

The First 50 Years of the American Dream

By Art Preis

Just 50 years have passed since that golden day — Jan. 1, 1900 — that ushered in the Twentieth Century. Strictly speaking, the new century did not begin until 1901. But most folks then just saw that shining date — 1900 — like a clear blackboard waiting for the handwriting of a new and brighter era for mankind.

In the yellow and musty newspaper files of that day you can read glorious predictions of the wondrous age that was coming to flower on American soil. Here in a land of opportunity, freed from the ingrown castes and classes of the Old World, in a land of immense resources, industry and "free enterprise," the American people would at last realize man's ancient dream of plenty, security and peace. American science would complete the final conquest of nature, end scarcity, end disease. Every family would have a home, with the furniture paid for and bounty on every table.

Wars and economic crises would be things of the past, they said, and they meant it. Here and there the White Man's guns might have to bring the blessings of Civilization to remote and backward lands; but bloody strife between Christian nations could not happen again. Class conflict — that fantasy of some gloomy foreign prophets named Marx and Engels who, unfortunately, had added the wits of a few Americans like those fellows De Leon and Debs — class struggle, too, would be buried forever.

That was the vision most Americans had at the dawn of the Twentieth Century. And so they called it the Century of the American Dream.

All this was to be assured by good old American capitalism. It had a few kinks, but with a bit more lubrication, an adjustment here and there, the "American system" would soar steadily upward into unimaginable heights of prosperity and social well-being.

Looking back over five decades we can see how far reality has deviated from the American Dream. True, enough, science has given us the power to conquer nature. We can speed over earth and under sea and through the sky. We can produce ten times more goods. We have more than doubled the average life expectancy. We have even unlocked the atom — the key to endless energy. But the American Dream meant something more — the end to the old division of rich and poor, the end of fear and insecurity, the end of oppression and war.

Even as the newspapers of 1900 printed their glorious predictions, the forces were at work in America and the world which were to shatter the American Dream. Giant trusts and monopolies were spreading their tentacles over American economy. The struggle for world markets, spheres of influence and colonies was lighting the fuse for world war. Millions of immigrant workers were crowding into America to be heaped up in terrible slums. And even every year, as in 1907, American capitalism suffered severe tremors, when the factories shut down and people begged for bread.

Then came the First World War to splinter the illusion that we in America were somehow apart from the conflicts of the world outside. And when it was over, everyone — or nearly everyone — spoke of it cynically and said, "Never again." Even Woodrow Wilson, in 1920, admitted it was a "commercial war" — a war for trade advantages and profits.

There was a depression in 1929; there was a vicious campaign of suppression and terrorism against organized labor and the "reds"; and there was a great wave of speculation whether America really was the land of never-ending progress. But then came "normally" for a few years; the stock market boomed, production soared and even wages went up a bit.

The American Dream revived. Herbert Hoover said in his 1928 presidential nomination speech: "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of our land. The poorhouse is vanishing from among us. We have not yet reached the goal, but, given a chance to go forward with the policies of the last eight years, we shall soon, with the help of God, be in sight of the day when poverty will be banished from this nation..."

Next year came the crash, just 20 years ago last fall. For 12 years, America saw not less than 10 million unemployed at any time. For 12 years, large sections of men, plants, machinery stood idle while vast stalked the land. All the tinkering and surface reforms of Roosevelt's New Deal could not lift the economy. And out of their misery and suffering the American workers came to realize that the "American system" could not protect them, could not assure them security. They had to intervene themselves. Their upsurge was the CIO and class struggle on a scale more massive than this country had ever known.

Then came the Second World War. Ten times the treasure and ten times the casualties were exacted from the American people than in the first world war. But even before the dust of the last exploding bomb had settled, it was clear that the first two world wars were but a prelude to a third — the war of atomic annihilation.

As for plenty and security, we can only look back sadly at those wonderful hopes and predictions of 50 years ago, now faded by time. Does anyone really believe that we have conquered depression? The best that Secretary of Commerce Sawyer can predict on this new year is that business might continue near present levels — for at least "six months."

What went wrong with the American Dream? It was based on the false idea that a system of class exploitation, a system of private profit, disorganized and anarchic, could cope with the immense complexities of modern mass production and the world-wide interchange of commodities.

Fifty years of terrible experience have taught us that American capitalism itself is the obstacle to the realization of the American Dream. We can never bring lasting plenty, security and peace under the domination of a few immensely rich and arrogant families who control the economic, social and political life of the nation.

But within the next 50 years, we can achieve the American Dream after all — in a new and more just order — socialism. Setting an example for the whole world, the American working people can take over the means of production and distribution on the basis of social ownership, we can coordinate the entire economy under a single plan, we can bring reason into our economic life.

And when Jan. 1, 2000, dawns, the people of a Socialist America will rejoice and celebrate the new Century of the American Dream Come True.

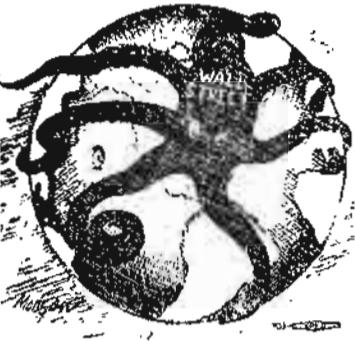


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Vol. XIV - No. 1

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 2, 1950

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

BOSSES ASK INJUNCTION ON MINERS

The Southern Coal Producers Association has demanded that Truman's National Labor Relations Board seek a Taft-Hartley injunction against the United Mine Workers to force the miners to work a five-day week instead of the present three-day week maintained by decision of the union.

In an effort to defeat the miners' attempts to get an improved contract and to halt any further possible strike action, the operators have called on the government to invoke a type of injunction that would operate for an indefinite period.

If the NLRB obtained a court order under the action begun on Dec. 28 by the operators, it could be made effective for as long as the Board said it needed to hear and decide the case. That could be as much as two years.

OPERATORS ASK INJUNCTION

Previously the operators had asked Truman to procure an injunction under the "national emergency" clause of the Taft-Hartley Act. This is limited by law to 80 days. But if the NLRB gets an injunction to halt "unfair labor practices," as the mine owners' legal sharp-shooters have asked, the union could be restrained from operating on a three-day week or taking any other action which the parasites call "coercive" and in violation of the Slave Labor Law.

It was this type of injunction which the NLRB secured against the AFL typographical union last year.

Detroit police, headed by the notoriously anti-union, anti-Negro and anti-Jewish Police Commissioner Harry Toy, have failed in both cases to uncover any significant clue. Their efforts have been largely concentrated on a witch-hunt against "Communists" and other internal union opponents of Walter Reuther.

There is no indication that police have made any serious effort to investigate the gambling syndicates that are operating in Detroit auto plants or the possible connection of reactionary employers to the terrorism. Detroit is also ripe with fascist groups; the Black Legion operated there in the Thirties.

The same operators who claim the miners are breaking the law by maintaining a three-day week do not hesitate to shut down pits and throw thousands out of work whenever they think their profit interests require it.

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1949 Trends Point Up New Year's Tasks

Both Camps in Cold War Faced Serious Troubles

By Albert Parker

The major events of the year on the international field were the end of the American monopoly on atomic "secrets," the deepening crisis of Stalinism in Europe, the conquest of China by the Chinese Stalinists, the formation of two German puppet governments, the adoption and implementation of the Atlantic Pact and, finally, the incipient world economic crisis marked on the one hand by the devaluation of currencies set off by Britain and, on the other, by the open emergence of insoluble contradictions in the operation of the Marshall Plan.

The news of an atomic explosion in the Soviet Union did not retard the plans of U. S. imperialism to rearm its satellites for eventual war against the Soviet Union and against rebellious movements at home or in the colonies. Less than a week later the U. S. Congress passed a bill providing the money for the beginning of such rearmament, which had already been approved in the Atlantic Pact earlier in the year.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

U. S. imperialism in 1949 was less worried by the military potential of the Soviet Union and its satellites than by the economic problems arising in its own camp, especially Western Europe. The Marshall Plan, having restored production to prewar levels, was running into insurmountable difficulties. By the end of the year it was estimated that six million tons of steel capacity were idle in Western Europe because of "overproduction" — one of the classic contradictions of capitalism that assumes an especially aggravated character against the background of a war-torn continent.

To survive, Europe must buy from the U. S. but it cannot do so without continued Marshall aid, due to end in 1952; it cannot do so unless it can also sell to the U. S. (whose productive plant is far superior), and, in addition find new markets elsewhere. But U. S. capitalism, far from opening up its home markets to Europe or relinquishing markets abroad, is reaching out itself for new ones, including Europe's present or past colonial empires.

NO CURE IN SIGHT

Failure to put Western Europe back on its feet so that it can walk economically by itself threatens to set off social and political convulsions leading to the overthrow of capitalism. Devaluation as a means of closing the gap of the "dollar shortage" will have little effect unless accompanied by a drive to lower the living standards of European workers — which may lead to the direst consequences in terms of capitalist stability.

Economic crisis in Western Europe will inevitably be extended and combine with the economic crisis in the U. S. Unification of the European economies now competing with one another, destruction of national trade barriers, nationalization of industry under workers' control and genuine planning alone can solve Europe's economic problems. But such measures are more abhorrent to capitalism than holy water is reputed to be to the devil. That's why U. S. imperialism is so concerned about the economic maladies of Western Europe — and why it's doomed not to find a cure for them.

STALIN'S TROUBLES

The political and economic crisis wracking Stalinism in Eastern Europe is no less insoluble. All of the Kremlin's efforts to smash the resistance of the Yugoslavs expelled from the Cominform in 1949, met with dismal failure in 1950, and sympathy for the Yugoslavs has spread into every Stalinist party in Europe. The Cominform had to devote virtually all its attention to fighting "Titoism" last year.

Stalin, unable to export the products needed by the people of Eastern Europe, exported Moscow trials and blood purges instead. Kose was executed in Albania, Rajk in Hungary, Kostov in Bulgaria, Gomulka was disgraced in Poland, Markos was removed in Greece, and heads fell elsewhere from men who had occupied leading positions in the international Stalinist hierarchy. The infection of "Titoism" spread to France, Germany, Italy and Norway; can there be any doubt that its effects made their way even among the oppressed nations in the Soviet Union itself?

The Kremlin bureaucracy is sitting on a powderkeg too, just like the imperialists. It enjoys so little support in its satellite domains that it cannot even find trustworthy quislings in Poland but must openly appoint a Russian

marshal to execute its orders there. The hysterical adulation accorded the tyrant in the Kremlin on his 70th Birthday was not unmixed with emotions of deepest fear, not only on the part of the singers of the praises of their object as well.

THE TITO TENDENCY

Titoism began to shape up as a distinctive political tendency last year when the Yugoslav leaders were compelled to abandon the all hopes of reconciliation with the Kremlin and to begin to tell some truths publicly about Stalin's crimes in order to arouse support for themselves among the masses at home and abroad. It showed itself, temporarily at least, as a tendency still based on fundamental Stalinist doctrines, such as the reactionary theory of "socialism in one country" and the "monolithic, one-faction party," while rebelling against many of the consequences of those doctrines.

OVERTHURN IN CHINA

How this new tendency will develop depends on a great many factors: on how long the Tito regime survives; on how much support it receives in its fight with the Kremlin from the international working class; on whether it is able to resist not only the attacks of the Kremlin but the pressure of imperialism, now extending a small amount of aid to Tito in the hope of encouraging additional disaffection from the Kremlin; on the emergence of a genuinely Leninist (that is, Trotskyist) tendency in Yugoslavia, either inside or outside of the Titoist party, and so on.

But whatever happens to Titoism in the end, one thing is sure: its rebellion has already set into motion all over Eastern Europe the forces of mass resistance against Stalinism and against national oppression which will revive the socialist revolution that the Kremlin thought it had crushed and which it fears above everything else.

The Washington-Moscow duel over Germany, the industrial heart of Europe, continued without pause throughout the year and disclosed, in passing, how little difference there is between the

previously refused to upset the conviction of the 18 Trotskyists tried in Minneapolis under the Smith Act — would open the way for the total suppression of minority political parties.

TREATMENT OF LAWYERS

It has become dangerous not only to hold certain ideas, but even to act as counsel in court for those holding them. This was demonstrated by the vindictive "contempt" sentences imposed on the lawyers in the Foley Square and Harry Bridges trials as well as by the exclusion of defense counsel in the case of the Trenton Six, where "dangerous" thoughts were attributed not to the Negro defendants in the Northern Scottsboro frameup, but to the organization that hired the lawyers for them.

The aim of the ruling class is to achieve political conformity to intimidate dissidents, to discourage the development of any movement that might challenge the rule of capitalism and all its works — imperialist war, militarization, economic insecurity, racial oppression. In a word, thought-control.

THE METHODS USED

And to obtain it, no method is too reactionary to be used: purges, blacklists, trials, introduction of the practice of conviction without trial, acceptance of the doctrine of guilt by association, presumption of guilt in the absence of proved innocence, deportation, employment of stoolies, "loyalty" oaths, laws, violations of the law like wiretapping, demagogic assumption of arbitrary and unconstitutional powers through executive decree, perfection of plans for military dictatorship, incitement of mass hysteria and mob violence.

The ostensible target of this drive is the Communist Party, which is widely discredited and hated as an apologist and agent of the Kremlin. But as was proved by the trial of the 11 Stalinist leaders under the Smith Act, the government's moves against them set the pattern for outlawing any group with ideas unacceptable to the ruling class.

Despite the Attorney General's "reassuring" denial, the upholding of the Stalinist convictions by the Supreme Court — which had

their policies. The blockade of Berlin was lifted, but this did not lift the heavy hand of the occupiers from either Berlin or the rest of Germany.

Each side avowed support for a united Germany, but both went ahead and deepened the division of the country by setting up their own puppet governments claiming to represent the entire nation. On both sides the Nazis were welcomed back in large numbers and into positions of power; on both sides plans were under way for the re-establishment of a German army staffed by officers who had served under Hitler and had everything to gain by remilitarization and the outbreak of a new world war.

MINERS' FIGHT CONTINUES

China, the French imperialists

showed flight at the prospect of the Viet Names fighters for independence receiving enough aid from the Chinese to drive the French butchers and their puppet, Ba Dai, out of the country. So they appealed to Washington and immediately got assurances that they would be able to use military aid obtained through the Atlantic Pact against the Viet Names masses.

In Latin America the shift was to the right as reactionary governments hacked their way into office or spilled rivers of blood to keep from being removed. In Australia and New Zealand conservative governments replaced Laborite regimes, underscoring the character of the Social Democracy as caretakers for capitalism in crisis.

ONE THING LACKING

In summary, capitalism as a decaying world system spent the fourth postwar year under the sign of the cold war in a world that remains in a state of political ferment, economic instability and social disequilibrium. Stalinism found itself faced with discontent in its own ranks that promises to flare into open rebellion at the first favorable opportunity. All that was lacking was a mass revolutionary party to take advantage of these crises to turn the world right side up by the socialist revolution. And all over the world the Fourth International and its sympathizers are working with all their energies to remedy this lack.

BOSSES BOLSTER

Many union leaders seized

on the first dip in the economic cycle as a pretext for abandoning wage demands. Outstanding examples were Potofsky of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Rieve of the CIO Textile Workers.

Unfavorable economic conditions, however, do not satisfactorily account for the general retreat of the unions. Continuing high prices, rising rents, speedup in the plants, insecurity that gave added weight to issues like the pension — all were impulses toward union struggle. Besides, the unions' size, power and experience today as compared to, say, 1937 — when labor, under far more adverse economic cir-

PENSON SETTLEMENTS

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Moreover, these union leaders

contended, the triumph of the Truman Democrats would soften the employers. And if the corporations tried to balk labor's economic demands, Truman would put the heat on them. After all, Truman knew who elected him and there had to be some gratitude.

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 8, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9839)
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Subscriptions: \$2 per year;
\$1 for 6 months. Foreign:
\$3.50 per yr.; \$2 for 6 mos.
"Entered as second class
matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the
Post Office at New York,
N. Y., under the act of Mar.
2, 1879."

Vol XIV - No. 1

Bundle Orders (5 or more
copies): 50 each in U.S., 60
each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors
do not necessarily represent
The Militant's policies.
These are expressed in its
editorials.

Monday, January 2, 1950

"A totalitarian regime, whether of Stalinist or fascist type, by its very essence can be only a temporary transitional regime. Naked dictatorship in history has generally been the product and the symptom of an especially severe social crisis, and not at all of a stable regime. Severe crisis cannot be a permanent condition of society. A totalitarian state is capable of suppressing social contradictions during a certain period, but it is incapable of perpetuating itself. The monstrous purges in the USSR are most convincing testimony of the fact that Soviet society organically tends toward ejection of the bureaucracy."

—Leon Trotsky, In Defense of Marxism, 1939



LENIN

TROTSKY

The "Secret" that Was No Secret

The Atomic Energy Commission has for years held documentary proof that the Soviet Union has possessed all the basic theoretical knowledge about the "secret" of the atom-bomb since 1940. That is the year when the U. S. government began its first tentative moves to investigate the possibilities of developing an atomic weapon and a year before this country got into the war.

But it was not until last week that officials of the AEC revealed translations of Russian scientific documents, published in 1940, which show that Soviet scientists long ago had all the essential information to develop an atomic bomb — the bomb about which Truman informed the world last Sept. 23. A score of U. S. libraries, including the Library of Congress, also possess copies of these documents.

These documents had been published openly by the Russian government, but the translation of them in this country had been stamped "secret" by officials of the Army's Manhattan District atomic project to conceal the fact that the U. S. was collecting information about the Russian "secrets."

The facts about the Soviet documents and their possession by the AEC, revealed in an extensive United Press dispatch from Washington on Dec 28, throw a new

light on the spy-scare and witch-hunt that the government has whipped up over the past three years to terrorize and silence all who oppose Truman's "cold war" policies.

Washington authorities — including Truman — knew all along that there was no real "secret" about the atomic bomb. In fact the very scientists who worked on the atomic project and were best informed on the matter repeatedly stated that there was no "secret."

But the witch-hunters in Washington took advantage of the average person's ignorance about the new atomic wonder. They drowned out the voices of the scientists with their Hollywood-like Congressional "investigations" of "spies" and "Communists." Truman steamed it up with his "loyalty" purge of government employees and spy trials. Lurid stories were ballyhooed in the press and over the radio about "leakages" of atomic "secrets."

But the only real "atomic spy plot" has turned out to be the plot of the warmongers and police-staters in Washington to muzzle free opinion in America under the pretext of safeguarding atomic "secrets" which Russian scientists described in public prints nine years ago.

The Purge in the Plants

The Dec. 12 Militant pointed out that the Department of Defense has set up a four-man Industrial Employment Review Board to act as an "appeals body" for workers fired out of plants with government contracts on political, "moral" or other grounds.

We denounced this move as a fraud because the members of the board are appointed by the Department of Defense itself, and because the board will be bound by the Attorney General's arbitrarily-selected "subversive" list, which is used as the basis of the purge in the plants just as it is used in the purge of government employees.

Under the previous procedure a worker could be fired for "membership in or sympathetic association with" any of the organizations on this list. Under the new procedure exactly the same system will prevail. It will not help the worker any to point out to the "appeals" board that his political convictions must be typed on union-made paper by a member of an off-ice workers union.

It is time for the labor movement to quit pussyfooting with the purge, to stop looking for "progressive" improvements in its operation, and to start fighting it in earnest and in its entirety. Either the labor movement will put an end to the witch-hunt or the witch-hunt will put an end to the labor movement.

All this is as well known to the CIO leaders as it is to us. Yet the CIO News writes of the new board as something

designed by the Department of Defense to avoid complaints of "military arbitrariness" in the future. And the United Automobile Workers says: "While the charter, procedure and criteria governing the actions of the new board do not go the whole way in meeting the standards of due process of law demanded in resolutions on loyalty and security investigations and dismissals adopted by the UAW-CIO and the 1949 CIO Convention, they do represent a long step in that direction."

The chief thing that seems to impress both these papers about the new board is that it permits purged workers to be represented by their unions in appeal hearings. But that fact does not alter the thoroughly anti-labor character of the whole purge proceedings any more than it would be altered by a new regulation requiring that the letter notifying a worker that he is being fired because of his political convictions must be typed on union-made paper by a member of an off-ice workers union.

Instead of parroting Stalinist arguments, the International Secretariat demands that Vlahovitch answer why the arguments given by Lenin at the time of the foundation of the Communist International are no longer valid today: "Has the world communist revolution been achieved? Doesn't capitalism threaten (through the League of Nations then and the United Nations today) the revolution wherever it unfolds even more ominously than in 1919? Are there no longer new problems which require collective elaboration through the collective organization of the revolutionary movement? Is the internationalization of the workers' movement less real than in 1919?"

For years communists have denounced the attitude of the Socialist Parties towards the International, the IS says, as one of the rankest manifestations of Social Democratic opportunism. Marxists have always believed that the class struggle is not the sum of the national struggles of the working class; that there is an international class struggle which requires the international organization of the workers' movement less real than in 1919.

The attitude of Vlahovitch, who appeared to be speaking in the name of the Yugoslav Communist Party, the IS concludes, signifies

Titoism and Internationalism

PRO-TITO OPPOSITION INSIDE THE FRENCH CP

By George Breitman

against a tendency in the workers' movement, its pre-eminent revolutionary and Marxist wing, the very same methods that the Kremlin utilized against you."

"We are proud of our organization," the IS continues, "of our program, of our banner under which the best militants of the October Revolution, of the Russian Bolshevik party, of the International fought before they were exterminated by Stalin's butchers... The Fourth International is a world party with national sections in more than 85 countries on all five continents."

"Despite the isolation into which we have been driven by conditions unfavorable to the world revolution, by the slanderous propaganda of the monstrous Moscow-directed Stalinist apparatus, our movement is active in every country where it has adherents, it is bound to its class, participates in its struggles and is prepared for any sacrifice for the triumph of the invincible ideas of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky."

TROTSKYIST MARTIERS

"How dare you," the IS demands, "use the label of 'suspicious characters' against Trotskyists who during the last war perished in the death camps of Germany and before the death camps of imperialist reaction?"

"As long as you maintain a negative or even vague attitude on the question of the International," the IS states, "conscious revolutionaries will judge you with the greatest reserve. You will never have their complete confidence despite all the other progressive aspects of your development. They will see in your refusal to completely and joyfully integrate yourself in the world revolutionary movement a grave defect, which up to now has been the hallmark of the retrogressive, nationalist and bureaucratic degeneration of other tendencies in the workers' movement."

FLINGING MUD

The International Secretariat does not question the right of the Trotskyist leaders to oppose the ideas of the Fourth International or even struggle against them. But it says, "it is completely inadmissible to fling mud and suspicion at our movement instead of engaging in an ideological discussion..." The poison-pen smears of Vlahovitch, it continues, are variations on the slanders of the Kremlin and its agents. These calumnies were used to create discord in the workers' movement and to estrange the masses from the program of Trotskyism and its world revolutionary leaders.

THE SAME METHODS

Precisely such amalgams were directed by the Kremlin in its Hungarian and Bulgarian trials against the Yugoslavs. It was on that occasion that Piyade, one of the Yugoslav leaders, declared that those trials were staged by the same men who organized the infamous Moscow trials of 1936-38 during which the cream of the Russophile Bolshevik Party and the Communist International were exterminated after being slandered as spies, assassins, etc. Piyade was concerned that its name and tradition might be utilized by revolutionary elements to stimulate the program of world revolution; that some of the parties of the Comintern would slip out of the control of the Kremlin and use the name of the international for a policy out of line with the diplomatic needs of the Kremlin.

STILL VALID

Instead of parroting Stalinist arguments, the International Secretariat demands that Vlahovitch answer why the arguments given by Lenin at the time of the foundation of the Communist International are no longer valid today: "Has the world communist revolution been achieved? Doesn't capitalism threaten (through the League of Nations then and the United Nations today) the revolution wherever it unfolds even more ominously than in 1919? Are there no longer new problems which require collective elaboration through the collective organization of the revolutionary movement less real than in 1919?"

But all these truths were ignored by Vlahovitch. The IS states that "you give the painful impression that the prejudices and the rotten practices of the Kremlin are gaining the upper hand in your organization and that you are prepared to utilize

an organized opposition, backed by the Yugoslavs, now exists in the Communist Party of France. A bulletin entitled 'La Lutte' (The Struggle) is now being circulated among the membership.

The bulletin gives the impression that it is put out by a politically educated group, experienced in the underground methods necessary for oppositional activity in the French Stalinist party.

Independent confirmation of this group's existence comes from the Central Committee of the French CP which has put the "struggle against Titoism" formally on its agenda for the first time since Tito was denounced by the Cominform.

While there is no way of estimating the size of the opposition it appears to have support in the proletarian strongholds of the party — particularly among the miners of the North and the metal workers of the Paris region.

The orientation of this opposition group may be judged by the following summaries and extracts of articles in its bulletin, *La Lutte*.

In a piece entitled "Neither Titoists nor Stalinists, but Marxist-Leninists" it is told how CP leaders and functionaries of the CGT (Stalinist-controlled union federation) have been campaigning against those groups that meet "to study the problems facing the Yugoslav people in building socialism while preserving its national independence." Involved here, of course, is the rising opposition to the ruthless campaign of the Kremlin bureaucracy against Yugoslavia.

Another article tries sharply to differentiate the opposition from the French Trotskyists: "Our movement has nothing in common with the maneuvers of the small Trotskyist groups, even though one of them dares present itself as a defender of the Yugoslav people. We know that they have never ceased to oppose the building of socialism. While claiming to lend their aid to the Yugoslav people — who have no need of it — they continue to serve as the conscious or unconscious tools of capitalism and to play the game of the leaders of the Soviet Union." While the charge of Trotskyists being "tools of capitalism" is part of the miseducation these people received during their long stay in the Stalinist movement, the charge that Trotskyists play the Kremlin's game must be acknowledged as an original slander among CP members. The article continues: "The Budapest Trial with its Brankovs and Pals would convince us of this, if further proof were necessary. These notorious Trotskyists confessed to all the charges brought against them by the prosecution although a few months earlier they had been designated as 'consistent revolutionists' in the fight against Tito."

Of course neither Brankov nor Pal were ever Trotskyists any more than Tito is a Trotskyist just because he is labelled such by the Kremlin. By citing as "proof" fraudulent "confessions" from the Cominform frameups, the French Titoists nullify one of their own important aims — that of exposing these trials as frameups aimed at the Yugoslavs.

But the most significant section of the bulletin is the resolution of the opposition committees of the North and of Pas-de-Calais. It is significant because an attempt is made to review the past policy of the party and to reject it as false. Here, whether they like it or not, whether they know it or not, the French Titoists are compelled to restate many of the criticisms raised long ago by the French Trotskyists.

This resolution describes the blind alley in which the Communist Party now finds itself and then tells how this situation developed. Recalling the tremendous and rapid growth of the CP during the Hitlerite occupation and the simultaneous loss of popular support by the capitalist and Social-Democratic parties, the resolution concludes that by the time of the "liberation," General de Gaulle "was our prisoner who had to negotiate with Stalin at Moscow... In addition to the Party, a decisive section of the masses gravitated to us; no field of activity escaped our control."

"Divided into Petainists and Gaullists, the bourgeoisie was destroyed itself before our very eyes. The working class, the middle classes, the fiery youth of the maquis and underground, a section of the peasantry, all the active layers of the population put their sole hope in the Communist Party. For the success of the revolution and the beginning of socialism, a violent overthrow was not even necessary. A few kicks in the pants would have been sufficient to dislodge those reactionary elements who, without conviction, hung on to their posts."

"The expropriation of the capitalists would have been an accomplished fact. And can anyone believe that the movement would have been limited to France? Italy would have been able to follow us immediately. Germany, finally freed from fascism, would have remembered, despite the American occupation, that it was the fatherland of Marx, Liebknecht and Luxemburg. The movement would have quickly reached Spain..."

"When one remembers that in one year communism could have triumphed in all Europe, we bitterly condemn the party leaders for having let this opportunity pass without making the slightest attempt to take advantage of such an historic situation... Instead they divided the revolutionary forces... accentuated nationalistic hatreds and forced the workers back under the capitalists to produce more for a capitalist society that has to be overthrown in order to build socialism."

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Two Birthdays in Moscow

By John G. Wright

Stalin's 70th birthday reproduced before the eyes of the whole world the revolting spectacles of adulation and deification in which the despots in antiquity, especially in Asia, so loved to indulge. The Asiatic custom of deifying rulers was adopted in Rome when the decay of that slave empire set in. But even then only the most depraved of the emperors demanded and was accorded homage like him a divinity in his own lifetime. Like the Caligulas and Neros of ancient Rome, Stalin took part in the ceremonies, making one of his rare public appearances in Bolshoi Theatre to accept the halo of divinity and the frenzied acclaim of a handpicked retinue. One aspect of the ceremonies was unique — Stalin had not a single word of thanks for the accolades and gifts showered upon him.

But the depths of degeneration to which Stalin and his regime have sunk can be illustrated not by comparison with ancient times, nor even with the birthdays of the Czars. We need go back only a brief 29 years. It was April 23, 1920. The place was again Moscow. The occasion was the 50th birthday of truly great man — Lenin.

The Moscow organization of the Russian Bolshevik Party decided to honor Lenin's birthday with a banquet. The guest of honor communicated his thanks but refused to be present. As Leon Trotsky explained, Lenin generally "was not fond of such projects." In this particular instance, he disapproved all the more strongly because the civil war was then still in progress.

Only one memento of this occasion has survived. It is a thin booklet on the poorest of newsprint containing the jubilee speeches of the participants published by the Moscow Party Committee. It is the rarest of Soviet bibliographical rarities. It has been forgotten by everybody in

the Soviet Union; even to mention it, has for years been a capital crime in the Soviet Union.

Stalin was one of the jubilee speakers (the other main speakers were long ago murdered by him). Stalin, who as a rule prefers to keep his mouth shut in public, chose this time to deliver a brief speech, and in praise of Lenin he singled out only one of Lenin's traits — "one trait about which no one has yet spoken; namely, modesty, the admission of his mistakes."

It would take us too far afield to treat with the "two mistakes" which Lenin, according to Stalin, admitted, and which Stalin saw fit to single out at the time. We refer the interested readers to the book, *The Stalin School of Falsification* by Leon Trotsky, where the whole episode is amply clarified.

Suffice it here to recall not so much the genuine modesty of Lenin and his scrupulousness in always admitting his own mistakes but rather the now also forgotten fact that for years Stalin used to pose as the most "modest" of Lenin's disciples. For years after Lenin died, Stalin donned a simple soldier's tunic and rough boots and carefully kept to the background. The real Stalin could emerge only when the events of the Russian Revolution were no longer fresh in the minds of all; only when the real disposition of figures on the historical scene and Stalin's own minor role in the great events had been falsified beyond recognition; only when the party of Lenin and his international had been completely destroyed.

The two birthdays — Lenin's in 1920 and Stalin's in 1949 — provide an excellent gauge of the abyss between Stalin and Lenin, between Stalinism and Leninism. It is a thin booklet on the poorest of newsprint containing the jubilee speeches of the participants published by the Moscow Party Committee. It is the rarest of Soviet bibliographical rarities. It has been forgotten by everybody in

Intellectual D. P.'s

By Arthur Kent

The God That Failed is a book that tells the story of six writers who became attracted to Marxism, were later repelled by Stalinism, and in their revolution turned their back on Marxism as well. The theme is certainly not a new one. But the fact that such men as Andre Gide, Ignazio Silone, Richard Wright, Stephen Spender, Arthur Koestler and Louis Fischer have undertaken to relate their experiences makes this book worthy of attention. (Harper, 1950, 278 pp., \$3.50.)

Koestler notes that he joined the German Communist Party because of "the rapid disintegration of moral values, of the pre-1914 pattern of life in postwar Europe, and the simultaneous lure of the new revelation which had come from the East." These were more or less the reasons why the six authors of this book along with many other intellectuals worked with the Communist parties in the Twenties and Thirties. Within a few years all these intellectuals, almost as a disciplined unit, were to move away from the Communist parties. There are many lessons in this wholesale retreat.

Koestler, for example, while a member of the German CP, witnessed the failure of the Communist Party in stopping the rise of Hitler to power. But it took the Spanish Civil War, in the course of which Koestler was able to see that the CP lied outright in accusing its Trotskyist and Poumist opponents of being fascists, to provide the immediate reason for resigning from the CP.

Silone explains that he left the CP because, years before, he had witnessed the degeneration of the leadership of the Communist International. Among other events he cites an episode of a

meeting of top leaders prior to a session of the enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International. At this meeting the leaders (among them Thaelmann, Kuusinen, Kolarov) voted to condemn a document by Trotsky which they had not even read.

Gide and Fischer, who were fellow travellers, became disillusioned with communism because of their growing realization that a bureaucracy had developed in Russia. Richard Wright left the American CP because of its manipulation and exploitation of the Negro struggle. Spender came into conflict with the British Stalinists on the issue of the Spanish Civil War and the perversion of culture in the Soviet Union.

Their full indictment of Stalinism of course goes beyond this brief catalogue. But it never rises to any systematic generalization. In their revolution from Stalinism, all of them come out against Marxism itself. It is impossible for any serious person to respect the criticism of people like Koestler, for example, because he has nothing positive to offer. Those who "criticize" Stalinism in this way are inexorably led to support decaying capitalism which they originally rejected, as Koestler does by his support of de Gaulle in France.

Most of those who have passed through the school of Stalinism revert to the individualistic and "moralistic" approach of the petty-bourgeois intellectual who perpetually wanders between all ideas and all movements. It is only the rare exception — like Richard Wright, who is a Negro and cannot think of himself as divorced from the social struggles — who continues to grope for a serious alternative to capitalism and Stalinism.

The Tresca Murder Case

NEW YORK CITY, Dec. 28 — Failure of District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's office to solve the Carlo Tresca murder case was cited today by Norman Thomas as giving "clear and open encouragement" to the gangsters who have since murdered Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican political worker, and William Lurye, organizer for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Thomas, as head of the Tresca Memorial Committee, voiced this criticism in announcing plans to honor Tresca on Wed., Jan. 11, seventh anniversary of his death.

The 1950 commemoration of this crime will be held at 8:15 o'clock that night at the northwest corner of Fifth Ave. and 15th St., where the editor of the anti-totalitarian Italian journal Il Martello (The Hammer) was shot down in the 1943 war-dim-out. Short speeches in English and Italian will be climaxed by the dropping of red carnations where Tresca fell. If the weather should be unfavorable, the speaking will take place in the Rand School auditorium, 7 East 15th St.

"Seven years after Tresca's murder," Thomas said, "I do not believe that the District Attorney's office exerted itself to the utmost in investigating it. I say this after scanning a current report of that office for 1946-1948. It gives four pages to the Scottoriggio killing, which it calls a political crime, and says 'The investigation continues.' But,

as in several of Mr. Hogan's previous reports, the Tresca case is not even mentioned.

"This is profoundly disturbing to me, and to many of Carlo's friends, who feel that Mr. Hogan's continuing official silence about that crime signifies that he and his staff would prefer not to be reminded of their failure to bring the Tresca killers to justice. That failure, to my mind, gave clear and open encouragement to the gangsters who afterward murdered Scottoriggio and Lurye.

"There is ample reason to believe that the Tresca slaying also was political, that he was ambushed because of his relentless opposition to one of the totalitarian movements, two of which were under suspicion from the start. So why does the prosecutor's office say it will go on hunting for Scottoriggio's slayers, and not even make the gesture of such a promise in the Tresca case?"

Thomas also declared that Hogan, in assigning Assistant District Attorney Louis Pagnucco to question Benjamin Gitlow about the Tresca case before a grand jury last February, violated a 1944 pledge that Pagnucco would not be permitted to examine any new witnesses in this case. That pledge was made, Thomas said, "after Attorney Morris L. Ernst and others presented documentary evidence showing that Pagnucco had been closely associated with Fascists in the past and had been honored by the Mussolini government."

Notes from the News

FIENDS OF A. J. MUSTE are planning to celebrate his 65th birthday by a party at the Community Church, 40 East 35th St., New York City, on Sat., Jan. 14 at 8 P.M. Muste, who was an active figure in the labor movement in the 20's and 30's and for a time belonged to the Trotskyist movement, is now a militant pacifist. He will give a report at the party on his recent trip to India.

SENATOR ROBERT A. TAFT said last week that the U. S. is now rich enough so that for the first time it might be possible to "eliminate extreme hardship and poverty." That sounds almost like a carbon copy of the acceptance speech by Herbert Hoover in 1928, a year before the big crash.

CORRECTION — Last week's report on the purge in the Stewart-Warner plant in Chicago contained the statement that both Philip Murray and John L. Lewis have refused to sign Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits which served as a model for the Stewart-Warner affidavits. While Murray did refuse to sign T-H oaths for two years, he changed his position in 1949. Lewis still refuses to do so.

CHICAGO LANDLORDS, who are clamoring for a blanket rent increase after bleeding their tenants of at least \$6 million in government-ap-

proved rent hikes during 1949, plus untold millions in over-ceiling rents, bonuses and similar swindles, are now demanding elimination of free text books from the schools in order to reduce real estate taxes.

* * *

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIV

MONDAY, JANUARY 2, 1950

NUMBER 1

New Postage Stamp



The government has issued this postage stamp to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Samuel Gompers, first president of the American Federation of Labor.

STALINISTS LIE ABOUT RENT FIGHT IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO — The deceitfulness of the Stalinists in exaggerating their role in the fight against the general rent increase in Chicago should be crystal clear to anyone who knows the facts.

Reading the Nov. 13 and 20 stories in the Illinois edition of the Worker, one would get the impression that the Chicago Tenants Action Council led the recent successful fight here against a blanket rent increase. Victor Ludwig, chairman of that Stalinist-dominated group, is quoted as saying that they defeated the rent hike by proving that Chicago rents are already too high.

One would also be led to believe that the Cook County Rent Advisory Board, at its meeting of Nov. 10, when it voted for the second time against a rent boost, was persuaded by the "well-prepared brief" submitted to it by the Tenants Action Council; or, at the very least, that the Board gave some consideration to this self-styled "well-prepared brief."

THE PUBLIC HEARINGS

However, any coincidence between these statements and the true facts is entirely non-existent. The facts are these:

At the public hearings on the rent issue last June, the two chief adversaries were the Chicago Tenants Federation, representing the tenants, and the Cook County Fair Rent Committee, speaking for the landlords. So clear was this to everyone, including the Board itself, that 45 minutes each were allotted to these two organizations, and only five to ten minutes to all other organizations and parties.

This was full recognition that the Chicago Tenants Federation, whose spokesmen sit as tenants' representatives on the Rent Advisory Board, is the outstanding leader in the fight to defend the interests of Chicago tenants.

At the June hearings the Tenants Federation presented statistical proof that the landlords are not entitled to a rent increase. This contention was reinforced by the testimony of Dr. Philip Hausner, a leading statistical authority, who proved that the landlords' figures were not reliable.

The main argument on behalf

WHO LED THE FIGHT

At this November meeting the fight on behalf of the tenants was again led by the spokesmen for the Chicago Tenants Federation, as the minutes of the Board session will show. They were supported by representatives of the CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhoods, and by two other members of the Board. After a heated battle the Board reaffirmed its previous decision to deny the landlords a rent increase.

The Tenants Action Council did not influence the Board's decision one iota.

Were it not for the existence of the Chicago Tenants Federation and the presence of its spokesmen on the Rent Advisory Board, Chicago tenants would in all likelihood have been compelled long ago to pay much higher rent.

90% of Fund Collected With Four Days to Go

By Reba Aubrey

Fund Campaign Manager

We're coming down the home stretch. Eleven branches have already crossed the finish line: New Haven, Flint, Allentown, Buffalo, Detroit, Morgantown, New Britain, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, St. Paul-Minneapolis, Seattle. The other branches are nearing their goals at top speed.

With a goal of \$12,000, the Party Building Fund reached \$10,742 on Dec. 27. To complete the national quota in FULL AND ON TIME, we need \$1,257 more by Dec. 31.

Seattle Branch completed its quota, but Comrade Louise writes:

"We will do our darndest to send in a little more before the deadline."

Youngstown Branch reports "the first post-strike pays are coming in" and assures us that their quota will be fulfilled or time and in full."

Comrade Elaine says the Los Angeles Local is "plugging away" and that they are "sure of attaining" their goal — 100% by Dec. 31.

The comrades in Pittsburgh had a social to assure completion of their quota. Comrades and friends of the Branch made it a success. The result — 100% for Pittsburgh.

"We realize that the time grows short before the Party Building Fund campaign ends," Comrade Dennis writes, "but Boston Branch feels confident that its quota will be fulfilled, as always."

New York Local likewise is "confident of completing" its quota by the end of the year.

Anne Chester reports that the Bay Area comrades are doing "a few things locally to ensure reaching our quota of \$800."

Sam K., a long-time friend of the party in New York, came into the office to contribute \$2 to the landlords' statistical case. The Board thereafter voted 8 to 7 against a rent increase.

The landlords then appealed to the courts and the Rent Advisory Board was ordered to reconsider its decision and to present findings of fact.

It was at the Nov. 10 Board meeting, called to act on the court order, that Victor Ludwig of the Tenants Action Council appeared with the so-called "well-prepared brief." No one read it; no one even mentioned it; and except for the fact that it was lying on the desk, it was for all practical purposes non-existent.

Ludwig himself, instead of being the fiery defender of Chicago tenants that the Worker would have one imagine, was a quiet little lad who came in and said he had a brief to present. The chairman of the Board told him to deposit it on the desk, which he did. Ludwig then obediently left the room when told to do so.

WHO LED THE FIGHT

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The main argument on behalf

SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
New Haven	\$ 25	\$ 28	112
Flint	200	204	102
Allentown	50	50	100
Buffalo	500	500	100
Detroit	1,100	1,100	100
Morgantown	25	25	100
New Britain	30	30	100
Pittsburgh	150	150	100
St. Louis	75	75	100
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	900	100
Seattle	200	200	100
Cleveland	250	236	94
Toledo	75	71	94
New York	3,000	2,747	92
Newark	350	314	90
Milwaukee	250	219	88
San Francisco-Oakland	900	703	88
Boston	200	172	86
Chicago</td			