

SWP Challenges Boss Candidates In Los Angeles

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 11 — Presenting the socialist anti-war answer to the Eisenhower war program, the Socialist Workers Party is entering the Los Angeles election campaign with two candidates, Myra Tanner Weiss for mayor and Robert Morgan for the Board of Education.

As in the recent presidential campaign, the first point on the platform of the SWP is opposition to the reactionary war in Korea. While Eisenhower, for whom many people voted because they thought he would end the war, makes plans to deepen and spread it, the SWP gives the people a chance to vote for a real anti-war program, because it is a program directed against the capitalist class which profits from the war.

The victory of Eisenhower exposes the bankruptcy of the labor bureaucracy which tied the workers to one section of the capitalist class, the Democrats, and therefore disarmed them by leaving them without a political party of their own. The SWP calls for a Labor Party to represent the American workers in their fight against the attempt of the capitalist class to take away the gains which they have won through generations of sacrifice.

Continuing its tradition of calling for a united front of all working class, liberal and minority organizations to defend their common civil rights, the election program stresses the danger of the witch-hunt which is aimed at destruction of the unions and the standard of living of the workers.

The announcement of the campaign was fittingly made at the fourth lecture of the Friday Night Forum, where James P. Cannon, national secretary of the SWP, spoke on "The Coming Struggle for Power." To show their solidarity with the party which year after year has consistently fought for the oppressed on all fronts, electoral, trade union and civil rights, the audience contributed generously toward the election fund.

Myra Tanner Weiss is now well known both locally and nationally as a fighter for the revolution.

Truman's War Threat -- An Assist for Dulles

By Joseph Hansen

In the fanfare of seating the Eisenhower administration, the importance of Truman's final address to Congress on the "State of the Union" can easily be overlooked. Besides a tendentious survey of the general condition of the country at the close of Truman's stewardship, it offers a concise summary of Washington's foreign policy since 1945 and a statement of war aims — as painted up by Truman. This, its most significant aspect, constitutes an opening move on the chessboard of world diplomacy by the new Dulles crew in the State Department.

Under guise of asserting the peaceful aims of America abroad, it attempts to throw the entire blame for the present ominous drift toward World War III on the Soviet Union. According to Truman, the Kremlin is out to conquer the world — if not in the immediate future, then some generations to come. Illogically enough, Truman also asserts that the danger is an immediate one. On top of that, it has been immediate since the close of World War II more than seven years ago.

The nature of the Soviet economy and the ideology of the Kremlin police regime, Truman asserts, makes the USSR an expanding power that must be contained if we are to avoid enslavement. To answer this adequately would require a separate article. Here I will only restate what has been proved in detail many times by The Militant — the Soviet economy, operating on a planned basis without the need for profits is not expansive like capitalist economy and the Kremlin ruling caste is not out to conquer the world. Whatever its evils — and they are monstrous — it does not want war, does not seek war, and would like nothing better than a long-term deal with Wall Street and its capitalist allies.

The record shows that the aggression since 1945 has been wholly on the side of American Big Business and its government. Truman's latest declaration is only another typical example. Raising the specter of atomic attack, Truman admonishes Stalin to accede to the demands of Washington. "We must be prepared for war, because war may be thrust upon us." Truman admits the danger to America: "War today between the Soviet empire and the free nations might dig the grave not only of our



TRUMAN

Stalinist opponents, but of our own society, our world as well as theirs." But this does not lead him to consider changing the fatal course. He insists on preparing for atomic war and insists on the danger is an immediate one. On top of that, it has been immediate since the close of World War II more than seven years ago.

Why did Truman make this highly provocative speech on leaving office? It may be a spelling out of the "hard cop" line in preparation for a "soft cop" tactic by Eisenhower.

The Jan. 10 Christian Science Monitor declares that the speech is a "ground-clearing operation" that "inevitably strengthens the position" of Eisenhower. "It was the strategists in the background, men who will remain in office during the new administration, who, of course, put the warning into Mr. Truman's speech."

And the Monitor openly explains that it "could be said only by a President about to leave office." Had Truman said it earlier, he would have run "the grave risk of being misunderstood." Similarly, Eisenhower could not say it "on taking office without running the same risk."

We thus have a graphic illustration of how Truman's war-mongering foreign policy is to be continued in essence by Eisenhower, despite any changes in form. By the same token we must say that Eisenhower bears full responsibility for Truman's threat to continue this course even if it means digging the grave of our world as well as theirs."

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVII - No. 3

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 19, 1953

PRICE: 10 CENTS

Millionaires' Club Moves In As Eisenhower Takes Office

Fight Delayed Over Kutter 'Loyalty' Oath

NEWARK, Jan. 14 — No court action has been taken so far by either side in the Newark fight over the federal housing "loyalty" oath. Newark is the first city whose officials have actually begun to enforce the new witch-hunt measure instituted by a congressional amendment adopted last July.

Originally, the Newark Housing Authority gave tenants at the local federal projects a three-day deadline, ending Dec. 26, by which they were supposed to sign a statement certifying that no one in their families belonged to any of the 203 organizations arbitrarily included on the so-called "subversive" list issued by the Attorney General.

Apparently the results were not as favorable as the NHA officials had expected. On Jan. 7 they reported that 328 out of the 3,008 families in the projects had failed to comply. The next day project managers put on the pressure through personal visits and the number was reportedly reduced to 148 families. Officials said this number would be reduced too, and that only 12 families were expected to refuse to sign.

BOTH SIDES PREPARE

In the meantime the housing officials have held up court action to institute eviction proceedings. The American Civil Liberties Union, which will represent some of the non-complying tenants in a challenge to the oath, is apparently waiting for the housing officials to make the first court move.

Among those represented by the ACLU will be James Kutter, legless veteran and one of the first victims of the federal "loyalty" purge in 1948. Kutter's father wants to sign the housing oath but cannot do so because his son is a member of the Socialist Workers Party, one of the groups on the Attorney General's list.

The ACLU will also file suit for Harry L. Lawrence, teacher and disabled veteran, who does not belong to any group on the list and has signed two "loyalty" oaths as a teacher, but is opposed as a matter of principle to signing the housing oath.

A lively discussion between supporters and opponents of the housing oath has been taking place in the local press. Special interest has been shown in the exchanges between Peter F. Killeen, county commander of the Catholic War Veterans, and George Breitman, representing the Socialist Workers Party. For details, see story on Page 3.



The New Moscow Frame-up

An Editorial

The monstrous accusations against the Jewish physicians in Moscow, coming on the heels of the anti-Semitic trial last November in Czechoslovakia, foreshadow a purge of tremendous scope in Russia and the satellite countries.

The official accusations against the Jewish physicians need not be examined to see if there is any truth in them — for such charges, and the "confession" trials that will follow, have long ago been exposed as frame-ups. The charges have only a political meaning. In this case the whole show is given away by Pravda's denunciations of the laxness and carelessness of the secret police in protecting the regime and its leaders.

The charge of police laxness, in the most police-ridden country in the world, shows that the trials will attempt a justification for what is coming — an intensification of police terror to silence the growing criticism of the bureaucracy and to smash all possible resistance beforehand.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, itself a product of Russia's former economic backwardness, is coming more and more into conflict with the planned economy which has made the Soviet Union an advanced country in record time. This conflict expresses itself in dissatisfaction and criticism of the bureaucracy. For example, intellectual circles ask why such a rigid regime

is needed now that the old capitalist encirclement has been broken by the addition of Eastern Europe and China to the non-capitalist world. If Socialism has really been achieved as Stalin says, then why doesn't the state begin to "wither away"? Workers and peasants grumble about conditions and in various ways indicate their desire for a greater share of the products of their toil.

The Kremlin continually tries to justify its existence and its monstrous police apparatus. "Enemies of the Soviet State" have to be found to justify the "police protection" of the Soviet people and economy. Now the Jews have been picked as scapegoats.

Anti-Semitism is also counted upon by the Kremlin masters to aid their diplomatic maneuvers to avert or postpone the war U.S. imperialism plans against the Soviet Union. The cynical Kremlin diplomats believe that anti-Semitism will aid them in winning favor with the anti-Zionist Arab countries of the Middle East. They also believe that it will win over ex-Nazis in Germany who, up to now, have been more successfully wooed by U.S. policy.

Such diplomacy is counter-revolutionary through and through. Stalinist anti-Semitism will only serve to expose more thoroughly the barbarous character of the Kremlin regime among workers and intellectuals.

Half a million organized coal miners in West Germany threaten to strike today unless their shifts are reduced from eight to 7 1/2 hours with no reduction in pay.

into the crucial stages, the principals have replaced their attorneys in the government set-up.

The Eisenhower administration, even before taking office, has indicated the lines of belligerent war policy it intends to follow. Eisenhower's trip to Korea, promised as a "peace" move, turned out to be a military inspection tour, and has ended with thinly-veiled hints that the bloody fighting in the Far East will be extended in the near future.

In addition, Eisenhower has already turned his attention to the plans for a European imperialist army, and is sending two chief members of his administration, John Foster Dulles and Harold Stassen, to Europe immediately after the inauguration. The stated object of their trip is to counteract any anti-war or neutralist sentiment in Europe, and to make sure that the war plans go ahead at top speed.

The Eisenhower administration will not have to inaugurate any new policies of a basic kind. The outgoing Truman regime has already set in motion all the basic trends of the cold and hot wars: Large-scale armament, H-bomb development, organization of European capitalism for war, intervention in Korea, with hunt against the American people, rejection of any and all bids for negotiations by the other side, etc. But these same policies will now be carried on more intensively. In particular, the American people can expect a stepped-up drive against their living standards in order that the corporations may become even wealthier.

BIG BUSINESS MEN

The composition of the incoming administration shows how completely the direction of the nation will be carried on by the oligarchy of great wealth.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, new Secretary of State, is a senior partner in one of Wall Street's richest law firms, Sullivan & Cromwell, which handles Rockefeller and Morgan interests, and specializes in work for world cartels. He is a director of International Nickel and Babcock & Wilcox.

(Continued on Page 4)

Can Business Hold Up If War Spending Drops?

By Harry Frankel
(First of a Series.)

With the approach of the peak of U.S. war preparations, the absorbing topic of discussion by economists, capitalists, politicians and various assorted handymen of American capitalism is this: Will the economy be able to sustain the effects of a 25-30% cut in the arms program without serious repercussions?

Any decline in the level of U.S. production and commerce, even if small, would be a very serious matter for world capitalism. This can be indicated very briefly by these few facts:

(1.) The rate of growth of the non-capitalist sector of world economy is already far greater than the rate of growth of the American-dominated capitalist sector. If the American economy, chief factor in world capitalist production, were to stagnate or decline, this would be another big blow to capitalism in a world relationship of forces which is already quite unfavorable.

(2.) Even a small decline in

U.S. economic activity would have the fiercest repercussions for the rest of world capitalism. It is calculated that a drop of 5% in American production leads to an immediate cut of 20% in American imports! This connection was among the factors which dragged world capitalism down into the pit in 1929 when the crisis hit here. Yet at that time most of the other capitalist countries, England and France for example, met the crisis with a balanced foreign trade and with sizable foreign assets which could be partially liquidated to offset the effects of the crisis. Today, even before any crisis, these same nations have a huge and apparently irreducible deficit in their foreign trade, and most of their foreign assets have already been liquidated in the course of two world wars and a world depression.

(3.) A U.S. economic decline, even if small, would have an effect upon the social stability of this country. It would lead, if not at once to an increase of union battles, certainly to an increase in dissent with the program of American capitalism and the growth of radical opinion. The almost monolithic facade of unity which American society today shows to the world would be threatened with disruption and dissent. In view of the fact that the U.S. is today virtually the only area of the world in which radicalism is not a significant factor and in which political stability has been maintained by the capitalist class, the importance of such a development cannot be overestimated.

WHAT WILL THEY DO?

These factors, which show what dire consequences for capitalism can be expected from a U.S. downturn, automatically raise another matter for consideration. It is important to see that the U.S. capitalists, knowing these things as well as socialists know them, would do everything to avert a crash, insofar as lies within their power. And since the cause of such a downturn would temporarily lie within their field of control, they would be very likely to take action. In other words, it is my opinion that if it becomes clear that a drop in the arms program would initiate even a small-scale depression, then the arms program would be restored even if it became necessary to extend the present war or initiate global war.

From these facts the importance of analyzing the present prospects of the American economy can be readily seen. That is the reason so many economists, government bureaus, newspapers and magazines, etc., are concerned with the matter.

A REVEALING FACT

The most interesting and revealing fact about the entire discussion of prospects now going on is the problem itself and the way it is posed. I will try to state this point very briefly.

In replying to this question, the majority opinion among economists and businessmen is generally pessimistic. The prospects held out for the economy range from "crisis" through "recession" and "severe shocks" to "down-turn" and "adjustment."

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 19, 1953

PRICE: 10 CENTS

Bankers, Industrialists Now in Direct Control Of Drive Toward War

By Thomas Raymond

Big business will be ushered into the executive offices of this nation on January 20, the date of Eisenhower's inauguration, and will take over full and direct charge of the government. The capitalists will begin to rule directly and openly, instead of through intermediaries as they have for the past 20 years.

This is clear from Eisenhower's appointments, especially his cabinet, which consists of eight millionaires and one union bureaucrat. It means that, as the war-drive of U.S. big business moves

Foreign Trade Expert Tells How To Patch a Hole

A letter to the N. Y. Times, consisting of a total of only four clear and unambiguous sentences, gives the entire program of U.S. capitalism away with very refreshing candor. The letter, published on Jan. 2, follows in full:

Referring to your editorial "New Trade Pattern," permit me to say that there can be no solution to the foreign trade problems now besetting the world as long as the Soviet Government survives. We may continue our present policy of patching up here and there, like the shepherd boy in the Russian story who tried to eliminate a hole in the front of his coat by cutting out pieces from other portions of the garment. Just as in his case the migratory hole remained in the end, so will our foreign trade problems remain as we are unable to negotiate with the other side, etc. But these same policies will now be carried on more intensively.

In particular, the American people can expect a stepped-up drive against their living standards in order that the corporations may become even wealthier.

The Eisenhower administration will not have to inaugurate any new policies of a basic kind. The outgoing Truman regime has already set in motion all the basic trends of the cold and hot wars: Large-scale armament, H-bomb development, organization of European capitalism for war, intervention in Korea, with hunt against the American people, rejection of any and all bids for negotiations by the other side, etc. But these same policies will now be carried on more intensively.

It is the considered opinion of our seasoned foreign trade experts, men who are also well conversant with the true nature of the Kremlin beast, that conditions will grow worse with the passing years.

J. ANTHONY MARCUS, President, Institute of Foreign Trade.

This letter is at one and the same time a program for war and a damning admission as to what that war is about.

Half a million organized coal miners in West Germany threaten to strike today unless their shifts are reduced from eight to 7 1/2 hours with no reduction in pay.

Now we come to the revealing fact. None of the economists poses or dares to pose the question: What would happen if the entire war economy were ended, and the nation returned to its pre-World War II situation; in other words, if instead of 17% or 12% of the national production being consumed in the military market, only 1-2% were so consumed?

The staggering consequences are too much for the boldest imagination among the capitalist economists. They do not even talk about it, and find it impossible to consider or conceive of a future American capitalism deprived of a large war sector. The basis of the present boom and the ineluctable disaster of American capitalism that lies ahead are contained in this single fact.

OPINIONS ON PROSPECTS

To cite a few opinions on the prospects if arms spending drops: Seymour E. Harris, Harvard economist, said in the New Leader of Dec. 22, 1952, "It is fair to say that the present boom and the ineluctable disaster of American capitalism that lies ahead are contained in this single fact."

(Continued on Page 2)

BOLIVIAN GOVERNMENT PARTY FACES FUTURE OF INTERNAL STRAINS

The attempted rightist coup d'état against President Paz Estenssoro of Bolivia Jan. 6 was spearheaded by military leaders of his own government. They were backed by members of the right wing of the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement), Paz Estenssoro's own party. These facts prove to the hilt how clearly the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) saw the dangerous tendencies and how well taken its warnings were in its official newspaper, *Lucha Obrera*. The following article in the Nov. 11 issue dealing with the MNR should prove of interest to *Militant* readers for its analysis of the contradictory character of Bolivia's major party and the attitude of the POR toward it.

Besides the common people in the MNR, there are others, brought up in the school of traditional politics, who resist the powerful objective pressure for a change in the economic structure. The difference in outlook corresponds to the difference in social roots — the landlords, merchants, bankers, bureaucrats, shopkeepers, etc., on one hand, the immense majority of workers and poor people on the other.

So long as this difference in social roots remains, unification of this party cannot be seriously undertaken. An artificial union of groups with irreconcilable economic interests does not signify unity but an ephemeral mixture of contraries portending disastrous consequences for the struggle of the exploited classes.

In a country that has suffered from the concentration of the means of production in the hands of a few, the MNR is a party in transition from traditional reform politics to the new politics of revolutionary transformation with the proletariat at the head of society.

From the amorphousness of this stage of transition flows the amorphousness of its principles. The MNR represents the confused movement of social masses who have not yet found the formula to guide them in struggle. From this follows the lack of a systematic program.

The foundation of principles needed to play a determining role in the present period can only come about through modification of the social composition of this party. The homogeneity in its social composition can in turn become the major social force of the anti-imperialist struggle. The most decisive and powerful social force is constituted by the exploited workers and peasants. It is these who must forge a unified party.

The anti-imperialist struggle, as a complex of ascending goals successively realized, poses the necessity now of the workers and peasants of the MNR bringing forth a program that reflects their own interests and by the same token bringing forth a corresponding leadership. The need of the hour is to bring the exploited masses in the MNR into domination.

Up to now we have seen the distance growing between the party organizations and the masses. They are more and more menaced with loss of influence in the government as it departs day by day from the revolutionary direction. This can lead to the establishment of a pseudo-revolutionary course, to conciliation with imperialism.

Only on condition of a consistent progressive advance carried out in accordance with a program expressing the goals of the masses can the MNR play the role imposed by circumstances. In this way it can work out of the confusion and danger created by contradictory measures not according with the revolutionary development, such as the vacillating form of nationalization of the mines, the creation of the Bolivian Mining Corporation, the leasing of the mines of the Smelting Company, the harsh repression of peasant leaders which day by day grows worse despite all the official declarations.

In face of audible criticism from the COB (Bolivian Workers Center), the pro-rightist faction is becoming stronger due to pressure from the government cabinet. This can create grave problems in the course of the revolution and give birth to a dominating government bureaucracy which would have to be overcome by a new revolutionary impulse of the people.

The formation of a solid grouping of workers in the MNR, elimination of the counter-revolutionary tendencies, a political program expressing the interests of the exploited classes; in brief, absolute pre-eminence of the working class in the ranks of the movement — this course can give the MNR a role of importance on the revolutionary road to the Workers and Peasants Government.

Fear of "Trotskyism" Revealed In Purge Cases of Marty, Tillon

By M. Stein

When the report came over the press wires last week that Andre Marty had been expelled from the Communist Party of France, it was no longer newsworthy. It has been clear for several months that the ferocious campaign against this veteran leader of the French Communist Party and the almost equally prominent Charles Tillon conducted by their colleagues in the leadership could result only in ignominious capitulation or expulsion. Since Marty failed to capitulate, to make the kind of confession demanded of him, he was unceremoniously ex-

Tillon has been removed from all posts in the party and reduced to the status of a rank and file. So far he has been spared expulsion. Perhaps it is expected that he will yet come through with the kind of signed confession demanded of him by his persecutors.

Since 1936, when the entire world stood aghast at the frightful spectacle of the Moscow Trials in which the great leaders of the Russian Revolution were framed-up and put to death as counter-revolutionaries by an unscrupulous gang which betrayed and defiled the Revolution, the world has become more or less

inured to the bloody purges that take place with monotonous regularity not only in the Soviet Union but wherever the Stalinists hold power. Even in countries where the Stalinists constitute only opposition parties, the purge method has become a form of rule by a bureaucratic clique over the membership. The difference here is that the supreme penalty is expulsion, preceded by a campaign of character assassination, instead of death.

The violent campaign against Marty and his subsequent expulsion deserves special attention. The French Communist Party has succeeded by and large in maintaining a united, continuous leadership. The expulsion of a man as prominent as Marty can mean only one thing: The French Communist Party is being shaken by a profound crisis.

Since there is no normal democratic procedure within the Communist parties for a discussion of political differences and the expression of dissatisfaction with the policies of the leadership, the purge method serves to rid the party of recalcitrants who raise their heads during periods of internal crisis. It also serves to terrorize the rest of the membership into silence and submission.

IDEAS BREAK THROUGH

Despite all this, the purges also serve as a peculiar forum of discussion. Some ideas do break through in distorted form. The victims are permitted to speak only when their confessions meet the requirements of the prosecution. In that case their words are confined to lines of the frame-up script. When the victims refuse to confess or when their confessions are not satisfactory, as was the case with Marty and Tillon, they must remain silent and all the talking is done by the prosecution. Then it is through the voice of the prosecutor that we get an inkling of the issues in the case.

The list of heresies and mortal sins charged against Marty and Tillon is a long one. It appears in its fullest form as excerpts from a report by Leon Mauvais, the prosecutor, to a meeting of the Central Committee. It takes up two full pages in the Dec. 10 *L'Humanité*, central organ of the Communist Party.

It can be gathered from Mauvais' indictment that Marty and Tillon's central crime is their alleged criticism that the French Communist Party failed to take power in 1944 when it had that power within its grasp; that it refused to take power because it wished to honor Stalin's agreement with his war-time allies; that the failure to take power led to demoralization of the working class which had placed its confidence in the CP and that this is the reason the workers do not respond to the party's calls for strike demonstrations or the signing of peace petitions. Thinking in such terms, Marty and Tillon flirted with "Trotskyism" — crime of crimes.

Let us leave aside for the moment whether Marty and Tillon actually held all these views. There is no way of knowing, since there is no serious documentation and the victims themselves were muzzled.

But it is clear that they were selected for the purge because by their record they are the two men in the French Communist Party best symbolizing militant struggle and revolutionary zeal. Marty, who is 66 years old, gained his fame as a leader of the mutiny of the French sailors in 1919 when they refused to fight against the Russian Revolution. The younger Tillon came into prominence as the leader of the French resistance against the Nazi occupiers. What better way for the Stalinists to outlaw revolutionary thought than by crucifying the men to whom they symbolize revolutionary action?

ANOTHER OBJECTIVE

The indictment as drawn up and the Stalinist bureaucrats do such things very carefully, leaving nothing to chance — has yet another objective. It is to restore a semblance of the Stalinist ideology smashed by the post-war revolutionary upheavals.

The pre-war ideology was founded on the concept of socialism in a single country. This meant that the Communist Parties of the world over had as their primary task to act as border guards of the Soviet Union — to ward off the threat of war against the Soviet Union, while it is "constructing socialism."

In the name of "socialism in a single country" the workers of the world over were supposed to renounce their own socialist aspirations. This counter-revolutionary concept served the cynical Soviet bureaucracy well until the ravages of World War II resulted in a new revolutionary wave. The Yugoslav and then the Chinese Communist parties

were carried to power on the

crest of this wave. The doctrine of socialism in one country was smashed to smithereens by the relentless revolutionary march and the Kremlin bureaucracy remains without a comprehensive doctrine to justify its demand for unconditional subservience to its rule by the Stalinist parties the world over.

In opposition to this demand, the facts of life demand ever greater independence from the Kremlin. China especially stands out as a towering example of what can be accomplished in a revolutionary situation when one dares and does, whether the Kremlin likes it or not.

The indictment therefore tries to set up the Stalinist "peace policy" as the central task and denounces any criticism of the tactics pursued in this field as hostile acts against the Soviet Union.

LAYS DOWN THE LINE

"Isn't it obvious" thundered Mauvais, "that by their contrary position on the defense of peace, Andre Marty and Charles Tillon have in fact affirmed an opposition to the peace policy of the Soviet Union?

"When Andre Marty ridiculed and sabotaged the campaigns of the peace movement, when Charles Tillon endangered the initiative of the world Peace Movement, its congresses, its campaigns, he thereby took a position hostile not only to the peace movement but hostile to the policy of our party. He thereby demonstrated distrust toward the Soviet Union.

"He could not but know that the Soviet Union plays a capital role in defense of peace, that it constitutes the rampart of peace in the world, that it stands at the head of the camp of the forces for democracy and peace."

"But the 'peace policy' is a failure not because of Marty and Tillon. It is a failure because the French workers who were ready to take power have contempt for paper 'peace' petitions. They cannot see their worth. They are bothered by the troublesome question, why didn't the French Communist Party take power like the Chinese?"

"The only way the Stalinists can answer such questions is through expulsions and a terror campaign against the questioners. The prominence of Marty and Tillon in the highest bodies of the French CP, their symbolic role as leaders of the most daring action's of the French proletariat in two world wars — the need to purge these Stalinist leaders under such extraordinary charges, are all additional testimony to the power and scope of the revolutionary forces seeking to liberate themselves from the grip of the Kremlin rulers. This movement will not be stopped by trials and purges. These can only deepen the crisis of Stalinism."

The list of heresies and mortal sins charged against Marty and Tillon is a long one. It appears in its fullest form as excerpts from a report by Leon Mauvais, the prosecutor, to a meeting of the Central Committee. It takes up two full pages in the Dec. 10 *L'Humanité*, central organ of the Communist Party.

It can be gathered from Mauvais' indictment that Marty and Tillon's central crime is their alleged criticism that the French Communist Party failed to take power in 1944 when it had that power within its grasp; that it refused to take power because it wished to honor Stalin's agreement with his war-time allies; that the failure to take power led to demoralization of the working class which had placed its confidence in the CP and that this is the reason the workers do not respond to the party's calls for strike demonstrations or the signing of peace petitions. Thinking in such terms, Marty and Tillon flirted with "Trotskyism" — crime of crimes.

Let us leave aside for the moment whether Marty and Tillon actually held all these views. There is no way of knowing, since there is no serious documentation and the victims themselves were muzzled.

But it is clear that they were selected for the purge because by their record they are the two men in the French Communist Party best symbolizing militant struggle and revolutionary zeal. Marty, who is 66 years old, gained his fame as a leader of the mutiny of the French sailors in 1919 when they refused to fight against the Russian Revolution. The younger Tillon came into prominence as the leader of the French resistance against the Nazi occupiers. What better way for the Stalinists to outlaw revolutionary thought than by crucifying the men to whom they symbolize revolutionary action?

ANOTHER OBJECTIVE

The indictment as drawn up and the Stalinist bureaucrats do such things very carefully, leaving nothing to chance — has yet another objective. It is to restore a semblance of the Stalinist ideology smashed by the post-war revolutionary upheavals.

The pre-war ideology was founded on the concept of socialism in a single country. This meant that the Communist Parties of the world over had as their primary task to act as border guards of the Soviet Union — to ward off the threat of war against the Soviet Union, while it is "constructing socialism."

In the name of "socialism in a single country" the workers of the world over were supposed to renounce their own socialist aspirations. This counter-revolutionary concept served the cynical Soviet bureaucracy well until the ravages of World War II resulted in a new revolutionary wave. The Yugoslav and then the Chinese Communist parties

were carried to power on the

The American Way of Life

Only in America

Things that "could only happen in America" are happening every day, as all of us who have the stomach or the necessity to follow the newspapers carefully know very well. I want to quote fully from an account of such an event in the Dec. 31 N.Y. Times:

"Some of the richest and most influential men in the United States swapped stories and lingered over drinks last night in the softly lighted Green Room of the Madison Hotel in East Fifty-eighth Street. The occasion was a party for Mr. Pumpernickel, their barber.

"Affection flowed with the wine and with the stronger spirits. Benjamin F. Fairless of the United States Steel Corporation and Elton Hoyt 2nd, Cleveland financier, who conceived the idea of throwing a cocktail party for the barber, led the tributes."

The barber's real name, it turns out, is Robert Heftner, but, as he is German-born, these "richest and most influential men" call him "Pumpernickel," presumably as their idea of a joke. The story then goes on:

"Mr. Hoyt . . . gave Mr. Pumpernickel a handsome all-purpose banjo clock" and then, lit up with spirits and good feeling, quothe as follows: "I don't know any place on earth except America where a happening of this kind could take place."

He wasn't far wrong about that. But let's go on: "Mr. Pumpernickel, macerated cigar in hand and eyes aglow with the good wine, responded with emotional trembling . . . 'I never dreamt that I would have such honor as you are giving me tonight,' he said. 'The greatest possession in my life is not riches, but your friendship. I have nothing to wish for as long as I have that. I want to thank you. I will never forget this night as long as I live.'

"The glasses clinked and glittered in toast. Mr. Pumpernickel's eyes went wet."

Touching, isn't it? Mr. Fairless is making progress with his employees. He's got one of them convinced that the "greatest thing" is not riches but his employer's friendship. Now all he has to do is convince about 200,000 more, and he'll be in fine shape to take care of the steelworkers' union.

How can he do that? Well, it's a little tougher than just one barber. You can't get them all into the Green Room of the Madison Hotel. You can't let them all shave you every day, besides which it probably wouldn't be wise. A banjo clock for every one of them? Well, perhaps, but I doubt very much that even that would turn the trick.

That leaves one last possibility. Mr. Fairless could give each of his employees an affectionate nickname. He could call the workers of Italian origin "Tony Macaroni," or "Giuseppe," those of Hungarian origin "Goulash," and perhaps the Negro workers "Sunshine" or "Boy." That would panic them in the front offices all over the country, and it might work.

Or would it?

— Harry Frankel

STALIN'S FRAME-UP SYSTEM AND THE MOSCOW TRIALS

By LEON TROTSKY

The full text of Trotsky's masterful analysis of the Moscow Trials in his summation speech before the John Dewey Commission of Inquiry which investigated Stalin's frame-up charges.

An introduction by Joseph Hansen which brings the record of Stalin's frame-up system up-to-date and includes an analysis of recent trials in Eastern Europe. Must reading for a fuller understanding of the background to the new frame-up in Moscow and Stalin's purge of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union and satellite countries.

168 pages

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

New York 3, N. Y.

NEW YORK

Marxist Labor School

1953 Winter and Spring Sessions

1. Intermediate Class on Marxism

Instructor: David Stevens

Mondays — 8 to 10 P.M. Beginning January 19

A study of selections from Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, etc., bearing on the revolutionary process in the world today.

2. Crisis of World Capitalism, Its Development and Form

Instructor: Harry Frankel

Sundays — 8 to 10 P.M. Beginning January 18

Special attention will be given to the economic crisis after the second World War and the contrasting trends of Soviet and capitalist economy.

3. Philosophy (A seminar study)

Instructor: Murray Forbes

Mondays — 8 to 10 P.M. Beginning January 19

A study of the historical basis for the evolution of human thought and an investigation of the development of idealism and materialism.

4. Marx's CAPITAL, Vol. I

Instructor: Joseph Hansen

Sundays 8 to 10 P.M. Beginning January 18

Emphasis on the Marxist method, using "Capital" as working material.

For prospectus and more information, call, write or visit

MARXIST LABOR SCHOOL

116 University Place

Tel.: AL 5-7852

THE LOGIC OF MARXISM

Eight Lectures by Wm. F. Warde

1. Formal Logic and Dialectics
2. The Limitations of Formal Logic
3. Once Again on the Limitations of Formal Logic
4. Hegel's Revolution in Logic
5. The Dialectical Method: I
6. The Dialectical Method: II
7. The Marxist Revolution in Logic
8. The Dialectical Development of Worker-Socialists.

73 pages mimeographed, a revised edition of the popular "Introduction to the Logic of Marxism"

\$1.00 cash with order, from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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

THE MILITANT

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

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of the editors. These are expressed in its editorials.

Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1939.

Monday, January 19, 1953

For a Union Cost-of-Living Index

On January 15 the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) will introduce a drastically changed cost-of-living Index. This is not just a matter of academic interest. It vitally concerns workers and unions because it is on the movement of this Index that the sliding scales or escalator clauses in union contracts, now covering over three million workers, go up or down.

Already the American Federation of Labor has officially warned its affiliates to exercise "the utmost caution" in negotiating contracts tied to the new Index. Walter Reuther has served notice on the auto corporations that the UAW will accept the new Index only if it is compensated by wage and pension concessions for doing so.

What is so suspicious about the change? Statistics don't lie, but statisticians often do, and that's what the unions rightly fear. For the rise or fall of less than a single point on the new Index can mean the gain or loss by American workers of well over a million dollars a week in wages.

The new Index will use 1947-1949, inflationary years, as its base period instead of the old base of 1935-1939. Percentage movement will be no different but point movement will be more sluggish — and it's on point movement that the escalator moves.

Prices in big cities will figure less in the new BLS statistics, while prices in small cities and towns will figure more. The so-called market basket — weekly expenditures — that the BLS believes, or pretends to believe, is typical of the average American family, will also be changed.

A glaring omission from the BLS "mar-

ket basket" is that taxes are not taken into account though they take a bigger and bigger bite of the worker's pay check. Last time the "market basket" was "adjusted," the weight of food costs was reduced from 41% to 33% and the rent factor from 13% to 11% though both of these major items were costing workers a bigger, not smaller, percentage of their wages.

Early in 1950 when the BLS was "adjusting" the market basket of the old Index, the Militant warned: "Now the BLS is a governmental agency. Like all such agencies, it is not neutral in the class struggle, but minimizes the rise in the cost of living."

There is only one way workers can guard against being swindled by phony cost-of-living figures. The unions must set up statistical bureaus and have their contracts tied to the actual cost-of-living.

This is not a new proposal. From 1938 when The Militant started campaigning for escalator clauses, it has warned that the statistics of Big Business-influenced government agencies can't be trusted and that union statisticians should do the job. On May 31, 1948, when the UAW signed its escalator contract with General Motors, we wrote: "The consumers prices index of the government, as the union leaders themselves have repeatedly pointed out, is heavily weighted to minimize the real rise in living costs. . . . The only reliable cost-of-living index would be one maintained by economists and statisticians of the unions themselves."

It was true then; it's true now.

Ohio Witch-Hunt

The national importance of the Citizen's Committee that has been set up to fight against the reactionary Michigan Trucks law can be seen from a recent event in Ohio. On Dec. 29 the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission recommended to the Ohio legislature a law carrying provisions far worse than those in the Michigan Trucks law.

The Ohio commission recommends that it become a felony and be punishable by imprisonment to:

1. "Help form, contribute to or knowingly remain a member of a subversive organization."

2. "To destroy records or secret funds of subversive groups."

The commission also proposed that refusal of a state employee to reply to questions about Communist activity be regarded as "prima facie evidence that such a person is a Communist or a knowing member of a Communist front organization."

In addition still another law was asked that would order all "Communist organizations" to dissolve.

The significance of legislation of this kind, should it ever be passed, is apparent. The Michigan Trucks law tries to maintain a screen of "legality" by providing registration.

New European Crisis

Eisenhower's hasty decision to send Dulles and Stassen to Europe within ten days after his inauguration shows the seriousness of the recent developments in France and Germany over Wall Street's European Army project.

Europe has shown much resistance to the formation of this army for many months. The resistance is two-fold: It includes first of all a huge mass sentiment against war and against the preparations for a counter-revolutionary assault on the nations of the Soviet bloc and the colonial world. And it includes in addition the so-called "neutralist" sentiments in the capitalist class of Europe itself. This neutralism feeds on a despairing feeling that there is no way to save world capitalism, and also on the jockeying for advantages against one another that goes on between the European imperialist powers.

The resistance to Wall Street's plans has broken through again in both France and Germany. This has become so serious that the influential Paris *Le Monde* asked in an editorial: "Is the European Army Buried?"

The details of the crisis are as follows: The French ministry headed by Antoine Pinay fell from power some weeks ago in a vote on some secondary issue. The real cause of the fall was its attempt to push the war plans of American imperialism faster than most Frenchmen were willing to go, even those who support these plans.

This government was replaced by a ministry of René Mayer, who took office with

tion proceedings which would compel people to become stooges. If they refuse they are then to be punished. But the proposed Ohio legislation says nothing whatever about any actions, illegal or otherwise. It provides imprisonment for joining an organization.

In addition, there is the proposal that any state employee who refuses to testify against himself under the safeguards of the Fifth Amendment to the Federal constitution be automatically regarded as guilty. This is not only vicious in the extreme but also clearly unconstitutional, and the very fact that it could be seriously proposed by a commission in an important state shows how wild the witch-hunters have become.

The Michigan Trucks law is being fought by a broad citizen's committee which includes over 90 leading labor figures, 60 professors and other staff members from Michigan universities and colleges, and many other prominent persons. This excellent response shows that it is possible to rally wide support against fascist-like laws to limit freedom of opinion, speech and organization. Furthermore, if the Michigan law is defeated and wiped from the statute books, it will become far harder for reactionaries to pass such legislation in other states.

the support of DeGaulist right-wing forces. DeGaulle leads a desperate section of the French capitalist class which, with an extreme nationalist-imperialist line, is trying to hold on to remnants of France's colonial empire and to offset German capitalism's growing influence. Mayer immediately proposed "modifications" in the European army, saying he wants the Saar, an important industrial region, taken from Germany and "Europeanized" and that he wants French capitalism to have more independence in disposing of its forces within the European army.

Immediately thereafter, West German Premier Adenauer suddenly popped up with a similar demand for "modifications," although he gave no details. The important thing of course is not the details of the demands themselves, but the obstructions suddenly thrown in the way of imperialist's long-delayed counter-revolutionary army project.

So far this takes the form of actions by leading spokesmen for capitalist governments, but it is clear that if the mass opposition of the people were not so strong, these actions would never take place.

Thus the inauguration of Eisenhower as president in the U.S. coincides with the crumbling of part of the reactionary work he did when he was Wall Street's man in Europe. The general replies to this crisis by sending two drill sergeants over to Europe to relay the command: "Fall In!"

Denouncing Breitman for "impugning the motives of those responsible for the compilation

Truman 'Warns' Stalin About Lenin's Views

By John G. Wright

One of the central points in Truman's "State of the Union" message to Congress was an attack upon Lenin as an alleged fomenter of war. According to Truman, Lenin conceived of war by the Soviet Union on the rest of the world as a "stage" in the development of "Communist society." And Truman pretends to warn Stalin, as the alleged disciple of Lenin, against these views of Lenin a pre-atomic man, who viewed society and history with pre-atomic eyes."

The N. Y. Times, the most authoritative publication of Big Business, immediately picked up this "central point" of Truman's message and stated editorially on Jan. 8 the following:

"Lenin, who wrote of war as a 'stage' in the development of Communist society, was a pre-atomic man who viewed society and history with pre-atomic eyes." It is for Lenin's successors to realize that war can no longer be a 'stage' in the development of anything save ruin and destruction."

Contained here are two poisonously falsehoods. In the first place Lenin never conceived of war as a "stage" in the evolution of Communist society. On the contrary he taught that it was the development of capitalism that inexorably bred war; that once capitalism reaches its highest and final stage of development, that of monopoly capitalism, war becomes the only way in which the capitalists are able to seek escape from catastrophic economic crises and the only way in which they are able to divide up spheres of influence, outlets for capital export, markets, supplies

of raw materials, etc., and that this drive toward war includes war on the Soviet Union. In plain language, Truman and the Times ascribe views to Lenin that are the opposite of those he actually held.

In the second place, Stalin and the Kremlin oligarchy he heads have long ago broken with every basic premise of Lenin's socialist doctrine, including Lenin's views on war and the struggle against war. Lenin taught that the only alternative to capitalism and its wars is socialism. Stalin continues to maintain the possibility of indefinite peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and non-capitalist sectors in the world today and in this way plays into the hands of the imperialist warmakers.

STALIN'S SLANDER

Ironically enough, the slander that Marxists are advocates of war was put in circulation on the eve of World War II by none other than Stalin himself. In course of the monstrous Moscow frameups of the mid-Thirties, Stalin's GPU put this fantastic theory in circulation against Leon Trotsky. Here is how Trotsky answered his slanderers at the time:

"The usual line of argument is as follows: Trotsky is for the international revolution. It is well known that war often produces revolution. Without a revolutionary party rooted in the masses, the revolutionary situation leads to the most cruel defeats. The task is not to 'expedite' war — for this, unfortunately, the imperialists of all countries are working, not unsuccessfully. The task is to utilize the time which the imperialists still leave to the working masses for the building of a revolutionary party and revolutionary trade unions."

"It is in the vital interest of the proletarian revolution that the outbreak of war be delayed as long as possible, that the maximum possible time be gained for preparation. The more firm, the more courageous, the more revolutionary the conduct of the toilers, the more the imperialists will hesitate, the more surely will it be possible to postpone war, the greater will be the chances that the revolution will occur prior to war and perhaps make war itself impossible. (The Case of Leon

Trotsky, Report of the Dewey Commission of Inquiry, 1937, Pages 512-513.)

LENIN'S VIEW TOO

These are not just the personal views of Trotsky. It is the doctrine that Lenin put forward on innumerable occasions. It is the standpoint of orthodox Marxism. The American imperialists have simply substituted Lenin's name for Trotsky's in the old Stalinist "argument." And they now say in effect:

"Lenin was for the international revolution. It is well-known that war often produces revolution. Therefore, Lenin (or his 'successors') must be interested in expediting war, etc."

Truman's entire "State of the Union" message is a striking confirmation of Lenin's thesis that it is the imperialists who are expediting war, unfortunately, with as much success in 1952 as in Lenin's lifetime.

Truman boasts of the post-war expansion of U.S. economy, but fails to mention that this growth has been primarily for present and future arms production and not to raise living standards either at home or abroad.

Since the end of World War II "more than \$200 billion" has been invested "in new plant and equipment," says Truman. But he again fails to say that the bulk of this investment has been spurred by the arms program. He fails to mention that even a vaster sum than \$200 billion has been already either spent or appropriated to feed the war machine, with billions upon billions still to come.

If Lenin were alive he would say, as we do, that the imperialists, headed by Washington, will unleash World War III and that this can be prevented only by the resolute struggle for socialism on the part of the toilers in this country and abroad.

of American people in their "accustomed ways of working and of living, much nervous energy, material resources, even human life."

THE MAIN PROP

War production has become the main prop of U.S. economy. So much so that even a slackening of arms expenditures carries with it a threat of an economic "dip," Truman admitted in his Economic Report.

The need of American monopoly for foreign outlets for capital export, for markets, for raw materials, etc., has grown not less but more acute.

It is true that the scope of modern war has vastly grown. Global atomic warfare threatens unparalleled destruction, if not the physical annihilation of the greater part of our planet. But the capitalism of the "atomic era" remains essentially the same as the capitalism of the "pre-atomic" days when Lenin lived.

Capitalism had no way then of dividing up spheres of influence, markets, supplies of raw materials except through war. As Lenin said, "on the basis of the general economic, financial, military strength of the participants." It has no other way now, all the less so because one-third of the world, the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, the vast sub-continent of China, have been ripped away from the capitalist orbit.

If Lenin were alive he would say, as we do, that the imperialists, headed by Washington, will unleash World War III and that this can be prevented only by the resolute struggle for socialism on the part of the toilers in this country and abroad.

social contradictions and mass discontent. But that is insufficient for the triumph of the proletarian revolution. Without a revolutionary party rooted in the masses, the revolutionary situation leads to the most cruel defeats. The task is not to 'expedite' war — for this, unfortunately, the imperialists of all countries are working, not unsuccessfully. The task is to utilize the time which the imperialists still leave to the working masses for the building of a revolutionary party and revolutionary trade unions.

"It is in the vital interest of the proletarian revolution that the outbreak of war be delayed as long as possible, that the maximum possible time be gained for preparation. The more firm, the more courageous, the more revolutionary the conduct of the toilers, the more the imperialists will hesitate, the more surely will it be possible to postpone war, the greater will be the chances that the revolution will occur prior to war and perhaps make war itself impossible. (The Case of Leon

Killeen, Report of the Emperor Diocletian, Mr. Killeen does not advocate such barbaric methods for silencing the dissidents in our own time. All he demands, as a merciful man, is that they should be stripped of their citizenship for failing to prove themselves undeserving of being housed. What is more, if they are citizens, they should be stripped of their citizenship. I am thinking of the long list of casualties of boys giving their lives to keep this land free; most certainly not for the likes of those whom Mr. Breitman defends."

Killeen's answer was evasive in the extreme: "Suppose, says Mr. Breitman, the Attorney General were to put the Catholic War Veterans on his 'subversive' list without prior notice, would the CWV sit supinely by and do nothing? Certainly not. But that is not the case; it is a gratuitous supposition; it is untrue. Yet that constitutes the major premise of Mr. Breitman's argument and being false any conclusion drawn is bound to be in error."

The rest of his letter consisted of a rather incoherent defense of the "subversive" list.

THE "SUBVERSIVE" LIST

Breitman's reply quickly followed:

"I ask Mr. Killeen and others who share his views to try to imagine a situation like this: Suppose that the Attorney General were to put the Catholic War Veterans on his 'subversive' list without prior notice. Naturally the CWV and Mr. Killeen would protest and demand at least the right to have a hearing where they could hear the specific charges and have an opportunity to answer them. And suppose the Attorney General refused this request. Would Mr. Killeen agree that the CWV is 'subversive' merely because a government official said it was?"

"And yet that is exactly the position the groups on the Attorney General's list are in. They never got prior notice, they never got a hearing, and when they asked for one, the Attorney General refused it. In effect, they were found 'guilty' without being tried, without even being presented."

The News here omitted a paragraph from Breitman's letter, the gist of which was: "Of course the CWV has not been blacklisted yet. But the point is that if the Attorney General is permitted to exercise such arbitrary powers today, there will be nothing to stop another Attorney General a year or two from now from using this precedent to add the CWV or any other group he personally dislikes."

BACK TO THE POINT

Breitman then tried to get the discussion back to the point under dispute — the housing oath. Killeen, he replied, had erected "a straw man, utterly beside the point. The new oath does not require housing tenants to abjure allegiance to the foreign government or affirm loyalty to the U.S. If that was the thing involved, there would be no problem because almost anyone could and would sign that. On the contrary, the oath requires tenants to certify that they and their families do not belong to any organization put on the Attorney General's list without a hearing, and therefore found guilty without having their day in court or a right to defend themselves."

Again quoting court decisions against the blacklist, Breitman went on: "I hope that the basic distinction between loyalty in general, and the so-called housing 'loyalty' oath — is not beyond Mr. Killeen's comprehension. I also hope that the American people will agree with my view that the housing oath is an infringement of the right of citizens to belong to legal organizations of their own choosing, and that they will support efforts to have it declared unconstitutional or repealed."

In conclusion, Breitman thanked

the News for permitting a public exchange on these vital issues, but noted a full discussion was impossible in the letters column. "I therefore would like through your column to invite Mr. Killeen to join me in a public debate on the 'subversive' lists and 'loyalty' oaths — anywhere, anytime and under any auspices acceptable to him. I am sure the public would welcome and benefit from a more extended airing of these issues."

The News did not print this last letter, however, so Breitman issued a direct challenge to Killeen, which has not been answered so far.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

THE ANTI-SEMITIC purge in Czechoslovakia has been followed by similar developments in Stalinist East Germany where propaganda chief Gerhart Eisler lost his high ranking post Dec. 29.

Paul Merker, a pre-war German Politburo member; Kurt Mueller, former deputy leader of the West German CP; as well as Dr. Leo Zuckermann, former chief of the Chancellery of East Germany's President Wilhelm Pieck, were accused of being members of a "Zionist conspiracy directed against East Germany and the Soviet Union." Dr. Zuckermann managed to flee to West Berlin and thus escaped the Stalinist hangmen. In 1948-49 a "purge" of Russian-Jewish officers belonging to the Soviet occupation authorities had already taken place in East Germany after Zhdanov's speech against "cosmopolitanism."

ARMED STUDENTS staged big demonstrations in Karachi (Pakistan) Jan. 2-9. At least eleven were killed and more than 150 injured. Three battalions of troops were called in to help the local police and a dusk-to-dawn curfew was proclaimed. The students protested a 45% increase in tuition fees but also turned against foreign business firms, burning a British warehouse. They apparently realized that foreign imperialism is responsible for Pakistan's economic and financial difficulties.

PAKISTAN'S ruling Moslem League party decided (Jan. 6) to make country a republic in the near future. It is expected that Pakistan, under the changed status, will maintain ties with the British Commonwealth, although opposition parties favor complete independence from Britain.

A Lesson in Maneuvers

By Jean Blake

The treatment Senator Taft gave a delegation from a Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and the decisive 70-to-21 vote by which the new Senate blocked attempts to revise its rules on filibusters, provide a very clear lesson in political maneuvers: gimmicks are no substitute for independent strength.

A handful of senators led by Lehman of New York planned their big maneuver for the opening of the new Congress. Senator Anderson of New Mexico would quote the Constitution, then make a pretty speech ending with: "I now move that this body take up for immediate consideration the adoption of rules for the Senate of the 83d Congress."

If this motion were adopted, Senator Ives would then offer a motion to adopt the old rules with the exception of Rule 22. This rule would then be amended to provide for shutting off debate by a simple majority instead of two-thirds.

It is not clear what these clever maneuverers thought the opponents of the change would be doing all the while, but the 70-to-21 vote on January 8 nipped their cute little plan in the bud. The vote showed it will take more than quibbles over technicalities and more than parliamentary tricks to beat the reactionary coalition.

An equally instructive lesson was provided by Senator Taft, the new majority leader of the Senate, to a civil rights delegation which tried to wheedle him into supporting the move to revise Rule 22.

Taft made it clear their polite pressure tactics will get them nowhere. He told one

P. S. 19

By Joyce Cowley

Public School 19 in New York City hasn't had a general inspection by the City Fire Department since 1937. This startling fact was revealed in the Domestic Relations Court this week when a New York couple defended their right to teach their daughter at home rather than send her to a filthy, unsanitary, crumbling schoolhouse that is a physical and mental hazard.

"When a mother sends her child to that school she has to pray to God a fire doesn't break out," Mrs. Myers said. "That school is murder. There isn't a sprinkler system or water above the first floor and it would be a miracle if one child survived a fire there."

I have a daughter attending school in New York City and I know that the conditions described in P. S. 19 are duplicated in a great many of the obsolete school buildings. Apparently the world's richest city just can't find any funds for decent, modern schools.

According to the N.Y. Post, P. S. 19 was "in fair condition when Abraham Lincoln made a campaign speech there. It has deteriorated since." Borough Pres. Wagner called it "a disgrace to the city." Mr. Myers, who inspected the school himself, says "I almost cried when I saw that dungeon. The walls and ceiling are broken in places. The hallways are so narrow that in case of fire there is danger of children being trapped. There is no lunchroom so luncheon is served in an enclosed yard. The classrooms look out on dark, narrow, filthy alleys."

All the toilet facilities of this school are on basement level with about 30 toilets for over 1,000 pupils, some of whom must walk 8 or 10 flights to reach the washrooms and go back to class.

I found the same kind of conditions in my daughter's school. Windows broken on the first day of school in September had not been repaired by the following June, while wind and rain swept in during cold winter months. There were not enough desks and anyone who was absent automatically lost the right to a desk until another absentee released one. The half a desk belonging to my daughter collapsed regularly, spilling books on the floor and ink on her clothes. Plaster fell from the ceiling and hit children on the head. There was no lunchroom and children ate in the basement on benches adjacent to the lavatories.

What has the Board of Education got to say about schools like this? Well, they admit that P. S. 19 is "antiquated and inadequately equipped — but it is usable." Asst. Supt. Banath pointed out that the law required parents to send children to school. He said Myers preferred P. S. 40 but that "if we permitted Shelley to transfer there the parents of all 1,029 would demand the equal privilege." Obviously no one wants to stay in P. S. 19!

Mrs. Myers is a certified teacher but it's illegal for her to teach Shelley at home. Shelley's father declared he will "rot in jail" before he sends his daughter to P. S. 19. He says he will fight the issue to the Supreme Court.

As a parent, I'd like to thank Mr. and Mrs. Myers for their stand. I hope it will inspire all of us to put up a fight. Their action has done a great deal to publicize the miserable condition of our schools, but it will take the united action of thousands of indignant parents to bring about a real change.

Notes from the News

CLEMENCY FOR ROSENBERGS has been asked by 1,500 U.S. clergymen in an open letter to President Truman.

ALBERT EINSTEIN, following the action of Dr. Harold C. Urey, appealed to Truman to commute the unpreceded peace-time death sentences in the Rosenberg case. Dr. Urey, who won the Nobel Prize for work in atomic physics, and Professor Einstein are possibly the two most prominent scientists in the U.S. Both are thoroughly acquainted with atomic "secrets."

THE IWW NEWSPAPER INDUSTRIAL WORKER, calls the Rosenberg death sentences "barbaric," saying further, "in practical fact the treatment of the Rosenbergs marks a new milestone on the downward road of civil liberties in the United States under pressure of the cold war."

THE CATHOLIC WORKER has called for clemency for the Rosenbergs not only on humanitarian grounds but because of the civil liberties aspects of the case.

THE WEEKLY PEOPLE, official organ of the Socialist Labor Party, in an editorial, calls the death sentence "a savage and ominous departure from American practice and tradition."

THE SOCIALIST CALL, organ of the Socialist Party, does not appear to have expressed an opinion on the death sentence one way or the other.

LABOR ACTION, paper of the Independent Socialist League (Shachtmanites), in an article about the denial of democratic rights to the Committee to Defend the Rosenbergs in Berkeley, California, approvingly quotes an ISL spokesman

who appeared in protest before the Berkely City Council. He said: "These people, who act as a political fifth column in America for the purpose of defending and advancing the aims and interests of the Russian regime, hope to transform the Rosenbergs into a case of civil liberties."

THE NEW LEADER, favorite journal of the social-democrats, prints articles hostile to the campaign for clemency.

THE MILITANT supports the campaign for clemency for the Rosenbergs not only on humanitarian grounds but because the death sentence in this case is a civil liberties issue.

AFL TEAMSTERS UNION is moving its national headquarters from Indianapolis, Indiana, to Washington, D. C. President Beck explained the move thus: "In order to safeguard our interests and protect the rights of our members, we must be constantly vigilant. We feel we can discharge our obligation better by being located in Washington."

ORGANIZING DRIVE aimed at the Spanish-speaking workers of the New York area, was mapped by a conference of over 100 delegates from 11 AFL and 12 CIO international unions. It is estimated there are about 350,000 Puerto Ricans in the area's labor force, of whom about 65,000 are in unions. In addition to Puerto Rican workers there are another 100,000 Spanish-speaking workers in the New York area. The report adopted by the conference stated: "Each of these persons is a potential union member, and in the light of the history of the trade union movement in Puerto Rico, it is known that Puerto Ricans are not only receptive to trade union organization but, properly approached and educated, make enthusiastic union members."

Young Blood
In Newburyport, Mass. 102-year-old H. B. Little declined re-election as bank president whereupon the board of trustees replaced him with 83-year-old William Black.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVII

MONDAY, JANUARY 19, 1953

NUMBER 3

Labor Party
Due in U.S.A.
Says Cannon

By Ernest Rief

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 10 — James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, spoke to an audience of more than a hundred last night on "The Coming Struggle for Power," the fourth lecture in his series on "America's Road to Socialism."

As Eisenhower moves into office with his new cabinet of millionaire representatives of Wall Street, Cannon said, a social crisis is latent in America. This can be precipitated either by an economic crisis due to a slackening in the war economy or by the start of World War III itself. Korea shows that in a major war imperialism will inevitably meet with defeats and tremendous casualties as it attempts to defeat colonial revolutions.

The resistance of the American people to such hopeless slaughter will be met with the violent repressive methods of fascism. The traditional two-party system and all pretense to democracy will be abandoned. Labor, faced with the futility of hanging onto the coat tails of the Democrats, will be forced to advance boldly toward formation of its own political party.

"The alternatives in this struggle will be: a workers government to appropriate the capitalists — or a fascist government to enslave the workers." The prospects for victory are on the side of the workers; their numerical strength is multiplied a hundred times by their strategic social position.



At a New York rally of striking bus drivers, Pres. Michael J. Quill of the CIO Transport Workers Union assailed mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri for not coming to the meeting in order to address the strikers.

"We rented the biggest damn chair in town for the mayor but he hasn't got time to come to talk to us," Quill said.

Latest development in the strike after two weeks during which the men have remained solid is that an arbitration offer by two of the eight struck companies has been rejected both by the union and the city. The city Board of Estimate said that the company offer was hedged with so many limitations that it had no meaning. The union, by

The Missing Mayor

contrast, turned down the company offer on the ground that it provided for appointment of the arbitrator by Mayor Impellitteri.

Quill said the union would not accept arbitration in which the umpire was appointed by "an anti-labor mayor with anti-labor advisers."

Meanwhile in Philadelphia, angry transport workers at a stormy Jan. 13 meeting voted down their executive board and Pres. Quill and initiated a 9,500 man strike which halted service on all bus, trolley, subway and elevated train service in the city.

Quill denounced the strike as a "crime." The men had refused to accept an agreement negotiated by their officers.

Ryan on Griddle
Over 'Anti-Red'
\$182,000 Fund

By Harry Ring

"Anyone who fights for higher wages and better conditions gets called a communist." Many a militant union man has expressed this thought. The truth of it is now being proved once again in the case of Joe Ryan, "King" of the International Longshoremen's Ass'n. It seems that the substantial payoffs he and other ILA officials have been getting from the bosses were listed as contributions to a "confidential anti-Communist fund."

The N. Y. State Crime Commission proposes to subpoena Ryan this week in an effort to demonstrate that the money for the "anti-Communist fund" went into the pockets of Ryan and his cohorts. They may prove their point. But if they stand on their heads, they'll never prove that the companies didn't get more than their money's worth on every dollar they invested in Ryan, no matter how he spent it.

If the \$182,000 paid ILA officials during the past five years alone by stevedoring and shipping concerns was in response to a sales talk on the need to combat the Communist Party on the waterfront, then they were taken for a sleigh ride. Stalinist influence among New York longshoremen is negligible. The fact is that they paid off so freely for the good solid kind of "anti-communism," which is spelled out in terms of beating down every rank-and-file effort to boost wages and improve conditions.

The Times continues, "Although some employers might prefer an honest union . . . a great many others appear to profit handsomely from the system. An honest union which might demand better working conditions . . . might reduce these profits substantially."

To the sound adage, "Scratch a red-baiter and you find a crook," can well be added, "Push him aside and you always find the bosses in back of him."

Millionaires' Club
Takes Full Control
Of War Program

(Continued from page 1)
cock & Wilcox, and chairman of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Charles Erwin Wilson, Secretary of Defense, is president of the Morgan-Dupont-Mellon corporation General Motors, from which he drew \$625,300 last year.

George M. Humphrey, Secretary of the Treasury, is a director of over 30 companies, many of them in the Mellon circle, including National Steel, Weirton Steel, National City Bank of Cleveland, Phelps Dodge, etc., etc.

Winthrop W. Aldrich, Ambassador to Britain, is head of the principal Rockefeller (also Morgan and Mellon-linked) bank, Chase National. A brother-in-law of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., he is also director of many of the largest corporations in the country.

Joseph M. Dodge, probable next Director of the Budget, is a Detroit banker and industrialist who was president of the American Bankers Ass'n.

Herbert Brownell Jr., Attorney General, is a partner in Lord, Day & Lord, law firm close to Rockefellers, and a director of several corporations.

Sinclair Weeks, Secretary of Commerce, is chairman of the board of the manufacturing corporation Reed & Barton, a director of the NAM, and of several other corporations.

Arthur Summerfield, Postmaster General and Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior, are both giant General Motors dealers. The important appointments include, in addition, Sherman Adams, banker and industrialist, W. Walter Williams, insurance and investment magnate, Nelson Rockefeller, Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., who comes from a New England family long closely tied to Morgan banks, Harold E. Talbott, industrialist and banker, Robert T. Stevens, industrialist, Roger M. Kyes, vice-president of General Motors, Robert B. Anderson, an oil and radio executive, and Marion B. Folson, Treasurer of Eastman Kodak.

Also H. Chapman Rose, counsel for the M. A. Hanna Co., W. Randolph Burgess, chairman of the executive committee of the National City Bank and director of several banks and huge corporations, and (not yet given a post) Gen. Lucius D. Clay, chairman of Continental Can and a director in mining corporations, etc.

These is also one union bureaucrat, Martin Durkin, who will be Secretary of Labor.

ORGANIZING DRIVE aimed at the Spanish-speaking workers of the New York area, was mapped by a conference of over 100 delegates from 11 AFL and 12 CIO international unions. It is estimated there are about 350,000 Puerto Ricans in the area's labor force, of whom about 65,000 are in unions. In addition to Puerto Rican workers there are another 100,000 Spanish-speaking workers in the New York area. The report adopted by the conference stated: "Each of these persons is a potential union member, and in the light of the history of the trade union movement in Puerto Rico, it is known that Puerto Ricans are not only receptive to trade union organization but, properly approached and educated, make enthusiastic union members."

Letters from Our Readers

Contrasts CIO
Policies in U.S.A.
And in Canada

Editor:

Canadian readers of your paper no doubt read with considerable interest your coverage of the CIO convention — developments on the U.S. labor front have such an important influence on Canadian developments. However, there was one interesting aspect of the convention which was not touched on in your articles.

Along with Democratic party leader Stevenson, Senator Wayne Morse and other dignitaries, A. R. Mosher spoke. He is president of the Canadian Congress of Labor which encompasses in its ranks 370,000 Canadian workers. The Canadian CIO unions are affiliated to the CCL. Mosher's message to U.S. labor was quite the opposite of Stevenson's.

Mosher sharply contrasted the policy which the CIO in the U.S. has followed in politics with the policy the CIO in Canada has adhered to. In Canada, he told the delegates, we do not support individual candidates considered most friendly within the old political parties. We have endorsed the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), a farmer-labor party.

The CCF government in Saskatchewan, despite the fact that it is dominantly agricultural, has the most advanced labor legislation in Canada and the CCF forms the official opposition in British Columbia, he told the delegates.

"I felt that these facts might be interesting to you, but my main purpose is to make clear that the CCL is on its toes in both the economic and political spheres, and that I believe that only by the development of both arms of the labor movement will it be possible to make worthwhile progress from here on," Mosher said.

In the question of politics, American labor could do well to listen to the advice and experience of A. R. Mosher and Canadian labor. A Labor Party in the U.S. is coming. Its way can be cleared by learning from the experiences of the Canadian members of the CIO.

Peter Farnsworth
Toronto, Canada

Sees No Hope
In Capitalist World

Editor:

I am 82 years old, have been a socialist 40 years. I am worn out reading about capitalist mistakes and murder. They could not be worse. This world is just as crooked as the Lord Jesus said it was. If a man is honest and wants to be president of the U.S., he better not prove it.

About eight to ten years ago, I wrote you that we ought to

have a party of our own. We might call it a Farmer-Labor-Socialist Party. If ever a Farmer-Labor-Socialist Party gets in power we will have to beat the millionaires and crooks to home base. We will have to adopt laws to fit our purpose, to bind our party to the people by initiative, referendum and recall.

These big farmers are getting rich, a great big price for wheat, 50 cents a pound for tobacco. Only 15 years ago tobacco was seven cents a pound. But the little farmer is about the same place he was when I left the farm. We will never get a big farmer to our side but we might get the little ones over to socialism.

L. B. Courts
Sharonville, Ohio

Miners Approve
\$10,000 Donation
To Japanese Strike

Editor:

One of the best ideas that we can put forward to the working class is this: not nationalization, but internationalization of the means of production! The donation of \$10,000 to the striking coal miners of Japan by the UMWA has received a hearty response from the militants in the West Virginia coal fields.

G. N.
W. Va.

Curran Expresses
His Chagrin

Editor:

In a pleading letter to the shipowners, printed in the Dec. 25 issue of The Pilot, official organ of the National Maritime Union, CIO, Joseph Curran, president of the 45,000 member union, expresses his chagrin at the lack of appreciation for his spirit of willing class collaboration. In one succinct sentence, he protests that:

"Whatever efforts have been made to persuade our members in the direction of respect for the motives of the operators are defeated by their observation of what actually takes place."

The commission is going to make it almost impossible for the same men to continue racketeering on the N. Y. docks. It would be a mistake to expect the commission in any way to improve the lot of the men working the docks. It seems apparent that what they have in mind is some sort of agency to take over.

"Our job as union officials," says Curran, "is to serve our membership. We believed that part of that service could be achieved by maturing our relationship on common and mutual levels of increasing stability: But if this is to continue as a one-way street, our paramount obligation to the membership will dictate a different kind of approach than has been evident on our part."

In other words: "Please, Mr.

the docks, drive the gangsters off, but at the same time, keep the longshoremen down. There are various ways that can be done. The Coast Guard can be called in to police the docks, the same way they police the ships; the police can take over or some so-called agency may be erected to take over policing of the docks.