

DULLES' PROPAGANDA -- AT WHOM IS IT AIMED?

(See Page 2)

Vol. XVII - No. 37

Legless Veteran Writes Book on "Loyalty" Purge

NEW YORK, Sept. 9 — Pioneer Publishers today announced the publication on Oct. 1 of a new book, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," by James Kutcher. It is Kutcher's own story of how he was purged from a clerical job with the government in 1948, and of his five-year fight to clear his name of "disloyalty" charges and recover his job.

A native of Newark, N. J., Kutcher tells how and why he became a socialist during the depression of the Thirties, and of his experiences as an infantryman in the U.S. Army, which ended when he lost both his legs in the battle of San Pietro almost ten years ago. After the war, he learned to use artificial limbs and went to work for the Veterans Administration.

But two years later he was discharged under President Truman's "loyalty" program because of his freely admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, one of the groups arbitrarily included on the Attorney General's "subversive" list without a hearing or the right to defend himself against unspecified charges.

Most of the book deals with Kutcher's experiences as a victim of the witch hunt — his appearances before several "loyalty" boards, his meeting with Attorney General (now Supreme Court Justice) Tom Clark, his appeals

to President Truman and Eisenhower, his suits in federal court, his national tour to mobilize public support for his reinstatement. Eight hundred national and local labor, liberal, civic, veterans, religious and minority-group organizations, representing several million Americans, have rallied behind the movement to vindicate the legless veteran. His report on how this support was mobilized makes useful reading in these days of the witch hunt.

Equally revealing is the chapter Kutcher devotes to the Communist Party, the only organization that publicly attacked his fight to be reinstated. A stirring human document, dealing with one of the most hotly debated issues in America today — civil liberties — "The Case of the Legless Veteran" is sure to arouse thought and discussion wherever it is read.

The book, which will sell for \$1.00, was published by a British firm, New Park Publications Ltd., and Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y., is the American distributor.

In an article written exclusively for *The Militant*, James Kutcher will explain the history of the book and the circumstances which led to its being published abroad, rather than in his own country. See next week's *Militant* for this article.

An On-the-Spot Report Of Great Ceylon Strike



As the leading working class party in Ceylon, the Lanka Samasamaja Party is playing a decisive role in the great labor struggles there. Above is shown a past rally of 30,000 in Colombo under the auspices of the Lanka Samasamaja, which is a section of the Fourth International (Trotskyist).

CEYLON, Aug. 18 — The general strike and hartal (closure of shops, boycott of schools etc.) struggle of August 12 is a landmark in the history of Ceylon. It is undoubtedly the biggest mass upheaval that has taken place in Ceylon in this century. It has been a terrific experience for the masses and the entire labor movement. A most important aspect of the struggle was that it was not confined to the workers, but brought in the rural and urban lower petty bourgeois masses. In fact, it would not be incorrect to say that in this particular action the militancy of the rural masses was greater than that of the urban workers.

The struggle arose principally as an effort to restore the rice subsidy. It has today developed to a higher level — into a struggle to replace the United Nationalist Party (capitalist) Government.

Following the mammoth meeting on Galle Face Green in Colombo, on July 23, which was held under the auspices of all the parties in the Opposition, and which a tear-gas attack by the police (with baton charges) failed to disrupt, a committee of all the Opposition parties, together with the trade unions, came into existence for the purpose of taking further action in regard to (a) the removal of the rice subsidy (b) the other attacks on the standard of living of the masses and (c) the attacks on democratic rights through banning of demonstrations in Colombo, restriction on use of loud-speakers, etc.

In this committee of all parties in opposition to the government, the suggestion of the trade unions for a one day protest strike, and of the left parties for a "hartal" on the same day, was taken up.

CLARA ROSARIO will soon bear her third child. Her husband Ephraim earns \$40 a week. Out of this they pay \$13 a week for two tiny rooms in an East Harlem "furnished apartment" building. They share a bathroom with 30 other people. "Life is a struggle for us," Mrs. Rosario told the Post during its recent study of New York's Puerto Rican population. "Where am I going to have enough room for the baby when I don't have enough room for us now?" "I have tried to find bigger rooms," she explained, "but they want eighteen and twenty dollars a week and I have enough trouble trying to manage on what we pay now."

"You ask for a project apartment," she said, "and they ask you how many children you have."

The Rosario's problem of low wages and unbearable housing conditions is shared by the over-

Lovell Scores Housing Head In Detroit

DETROIT, Sept. 5 — Frank Lovell, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, today requested a hearing before the Common Council to demand the "immediate discharge" of Harry J. Durbin, director-secretary of the Detroit Housing Commission. Lovell's request for a hearing followed the disclosure that Durbin is directly involved in a \$7 million private-housing venture.

In his letter to Ralph Sitter, clerk, Detroit Common Council, Lovell charged that "Mayor Cobo knew at the time of his appointment of Durbin that this unscrupulous official was directly connected with the big real estate interests of this city."

Lovell said that because of this he would demand that the Common Council "investigate the Cobo administration to probe Cobo's connections with vested interests, such as the real estate profiteers, that make him unfit for public office."

"As you know I am a candidate for mayor in the coming election. I believe my appearance before the Council is of vital importance to the citizens of Detroit, because it now becomes clear why the Cobo administration has scuttled all public housing projects."

Lovell's election platform takes a forthright stand on housing: "Drive the bankers and real estate profiteers from the City Hall. Housing is an all-year problem."

"Rent control! Strictly enforced by neighborhood tenant committees. Roll back rents!"

"Stop all evictions! The mayor must declare a state of emergency. Refuse to evict any family unless other housing is available!"

"Build homes! Instead of white marble waterfront monuments to this real-estate controlled administration, build low and middle-income housing!"

"Tax the corporations! Thousands of families were brought to work in Detroit by the corporations. They bear the social responsibility to see that these people are properly housed."

Urging that organized labor fight to remove Cobo and his appointees from public office, Lovell declared, "Harassed tenants will give full support to this. It will be a long step toward rent controls and low-cost public housing for all, without discrimination or prejudice."

Reports on aggregate corporate earnings for the first six months of 1953 show an increase of profits over 1952 of more than 16%. All indications are that 1953 will top the all-time record for profits in 1950.

death of seven persons, we were more appalled as the evidence adduced before us disclosed that the greatest city in the world is surely, but not slowly, being permitted to deteriorate and decay."

In 1947 before the present large-scale immigration, the City Housing Authority estimated a housing shortage of 900,000, including unsafe, unsanitary, violation-ridden, old-law tenements.

This problem, the Grand Jury further charged, "has been intensified by... profiteering landlords... and further intensified because of lack of adequate enforcement over the past several years."

THE "COMPLAINT SYSTEM" The Grand Jury found the City Building Department operating with a "complaint system" under which no inspection of private dwellings is made unless a tenant makes a complaint directly to them. Even at that it found the staggering number of 264,535

complaints pending as of last January first. The Grand Jury checked the complaints against the actual housing situation. It chose for its test 15 square blocks in three typical Puerto Rican and Negro neighborhoods of Brooklyn for which there were 576 complaints on file.

The test revealed 3,122 violations of dwelling laws, 402 of which they described as hazardous. They found 6,911 violations of the electrical code, 2,075 violations of the sanitary code, and 337 violations of the fire code. The total number of violations came to 17,445. Of the 739 buildings checked, they discovered 94 were "either recorded as, or found to be illegally occupied, after being condemned as unfit or unsafe for human habitation."

What do these startling figures mean in terms of the human beings who are compelled to live under these conditions? Reporters for the N. Y. Post went into



Wall Street Seen Victor In West German Election

By Murry Weiss

With the great world revolutionary tide moving against them, American Big Business and the West German monopolists nevertheless finally scored a significant victory in last Sunday's West German elections. The return to power with a consolidated parliamentary majority of Adenauer, the leading European proponent of Wall Street's foreign policy has been jubilantly hailed by Washington and London.

Is it the beginning of a major reversal in the world anti-capitalist, anti-Wall Street trend of developments? What are the causes of this capitalist triumph?

The capitalist vote in Sunday's election showed two tendencies: a definite increase in the vote for the capitalist parties relative to the total vote, and, a consolidation of the forces of German capitalism around Adenauer's Christian Democrats.

The Christian Democrats polled 12,440,799 votes as compared with 7,359,084 in 1949. Their vote jumped from 31% in 1949 to 45.2% in 1953. Nine of the capitalist parties running in the elec-

tions out of a total of 14 parties were washed out. The bulk of the pro-capitalist, middle class and Neo-Nazi vote had swung behind Adenauer.

The combined vote for the working class parties (the Social Democrats and the Socialist Communist Party) showed a slight absolute increase over 1949 but dropped considerably in relation to the total vote. There were over 6 million more votes cast this year. The Social Democrats polled 7,939,774 as compared with 6,934,975 in 1949. Their percentage of the total vote dropped from 29.2 in 1949 to 28.8 in 1953. The Socialist vote was cut in half.

They polled 607,413 as compared with 1,361,706 in 1949. Their percentage dropped from 5.7 to 2.2. The Social Democrats got 150 seats in the Bundestag as compared with 136 in 1949 and the Socialists who had 15 seats in 1949 lost all of them.

Not all the capitalist press hailed the elections as an unqualified victory for the Western bloc. The Wall Street Journal, for example, put it this way: "It is by no means clear that the Ger-

man voters — as we would like to believe — were giving a vote of confidence to American foreign policy."

DON'T WANT WAR There is no doubt that the position of American capitalism has improved in West Germany the last few years. By pouring tremendous resources into the revival of industry and backing up the Adenauer regime with all its power, Wall Street has managed to gain a beach-head for its grand scheme of making Germany the bastion of anti-Soviet military power in Europe. But here is the rub. There is not the slightest indication that the German people have bought the idea of rearmament and becoming a pawn of Wall Street.

The relative prosperity in West Germany which undoubtedly has a reality, although it is much exaggerated insofar as the condition of the working class is concerned, has had a momentarily softening effect on the class struggle. However, it must be understood that this "prosperity" is

(Continued on page 2)

Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1953

PRICE: 10 CENTS

McCarthyites Aim Big Smear Barrage at Organized Labor

Next in Line

Inquisition Starts Nov. 1 As Cover for Attack on Union Living Standards

By Art Preis

The McCarthyites are now leveling their smear-and-slander artillery point-blank at their biggest and main target — the American labor movement. Starting Nov. 1, the special Senate Internal Security subcommittee, headed by McCarthy's protegee, Sen. John M. Butler, Maryland Republican, will begin its inquisition on "Communist penetration of our trade unions."

Sen. Butler indicated that the Congressional fifth-throwers will aim at all sections of the labor movement. After naming as potential victims the independent United Electrical Workers, American Communications Association and Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Butler added ominously: "These are but a few of the Communist-dominated unions which present a continuing threat to our national security."

Butler's announcement of his witch-hunting expedition into the unions followed Attorney General Brownell's assertion in the Sept. 4 U.S. News & World Report that the "Communists" are a "greater menace now than at any time" and that "there are more in labor unions than anywhere else."

Brownell said he would cooperate with the Butler subcommittee which "will be investigating not only whether there has been any violation of the present law but also whether there is any need for additional legislation."

This "additional legislation" includes Butler's own anti-labor bill to give the Subversive Activities Control Board power to brand any union as "Communist-dominated." A union so designated would be denied NLRB recognition. A union which is merely being "investigated" by the SACB on "complaint" of an employer would have its collective bargaining rights automatically suspended even before a hearing. Thus, em-

ployers would be able to block recognition of any union at any time merely by making a "complaint" of "Communist-domination" to the Big Business-ruled SACB.

Union-hating employers and newspapers are licking their chops at the prospect of the anti-labor tid-bits the Butler "hearings" will provide. The N. Y. Daily News, one of the most rabidly anti-labor newspapers in the country, hailed the Butler "hearings" and gloated that the "investigation" into the unions "promises to be a violent and highly educational affair."

This "educational" affair is undoubtedly designed to unloose a general smear barrage against organized labor. The witch hunters intend to do a job of intimidation and victimization like that done by previous "probes" of government employees, teachers and professors, public entertainers, scientists, liberal Protestant clergymen and others.

The latest threatened "investigation" is carefully timed to screen a parallel major offensive against labor's living standards and union-won conditions in the plants. It will coincide with the drive in Congress this fall to impose a national sales tax on the workers. It will also seek to terrorize resistance to the post-Korean-war campaign of the corporations to reduce employment costs and increase production by a speed-up offensive in anticipation of a "recession."

SWP CANDIDATE ISSUES TV ANTI-WAR APPEAL

NEW YORK, Sept. 8 — "The most urgent issue of all facing New Yorkers is the question of their very survival in a war of H-Bomb destruction."

This is the forthright warning issued by David L. Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, in his campaign address delivered over television station WABD tonight. Representatives of Democratic and Republican mayoralty aspirants also appeared on the program.

"This nation, that dropped the first atomic bombs in history or the men, women and children of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, can no longer expect immunity for its own cities in an H-bomb war," said Weiss.

"If elected Mayor of New York, I would call for a city-wide popular referendum, a vote of the people, on the policies that are leading to war. Such a referendum would reveal that the people do not want to threaten anybody with the H-Bomb. They want to bring home from foreign soil the one million six hundred thousand American troops abroad, one half million of whom are still in Korea."

"They want no new Koreans. They want to stretch out the hand of friendship to the peoples of all lands and build a happy, secure and free life for everybody here at home."

"LET PEOPLE DECIDE"

"I have no doubt how the people of this city, given the chance, would vote. Such a referendum in the greatest city in the United States would be a demonstration to the whole world that, in spite of Wall Street's war plans, the common people of this country do not want war. It would also inspire the people in other cities to demand similar referendums."

"This would not only abruptly check the war makers but could grow into a powerful movement to take the war-making powers out of the hands of the brass and Wall Street politicians and put them in the hands of the people. Let the people decide."

"Things are very bad here, the same as in Puerto Rico."

RENT — \$268

Gonzales Corchado, 67, and his wife Mercedes, 63, live five flights up a mustard-brown staircase on West 101st St. With their four

(Continued on page 4)

"The House I Live In" -- Puerto Ricans in Harlem

By Harry Ring

CLARA ROSARIO will soon bear her third child. Her husband Ephraim earns \$40 a week. Out of this they pay \$13 a week for two tiny rooms in an East Harlem "furnished apartment" building. They share a bathroom with 30 other people.

"Life is a struggle for us," Mrs. Rosario told the Post during its recent study of New York's Puerto Rican population. "Where am I going to have enough room for the baby when I don't have enough room for us now?"

"I have tried to find bigger rooms," she explained, "but they want eighteen and twenty dollars a week and I have enough trouble trying to manage on what we pay now."

"You ask for a project apartment," she said, "and they ask you how many children you have."

The Rosario's problem of low wages and unbearable housing conditions is shared by the over-

whelming majority of the city's 425,000 first — and second — generation Puerto Ricans.

"MOST UNDERPAID"

The Puerto Rican people "are the most underpaid workers in the city today," flatly asserts Frank Meunch, Regional Director of the Wage and Hour Division of the State Employment Service.

And a Brooklyn Grand Jury, established to investigate the general housing conditions that led to the horrible death of seven Puerto Rican men, women and children in a blazing Brooklyn fire trap July 8 last year, said: "Slums are being created faster than they are being eliminated. Overcrowding is the germ of the social disease. Occupancy of dark, damp and filthy cellars that defy description, and families of six, seven or more cooking, eating and sleeping in one room, lacking proper toilet facilities, are spreading the slum blight."

"Shocked as we were by the

death of seven persons, we were more appalled as the evidence adduced before us disclosed that the greatest city in the world is surely, but not slowly, being permitted to deteriorate and decay."

In 1947 before the present large-scale immigration, the City Housing Authority estimated a housing shortage of 900,000, including unsafe, unsanitary, violation-ridden, old-law tenements.

This problem, the Grand Jury further charged, "has been intensified by... profiteering landlords... and further intensified because of lack of adequate enforcement over the past several years."

THE "COMPLAINT SYSTEM"

The Grand Jury found the City Building Department operating with a "complaint system" under which no inspection of private dwellings is made unless a tenant makes a complaint directly to them. Even at that it found the staggering number of 264,535

complaints pending as of last January first. The Grand Jury checked the complaints against the actual housing situation. It chose for its test 15 square blocks in three typical Puerto Rican and Negro neighborhoods of Brooklyn for which there were 576 complaints on file.

The test revealed 3,122 violations of dwelling laws, 402 of which they described as hazardous. They found 6,911 violations of the electrical code, 2,075 violations of the sanitary code, and 337 violations of the fire code. The total number of violations came to 17,445. Of the 739 buildings checked, they discovered 94 were "either recorded as, or found to be illegally occupied, after being condemned as unfit or unsafe for human habitation."

What do these startling figures mean in terms of the human beings who are compelled to live under these conditions? Reporters for the N. Y. Post went into

some of these buildings in each of the City's Puerto Rican communities and talked to the families that lived in them. Here are a few of the things they came up with:

THE BELGADOS

Mrs. Margaret Belgado and her husband Pablo live with their four children in a lower West Side rooming house. They occupy a single room, a long narrow space which has in it a three-quarter bed, two worn army cots, a three-burner stove, an antique ice box, a basin-size sink, a small wardrobe closet and two chairs. For this the landlord gets \$60-a-month rent.

Mr. Belgado is sick and cannot hold down a regular job. The City Welfare Dept. has come to their aid with a grand total of \$25.50 a month.

"Things go very bad for us in Puerto Rico when my son in the Army gets married and stops sending us money," Mrs. Belgado told the Post. "We sold everything

we had for a hundred and fifty dollars and came here two years ago.

"My son still sends us a little money now and then," she explained, "and my husband sells potatoes in the street. And I sew dresses for people. That is how we live."

"Often we have no food. Thank God my children are able to eat hot lunches in school. Otherwise they would starve. As it is, I buy rice and beans and cook once a day. The children don't eat breakfast just supper here. Sometimes we have milk and fish but never both together. If anyone needs clothes we have to cut down on food."

"Things are very bad here, the same as in Puerto Rico."

RENT — \$268

Gonzales Corchado, 67, and his wife Mercedes, 63, live five flights up a mustard-brown staircase on West 101st St. With their four

(Continued on page 4)

GM PAMPHLET REPEATS AN OLD LIE ABOUT SOCIALISM

By Murry Weiss

Many years ago when I was on a socialist tour in California, I spoke to the Junior Chamber of Commerce in a small town somewhere in the San Joaquin Valley.

I believe it was through the efforts of a local sympathizer who convinced this organization that it would be very stimulating and "broadminded" to listen to a socialist.

When I was through with my talk about the causes of the Longshoremen's strike then going on in San Francisco, the justice of the workers' demands and the prospects for America going socialist, a young woman, whom I had thought rather attractive up to that moment, indignantly asked me, "Why do you want to divide everything up? If you did that I might end up with the wheel of a railroad train or something and what would I do with that?"

I forget if I succeeded in convincing her that we weren't trying to get her to divide up her home in return for the wheel of a railroad train and that socialists don't propose "dividing the wealth" in that sense. Anyway it was the first and last time I spoke before that kind of organization and I haven't had many occasions since to deal with this argument.

"WHO OWNS AMERICA?"

It was reminded of this incident while thumbing through a booklet called "Who Owns America?" It's one of the series generously distributed free by the Employee Relations Staff of General Motors. According to the booklet, America is owned by "just about all the people living in it — and most of them within the modest income group." I think we can safely assume they mean the workers own America since everyone knows their income is very "modest."

The author of the booklet, a certain Harold F. Clark, is advertised as "a noted economist." Having had some dismal experiences with the weighty opinions of this type I took a deep breath and plunged in: "In every age, there have been those who thought the solution to existing economic problems was to divide up the wealth of the country." I remembered my old acquaintance, the Junior Chamber of Commerce beauty with her heavy-weight "railroad wheel" argument. And sure enough, Mr. Clark rolled it out; except, that as a "noted economist" writing for a big corporation, he made it 50 million "railroad wheels."

\$20,000 HOUSE

He says: "Let's show the fallacy of that notion with this example. If we took the total wealth of the United States — a trillion dollars — and divided it evenly among the 50 million families of our population, it would be a \$20,000 house for each family unit." Sounds pretty good — better than ending up with a train wheel. But our "noted economist" is a masterful demolisher of socialist dreams. We are no sooner relaxing in our \$20,000 home with a glass of beer in front of a 24-inch TV screen, than Mr. Clark smashes the TV set and snatches the beer out of our hand.

"But there would be nothing in the house; not a piece of furniture; not a piece of clothing; there would be no food," Mr. Clark goes on to show why there would be nothing — no factories, railroads, telephones, or electric lights. The entire trillion would be spent to house 50 million starving American families in dark, cold, empty houses, with children and adults running around naked as jay birds.

He ends up triumphantly on the last page with the declaration: "It is perfectly clear that we could divide up the wealth of the United States and each family would have a \$20,000 house; but if nothing were left with which to keep producing additional wealth, our economic world would soon collapse."

THE HOUSE AND FURNISHINGS TOO

Let's see if we can get out of this uncomfortable dilemma Mr. Clark has put us in. And let's accept the terms of his example — how to get a \$20,000 home for every family in the United States and still keep the brickyards, lumber mills, glass factories, plaster and cement mills, steel mills, furnace foundries — in brief, those parts of the economy required to furnish materials to build homes; and, for good measure, we will include all the rest of the economy needed to supply everything we need or want.

Our solution, of course, won't be acceptable to General Motors. Our problem is how to produce useful things and still keep the full power of our productive machine going. General Motors prob-

lem is to produce profits. We are not required to figure out how we can produce in abundance the things we need and keep the profits rolling into General Motors bank account at the same time. We leave that to the miracle workers... like Walter Reuther.

MONEY USED FOR WARS

If we merely took the wealth and productive power that was used up in the devastating capitalist wars, we could easily get enough to equal the sum necessary for 50 million homes at \$20,000 a piece.

And that's only one source of capitalist waste. We're not taking into account the incalculable waste of the depression, and numerous other items dealt with in James P. Cannon's lectures on America's Road To Socialism which appeared not long ago in *The Militant*. A trillion dollars is one million million, or one thousand billion dollars. On March 2, 1946, the N. Y. Daily Mirror reported that fantastic figure as the cost of World War II. The U.S. share alone was \$317 billion. (That's just the cost of the war for the years 1940 to '45; interest on war debt, payment of pensions, etc., continue as a running expense so that it is estimated that World War II will cost the American people \$700 billion by 1972.)

The cost of the "police action" in Korea was \$15 billion for the U.S. Thus the minimum U.S. expenditure for World War II and the Korean War combined give us one third of a trillion dollars — that is, one third of the total wealth of the United States and therefore one third of the cost figure for Mr. Clark's 50 million new homes.

If we calculate the total costs of World War I, World War II, the Korean War, plus the colossal annual expenditure of preparing World War III, plus the continuing costs of Wars I and II, we can easily get the one trillion dollars that under non-capitalist conditions could have provided a decent home for every family in the United States.

Imagine what could have been accomplished with the billions of man-hours of labor lost through the diversion of tens of millions of young men to military service. And, on a world scale, how many homes could the 60 million casualties of World War II have built?

And if you think this is not a fair argument, since we can't resurrect the war dead, what about the hundreds of millions of people marked for death in World War III?

"NOTED ECONOMISTS"

Not meaning any disrespect, and speaking purely as a matter of cold hard fact, it has been my experience that "noted economists" of the type who teach in our universities, especially those who attain the high honor and calling of writing for General Motors, are among the silliest and most pompously ignorant people in the world.

What Mr. Clark so cleverly demolishes with his logical bayonet thrusts is a little straw man he built with his own hands. Why should we dismantle the powerful productive plant built by the sweat of the workers and transform them — if we could — into 50 million useless housing units? Just to make it easy for Mr. Clark to refute socialism?

What socialism actually proposes is to use America's undivided and total productive power on a planned and non-profit basis to build the things we need, like homes and all the other necessary and desirable goods. And another thing. We could build homes cheaper than the capitalists and still improve their quality. If we took the profit, not to speak of the profiteering, out of housing construction we could cut Mr. Clark's costs in half and have a lot left over to build hospitals, schools, research laboratories, parks and libraries.

It's capitalism that goes in for insane projects. For example the capitalists took the most skilled and productive labor to build the first two atom bombs and destroyed two teeming cities with all their economy and homes. It cost them approximately \$20,000 for every man, woman and child killed and maimed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Socialism means an end to such insanity and barbarism, Mr. Clark.

Don't worry, Mr. Clark, when the workers really own America instead of the 60 billionaire families, they will easily produce good homes for every family. And they will be able to provide food, clothing, utilities and undreamed of comforts for all in great abundance.

What Audience Is Dulles' Propaganda Aimed At?

By Joseph Hansen
(Fourth of a series.)

Woodrow Wyatt, a British Labor Party member of Parliament, assailing John Foster Dulles Sept. 6, said that never before had a man "spent so long in preparing himself to be Foreign Secretary and made such a fool of himself and his country when he finally got the job."

This impression of the head of the State Department is fairly widespread, not only in Europe but also among liberals in America. Dulles seems to act more like a bull in a china shop than a smooth diplomat trying to win friends and influence people abroad. For instance, in a single press conference Sept. 3, he said things that ruffled feelings in Italy, Germany and Japan.

Dulles' course can be dismissed as a consequence of stupidity, or a manifestation of colossal boorishness, which is another form of stupidity. However, it is dangerous to underestimate a foe, particularly a class enemy. Before we write off Dulles' speeches as nothing but a typical symptom of the lack of regard American Big Business has for the feelings of its allies abroad, which only hurts Wall Street, let us once again check the diplomatic problems faced by Truman and now Eisenhower.

Wall Street's major line of world strategy since the close of World War II has been, the preparation for World War III, as I have indicated in previous articles. Part of the preparation has been the building of the most gigantic military coalition ever seen. It includes the Western Hemisphere, Western Europe and the Mediterranean, and the Pacific from Japan to Australia.

If you assume, as it seems only common sense to do, that the major diplomatic problem facing the capitalist class in the U.S. is to arm, inspire, and lead this vast coalition into war on the Soviet Union, China, and the colonial countries that are now seeking freedom from imperialist domination, the State Department's course since 1948 and even earlier seems irrational.

PROVOKED CRISES

It has provoked one diplomatic crisis after another with the Soviet Union, truculently rejected



DULLES

all overtures for a deal with the Kremlin, everywhere taken the initiative in one form or another to stir up trouble, and has thus succeeded in proving itself in the eyes of the world to be the aggressor. Even Hitler tried to avoid getting into such an unfavorable diplomatic position by making disarmament proposals, in accordance with the standing rule of capitalist diplomacy to try to appear to be seeking peace when you are preparing for war.

On top of this, the State Department seems to pay no attention to the complaints of its allies about this uncomfortable state of diplomatic affairs. Instead, Dulles, as before him Acheson, gives them stern lectures about speeding up their rearmament.

I repeat, this course seems irrational — if you consider that the State Department's major problem is to lead its tremendous coalition of powers into war under a plausible diplomatic cover. But it happens to face a bigger problem — the problem of convincing the American people they should fight another war and submit to the lowered standard of living, loss of freedoms, bitter sacrifices, frightful bloodshed and destruction, and even danger of total annihilation that this war entails.

Just how crucial this problem is, is not generally appreciated even by those who pose as ex-

perts on such things. To grasp it, you have to understand the weight of the American people as a force in world politics.

POWER MIRRORRED IN POPULATION

In the last century, Karl Marx made the rather startling statement that the sparsely settled United States was actually more populous than teeming India. He explained this assertion, which seems to fly in the face of the facts, in the following way: Populations, viewed from the standpoint of economics, must be weighted by the relative development of their industries. That this is a correct way of viewing populations is dramatically shown when countries go to war. If political factors do not intervene, the war boils down to a conflict between their relative industrial powers. Thus, in Marx's view, the high level of American transportation, agricultural and industrial production even in the last century gave the U.S. a greater population than India.

It was on the basis of such considerations that Trotsky could say in 1929, "... in the last historic analysis all the problems of our planet will be decided upon American soil."

The preponderance of the United States by the end of World War II could be expressed in two graphic sentences: "Three-quarters of the world's invested capital and two-thirds of the world's industry were concentrated inside the United States. The other third of industry was shared over the other 95% of the earth's inhabited surface." (Howard K. Smith in "The State of Europe.")

If we translate this into terms of population, as Marx viewed it years ago, then so far as industrial power is concerned, two-thirds of the world's population is concentrated inside the United States. The other third is spread among the other countries of the world.

The face of the power-sensitive State Department is turned toward this two-thirds. It is with this two-thirds that it sees its major diplomatic problem.

The problem has two sides. If the American people can be cajoled, frightened, bamboozled, psychologized — in brief, hypnotized and high-pressured into

going willingly, even enthusiastically, to war, then the world's most colossal force has been successfully lined up behind Wall Street's banners. American capitalism then has fair chances of getting a new lease on life by conquering vast new areas for exploitation. If, on the other hand, the American people remain unconvinced, disquieted, potentially ready to turn on Wall Street, then war can mean the quick finish of capitalism — the definitive finish on a world scale.

A PROPAGANDA DEPT.

That is why what Dulles does in public is calculated above all for its effect on the American people. The State Department, so far as its public declarations are concerned, has really been converted into a government propaganda department aiming primarily at the American audience.

The provocative diplomacy abroad is designed to furnish one incident after another to inflame

public opinion in America. The high-handed attitude toward the allies is likewise designed for its effect on the public at home. The witch hunt with its spectacular raids, trials and spy scares is part of the pattern.

Demagogues like McCarthy and others in the most reactionary wing of the Republican and Democratic parties take advantage of this for their own ends — appearing as powers holding a club over the State Department. But the real club is the need the State Department feels to convince the American people that the "reds" are a genuine danger against whom we must go to war no matter what the cost.

Dealing with the mightiest power on earth — the American people — Wall Street understands very well that to simply launch World War III without adequate preparation could prove the shortest way to suicide. Precisely because of the power involved, it must move cautiously, test the

ground again and again; not only advance when possible, but be prepared to make detours and even retreats if the advance proves to have been too precipitate. Dangerous as retreats may be, Wall Street feels it cannot afford to lose this game and a costly retreat is better than a suicidal advance.

Hence the hesitations and postponement after postponement of World War III despite a diplomacy that has breathed fire and smoke and rattled atom bombs since 1945 and even tried to use the civil war in Korea as a possible opener. Hence also the cease-fire in Korea.

The American people are proving hard to mold according to the blueprint laid down for World War III, but Wall Street dare not let its impatience run away with its better political judgment. America's ruling 60 families see the main danger and therefore the main problem not abroad but here at home. And in this they are right.

I Can't Balance My Budget When Eisenhower Tries to Balance His

By Reba Aubrey

It's a real problem these days trying to get from one pay day to the next. Scrimp as you will, there's barely enough carfare left to get to the job when the next paycheck is due.

Checking over your budget to see what's wrong, you conclude that you've either got to get more money, or cut down on expenses. It's nice to think about getting more money, but with nothing practical in sight, like marrying into a rich family or falling heir to a fortune, you decide to give your expenses a going over.

You're already buying less meat than you used to and then only the cheaper cuts. You can't do anything about rent — either you pay or the landlord offers to get the sheriff to help you move out. You seldom get closer to a new outfit than window shopping. You don't visit a doctor unless the symptoms are alarming and then only after they've lasted a while. Your recreation is determined strictly by the cash outlay, so you usually wind up at home with a library book.

With expenses cut to the bone already, how can you possibly cut any more?

By this time you see you've got to really sharpen your pencil and go over every single item. There's one huge outlay each week that is especially irritating — withholding taxes. That's a tempting piece of change; but not much can be done about it. The boss collects it for the government before you even get your hands on it. Considering the way prices keep going up, maybe they're right in not trusting people to pay the withholding tax of their own free will.

FOR CITY HALL

What else? The last time the grocer rang up the cost of the sandwich spread, the bread, milk and wax paper, I was startled into asking what the extra few cents were for. "Tax on the wax paper," he said. Actually, if you stop to notice, almost everything seems to be taxed — cigarettes, gasoline, movies, talcum powder — and that's not counting the sales tax in many cities and states. Every time you shop in the Five & Ten in New York, for example, the clerk drops part of your wages in a little box attached to the cash register — that's for City Hall.

But I didn't have any idea how much taxes really disrupt the family budget until the other day when I sent for a report I read about in the paper. The report is by the Tax Foundation, Rockefeller Plaza, New York. They've figured out how much time you spend each day working just to cover the taxes you pay — taxes of all kinds, direct and indirect, visible and invisible.

The Foundation assumes you earn \$4,500 a year, and spend it all. That's about \$86.50 a week. For many families that would be a lot better than they're getting now. However, I won't argue whether this is the true average "urban wage earner" or not. I'll take their figures until I see better ones.

HOW IT'S DIVIDED

You punch in, say, at 8 a.m. The first hour and 36 minutes you earn enough to buy groceries for the day; the next 35 minutes cover transportation; 1 hour, 43 minutes go toward the rent. It's now six minutes before the whistle blows but for statistical purposes you knock off and after an hour for lunch come back six minutes before 1 p.m. Then you work 22 minutes to pay your doctor bills; 21 minutes cover the wear and tear on your clothing; 17 minutes go for recreational

expenses; 16 minutes for miscellaneous items. That totals 5 hours 20 minutes, and according to the tax experts, all your needs are comfortably accounted for.

What about the next 2 hours and 40 minutes you've got to put in to complete your 8 hours? You donate those final hours — the longest single section of the day — to the government. The pay you get for that time covers taxes.

FLAW IN THE PICTURE

There's a little flaw in the picture — they don't show the amount of time you spend each day producing profits for the stockholders. Let's suppose the boss is getting as much out of your day's labor as the government. That means you've actually covered all your own needs by working 2 hours and 40 minutes a day. Come 20 minutes to eleven each morning, you've earned your board and keep. But you can't go home. No, you've got to work the next 2 hours and 40 minutes to keep the boss happy and then another 2 hours and 40 minutes to help the government pay for past wars and prepare for the next one.

Is it any wonder, after donating one-third of your day to support the boss and another one-third to support the government — both in the extravagant style to which they've become accustomed — that you have difficulty balancing your own budget? You don't have very much to balance with.

POSSIBLE SOLUTION

Pres. Eisenhower, of course, may come up with something helpful. A Washington columnist

WALL STREET SEEN VICTOR IN WEST GERMAN ELECTION

(Continued from page 1)

founded on the revival of West German economy without the staggering costs of rearmament and militarism. To carry out the next stage of Wall Street's plan and turn Germany into an armed camp, with the working class forced to shoulder the burden, will take a lot more than an electoral victory.

The great bloc of industrial workers' votes went to the Social Democrats, revealing the anti-war, pro-socialist sentiment of these masses. The Social Democrats campaigned against Adenauer's pro-American policy.

The German working class, organized independently, is hostile to the plans of its own capitalists and Wall Street and possesses a socialist consciousness and tradition. It will not easily be transformed into anti-Soviet cannon fodder!

DANGER SIGNALS

The most general and deepening cause for the consolidation of capitalist power in West Germany is the treacherous policy of the Socialist and Social Democratic leaders of the working class. The long list of betrayals, the lost revolutionary opportunities, the derailment of the struggle for workers power, the criminal policy of Stalinism in Europe throughout the post-war period, threaten to create the conditions for a major counter-offensive of capitalism.

The vote in the West German elections is a danger signal. The missed revolutionary opportunity of the French general strike is another danger signal. The counter-revolutionary coup in Iran, where the workers had perhaps the best opportunity of all to take power but were prevented from doing so by the

Kremlin and native Stalinist leaders, is still another warning signal.

The world situation is more revolutionary than it has ever been. There have been moments, and by no means few, when the working class could have taken power by not much more than a mere declaration of the fact. However, although capitalism is feeble, it isn't dead. Given the monstrous betrayals we have witnessed, it is capable of consolidating new strong points of reaction. In the long run, if the highly ripe crisis, which cries out for a revolutionary socialist solution, does not end in workers victory, the capitalists will strike with an iron counter-revolutionary fist.

West Germany thus once again underscores the burning need to create a revolutionary leadership in the period immediately ahead. The capitalist counter-revolutionary schemes of war and fascism raise nothing less than the question of the fate of civilization. Given the opportunity, capitalism will organize a terror that will make the Hitler regime appear liberal. For the workers, the creation of revolutionary parties founded on the program of the revolutionary struggle for power is a matter of life and death.

A recent Gallup poll finds that in listing variations of popular worries in different parts of the country two out of the major worries are common to all sections: "the high cost of living and fear of a recession resulting in unemployment." The other worries are the housing shortage and slums, "industrial problems," "farm problems," rent, civil rights, taxes, conservation, and the weather.

Flint Buick Strike Vote Speeds Seniority Pact

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Aug. 29 — The huge Buick Local No. 599 UAW-CIO has voted to ratify a new seniority agreement after three months of negotiations and a series of strike actions by the membership. These stemmed from speedups, company-imposed penalties against rank-and-file workers and the firing of one committeeman.

The Buick union succeeded in winning an improved seniority agreement, reinstatement of fired workers who were pawns in the negotiations, and other minor grievances. They failed to gain security against speedup, the primary issue leading up to the strike vote.

From the beginning of negotiations last March, the Buick leaders couldn't make up their minds. It took a flurry of wildcats and firings to prod them into action. At a membership meeting in May, a thousand workers voted authorization for strike action. Yet the Executive Board, which had authority to set the date for a strike vote, postponed this necessary deed for two successive months.

Company representatives, observing this, became more smug and contemptuous of the Buick union bargaining committee. Here were people threatening to strike but afraid to take a strike vote. Week in and week out the company taunted the bargaining committee unmercifully. They reminded the committee of the 1948 negotiations when Buick workers voted down strike action by a huge majority. The officers were prodded by the company into taking a strike vote two months after it was authorized by the membership.

In anticipation of an adverse union vote, the corporation lifted pressure on the shop committee temporarily by slowing down the speedup drive. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, the union officers called key militants out of the shop to organize the campaign for a favorable vote.

PAPER PUBLICIZES FACTS

Two special strike issues of the union paper were issued by the union. In the first one, the primary problem of speedup was headlined. In the second, the expiration of the local seniority agreement was featured.

These two issues of the paper brought the membership out of their state of apathy. They began

to realize the serious state of affairs which had developed and which they had been kept in the dark about by the officers.

Termination of the local seniority agreement shook the Buick workers, since it affected all of them whether on defense or auto production. The radio talks and sound cars touring the gates helped to obtain a ten-to-one vote in favor of strike, with 12,000 workers trooping to the polls. By this act the Buick workers wiped the 1948 blotch from their union record.

The vote should have drilled a lesson into the heads of the Buick officers. The lesson is that it is better to begin negotiations after a strike vote than two months before. This was demonstrated by the company's changed attitude. It sat down and talked. The taunts came from the other side of the bargaining table for a change. Without the strike vote, the local still would not have won a thing.

NEW LEADERS APPEAR

What contributed to the rapid settling of the issues was the emergence of more militant leaders from the ranks on the executive board and in the committee. Management must have been shocked when it witnessed the recall of the president of the local from negotiations to report to the executive board after it had granted a new improved seniority agreement.

The president received instructions that management demonstrate good faith by stopping all speedups and that acceptance of the seniority agreement be held in abeyance until all other issues were settled. This startled management, since it understood that the bargaining committee always tends to be more conservative than the executive bodies of a local. It was apparent that lengthy negotiations and a strike would prove the local union leftward.

To further demonstrate that new forces were appearing out of the pre-strike developments, management had to cope with the announcements appearing in all plants of Buick calling on the workers to elect the most militant members as picket captains and calling for volunteers to the Flying Squadron of the local. This was something new for a strike in recent years and additional cause for alarm by the company.

Perhaps the most disturbing

development of all occurred in the committee when a motion was passed calling upon the executive board to negotiate an agreement from management in writing that the company would not penalize any workers who protest speedup under paragraph 78 of the national agreement until the issue is jointly resolved by the union and the company. This marks the first attempt by a body of GM workers to solve one of the most difficult problems under the present contract by depriving management of speedup penalties.

In previous speedup fights, which can last for months, the company has broken them with the simple device of penalties of time off up to three months, even firings.

The significance of this proposal was not lost on management. It was no accident that John Livingstone, vice-president of the UAW-CIO and its General Motors director, immediately appeared in what should have been strictly a local problem. Although the bargaining committee had been instructed not to accept any seniority agreement until the other issues were settled, after Livingstone's intervention, the press announced that agreement was near, based on the "model" seniority agreement.

Apparently the local officers consented to this procedure in violation of their own executive board decision out of fear of the consequences of leading a strike over the most fundamental issue plaguing General Motors workers. In the meeting called for ratification of the agreement, a rank-and-file worker pointedly put his finger on a vital sore spot when he noted that the original cause for strike action was the speedup and not seniority. The facts demonstrate that once again, the International Union, joined by local officers, backed away from a serious struggle over production standards.

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

THE MILITANT
Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7488
Editor: GEORGE BRETTMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Vol. XVII - No. 37 Monday, September 14, 1953

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's position. These are expressed in its editorials.
*Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Government for the People

Most union leaders on Labor Day took digs at the Republican Administration and Congress. This is not hard to do since the Republican Party is so openly anti-labor and pro-Big Business. Where these union officials did a disservice to the workers is in their attempts to puff up the previous Democratic administrations and Congresses and represent them as fundamentally different and superior to the present ones.

James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the CIO, said in a radio broadcast that "after 20 years of government for the people, this country has now turned to government for profit." CIO President Reuther used a similar formulation, stating that "a host of special interest groups have moved into Washington with a bitter zeal to reverse a 20-year trend of government for the people."

The lie in both these statements is not that we have government for profits now, but that we didn't have government for profits under Roosevelt and Truman. Reuther and Carey well know that we never had more government for profits than under the New Deal and Fair Deal administrations and the Democratic-controlled Congress.

Under Roosevelt during the second world war, corporation profits doubled almost overnight, from \$5 billion in 1939 to \$9.4 billion in 1942. In 1943, corporate net profits for the first time passed the \$10 billion mark. Under Truman, after the war, corporation profits soared on the basis of continued government arms expenditures and price inflation until they were double in 1948 what they had been during the actual period of war. In 1950 and 1951, during the first 12 months of Truman's "police action" in Korea, corporate profits rose to a peak that the Republicans them-

selves may never surpass until and unless, like the Democrats, they take us into still another capitalist war, which they are planning to do.

Under Roosevelt and Truman in World War II we had government by the "dollar-a-year-men" from the big corporations who ran the government agencies. Truman himself, as a Senator in 1942, issued a devastating report on this, although neither he nor anyone else in Washington did anything about it.

A month after he dragged us into the Korean War, it was Truman who, by executive order, curtailed the already inadequate government low-cost housing program by more than two-thirds. And if, as Truman complained in his Detroit speech, the Taft-Hartley Law has not been changed "as promised by the Republican candidate during the 1952 election campaign," neither had it been changed nor repealed after four years as promised by Truman in his 1948 campaign.

It is a shabby deception for the union leaders to speak of the Democratic regimes as "government for the people." They pretended to be for the people; they made big promises; they used demagoguery. But there was not a single meager reform yield under the Democratic administrations that was not wrested by bitter mass labor struggles. Or do Carey and Reuther now want to spit upon and bury the militant past of the CIO?

We will not have government for the people until the people themselves run the government. When American labor builds its own political party, runs its own candidates on its own class program and takes power in Washington, then — and only then — will we be able to begin to speak truthfully about government of, by and for the people.

"Tower of White Lillies"

The biggest movie hit of all time in Japan is the "Tower of White Lillies." It is a simple story of 200 Okinawa high-school girls who were drafted as nurses when the American troops landed in 1945. They are bullied and tormented by their Japanese officers. But they show the courage and adaptability of youth to all conditions. Life goes on. They sing and dance in their off hours despite the bloody war that is raging around them.

Then the Americans come. As their mopping up operation grinds away, one after another of the girls is killed. Not one survives. The laughter and the tears are stilled forever.

The hostile commentator on this movie, Walter Briggs, writing from Tokyo for the N.Y. Herald Tribune, says, "Tower of White Lillies" is in a class with "All Quiet on the Western Front" as effective preaching. But it is precisely its effectiveness that alarms him. And through him we get the U.S. State Department view on the anti-Americanism that is sweeping Japan and finding expression in the most popular medium of culture — the moving picture.

Here is how Briggs describes audience reaction to "Tower of White Lillies": "Tears roll down the cheeks of Japanese audiences. War is horrible! How horrible the Americans are!" Other movies current-

ly showing in Japan depict similar themes and it is reported that a major production on the bombing of Hiroshima will be released shortly.

Apparently American authorities are worried about this trend in the Japanese film. They are also worried about the reaction of Japanese audiences to films from Hollywood. Recently "Task Force," a film about the war in the Pacific, was shown to packed audiences.

The reaction was unexpected. It stirred a great controversy in American circles as to the advisability of showing such films. The audience cheered when any military reverse to U.S. forces came on the screen. "We're making enemies for ourselves showing such a picture. We're playing into the Communists' hands." This was one reaction reported from an American source.

"The American Chamber of Commerce in Japan protested its showing to Warner Brothers," reports Walter Briggs.

Another American authority was quoted giving a different slant on why "Task Force" was shown: "Actually (it) serves the purpose of American policy, which is to encourage rearmament. And it serves to remind the Japanese that we are the best ally they could have: we have the armament, the 'know-how.'"

A Confessed Mass Murderer

Truman is a confessed mass murderer. If there ever was a candidate for the tribunal of an honest war-crimes court it is this instigator of the "police action" in Korea. The man who gave the order for "operation killer" had a conversation with his Texan pal, ex-Speaker of the House of Representatives Sam Rayburn. Here is the verbatim report of the conversation as it appeared Sept. 6 in Drew Pearson's column:

Rayburn: "You could have negotiated the same kind of truce 12 months ago."

Truman: "I could have negotiated it 18 months ago."

Rayburn: "But if you had there would have been the biggest howl from the newspapers you have ever heard in this country."

Truman: "Yes, plus demands that I be impeached."

We wonder how the mothers, fathers, sisters and brothers, of the GI's killed in the last eighteen months are going to take this news. Truman tells us it was in his power to end the Korean war as long ago as eighteen months! Why didn't he? According to his own statement he was afraid of newspaper howls and threats of impeachment.

This is the measure of the man who started the bloody intervention in Korea at Wall Street's command and kept it going despite overwhelming mass protest and hatred for the war. But it is more than Truman's measure. It is a ghastly in-

dicator of the political type in power in the United States today.

Is it any wonder that around the whole globe American capitalism and the Wall Street war makers are despised and that the very word "America" has become a curse synonymous with brutal oppression?

Perhaps the most hideous thing about the conversation between Truman and Rayburn is the fact that the participants were unaware of what they were saying. So was the reporter, Pearson tries to evoke sympathy for Truman! Poor Truman! He was pilloried by the newspapers. He is still "smarting" from their unfair treatment, according to Pearson. But he does not seem to be "smarting" over the mass slaughter of men, women and children in Korea for the last 18 months.

And where is the "liberal" conscience of the nation? Where are the educators, writers, clergymen, critical journalists and incorruptible lawyers? Why isn't there a stormy protest against this outrageous confession and all it implies? The answer is McCarthyism. Cynical comments revealing crimes that would have staggered previous generations can be passed off almost unnoticed. It is dangerous to speak out against Wall Street's foreign policy. The witch hunt has put a gag on honest public opinion.

This conversation should serve to rip the gag off. It is time to speak out against the madmen who are toying with H-bombs and threatening the world with destruction.

French Pick Bandit as Morocco Sultan

By Charles Hanley

On August 20, in violation of the Protectorate treaty of 1911, the French imperialists deposed Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, Sultan of Morocco, and exiled him to Corsica. Mohammed Moulay ben Arafat, a puppet of the French and of the powerful Pasha of Marrakech, became his successor. Fifteen Arab, Asian and African nations formally requested the U.N. Security Council to investigate the French move as a "danger to international peace and security."

The French and their ally, Thami El Glaoui, Pasha of Marrakech, had prepared to oust the Sultan for some time, because despite his pro-French education, he strongly sympathized with the "Istiqlal," an anti-feudalist, anti-imperialist movement which has repeatedly defended the Moroccan labor unions against French repression.

The Sultan's opponent, El Glaoui, is the rallying center of the reactionary feudalist elements, the tribal chiefs of some four million primitive Berbers dwelling in the mountains, the ultra-orthodox priests, and numerous village bosses (caids). He is a former robber who supported the French from the very beginning of the Protectorate and helped them to subjugate the Moroccan people.

After World War I, he was rewarded with a kind of private state in the Sherifian Empire of the Sultan. He soon built up his power through exploiting phosphate and iron mines and through an extortionate tax system. Thus the French encouraged the formation of a tremendous feudal estate and zone of political influence.

This was the device long used by the British in India. To dominate the country more easily, they bolstered local princes who, owing their colossal wealth to British policy, had a material reason for being loyal to the King of England.

The French could always put pressure on the Sherifian Sultan of all Morocco by permitting El Glaoui to agitate against the monarch who mainly represented

the more progressive population of the cities. Yet, despite this permanent threat to his throne, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef never really capitulated to the French occupiers. During the war, for instance, he sympathized with the Moroccan independence movement. Tension between the French and the Sultan increased; and French High Commissioner General Guillaume finally decided it might be advantageous to provoke a showdown.

Would the threat of a feudalist rebellion make the Sultan abandon the Nationalists? Sidi Mohammed signed several decrees the French ordered him to sign — but did nothing to put them into practice. El Glaoui convoked a conclave

of his followers in Marrakech. They obediently relieved the Sultan of his religious powers as Imam or Defender of the Faithful (although they were not entitled to do so). Moulay Mohammed ben Arafat, a weak old man belonging to El Glaoui's tribe and distantly related to the Sultan, was proclaimed Imam.

REFUSED TO YIELD

Sidi Mohammed refused to yield the religious office upon which his governmental power rested. El Glaoui told his Berber tribesmen to converge on Rabat, the Sultan's capital. A civil war seemed inevitable. But the French openly intervened at that moment. An armored column sur-

rounded the imperial palace, and General Guillaume informed Sidi Mohammed that the French government had decided to depose him and to deport him immediately to the Mediterranean island of Corsica.

Under the pressure of French tanks and the Berber tribes, Moulay Mohammed was then proclaimed Sultan of Morocco and, together with the French, promised reforms in order to calm down the 4,500,000 Moroccan Arabs. It is obvious, however, that these promises will not win over a nation whose rights have been so flagrantly violated.

In 42 years of French colonial aggression and domination, innumerable similar promises have

been heard. Nor will Guillaume's promises convince the rest of the Arab world.

Sidi Mohammed may have hoped that the U.S., being concerned about the security of American military bases in Morocco, would advise France not to go to extremes in its Moroccan policy. But it is more important to the State Department not to antagonize Paris when French support is needed in the Korean question.

At Cairo, Egypt, the 3000-year-old Al Azhar, Islam's highest religious institution and a spiritual center of Arab nationalists, expressing Arab feelings about French colonialism, urged Moslems throughout the world "to start a Holy War against France."

SWP Fund Campaign Total Reaches \$12,693

By Reba Aubrey
Campaign Manager

Receipts during the past week in the Socialist Workers Party Building and Publication Fund amounted to \$1,451. This increased the total to \$12,693 as of Sept. 8, or 71% of the national quota.

Three more branches — Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Newark — joined the 100%ers this week to make a total of six which have already completed their quotas.

"We knew we could do it all the time! Please don't mind if we crow a little; we feel so darn good!" says Alma Seton for Philadelphia. "Here is \$61 on our pledge, which puts us over the top by \$18. And we intend to keep on going."

Chicago is going to town before this campaign is over, according to Hilda Smith who says: "Don't know just how much but we'll be sending you another check this week end. We are working to top Akron's 117% and think we will make it."

Comrade Betty of Pittsburgh writes: "Enclosed is \$15. This makes us 100%. It was a hard pull, but we finally made it." Some of the other branches are

stepping up their contributions in a determined effort to complete their quotas by Sept. 15. Buffalo, for instance, sent in \$134 which puts them within 10% of their \$1,500 goal.

Chester Johnson of Minneapolis sent this note with \$125: "That makes \$1,044 sent in from the Twin Cities, or 87% of the total. We now have all but \$20 pledged so are certain of making it."

"The city is evacuated and everyone is up at the Los Angeles Summer Camp for this coming week," explains Comrade Jeanne, "but before going we reached the goal we set for ourselves of \$1,900. In fact, we bettered it slightly. The check enclosed for \$316.50 brings us up to \$1,927. We will do the best we can on the balance of our \$2,500 pledge, of course."

Allentown zoomed from way-down to way-up on the scoreboard with a \$35 contribution. The comrades there "hope to be able to send the balance soon."

Boston added \$30 to its score and Cleveland gained \$25. "This includes individual contributions and \$8 from a small house party," explains Jean Simon.

New York chalked up a \$517 gain; Seattle a \$95 gain. Comrade Dan says: "George and I are go-

ing to spend the next two weeks visiting sympathizers to see how much we can raise. We are making the raising of money for the fund our No. 1 activity until Sept. 15."

The comrades in San Francisco sent in \$32. They say: "Our fund campaign is in slow gear but the fund director is plugging away and hopes to tap some more sources for money."

\$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

| Branch | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|----------------------|--------|--------|---------|
| AKRON | \$ 150 | \$ 175 | 117 |
| PHILADELPHIA | 400 | 418 | 105 |
| CHICAGO | 1,500 | 1,510 | 101 |
| NEWARK | 500 | 500 | 100 |
| PITTSBURGH | 30 | 30 | 100 |
| ST. LOUIS | 75 | 75 | 100 |
| Buffalo | 1,500 | 1,346 | 90 |
| Minneapolis-St. Paul | 1,200 | 1,044 | 87 |
| Los Angeles | 2,500 | 1,927 | 77 |
| Allentown | 60 | 45 | 75 |
| Boston | 550 | 379 | 69 |
| Cleveland | 350 | 240 | 69 |
| New York | 4,500 | 2,828 | 63 |
| Seattle | 450 | 278 | 61 |
| Oakland | 250 | 137 | 55 |
| Milwaukee | 400 | 202 | 51 |
| Youngstown | 450 | 217 | 48 |
| Flint | 250 | 115 | 46 |
| San Francisco | 1,000 | 446 | 45 |
| Detroit | 1,500 | 603 | 40 |
| General | 385 | 178 | 46 |

Total through Sept. 8 \$18,000 \$12,693 71

Report from Ceylon on General Strike

(Continued from page 1)

prepared to call for a hartal unless it was assured in advance of its success, and that therefore it could not decide whether to join in a hartal until it had first had time to make inquiries and judge the situation in the country.

Whereupon the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP), which is the Ceylonese Trotskyist party, the Communist Party-LSSP United Front, the Ceylon Labor Union, the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, the Ceylon Federation of Labor, the Ceylon Mercantile Union, the Harbor and Dock Workers Union, and the Federalist Party decided to call the strike and hartal for August 12. (The Federalist Party issued a separate statement, since it insisted on embodying the principle of non-violence which the other parties did not agree to.)

The Ceylon Indian Congress (and along with it the Ceylon Workers' Congress which is CIO dominated) had originally agreed to come in provided all the Opposition parties (that is, including the capitalist SIFP) came in.

After some delay, they declared that they were not joining the strike and hartal, but would instruct their organizations to hold protest meetings on the 12th — after work! Consequently, participation in the strike and hartal was finally reduced to the LSSP and CP, LSSP United Front and trade union and other organizations following these parties.

GOVERNMENT ROLE

As was to be expected, the Government took all possible measures to bring about the failure of the strike and hartal. Clerks and workers were warned that they would be dismissed if they stayed away from work on the 12th; the public was assured of all protection if they came to work and carried out their normal occupations on this date; traders in food-stuffs were warned that their licenses would be cancelled if they closed their shops on this date; radio and press were utilized in a rising crescendo of propaganda against the strike and hartal. The decision of the union of the Government clerks not to join in the strike was given the fullest publicity.

The morning of August 12, however, found the streets of the principal towns, and particularly Colombo, deserted. This was caused principally by the biggest breakdown of transport seen in Ceylon. Following the strike at midnight on August 11 of the workers in the running sheds of the railways all over Ceylon, railway transport was completely disrupted. The biggest bus company (South Western) had a complete strike, while a number of smaller companies had strikes

too. The clerks who turned up for work had to walk miles to their places of work.

There was practically a complete strike in the harbor, the Government factory, the Way and Works Department, the Railway Workshops, and in a number of private firms. In the plantations, where the All Ceylon Plantation Workers Union (the LSSP led union) had a base, tens of thousands of workers (including large numbers of those belonging to the Ceylon Workers Congress) struck work. Exact figures are not available, but in one district alone (Ratnapura) it is estimated that 30,000 workers struck work on that day. The total number of plantation workers who struck would certainly exceed 30,000.

The hartal was a great success in most of the towns, and even a greater success in the villages.

MASS PRESSURE

However, the most significant feature of the movement was that the masses went further than they were called upon to do by the hartal and strike committees. In practically all areas road blockades (by the falling of trees across the road, the building of obstructions resembling barricades, and even human obstructions caused by large numbers lying across the road) was the order of the day.

In a large number of places transport was obstructed by the cutting of telegraph wires, the destruction of small bridges, etc. Buses which were plying despite the hartal were forcibly stopped by stone throwing and sometimes by the masses stopping the busses on the road, and sending them back. The few buses plying in Colombo had disappeared from the streets by noon.

In order to make the breakdown of railway transport doubly certain, the masses cut signal wires, removed rails, and in certain cases forcibly stopped the few trains that were running and compelled the passengers to alight and walk home. In one village (Waskaduwa, in the Panadura electorate) hundreds of people had removed one mile of rail track during the night of the 11th.

CLASHES WITH POLICE

Clashes of the masses with police and military were widespread. In some parts of Colombo there were pitched battles between the unarmed masses fighting with stones on the one hand and armed police and military on the other. Hundreds were injured by rifle fire of the police and military. The number dead is not definitely known yet.

In the village of Egoda Uyana (in Moratuwa electorate just outside Colombo) women were in

the forefront. Six people here were injured in the shooting. The masses everywhere showed that they had the courage not to retreat in the face of bullets. In Colombo, a worker named Edwin, an LSSP sympathizer who participated in demonstrations and other activities, attempted to appeal to the troops to withhold fire. He advanced step by step on the military. He was shot and riddled with bullets by the officers. He was given a Trotskyist Party funeral even though no procession or speeches were permitted by the regulations now in force. (No funeral may take place without special permission of the police!)

It is noteworthy that the ranks of the police were on the whole sympathetic and did not do much shooting. The shooting was done principally by the police officers and by the military. It is also noteworthy that militant mass action took place only in the areas which are relatively politically advanced and where the LSSP had its organizations. In the areas where the CP is supposed to be strong (the extreme South) no such actions took place at all.

GOVERNMENT REPRESSIONS

It is clear that the success of the strike and hartal, as well as the militancy of the masses, came as the greatest surprise to the Government and the bourgeoisie, who had perhaps been themselves deceived by their own propaganda before the 12th.

On the afternoon of the 12th, the Governor General declared a State of Emergency all over Ceylon, and ordered a curfew in the Western and Southern Provinces, where the most militant actions had taken place. Under these special powers, regulations have been promulgated which ban meetings or processions, permit the requisitions of private property, make strikes in essential services offenses punishable with 20-years imprisonment, make any attempt to bring pressure to bear on the Government by word, action or symbol, punishable with the same sentence, make looting, arson, trespass (on prohibited areas) punishable by death, etc., etc.

The printing presses of the LSSP and the CP have been sealed, offices have been raided, and widespread arrests have been made. Over a thousand are being held on remand (without bail) and among them are party leaders like Cholmondeley Goonewardena (ex-PM of the LSSP), K. P. Nair (District representative of the All Ceylon Estate Workers Union, Kandy branch) and Merrill Fernando (Member of Moratuwa Urban Council). The arrests are still continuing, as well as police beatings. Some CPers have

also been arrested. In some villages which went into militant action on the 12th, the entire male population is hiding in the jungles to avoid the police terror which is now being unleashed through indiscriminate beatings and arrests.

The Colombo Municipal Council passed a resolution supporting the hartal. This was made possible by a vote of 14 to 11 in spite of the fact that the Left is not a majority, since some United Nationalist Party (government party) members were persuaded not to attend! The Council hoisted a black flag (symbol of the hartal) on the Town Hall. Because of this the Council has been suspended by the Government. The Moratuwa Urban Council, which is Samasamajist controlled, also participated in the hartal by closing its office and suspending work on that day.

On the 18th, the House of Representatives in an all-night sitting passed a new Public Security Act giving even wider powers to the Government, principally to detain people without trial, to utilize all special powers if an emergency is even expected, abolishing the clause which says Parliament must ratify such action within 10 days, etc.

Up to now, the national Trotskyist leaders have not been arrested. This is no doubt due to the fear of the consequences that might follow if such an action is taken. However, it is possible that this will follow the passing of the new law referred to above.

GOV'T PRESTIGE LOW

It is perfectly clear that whatever may have been the motives of the Government at the time it declared the emergency, today the continuation of the Emergency and the assumption of even wider powers which stamp out every expression of opinion and institute a police-military regime, is being done by the Government because it realizes that it has lost the confidence of the people and can continue in power only through such means. Although sporadic disturbances were still spreading on the 13th, by the 14th things were on the

whole quite normal and are perfectly normal today apart from the curfew and other emergency measures of the Government.

After the action of the 12th which exceeded the expectations of even the optimists in the Trotskyist ranks, the popular support for the UNP Government has declined disastrously, and the prestige and popularity of the Left, and the LSSP most particularly, has risen higher than ever before. In this situation the party is pursuing the policy of dissuading the masses from disorganized action, pointing out that our preparations were for a one-day protest strike, that further preparation is necessary for carrying the struggle to a higher level. Sporadic and isolated actions will only provide the Government with the excuse to continue the Emergency.

With the backing out of the left bourgeois party, the SLFP, at the early stage of the movement, the struggle became to all practical intents and purposes one conducted by the Left working-class parties, that is, the LSSP and the CP-LSSP United Front. Thus in action the correctness of the basic position of the LSSP on the question of the United Front was demonstrated.

Dr. Douglas Courtney, of Philadelphia believes that overemphasis on the dangers of the atomic and hydrogen bombs is endangering the emotional security of children and may lead to the development of neurotic fears.

"We can train children to leave the school building in the usual fire drill . . . but the atom bomb is a frightening, mysterious boogie man that creates terror in the youngster's mind." Experts say ordinary fire drills are of no use in preparing for atomic bombs, and that nothing can protect children from the H-bomb.

NEW YORK

Friday Night

Socialist Forum

The Kinsey Report

A Marxist interpretation

Speaker:

Ellen Reed

Fri., Sept. 18, 8 P.M.

Militant Hall

116 University Place

(near Union Square)

Questions, Discussion,

Refreshments

Contribution 25 Cents

Newark Fri. Night

Socialist Forum

presents a talk on

The East German Uprising

and the West

German Elections

Speaker:

MURRY WEISS

Friday, Sept. 18, at 8:30

at 52 Market Street

After a walkout of less than a month, William "Big Bill" Hutcheson, president-emeritus of the Carpenters Union who operates through his son Maurice as the union's president, brought his union back into the AFL on Sept. 8.