

Hail 25th Year Of Fighting for Socialist U.S.

By Murry Weiss

This week we celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Socialist Workers Party and a quarter of a century's battle for a Socialist America. On Oct. 27, 1928, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern were expelled from the Communist Party by its Central Committee. They were expelled for their views on Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism. These views were set forth in a Statement, "For the Russian Opposition! Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers Communist Party of America."

From October 1928 to October 1953, the line of continuity is unbroken in the struggle of American Trotskyism to build a revolutionary party in this country. But 1928 was really not the beginning—it was a landmark—a landmark in the history of American radicalism.

Our pioneer Trotskyists of 1928 were the custodians of the precious experience and lessons of the pre-World War I Wobblies, the Socialist Party of Gene Debs, and the foundation period of the American Communist Party. At the same time our

pioneer Trotskyists bore another proud tradition—they were Leninists. They had assimilated the experience of the Bolshevik Party of Russia, the lessons of the Russian revolution and the First World War. This gave depth and clarity to their native American radicalism.

In 1928 the Trotskyist leaders served notice to the Stalinists: "We will not allow you to destroy the revolutionary party of the American workers." By this principled stand they assured the continuity of the struggle to build a revolutionary party. They prevented the Stalinists from transforming the entire revolutionary movement in America into a tool of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

STALINIST ARSENAL

There were two interrelated reasons why Stalinism could wreck a revolutionary party.

First, the Kremlin bureaucrats had abandoned the program of revolutionary internationalism. They replaced it with "Socialism in one country." A party dominated by Stalinism was henceforth transformed into a "border guard" of the Soviet Union. The Kremlin used these parties to make deals with the capitalists at the expense of the workers. The workers paid heavily for this treacherous policy with decades of defeats.

Second, the Kremlin introduced the practice of handpicking and corrupting the leaders of the Communist Parties. It thereby assured itself of a spineless, functionary-type party leadership which could be relied upon to carry out Kremlin dictates but were worthless in the struggle against capitalism. Thus the revolutionary party could be built only in irreconcilable struggle with Stalinism.

Special conditions fostered the

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SWP Founder



JAMES P. CANNON

Weiss Scores Wagner, Halley Labor Records

NEW YORK, Oct. 16 — In a speech presented on radio station WNEW, David Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, today exposed the major party candidates whom he said try "to paint themselves up as friends of labor before election day."

He pointed out that both Wagner, the Democratic candidate, and Halley, the Liberal Party candidate, did nothing while in city office to aid the repeated struggles of the New York longshoremen to clean out gangster rule of their union and

win better wages and conditions. Weiss said that "the so-called outlaw strikes on the waterfront were attempts by the rank and file to get rid of Ryan and force better contracts from the employers. Why weren't the rank-and-file longshoremen able to clean up their dictator-ruled union? Well, up to a short time ago Ryan and Co. had powerful friends. Not only among the waterfront employers but in every capitalist political party and in City Hall, Albany and Washington. Whenever Ryan went to City Hall they practically rolled out a red carpet."

THEY DID NOTHING

"Ryan was highly praised by politicians and newspapers for his anti-communist campaigns. Of course, the main targets of Ryan's anti-communism were rank and file longshoremen who wanted an honest militant union."

Weiss linked Wagner to Ryan's corrupt past by pointing out that in 1951 the Tammany candidate Wagner had been "listed as vice-chairman of an affair for the greater glory of Joe Ryan."

Halley's main labor support comes from David Dubinsky of the AFL Garment Workers who "for years sat complacently while longshoremen got their heads beaten for trying to bring honest, militant unionism to the docks."

HALLEY'S RECORD

"Fearless Fosdick Halley," Weiss said, "talked a lot about crime and graft on the waterfront. Did Halley support the so-called outlaw strikes of the longshoremen against the combined forces of Joe Ryan and the employers? Did he ever do anything about the waterfront that was for the benefit of the longshoremen and not just to build his own political reputation?"

The only majority candidate who has been a real, consistent supporter of the rank-and-file longshoremen and all other workers is the Socialist Workers Party candidate David L. Weiss. The SWP has been exposing Ryan and the waterfront situation not just recently but since Ryan got his stranglehold on the longshoremen. Weiss and his party have publicly supported every rank-and-file movement against the Ryan leadership and every "outlaw" strike.



FRANCES JAMES

SWP Candidate In S.F. Addresses Bldg. Trades Body

Frank Barbara and Frances James, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for supervisor in the San Francisco municipal elections, addressed 18 more union meetings last week.

The speech made by Frances James to the Building Trades Council was given a full and friendly write-up in the semi-monthly newspaper, Organized Labor. Reporting her statements on inflation, taxes, the witch-hunt and the threat of a third world war, the AFL paper concluded its account of the speech with the comment, "President John Hogg courteously expressed everyone's sentiments when he said that 'we're all certain that a fine-looking girl like yourself will be a credit to the Board of Supervisors.'"

The President of a Local of Electrical Workers heard Mrs. James talk, and declared, "I was proud to present Mrs. James to-night, and would certainly like to see her sitting on the City Council."

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Campaign for 30-Hour Week, 40-Hour Pay Gains in Unions

Fear Another Cicero Case In Chicago

By Marjorie Ball

CHICAGO, Oct. 14 — Jim Crow violence flared here again on the Southside as three Negro families moved into the Trumbull Park public project. Although the Chicago Housing Authority had the families accompanied by 13 police cars, hoodlums, elements, aware of the anti-Negro sentiments of the police, shouted invectives and hurled tomatoes and rocks at the families. Four demonstrators were finally arrested. Only one lives in the project. This prolonged anti-Negro terror is being organized and maintained by elements outside the project.

Similar violence broke out in Trumbull Park last August when the first Negro family moved into this tax-built project, which had been kept all-white for 15 years in violation of the public housing law.

An extreme housing shortage faces the Chicago working class, the Negro people in particular. The influx of 20,000 Negroes a year from the South with no increase in dwelling units has intensified these conditions. In their desperate attempt to break from over-crowded ghettos and firetraps, Chicago Negroes are moving into areas formerly all-white.

Last year the newly purchased home of a Negro family in an all-white suburb was burned by a racist mob. Trumbull Park has all the potentialities of another Cicero with even more dangerous implications.

Since August the project has been guarded by Chicago police. But anti-Negro attacks are continuing. Numerous workers at Wisconsin Steel Co., a nearby plant, have been attacked and beaten. A continuous state of tension has been kept aflame by

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Cannon to Speak At N.Y. Rally

James P. Cannon, National Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak at the 25th anniversary celebration and election rally of the party in New York, Friday, Oct. 30, 8 P.M., Cornish Arms Hotel, 23rd and 8th Ave.

Other speakers include David L. Weiss, Catherine Gratta and Joyce Cowley. Timoteo, guitarist and ballad singer, will present a selection of Spanish and American ballads.

By Joseph Keller

Last week I took up the little matter of every "average family" in this country being owed \$1,063 this year because of the difference between what the government claims we've been making in family incomes and what we're really getting due to price rises.

I showed that when the government says that the "average family" was \$850 "richer" in 1950 than in 1944, because its money income rose from \$3,610 a year to \$4,460, we were actually \$478.87 poorer in real buying power. While income went up 23.5%, prices in the same period rose 36.7%. By August 1953 prices had gone up 53%, leaving the "average family" \$1,063 in the hole compared to 1944 in purchasing power.

As I indicated, however, I was taking the government's own figures about what an "average family" makes a year. I usually think of my family as average and I know blame well we didn't make \$4,460 in 1950, even before taxes, which the government forgot to mention in its figures. Well, I searched around until I found a survey of the U.S. Department of Commerce (which had also produced the "average family" figures so widely quoted in the capitalist press) that gave an actual breakdown of the family incomes according to the various income levels. This revealed that in 1951 — a war-boom year — while the "average family" was getting \$4,460, two-thirds of all the real actual families in the U.S. were getting less than that.

'ONE-THIRD OF A NATION'

In fact, they were getting even less than the government's own figures for a "modest but adequate" living for a family. Indeed the late President Roosevelt's words in 1937 about "one-third of a nation . . . ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished" still apply today. For the Commerce Dept. survey in 1951 showed that a third of all families living entirely on wages and salaries — \$1.6 million out of 40.4 million total family units — had incomes of less than \$3,000, the equivalent in purchasing power to a 1939 hunger income of about \$1,500 a year, or less than \$29 a week.

Here's the table of figures

showing the spread of family income as reported by the Commerce Dept.:

Income	Percent of Families
Under \$500	5.3%
\$500 to \$999	4.1%
\$1,000 to \$1,499	4.2%
\$1,500 to \$1,999	5.9%
\$2,000 to \$2,499	8.3%
\$2,500 to \$2,999	8.7%
\$3,000 to \$3,499	10.8%
\$3,500 to \$3,999	10.3%
\$4,000 to \$4,499	9.5%
\$4,500 to \$4,999	6.5%
\$5,000 to \$5,999	11.0%
\$6,000 to \$6,999	6.7%
\$7,000 to \$9,999	7.0%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	1.6%
\$15,000 and over	0.4%

NO EXTRAS

The U.S. Department of Labor in 1951 estimated \$4,218 was necessary for a "modest but adequate" living standard for a mother, father and two children. The average city or town family had less than that. This "modest but adequate" standard provided for no extras — no new auto, television, operation, a college education or money in the bank.

Half the above-listed families were \$600 or more a year short of this minimum "modest but adequate" standard; two-thirds of them did not make it.

That's the answer to this flood of propaganda the capitalist newspapers and radio have been drenching us with about how "rich" the American working people are getting, how we're all becoming "capitalists" and how we don't need any socialist revolution because we've already had a "revolution" — a very quiet one, to be sure — in the distribution of income.

Witch Hunt in Iran

The counter-revolutionary drive against Communists and supporters of Mossadegh in Iran continues to roll up victims. According to a spokesman of the new royalist regime, 1,222 persons were arrested during the past month because of their political views. Of these, 413 were released after questioning and 181, all Communists, were sent to penal labor camps.

West Coast GM Locals, Illinois AFL Endorse Plan on Unemployment

By Art Preis

Sentiment is rapidly growing in the labor movement for a shorter work-week with no loss of take-home pay to meet the rising threat of unemployment. Both CIO and AFL bodies in important industrial areas have adopted official resolutions in the past week or two calling for the "30-hour week at 40 hours pay."

This slogan has just been endorsed by a number of West Coast General Motors locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers. Similar action has been taken by the 900,000-member Illinois State Federation of Labor.

These actions are in line with the most important resolution adopted by the recent national convention of the American Federation of Labor. The AFL, taking cognizance of the impending serious economic situation, called for a 35-hour week "with no loss of take-home pay."

The Militant is especially pleased to see the movement of "30 for 40" begin to take on momentum because we initiated this proposal as part of our program to meet unemployment.

We urged the unions to adopt this program back in 1938 and 1939 before Roosevelt "solved" the depression with a war economy. We revived the slogan in the period from 1945 to 1949, before Truman was able to again avert an economic crash with huge war spending and the Korean War.

UAW LOCALS ACT

The UAW-GM Sub Council No. 7, which includes all GM locals in California, adopted a "30 for 40" resolution after its con-

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Soviet Farm Crisis --- I

Malenkov Caught By the "Scissors"

By John G. Wright

What is the matter with Soviet agriculture? To believe the Kremlin and its apologists, it is simply a question of assuring a "sharp upturn" of production with the aim of assuring an "abundance" of food and raw materials within the next "two or three years."

The Stalinists portray matters as if nothing more were involved than the growing pains of "Further Development of Agriculture in the USSR," as the official documents put it.

The capitalists for their part have seized upon the Kremlin's unavoidable admissions to raise a hue and cry about the "bankruptcy of communism." The shocking admissions of existing "shortcomings," "abnormalities," etc., have been used by the imperialists to besmirch nationalized property and planned economy — the conquests of the 1917 Russian Revolution — which permit rhythms of industrial growth wholly impossible under capitalism. It is not the first time that the Kremlin despots have supplied the imperialists with weapons to attack the Soviet Union and to try to discredit the struggle for the socialist future of mankind. Both sides are deliberately misrepresenting the situation.

The truth is that one of the unresolved contradictions of Soviet economic life — the contradiction between agriculture and industry — has once again erupted to the surface. At no time, under the bureaucracy's method of administration and rule, has progress in Soviet agriculture been in the remotest degree comparable to progress in industry. Leon Trotsky long ago likened the gap between agriculture and industry to a "scissors." The task is to close the blades. The reality is that the two scissor blades — the one representing

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agRICULTURE, the other industry — remain today wide apart, as they have for the last 30 years.

The backwardness of agriculture inherited from Czarism is the primary cause of this gap. What perpetuated and aggravated it has been the policy of the bureaucracy. In its planning, the Kremlin has persistently ignored the need of the mass of the people, the vital needs of the workers as well as of the peasants. The bureaucratic over-emphasis on expansion of heavy industry resulted in a chronic lack of the light, consumer-goods industry, accompanied by a chronic lag of agriculture.

Throughout the entire history of the USSR under Stalinist rule the agricultural policy has zig-zagged between administrative, coercive measures of the most brutal sort, and concessions to stimulate private, individualist production. These violent shifts of policy failed to produce stabilization. The struggle of the peasant against the state, while changing in form, has all the while continued. The Stalinist lie remains, as it has been, that this struggle has long ago been liquidated; that the peasants have grown into socialism and will "gradually grow into communism."

WHY PEASANTS RESIST

Just the opposite is true. The peasants today under the new conditions, refuse as in the past, to voluntarily supply foodstuffs and raw materials. Why? Because the "scissors" between industry and agriculture has not

\$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
PHILADELPHIA	\$ 400	\$ 493	123
AKRON	150	175	117
CHICAGO	1,500	1,725	115
MILWAUKEE	400	430	108
MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL	1,200	1,247	104
BUFFALO	1,500	1,546	103
ST. LOUIS	75	77	103
CLEVELAND	350	354	101
ALLENTOWN	60	60	100
BOSTON	550	550	100
FLINT	250	250	100
LOS ANGELES	2,500	2,500	100
NEWARK	500	500	100
OAKLAND	250	250	100
PITTSBURGH	30	30	100
SEATTLE	450	450	100
New York	4,500	4,044	90
Youngstown	450	396	88
San Francisco	1,000	851	85
Detroit	1,500	883	59
General	385	224	58
Total through Oct. 21	\$18,000	\$17,035	95

Fund Campaign Ends; Final Total, \$17,035

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager.

The Socialist Workers Party campaign to raise an \$18,000 Party-Building and Publication Fund has ended. On Oct. 21 when the scoreboard was posted for the last time, the final total was \$17,035 or 95% — 5% short of the \$18,000 goal.

This showing represents a great victory for the party. Every branch scored 100% or better on its local quota excepting only New York, Youngstown, San Francisco and Detroit.

The campaign finished with Philadelphia taking first place with a score of 123%. Akron, Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St. Paul, Buffalo, St. Louis and Cleveland likewise oversubscribed their quotas. But each and every branch wins top honors for the extra push and effort that brought the campaign so near the goal.

We want to quote a letter from H. Mahler, Milwaukee Financial Committee Chairman, because we believe it expresses the feeling of

all those branches that reached 100% or better:

"Yes, comrade, it is wonderful that Milwaukee has gone over the top in the Party-Building and Publication Fund!

"No doubt our treasurer's report has reached you by this time. Or at least that part of her report in which she sends an additional \$25 to be contributed toward Milwaukee's quota. This brings us up to \$430 or 108%.

"We were confident that Milwaukee would go over the top by the Oct. 15 deadline. This should at least compensate some for those branches that for special reasons beyond their control were unable to come through in the traditional Trotskyist style of 'IN FULL AND ON TIME.'"

Negro Families Brave Racist Hooligans in Chicago Project

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anti-Negro stories in the Daily Calumet, a neighborhood newspaper, and the activities of the South Deering Improvement Association. Real estate interests have soured the activities of the hoodlums.

TENSION IS HIGH

I walked into the area Wednesday and felt the tension immediately. Police cars blocked off the area two blocks from the project. Four cops were on every corner. Every driver turning into a street leading to the project had to identify himself as a resident or turn back. On the project grounds there were more squad cars and other cops strolling and lounging everywhere.

Many children were kept from school by apprehensive mothers afraid to let them out of sight. For the kids it was a holiday. Adults spoke in whispers. There was no bantering as the women hung up their wash. The women I talked to had the same story: The property owners outside the project were starting the riots. Any antagonism of the tenants to Negroes in the project stems more from living in this tense atmosphere than to having non-white neighbors.

TIMID OFFICIALS

City officials, civic bodies and Negro organizations have met the situation so far only with expressions of fear and timid half actions. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has limited its intervention to filing a federal suit against the Chicago Housing Authority to enjoin them to accept qualified Negro applicants. To date they have not issued any literature on the subject.

The Daily News and the Chicago Sun-Times, both slightly liberal, have condemned the activities of the Jim Crow hooligans and are fearful that another Cicero will occur. Their program, however, is to merely plead with

the Negro-baiters to act rationally and legally. The Communist Party asks everyone to write to the President, Governor and Congressmen.

The solution of the CHA and City Hall is to keep over 1,000 anti-Negro cops in the area. Wishful thinking is the best the Negro press has to offer. The Chicago Defender reports the Trumbull Park terror has been smashed with arrests of four hoodlums. The Chicago edition of the Courier, a national Negro weekly, reports "Trumbull Park is 'All Quiet.'" Both headlines are misleading. The fascist-like activities of the real-estate interests have not subsided. The "all quiet" is one of tension and apprehension.

SWP STAND

The Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, sees the situation as fraught with peril both for the Negro people and the unions. It asks that Chicago's organized labor movement intervene in this situation.

The violence has already flowed over to an attack against the Negro workers at Wisconsin Steel who do not even live in the neighborhood. They are being attacked as they leave the plant. The assaults are a forecast of the future of an organized anti-Negro hysteria by all those interests that benefit from the division of the working class.

Strung along Lake Michigan from 83rd to Gary, Indiana, are many steel plants — U.S. Steel, Carnegie, Inland, etc. In the residential area west of the lake, which includes the Trumbull Park project, live many workers of these plants.

With contract negotiations coming up, the steel companies are making all efforts to weaken the union. A union divided along race lines is a weak union. It is no accident that management representatives are the ones most talkative about the Trumbull Park incidents, trying to stir up backward Jim Crow sentiments in the white workers.

DEFENSE GUARDS NEEDED. A CIO and AFL-sponsored defense guard at the homes of these Negro families and at the gates of Wisconsin Steel would say to the boss class: "This is an attack against the unity of labor. It will not be tolerated." Such a defense guard would say to the real estate interests: "We're not like the cops — ready to overlook your racist attacks. We intend to see Negro civil rights enforced."

The Chicago labor movement has a great opportunity to strike a real blow at race-dividing Jim Crow practices, the weapon of union-busting company interests.

Is an Eisenhower-Malenkov "Peace" Pact in Cards?

By Joseph Hansen

(Last of a series.)

To readers of the Militant, Secretary of State Dulles' announcement to the press Oct. 6 that a "nonaggression pact between the United States and the USSR" is "being studied" among the Western powers came as no sur-

prise. The probability of such a turn in diplomacy was forecast by the Militant as long ago as last January — some weeks before Eisenhower was sworn into office.

Even the Wall Street Journal now admits that "In some form or other, a non-aggression pact

with the Soviet Union is clearly becoming an integral part of American foreign policy." (Oct. 9.)

But it is one thing to offer such a pact — quite another to actually sign one. It takes two to make a bargain, as the old saying goes. What are the chances

of our actually seeing "a kind of peace treaty for the cold war," to use the formula of the Wall Street Journal?

First of all, I do not know of a single serious political observer who believes a long-term pact is in sight. Such a course, advocated by Wallace in 1946-48, was ruled out by Truman under the pressure of Big Business. The reason for this was that the capitalist tycoons who are the real rulers in America require world domination to maintain their economic system. They need colonial areas for investments, raw materials and cheap labor power. By taking these and also smashing the Soviet Union, they could gain a new lease on life for their profit system. Being realists of a kind, they knew that the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union would not voluntarily commit suicide, and therefore they projected the new world war for which they are now preparing.

Their main strategy is designed to further this objective.

SHORT-TERM PACT?

But what about a short-term pact? Here the possibilities, in my opinion, are far from ruled out. They hinge on Wall Street's timetable for war and on the advantages such a pact might offer in preparing for the conflict. We should not forget that Hitler, too, in readying his invasion of the Soviet Union found it advantageous, some two years before he sent his panzer divisions into the Ukraine, to sign and seal a non-aggression pact with the Kremlin.

As I have pointed out in previous articles, Wall Street has postponed the scheduled outbreak of hostilities several times. Eisenhower last spring cancelled all projected dates. Charles E. Wilson, head of the Defense (formerly "War") Department, recently said a "three-year" period at least "before the Soviet would be ready to attack," which is the formula generally used for the projected date.

American Big Business needs this time (1) to complete the rearmament of Japan and Germany, (2) to wipe out the worldwide impression that it wants war, (3) to tame the American workers, possibly through a "small" depression.

Wall Street is especially con-

cerned about knocking out the opposition to the war within the labor movement by stepping up the witch-hunt still more and dealing some paralyzing blows to the unions.

A temporary pact with the Kremlin could facilitate achievement of these ends. Just as the Stalinists painted up the Stalin-Hitler pact as a great achievement for peace, thereby helping to lull workers everywhere into a false sense of security, so a Malenkov-Eisenhower pact would be pictured by the Stalinists as a new guarantee of peace. The intended effect would be to divert workers from taking the only possible road to enduring peace, that is, the road to socialism.

While the Stalinists are thoroughly discredited in the American labor movement and consequently have little influence in this country, in other places such as France and Italy where they head the bulk of the labor movement, they could play a most perfidious role.

In the Aug. 22 Nation, Mark Gayn suggests some of the counter-revolutionary services the Kremlin might perform for American Big Business in return for a pact: "... we might find Moscow and Peking ready to sacrifice 'the Communist regimes in East Germany and Indo-China, as Stalin once sacrificed the Communist rebels in Greece. ... And a Communist pledge to still the spirit of revolt and conspiracy in the more turbulent segments of the non-Communist world might prove a better incentive to American investments than an uncertain stability based on our threats. A time of peace is also a time when our best allies, Japan and Germany, France and England, can regain economic health through world-wide trade."

Of course, it is another question whether or not the Stalinists can deliver the goods. But in combination with direct force applied by the U.S., Great Britain, France, etc., a Stalinist betrayal might prove decisive. In Indo-China, for example, French troops supplied from American arsenals might prove sufficient to put down the freedom-seeking movement if the Stalinists cooperated with a stab in the back.

Dulles, representing the interests of American Big Business, naturally seeks other concessions from the Kremlin in addition. The Oct. 7 Wall Street Journal reports that in return for the projected non-aggression pact, "Russia would be asked to agree to a unified Germany, a unified Korea, and to a peace treaty for Austria." In addition, the Kremlin would "have to agree to withdraw their troops from Germany, Austria, and Korea; the U.S. and its allies would promise to do likewise."

Eisenhower-Churchill may only be probing, hoping that the Malenkov regime may be so interested in gaining time to take care of a precarious domestic position that it will grant unexpected concessions. The Western powers may settle for less. In any case, they count on coming out in these maneuvers with the aura of "peace-lovers."

As the Wall Street Journal puts

it, "So State Department officials figure they can't lose. At the least, if the Russians reject the pact, the U.S. will have made a gesture calculated to help cement relations with its Western allies. At the most, the U.S. will have won important concessions in three hot spots: Germany, Austria, and Korea."

Far from the impression that the press may have given recently, the negotiations are not out in the open. William R. Foy of the Christian Science Monitor reported Oct. 8 in relation to the Korean conference that an American message "needs to be read in the context of private negotiations which have been taking place both among the western nations and indirectly between East and West in recent days."

Why certain of the negotiations are held in secret is quite clear. Main victims of the pact would be the insurgent colonial peoples and working people of the entire world. The common understanding between Western imperialism and the Kremlin would be reached at their expense. It would be a united front against mass uprisings that could unseat either of these counter-revolutionary forces.

It is noteworthy that in the June uprising in East Germany, the Western powers refrained from giving any serious aid to the insurgents. By their course they demonstrated their capacity to give tangible support to the Kremlin against a common foe.

By way of reciprocity, in the August general strike in France, the Stalinists refrained from guiding the most promising movement since 1936 toward government power, thereby demonstrating their capacity to give tangible support to Wall Street against the class they both fear.

These reciprocal stands of Wall Street and the Kremlin in East Germany and France are in the pattern of a tacit understanding. This pattern could simply be extended, and it could turn out that a non-aggression pact might not actually be put down on paper but just go into effect as an uneasy and unstable "gentlemen's agreement." Such an accord would be in keeping with the traditions of capitalist diplomacy.

NO CONFIDENCE

The lesson to the working class of these "peace" maneuvers can be summed up briefly: No confidence whatsoever in the intentions of either Wall Street or the Kremlin. Even if a "peace" pact were signed, it could prove only short-lived. At most it would turn out to be not much more than the lull before the storm of World War III. To save civilization from the threat of atomic war, it is necessary to take the revolutionary road to socialism.

To interpret the postponement of war — with or without a pact — as the opening of a prolonged period of peace would prove fatal. The task is to take advantage of the difficulties Wall Street faces in plunging our planet into another war. That means utilizing the breathing space to fight for the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government in the United States. There is no other way to win enduring peace.

Violent Overthrow of Br. Guiana Govt.



British imperialist troops, rushed to Georgetown, British Guiana, by warship, are shown (bottom) disembarking in move to crush elected government of the sugar colony. Gov. Sir Alfred Savage (top left) ousted prime minister Cheddi Jagan and his wife (top right) and other government officials. Sir Savage suspended the constitution. British government overthrew the Guiana government and suspended parliament with Washington's approval. London claims it was foiling a "Communist plot."

Malenkov Caught by "Scissors"

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been closed. In other words, the peasants have not been assured, in return for food and raw materials, adequate supplies of manufactured goods, tools, building materials, machines and the like. They "neglect" their work in the collective farms because to eke out their existence they must cultivate their own meager plots, each with its own meager crop, privately-owned livestock, etc.

To measures of coercion, to the continued lack of manufactured goods, they respond with the traditional peasant methods of cuts in production. From the Kremlin's own statistics — the first in 15 years — it is clear that this is precisely what has been taking place in recent years. The official admitted declines in livestock, in the production of potatoes and vegetables, fodder,

farm-yard fertilizer, etc., are by themselves incontestable proof that the struggle of the peasants against the state has far from ended.

The official Kremlin explanation gingerly skirts around this reaffirmation of the proprietary individualist tendencies in Soviet agriculture. It explodes the Stalinist lie of "socialism in one country." It underscores the utter bankruptcy of the Malenkov regime, that is to say of Stalinism which lives on although Stalin is dead. It underscores the complete irreconcilability between this regime and the needs and interests of the Soviet people and Soviet economy, industry and agriculture alike.

This is what the existing situation in Soviet agriculture discloses. We propose to prove this from the facts and figures

released by Malenkov-Khrushchev and Co.

Under the Stalinist rule the mass of the Soviet people have several times in the past suddenly learned that the situation in agriculture doesn't at all look the way the authorities had portrayed it the day before. Everytime it is turned upside down. Previous plus signs give way to minuses. New criteria are proclaimed in place of the old. An abrupt shift of policy is decreed. It is not hard to show that this has happened again.

Less than a year ago, last October, at the 19th Congress of the Russian party, Malenkov claimed that progress in Soviet agriculture had kept pace with the stormy growth of industry. Soviet factories were assured supplies of raw materials. Soviet "industrial enterprises experience no shortage of raw materials or other supplies," boasted Malenkov. The people, the cities in particular, were assured growing food supplies. "Our agriculture," he said, "is becoming more and more perfected, more productive and is turning out more and more produce for the market."

In September 1953, from the lips of Khrushchev came the following: "A definite disproportion has set in between the rate of growth of our large-scale socialist industry ... and the present level of agricultural production." As a result of this "obvious lag" Soviet agriculture "does not fully satisfy the population's growing need for food, or the light industry's need for raw materials," said Khrushchev. This happens to be poles apart from Malenkov's picture of an agriculture "coming more and more perfected."

Instead of denying shortages Khrushchev now affirms them. Shortages exist in every branch of agriculture with the sole exception of grains. Moreover Khrushchev now warns that the lagging agriculture "retards the further development of the light and food industries." In other words agricultural lag threatens an industrial lag.

Corresponding to this abrupt about-face in official claims concerning agriculture, there has been decreed an abrupt shift in agricultural policy. It is a shift to the right, marked by sweeping concessions to the individualist, proprietary elements among the peasantry. Special emphasis is placed on developing the free market and stimulating production on individual plots.

In monetary terms, the concessions, through tax reductions, higher prices for obligatory state

deliveries and purchases, are estimated by the Kremlin at 25 to 30 billion rubles annually. This represents a marked shift in the distribution of the annual income, in favor of the proprietary and restorationist tendencies in agriculture. The exact proportions of this shift are impossible to estimate. But an indirect gauge may be obtained from the fact that the total sum surpasses the combined state budgets for 1953 of the second, third and fourth largest Soviet Republics (Ukraine, Byelorussia and Uzbekistan).

Changes that strengthen these same tendencies have been introduced into structure of the Machine and Tractor Stations. Brigades of the tractor teams, tractor drivers and their helpers, harvester-combine drivers and their helpers, fuel-record keepers were all previously members of the collective farms. Henceforth they become permanent members of the state-owned MTS, detached from the collectives, and placed on the state payroll. The entire permanent staff of the MTS and of the specialized stations — directors, chief engineers, repair-shop superintendents, agricultural specialists plus the new permanent machine personnel — are by law allotted "household plots" of their own.

They enjoy special tax exemptions. They are exempt from obligatory deliveries to the state. In addition, a special state fund of almost half a billion rubles has been set aside in order "to grant workers, engineers and other technical personnel and other employees of the MTS loans of up to 12,000 rubles for a term of ten years, repayable beginning with the third year."

In this way, paralleling the midget households of the peasants there has now been set up a network of new individual proprietors in the countryside attached to state-owned enterprise — with privileges previously unknown. Their number is not insignificant. Inasmuch as the existing number of tractors and harvester combines is officially estimated at over a million, the drivers and their helpers, alone, counting two shifts for each machine, will number in the neighborhood of three to four million.

There is evidence, as we shall show in subsequent articles, that the process of differentiation of the peasantry has been speeded up in the post-war years. The new reforms will speed up this differentiation still further, preparing the ground for new collisions at the next stage.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent Murray Forbes reports good sales and distribution of the Militant at street meetings in the current New York mayoralty campaign. He writes, "The following listing of sales and distribution for the past two weeks should indicate what we can accomplish in the future. We view this only as a first step toward a more intensive and concentrated literature campaign in New York."

"Our first sale was at an open-air election rally held on the lower East Side. Thirty Militants were sold. Several papers were sold the following Wednesday at a small meeting in the Bronx. The weather was cold and there were only a few people on the streets but one woman who bought the paper was especially impressed with the headline 'AFL Urges 35-Hour Week With No Take-Home Pay Loss.' The same night Johnny T. Johnny A. and Manny went to a Transport Workers Union meeting where they were able to sell five Militants in a few minutes."

"At a Harlem open air rally 150 copies of the Oct. 12 issue of The Militant containing the New York election program of the Socialist Workers Party, and 25 copies of 'What Is It and What It Stands For' were distributed to those who listened to the meeting. Johnny A. sold 12 copies of the Harry T. Moore pamphlet. After the meeting two members of the audience spent the rest of the evening discussing with us,

"Sunday Doty, Julie and Nat participated in a door-to-door sale in Brooklyn. Within a half hour they ran up the following score: Julie, seven papers and two SWP pamphlets; Doty, six Militants; and Nat, one paper and three pamphlets. More sales are being planned for this week at which we hope to do as well and better."

An encouraging door-to-door sale last Sunday is reported by San Francisco Literature Agent Nick Bennett. "Eight of us went out with papers and programs and were able to sell 17 copies of the Militant. We plan to visit the same people again next Sunday and try for another sale or for a sub. The following week we will go again and try for a sub. Also we will hit new places."

"I have been using the Militant on the job. I give a copy away and then after discussing the paper I try a sale and later a sub. All I have spoken to have expressed their approval of our program and some are very enthusiastic."

Jack Booth sends in the following roundup report on the work the comrades have been doing for the past eight weeks around one of Chicago's South Side slum areas.

"We are constantly expanding our area of work, and have worked up to selling an average of 30 papers each week. There is an interest and a need for the paper and the program it presents on housing — the setting up of tenants' organizations, etc. in the past month on this project Barney has sold 14 papers; Doty, 13; Bert, four; Wilson, 15; Jack, 12; Elaine, 14; Alice, 19; Carol, four; and Marj, four."

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on

The Truth About Yugoslavia

Speaker: Lewis Scott

Friday, Oct. 30, at 8:30 at 52 Market Street

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 6¢ each in U.S. To each in foreign countries.

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Monday, October 26, 1953

Eisenhower Scraps Fifth Amendment

When General Eisenhower on Oct. 14 issued an order prohibiting government workers from using the Fifth Amendment, he "liberated" with one stroke of the pen some 2,000,000 government employees from their Constitutional rights under this vital provision.

The federal order will now be emulated by state and municipal governments, so that before we are through, over 6,000,000 workers will be affected.

Including their families, that makes roughly 24,000,000 people in this country who will have been placed outside the protection of the Bill of Rights.

If anyone wants to argue that after all only one small right has been taken away from these workers, we say, "Don't delude yourself. If a tyrant cuts away one right, the others can go next."

Besides, this is no "small" right. Not with McCarthy running wild. Any government worker who doesn't want to turn stoolpigeon or who refuses to lay himself open to frameups is forced by this decree to "talk or else."

It therefore means heightened fear and insecurity for millions of Americans.

The Fifth Amendment plainly states that no one shall be forced to bear witness against himself. Now the witch hunters have it turned around — no one shall be allowed to use this provision without becoming a suspected, victimized and hounded outcast. Even the reactionary N. Y. *World Telegram* said Oct. 17: "One might get the impression from some Senators and Congressmen that the Commies

invented that amendment and slipped it into the Constitution when no one was looking."

Attorney General Brownell is gleeful over the Executive Order, but he wants to go still further. He says, "The interests of justice and the nation's safety will be served . . . if the testimony of witnesses can be compelled, upon grant of immunity from criminal prosecution."

This gimmick of "immunity" is diabolical. It works as follows: They haul you before a McCarthyite inquisition committee. You are asked to give information as to the beliefs and political affiliations of your relatives and friends. You give that information and some McCarthyite official may fire your friends for "dangerous thoughts." Then of course you are a confessed "associate" of the victims. So you can be bounced and disgraced.

Aware of all this, you say: "I refuse to answer under the Fifth Amendment."

"Stop right there," they reply. "You can't refuse. We grant you immunity from prosecution."

But here is the trick. There is no question of "criminal prosecution" in most of these witch-hunt procedures. All they do is fire you, blacklist you, disgrace you, imply you are a spy, hound you, snoop on you and your neighbors, intimidate and frighten your children. That's all. Otherwise you are as free as a bird. You're not going to be prosecuted. You're just a "poor security risk."

That's the way the witch hunt works. It cuts deeper and deeper into the whole body of basic rights the American people won in more than a century and a half of bitter struggle. When are we going to put a stop to it?

Our Stand on Trieste

What is fundamentally involved in the Trieste dispute? The 270,000 inhabitants of this 80-mile strip of land are obviously not being consulted about their fate. Historically this may not be new to Trieste which has been fought over for 20 centuries, but that doesn't make it any the less oppressive to its citizens.

Trieste was "given" to Italy after World War I by the Allied imperialists. In 1947 the Italian Peace Treaty signed by the U.S., Great Britain and the Soviet Union set up the "Free Territory of Trieste" to be governed by an international administration. After some squabbling over who should be governor, Trieste was divided into "Zone A" to be governed by a joint U.S.-British military administration and "Zone B" to be governed by Yugoslavia.

Now the U.S. and Britain have violated the treaty and handed over Zone A to Italy. Yugoslavia protested. The USSR protested. The situation became tense when the Yugoslavs threatened military action. To this the U.S. State Dept. and the British reacted with customary cynicism. They seem to feel that treaties they sign need not be honored.

To our view the participants in this power play have the following roles: The U.S. and Great Britain are trying to bolster the decrepit Italian government and give Italian imperialism a new beachhead on the Balkan coast in

preparation for later expansion at the expense of Yugoslavia. It is in the same pattern as their support to Adenauer, the Mikado, Syngman Rhee, Gen. Franco and similar despots.

The Kremlin wants to maintain the status quo; that is, the counter-revolutionary deals of Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam.

The Tito regime in Yugoslavia helped lay the basis for the present situation, as we pointed out last week, by a foreign policy supporting the western capitalist powers. How this policy has weakened Yugoslavia can be gathered from the fact that the people of Trieste are obviously not clamoring to be included in the Yugoslav workers state.

Yet the Yugoslavs, despite their bad policy, are defending the anti-capitalist foundations of their state against imperialist aggression in this situation. From this basic class point of view the Yugoslavs are in the right against the American and British capitalists. In this situation, the Yugoslav interest in Trieste, from the viewpoint of the world socialist revolution, takes precedence.

We must be on guard against U.S.-British Third World War maneuvers and counter-revolutionary machinations in the Balkan tinder box. Keep Italian imperialism out of Trieste! Give the people of Trieste a say in determining their fate!

Highlights of SWP's History

The SWP Alone Did Not Betray



Fourteen of the 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Union Local 544-CIO march in closed ranks Friday afternoon, Dec. 31, to the U.S. Marshal's office in Minneapolis. There they were taken into custody and sent the following Monday to the Federal Penitentiary at Sandstone, Minn., to serve their prison sentences for opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism. In the lead (left to right) are Vincent R. Dunne, James P. Cannon, Oscar Coover and Carl Skoglund.

of American Trotskyism. The AWP and CLA fuse and form Workers Party. Lead National Unemployed League in struggles involving hundreds of thousands.

1936-1937: Trotskyists enter Socialist Party and merge with its left wing. Socialist Party left wing opposes treacherous policy of Social Democrats and Stalinists in struggle against Franco in Spain. Left wing likewise opposes support given by SP leaders to LaGuardia in New York. Right wing bureaucratically expels the left. Great majority of active militants and the entire youth organization (YPSL) rally to the support of expelled left wing. Stalin's monstrous frame-up trials reach their height. Through tireless efforts, American Trotskyists succeed in enlisting support of prominent educators and liberals to form John Dewey Commission to give Trotsky chance to answer Stalin's charges. Commission hearings held April 10 to 17 in Mexico. Trotsky exposes Stalin's "greatest frame-up in history." Commission publishes verdict: "Trotsky is Not Guilty." They declare: "The Moscow Trials were frame-ups." Trotskyist workers from coast to coast plunge into historic labor upsurge during rise of CIO. Fight militantly on picket lines and in sitdowns in auto, steel, rubber, textiles and other major industries.

1938: Convention of Socialist Party left wing meets in Chicago on New Year's week-end and founds Socialist Workers Party. Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution, founded in Europe by Leon Trotsky.

1939: Socialist Workers Party leads demonstration of 50,000 workers against American fascist mobilization at Madison Square Garden in New York, Feb. 20. Despite sabotage by Stalinist leaders, thousands of rank and file Communist Party members

support demonstration. Five thousand workers in anti-fascist demonstration in Los Angeles under SWP leadership.

1940: After six months of internal struggle, a petty-bourgeois opposition led by James Burnham and Max Shachtman splits from SWP. Opposition refused to defend Soviet Union in impending war with German imperialism. Discussion, led by Leon Trotsky and James P. Cannon, became an ideological landmark in world Trotskyist movement and building of the SWP.

1941: Twenty-nine leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truck Drivers Union-CIO indicted under notorious Smith "Gag" Act for opposition to capitalist war and advocacy

of socialism. First indictment under the infamous Act. Eighteen of the defendants convicted Dec. 8, 1941, same day U.S. declared war on Japan.

1941-45: SWP conducts vigorous struggle against Minneapolis Trial convictions. Socialist message against war and capitalism voiced by Trotskyist defendants in courtroom published in pamphlet form and distributed by the thousands. Eighteen sent to prison for their revolutionary socialist convictions on Dec. 31, 1943. Protest movement organized, enlisting support of organizations representing millions of American workers. SWP in the forefront of militant class actions of the American workers. The progressive left wing fights the no-strike pledge in the unions. Militant unionists and Trotskyists are fingered by Stalinist stool-pigeons who worked with the FBI to destroy the left wing in the unions. SWP gains in members and influence because of its militant anti-war stand.

1945-47: SWP on the picket line in the post-war strike wave, the struggle against Jim Crow, the fight against American fascism. The party distinguishes itself in leading militant actions against the race-haters in the Fontana Murder Case (Calif.), the Ferguson case (New York), White City and Hickman cases (Illinois). The 1946 SWP convention adopts Theses on Coming American Revolution that forecast America going socialist in not-distant future.

1948: The first presidential election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. Farrell Dobbs candidate for President. Millions of people hear the socialist fighting program. James Katcher, legless veteran of World War II, purged from a clerical job in the Newark Veterans Administration for his membership in Socialist

Workers Party. Katcher launches fight to be reinstated. The Case of the Legless Veteran becomes a key test case in the fight against the witch hunt.

1950: SWP leader James P. Cannon attacked the Truman administration for plunging America into the Korean civil war. In a letter to Truman and members of congress he demanded: "Withdraw the American troops and let the Korean people alone." He scored the capitalist rulers for their unprovoked, unauthorized assault on the Korean people: "You are a pack of scoundrels. You are traitors to the human race. I hate your rudeness and brutality. You make me ashamed of my country, which I have always loved, and ashamed of my race, which I used to think was as good as any . . . American boys are being sent 10,000 miles away to kill and be killed, not in order to liberate the Korean people, but to conquer and subjugate them. It is outrageous. It is monstrous." The SWP is the only party in America that has persistently and unambiguously campaigned for immediate withdrawal of troops from Korea.

1952: In SWP's second presidential campaign, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, candidates for President and Vice President, utilize nation-wide radio and TV programs to demand withdrawal of American troops from Korea, and oppose Wall Street's war drive, the McCarthyite witch hunt, Taft Hartleyism and Jim Crow.

1953: SWP leads fight against Wall Street preparations for World War III. Party candidates conduct vigorous election campaigns in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit and New York. James Katcher publishes his autobiography, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, marking five years of his fight, and launches eleven legal appeal.



JAMES KUTCHER, legless World War II veteran, whose five-year fight against government "loyalty" purge has symbolized the SWP's great record in defense of civil liberties. The publication of Katcher's book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, now climaxes his courageous struggle.



VINCENT R. DUNNE, pioneer Trotskyist in the 1928 split from the Stalinized Communist Party, made American labor history through his leadership of the famous Minneapolis truckdrivers strikes in 1934 and in the subsequent building of famous Teamsters Local 544. He has served the cause of socialism for more than 40 years.



FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary of the SWP and its first candidate for President of the United States when he ran in 1948. He was the party's banner-bearer again in 1952 and carried the SWP's anti-war message from coast to coast to millions of people over the radio and TV and in numerous mass meetings.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY -- WHAT IT IS, WHAT IT STANDS FOR

(The following excerpts are from the pamphlet, *The Socialist Workers Party -- What It Is, What It Stands For*, by Joseph Hansen. This extremely clear and interesting explanation of the program and history of the SWP can be obtained by sending 10 cents to Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, New York. — Ed.)

America faced two great dangers to its development. It met both with revolution. (1776 and 1861-65.) If we judge from history, no obstacles are great enough to halt the American people long in their forward march. When nothing else will clear the road, they employ the irresistible force of revolution.

Today America is faced with the greatest danger of all — the danger that the Government of Money will plunge us into another World War — the danger that Big Business will drag us down into barbarism.

Can it be held that the American people of today will prove less far-sighted, less courageous, less energetic than their revolutionary forefathers?

Already we see the break-up of the old political alignments and the formation of new, more radical currents, such as we saw prior to 1771 and 1860. History is repeating itself in a new setting. We have every right to the con-

viction that we shall witness a third revolution in America, a revolution that will end the alien rule of the Government of Money and establish a new government of the people — a Workers and Farmers Government.

NEED FOR PARTY

History has known many revolutionary struggles that failed despite every promise of success. Failure was due to lack of a political party based on a correct program and intimately linked with the people.

Organization of such a party in time means the difference between brilliant success and catastrophe. An outstanding example of success in the struggle against capitalism was the one scored by the Bolshevik Party under Lenin and Trotsky. Failures occurred in Germany, Italy, China (1925-27), Austria and Spain.

With the failure of the revolution, reaction swept triumphantly into power in these countries. Hitler, Mussolini, Chiang-Kai-shek, Dolfuss and Franco — these dictators won out because the workers did not succeed in building a revolutionary party soon enough.

A revolutionary party trains and educates the militant rank-and-file members of the working class who have qualities of leadership. It binds them together in a cohesive body of professional working-class politicians. It multiplies their individual strength a thousandfold.

Through its program, the party keeps its eyes on the main goal and major steps leading to its attainment. Through leaders

trained in theory and practice, the party keeps up with events, correctly interprets them and prepares for what is coming.

Through the party membership and the party press, the working people as a whole gain understanding of the political issues affecting their interests.

The party is the head of the working class, its eyes, its ears, its tongue, its brain and its will. The most essential task facing the American workers today is building such a party on a mass scale.

THE SWP

The aim of the Socialist Workers Party is to become the mass party needed to build socialism in America. The harmonious combination of the American revolutionary tradition with the best of international thought distinguishes the Socialist Workers Party from all other parties. In the program of the Socialist Workers Party the American working people will find the most highly developed political thought of our times.

Swept Under Rug

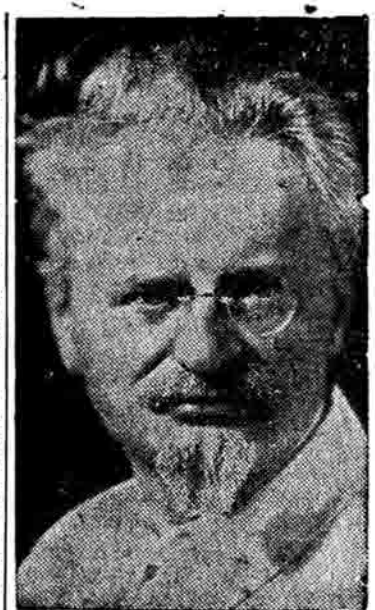
The FBI made public its half-yearly collection of crime data. In the first half of 1953, 1,047,290 crimes were committed. This is a 2.5% increase over the same period in 1952. Unlisted are crimes committed by the FBI itself — wiretapping, tampering with the mails, snooping into private political opinions, hounding and conspiracy against civil liberties.

(Continued from page 1)

growth of Stalinism in the American Communist Party. The radical vanguard of 1928 was under pressure of the capitalist boom of the twenties. The penetration of Stalinism was facilitated by opportunist corrosion of the leading circles of the CP. A right-wing faction, headed by Jay Lovestone, had been placed in power by the Comintern bosses against the will of the overwhelming majority of the party.

In the first issue of the *Militant*, Nov. 15, 1928, the three Trotskyist founders published a resolution on the "Right Danger in the American Party." This resolution was originally introduced by the left-wing opposition which included William Z. Foster, Bill Dunne and Alex Bittelman and the Trotskyists. Foster, Dunne and Bittelman capitulated to Stalinism but the resolution retained all of its power and exposure of the opportunist degeneration in the party leadership. The Lovestonites tended to minimize all the signs of an approaching economic crisis for capitalism. Along with this they disparaged the tendencies of radicalization in the working class.

To this right-wing conception of the Lovestonites the resolution counterposed the conception of American capitalism approaching catastrophic decline. It showed how economic contradictions were compelling Big Business to open an offensive against the living standards of the workers. It marked out the features of the depression already underway in 1928 and predicted that "the present economic depression must



LEON TROTSKY

inevitably become the forerunner of a deep-going crisis."

This remarkable forecast of the pioneer Trotskyists was swiftly confirmed. Their analysis was all the more noteworthy because it calmly rejected the noisy and aggressive capitalist propaganda about how American prosperity had refuted Marx. Wall Street's Black Friday in October 1929, put a stop to all that nonsense.

The crisis opened a new stage in the history of the American working class. The great CIO upsurge of the thirties followed after the first revivals of industry from total stagnation. The American working class revealed its enormous capacity for militant action. In this upsurge the Trotskyists were in the thick of the battle and demonstrated their

capacity to lead workers in struggle and become a part of the mass workers' movement.

But before the American Trotskyists could enter the broad arena of class struggle they had to pass through the most difficult test of their early history. From 1929 to 1934 the ordeal of terrible isolation from the mass of radical workers was inflicted on our pioneer movement. The radical workers and youth turned to the official Communist Party. While the capitalist world was demonstrating its bankruptcy the Soviet Union was forging ahead economically. The first Five Year Plan was introduced and showed the superiority of nationalized and planned economy over the anarchy of capitalism. The Communist Party exploited the radical moods of the workers with left phrasology. The Trotskyists, expelled and hounded by the Stalinists, seemed to be an obscure sect quibbling over some abstract theoretical differences.

These were hard years. But it was precisely during this period of Stalinist "leftism" that the American Trotskyists showed their mettle. They stuck firmly to their principled positions. Inspired by the leadership of Leon Trotsky they insistently warned that the false policies of Stalinism would lead to defeat and catastrophe. History offered tragic confirmation of the correctness of these warnings.

In the process of the struggle for program the American Trotskyists assembled a cadre that was immune to Stalinist opportunism and corruption. That is why, when the Stalinists turned the helm of their policy to Peoples Frontism, to collabora-

tion with the "good capitalists" and to an open policy of class betrayal, the Trotskyists forged ahead in their work. They were able to fuse with the revolutionary left party. Inside the labor movement they fought the combination of Stalinism and the labor bureaucracy. The debate in small halls and pamphlets was now translated into the language of the daily struggle of the workers. During the Second World War Stalinist strikebreaking and betrayal of the Negro struggle drove home the lesson of Stalinist treachery to millions of workers.

Notwithstanding many similarities there are profound differences between 1928 and 1953. Today the capitalist prosperity has even less substance and durability than in 1928. And the next wave of American working-class radicalization will be far more profound and revolutionary. The American workers have acquired a vast fund of experience. They have built powerful organizations. They will meet the next economic convulsion of American capitalism with a radical political counter-attack far exceeding the movement of the thirties.

But the radicalization of the fifties will not be dominated by the Stalinists and the Social Democrats and thus suffer betrayal and defeat. The Socialist Workers Party has built for 25 years to create the nucleus of the revolutionary mass party of the American workers. In the stormy struggles ahead our program and our cadres will prove their historical validity.

The Socialist Workers Party, and only the Socialist Workers Party, has been built for the tasks that will face the workers in the coming showdown between the American working class and the capitalists. That is why the Socialist Workers Party can view the future with unshakable confidence.

LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum

A Series of Lectures
(1) The Walter-McCarran Immigration Act

Speaker: Robert Morris
Chairman, Committee on Immigration and Deportation
American Civil Liberties Union
Fri., October 30, 8 P.M.

(2) Anniversary Russian Revolution

Speaker: David Dreiser
Marxist Lecturer
Fri., Nov. 6, 8 P.M.
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Burke on Jim Crow

By Jean Blake

You'd need a strong stomach and a big shovel to dig through the mountains of ballyhoo that appeared in the press last week about the man appointed by Ohio's Gov. Frank J. Lausche to succeed the late Senator Taft.

"Never in Mayor and Senator-Designate Thomas A. Burke's nearly nine years as Cleveland's chief executive has anyone been foolhardy enough to question his personal character and integrity," was the typical comment in the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

"Never a Scandal in Burke Career" and "New Senator's Character Above Reproach" were the headlines.

We beg to disagree. Politely, of course; a politician like Burke is liable to end up in the Supreme Court or in charge of some Senate investigating committee, so we don't want to provide any grounds for "contempt" proceedings against us (technical or otherwise) if we can help it.

But we charge Mayor and Senator-Designate Burke with scandalous conduct in giving aid and comfort recently to some of Cleveland's most notorious "race-haters" and white supremacists. In a situation that bordered on violence and bloodshed, instead of taking a firm stand against a group attempting to bar a new Negro occupant from living in the Lee-Seville area of Cleveland, Mayor Burke first temporized, then advised the bigoted white residents on how to evade the law.

The incident occurred when Mr. and

Mrs. Wendell Stewart attempted to move into their newly purchased home in an area where unsegregated Federal housing projects have been fought consistently by private real-estate interests. The Stewarts were threatened, mobs were collected and hopped up so that police protection had to be provided.

But instead of issuing a firm statement upholding the rights of the Stewarts, and taking action against those threatening force and violence, as community relations groups urged the Mayor to do, he "negotiated" with some of the ringleaders.

What's more, the "spotless" Mayor expressed sympathy for the feeling of the residents that their property values might be harmed by Negroes moving into the area. He advised them that while there was nothing they could do legally to avoid this — in view of the outlawing of restrictive covenants by the U.S. Supreme Court — they could form neighborhood committees and agreements among themselves to sell only to "desirable" occupants. They did.

Despite all the double-talk, this was thinly concealed aiding and abetting of the local mob in evading the law. More important — it shows where the new Senator stands on segregated housing more clearly than all his high-sounding, liberal speeches.

The lesson, for the hundred-thousand time: No confidence in capitalist politicians!

A Scrubbed Brain

By Myra Tanner

A new book was published this month in a nice, shiny, red, white and blue cover. **Freedom's Faith** by Clarence B. Randall, Chairman of the Board of Inland Steel, is "A fresh survey of the intangibles which command one American's loyalty," according to the publisher's blurb on the jacket. The almighty dollar is the tangible source of Randall's "patriotism" and requires no special "survey."

Randall begins his book with the following confession: "The whole process of writing a book constitutes a mental scrubbing that is very wholesome for a man in industry." The fact that the minds of business men need a scrubbing may not be very startling to most people, but it should be explained. Randall fails to do this, so I shall come to his assistance. Men in business live on the moral codes of "free enterprise" which establish self-interest, profit, individual gain as paramount. Six days a week, therefore, a business man looks after his own welfare and that of his company, as long as these don't clash.

The mental scrubbing comes in when this business man has to take time out from his care of "self" to address the public. Then he must clean himself up and think of the common good. He must try to convince everyone that while he is looking after No. 1, still — whether he likes it or not, or intends to or not — he is really serving the best interests of all. And any socialist who thinks that the welfare of humanity should come first is just "un-American."

The defense of "free enterprise" by this steel magnate offers nothing new. It's a threadbare re-hash of all the fables and

cliches you get everyday in capitalist propaganda. Business men generally, and Randall in particular, know practically nothing of the ideas of their socialist opponents. As a matter of fact, in my years of activity as a socialist, I have encountered only one representative of Big Business that had apparently made a study of Marxist doctrines; only one who even met the first requirement of a debater: to know the position of the opponent, although he refused to debate with a socialist. That was Reece Taylor, President of Union Oil Company.

Mr. Randall presents obviously stupid ideas, claims they are socialist, and wins an easy victory in this kind of argument. For example, in Chapter 2 of **Freedom's Faith**, Randall says: "The socialist planner argues... that efficiency would be better served if all products and all services were standardized. He would have but one kind of automobile, one church, one uniform set of textbooks in the schools, and one form of ownership, in the delusion that sameness is efficiency."

Where or when socialists ever made this argument, Randall doesn't tell us. I've never heard it from a socialist. We do think capitalism is inefficient. But not because of the variety of use-values that the workers produce. The inefficiency of capitalism is demonstrated by at least two obvious facts: (1) Capitalism wastes labor power through mass unemployment in depressions. (2) It wastes labor power by destroying it in imperialist wars. I don't deny Randall's right to scrub his mind, and write books against socialism. But don't you think a serious author should at least know his subject?

Notes from the News

THE "MAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY," after two years of trying to get ashore, finally made it. Michael Patrick O'Brien, his White Russian wife and child have been given permission to live in the Dominican Republic. For ten months he rode a ferry between Hong Kong and Portuguese Macao. He sailed to Brazil in August but Brazil wouldn't let him land. He returned to Europe but France turned him down. Italy did too. He sailed back to Brazil and was again refused entry. O'Brien claims U.S. citizenship but the United States wouldn't let him land. This unique exile on the sea is over but it still stands as quite a commentary on the state of civilization in the capitalist world of today.

THE KU KLUX KLAN in Florida has announced a "new" policy. The Grand Dragon, C. L. Parker, said that "all races, creeds or colors" will now be admitted to membership in the hooded order. However, since the Klan believes that "segregation of the races is the law of God," any Negroes that join the racist-terror organization will be put in segregated chapters supervised by the Grand Dragon himself.

"EVERYBODY KNOWS I'M HONEST!" So what's wrong? This question was asked by Senator Bricker of Ohio (Rep.) after it was revealed that he was receiving a lucrative cut in law fees from a firm representing the Pennsylvania Railroad. Bricker is Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee where he can exercise influence in legislation affecting the railroad trust.

THE CRUEL PERSECUTION of the Rosenberg children has aroused considerable revulsion. Michael, 10, and Robert, 6, were ousted from the Toms River, N. J., Elementary School on the technical pretext of not being legal residents. The real reason, it is widely felt, is that the witch hunters are still not satisfied with electrocuting their parents as alleged "atom spies." Clyde Slocum, supervising principal of the local schools, said the publicity about the children while their parents were in the Sing Sing death house had "given the town a black eye." The N. Y. Post said that "Toms River, a farming community, has much itinerant labor and children of the migrant

workers are admitted to the public schools for short periods although they are not legal residents." Excuse of the authorities for their sadistic attitude toward the children was that they were trying to prevent "overcrowding" the schools.

SURPRISE! According to Scripps-Howard staff writer William Cooper, "A lot of people looking forward to the income tax-cut next January 1 are due for a surprise." Withholding taxes will go down 10% but social security payments will rise on the same date. Cooper says that this will mean "smaller take-home pay" for many large families "or families with low incomes." We are warned not to blame the boss and to remember that it will all come back to us in our old age... if we live that long.

SEVERAL VICTORIES have been scored recently in the struggle against racial discrimination. In the nation's capital, the management of Loew's Inc. announced that its three big downtown theaters would start admitting Negroes without segregation. In Philadelphia a suit to enjoin Boulevard Pools from discrimination against Negroes was brought under the city's Accommodations Act of 1938 which provides anyone in public places because of race, color, or religion. When the court granted an injunction against the pools, the city's Commission on Human Rights succeeded in obtaining an agreement among operators to end discriminatory practices among skating rinks.

WHAT IS THE MYSTERY? An unidentified woman had a reported income of \$6,413,000 in 1950. After taxes she had only \$2,000,000 left to live on for the year. It is suspected that this is the same person whose income was reported to be \$5,592,000 in 1946 and \$5,032,000 in 1947, but who suffered lean years in 1948 and 1949 with income of less than \$5,000,000. (AP, Oct. 8.) Who this person is, is quite a mystery since the government will not reveal her identity. But a greater mystery is how two-thirds of the families in the United States live on incomes less than \$4,460 annually — the government estimate for a minimum, modest but adequate standard of living.

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Phila. SWP Defends Nine CP Victims

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 16 — "The Socialist Workers Party stands unconditionally for the defense of the nine Pennsylvania Stalinists as a fundamental necessity in the fight for civil liberties," Howard Lee, speaking at the Friday Night Socialist Forum made this one of his main points.

The speaker traced the course of the prosecution of the nine from the time they were picked up in pre-dawn raids July 30 and 31 on the charge of violating the Smith Act. The case shows a few new wrinkles in the methods of the witch hunt. Once arrested, the defendants found themselves in a maze. Their bail was set at the impossible sums of \$25,000 to \$75,000 each, and were dropped only after long, tedious appeals. The chairman of their bail committee found himself under Senate Subcommittee investigation. The victims could not find a lawyer to take their case, since he ran the danger of being blackballed. After a two-month search proved fruitless, the Bar Association had to supply one. Newspapers and commentators act as if the nine were already condemned. They face trial with every card stacked against them.

"Repressive actions of this kind against minorities and opponent political parties are intended by the ruling class as a show of strength," said comrade Lee. "History has shown that in every such case the state is caught in a vise of contradictions. The truth is that beneath the display of brutal power lies a fearful weakness."

"The defense of the Stalinist leaders, whether or not you agree with their political ideas, must be seen as an application of the basic principle of defense of civil liberties. In defending the rights of these victims, we are in reality defending the rights of all individuals, political currents and the labor movement itself."

After a lively discussion the meeting passed a resolution condemning the Smith Act, calling for the defense of rights of the Stalinists and offering to join in united front activities in their behalf.

Oakland Transit Strike Ends After Tough Fight

By Paul Williams

OAKLAND, Oct. 18 — After 77 days of sticking it out against an adamant company, the membership of AFL Carmen's Union, Local 192, voted 759 to 201 to end their strike against the Key transit system. Buses began rolling again Oct. 8.

Original demands of the union included an immediate increase of 30 to 40 cents in pay, abolishment of the split shift, improvements in working schedules and conditions. After more than two and a half months of battle, the union felt forced to accept the company offer of a pay rise of 10 cents now, five cents more in April and an additional three cents next July. The split shift and working conditions remain as before.

Even before the settlement had been filed, Key demanded permission from the Public Utilities Commission to raise local "zone" fares from 15 to 20 cents and Bay Bridge fares from 35 to 50 cents one way.

COMMUTERS STRANDED

In addition, under excuse of "financial exigencies," many feeder and auxiliary services were arbitrarily discontinued, leaving many commuters stranded without transit service.

The way in which basic issues were posed and brought out in this strike is considered significant here. In the heat and sharpness of the strike, Key stood before the whole community as nothing but a profit-gouging outfit. After refusing to open its books for public inspection, the company was unable to get a sympathetic ear anywhere to its claim that any wage increase would have to be accompanied by a fare increase.

In an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion on the part of the Oakland area population toward Key and its officials, even the boss press, always anxious to aid any attempt to smash a strike, had to maintain a "neutral" attitude.

COUNCIL BOWS TO CLAMOR

The Oakland City Council, although dominated by real-estate interests, was forced under public clamor to officially demand that Key open its books to demonstrate that it was not in the poorhouse as it tried to make out.

Art Museum Strikers



Pickets march before the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City after 170 guards, who protect the museum's priceless exhibits, went on strike for the first time in its 83-year history. The guards, members of an independent union, are demanding a \$500 annual wage increase.

ILLINOIS AFL DEMANDS 30-HOUR, 40-PAY WEEK

CHICAGO, Oct. 19 — An overwhelming majority of the 1,700 delegates at the Illinois State Federation of Labor Convention last week voted for a 30-hour week at 40 hours

pay. The delegates at Springfield represented 900,000 union members. The 30-hour week was recommended to meet the possible crisis of 20,000,000 workers losing defense jobs and being released from military service.

Reuben G. Soderstrom, president of the ISFL, predicted a sharp slump in employment in the next eight months unless defense production continues or a giant federal-state-local public works program is begun to provide jobs.

The Executive Board of the ISFL called the Illinois manufacturers the worst safety law-breakers in the country. The chairman of the ISFL safety committee, John Fewkes, estimated that there were 200,000 industrial accidents in Illinois in 1952.

The Convention began a drive to win workmen's compensation

for employees who lose their hearing because of industrial noises although they may continue working with no loss of pay. With certain exceptions, the Illinois workmen's compensation laws at present deny benefit payments to such cases.

The demand for a 30-hour week, a great step forward for the AFL, was marred by the executive board's support of high taxes to maintain arms spending. The fact that the conservative AFL bureaucracy proposed a shortened work week indicates the great fear of depression now pervading the ranks of the unions. What is needed now is a Congress of Labor in Washington with rank and file delegates from all unions to consider ways of enforcing this justified demand.

Everywhere support for the union and hostility toward Key was in evidence. Yet the union leadership eventually buckled and took the company's "final" offer.

The refusal of the union officials to press for opening of the company's books was evidence of its conservatism and incapacity to provide dynamic leadership. The commuting public proved to be to the left of the labor officials.

The slogan "Open the Books," advocated for many years by the Socialist Workers Party as a means of exposing the lies of profiteering corporations, became one of the main issues in the strike.

A resolution adopted by the Alameda County CIO Council demanded in clear and forthright language that Key open its books for inspection to let the public judge whether a wage increase could be afforded by the company.

DEMAND UNION CONTROL

When the company refused to accede to this demand, spokesmen of the Socialist Workers Party pointed out that this was in effect a damning admission that the company's books could not bear inspection because of its extortionate profits. The SWP then suggested that the labor movement should demand that the Key System be taken over and run under union control.

Many workers thought that this was a "good idea" but not "legal."

The SWP in return called for election of labor's own representatives to the City Council to provide the legal means. With labor in office, the community would be able to answer the company's refusal to provide for the public's basic needs by taking it over.

A heartening feature of the strike was the performance of the newest and youngest drivers, many of them Negroes with as little as seven months' service. They formed the most militant group in the union. They were always ready to take on either the most simple or most difficult tasks and carry them out with genuine spirit.

This layer of workers, returning to their jobs still in a fighting mood, speaks well for future militant struggles and the possibility of a new leadership arising from the ranks. While the "30-year men" supported the struggle, the "7-month" men were in the forefront of the fight.

LETTERS FROM READERS

Auto Workers Approve Strike Action in Italy

Editor:

I think the Militant and its readers might be interested in a little survey I conducted on my own.

It was about the Italian workers going on strike. I asked about 20 of the fellows I work with what they thought about it. Not one was opposed.

I would like to give you some of the answers which were necessarily short because there isn't much time to talk on the assembly line. A couple of the fellows didn't have anything to say one way or the other. The others said:

"That's the way it should be, anytime the people have some-

thing to complain about they should do something about it."

"A 24-hour strike is a good effective way to bring to the attention of all your dissatisfaction."

"We should help them, send them some money or something. The American government is always sending money to help theirs. We should help ours."

"Good for them. They really stick together."

"I guess they have their troubles the same as we have. The bosses are all alike. It takes all the workers to fight them."

"They must have some good unions over there."

The other answers were about the same. I would like to see some of your other readers conduct a survey on their own, where they work, and send a true reaction of the workers of their feelings on these matters.

West Coast Auto Worker

Wright Lay-offs Stir Depression Talk in Plant

By Tom Denver

PATERSON, Oct. 16 — "The best job you can get is to go somewhere where they make golf balls and golf bags. They'll use plenty of them." This was one worker's response here to the 1,500-man

lay-off notice that appeared today in the five New Jersey plants of the Wright Aeronautical Co.

His oblique reference to Eisenhower drew a few laughs from the group of workers who were all trying to talk at once. You get a little excited when your job that looked so secure yesterday is suddenly threatened today.

Another voice rose above the lively discussion, saying half kidding, "Well, boys, it looks like another depression."

"Yeah," said a young worker seriously, "I was thinking about that last week. I read where the stock market was booming. Up three points in one day and they're laying us off. What a joke."

THE LIFE "BEAUTIFUL"

But it was no joke to the next worker. "I read somewhere that Eisenhower said 'we won't have a depression while he's in office. He's only been in for nine months and look what happens — we get laid off.'"

A veteran of the depression in the thirties followed these remarks with, "You know what Eisenhower said. 'We're going to have unlimited prosperity.' They'll take away your house, your car, your TV, and starve you, but we won't have a depression."

"The audacity of these people!" said the serious worker "putting

'Life Can Be Beautiful' on the radio. They ought to put on 'Life Can Be Miserable' instead. Last week they laid me off at Plant 7, and two days later they rehired me at Plant 8, for a nickel less an hour. If they lay me off again I'm going to school under the GI bill and learn something I can get a steady job at."

"IT ALL SOUNDS PHONY"

"Where do you think you'll work when you get out?" a new voice joined in "They're laying off in all the big plants. You'll probably wind up in New York stock-clerking for thirty-five a week."

"Say, what about the ads Wright's been running in the papers? They had one in yesterday asking for 1,000 men and today they're laying off 1,500," said a puzzled worker. "It all sounds phony to me."

To this a long-term, war-plant worker replied, "Maybe they have a cost-plus contract with the government and get a couple hundred dollars for each new man they hire."

The starting buzzer interrupted the flow of talk and the group broke up to start work. The depression worker slipped on his apron, stepped out into the aisle and his voice boomed derisively down the long line of machines: "O.K. boys! Get those goggles on. Maybe if you produce enough units tonight you might not get laid off."

In the Unions

By Joseph Keller

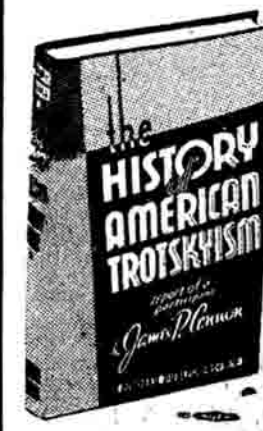
Some 500 union delegates, AFL as well as CIO, called by the CIO to a special meeting at the Commodore Hotel in New York City, Oct. 14, heard Louis Hollander, state CIO president, deliver an impassioned appeal for union action to break injunctions. His remarks were inspired by the injunction banning all picketing in the five-month-old Hearn's Department Stores strike. The state CIO head said that "sometimes we have to test these injunctions... We have to be ready to go to jail if necessary for our rights to picket and to protect our unions." It is, of course, a long established fact that the only effective way to bust an anti-union injunction is by militant mass picketing. But just when the delegates were getting ready to push for a huge mass picketing demonstration, Hollander sidetracked the idea by indicating that the Hearn's situation might be "worked out" soon. But there's no sign of a favorable settlement yet.

Speaking of injunctions, the AFL leadership is helping to cook up a bitter dish they may have to swallow themselves by their tacit support of Eisenhower's Taft-Hartley injunction issued against the strike of the old International Longshoremen's Association, which the AFL convention expelled for failure to rid itself of gangsters and racketeers. A temporary restraining order has already been issued against the new AFL longshoremen's union. AFL President George Meany called this anti-AFL restrainer, in classic understatement, "an unfriendly act." What's most serious is that the AFL leaders have given the labor-haters a precedent by approval of a T-H injunction, or at least failure to protest it, in the case of the ILA strike.

A month-long picket line set up by AFL Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Local 595 in a construction strike at the mammoth power plant for an atomic energy project at Joppla, Ill., has been halted by a federal injunction. Leaders of the international union had ordered the Local 595 picket line removed and even set up another local to receive its members, but could not force the workers back on the job. Moreover, some 2,500 AFL workers belonging to 18 other unions had adamantly refused to cross the Local 595 picket line. Once more, however, a militant union struggle has been broken by the use of the federal injunction.

Railroad labor unions representing 1,300,000 members opened a drive Oct. 1 to win wage increases up to 40 cents an hour. The four Railway Brotherhoods representing 300,000 engineers, firemen, conductors and switchmen served notice on 200 companies of their desire to open negotiations. Fifteen non-operating rail unions, mostly AFL, representing a million workers, are scheduled to follow suit and have already authorized a strike vote. The division of the railroad workers into so many crafts and unions prevents them from bringing their full combined strength to bear on the companies. The last contracts of the Brotherhoods were signed in May, 1952 after a three-year fight.

Not the least worried by the developments on the New York waterfront is the CIO National Maritime Union and its president Joseph Curran. At the NMU convention Oct. 20, Curran called on the AFL Seafarers International Union, which is spearheading the AFL attempt to take



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