose and that the foredoomed plan of "battle" was imposed on the Spanish government by threats of cutting off all Soviet aid if it was not carried out.

The CIO is reported about to readmit the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union. The independent union, which has 35,000 members, is composed of elements that seceded or were expelled from the CIO under charges of being dominated by the Communist Party. Since then the independent union has freed itself from Stalinist influence.

CHICAGO, March 28 — Rank-and-file action shut down International Harvester's Tractor Works here on March 19 and 20 when 90% of the workers protested against suspension of their union president and grievance vice-chairman.

Ever since contracts with the Farm Equipment division of the United Electrical Workers were signed after the 87-day grueling strike last fall, the I-H corporation has attempted to smash the union, using the weak contract that was forced upon the workers after the strike to cut wages and increase speed-up. But the tractor workers are fighting back and telling I-H they will not be walked over.

The suspension of the two union officials for three and two weeks respectively was strictly a frame-up. They had simply intervened to ask why top management was not meeting with a department that had requested a meeting. Immediately after the victimization, 291 men in surrounding departments protested: "If you suspend our officials, we'll take it, too." The company suspended the 291 for 3 days.

THE RANKS ANSWER

These rank and file-issued a leaflet to the next morning shift asking them to share the suspension: "For every employee whom you try to suspend because he fights against wage cuts, you, I-H, are going to be met with the unity of all the shop." Response was immediate and effective. For purposes of production the entire plant was shut down.

This was one of the most successful demonstrations in the history of the local. There was no official strike, no banners, no educational committee, no sound truck — just leaflets issued by the suspended workers. Yet 90% of the workers stayed out for two days. Some of the men who had been misled into returning to work before the last strike was over turned out to be among the most active organizers of this demonstration; their departments have felt the heaviest blows from the company.

In response to instructions in a leaflet, all the men met at the main gate Monday morning before starting time. Monday's leaflet told them to go back to work. They marched in — united — having demonstrated their ability to fight the company's wage cuts, reclassification and speed-up even under their present inadequate contract.

ANOTHER STRUGGLE

The revolt against the company's continuous attack has been general throughout the Harvester

How Auto Union Met Key Issues

(Continued from page 1)

Reuther supporters. But on problems they understood and which involved their interests they voted on the issue.

What the delegates did not understand was that Reuther's political line of making the union subservient to the capitalist two-party system and its bi-partisan foreign policy constitutes a formidable barrier to the achievement of their demands.

The fight for wages, hours and working conditions, the struggle for economic security, will move and more bring the workers into head-on conflict with the boss-controlled government. None of the burning problems confronting the UAW convention were really solved — they were merely postponed. These problems will not diminish but will grow more acute. The UAW will come into its own as leader of the CIO and vanguard of the American trade union movement when the gap between the union consciousness and political consciousness of its membership is bridged. The fact that the delegates to a UAW convention still react vigorously to issues they understand is a good augury for the future.

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