

## HOW E. GERMAN EVENTS CONFIRM TROTSKY

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# THE MILITANT

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## Eisenhower Aims For Asia Won't Win GI Support

By Joseph Keller

The "morale of troops will be quite a problem" during the truce period in Korea, said Gen. Mark Clark last week. The Far East commander was expressing the chief anxiety of the U.S. military brass. They have repeatedly stated concern about a "bring us home" movement among the GIs once the fighting ended, as happened at the close of World War II.

This time the troops have an added sense of the futility of the war, of bewilderment about its purposes. Most GIs have been unable to see any good reason for the U.S. to invade Korea and blow it to pieces. They did not believe in this war from the start and could see no good coming from it. And they have been proved right.

Some candid admissions about the state of mind of the Korean GIs and veterans are made by N. Y. Times correspondent George Barrett in the Times Magazine of Aug. 9. Barrett, who covered the Korean front lines for a year and a half, acknowledges that "if you gave them (Korean veterans) a discharge pin for their part in that three-year nightmare they probably wouldn't wear it." And Barrett further confesses:

"An impressive library of books could be made up of the tons of paper used by generals and admirals and public information specialists and visiting Congressmen trying to explain the reasons for the Korean war to the guy fighting it. But he didn't get it. And he still doesn't."

He got it, all right. He just didn't believe it. He heard the explanations about this being a war of "liberation" to "halt aggression." But he wasn't convinced — and his experiences in Korea have only deepened his suspicions about the lofty aims of America's rulers in the war.

### EISENHOWER'S ADMISSION

Now he gets a striking revelation from the lips of Eisenhower — from the President himself — about the real aims of American capitalism in the Far East. He learns from the brazen admission of Eisenhower that this country is embroiled in Asia for sordid

reasons far removed from the professed ideals for which the American people have been forced to suffer more than 141,000 casualties in the past three years.

In an "off-the-cuff" talk before the Governors' Conference in Seattle on Aug. 4, Eisenhower spilled some of the beans on the reason "really why we are so concerned with the far-off south-east corner of Asia."

"Now let us assume that we lose Indo-China," said Eisenhower, speaking of that country and people as if they were "ours" naturally to "lose." He continued: "If Indo-China goes, several things happen right away. The peninsula, the last little bit of land hanging on down there, would be scarcely defensible. The tin and tungsten that we so greatly value would cease coming..." (My emphasis.)

### AND RICHES OF INDONESIA

He moved then from the "far-off southeast corner of Asia" to the southwest corner, Iran. He referred hostilely to the Mosaddegh regime in Iran which has relieved the British imperialists of the oil lands they looted. "All of that position around there is very ominous to the United States," opined Eisenhower, "because finally if we lost all that, how would the free world hold the rich empire of Indonesia?" (My emphasis.)

He stressed further that if "we" "lost" these countries, that don't belong to us to begin with, it would be "of a most terrible significance to... our security, our power and ability to get certain things we need from the riches of the Indonesian territory and from Southeast Asia." (My emphasis.)

In short, to grab rich territories

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## SWP Branches Urged To Step Up Fund Drive

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager

The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party for an \$18,000 Party-Building and Publications Fund reached the two-thirds mark this week. Contributions from the branches for the week totaled \$1,240 —

an increase of \$427 over the previous week. The scoreboard through Aug. 10 shows \$7,176 paid, or 40% of the national goal. The campaign still lags behind schedule — 22% at this point. With only five weeks to go, we look for a step-up in contributions between now and Sept. 15.

St. Louis tops the scoreboard again this week with its 73%, but Chicago is moving up fast. Two checks totaling \$187 shot Chicago into second place with \$1,030 or 69% of its \$1,500 quota. Comrade Hilda Smith proudly states — and justifiably so — "That keeps us ahead of schedule!"

Newark in third place with 67% and Buffalo in fourth with 63% are the other two branches ahead of schedule. Buffalo added \$134 to its score this week.

Comrade Alma Seton explains why Philadelphia is behind schedule: "Some comrades are away on vacations, but we managed to collect \$70 to send in. I think in a week or two, when everyone is back, there will be a big spurt forward. Here in Philly, we're all concerned with speeding the progress of the fund campaign, not only for the sake of making that dead line, but mainly because we know how much the money is needed to carry on the necessary work ahead."

This comment by Comrade V. R. Dunne accompanied a \$70 contribution toward the Twin Cities' quota: "This makes \$260 sent in from Minneapolis and \$330 from St. Paul for a total of \$590, or just a little under 50%. Both branches will make a decided

(See scoreboard: Page 3)

# General Strike of 4 Million Rocks France to Foundations

## East German Govt. Fears New Uprising

The East German workers have won a resounding victory in their "food war" with the Stalinist regime. A few days before the scheduled temporary closing of the U.S. food distribution centers, an estimated 70% of the East Berlin population had obtained food parcels in defiance of Stalinist repressions.

This is striking evidence that the tenacious revolutionary struggle waged by the East German workers since June 16 has not subsided. The working-class power which was unleashed with such unprecedented force in the general strike uprising of June 17, is unbroken. The question posed is: Will there be a new June 17?

The Stalinists in East Germany are caught up in feverish tactical vacillations. From day to day they blow hot and cold. Fierce declarations of repressive measures alternate erratically with promises of concessions.

But the main direction of Stalinist policy is clear. In trying to put down a revolutionary uprising, the bureaucrats count principally on iron repressions. Everything else demonstrates either their inability to come to grips with the insurgent working class or desperate demagoguery.

Fritz Selbmann, Stalinist Minister of Steel and Coal, voiced the policy of the regime in a speech to the Henningsdorf steel workers on Aug. 7: "The continued disturbances in the furnaces during past days are not accidental..." In reply to demands to release workers arrested for getting food in West Berlin, he said, "Provocateurs already in jail will stay there, and no pressure from the workers will succeed in freeing them."

Expressing the hysterical panic of the regime at the prospect of a new general uprising he declared: "The fascist putsch attempt has failed... Anyone who dreams in his heart there will be a second day... may be told by me, there will not be a second day."

But a "second day" is inevitable. It is dictated by the whole course of struggle and indicated by the following developments:

(1) The Stalinist regime is isolated and despised. The "food war" revealed the scope of popular hatred and defiance of the masses toward it.

(2) The workers' movement in the factories continues to smolder. A report from the official

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### The Show Must Go On



## REVOLUTIONARY BOLIVIAN PEASANTS MOVE TOWARD SEIZURE OF ESTATES

The Bolivian government is under heavy fire at present from two opposing classes — the landed proprietors, allied to finance capital, and the peasant masses, allied to the workers — according to the August issue of Lucha Obrera, official newspaper of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) which has just been received by The Militant.

In response to pressure from the peasants, the government decreed re-division of the land starting Aug. 2. But, bowing to the demands of the big land holders, it provided that the peasants must pay for the pieces of ground parcelled out to them.

It is the opinion of Lucha Obrera that the peasants will give little heed to the government strictures, utilizing the reform instead as the starting point for a new upsurge.

"Many of the governmental measures designed to defend the prerogatives and interests of the

landed proprietors will be no more than mere words," says Lucha Obrera. "Aug. 2 will see a national movement aiming at direct seizure of lands, mansions, harvests, cattle, farm equipment, etc. The sharecroppers, squatters and serfs will take possession of the plots they are working without regard to the shrewd provisions in behalf of proprietors who thought fast enough to organize co-operatives, etc. The peasants will take the land, and will not pay a cent for it."

The government decree would leave the land owners with holdings of approximately 100 to 300 acres. If no land in the area is left over after this division, the peasants must be satisfied with farms of about one and a quarter acres or take pieces in outlying, uncultivated areas. Lucha Obrera thinks that the peasants will answer with a resounding "no" to this arrangement, take all the arable land on the big estates and tell any proprietor who doesn't like it that "he is free to go to the colonizing regions and

settle down on his one and a quarter acre."

Lucha Obrera declares that the members of the POR must "redouble their efforts in these difficult times, pregnant with enormous promise. The perspectives of the revolution are opening up on an unsuspected horizon. The peasant masses will launch their conquest of the land Aug. 2 and depend on the revolutionary vanguard coming through in its task as leaders. It is the duty of all militants to take the initiative in the peasant unions to bring them boldly to the actual liquidation of the landed estates."

"Members of the POR will be found at their posts," continues the socialist paper, ready "to give all their will and experience to help their exploited brothers."

"A persistent campaign of support for the peasants," it says, "must be unfolded in the trade unions and ways and means must be found for the city organizations to send trained people to give orientation to the exploited on the farms."

pressing for some changes in Taft-Hartley favorable to labor he would not have waited until Congressional adjournment. Certainly, he put up a flabby and short-lived defense against Nixon's objections.

The whole devious episode smacks of a small cheap gesture contemptuously offered to the labor leadership in the belief that they would leap hungrily to receive it. Eisenhower does not have to offer anything; he has only to indicate that he would offer certain things if he were permitted to do so by his political colleagues. Truman actually had to make a few official proposals, although he never put up a fight for them.

**MEANINGLESS PROPOSALS**  
The specific proposals which Eisenhower allegedly intended to make would be only a meaningless sop to labor and would leave the Taft-Hartley Law intact in all its major features. They are a "long, long way from meeting its (labor's) objections to the restrictive and harsh law. It makes some few minor changes but does little or nothing on key issues like the closed shop, injunctions in na-

tional emergency disputes and in secondary boycotts," observes Labor's Daily, the national daily newspaper published by the International Typographical Union.

But, complains Labor's Daily, even in the matter of pushing these "mild and relatively unimportant" changes in Taft-Hartley, Eisenhower "bowed again to the anti-labor elements in Congress." This somehow conveys the idea that Eisenhower himself isn't anti-labor, but that Congress twisted his arm so hard he just had to drop the proposals he intended to make, but made sure got into the press.

The question this episode raises is why Eisenhower has the brass to make such sport with labor, how does he dare to play such a shyster game with the labor-union movement, 17-million strong in America today?

**DOESN'T FEAR LABOR**

It is clear Eisenhower has no political fear of organized labor. He knows that as long as labor strings along with the capitalist two-party system, and has nothing better to offer than the Democratic Party that was swept out of power just last November, he

## Wall Street Gripped By Consternation at Blow to War Schemes

By Murry Weiss

AUG. 13 — Four million French workers are on general strike in a solid united front action of every section of the labor movement against the anti-labor decrees of the Wall Street-backed Laniel government. In a mounting movement that surged forward during all last week, the

unions have halted rail, air, maritime, bus and subway transportation paralyzed telephone, postal and telegraph service, shut off electric power, gas and other utilities; and brought mines, metal works and construction building to standstill. All government offices, banks, insurance agencies, and municipal services are closed tight.

Not since the June 1936 general strike has France witnessed such a massive and united action of the working class. The movement, which began as a protest over Laniel's proposed "economy" decrees, quickly turned into a show-down struggle for political power between the workers organizations and the capitalist regime.

**NO JOY IN WALL ST.**

Wall Street and Washington are reeling at this body blow to their "cold war" schemes. This is the answer to their gloating over "troubles behind the iron curtain." The malicious chuckles are silenced. There is no joy in Wall Street. American capitalism now confronts in France the same revolutionary class force that erupted against the Stalinists in East Germany last June 17.

That staid, conservative and authoritative voice of Big Business, the N. Y. Times, reacted to the first wave of strikes as if to a red hot poker: "The strikes... come as a great shock because they must be taken as symptomatic of a profound unrest among a wide field of the working classes." And the Times voices its anxiety: "disturbing... plenty to worry about..." By Thursday with 4,000,000 workers out they were really worried: "What was launched as a snowball... has been turned into an avalanche..." Premier Laniel made an extraordinary tactical error... blunders... miscalculations... serious situation... alarming."

### TROTSKY MEETING

The SWP candidate for mayor will make his first election-campaign appearance at a public meeting commemorating the death of Leon Trotsky. This will be held at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.), Wed., Aug. 26, at 8 p.m. Main speaker of the evening will be Murry Weiss who will discuss the recent stirring events in East Germany, the Soviet Union and France.

Readers of The Militant are invited to help put the SWP on the ballot in the petition campaign beginning Tues., Aug. 18. Campaign headquarters are at 116 University Place near Union Square.

**FIRST STAGE OF STRIKE**  
The strike was called last Friday, Aug. 7, at 12:01 a. m. on the initiative of the Socialist-controlled Workers Force (one of the three federations of French trade unions.) The strike call was immediately backed by the Catholic Trade Union Federation and the Stalinist-controlled General Confederation of Labor (CGT).

The first call affected only workers in Government departments and Government-owned industries. The strike was initially limited to 24 or 48 hours in some sectors, and unlimited in others. Two million workers went out. The union leaders walked out of a government compulsory mediation meeting.

By Saturday, Aug. 8, the movement was spreading. It is clear that the pressure from the masses was enormous, sweeping the officials along. "The strike movement had gathered such momentum" wrote N. Y. Times correspondent Henry Gruniger on Saturday, "that the non-communist unions, which had taken the initiative, feared last night their orders to resume work would not be followed." The CGT had entered the struggle by this time and called for an extension of the movement.

**BURIED — IN WORDS**  
Over Saturday and Sunday the movement continued to take shape from below, cutting across arbitrary time limits and fears of the officials, and mobilizing the entire French working class for a decisive blow against the Laniel regime. Capitalist news correspondents and editorial com-

(Continued on page 3)

## Eisenhower Tips His Hat on Taft-Hartley

Eisenhower has tipped his hat a couple of times in the direction of the union leaders. This has set them aflutter with hope that the possibility is opening up for some kind of modus vivendi — a way of living together — with the Republican administration.

The general impression created by the episode — or the impression it was intended to convey — was that Eisenhower is really "friendly" toward labor, an even willing to make important concessions. But, unfortunately, as the Wall Street Journal put it, "the White House is under heavy pressure either to hold up the recommendations or to tone down the sections that cater so strongly to labor."

### THE "VILLAIN"

Nixon is made to appear as the villain of the piece and Eisenhower is credited with a worthy sentiment even while he denies he holds it. The day after the document appeared in the Wall Street Journal, that publication carried a statement by White House Press Secretary Hagerty that the published versions of the proposed measures were preliminary and "not even approaching the semi-final stage."

It was subsequently "leaked" out that responsibility for getting Eisenhower to withhold the

proposals lay with Vice President Nixon, who is regarded as the go-between in Administration dealings with the most reactionary Republicans in Congress.

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Something of a furor was created most recently in labor circles when it was "leaked" from the White House that Eisenhower had prepared for Congress, although too late for the last session, a message proposing 19 amendments to the Taft-Hartley Labor Relations Law of which 18 were considered "favorable to labor." The text of this message was actually printed in the Aug. 3 Wall Street Journal. But White House spokesmen quickly denied the official character of the document.

Of course, if Eisenhower had the slightest serious intention of

treating the union leaders like dog-mats and they can't do anything about it except whine, and not too loudly at that.

Eisenhower, like every capitalist politician, reacts only to the menace of a real political club. But labor is so obviously weaponless and defenseless in the political arena, it is an object of contempt and a target for every vicious element that comes down the pike.

All this could be speedily changed if labor had a political weapon of its own, if it did not depend for its political defense on the Democratic machine that is itself fundamentally anti-labor, if the organized workers could move into action with effective independent power whenever they wished through a political party of their own.

Every important problem of labor — and the Taft-Hartley Law can become a life-and-death question for the unions — finally comes down to the question of swinging like a pendulum between Republicans and Democrats leads to nowhere but dizzy frustration. To defend itself politically, labor needs its own party.

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"HUNT DOWN NEGROES  
FLEEING FROM MASTERS"

Malenkov Makes First Public Bid as New Stalin

"The Southern Rhodesia police is intensifying its campaign to hunt down Negroes fleeing from their masters." This quotation sounds like something dug up from the press of the slave-holders of a century ago; it happens to be the lead sentence in a special dispatch to the N.Y. Times, of July 20, 1953, written by Albion Ross, special correspondent in Central Africa.

Here is his picture of conditions in the 20th century under "democratic" British rule that lead to "Negroes fleeing from their masters."

The "masters" are white plantation owners who robbed the African natives of their land. "The average farm has about 3,000 acres and many are much larger," Denny Young, a leader of one of the landowner factions, confesses to the robbery of the land. "We have taken enough land from the natives in Africa," he says. By way of atonement he proposes a "just apportionment of the territories between the European and the native." In other words divide what was stolen between the robber and the robbed.

The workers for the South Rhodesia plantations are recruited from Nyasaland, which has recently been forced into the Central African Federation. Nyasaland has a population of 2,000,000 Negroes and a few hundred whites. Albion Ross says, "It is generally agreed here that (Nyasaland) was added to the Federation of the two Rhodesias because of its valuable supply of native labor."

"The Negro labor recruiting in Nyasaland is done by a recruiting organization and is rather expensive. The organization gets about \$42 per 'boy.'" The wage of the plantation workers is about \$5.60 a month. They live in grass huts which they build themselves.

"Negro workers on farms and most unskilled Negro workers in industry are placed in a status of temporary servitude for the period of their contract."

The workers try to escape from these modern slave farms at every opportunity. Under the Masters and Servants Act, in force in Southern Rhodesia, this is a crime listed as "desertion." Police hunt down the Negro workers. They are jailed and given fines up to one or two months wages.

The Farmers Union, an organization of the big plantation owners, has been demanding greater energy from the police in hunting down and punishing their escaped "servants." "The farmers' complaint with regard to the enforcement of the Masters and Servants Act was concerned primarily with the failure of the Nyasaland 'boys' to do their work, suggesting the campaign in Nyasaland was taking effect." The campaign refers to the movement in Nyasaland to resist the imposition of a "federation" aimed at facilitating the recruitment of slave labor.

But the plantation owners don't rest with demands for better slave hunts. "The great complaint of the farmers," says Ross, "is that the 'boys' do not put their hearts into their work."

LOESCHER SAYS AFRICAN  
DESPAIR IS 'DISTURBING'

Dr. Frank S. Loescher, head of the Philadelphia Commission on Human Rights, has just concluded a six months study of "the racial situation" in South Africa. He released a statement saying, "I found despair among Africans that was disturbing. When our discussions got around to how their living conditions could be improved, jobs, housing and participation in government, there was an unmistakable lack of faith and confidence that Europeans would extend democracy to them. This was my most disturbing experience."

It is a tribute to Dr. Loescher that he found the experience disturbing. In a country like the Union of South Africa or the United States, the economic, social and political oppression of the Negro people is not merely disturbing, it cries out for rectification.

What solution did Dr. Loescher find after his six months study? He says he advised the Africans to "persist in their efforts to reach the minds and hearts of the white South Africans." One might well ask, what minds and what hearts? The diseased mind of a racist ruling class who live in terror of having their stolen lands and blood-soaked profits taken away from them? Can pleas for justice touch the hearts of these white supremacists? Malan's reign of terror against the slightest infringement of the "color line" doesn't speak well for this project.

We can well imagine how the Africans took Dr. Loescher's advice. They could have told him that "efforts to reach the minds and hearts of the white" American capitalists to practice a little justice and mercy have not halted the practice of Jim Crow in his own country. They could have told him that the only gains the Negro people in Africa or America have ever made have been through organized struggle, above all a struggle imbued with the aim of eliminating the class which thrives on discrimination, poverty and modern slavery.

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By John G. Wright

The Aug. 5-8 sessions of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow marked the public assumption by Malenkov of Stalin's mantle as Purger-Arbitrator-in-Chief. In this capacity Malenkov delivered the main speech on foreign and domestic policy, while Finance Minister Zverev formally figured as the "main reporter." Apart from the announcement that the Soviet union had the H-Bomb, there was nothing essentially new in Malenkov's foreign policy declaration. He reaffirmed the line of "peaceful co-existence." All the surprises he reserved for the domestic field.

Malenkov again made promises of spectacular improvements "in the population's supply of foodstuffs and manufactured goods, meat and meat products, fish and fish products, butter, sugar, confectionery, textiles, garments, footwear, crockery, furniture and other cultural and household goods; in raising considerably the supply of the population of all kinds of consumer goods."

This was anticipated in the Malenkov version of falsified Russian party history which stressed that "the law" of party policy is "ceaseless concern to satisfy the growing material and cultural needs of the toilers."

Agricultural laws have been

drastically revised. To stimulate crops and cattle-raising on privately owned strips of land, taxes have been slashed and obligation deliveries to the State reduced. The restorationist elements in agriculture have thus gained the most important concession in recent years. In marked contrast to this, Malenkov—and the Supreme Soviet—passed over in silence some of the important "concessions" that had been promised over Stalin's corpse.

Nothing was said about the amnesty for prisoners. No action was taken by the Supreme Soviet in this connection. Presumably that's the end of the "amnesty." There was no mention of the revision of the criminal code, in particular the harsh labor laws, originally promised "within 60 days." Apparently, the Kremlin has had some second-thoughts on this subject as well.

APPROVE PURGE OF BERIA

The Supreme Soviet adopted the new record budget for 1953; passed the agricultural reform and placed its seal of approval on the purge of Beria. It also unanimously approved several shifts in ministries and in ministerial posts plus the appointment of a new State Prosecutor and three new members of the Supreme Court (scheduled to convict Beria

when it is finally decided to place him on trial).

The only change voted in the Stalin Constitution was to delete the term "Bolshevik" after the designation of the Russian party "in the text of Article 126." This change, adopted last year at the Nineteenth Congress, was forgotten during the previous, hasty, one-hour session of the Supreme Soviet held immediately following Stalin's death.

ARC LIGHTS AND CHEERS

As The Militant predicted, Malenkov played the role of "Chief." Each time he entered the hall, the arc lights went on, the assembly jumped to its feet and cheered. Every photograph, every listing of dignitaries, assigned him the first place. Molotov, Khrushchev, Bulganin and other members of the so-called "collective leadership" were not so much as permitted to take the floor. When Malenkov rose to speak, the assembly jumped up, clapping, cheering. His remarks were punctuated by applause, "stormy applause," "stormy applause passing into ovation." Even "a stir in the hall" was dutifully recorded in the minutes. When he concluded, he received a standing ovation.

A motion was then made to terminate the discussion. The "main reporter" Zverev made a summary speech of exactly 50 words. The usages of the Praesidium were put to a vote and the Supreme Soviet promptly adjourned.

FOR CO-EXISTENCE

The heart of Malenkov's foreign-policy declaration was contained in the following words:

"We firmly stand on the position that at the present time there is no disputed or undecided issue that cannot be settled in a peaceful way on the basis of mutual agreement between the countries concerned. This applies also to those disputed issues that exist between the USA and the Soviet Union. We hold that there is no objective basis for conflicts between the USA and the Soviet Union." The Kremlin is crawling out of its skin for a deal with Washington; and it is just as eager for deals with the West European bourgeoisies, first and foremost that of Germany. Malenkov's words leave no room for doubt on this score.

As for the Soviet domestic situation, the undeniable industrial progress, recorded since 1952, has sharpened still further the relations between the Kremlin bureaucracy and the Soviet workers and peasants. Hence the promise of material concessions.

A genuine revision of the plan in the interest of the masses could bring, within a brief period, a spectacular change in the living conditions of the Soviet people. But what Malenkov actually told the Soviet masses was to wait "two or three years" for any marked improvement. At best he envisaged the possibility of attaining 1955 consumer targets by 1954, a far cry "from a drastic upsurge in the production of consumer goods."

ATTACKS "TROTSKYITES"

The production of consumer goods will continue to be subordinated to the expansion of heavy industry with minimum—and not maximum—adjustment to allay mass discontent. That is the gist of Malenkov's "new" policy. As a matter of fact, his speech contains the sharpest threats against any attempt to "oppose the construction of heavy industry" at the expense of light industry or to "demand the transfer of funds from heavy to light industry." Such demands he characterized as having emanated from "the Trotskyites and the right-wing capitalists and traitors." This means that the penalty for even raising such proposals is — death.

The Militant's warnings that the regime has been confronted with the resistance of restorationist elements in agriculture are confirmed by the concessions the Kremlin has just made to these elements.

The chief beneficiaries of Malenkov's agricultural reform are the collective-farm bureaucrats and the well-to-do peasants. The bureaucrats are exempted altogether from payments of taxes on their privately-owned strips. The rich peasants are obviously in the best position to acquire their own live stock and expand crops through lower taxes, smaller obligatory state deliveries, and through "bonuses," and special compensation.

PEASANTS' FACE PENALTY

The mass of the peasants, on the other hand, face a new penalty. A 50% hike in taxes has been attached to every failure to fulfill the number of work days and obligatory norms on the collective farms. The working of this clause is so obscure that the failure of a single individual may make an entire family liable. The reading of this law was greeted with laughter and applause by the Supreme Soviet delegates.

These bureaucrats have every reason to laugh and applaud. This law epitomizes their regime: New privileges for the bureaucrats, concessions to the counter-

revolutionary elements, "joyous" promises to the masses coupled with repressions. The agricultural bureaucracy, along with its new whip against the mass of the peasants. These are the only "incentives" a bureaucrat knows or appreciates.

Malenkov concluded his speech with a summons for "vigilance"

and "monolithic unity." Thereby he fulfilled his function as the chief protector of the bureaucracy's interests. The sharper the relations become with the workers and peasants, all the greater "vigilance" must the parasitic caste exercise and all the more must it "strengthen the state," that is, its machine of deception and repressions.

LAWYER GIVES ADVICE  
ON ANSWERING THE FBI

What would you do if a couple of FBI agents unexpectedly tapped you on the shoulder and began asking questions that were clearly aimed at converting you into a stoolpigeon, either against yourself or one of your friends whose political beliefs might not meet Democratic and Republican standards of conformity?

The August 10 National Guardian cites three typical responses and then gives the comments of a lawyer on the way the victims reacted:

Case 1: "Two men introduced themselves as from the FBI as I hurried to work one morning. They kept abreast of me when I tried to outwalk them. One said they'd be glad to drive me to my job, and told me where I worked. I yelled, 'Get away from me!' and they left, saying, 'Get in touch with me if you change your mind.'"

Case 2: Mr. A's landlord told him: "The FBI was asking for you. Wanted to know what meetings you go to nights." Mr. A, feeling he could outsmart the agents, said: "Next time tell them to come see me."

Case 3: Mrs. D invited two FBI agents in when one flashed his card and said they were "perfectly harmless and only want to speak with you." She found them "charming"; they just asked what she knew about a certain man; she said, "Nothing." They discussed books, movies and their children. The woman concluded: "I'm sure I learned more about them than they did about me."

The lawyer commented as follows:

Case 1: "Anybody finding herself or himself in a similar position has a right to say absolutely nothing. She did right to reject their offer, though she could have done it by keeping silent and walking on."

Case 2: "Like many a decent person, Mr. A is not afraid — but he can't outsmart these trained agents and should not try to. The landlord might himself be an undercover agent. Remember your right to say nothing."

Case 3: "Suppose Mrs. D did learn more than they did about her — but I doubt it: so what? We know what they will do with their information, as thought-control policemen building up dossiers on people in order to destroy them. What will she do with hers? She can bet her life they'll return."

To protect yourself and others, the National Guardian offers additional legal advice:

No matter what official identification he presents, you need not let any stranger into your home; unless he has a warrant, he has no right to enter.

Whether at your door or elsewhere, you need not answer FBI questions — and there is no need to yell.

Your right of refusal being what it is, there is nothing to get flustered about. The agents are looking for a sign that you are intimidated; they are trained in techniques of heightening the intimidation.

You need not be drawn into a conversation about whether you "want to co-operate with the authorities," designed to make you fear that you will "look suspicious," if you refuse. Your co-operation may be wanted for only one purpose — to destroy either yourself, or other progressives, or both.

If you have any doubts at all about what to do, talk it over with a good lawyer FIRST — not after you do or say something you might regret.

EISENHOWER'S AIMS FOR ASIA  
WON'T WIN SUPPORT OF GI'S

(Continued from page 1)

and resources we are keeping a force of half a million soldiers, sailors and airmen in the Korea area; we are backing up French imperialism in Indo-China and British imperialism in Malaya against the native independence fighters. At the heart of U.S. martial intervention in the Far East is naked greed for profits.

The low morale of the GI's will not be lifted any when they consider that if the unstable truce in Korea manages to hold for longer than generally expected, they may still be transported somewhere else in Asia to spill their blood for "tin and tungsten" and the "riches of the Indonesian territory."

TROOPS TO INDO-CHINA

The Aug. 11 Wall Street Journal, reporting on Washington's attitude, says unqualifiedly that rather than see the French brigands driven out of Indo-China, "the thinking here is that the U.S. would first step in with air and naval aid and even send troops if needed. The diplomats worry about this possibility, but they think the risk worth taking." (My emphasis.)

Worth taking by whom? The war profiteers and generals, or the workers and soldiers?

Eisenhower has told us what it is worth to the profiteers — "tin and tungsten" and the "riches" of Southeast Asia. But the Korean experience has shown what a new Asian intervention would be worth to the American people. We got nothing out of Korea but death and misery and the hatred

of hundreds of millions. Instead of waiting to send more of our sons and husbands to Asia, let us demand that the American troops now in the Far East be brought home at once.

Officials of the Department of Defense and Selective Service warned on Aug. 10 that the Korean cease-fire will not alter the draft plans or ease the deferment restrictions. "Those in uniform cannot expect to get out ahead of time. Those awaiting military call can expect to serve as long as if the fighting had continued," reported the Associated Press.

Two Speeches

by  
LEON TROTSKY

"Europe and America"  
71 pp. 35 cents

"Assassination of  
Leon Trotsky"  
(Proofs of Stalin's Guilt)

by  
ALBERT GOLDMAN

74 pp. 25 cents  
Order from  
Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

Police Rough Up Strikers



Police at strike-bound Arma Corp. plant at Roosevelt Field, Long Island, N. Y., rough up pickets to make way for supervisors. Several women strikers were run down by company officials' cars. Later International Union of Electrical Radio & Machine Workers (CIO) got company to pledge no interference with picket line.

Korea War -- Its Costly Lesson

By Art Preis

Back in June 1950, Truman and his generals arrogantly assumed that the intervention of a few American troops in the Korean civil war would "straighten things out" in short order. Wall Street imperialism viewed this as just another old-time colonial war — a "police action" — in which mighty, industrially-advanced U.S. capital had but to bare its military teeth in order to "pacify" resisting natives.

Instead, we found ourselves dragged into an armed struggle that, compared to past colonial wars, has been truly immense. Giant armies have been pitted for three years in ferocious combat against each other; unsurpassed concentrations of firepower have been used; casualties have run into the millions and property destruction has been almost total.

The duration, scope and intensity of the Korean war are in themselves facts of tremendous significance. Added to them, moreover, are two absolutely unique developments which demonstrate that the Korean war has marked a vast change in the relationship of forces in the world today — a change that will have great, if not decisive, bearing on the future of mankind.

HELD THEIR OWN

First and foremost is the gigantic fact that two backward Asian countries but newly emerged from foreign exploitation and colonialism, China and North Korea, have more than held their own against an imperialist army that has had tremendous advantages from the military technical standpoint.

Second is that fact that the United States, foremost capitalist power and chief military spearhead of world imperialism, for the first time in its history has come out of a war without a

victory. On the contrary, it has just barely held its own and, in fact, on at least two occasions was on the brink of military defeat.

From the start of the Korean war, The Militant understood its unique character and foresaw its development and cost to the American people. We clearly warned, in an editorial July 24, 1950, against "the arrogant assumption that a war against an colonial people fighting for their national independence is just a pushover, a 'little' war." We stated that "times have changed since the British empire was founded with a small expenditure of troops in a series of small colonial wars spread over hundreds of years. Today, the invasion and seizure of colonies is an extremely dangerous and expensive proposition."

We explained further that "the colonial peoples are in revolt and their number is legion. American armies in Korea, or anywhere else in Asia, are confronting a revolutionary tide, millions upon millions of people who are fighting for a cause they believe in and for which they are ready to lay down their lives. The American boys being sent over to die in Korea are completely surrounded by hostile people. Their guns do not intimidate but only inflame the populace. They are learning in blood the difference between subduing a passive people and an armed people in revolt."

NO WAR IS "LITTLE"

Our conclusion was: "An atom-bomb war with a major power like the Soviet Union may be the biggest and most frightful of all wars. But no war is 'little' today. Before American imperialism can conquer even backward colonial peoples, it will have to wade through oceans of blood and despoil the American people themselves to pay for such conquest."

Our estimation of the Korean struggle has been confirmed completely by the events themselves.

The generals and propagandists have tried to blame the unfavorable military developments in

CHICAGO FORUM

"The East German Uprising" is the subject to be discussed at a forum Fri., Aug. 28, 8:30 p.m. The meeting will be held at 734 So. Wabash, Chicago.



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### Trotsky and the American Workers

The thirteenth anniversary of Trotsky's death at the hands of a Stalinist assassin in Mexico on August 21, 1940, will be commemorated by workers of the socialist vanguard throughout the world. Trotsky was above all an international working-class revolutionist. His memory belongs to the world working class. And every new revolutionary victory over capitalism keeps that memory green.

Class-conscious workers in the United States who are living through the difficult period of witch hunts, capitalist war preparations, armaments "prosperity" and reactionary bureaucratic rule in the unions, turn with gratitude to the ever fresh and brilliant teachings of Trotsky to help them understand the times they live in and the days that lie ahead.

In the 25-year history of *The Militant*, Trotsky was always our teacher. He added the power of his genius to the work of our founding years and helped us create the party we are so proud of. Since his death, the rich heritage of theory he left us, as well as the example of his life, has inspired our continued struggle.

That's not because we worshipped Trotsky (the mere hint of subservience was repugnant to him) but Trotsky was a leader who had the answers. Workers who have been through strike struggles know what we mean by this. They value leaders who can see what is and foresee what is to come. They value the leader who can learn from them as well as teach them. Trotsky was such a leader.

Trotsky regarded American capitalism as the most important and powerful enemy of the world working class. Therefore he studied with the greatest care the economic and political development of the United States and its relation to the rest of the world.

Take a few examples of Trotsky's writings from a pamphlet published in

1926, Europe and America, and you will see why Trotsky's ideas and contributions are valued so highly by radical American workers:

"In military art there is a saying that whoever moves into the enemy's rear in order to cut him off, is often cut off himself. In economy something analogous takes place: the more the United States puts the whole world under its dependence, all the more does it become dependent upon the whole world with all its contradictions and threatening upheavals."

"The U.S. is compelled to base its power on an unstable Europe, that is, on tomorrow's revolutions of Europe and on the national-revolutionary movement of Asia and Africa. . . In order to maintain its internal equilibrium the United States requires a larger and larger outlet abroad; but its outlet abroad introduces into its economic order more and more elements of European and Asiatic disorder. Under these conditions a victorious revolution in Europe and in Asia would inevitably inaugurate a revolutionary epoch in the United States. And we need not doubt that once the revolution in the U.S. has begun, it will develop with truly American speed."

Trotsky knew very well how to take the tough years of reaction. He used them to prepare for a new revolutionary upsurge. His deep theoretical understanding gave him a vision of the great sweep of history and the inevitability of socialist revolution. Trotsky foresaw the revolutionary storms now gathering force everywhere in the world. How contemptuous he would be today of "revolutionists" unable to see that beneath the surface of American capitalist reaction the leaven of the working class consciousness is working. He would tell us: "Now is the time to prepare, for great events are coming and the decisive role will be played by the Socialist Workers Party. Prepare, study, build."

### Purge in North Korea

On July 24 the Syngman Rhee regime reported that a purge had taken place in the North Korean government and that "political unrest gripped North Korea." We filed Rhee's sensational handout. On Aug. 8, however, the purge was confirmed by both Moscow and Pyongyang radio.

The list of victims includes 12 or 13 top members of the North Korean government, including Pak Hong Wong, Vice President, Foreign Minister and former General Secretary of the Korean Communist Party; Lee Sung Yop, Minister of Justice; Cho Yun Nyong, Vice Minister of Culture and propaganda; Rhee Won Cho, Deputy Propaganda Chief of the Korean Communist Party; and Sol Chong Sik, member of the Political Dept. of the North Korean Supreme Military Headquarters. Moscow radio said that ten of the high officials had been given death sentences, one got 15 years, another 12 years.

The official New China News Agency declared Aug. 10 that the U.S. almost since 1945 had infiltrated "counter-revolutionary elements" to overthrow the North Korean regime. The accused allegedly plotted a "military revolt" in conspiracy with the U.S. "espionage agency in Seoul." Some of the "gang of traitors" were "bought over" by the U.S. and sent reports about

the North Korean forces "and other military secrets."

The dispatch did not reveal how it was possible for these high government officials to be hailed as heroes through the frightful war years while actually serving as "spies" and remaining undetected until a truce was agreed upon. This lapse, typical of a Stalinist purge trial, is compensated by the fact that all the accused conveniently "confessed" before their voices were silenced by the executioner.

The North Korean freedom fighters are thus faced with an unpleasant dilemma — either their government was honeycombed with counter-revolutionary agents of American imperialism throughout the war, or — just as bad — the accused are victims of a counter-revolutionary frame-up.

Not enough information is available to judge precisely what is involved in the purge. But the North Korean people might ponder these questions: Does this purge portend some kind of unpopularity settlement at the forthcoming political conference over Korea? Does it mean, for example, the sacrifice of the heroic guerrilla movement in South Korea that has resisted the Rhee regime from the beginning? Whatever the truth, the purge itself is a foul and sinister blotch on the record of the North Korean government.

### Furor Over Byrnes

Officials of the Negro and labor movement are highly critical of the appointment of Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina as U.S. delegate to the United Nations. They deplore Eisenhower's choice of this racist, anti-labor Southern Bourbon as "ill advised" and "injurious." They think it will give the United States a bad name among the oppressed colored people of the world to place such an avowed race hater in the United Nations show window. Whom do they want? Sparkman, the pro-Stevenson governor of Alabama, instead of Byrnes, the pro-Eisenhower governor of South Carolina?

Byrnes is exactly where he should be. They ought to have Byrnes, McCarthy and Westbrook Pegler sitting together at the head of the U.S. delegation in the UN — a race baiter, a red baiter and a labor baiter. That's the face the whole world recognizes as the real capitalist America.

In our opinion, Eisenhower knows what he's doing. He isn't making a slip. Eisenhower is building a political fence with the Southern Bourbons to strengthen Republican control of Congress. What does he care about the opinion of labor and Negro officials and some liberals? They can't do very much, he figures. They haven't even got their own political machine. They belong to the same capitalist parties as he and Byrnes. So it will all blow over, and a

necessary political chore will have been done.

The chicken-heartedness of these officials has reached the ludicrous. One day they are overjoyed at a few cheap, empty utterances by the President about infringements of civil rights; the next day they are bitterly disillusioned with him over some routine dirty deal of capitalist politics. And the irony of it all is that they have been doing this for decades — with Truman before Eisenhower and Roosevelt before Truman.

If the labor and the Negro movement want to fight Byrnes and his ilk, if they want to meet the challenge of McCarthyism, if they want to defend their elementary rights, there is a plain and powerful way to do it. Organize a political machine of labor and the Negro people. The combined and independent might of such a machine could whip the Southern Bourbons and the politicians of the billionaire hands down.

We have 17 million on our side to start with in the labor movement alone. There are 14 million Negroes in the United States plus millions among the oppressed minorities. The working farmers would be on our side. The small businessmen and the professionals would vote labor. Why not organize this mighty army into a Labor Party? Let's stop being disillusioned with the Eisenhowers and wake up to our own weakness.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent *The Militant's* policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

\*Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

# How German Events Confirm Trotsky

By Murry Weiss

The touchstone of science is the ability to predict. The deeper we penetrate the nature of the present reality on the basis of the theoretical conquests of the past, the clearer the future is sketched and illuminated. Marxism, the science of the socialist revolution views the bond between thought and action as indissoluble. It therefore places decisive importance on the ability to foresee — and thereby to act with the highest degree of consciousness.

Drudgery and poverty have heretofore excluded the masses from participating in the development of scientific theory. This was unavoidable in societies based on the enslaved majority laboring without leisure, and the privileged minority enjoying leisure without labor. But the epoch of socialist revolution has brought about a fusion of mass action with the most highly developed scientific theory of society. The working class thereby proves its claim to historical leadership in the transformation from capitalism to the planned economy of the future.

Leon Trotsky, co-worker and continuator of Lenin, possessed to a remarkable degree the capacity to grasp the inner logic of the struggle between the working class and capitalism. He was therefore able to chart the course of future development with extraordinary prescience. He bequeathed to our movement a rich legacy of insight into the problems facing the working class today.

Above all he explored to its depths the crucial problem of the working class and its leadership. He explained how in the course of its struggle to attain political supremacy, the working class is blocked by the official "leaders" and bureaucrats it has previously elevated to the summits of its organizations. This bureaucracy responds to the pressure of the capitalist class. It becomes an agency of capitalism within the workers' movement and an obstacle to the victorious struggle of the workers.

## Commemorated



LEON TROTSKY, co-leader with Lenin of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution that founded the Soviet Union as the first workers state. His memory will be honored by revolutionary socialists throughout the world on Aug. 21, the day of his death in 1940 at the hands of a GPU killer under orders from Stalin. The growing crisis of world imperialism and of Stalinism are vindicating the program and analyses of Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International.

The two major historical manifestations of this process are the Social Democracy and Stalinism. The reformist Social Democracy became the prop that saved world capitalism during World War I; Stalinism was mainly instrumental in saving capitalism in the interim between the two wars, during and immediately after World War II. The success of the socialist revolution thus

hinges upon the ability of the working class to discard its official leadership with their treacherous policies and rearm itself with a genuine revolutionary program and leadership.

In *The Death Agony of Capitalism* written in 1938, Trotsky said: "The orientation of the masses is determined first by the objective conditions of decaying capitalism, and second, by the treacherous policies of the old workers' organizations. Of these factors, the first, of course, is the decisive one: the laws of history are stronger than the bureaucratic apparatus."

To the counter-revolutionary parties of Stalinism and Social Democracy Trotsky counterposed the new revolutionary party and International: "The crisis of the proletarian leadership, having become the crisis in mankind's culture, can be resolved only by the Fourth International."

Trotsky's scientific faith in the revolutionary capacity of the working class was always bound up with his certainty that it could develop a party true to its historic aims and interests. During the decades of defeat and betrayal, when the working class was deprived of victory in one revolutionary situation after another, there were many deserters from the ranks of the revolution who announced that the proletariat could play no independent historic role.

These whiners and faint-hearts discovered "new" virtues in either Stalinism or "democratic" capitalism. In every case their loss of faith in the proletariat led to prostration before capitalism or one of its agencies in the working class. Trotsky was not moved by these desertions. He stood by his prediction that the working class would destroy the Stalinist bureaucracy through a political revolution in the Soviet Union and, on a world scale, through the creation of revolutionary parties.

The Second World War has ushered in events that are confirming Trotsky's prognosis with breath-taking sweep and finality. The Chinese revolution, the Yugo-

## \$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 75	\$ 55	73
Chicago	1,500	1,030	69
Newark	500	334	67
Buffalo	1,500	946	63
Akron	150	90	60
Cleveland	350	205	59
Philadelphia	400	231	58
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	590	49
Boston	550	231	42
Los Angeles	2,500	879	35
New York	4,500	1,449	32
Milwaukee	400	118	30
Detroit	1,500	383	26
San Francisco	1,000	251	25
Flint	250	65	24
Youngstown	450	105	23
Allentown	60	10	17
Pittsburgh	30	5	17
Oakland	250	40	16
Seattle	450	72	16
General	385	87	23
Total through Aug. 10	\$18,000	\$7,176	40

slav revolution; the bureaucratically distorted anti-capitalist social transformations in Eastern Europe; the emergence of the European working class from the war organized in mass socialist and communist parties and unions; the inability of capitalism to inflict a crushing defeat on the European workers despite the numerous betrayals of their leaderships; the continued upsurge in the colonial world, which has assumed the proportions of a catastrophe for capitalism; the beginning of the political revolution against Stalinism in Eastern Europe; and the crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy, revealed since Stalin's death, have altered the world situation to the decisive advantage of the working class. Trotsky's faith in the power of the proletarian revolution was fully justified and the frightened skeptics and turncoats have been completely refuted.

### ANALYSIS CONFIRMED

Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism has been confirmed to the hilt by the post-war events. Impressionistic thinkers who never see anything more than the surface of events, will, of course, challenge this as an empty assertion. They will point to the increased power of Stalinism on a world scale and ask how this confirms Trotsky's prediction of its downfall. And they will continue to infer that the choice before the workers is Stalinism or "democratic" capitalism, and not at all capitalism or socialism.

The answer to these impressionists, as is often the case in revolutionary periods, comes in the form of fresh events. The June uprising in East Germany altered the world political situation and raised the level of the international revolution qualitatively by bringing a new force into prominence — the will of the German workers. Their mighty upsurge against the Stalinist bureaucrats and the efforts of the Stalinists to repress it settled once and for all the question of whether Trotsky was right in considering Stalinism counter-revolutionary to the core and whether the workers would rise against it; or whether post-war reality has revealed something fundamentally new in Stalinism and its relation to the workers unforeseen by Trotsky.

### WEAKNESS OF STALINISM

The uprising of the East German workers has demonstrated to the whole world the inherent weakness of Stalinism. If at first Stalinism appeared to be gaining power from the defeats of world imperialism and the revolutionary victories, life soon demonstrated that it was actually being undermined by the spread of world revolution. This is entirely in accordance with Trotsky's basic evaluation of Stalinism as a bureaucracy which maintains its power and privileges as long as it is able to suppress independent political activity of the workers. When it could use the workers' movement as a coin on the diplomatic board, the privileged bureaucratic caste was able to maintain a semblance of stability.

But once the balance of world power between the classes shifted to the disfavor of capitalism, the exploding revolutionary powder kegs blew up the relative stability of the Stalinist world apparatus. For a while this change was masked. To capitalist thinkers, the Kremlin appeared to be pushing buttons and touching off revolutionary uprisings everywhere. But the truth was different. It is clear now that the Chinese revolutionary victory was consummated in direct violation of Kremlin directives to make an alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, just as during the war the Yugoslav Partisans broke in action with the Kremlin's policy of subservience to imperialism and its native agents.

The clearest confirmation to date comes from the heart of the European proletariat. The rise of the most advanced industrial

workers of Europe against Stalinism is not an episodic interlude in the peaceful evolution of Stalinism towards workers democracy and socialism, but the herald of its doom. In East Germany the cleavage between Stalinism and the working class which had been implicit broke out into the open. Stalinism there stands in sharp counter-revolutionary opposition to the masses — despised, rejected and finished as a class party of the workers.

Recent events in the Soviet Union likewise demonstrate the precarious position of Stalinism. Convulsive purges, continued concessions will not stem the tide that is moving inexorably toward the revolutionary overthrow of the bureaucracy by the Soviet masses.

### ECHO OF OLD SLANDERS

The Stalinist slander that the East German workers are "giving aid and comfort" to the imperialists is an echo of the attacks on Trotsky for branding the Stalinist betrayals while the world capitalists were plotting to destroy the Soviet Union. They complained that by opposing Stalinism the way he did, Trotsky gave aid and comfort to the imperialist foes of the workers' state. Trotsky's answer to his slanderers seems to have been written as a reply to the slanderers of the East German workers today.

He explained how the downfall of Stalinism brought about by the political revolution of the Soviet workers, far from aiding capitalism would be a death blow to it. Without Stalinism, the subduer and misleader of workers' revolutions, capitalism would be absolutely helpless before the revolutionary movement of the workers. Just as the American capitalists could not last one day without the help of the labor bureaucracy, so world capitalism could not survive without the Kremlin's international mechanism of betrayal within the working class.

The approaching crack-up of Stalinism, amid the spreading world revolution poses in its full scope the problem Trotsky raised in 1938: "The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat."

### THE NEW REALITY

In 1938 both capitalism and Stalinism were entrenched and the proletariat was reeling from betrayals and defeats; the opposite is true today. The death agony of capitalism is heading for its final paroxysm. Stalinism has been mortally wounded. The deepest wound of all has been dealt by the German workers. The crisis of workers' leadership in 1953 comes when the nucleus of the basic revolutionary vanguard is already assembled under the banner of Trotsky's program and the dynamism of events is thrusting the workers forward. Can there be any doubt now about the capacity of the working class to hammer out a leadership capable of acting as the general staff of the world revolution and thereby resolving the historical crisis of leadership?

East Germany has given a preview of how this "miracle" can be accomplished. The workers of Berlin, Magdeburg, Merseburg and other cities are summoning the world working class to reassemble their forces to make the final push that will topple capitalism from power. By their struggle to destroy the Stalinist bureaucracy, they have given the signal for a powerful working-class offensive elsewhere. When the workers of Europe answer this summons, Trotsky's last prediction, as he fell under the blow of Stalin's pick-axe assassin, will also be realized in life: "I am sure of the victory of the Fourth International. Go forward!"

## General Strike Rocks France to Foundations

(Continued from page 1)

mentators indulged in wish-thinking. They buried the general strike movement in thousands of words: "Most of 2,000,000 workers . . . returned to their jobs," wrote Henry Giniger on Saturday night. But he added that many workers favored continuing "the stoppage until 'complete' success was won, which presumably means the abandonment by the Government of its project."

Volney D. Hurd, of the Paris Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor wrote on Sunday that "all efforts to . . . keep the workers out beyond the announced time failed completely." He said the agitation to "get the workers to keep on striking got exactly nowhere."

But on Monday, he changed his tune: "France's strike situation is definitely growing more serious." The railroad workers came out at the call of the CGT 400,000 strong. And on Monday also, the united front of the three trade union federations reached a new high point when the officials issued a joint declaration in support of the demand of the Socialist and Communist Parties for an emergency session of the General Assembly now on vacation.

### GAINS MOMENTUM

On Tuesday and Wednesday the movement for an all-out general strike gained further momentum. The N. Y. Herald Tribune reported on Wednesday: "the waning strikes of last week have been resumed, and there is strong evidence the workers are more inclined to go out than some of their leaders think wise."

On Thursday the all-out general strike was under way in full force. The N. Y. Herald Tribune said, "It was the beginning of a fight to the finish between the unions and the government, and there was no sign of let-up . . . there was solidly based evidence that a general strike affecting every employed person in France was in the offing." And the N. Y. Times declared: "They are the most impressive trade-union manifestation since the unhappy days of the mid-Nineteen Thirties."

The Laniel government, despite threatening gestures of reprisals against the workers, has revealed nothing but palsy, and stands completely impotent before the white heat of the splendidly disciplined and invincible power of the workers. The decrees that provoked the struggle stem from the desperate plight of decrepit capitalism in France, caught between the hammer of American

Big Business pressure for armaments and war and the anvil of the revolutionary uprising in the colonies. French capitalist economy is sick, bled white by the Indo-China invasion; and Laniel's attempt to climb out of the crisis on the backs of the French workers brought out into the open all the bitterness and hatred for the American-French capitalist war plans and oppressive economic schemes.

### UNITY IN ACTION

The workers have been moving toward a new upsurge since last spring. At that time, strikes in metal plants and in the Renault auto plant in the Paris region resulted in a giant lockout of the 30,000 Renault workers. In this struggle the will of the workers for united trade-union action was being forged. At mass meetings, strike-committee demonstrations and joint actions, the workers of the Socialist, Socialist and Catholic unions created the pre-conditions of the present revolutionary situation and served notice that they demanded unity in action from their officials.

But unity in action in defense of the workers standard of living has begun to forge unity in action on the political field. The trade unions and the workers parties stand together in a solid class formation against the miserable clique of capitalists subservient to Wall Street.

## E. German Gov't Fears New Revolt

(Continued from page 1)

news agency of East Germany stated that "exaggerated" demands of the Henningsdorf steel workers had disrupted "confidence" between the Government and the workers and between the plant management and the employees.

A N. Y. Times dispatch reports that "The Henningsdorf workers marched from their steel mill in the suburbs across the French sector to East Berlin the day of the June uprising. They were reported to have taken a stubborn stand ever since, demanding the immediate implementation of the Communists' long-range reforms and the resignation of the East German government."

(3) This week the purge of the SED (Stalinist party) went into high gear in preparation for a projected decisive counter-revolutionary settlement with the workers.

The following were purged this week: Hans Jendetzky, head of the Berlin organization of the Stalinist party, removed from his post a few weeks ago, now ex-

pelled for "a vacillating attitude" during the June events. Fritz Feiberger, Chemnitz Stalinist leader and Georg Wehner, district secretary, expelled for "showing a wavering attitude toward party policy." Carl Weichold, party secretary of Goerlitz, expelled for "factually supporting the provocations of June 17 and wanted to capitulate." Manfred Schoen, party secretary of Nieske (where the mass trial of 16 leaders of the June 17 movement took place), expelled for the same reason. Six unidentified Stalinist officials in Halle expelled for "capitulationism, treason to the party and working class and assistance to provocateurs." Herbert Paulsen, district leader in Magdeburg, dismissed for "his wavering attitude on June 17."

This internal convulsion of the bureaucracy will not save Stalinism in East Germany. It is the surest sign of the unbroken power of the workers. The crisis in the ruling caste will only create more favorable conditions for a workers' victory.



## It Pays to Fight Back

By Jean Blake

So many people are overwhelmed by the seemingly unchallenged and unhindered drive of reaction today that news of the modern American "resistance movement" must be called to their attention to remind them that the struggle against the police states goes on. What's more, it does pay to "fight back" against the witch hunts, the "loyalty purges," the union-busters and the Negro-haters.

One small but significant gain was reported in the Negro press last week. Fourteen postal employees, suspended in the loyalty purge of 1948-49, refused to be intimidated. They challenged the charges against them and were cleared of "disloyalty." On Dec. 2, 1952, they filed a recovery suit for back pay for the period they were unjustly suspended.

Last week Chief Judge Marvis Jones of the United States Court of Claims signed a court order assuring them a total of \$37,000 in back pay.

This may seem small compensation for the hardship, loss of employment opportunities, and other difficulties imposed on these men, but we are sure all of them feel, and correctly, that their struggle against an arbitrary act was worth while.

The money itself is not important to workers like these postal employees; but at least as important both to them and to all opposed to the drive toward regi-

mentation and intimidation is the fact that these workers said, "They can't do this to us!" and fought back.

Faint hearts and defeatists appalled by the apparent power of those who run this country are incapable of winning even these small victories because they give up before they're licked. And, on the other hand, sectarians who pooh-pooh the day-to-day struggles of the masses as too small and unimportant to bother with lose touch with the cumulative, growing movement of the masses who will be decisive in settling the basic conflicts of our epoch.

Scientific socialists know that small reforms — gains in wages, civil rights legal victories, etc. — are only temporary and insecure so long as capitalism is not eliminated root and branch. But, as Marx himself, the founder of modern socialism, said almost 90 years ago:

Does this mean "that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. . . . By cowardly giving way in their every-day conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement."

## Who's Peace-Loving?

By Joseph Keller

In the shadowy half-world of capitalist propaganda, words take on weird, distorted and fantastic shapes. An example is the phrase, "peace-loving," which all the most heavily-armed and belligerent governments — particularly the one in Washington — claim to be.

Interest focuses on this phrase because delegate to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, has come up with an interesting definition of "peace-loving" in connection with the issue of admission of China to the United Nations.

Lodge recently claimed that admission of Communist China to the UN was "out of the question" because the UN charter specifies that members must be "peace-loving" nations. "Red China is certainly not a peace-loving nation," said Lodge, and gave as his reason why:

"No nation that maintains large armies on foreign soil can be considered a peace-loving nation."

Up to 1949, when the new regime took power, foreign troops — including Americans — were usually quartered on China's soil. The only Chinese troops now outside the official boundaries of China are those in Korea. And these, we will recall, did not enter Korean territory until the U.S. itself was maintaining large invading armies in Korea, North and South, up to the very Chinese border of Manchuria. Was it "war-loving" for the Chinese to resist and drive back an aggressive U.S. army on their border and threatening their Yalu River

power plants? And was it "peace-loving" for U.S. troops to be on this foreign soil pointing their guns in the direction of Manchuria?

By Lodge's definition that a nation "that maintains large armies on foreign soil" is not "peace-loving," what nation would be the first to be kicked out of the United Nations? The United States.

Gen. J. Lawton Collins, Army Chief of Staff, last June summarized in a report to Congress the vast spread of U.S. military forces, bases and military missions to more than half the countries in the world, on six continents, and dozens of islands. According to the summary of this report in the June 12 U.S. News and World Report, American troops "in sizable numbers" are quartered in 49 of the 97 countries of the world. These comprise "more than 1.6 million Americans in uniform."

American bombers are now using "a huge network of 89 major air bases, built or building, in Europe, Asia, North Africa and the Arctic," forming an iron ring around China and the Soviet Union.

Not only continents, but oceans and seas have become the prize of the U.S. "The Pacific is dominated by the American Navy," boasts U.S. News. "So are Europe's life lines across the Atlantic." Even the Mediterranean "too, is something of an American lake, policed by a big U.S. fleet."

According to the definition of its own UN delegate, the U.S. is the most non-peace-loving nation in all history.

## Notes from the News

**ARRAIGNMENT OF EIGHT STALINISTS** in Philadelphia was postponed on Aug. 6 because seven of the defendants were unable to obtain legal counsel. "Guilty by association also applies to lawyers," Federal Judge Alan K. Grim said.

**EUGENE SILER**, former justice of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, announced that he would take legal action to prohibit hiring of Catholic nuns as teachers in Kentucky public schools. In Washington, Nelson, Marion and Casey counties, teaching by nuns in public schools violates the constitutional rights of some residents. Siler said that "nuns are teaching in public schools while wearing the religious emblems of their faith, and in some of the schools the catechism of the Roman Catholic Church is either being taught or made conveniently available to children of all faiths."

**POLICE WERE CALLED** early Monday morning on Aug. 10 when residents of a newly purchased home in Cleveland found their windows broken and a huge tree section thrown on their front porch. Racist hoodlums had obviously been at work. Up to Monday night the police had not answered the call. At noon they were seen talking to a family across the street, but they drove away without calling at the damaged residence.

**CHARLES VERMILLION**, an organizer for the United Mine Workers in the coal field of Clay and Leslie counties was found shot to death in his parked car. Vermillion was among four mine union members shot at from ambush last January. He was wounded in the neck and left leg. Leslie County Judge Elmer Begley said that a passerby found the body and added that an investigation was under way.

**EUROPEAN EDITOR** of the Daily Worker, Joseph Starobin, had his passport revoked on his return from Europe. A State Department spokesman gave as the official excuse for this withholding act that travel by Starobin is not in the "best interests of the United States."

**EDWARD A. FLECKENSTEIN** of New York was arrested in Nuremberg, Germany, Aug. 7 and turned over to U.S. military police. West German police said his passport had expired. In July Fleckenstein told delegates to the founding convention of the National Rally that the Neo-Nazis true friends in the United States were Senators Joseph R. McCarthy, Pat McCarran, Everett M. Dirksen, and William E. Jenner.

**THE SCRANTON SCHOOL BOARD** in Pennsylvania appointed Miss Louise Mitchell as one of the new grade-school teachers. She is the first

Negro ever named to a teaching position in the city's schools.

**TWO BLASTS OF A SHOTGUN** fired by an irate Negro resident scattered a cross-burning mob in Greensboro, N. C., after police had failed to disperse the crowd. Following the incident, four white youths were arrested and Tommy Hughes, resident of one of the threatened homes was charged with discharging a firearm within the city limits.

**STRIKING HEARNS DEPARTMENT STORE** workers voted unanimously to continue their strike until they win a satisfactory contract. In addition to maintaining a militant picket line, the strikers are now appealing to the public in the vicinity of the store with collection cans and petitions.

**RADIO COMMENTATOR**, Jimmy Tarantino in San Francisco was found guilty of slandering a school teacher, Fern Bruner, by calling her a "reported Communist or Communist sympathizer." Miss Bruner was awarded \$55,125. Tarantino admitted on the stand that his charges were based solely on the unsupported complaints of two Benicia women.

**THE INTERNATIONAL BOY SCOUT** jamboree in Los Angeles Jim-Crowed its own members by segregating the Negro Boy Scouts on the camping field.

**A VINDICTIVE MOVE** against the family of William Gerson, who won a directed acquittal last year in the Smith Act trial of 17 alleged Communist Party leaders, is being made by the Department of Justice. It initiated denaturalization proceedings against his wife Sophie Gerson last week. Attorney General Brownell claims she falsely swore she was not a member of an organization teaching the overthrow of the government by force and violence when she obtained citizenship in 1945. Denaturalization would be a preliminary to deportation of this mother of two school-age children.

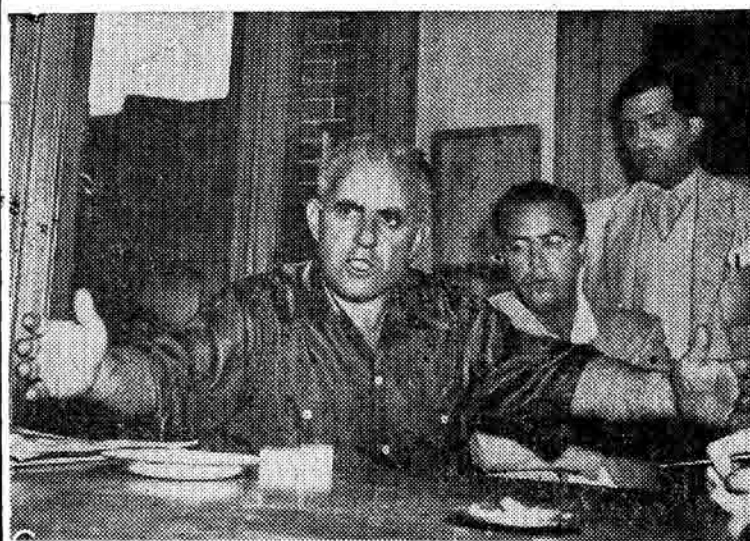
**AN AGREEMENT** increasing wages and shortening the work week, affecting 15,000 workers in 172 shops, was reached between the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union and members of the Pennsylvania Dress Manufacturers Association in the eastern and central state areas. The concessions were won after a three-day strike. Piecework rates were raised 6% and hourly rates for time workers nine cents. The work week was cut from 40 hours to 35. A few workshops in the area continued to hold out against the settlement and were still being struck.

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## "Tough Tony" Takes Over



Anthony "Tough Tony" Anastasia, gesturing angrily, tells newsmen he will toss agents of President Joseph Ryan of AFL International Longshoremen's Assn. into the street if they try to take over Brooklyn Local 327-1 headquarters after Ryan's council ordered Anastasia suspended as Local 327-1 business agent when the notorious water-front brother of the Murder, Inc. executioner announced he was taking control of all 11 Brooklyn locals.

## LONGSHORE ASSN. FACES SUSPENSION FROM AFL

The AFL Executive Council on Aug. 11 voted to recommend to the federation's convention next month suspension of the gangster-ridden International Longshoremen's Association. The ILA would retain its AFL charter, but would be denied benefits of AFL affiliation and face ultimate expulsion.

Suspension of the ILA, explained AFL President George Meany, is proposed because of failure of the ILA leaders, headed by life-time president Joseph Ryan, "to supplant the 'shape-up' by a system of regular employment and legitimate hiring methods, to immediately remove from office union representatives with criminal records and those who accepted gifts and bribes from the employers, and to institute democratic procedures in the conduct of local and international union affairs."

This rare step by the AFL was taken under fire of federal and state crime commission probes into rotten conditions on the New York-New Jersey waterfront. The probes revealed the close collusion between the ship and dock bosses, the ILA top officials under Ryan, professional gangsters and the city and state politicians, to keep down the longshore workers and milk them.

**RYAN MADE SCAPEGOAT** However, as usual with such probes, the chief attack was centered on the crooked union officials. Ryan, who had faithfully served the bosses for so many years, was picked out as the goat on whom all the blame for conditions would be placed. He was indicted for taking for personal use funds given him by shipping firms to "fight communism."

The employers, who had willingly played ball all along with the gangsters, decided they had no more use for Ryan when a series of wild-cat strikes over the past few years forced contract revisions favorable to the workers and revealed Ryan's waning ability to repress the longshoremen.

The probes provided the pretext for the shipping bosses and their political agents to secure state and federal legislation to regiment the longshore workers and give complete control of hiring conditions to the bosses or their agents. A bill signed by Eisenhower last week sanctions a New York-New Jersey port commission to have dictatorial powers to regulate hiring. The bill provides for state-controlled hiring halls and a permanent registration list of dock workers as the basis for a blacklist of union militants and so-called "communists."

**BEGS FOR "TIME"** Prior to the AFL council's suspension action, Ryan had pleaded for more time to "clean up" the union. However, his initial move in that direction — an order for the removal of Anthony Anastasia, notorious gangster whose brother was executioner for Murder Inc., as business agent of Brooklyn Local 327-1 — has been contemptuously defied by "Tough Tony."

Conditions will show little permanent improvement on the waterfront until the ILA rank and file itself cleans out the leadership and wins a system of union hiring halls and rotation hiring.

**PAC REPORT** The Chicago CIO-PAC Citizenship Committee on Housing has issued a report which is a good beginning. It advocates political action by tenants allied with the labor movement, via organization by buildings, blocks, community and citywide. This organized strength will help enforce compliance with the law on building codes, health hazards, fair rentals and upkeep. Organized pressure can be put on governmental agencies for building more low-rental housing units.

This report should get support from all unions, local and national and be extended into a fighting program. The unions have long recognized the problem. The AFL has a permanent committee on housing and has urged legislation for public housing construction. At the recent UAW-CIO convention, President Reuther stated, "... Despite America's tremendous resources as the richest country on the face of the earth, and the knowledge of how to split the atom, and the expenditure of billions and billions for war, there are millions of American families living in slums not fit for human habitation."

The convention adopted a resolution calling on the government to continue rent control and to start a government building project of two million homes a year for five years, at rentals wage-earner families can afford.

Compared to the enormous need, this demand was modest. But the Eisenhower administration demonstrated its contempt for the million-member UAW by abolishing rent control and reducing its meager public housing program of 35,000 units to 20,000. This was a conclusive demonstration of the hostility of "free enterprise" to public housing and of callous contempt for working class needs. But the capitalist politicians took good care of "their own." Interest rates were increased, giving more gravy to the wolf-pack of mortgage holders, profiteering speculators and gamblers in real estate.

## Strike of 1,500 Halts Transport in East Bay

By Paul Williams

OAKLAND, Calif., Aug. 10 — Now going into its third week, the strike of the Key System Bus and Train Operators remains solid. Since noon Friday, July 24, when the 1,500 members of the

## Pass Witch Hunt Bill in Ohio Over Governor's Veto

CLEVELAND, O., Aug. 9 — The final meeting of the 100th session of the Ohio Legislature last Friday passed the Devine bill over the Governor's veto, but the increase in the size of the opposition in the final vote indicates potential support for the next stage of the vitally necessary fight against the anti-democratic measure.

The vote in the House was 92 to 26, an increase of 24 opposition votes over those recorded in the original passage of the bill in that body. In the Senate the vote was 20 to 12, an increase of one. The act goes into effect Oct. 2, 1953.

The law broadly defines "subversive" groups and activities and provides penalties up to \$20,000 fine and 20 years imprisonment for violation. Beginning Jan. 1954, it also turns over the witch-hunting functions of the temporary Ohio Un-American Activities Commission to a permanent agency under a special assistant attorney general.

**STUDY CHALLENGE** Labor and civil liberties groups which headed the movement to defeat the bill are now studying plans for an early court challenge of the constitutionality of the law.

Passage of the measure was deplored in a number of the state's leading newspapers, including the Youngstown Vindicator and the Cleveland Press. In an editorial titled "Sorry Finish," the Press said of the legislature's action:

"At least the 100th Ohio General Assembly was consistent."

"It maintained its shabby record right up to the shabby end."

"Until the final gavel-rap last night, the heavy GOP majority voted exactly the way the bosses told them to."

"The Legislature overrode vetoes on such bills as the highway fund give-away and the so-called subversives control bill, and, as a final gesture of haughty political defiance, refused to okay Gov. Lausche's appointments to the new Highway Construction Council."

"Politics first, and forget the people."

"That was the creed, and they stuck to it."

AFL Carmen's Union Division 192 brought all buses and trains back to the horns, not one has moved. The entire East Bay, from Richmond to Alameda and from Oakland to Hayward is without public transportation; and Bay Bridge train service has ceased operation.

To the union's demand for wage increases of 30 to 40 cents an hour and improvements in working conditions, the company has offered 6 cents, conditional upon a 5-cent fare increase by the State Public Utilities Commission.

## TURN DOWN ARBITRATION

As a final gesture before striking, the union offered to submit the issues to arbitration, only to have the offer coldly turned down by the company.

The Key workers are bitter about the company attitude and determined to stay out until their demands are met. Earning a wage of \$1.64 an hour, confronted with the widespread practice of working split shifts of four on and four off, constantly harangued by roving inspectors insisting that schedules be maintained despite traffic snarls, the drivers finally walked out in mass.

In marked contrast to Key's statements that it cannot afford wage increases, the Municipal Railway in San Francisco issued its yearly report on the day of the strike, showing it had made a profit — this with a base wage of \$1.88 an hour.

Holding a monopoly on East Bay public transport, Key has continuously demonstrated disdain and disregard for the public, causing even the reactionary Oakland City Council to oppose another fare increase.

## EXTORTIONATE FARES

The present base fare of 15 cents, with a nickel added as each "zone" is crossed, bringing total fare up to 35 cents in some instances, is already the highest on the West Coast. The bridge fare of 35 cents is a serious financial burden to the estimated 100,000 workers who have to cross the bay every day to go to work in San Francisco.

Owned by the National City Transit Corp., on whose board of directors sit representatives from General Motors, Standard Oil and Goodrich Rubber, Key has been having a good time buying oil and equipment from itself and bludgeoning the East Bay communities into a continuous round of fare increases for many years.

Key services a community of whom 22% are Negroes, yet has consistently refused to hire Negro drivers and only recently had to reluctantly abolish its open Jim Crow policy.

## REFUSE TO OPEN BOOKS

Both the union and the Oakland City Council have requested that Key open its books and show last year's earnings. The company

flatly refused, stating that its finances are its own business. This certainly does not place its request for another fare increase in a favorable light.

The ability of 1,500 Key workers to back up their demands by paralyzing all public transportation in this area is a heartening demonstration of the tremendous inherent power of the working class.

## Cannery Workers Settle California State-wide Strike

By Lillian Kiezel

OAKLAND, Calif., Aug. 8 — The members of the Cannery Workers Union, an affiliate of the AFL Teamsters Union, voted Aug. 5 to return to work after a week's state-wide walk-out. In Oakland the vote was 11,169 for and 589 against.

The union, which originally demanded a 10 cents increase across the board, settled for a graduated scale of 8 to 10 cents an hour for the six categories of skills that make up the cannery workers.

The highest classifications receive 9 and 10 cents; the lowest-paid, unskilled workers, 8 cents. This brings base pay for these underpaid, seasonal workers up to \$1.32 an hour.

While the union compromised on the wage issue, they refused to compromise on the health and welfare fund, which is part of the health and welfare fund administered by the Teamsters Union under Dave Beck.

When the Cannery Association decided to agree last Saturday on this fund, to which they will contribute \$8.65 a month for each worker who works a minimum of 1,600 hours a year, the union agreed to the compromise on wages.

The agreement also calls for double-time-and-a-half for holiday work.

During the strike, the union members knew very little about what was going on behind closed doors in San Francisco where the negotiations took place with three government mediators.

No leaflets were distributed even when the strike call was made by the union leaders. A large majority of the membership did not even know about the meeting that was called to ratify the agreement.

The strike was conducted in the most bureaucratic fashion, being handled completely from the top with no initiative at all allowed the membership.

## Slum Clearance--Task of Political Action

By Hilda Smith

Within a few short weeks after the scandal over Chicago's slums made the headlines, pictures and stories of the horrors have dropped out of the newspapers. A few worst offenders among the rent-gouging landlords have been given warnings and such ridiculously small fines that — as in the past — it amounts to giving them a license to continue their outrageous practices.

The much ballyhoed plans of the Civic Action groups for reform are — just as we predicted — limited to conservation, the preservation of threatened property values on the rim of the slums. This was the essence of the "slum clearance" measure passed by the State Legislature. Slum tenants get the same old run-around. The real need — new low-rental housing — is left largely to private industry. Such a program is a cruel farce.

Elizabeth Wood, Executive Secretary of the Chicago Housing Authority, testifies to that. She says, "Conservation without new housing is a failure. . . . Every time you conduct a conservation program you give a dividend to the slum landlords because you have given them more customers. . . . forcing people to create new slum conditions elsewhere. . . . More people are being unhoused than housed."

This is the rule under capitalist production. It is an integral part of the anarchy of the profit system. Eighty-one years ago, Engels wrote, "This is a striking example of how the bourgeoisie solves the housing question in practice. The breeding places of disease, the infamous holes and cellars in which the capitalist

mode of production confines our workers night after night, are not abolished; they are merely shifted elsewhere." (The Housing Question.)

To escape from this pestilential tide of misery, Chicago slum dwellers must build a fighting organization of their own. It is imperative that the unions give more than lip-service to this struggle.

**PAC REPORT** The Chicago CIO-PAC Citizenship Committee on Housing has issued a report which is a good beginning. It advocates political action by tenants allied with the labor movement, via organization by buildings, blocks, community and citywide. This organized strength will help enforce compliance with the law on building codes, health hazards, fair rentals and upkeep. Organized pressure can be put on governmental agencies for building more low-rental housing units.

This report should get support from all unions, local and national and be extended into a fighting program. The unions have long recognized the problem. The AFL has a permanent committee on housing and has urged legislation for public housing construction. At the recent UAW-CIO convention, President Reuther stated, "... Despite America's tremendous resources as the richest country on the face of the earth, and the knowledge of how to split the atom, and the expenditure of billions and billions for war, there are millions of American families living in slums not fit for human habitation."

The convention adopted a resolution calling on the government to continue rent control and to start a government building project of two million homes a year for five years, at rentals wage-earner families can afford.

Compared to the enormous need, this demand was modest. But the Eisenhower administration demonstrated its contempt for the million-member UAW by abolishing rent control and reducing its meager public housing program of 35,000 units to 20,000. This was a conclusive demonstration of the hostility of "free enterprise" to public housing and of callous contempt for working class needs. But the capitalist politicians took good care of "their own." Interest rates were increased, giving more gravy to the wolf-pack of mortgage holders, profiteering speculators and gamblers in real estate.

**ROOSEVELT'S RECORD** Lest sabotage of workers housing be attributed solely to reactionaries, let's look at the record of that greatest professional "Friend of Labor," President Roosevelt. In his first term in office he made the dramatic understatement that one-third of the nation was ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. He promised that "providing better homes for the people . . . is the first principle of our future program."

During those depression years the U.S. was plagued by millions of idle men, idle factories, idle capital. All the means, human and material, for solving the housing problem were available — and not being used. The waste was colossal — \$300 billion, translated into needed housing, would have meant a \$12,000 home for each of 25 million families. But such a program would have threatened future profits, so the capitalist money interests took good care that it wasn't done. They preferred the staggering waste.

And as for FDR's noble promises — 95% of the insured homes built by his Federal Housing Administration were for upper-income brackets. Huge profits are made out of the social misery caused by the housing shortage. The record proves that razzle-dazzle moral indignation by reformers and high-sounding convention resolutions are not enough. A fundamental solution demands serious political action by organized labor.

## ENGEL'S WORDS

As Engels summed it up 81 years ago, the housing condition of the workers "is a necessary product of the bourgeois social order. . . . it cannot fail to be present in a society in which the great masses of the workers are exclusively dependent on wages. . . . in which the workers are crowded together in masses in the big towns, at a quicker rate than dwellings come into existence for them. . . . in which therefore, there must always be tenants even for the most infamous possibilities. In such a society the housing shortage is no accident; it is a necessary institution and it can be abolished together with all its effects on health, etc., only if the whole order from which it springs is fundamentally refashioned."

Housing is a social problem. To solve it labor must win the power politically and use it to take care of its own.

A labor government would get rid of the profit-hungry hyenas

of the building industry, the rapacious mortgage brokers, speculators, and profit-gouging landlords who have waxed fat for generations on the extortionate tribute exacted from workers housing needs.

**REQUISITION MANSIONS** The huge mansions of the billionaire parasites, used only sporadically by a few rich idlers and their flunkies, could be requisitioned for temporary relief. Who has a better right to inhabit them than the workers who toiled to create the abundance of this country?

A labor government, run for human welfare, not private profit, would nationalize the archaic building industry. No more such jerry-built swindles as the speculators put up today would be tolerated. The rat-infested, disease-breeding slums would be wiped from the face of the earth.

A labor government would recognize housing as a social problem and would plan for it according to need. It would utilize the most efficient methods, the best materials for construction of dwellings designed for happy, healthful living.

Architects, engineers, technicians, construction workers, all those who know how to build for human comfort — not speculators interested only in profit — would design and build them in planned, landscaped communities with all facilities for recreation and cultural development.

Then the workers who built this land of plenty would at last receive their birthright — in housing as well as in all other good things of life.