

Packing Workers Challenge War Drive, Witch Hunt

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

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

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

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

UAW Convention Hits Trucks Law

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

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

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SWP PROGRAM REACHES WIDE AUDIENCE IN L.A.

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, March 28 — Myra Tanner Weiss, candidate for mayor, broadcast the Socialist Workers Party program to a city-wide audience for a second time in the hour-long television program she shared with four other mayoralty candidates over KNBH-TV station last Sunday. The series of three weekly programs featuring the mayoralty candidates began March 15.

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

SOCIALIST ANSWERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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LILLIAN KIEZEL

Socialist Anti-War Candidate Speaks At Oakland Unions

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

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

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

LABOR GROUPS APPLAUD

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

SCHOOL BOARD CANDIDATE

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

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

The membership of CIO United Auto Workers Local 1031, which is notable for its militant record in this area and its strong stand for a labor party, enthusiastically applauded Mrs. Kiezel's request for time to address the local AFL Laborer's union were defeated. The membership, after an hour-long debate, voted overwhelmingly to hear her speech.

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

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Peiping, Moscow Offer Concessions for Truce

Rally in N.Y. Hails Bolivian Revolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The most controversial issue

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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Christmas Hope Ended



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

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

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

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

All tenants who have not received 15% increase over the 1948 ceiling are automatically required to pay such an increase on demand by the landlords. The law makes no allowance for deterioration of quarters and services or landlords' reduced operating costs and taxes.

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

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

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

Many thousands of the poorest families will face eviction if they cannot meet the rent sharks' demands. Landlords are allowed to raise rents to provide a 6% instead of a 4% return as under the previous law. Thousands of tenants who already are paying a "voluntary" 15% increase will be subject to another rise of up to 15% under this "net return" clause.

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Peace Jitters Strike Wall Street; Stock Market Starts to Dive

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

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

EISENHOWER ATTITUDE

The official tone adopted by the American press is one of coolness and even cynicism toward these

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TWIN CITIES TAKES LEAD IN SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

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

Bob, Walt, Ralph, Millie, Doris, Donald, and Helen. In addition, 26 single copies of the paper were sold. Bob went out one afternoon and sold 10 copies, door-to-door in his neighborhood. He plans to follow up for new subs. Millie is our star salesman at the AFL Hall.

"It is a close race for the three teams in our local contest. With the Marching Militants accounting for 785 points, the Classy Strugglers of St. Paul are still struggling and very close in second place with 746 points. The Coover Scouts are third with a score of 482."

Jacki Booth relates the experiences of Chicago salesmen in the second week of the campaign. "As you can see we are doing very well," she writes, "and expect to surpass the goal of 50 subs we have set for ourselves. Competition for the team prize is close, with all teams having over 250 points. One south-side team is ahead with 381 points, but the north-side team is breathing down their necks with a total of 324 points."

"Kenny picked up three subs last Sunday on a personal door-to-door project, and plans to go back this week. Howard, Sam and Carol picked up subs from workers in their shops, and comrades have generally become more aware of the possibilities of getting subs where they work. Spirits among the comrades are high — we have seen that

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How the Auto Union Convention Met Key Issues

By C. Thomas

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

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

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

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

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

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

convention.

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

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

Following the second delegate,

Reuther replied in a similar vein.

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

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

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WIRE-TAP SNOOPERS SEEK LEGAL O.K.

By Harry Ring

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Labor Takes Lead in Guatemala As Revolution Attains New Stage

By Harry Frankel
(Second in a series.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The role played by colonial and semi-colonial ruling classes in their half-hearted struggles with their masters has been, in recent years, that of opening a struggle which is then deepened by the workers and peasants, who do not limit themselves to a capitalist framework but who push demands that set them in conflict with both foreign imperialism and native capitalist-landlordism. It was organized labor that enabled him to finish his six-year term."

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

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

During 1946 a 10-day strike in

French Cops Stage Union Raid



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

China, USSR Offer Truce Concessions

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

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

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

STEP UP DEMANDS

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

ARTS OF DIPLOMACY

The advantages gained by plunging into the Korean civil war thus became exhausted while the need to refurbish American intentions became pressing. This called for a turn. As Joseph E. Evans puts it in the March 30 *Wall Street Journal*: "An end to

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

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

WOULD PROVE UNSTABLE

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

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

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

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

News from Canada

'Defending' Arctic Lanes--in Europe

By Peter Farnsworth

By the time Canada's three-year "defense" program is completed in 1954, it will have consumed almost \$5 1/4 billion — more for each of the three years than was spent at the peak of World War II, according to Defense Minister Claxton. We are told that the purpose of this colossal expenditure, at the sacrifice of subsidized housing and a national health program, etc., is to defend Canada and our southern neighbor the U.S. from a threatened attack by the Soviet Union.

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

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

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

It isn't that the \$5 1/4 billion hasn't been enough to outfit powerful squadrons of interceptors or that there has been a delay in getting results from off the assembly lines. Canada produces the Sabre jet — the only match for the Russian MIG-15. It can intercept high-flying bombers. Canada has 9 squadrons completely equipped with Sabres. Not only that, 400 more, at \$280,000 apiece, are coming off the lines right now.

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

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

PACKING UNION CHALLENGES WAR DRIVE AND WITCH HUNT

(Continued from page 1)

under the Constitution are ground under the heel of reaction.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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By GEORGE BREITMAN

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Monday, April 6, 1953

The Menace of Militarism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lesson of November 4th

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Michel Pablo
(Continued from last week.)

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

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

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

BONAPARTIST STRUCTURE

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

Stalin, Boss of the "Bosses," became the super-arbitrator of the bureaucracy, the Bonaparte par excellence. To maintain himself in this function he had to find the necessary strength and prestige.

Neither of these were the exclusive product of the simple functioning of the bureaucratic machine which, in any case, required an indisputable "Boss." What was required in addition was a combination of favorable historical conditions, personal talents, and sufficient time.

Stalin the Bonaparte was able to play his particular role thanks to the historical conditions which, in the period between the two wars, favored the Soviet bureaucracy; thanks to his past and prestige as an Old Bolshevik, his knowledge of the party apparatus, the rich dialectic teachings of Lenin. As for the latter, comrade Germain's analysis (see *Fourth International*, Nov.-Dec. 1952) exposes its real "theoretical" and "Marxist" base.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Denies Soviet Is War Threat



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

In this sense, "Stalinism," former Politburo, abolished by Deutscher states, "died before the 19th Congress, being thus revived."

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

Stalin is dead, but the final fate of Stalinism is bound up with still more important victories of the revolution over imperialism.

As to the immediate results of a new succession to Stalin at the head of the bureaucracy, we can at the moment only speculate.

FIRST REACTIONS

The first reactions of the Bonapartist nucleus of the bureaucracy indicate that they did not expect such a sudden disappearance of their Boss; that they feel disoriented, threatened from both right and left, and react by proceeding toward the (properly speaking) Bonapartist wing, which rests on the social bases of the system born of the October Revolution.

From this analysis two important conclusions follow: The controlling Bonapartist nucleus of the bureaucracy can reckon on a base which is larger than ever within the bureaucracy, but a base which is narrower than ever within the masses.

It is this latter which counts as the essential factor in relation to the future of Stalin's successors. We speak of successors and not one successor, because the sum of historical conditions which favored Stalin's reign have been finished with once and for all.

CENTRIFUGAL TENDENCIES

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

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

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

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Segregation in Housing

By Jean Blake

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Killing Yourself to Live

By Joyce Cowley

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes from the News

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE MILITANT

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NUMBER 14

Public Blocks Ban on Books In Cleveland

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

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

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

Continued vigilance in defense of freedom of the press will be needed in this city, it was made clear, when Councilman Mary T. Sotak announced she will introduce another measure calling on Mayor Burke to name a censorship committee of Parent-Teachers Association, religious, business and police membership.

In introducing his bill to repeal censorship of motion pictures in Ohio, State Sen. Charles Mosher of Oberlin said:

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

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

Ohio's movie censorship law was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1915, but a new test of the law's constitutionality is being prepared in the light of the U.S. court's decision last May upsetting a New York ban on Rossellini's "The Miracle." A Toledo court's ruling last September, that the state's \$3-a-reel licensing fee to censor newsreels is unconstitutional, is being appealed.

SWP in L.A. Gets Wide Audience

(Continued from page 1) hood church group of about 100, she was surrounded by a dozen young people who talked to her for at least an hour. A few days later they asked her to appear before their group for further discussion.

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

A-BOMBS OR SCHOOLS?

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

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

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

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

Leaders at UAW Convention



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

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

By George Lavan

Sensational new disclosures of the Kremlin's betrayal of the Spanish Civil War have been made in Mexico by Jesus Hernandez, a leader in the Spanish Communist Party and Stalinist cabinet minister in the Popular Front Government during the Civil War.

Among Hernandez's revelations are the first inside facts on the GPU kidnapping and murder of Andres Nin, leader of the anti-Stalinist Workers Party of Marx-ist Unification (POUM). GPU were themselves soon "dead at the front" — killed by the GPU, under cover of combat, on the principle that dead tell no tales.

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

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

The most devastating charge levelled by the former top Spanish Stalinist is that the Kremlin, after Munich, cold-bloodedly decided to inflict military defeat on the Spanish Republic. This was decided upon because Moscow had already begun secret overtures to Hitler for a pact, and it was decided that the sacrifice of Spain "would demonstrate the Kremlin's good will to Hitler." Accordingly, Soviet military advisors in Spain precipitated the disastrous Battle of the Ebro, in which, within two months the Loyalist army lost 70,000 men. This draining of the military strength of the Republican army made defeat in the war certain.

The former Politbureau member of the Spanish CP and member of Executive Committee of the Comintern declares flatly that this was the Kremlin's purpose and that the foisted plan of battle was imposed on the Spanish government by threats of cutting off all Soviet aid if it was not carried out.

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

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

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

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

THE RANKS ANSWER

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

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

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

ANOTHER STRUGGLE

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

chain. Another struggle occurred recently at the McCormick plant here. Conditions are worse. The company has not signed a union contract although the McCormick workers reaffirmed FE-UE's right as bargaining agent just last June. All means to divide, disorient and demoralize these workers are being tried by the company.

Contract or not, the workers in the plant have fought for and established certain job conditions which they justly consider their right to retain. A company attack on an established practice was the source of the latest defiance by McCormick workers in the Grey Iron Foundry.

A worker who had been ill returned to his job with a doctor's certificate saying he was available for light work only. The foreman assigned this man to the particularly hard and heavy job of "shifting." Established practice has been, that under these conditions, the worker could take a temporary lay-off until he was in better physical condition or light work was found for him. With the consent of the assistant foreman, the worker accepted the lay-off. As he was preparing to go home, the head foreman told him to go to the Employment Office for his pay since he "had quit." The worker protested. The arrogant head foreman retorted, "Then, you're fired!"

When word of this reached the foundry, the entire shift walked off. Obviously the workers were prepared to solidarize themselves with this worker to prevent further encroachment on their established rights.

At this crucial moment, unfortunately, the union leadership buried the case of the victimized worker in a whole series of other demands. Thus, it was impossible to settle the immediate issue while the workers were still demonstrating. Had the one grievance been won immediately, the effectiveness of the union's struggle on the other issues would have been multiplied and the ranks further solidified.

MERIT FULL SUPPORT

These FE-UE workers have proven that, given leadership, they find ways to resist the union-busting attack of I-H bosses. They merit all labor's support.

The corporation is a united force against union men — UE, CIO, AFL. It has been using the same tactics against its workers in the Melrose plant (UAW-CIO) and Milwaukee works (AFL). In its own defense, the labor movement must unite in action.

Any attempt of other unions to raid the FE which is now fighting I-H for elementary union rights would be to play the company's union-busting game. The CIO and AFL should send the following ultimatum to I-H: "We warn I-H management that the labor movement is behind the demands of the Harvester workers. The workers, in free elections, have already made their choice of bargaining agents. I-H management must deal honestly with these workers."

United action in defense of these Harvester workers who, at the moment, are taking the brunt of the boss-class attack on labor in Chicago would serve as a sharp warning to the would-be destroyers of unions.