

Japanese Unions Ask World Labor Action on Korea

Japan's largest national labor organization, the General Council of Japan Labor Unions with 3,000,000 members, is reported to be issuing an appeal to the trade unions in other countries to launch nationwide movements to end the Korean war.

This heartening news of world significance was reported in an Associated Press story from Tokyo on Feb. 11. It was given exactly one paragraph of space in several metropolitan newspapers in New York.

"Kyodo News Service said today the 3,000,000-member General Council of Japan Labor Unions had decided to appeal to labor unions in foreign countries to launch nationwide movements to halt the Korean war," stated the dispatch.

This anti-war call from the most militant and powerful section of the Japanese labor movement cannot be dismissed easily

'Grave Concern' Voiced by Nehru Over Chiang Move

Voicing the anti-war sentiment of the people of India, Prime Minister Nehru on Feb. 18 bitterly scored Gen. Eisenhower's ominous release of dictator Chiang Kai-shek's troops for attacks on China, saying that it "has caused grave concern not only here, but all over the world."

Nehru branded the "talk of a blockade of China or other such steps" as "obviously not talk of peace, whatever else it might bring."

Without mentioning Eisenhower by name, Nehru said that "a soldier is a very fine person in his own domain, but this intrusion of the military mentality into the chancelleries of the world presents a very great danger."

SWP Candidate in L.A. Makes Anti-War Appeal

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 7 — Myra Tanner Weiss, who has filed as an independent candidate for mayor of this city but who advocates the platform of the Socialist Workers Party, outlined her views this evening over radio station KNK. She made clear in the few minutes at her disposal that her candidacy offers the voters of America's fourth largest city an opportunity to register their opposition to Eisenhower's plans to extend the Korean war.



MYRA T. WEISS

The stenogram of the interview is as follows:

"Could you introduce yourself, Mrs. Weiss, as briefly as you could?"

"I am the Los Angeles chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. I also ran for vice-president of the United States in the 1952 national election campaign. I have been active in the Socialist movement and the labor movement here in Los Angeles for about 18 years."

"And aside from being a housewife, you are a full time party functionary?"

"That is right."

"Do you think in light of the fact that the Los Angeles city elections are run on a non-partisan basis—that is, there is no party label, do you think this will hurt you because you are identified with your party?"

"Not in the least. You see it depends upon what you want in the election campaign. The other candidates, I believe, are looking for a job, but I am anxious to get the socialist ideas before the people of Los Angeles, and what is important for me is to identify myself. What I want to do is to convince the people that we need a new society, a socialist society, and before the people can vote for socialism, they have got to know what it is all about."

"Specifically what is the Socialist Workers program in the city election campaign?"

"It is impossible to separate the city election issues from the national election issues because this city can't solve its own problems separate and apart from the nation. We can begin to find the solution, but only in connection with those national and international problems. For this reason my principal plank in this campaign is in opposition to the Korean war and I am opposed to the present plan to extend the war to the mainland of China. Secondly, I believe that the American people and the city of Los Angeles can make progress only when the working class of this country begins to oppose the rule of Big Business. I think this should be done through an independent Labor Party. Big Business today, through Eisenhower, is ruling directly. Through Tru-

man, it ruled indirectly. It is ruling directly, and it cannot possibly give us peace and prosperity both."

"I believe you ran for the school board here in Los Angeles a couple of years ago, Mrs. Weiss. In light of that, could you tell us what you think of the present school board's recent decision in the UNESCO controversy?"

"I feel the decision there reflects the general trend toward witch hunt and reaction, and an attempt to destroy academic freedom in the school system. I am very much opposed to it for this reason. I am personally not in favor of the UNESCO, because the UNESCO is simply a tool of the United Nations, and the United Nations is the sponsor of the present war in Korea."

"Is the Socialist Workers Party not in any way connected with the Communist Party, is it?"

"No, we are the opponents of the Communist Party traditionally in the working class."

"I wonder if you can tell us frankly what you think your chances are."

"If you mean what are our chances of being elected, I don't believe they are very great at this point, because as I said before, the people have to know what the socialist program is before they are ready to vote socialist, but I think they will vote socialist, if not in this election, then in subsequent elections, because there is no solution offered by either the Republican or Democratic Parties."

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Workers of the World, Unite!

'Bring GIs Home from Korea' Letters Deluge White House

Negro People Urged to Seek Labor Party

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 15 — In a talk at Forum Hall celebrating Negro History Week last night, Richard Kirk stressed one of the main planks in the municipal election platform of the Socialist Workers Party — the need to build an independent Labor Party dedicated to the interests of Negroes, workers and others in the low-paid brackets.

Kirk said that the decision faced by the Negro people today was as difficult as the decision faced by Frederick Douglass in the fight for emancipation from slavery.

Douglass was called upon to break with the Abolitionists and their leader William Lloyd Garrison because they were against political action, Kirk pointed out. Douglass and his associates realized that the emancipation movement was doomed to defeat unless it entered the political arena. Douglass made the hard choice.

Today the Negro people and the workers are faced with a similar hard but necessary choice — either world destruction, degradation and chaos through further support of the capitalist parties; or a beginning of the solution of the problems of poverty, jobs, discrimination and war through independent political action looking to the establishment of a new society of equality and plenty.

Berkeley Socialist Club Announced

BERKELEY, Calif., Feb. 13 — Formation of the Eugene V. Debs Socialist Club was announced through an open letter distributed on the campus of the University of California during the three-day registration period that ended last night.

According to the letter, the new club is primarily concerned about the ominous war plans of the Eisenhower administration. It invites students who want to do something about the "terrible drift towards war and barbarism" to join the club and help "in the struggle for a democratic, socialist world."

The statement brands the Stalinist bureaucracy as a "cancerous growth" in the Soviet Union, but holds that American Big Business is the real "world aggressor."

Unions Face Trap in T-H Amendments

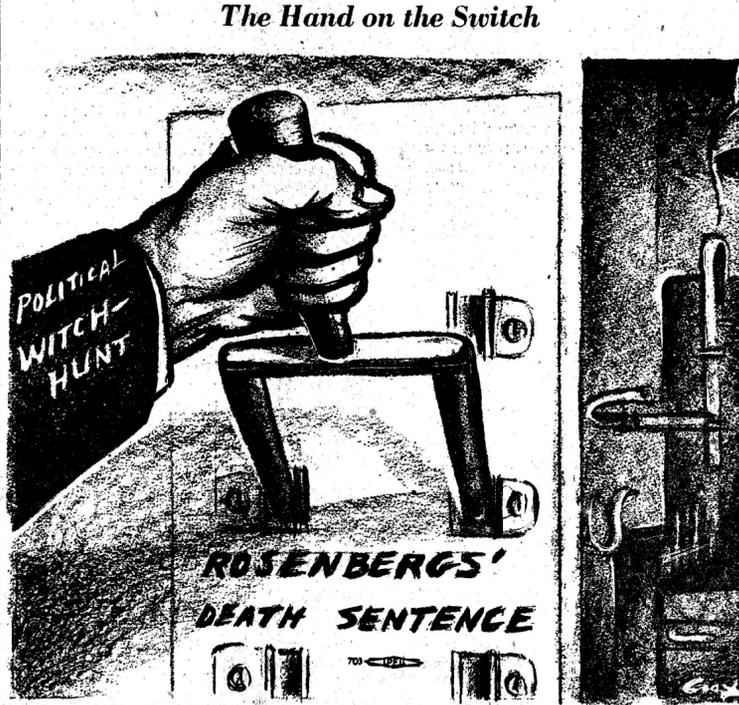
By C. Thomas

The open hearings now being conducted before the House Labor Committee in Washington on amending the union-busting Taft-Hartley law have already disclosed that the gulf between the interests of labor and capital on this legislation is unbridgeable.

Senator Taft, co-author of the anti-labor law, fired the opening gun by submitting a series of 16 amendments which were immediately dismissed by the CIO as "piddling and trivial." Besides being "completely inadequate" a number of Taft's amendments are designed to strengthen the repressive provisions of the Taft-Hartley law.

The CIO is proposing seven "truly fundamental" revisions which Taft has brushed aside with the remark that "they just want to repeal the law."

The Chamber of Commerce, National Association of Manufacturers and other such Big Business outfits are demanding additional restrictions to straight-jacket the unions. Some of their spokesmen in Congress have already introduced bills to outlaw industry-wide bargaining; place a



Save the Rosenbergs!

An Editorial

In the Death House at Sing Sing, in the shadow of the electric chair, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg wait. In New York, their uncomprehending children wait. Throughout the nation, the editors scream: "Pull the switch." And everywhere throughout the world, the wave of protest mounts. Even in this country, where the facts of the Rosenberg case are least known and lies are most widely spread, doubt and protest are rising.

Protests from scientists, religious leaders, jurists, unionists and liberals show that the conscience of America has been touched. It is bothered by the bitter insistence of the wolf-pack on invoking the death penalty for espionage in peacetime for the first time in our history, and in a case where the alleged espionage was committed when the foreign power involved was an ally.

Doubts are rising over the government case itself. The prosecution, unable to demonstrate any actual contact with foreign agents, charged the Rosenbergs only with "conspiring" or "intent" to transmit information. The entire

case rests upon the testimony of one weak mortal, who bargained with the FBI for his own skin. Testimony of the Rosenbergs was called "more believable" than the testimony of David Greenglass which convicted them, by the two top atomic scientists of our day, Dr. Harold C. Urey and Albert Einstein.

Dr. Edward U. Condon, another leading scientist, showed a chief prosecution point, Greenglass' story of a "freehand drawing" he made of a "lense," to be false. He said: "the essence of the lense lies in the precise shape which Greenglass did not know and could not have transmitted by a freehand sketch in any case."

The witch hunters have run wild in America. They have hurled filth, deprived non-conforming men and women of jobs, and clanged the iron doors on the innocent. Now they want blood. Will this be permitted in America?

This nation must hear the truth as the entire world beyond our shores has heard it. In the few remaining weeks, the volume of protest must grow.

The Rosenbergs must not die!

Veil of Secrecy Hides Ominous War Moves From American People

By Joseph Keller

Eisenhower is concealing from the public the fact that the White House is being flooded with mail demanding that he withdraw the troops from Korea and end the war. At the same time, the general has thrown an ominous veil of secrecy over his administration's foreign policy plans since he aroused the world's fears of an extension of the Far East slaughter for his declaration

Support Widens In Fight Against Mich. Trucks Law

DETROIT, Feb. 16 — The Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law is receiving increased moral and material support in its educational and legal campaign to remove Michigan's police-state law from the statute books. The Committee announces that the following CIO United Auto Workers locals have gone on record supporting it.

The Executive Board of Plymouth Local 51 endorsed the Committee and contributed \$100.

DeSoto Local 227 at a membership meeting adopted a resolution supporting the Committee and voted \$100.

Kelsey Hayes Local 78 adopted a resolution endorsing the Committee and contributed \$50.

The Executive Board of Chevrolet Gear and Axle Local 235 went on record in support of the Committee and voted a donation of \$20.

West Side Tool and Die Local 157 at a membership meeting endorsed the Committee and voted a \$25 contribution.

Nationally, more defenders of civil liberties have joined the Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law. Included are: Jack Day, Cleveland, attorney for the Mechanics Educational Society; Charles P. Lucas, Secretary Cleveland NAACP; Rev. Jesse Cavilore, Cleveland, First Unitarian Church; James LeSieur, Akron, Vice-pres. Local 5, CIO United Rubber Workers Union; Rev. Fred Shorter, Seattle, Church of the People; Ray Roberts, Secretary Seattle Fellowship of Reconciliation; Arthur Sternberg, St. Paul, attorney; Dr. Forest Wiggins, former University of Minnesota professor, victimized in the witch hunt.

about freeing Chiang Kai-shek's troops to invade China.

The growing popular demand for stopping the Korean war was disclosed by Joseph and Stewart Alsop, Washington columnists of the N. Y. Herald-Tribune. In their commentary of Feb. 16 they write of the "mounting political pressure to bring the boys home, which is now taking the form of a deluge of White House mail demanding that Eisenhower 'keep his promise' to end the Korean war."

Moreover, a Gallup Poll taken since Eisenhower's inauguration on what people would most like to question him about, reveals that the No. 1 point on the public mind is the Korean war: 54% answered "Korea" and another 7% expressed general concern over peace and avoiding World War III.

TEARING UP PROMISES

In arrogant disregard of the overwhelming popular sentiment, Eisenhower is brazenly tearing up his own election promises. He and his multi-millionaire aides are cooking up plans fateful for the whole future of humanity behind locked doors.

What is Eisenhower hiding from the people?

Nobody knows but the top inner clique of the Wall Street bankers and corporation moguls in the Republican administration. They have "put restrictions of extraordinary secrecy over the discussions with Secretary Dulles and over all future such discussions of the China foreign policy issue" in the Senate closed committee hearings, reported the Feb. 14 N. Y. Times.

Don't the people have the right to discuss the China policy and to know if Eisenhower and Dulles are plotting moves to involve us in a bigger Far East war?

Senator Smith of New Jersey, who chaired the Senate subcommittee's secret hearing of Secretary of State Dulles' report, said it was not desired to let either "the public or the enemy" be informed. He lumps the public with the enemy.

But it is the people they especially want to keep in the dark. There was nothing Dulles had to hide from any other "enemy." Senator George claimed he had heard nothing "that you can't read in your daily paper" and Sen. Taft said he heard "nothing fresh of any importance," according to the Times.

But we have a sinister hint from James Reston, the Times Washington columnist with pipelines into the White House, that there is "much more afoot" than the people are permitted to know and that "events of the most serious consequence are in making. Decisions of great importance have already been taken, involving military risks. . . . Reston says that "this is a solemn moment in the development of American foreign policy." The Alsop brothers in their Feb. 18 column call it "a historic turning point."

The people did not vote for Eisenhower to make secret "decisions of great importance . . . involving military risks. . . ." They voted for him because they believed his implied promises about ending the Korean war without further bloodshed. He lied.

Another aroused American people must bring organized power to bear on the White House and Congress. Demand a speedy, bloodless end to the Korean war! Demand the withdrawal of the American troops from Korea without further delay!

(Continued on Page 2)

WHY DE-CONTROL? NEW POLICY BEGINS

By Harry Frankel

With his action ending price and wage controls, Eisenhower has taken the first step in a Big Business offensive against the labor movement.

This may not be clear at the moment, chiefly because Eisenhower's action does not put an immediate squeeze on the labor movement. As a matter of fact, his action was demanded by the CIO at its last convention. The CIO said that wage controls were oppressive and discriminatory, and price controls had become a farce. Needless to say, however, the reasons which Eisenhower and his Wall Street advisers had for the de-control are different from those advanced by the CIO. The question is: What were these reasons?

It appears to me that the basic motivation for the Republican action was to yank the federal government out of the sphere of labor-capital relations on its old basis precisely in order to prepare its re-intervention later on a new basis.

In his "State of the Union" address, Eisenhower rejected "political expediency," "slanted partisan appeals" and "government paternalism" in the field of "labor relations." Of course it is nothing but typical Republican demagoguery to speak of the past Democratic administration as though it were "partisan" towards labor and against business. The reactionary and anti-labor character of the Democratic administration was becoming increasingly evident to any careful observer of labor's real gains or losses.

But it must be understood that in the twenty years of Democratic rule, a certain mode of operation had developed which was maintained to the end. Because it was tied up in a loose electoral bloc with the unions, Negro organizations, etc., the Democratic Party had to work out a governmental role which gave the appearance of mediator between the contending classes. Thus the Democratic regime, with its ties and obligations, had to create a complicated structure of balances and a network of appearances behind which facade capital worked its will.

However, not in every case were mere appearances involved, and in some important instances the Roosevelt and Truman administrations can be said to have played the role of actual mediator, placing restraints from time to time upon the most battle-minded sections of the capitalist class.

Eisenhower's de-control action is intended to cut off this former role clearly and demonstratively. By dumping former policies, dissolving former agencies, shedding thousands of personnel tied up with the old policy, he at one and the same time cuts away the old role and prepares for federal intervention in the class relations, when it is required, on a more open and unrestrained pro-capitalist basis.

He is aided in this action by the fact that, despite the war program, controls may at the present moment be eliminated without any big immediate repercussions.

It must be added that this was the direction in which the Democrats were heading also, but their progress was impeded by past traditions and structures, and the electoral entanglements involved in its mode of rule. The Republicans—and this was Wall Street's big victory in the elections—were able to install a new regime based on the same reactionary program but without previous alliances and restrictions.

Does this mean that we can expect an immediate all-out drive against the unions? Not necessarily. We are only witnessing the first steps in the deck-clearing process. The progress of the class struggle and the political and economic situation, both on an international and national scale, will however lead inevitably to that stage, and it is this which Wall Street is now beginning to prepare for.

LABOR FACES TRAP IN MOVES FOR AMENDING TAFT-HARTLEY

(Continued from page 1)
An opportunity for amending the Taft-Hartley Act as the one we had just lost.
"I replied: 'In 1953.'"

BIDE THEIR TIME

The labor haters await only a "favorable" opportunity. Such "incidents" as the 1948 coal strike can be created by the employers whenever it suits their purpose. The only effect of the retreat of the union leaders from their previous position of outright repeal will be to embolden the Taft-Hartley gang to push their own amendments. They know that labor is going to get nothing substantial out of their demand for "truly fundamental" revisions favoring the unions.

The Wall Street Journal, Jan. 27, summed up the whole business

by quoting what they call "one old-time Capitol Hill labor expert," who said, "I don't think anything will get through that he (Taft) doesn't want, and when he gets through you can still call it the Taft-Hartley law."

Sixteen candy stores in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn were visited by a delegation who objected to the display of books proscribed by the Decent Literature Committee of Our Lady Help of Christians Roman Catholic Church. Included on the list were comic books, crime novels and pulp magazines. The store owners removed the books from the shelves and posted signs indicating their compliance with the orders of the self-appointed censors.

Killing of Koje War Prisoners -- Atrocities or 'Communist Plot'?

By Art Preis

Hardly a week goes by without more murders and woundings of Korean and Chinese war prisoners in U.S. prison camps. A steady stream of massacres has been perpetrated against POWs confined behind barbed-wire in compounds on isolated, desolate islands off South Korea. The latest massacre resulted on Feb. 9 in death to five North Korean prisoners of war and injury to 19 on Koje Island. "There were no U.N. casualties," reported the Associated Press.

Col. C. C. Cadwell, U.S. commander of the prison camps, complained the killings followed a "deliberate attempt" by the "Communist prisoners" to carry out "the plan to constantly harass the U.N. command." They forced the camp commander to order their wounding and death with gas, concussion grenades and bullets by "shouting Communist slogans in violation of written orders," reported the United Press. These massacres, which have taken a toll of hundreds dead and

more than 1,300 wounded, have been explained invariably as a diabolical Communist plot, engineered all the way from North Korea. The Communist generals pass the word mysteriously to the isolated prison camps and the POWs proceed to hurl themselves into machine-gun fire and under tanks.

This excuse for the repeated mass-murders of unarmed prisoners has appeared completely phoney to most of the world. Therefore, Gen. Mark Clark in Tokyo on Jan. 29 issued a "hitherto secret intelligence study" which "proved" that generals Nam Il and Lee Sang Jo, the two top North Korean delegates to the Panmunjom truce talks, had been "assigned to mastermind the incidents within the United Nations prisoners of war camps." The report claimed they "hold direct responsibility" for the so-called "riots."

TIMELY "PROOF"

This "proof," dug up so conveniently by the U.S. command's own "intelligence agents" from their "interrogation" of POWs was presented to the world only after the facts leaked out about the report of the International Committee of the Red Cross, which had investigated the massacres of February, March and April 1952.

To this day, the capitalist press has concealed the detailed contents of this report from the American public. But we do know of its existence and general findings. A dispatch from Gen. Clark's headquarters in Tokyo to the Dec. 21 N. Y. Times details his reply "to criticism by the International Red Cross in Geneva of the United Nations Command's treatment of the prisoners on Koje Island and in stockades near Pusan earlier this year." These "findings in Geneva" found that "the Allies 'appeared' to have acted in contravention of the Prisoners of War Convention in denying food and water and using force against the Koje Island mutineers." This is all the dispatch permits us to know about the Red Cross report.

On Dec. 23, the Times carried a Washington dispatch reporting that a "State Department spokesman" had complained of the

"recent release" of "documents by the Red Cross in Geneva" that "had provided grist for the Communist propaganda." The Times explains: "The Red Cross had cited incidents at Camp 1 on Koje on Feb. 18, March 13 and April 10. In the last incident, the Red Cross said firing upon prisoners constituted a violation of the Geneva convention."

WHY CONCEAL REPORTS?

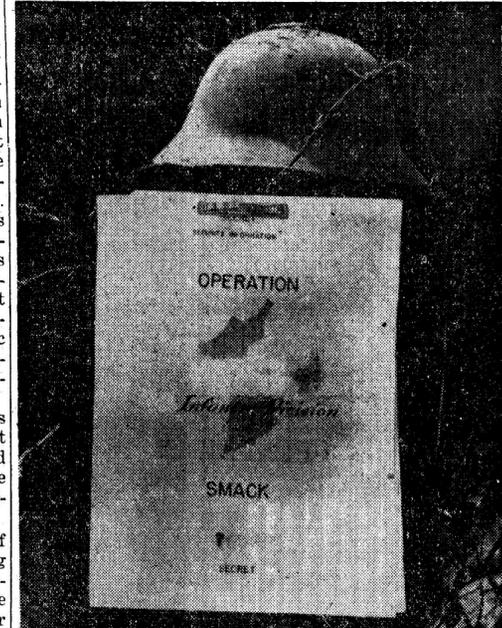
Why do we get only the replies to these Red Cross reports and not the reports themselves? Why is such a careful effort being made to conceal their detailed contents? They give evidence from an independent source showing that the U.S. military's excuses about the Koje massacres are lies.

But the internal evidence of the events themselves also show what a crude fabrication Gen. Clark's "hitherto secret intelligence report" is. Some of the most terrible prison-camp atrocities have been perpetrated against South Koreans and civilians. Thus, on Feb. 18, 1952, some 750 U.S. battle troops entered a Koje compound and slaughtered 81 "civilian prisoners," according to the Feb. 23 AP dispatch. In the most recent major massacre, the killing of 18 prisoners and wounding of 114 on Pongam Island, the Army's own report spoke of a "mutiny" of "die-hard Communist civilian internees."

Did the North Korean general Nam Il direct the "mutinies" of these South Korean civilians? Was he also the "mastermind" behind the "riot" of Chinese POWs on Cheju Island who suffered 52 deaths and 113 injuries when they caused a "disturbance" by attempting to celebrate the third anniversary of the victory of the Peiping government?

Rather than being proof that isolated war prisoners are manipulated by some "master-mind" hundreds of miles away to force their captors to butcher them in order to create incidents "embarrassing" to the U.S. generals, Gen. Clark's "intelligence reports" are evidence only of desperate lying by some one to excuse the U.S. top command's shameful actions against war prisoners.

Operation Smack Program



Shown against barbed wire and helmet background is bound copy of battle orders for Operation Smack, name given to successful infantry raid by U.S. seventh division in Korea. Charge that battle was a show put on for visiting brass and war correspondents raised storm in Congress. It was alleged that the raid on T-Bone hill cost needless casualties.

The Depression Danger and the War Danger

By Harry Frankel
(Last of a series of four.)

Life Magazine, in a typically glossy appraisal of U.S. economic prospects (Jan. 5) said: "Won't everything start collapsing when defense spending declines? The answer is no. The reason is: our economy has been equipped with a number of stabilizers."

This is an often-sounded note in the reassuring articles published these days about the American economy. Like publicity agents for an airline, the businessmen and economists assure the public: "Don't worry. We used to have big crashes, but we don't expect to have any more because our flying machine is equipped with the latest thing in built-in stabilizers. You can soar with impunity, so get on board."

More cautiously, the Commerce Department's survey "Markets After the Defense Expansion" says: "Nothing has taken place which will automatically prevent the recurrence of the traditional downward spiral. . . or keep it from proceeding once it has been set off. The chain has, however, been weakened."

WILL THEY WORK?

(1) Any theory that the present regulations over banking, such as regulation of interest rates and deposits, or over stock and other speculative markets, such as certain restrictions on margin trading, can prevent a collapse is a false one. The crash of speculative markets, the bank panic, etc., were not the causes of the 1929

collapse, but symptoms and consequences of a far deeper process. This can be seen from the fact that, in 1929, the first sign of the crisis was not the stock market collapse, but the beginning of a decline in heavy industry in the summer of that year, five months before the panic. Thus while the tinkering with the financial and credit structure might soften the initial panic impact, it does not touch the basic crisis tendency.

(2) The next class of so-called "stabilizers" refers to those, such as unemployment insurance, social security, veterans' benefits, etc., that are lumped together under the title "transfer payments." These transfer payments came to only 2% of the national income in 1929. That was before most of the New Deal legislation had enlarged the importance of this factor. But in 1946, at the postwar peak of transfer payments, they amounted to only 5% of the national income. It can be seen that this "shock absorber" acts within only a very limited range.

ONE-THIRD OF INCOME

Consider for example unemployment insurance, which is by far the most important of the "cushions" to personal income that would come into operation in case of a crisis. A worker who draws unemployment insurance receives only about one-third of his usual income, on an average. Moreover, this support continues for only 26 weeks, a very short time when compared against the duration of mass unemployment during the last crisis. On top of all this, the unemployment insurance funds at present contain only about \$9 billion, or only a portion of the projected decline in the arms market. Thus the limits on what can be accomplished by this most important of all the "stabilizers" are very tight indeed.

(3) The final "automatic stabilizer" is, we are told, the tax structure. If a decline of consumer income sets in, then tax payments, being tied to income, will be lower, thus restoring consumer purchasing power. This is not a very strong stabilizer either. Under present tax laws, the drop in personal income compared to the drop in after-tax income would be in the ratio of about 20 to 17, in case of a "moderate" depression. This means that, for every \$20 of income drop, the actual drop will

be \$17, due to the fact that taxes will be lower. In other words the decline in personal income can be arrested by about 15% by the lowered taxes. But even that small effect would be lessened in the case of a deeper depression.

LOWER TAXES, HIGHER SPENDING?

There is another side to this tax matter. It is an example of how the capitalist economists like to eat their cake and have it too. When they talk about all the other stabilizers, they assume increased government expenditures, for unemployment compensation, for public works, for bank deposit insurance, for maintenance of farm prices, etc. In other words, for any of these other government props to work one must visualize a great increase in government expenditures. But when they come to taxes, they talk about a big drop in federal taxes that would lighten the load on consumers and increase purchasing power in their hands. How they propose to do both at the same time they do not explain. Nor do they bother to take account of the fact that, while we entered the last depression with a negligible government debt, we would start the next one with a debt of fantastic size.

Thus while we can agree that present government programs of support to income would slightly soften the initial impact of a crisis, they could never hope to significantly retard the progress of such a crisis; nor would their initial effect extend very far into a crisis of long duration.

This series of articles has attempted to estimate the possibility of an economic decline in case the present arms expenditures decline, in the absence of larger warfare, to a "maintenance level." We have found that the prospects, in such a case, are for economic decline and even severe crisis.

WITH A WHIMPER?

A word of caution is now necessary. An extended and deep economic crisis comparable to that of 1929 would certainly, by its effects on European capitalism, by its effect on U.S. social struggles, and by giving the leadership in the world industrial race to the Soviet Union, mark the rapid and final doom of world capitalism. In such a case, socialists would be gratified to find the capitalist world ending, as the poet said, "not with a bang but a whimper."

In the first article of this series (The Militant, Jan. 19) I wrote that "if it becomes clear that a drop in the arms program would initiate even a small-scale depression, then the arms program would be restored even if it became necessary to extend the present war or initiate global war." The threat of depression, coming in absolute concordance with the more fundamental causes of the Wall Street drive towards war, would be an irresistible spur to the capitalists and militarists. The timetable of the U.S. economic boom will very likely be a significant factor, perhaps even the most important factor, in the timetable of the war drive.

THE WAR DANGER

This analysis cannot be taken in any mechanical way. The capitalist class is by no means the master of its own fate, even in the present American situation where it appears to be so much the master. The imperialist war drive may produce a world holocaust long before the crisis tendencies in the American economy burst their present restraints. Or, on the other hand, a sizable economic decline may catch the capitalists unawares before they have launched the war.

But it would be foolish to think that the U.S. capitalist class, with servile tools occupying the top government posts, would permit an economic decline to develop so far as to actually cripple its ability to launch a war and explode giant class battles here. For these reasons, we must regard the foregoing analysis of the depression danger as in reality an analysis of the war danger.

Advanced workers and experienced trade union militants will readily understand the lengths to which American capitalism will go to save its rule. They know the nature of the beast. The recent warnings of the top leaders of the AFL and CIO about the danger of depression are absolutely inadequate. The real danger is world carnage triggered by Wall Street to save capitalist exploitation. The labor leaders close their eyes to this danger, because they are harnessed to the "anti-communist" war chariot. But the socialist workers will carry this message to their fellow-workers: Stop the war drive before it is too late, and stop the depression danger by taking control of American industry out of the hands of the capitalists!

The End

The American Way of Life

New Light on Wilson's Patriotism

C. E. Wilson, former General Motors president and now Secretary of Defense, won't have to sell the old family mansion after all to keep his new job. In fact, he'll be able to buy one or two new ones. His annual net income figures to be HIGHER than it was before, despite the loss of his GM position and the sale of his GM stock.

Last month the newspapers played on our heart strings about how Wilson had demonstrated "\$2,500,000 Worth of Patriotism" when he disposed of his GM stocks, paying a capital-gains tax of \$500,000, and gave up his \$2,000,000 GM salary for the next four years to "serve his country."

Capitalists who sacrifice even a dime for anything — including patriotism — really suffer. So I could see what anguish it must have cost Wilson to make the Supreme Sacrifice of \$2,500,000, even if it still left him \$6,000,000 or \$7,000,000 away from the Poor House.

But even while I got a lump in my throat with the newspaper visions of Old Glory flapping in the breeze over the haloed head of the old GM labor-hater, a little whisper in the back of my mind told me there was something not quite right about this picture.

The famed tiger-tamer Clyde Beatty, musing on the approach of his fiftieth year, recently said: "My reactions are slowing up. . . Those babies are beginning to worry me." And I thought, well, if those cats do get him, it won't be because he's kidded himself about any change in them.

Applying that thought to C. E. Wilson, I asked myself, "Has this typical specimen of a capitalist tiger changed, or have my reactions slowed up?"

I had to confess sadly to myself that perhaps my reactions had slowed just the tiniest bit — especially after I read in the financial section of the Sunday, Feb. 8, N.Y. Times an article by Burton Crane. Mr. Crane gives the detailed facts put together by the well-known tax experts William J. Casey and J. K. Lasser. And what they figure is that Wilson isn't losing, but making on the Defense Secretary deal.

"If Mr. Wilson sells his General Motors stock for \$2,700,000, pays \$450,000 in capital gains taxes and puts the balance into 2½ per cent tax-exempt municipal bonds, his 'take-home' pay will rise under any method of figuring," explains Mr. Crane. "Next year he will get \$22,850 more after taxes than he did as president of General Motors at the peak of his earning powers."

The figures submitted by tax experts Casey and Lasser to the Senate Armed Services Committee showed that if Wilson had gone into the Cabinet and been allowed to keep his GM stocks, his net income after taxes, would have been \$102,500. But by investing the net proceeds from the sale of his GM stocks in tax-exempt municipal bonds — "which seems a sensible thing to do" — Wilson will get an "after taxes total of \$145,600, or a favorable difference of \$43,000," explains the Times financial writer. "By this method of figuring, that last total is actually \$26,100 higher than the total he would have received as president of General Motors, drawing full salary."

So, I guess I can wring out my crying towel and hang it up to dry. The tiger hasn't changed his stripes. The capitalists aren't turning soft, either in the head or heart. We still need socialism.

Lewis Peterson

THE MILITANT ARMY



Literature Agent Jacki Booth writes that the Chicago comrades are making plans for the extension of regular Militant sales at street corners, college campuses and union meetings. "We have already started some sales at Roosevelt College, UAW Local 719, and two street corners. Participating in these sales have been Don and Muriel, Belle, John, Kenny, Mary Lou, Ines, La-Flora, Bob and myself. Other work includes a distribution of papers at Harvester by Marj and continued sales at the Post Office News Bookstore."

F. V. of Detroit, Mich. also wants to express his appreciation of The Militant. "Thank you for the reminder that my subscription is expiring. I wait patiently each week for the paper. There's nothing like it anywhere."

D. S. of Portland, Ore. especially liked the recent articles by Harry Frankel. He writes, "In fact all The Militant is very good information and also true. This system is at the end of the road and living on borrowed time so give 'em hell and lots of it. You are not alone."

Many thanks to A. M. of Van Anda, B. C., for his donation of 75c to help pay the printing costs of The Militant. Our sincere thanks also to J. I. of Buffalo, N. Y. for his contribution of \$2.

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Asians Against Whom?

During his election campaign, General Eisenhower first raised his slogan, "Let Asians fight Asians." This was intended to convey the idea that there are vast forces in Asia eager to fight "communism." All they would need is arms and supplies, plus U.S. commanders and military training, and these "anti-Communist" forces would be able to replace American troops on the battle lines.

This is an alluring idea to desperate mothers, fathers and wives ready to grasp at any means to save their loved ones in Korea. By projecting this idea, Eisenhower hopes to blunt the edge of the popular demand to end the war and bring the American troops home from Korea. If the people will just accept the war a little longer, Eisenhower implies, soon a great force of Asians themselves will take over. Meanwhile, of course, the U.S. troops will continue on the battle lines in full force.

This whole proposition is a fraud and one of the cruelest deceptions ever practised on the American people.

Take the people of South Korea, whom U.S. bombers are supposed to be "liberating." Eisenhower is trying to sell the idea that they will provide a force, in time, to relieve all or most American troops from the front lines. The potentialities of the South Koreans as holders of U.S. battle lines are more accurately disclosed, however, by the Scripps-Howard staff correspondent in Korea, Jim G. Lucas. Writing from Seoul, Feb. 6, Lucas reluctantly admitted:

"The truth is that the Koreans are sick to death of war. . . They know mainly that they have never shared their burdens, their misery or their privations. We eat well; they never get enough. Since we came here, their homes have been destroyed, their rice paddies trampled. This has been going on three years. They are often afraid of us. . . They do not understand us. In their hearts, they associate us with all that has happened since 1950 and wish we had never come. . ."

The greatest non-Communist nation in Asia is India. Will the people of India fight as "Asians against Asians?" Their views are reliably reported by Taya Zinkin, Bombay correspondent of *The Wall Street Journal*, in a Feb. 13 dispatch on India's reaction to Eisenhower's threat to use Chiang Kai-shek's troops against China: "The Eisenhower administration's new 'get-tough' policy in Asia is being almost unanimously condemned by the people of India — the country whose views often provide the lead for the rest of South East Asia."

Far from any serious prospects of Asians fighting Asians for the benefit of Wall Street's war in the Far East, the probabilities are the other way around. The overwhelming majority of Asians hate U.S. business interests, their striped-pants diplomats, arrogant brass hats and invading troops. All they ask is that the Americans go home and leave them alone.

Productivity and Wages

The National Association of Manufacturers, in a Feb. 8 statement, came out against wage increases based upon rising productivity of labor. They insist that it is too hard to measure increases in output per man-hour of labor, and therefore it is not proper to give workers more pay in return for the higher output they produce.

The American Federation of Labor, in a statement issued the same day, called for pay rises as a means of heading off a major depression in 1954 or 1955. They said there is an "ominous disparity" between how much workers are able to produce and how much they are able to buy.

It is true, as the NAM says, that it is very hard to measure productivity increases for any single year. But it is very easy to estimate productivity increases on an average over a period of years.

All estimates agree that output per worker-hour has been going up at a rate somewhere between 2 1/2% and 3 1/2% per year for the past dozen years. Since 1946, the product produced by each worker in an hour has risen, on the average, about 22%.

Now what about consumer purchases in the same period? Sumner H. Schlichter, Harvard economist whose work is authoritative at least in business circles, pointed out in the February issue of *Harpers Magazine* that "per capita purchases of consumer goods by the American people have been virtually stationary for six years. . . in the third quarter of 1952 the physical volume of consumer goods bought per capita was less than 2% higher than in 1946."

Thus the American Federation of Labor is right when it says that this "ominous disparity" can lead straight to a depression. But is the AFL right when it says that higher wages can avert the possibility of depression? All depressions under capitalism have been preceded by high wage periods, but the crashes were not thereby averted. Should the disparity between productive capacity and consumption be corrected by big wage increases, this would lead to such a sharp decline in the rate of profit that investment would shrink and a depression be precipitated by a slightly different course.

That is one of the insoluble problems of the capitalist system. But it should not stop workers from demanding wage increases commensurate with their increases in production. If this leads the capitalists into trouble, that is their funeral, not ours. If the capitalist system can't give the workers a rising standard of living based on higher production, then it's time to replace it by a system that will.

Put the Killer Cops Behind Bars

Police brutality against strikers, Negroes and other minority peoples is no new story. It flourishes because almost always superiors support and cover up the brutal actions of their cops.

This is shown by the virtual impossibility of getting justice in a police brutality case. Investigations of crimes committed by the Police Department itself, almost invariably end in a whitewash. Now it has been revealed that the cover up for police brutality in New York also involves federal officials.

As you might suspect, federal protection in this field is pretty toothless. The maximum penalty under the federal law is one year and \$1,000 fine.

But even this weak federal law seems to irk New York's "finest." According to sensa-

tional revelations, they made a deal exempting them from federal investigation of any charges involving police brutality.

Let us recall just a few samples of the tiny percentage of cases involving broken bones, bleeding flesh and dead men.

John Derrick, Negro veteran, celebrating his discharge from the army, killed by police. The killer cops assert, contrary to what eyewitnesses say, that Derrick attempted to draw a gun. First search of his warm body revealed no gun. A cop leaves the scene, returns later, another search is made and this time a gun is "found" on Derrick's body. Over \$1,000 in back pay and mustering out pay Derrick was carrying was never found.

Herman Newton, Negro, killed by New York police. Departmental investigation exonerates the killer cops. An impartial jury hearing the evidence awarded Newton's widow \$50,000.

John Harvey Brown, Negro, beaten by cops and paralyzed for the rest of his life. Awarded \$60,000 by a jury.

Dozens of similar cases have been whitewashed by the Police Department and marked "closed." In the light of the revelation about a secret deal, they should be re-opened — every one of them.

Already the basis exists for prosecutions of New York police officials and a former Assistant Attorney General for conspiracy to deprive New Yorkers of federal civil rights protection. These guilty public officials should be suspended at once from office and prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

And just to make sure that the heat stays on the Police Department, every organization and individual interested in civil rights should keep up the pressure for action. It's high time that sadists and dehumanized brutes in blue uniforms were taken off the police force and put behind bars where they belong.

THE ROAD TO PEACE

This pamphlet by James P. Cannon is must reading for anyone opposed to another war. It explains why peace cannot be won by following the Stalinist program and outlines Lenin's real views on this life and death question, with particular application to America.

25 Cents

Stalin's Frame-Up System And the Moscow Trials

By LEON TROTSKY

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Wall Street's NATO Headaches in Europe

By Charles Hanley

The American plan for the military setup in Western Europe is based on the re-militarization of Germany, the strengthening of the armed forces of all the Atlantic Pact nations, and the integration of all the Western European forces into a European Army under a unified command dominated by American brass. Some kind of political and economic organization is projected to provide the military system with more stability.

Carrying out this ambitious program is one of the major headaches of the U.S. Government. New obstacles arise almost every week. Many Germans, for example, even among the capitalists are reluctant to spearhead a future attack against the Soviet Union. Most workers do not want to see the pro-fascist generals reactivated nor the hideous image of Teutonic militarism, reappearing under another label.

Erich Ollenhauer and the other reformist leaders of the German Social Democratic Party demand that Germany be given "equal rights and equal duties" with the other NATO members in a collective European defense system. They basically agree to military collaboration with the imperialists, but not under the present conditions.

On the other hand, numerous German generals and bourgeois nationalists favor a German Army under its own autonomous high command that would not be completely integrated into a European Army. These elements obviously want to revive the traditions of the Wehrmacht. West German President Heuss, however, is uneasy about the entire rearmament plan and, wishing to delay ratification of the American-inspired "Peace Contract" and "European Defense Community" by the Bonn parliament, appealed to the German Constitutional (Supreme) Court in 1952, asking it to determine whether or not adherence to that military system is contrary to the new German constitution.



Gen. Eisenhower, assigned by Truman to speed up construction of NATO, now finds it in a state of crisis. He is pressuring his allies to resume the break-neck pace he originally set down.

Chancellor Adenauer then urged the President to withdraw his appeal and succeeded in suspending the Court's action, temporarily at least. Adenauer does everything he can to get the defense treaty ratified; but even if he should succeed in finally winning the necessary parliamentary support for his (and Washington's) policy, the actual recruiting of German troops could hardly start before 1954, as authoritative observers have pointed out.

ON PAPER

Up to now, the 12 German divisions exist only on paper, and the unified European Army is essentially a paper army, too. It is part of the situation's irony that the Allied occupation of Germany has encouraged the resurgence of Nazism, but that the Nazis do not want a new German Army to be a tool of American imperialism.

They dream of an armed neutrality which would permit them to become the arbiters of the world, to rebuild a new German imperialism, to eventually

sell their assistance to the U.S. at the highest possible price (recognition of Germany as a world power, independence of the Wehrmacht command) and to even come to an agreement with Stalin if this should be more advantageous to them.

The U.S., Britain and France therefore show some concern about the activities of Nazi generals like Remer and Ramke and Nazi politicians like those who were recently arrested by the British. Adenauer and his regime are still the best allies the imperialists have in Central Europe.

NATO CRISIS

"The military shoe is pinching Europe and she does not want to wear it," states Hanson W. Baldwin, the N. Y. Times military expert. The military forces and armament efforts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "though formidable, are still inadequate in size. . . Their fusion into one efficient combat organism is another major problem.

Defense expenditures are already 30% to 40% of the budget in the traditionally anti-militarist Norway, 30% in Denmark, 29% in The Netherlands, 25% in Belgium, 34% in France, 37% in Britain, 29% in Italy, 43% (!) in poverty-stricken Greece, 38% in Turkey. It is unlikely that these countries will be able to considerably increase their defense spending; yet they have not reached the goal set by American imperialism for 1952. This is due to economical and financial difficulties and to widespread popular opposition against all-out rearmament.

The crisis described by Baldwin is not merely "the product of national and service rivalries," but also of conflicting political trends inside the main European NATO countries like France and Britain. It is true, of course, that these also reflect the national rivalries between capitalist powers.

The German question haunts the French government. The Pinay-Schuman cabinet, despite

some misgivings, clearly approved the notion of a European Army in which Germany was to participate with twelve divisions, and warmly advocated the Franco-German coal and steel pool. The attitude of the Rene Mayer cabinet is more complicated. It takes into account the alarm of numerous French capitalists about the growing industrial strength of West Germany and its threatening competition and the Gaullist demand that France's armed forces remain autonomous and undivided.

In fact, Mayer, a representative of the big banking interests, was approved by the Gaullists only after he had promised them to have ratification of the "European Defense Community" delayed until he obtained from the U.S. an amendment undoing it to a certain extent by admitting the autonomy of the French forces in that "community."

The Saar question and the Indo-Chinese war are further hurdles which the French Government finds on its road. Many French politicians demand that the industrial and mining region of the Saar be definitely made a part of the economic and (if possible) political structure of France as a price the French capitalists should receive for permitting a new development of Germany's heavy industry and a rebirth of its military forces. Of course, the Germans are reluctant to completely abandon all their hopes concerning the Saar basin. Chancellor Adenauer does not exclude a compromise solution but cannot agree to a pure and simple renunciation of German claims.

The "dirty war" in Indo-China is an even bigger headache. A heavy drain on the financial and manpower situation of France, it continuously undermines the morale of the armed forces. Half of its 12 active divisions are stationed overseas and not available for the "Atlantic" defense system. And the activity of the North African Nationalists also requires the presence of French troops if the French bourgeoisie wants to keep its rich colonial empire a little longer.

bringing a controversy on military matters existing between him and Prime Minister Churchill. For economic reasons Britain has been obliged to somewhat reduce the tempo of its armament drive.

Most of the NATO powers have been unable to completely fulfill the armament quotas established by the NATO council under American pressure. Imperialist states like France and Britain have world-wide commitments; other nations like Italy do not possess sufficient military equipment and material resources. NATO's defense line is stretched from Norway to Turkey, and its 2,400,000 men in uniform are no overwhelming force for such a gigantic front. Its main strength is naval.

Naval power is a formidable protection for the U.S. and Britain but cannot shield continental NATO states against invasion; nor can it give them a feeling of security. As for atomic bombers, they only inspire among the European masses a ghastly fear of retaliation. These people do not want atom bombs to fall on Paris and Rome. They hate all the war preparations imposed on them by U.S. imperialism. This attitude is also reflected in the morale of soldiers all over Europe — in France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway and Greece.

UNABLE TO UNITE

Structural differences make the European Army a goal which will be difficult to attain. The rivalries between European capitalists constitute the basic reason for the failure of all attempts to set up a united capitalist Europe. A real United Europe in which the sovereign rights of the member states would be effectively limited, can hardly be created by the pompous resolutions and speeches of the Strasbourg "European Assembly."

U.S. imperialism is interested for military reasons in the unification of Europe; but the European capitalists, America's allies, are not. Military unification calls for corresponding measures in the political and economic sphere. But capitalism is unable to unite Europe. Only a socialist Europe can destroy the economic and political barriers that still exist.

Decaying capitalism is the only ally the Wall Street billionaires and their government have in Europe. It is not an enthusiastic ally. And it cannot do all the things the State Department wants it to do. That is NATO's fundamental problem.

Mao Regime Persecutes Chinese Trotskyists

PARIS, France, Feb. 10 — The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, world party of the socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, today protested the repressive measures taken in China against its members.

In an appeal addressed to the Central Committee and to the members of the Chinese Communist Party, the leadership of the Fourth International called for a halt to the arrests and executions of Trotskyists because of their revolutionary socialist beliefs.

The text of the communication is as follows:

For the second time we are obliged to address you as well as world proletarian opinion to protest against the repressive measures which are striking down the Chinese Trotskyist militants.

Once more alarming news comes to us from our Chinese comrades telling of searches, arrests and even executions. In Shanghai, Canton, Peking and other places, Trotskyist militants have been victims of these repressions. They are rounded up indiscriminately along with counter-revolutionary elements in the service of the feudal-capitalists and imperialism.

We protest with utmost vigor against these actions which copy the methods used elsewhere against Trotskyists by the servitors and co-disciples of the Soviet bureaucracy and Stalin.

The Trotskyists, organized in the Fourth International, are for the unconditional defense of China against imperialism, as well as for the defense of all the conquests of the Third Chinese Revolution against the actions of the native feudal-capitalists and their agents.

In all capitalist countries, especially the United States and England, the Trotskyists are conducting a struggle against the imperialist intervention in Korea and China, for recognition of the Mao Tse-tung government, for freedom of trade with China, for help of every kind to the Chinese Revolution.

In Ceylon it is the group of Trotskyist deputies who have headed the struggle for trade with China. The Ceylonese Trotskyists, Edmond Samarakoddy and Hector Fernando, participated in the recent Peace Conference in Peking and defended the unity of all the masses of Asia and of the world against imperialism and for the defense of China.

In China itself, ever since the Second Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 the Chinese Trotskyists have everywhere stood for the

overthrow of the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime, for carrying through the agrarian reform, for establishing a genuine Workers and Farmers Government, for the Socialist revolution in China. In this struggle with the class enemy, the Chinese Trotskyists have had profound political differences with your leadership, with the policy — dictated by Stalin — which your leadership followed of compromise with Chiang Kai-shek and of confusion on the class character of the Chinese Revolution and its leadership.

Trotskyists have always intransigently defended the position that only the struggle of the peasant and working masses, led by the political party of the proletariat and expropriating politically and economically the native feudal-capitalists, could bring about a genuine victory; and that, in this sense, the only revolution possible in China is the proletarian revolution led by the proletariat, establishing a proletarian power and developing under this regime into the Socialist Revolution.

TROTSKYISTS LOYAL

We leave to history to judge whether this struggle we have conducted, despite the calumnies and persecutions, has been confirmed or not by events. In any case, do you believe that precisely this struggle merits now the extermination of the Trotskyists? Or perhaps that their presence, a living witness of your past errors, is now more embarrassing than ever?

Today the Chinese Trotskyists, after the victory in fact over the feudal-capitalists and the establishment in fact of a power which claims to be of the working class, are ready to work loyally and openly in the framework of proletarian democracy for the completion of the revolution.

Independently, moreover, of your attitude toward them, they are working in this direction, not confusing the revolution, the social and political conquests of the revolution, with the present political leadership in the country and all its actions.

This leadership, imitating the power of the Soviet bureaucracy and submitting to its pressure, can disfigure the face of proletarian democracy and pitilessly track down every proletarian tendency which does not share its point of view on the past or on how to complete the revolution today.

The Chinese Trotskyists nevertheless will not range themselves

against this leadership. They will continue to defend it, while at the same time working toward the following ends: that genuine proletarian democracy — the premise and guarantee of genuine victory and genuine proletarian power — be established in the Committees, the Party and the Trade Unions; that the Committees of Peasants and Workers be democratically elected and not appointed, and that they become the real base of a new proletarian state apparatus; that the party which claims to be the party of the proletariat function democratically and allow free manifestation of tendencies which may on occasion be in disagreement with the line of the leadership; that in cases where such tendencies reveal themselves to be incompatible with life in the same party, they have the right to constitute themselves as a separate proletarian party; that the trade unions remain primarily organizations for the defense of the rights of the workers, that they may on occasion be in opposition to the state that claims to be the proletarian state, and that they do not become mere instruments of this state for "disciplining" the workers and speeding up their output.

Outside of this essence of the genuine proletarian dictatorship there is no guarantee of the harmonious flowering of the proletarian and socialist revolution, no guarantee that the proletariat may not be expropriated politically, as happened in Russia, to the benefit of a bureaucratic caste.

We struggled in Russia against the bureaucratic disfigurement of the revolution. We will struggle in China against a similar process.

With the aid of ever more important and decisive victories which the masses of the world will win over imperialism, we are certain that this bureaucratization will be halted and definitively vanquished.

Communists, Revolutionary Workers and Peasants of China: Prevent your revolutionary power from following the road of the Soviet bureaucracy!

See to it that genuine proletarian democracy reigns in the Committees, the Party and the Trade Unions!

Protest against the repressive measures taken against the Trotskyists, whose program and ideas were and are the revolutionary conscience of the proletariat!

Long Live the Chinese Revolution!

Long Live the World Socialist Revolution!

OTHER TROUBLES

Five British divisions are in European areas and six overseas. The British Army is modern and undoubtedly one of the best among the NATO forces. The British government objects, however, to its integration into a European Army, while Field Marshal Montgomery has come out in favor of this measure, thus

World Events

DENMARK'S EXTENSION of the draft term from 12 to 18 months stirred militant protest in several Army garrisons Feb. 16. Hundreds of soldiers tried to march toward Copenhagen while 200 enlisted men went on a hunger-strike at Aarhus.

A BRITISH journalist, D. W. Brogan, who has lived in America for nearly 28 years, writes in the liberal *Manchester Guardian* Feb. 12: "I am sometimes asked what is the greatest change in American life. . . And my answer is always the same: . . . the militarization of the country. . . and the tenfold increase (of the armed forces) is really one of these changes from quantity into quality that Hegelians and Marxists talk about. . ."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL complains that the drop in American wheat exports is speeded by American aid to foreign countries. Turkey, for instance, modernized its farming methods after World War II under the guidance of American farm experts. Now Turkey exports some of its wheat to neighboring countries — in competition with American wheat.

THE YUGOSLAV Government disclosed that the U.S. Mutual Security Agency is considering proposals for allocating funds to Yugoslavia for a long-term investment in industry and agriculture as well as direct food and defense aid. The Feb. 13 N. Y. Times, reporting this from Belgrade, adds that Yugoslav officials are thinking of the possibility of permitting foreign private investments under limited conditions.

ASIAN-AFRICAN members of the UN held a meeting Feb. 13 in New York to discuss the Korean question. They decided to abandon efforts to approach it on specific issues like the prisoner-of-war repatriation. "The delegates felt a general apprehension over the possibility of an extension of the Korean war to the Asian main-

land," says the N. Y. Herald Tribune.

THE SOVIET UNION broke off diplomatic relations with the State of Israel Feb. 12, using a terrorist bomb attack against the Soviet Legation in Tel-Aviv as a convenient pretext, although this incident was provoked by the Russian and satellite Stalinists' current anti-Semitic campaign.

RESISTANCE to the Malan Government was called for by members of the African National Congress. Bearing banners reading "Freedom in Our Lifetime," they paraded past the parliament building in Capetown Feb. 15. The native Africans are supported by the South African Indian Congress and the Franchise Action Council (persons of mixed blood). The capitalist opposition "United Party" surrendered to Malan's demands for dictatorial powers, preferring his segregation program to racial equality, which they fear would affect their economic interests.

BOLIVIA'S UNION of Factory Workers demanded the expropriation of the Cochabamba newspaper *Los Tiempos*. Nationalization of that paper is, however, opposed by the other capitalist papers and by President Paz Estenssoro. *Los Tiempos* was shut down during the revolutionary upsurge last April because of its notorious anti-labor and pro-trust propaganda.

THE MEXICAN authorities are facilitating the illegal emigration of agricultural workers (so-called "wetbacks") to the U.S. by withdrawing border escorts that used to prevent them from crossing back over the border after their deportation by the U.S. immigration service, according to the Feb. 6 *Christian Science Monitor*. The Feb. 15 N. Y. Times says an average of 175 Mexicans enter the U.S. illegally every hour of the day. The extreme poverty in Mexico and the American demand for cheap farm labor are responsible for the mass emigration to the U.S.

By Jean Blake

The current Stalinist anti-Semitic purge demonstrates again how completely the Communist Party has abandoned socialist aims and methods.

American Negroes in great numbers lost their illusions about Stalinism when the Kremlin provided materials to Mussolini for his imperialist attack on Ethiopia.

And today others are thinking, "If the Soviet State can sink to anti-Semitism, what guarantee is there that they wouldn't use Negro-baiting, too, if it served their purpose?"

There is no guarantee. Not even in the fact that one aspect of the anti-Semitic campaign is the attempt to curry favor with Arabs by exploiting their anti-Zionist feeling.

How does all this affect the Negro struggle

in America? Well, on the one hand it should end remaining illusions and confusion in the ranks of the Negro movement about Stalinism.

On the other hand, it will not help the Negro struggle to jump from the frying pan into the fire by lining up in the camp of Wall Street as a protest against the betrayal of the cause of the working class by Stalinism.

Cynicism of the type that says, "Socialists, Communists, fascists, Dixiecrats, capitalists — they're all alike!" is based on ignorance. It cannot be substituted for scientific solutions to the problems of the Negro struggle.

And with such an approach we must conclude as before that capitalist class division and class exploitation is the basis today for pitting white against black, Christian against Jew, nation against nation.

The whole history of capitalism has demonstrated this. Now the Kremlin is making it clear that the solution to the problem of capitalist discrimination is not to be found in Stalinism.

Anti-Semite Lauds Stalin

By David Swenson

The Daily Worker, which voices the opinion of the Communist Party, is not the only publication in the United States that supports the recent judicial frameup in Prague of 14 Czechoslovakian Stalinist leaders.

The Dec. 1, 1952, issue of Common Sense, a vile anti-Semitic rag published in Union, N. J., joins the Daily Worker in approving the legal lynching of what it calls the "Trotsky-Zionist conspirators."

In the opinion of George Thomas Adams, fascist-minded author of the article, the current purge shaking the Soviet bloc is a praiseworthy effort by the "gentiles" to throw off the "Jewish yoke."

The principal critics of the Czech trial, according to this perhaps unexpected applauder of the bestial actions of the Kremlin, are "the Trotskyites" and "the Warburgs," who, in his world of poisoned fantasy, are trying "to persuade Eisenhower to declare war against Russia to keep the Jews from being punished for their crimes."

The present purge is interpreted by this typical American disciple of the Mein Kampf tradition as a continuation of the struggle of Stalin against Trotsky, a struggle in which he thinks Stalin was completely justified.

If you can stomach it, read the following

Notes from the News

NON-UNION COAL companies have met United Mine Workers efforts to organize in Leslie County, Ky., with a reign of terror. Since last June there have been 36 dynamitings of homes, automobiles and stores in addition to numerous shootings, according to the Feb. 15 United Mine Workers Journal.

THEY WANT BLOOD. White supremacists have raised a clamor in Georgia because the State Pardon and Parole Board reduced the sentence of William Oglethorpe, Negro and Korean war veteran, from death to life imprisonment.

STATE DEPT. BACKS DOWN. The attempt to rescind the passport of Dr. James H. Robinson, prominent Negro clergyman, has been abandoned by the State Department following the campaign of protest that culminated in a mass meeting at Harlem's Church of the Master.

WHAT ABOUT THE PRINTERS? The Texas Board of Education has authorized the Education Commissioner to ask textbook publishers to "indicate whether or not each of the authors, illustrators and editors of the books submitted can qualify" as non-subversive.

CONGRESSMEN and Senators are planning to raise their own pay again, according to the Feb. 14 Wall Street Journal. To side-step criticism they are thinking of appointing a "non-partisan commission of outstanding citizens" to "suggest a fair scale of pay and allowances."

THE CIO POLITICAL Action Committee on Feb. 13 published the first issue of Roll Call, a pocket-size magazine. Put out from time to time, it will deal with Congressional debates and actions.

LIBRARY PURGE UPHELD. Librarian Ruth Brown and Trustee Darlen Essary, who were fired from their jobs in Bartlesville, Oklahoma, for allowing "left-wing" books in the library, have lost their suit against the city government.

BOMBINGS or attempted bombings resulting from racial or religious prejudices totalled at least 68 in the period 1949-52, according to the report of the Tuskegee Institute. Forty-nine of the bombings were against Negroes, eight against Jews and one against a Catholic church.

SENATOR McCARTHY is leading an attack on the liberal Washington Post. He called it "the Washington Daily Worker," in a recent interview. His witch-hunting pal Representative Velde, chairman of the House Un-American Committee, declared that a speech on academic freedom delivered by Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, wife of the Washington Post's editor, was "typical of those being made by intellectual pinks and others following the Communist Party line."

STEVE NELSON, who has spent the last eight months in prison on a 20-year sentence for "sedition" because of his Communist Party membership, was granted \$20,000 bail by the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court when it promised to review his appeal. The victim of the witch-hunt in Pennsylvania is reported having difficulty raising the huge bail.

DR. SEYMOUR HARRIS, noted Harvard economist, states that only through a system of national health insurance "can the health needs of the people be adequately met." He points out that only the U.S. and Canada of the large western nations are without national health insurance setups.

THE ESCALATOR CLAUSE, now accepted throughout the union movement as good insurance against sudden decreases in the purchasing power of wages, is still denounced by the Stalinist Daily Worker. "The real problem is to get rid of the escalator entirely," says George Morris in discussing UAW-CIO contracts in the Feb. 6 issue. Many employers see eye to eye with him on this.

THE MILITANT

Hit Expulsion Attempt in N.Y. Painters

By Fred Hart

NEW YORK, Feb. 17 — In a move aimed at beheading the Stalinist opposition to the union administration, charges have been preferred against six members of AFL Painters Union, District Council 9, under the notorious "anti-communist" clause in the union's international constitution.

This clause, embodied in Section 107 of the constitution of the International Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers, is so loosely drawn and sweeping in its provisions that from the beginning genuine progressives in the union have condemned it as a bureaucratic device capable of being used to victimize any critic or opponent of the union administration.

Section 107 provides that: "Any member who associates himself with any organization or any group that expounds or promotes any doctrine or philosophy inimical to or subversive of the fundamental principles and institutions of the government of the United States or Dominion of Canada, the American Federation of Labor or of this Brotherhood, shall be granted a hearing by the local and, if found guilty, shall be disciplined in the manner provided for in this constitution."

The Communist Party is specifically named as one of the organizations falling within the provisions of Section 107. Of the six against whom charges have been preferred, two are union business agents, two are District Council delegates and two are rank-and-file members. The two business agents have entered vigorous public denials of membership in the CP but under the catch-all provisions of Section 107 such denials are unceremoniously brushed aside.

The charges against the six are the most recent of a series of similar charges and trials of leading opposition spokesmen. For years, District Council 9, with jurisdiction over Manhattan

Dockers Picket "King" Ryan



Rank-and-file dockworkers picket Int'l Longshoremen's Ass'n (AFL) headquarters in New York to demand resignation of Joseph P. Ryan, lifetime president of the union. Demonstration came after Ryan's appearance before New York State Crime Commission, where large-scale corruption and siphoning off of union funds for personal use were revealed.

and the Bronx, has been the battleground of two main opposing groups: The Rank-and-File group, under the influence of the Stalinists, and the Progressive Group, now heading the administration.

In 1947 the Progressive Group ousted the Stalinist-led Rank-and-File Group and has since retained its control of the administration. The Stalinists had been greatly discredited, especially by their war-time policy of surrender to the bosses. The candidate of the Progressive caucus, Martin Rarback, although never before holding office, was elected on the basis of a genuinely progressive program. However, the Stalinists retained control of four locals affiliated to District Council 9.

By pursuing a correct policy

based on their 1947 election platform, the new administration could have gained the support of the members still under Stalinist influence. Instead, the program became more and more a dead letter. The Stalinist opposition was thereby permitted to remain and even extend its influence. Many former adherents of the administration no longer support it.

Having apparently abandoned any hope of winning the members of the Stalinist-controlled locals on the basis of a positive program designed to meet their needs, the administration has embarked on a policy of trying to head off the opposition leadership with the aid of Section 107. In the long run, such a policy can only deepen and extend the opposition mood in the ranks.

KREMLIN "UNCOVERS" TROTSKY LINK IN PURGE

By John G. Wright

After a lapse of 15 years, the name of Leon Trotsky is once again beginning to figure prominently in blood purges inside the Soviet Union. The first instance of this was the report in Stalin's personal Moscow periodical Pravda, Feb. 6 that three men and one woman had been arrested on charges of espionage. One of the defendants S. D. Gurevich was identified by Pravda as an alleged "veteran follower" of Leon Trotsky.

From the scanty information supplied by Pravda it is not possible to establish definitively the identity of this rather obscure figure. According to Pravda, S. D. Gurevich was "educated in the family of a Bundist-Menshevik." This establishes the Jewish origin of the defendant, in line with the Kremlin's current stress on anti-Semitism.

Gurevich is further placed in the United States in the period from 1914-1917 where he allegedly first established ties with "Trotskyites." (Trotsky spent in 1917 a little more than two months in America, arriving on Jan. 13, 1917 and departing from New York on March 27, 1917.) Gurevich returned to Russia at an unspecified date and thereafter allegedly "became an active participant and active member of an anti-Soviet Trotskyite group."

Pravda then adds: "In 1927 (the year Trotsky and the Russian Left Opposition were expelled by Stalin from the Russian Communist Party) Gurevich submitted to the party organization a declaration of renunciation of doubledealing. Remaining a hidden Trotskyite and an inveterate enemy of the Soviet people, Gurevich established in 1939 ties with a foreign intelligence service and for a number of years supplied it with espionage information."

It is obvious from the above information that Gurevich remained a Stalinist party member in good standing for at least the last 25 years. He escaped the purge of 1927 in the course of which every active Soviet oppositionist, no matter how obscure, was subjected to expulsion, arrest, exile. Gurevich also escaped the monstrous purges of the mid-Thirties during which Stalin destroyed physically the entire generation of revolutionists who, with Lenin, built the Bolshevik party and carried through the October Revolution of 1917.

In the course of these purges Stalin's secret police acted on the guiding principle that it was preferable to permit hundreds of innocents to perish rather than allow the escape of a single actual or potential oppositionist to Stalin's regime. Entire families of those who were arrested were likewise subjected to arrest and exile. Every member of the party, including the secret police, underwent one investigation after another, especially those whose membership dated back to the early days. These purges involved literally several millions.

Gurevich survived all this. He also came through unscathed through the several purges that took place since World War II. This aged man fell victim not merely because of his Jewish origin, but evidently also because it was possible to manufacture for him a "biography" linking him personally with Trotsky and with the Russian Left Opposition. Through Gurevich, an alleged "veteran Trotskyist," Stalin obviously seeks to revive the defamation of Leon Trotsky whom he murdered through a hired assassin in Mexico almost 13 years ago. So long as Trotsky lived, he and his ideas represented a terrible danger to Stalin's regime. That was why Trotsky and his son figured as the principal defendants in the original Moscow frameups. Now it turns out that Trotsky still remains a terrible danger to the Kremlin dictator and the Soviet bureaucracy he heads. The dead Trotsky is therefore beginning to figure as one of the principal defendants in the new series of frameups, a decade and a half later. Stalin thought he had long ago buried his historic "dispute" with Trotsky. After the last of the major Moscow trials in March 1938, Stalin solemnly promised no more blood purges. After the Soviet victory in World War II, he felt confident enough to abolish the death penalty. Yet several years ago the death penalty was restored in the Soviet Union. Stalin's regime is in mortal dread of the reviving anti-Stalinist working class opposition inside the Soviet Union. Stalin proposes to stop at nothing in order to ruthlessly crush this opposition. That is the main reason why, in 1953, Stalin finds it necessary to resume his attack on Trotsky through the medium of "veteran Trotskyists."

Letters from Readers

Working Mothers

Editor: After reading your articles on working mothers I ran across this in Dorothy Roe's column in the Chicago Herald-American. The columnist tells about proposals by two tax consultants who "think a working mother should be allowed to deduct the wages and keep of domestic help, baby sitters and outside care and education of children. The income tax laws state clearly that a deductible business expense is one which is necessary to one's means of livelihood. Such things as entertainment of customers, upkeep of car used in business, office expenses and so on are called legitimate deductions. But the Internal Revenue boys so far have refused to admit that the cost of a nurse, baby sitter or nursery school is an expense necessary to the income of a working mother." H. B. Chicago, Ill.

Cites Geneva Treaty

Editor: Enclosed is a clipping of a signed letter that appeared in the Jan. 14 Winston-Salem Journal. I think it would be worthwhile to reprint it in The Militant since it is of more than general interest and appeared in a Southern newspaper. G. N. Miami, Fla.

Here is the greater part of the letter in the North Carolina paper: A recent Gallup poll shows 68% of the American people polled as favoring an immediate cease-fire in Korea, with settlement of the PW issue to come later. What happens to public opinion when it reaches the government level? Or is this a democracy after all? In 1949 we partly wrote and signed the Geneva treaty on prisoners of war which requires the full repatriation of all prisoners of war. What could be more honorable than to abide by the law that we helped to formulate and agreed to just four years ago? The people want a truce in Korea, and our Government can get a truce simply by abiding by the existing international law. For our Government to fail to do this would be undemocratic and strictly dishonorable — a breach of the international law. The forthcoming Eisenhower Administration, instead, hints at a fatal project of "ending" the Korean war by making it bigger, "Bomb Manchuria!" (which is as

FBI Deal Abets Police Brutality To N.Y. Negroes

By George Lavan

The lid has been blown off the police brutality situation in New York City. Underneath, an ugly sight has been revealed — a conspiracy between the New York police department and the U.S. Department of Justice to cover up New York police beatings and killings of innocent citizens, particularly Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Almost simultaneously with the disclosure of the secret agreement, a federal Grand Jury started hearings on a police brutality case against a Negro; and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People called for the resignation of New York Police Commissioner George P. Monaghan.

SECRET MEETING

Last July, Commissioner Monaghan allegedly arranged a secret meeting at the N. Y. federal court house where his First Deputy Police Commissioner and his Chief Inspector made a deal with Assistant Attorney General McInerney. The deal was, according to the revelations, that whenever the Department of Justice was asked to investigate New York police violations of civil rights, the investigation would be conducted by the FBI or any other federal agency. Since every New York police department investigation of itself in brutality cases has invariably resulted in a whitewash the agreement was tantamount to withdrawing federal civil rights protection for New York citizens, particularly Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

This secret agreement, giving N. Y. police a free hand for brutal conduct, remained in effect till the middle of last month. Last week the story was broken by Frederick Woltman of the World-Telegram and a federal Grand Jury began hearing testimony on a police brutality case covered up by the "gentlemen's agreement."

The Jackson case has been handled by Edward J. Jacko, chairman of the legal redress bureau of the New York branch of the NAACP. Before the revelation of the secret agreement an "investigation" of Jackson's complaint by New York authorities had brought no results. (See editorial page 3)

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McCarthy Seating Indicts Policy of Backing Democrats

Editor: Enclosed is a clipping from the United Automobile Worker entitled "An Arrogant Scoundrel Sits in the U.S. Senate." It is about the dirt that came out in the investigation of McCarthy's finances and how he was seated in the Senate despite that. It seems to me that this is an unanswerable indictment of Reuther's political action policy of supporting the Democrats. Not a single Democrat, in or out of the Senate, made any serious move to block the seating of McCarthy. This in spite of the fact that they had the goods on him. What a perfect illustration of the straw-like character of the "protection" labor obtains from the Democrats.

Shopping Around For Tougher Judge

Editor: Something which I believe is very unusual has happened here in Baltimore: Friday night, Jan. 23, a white man and a Negro had a fight on the street, and when the case was tried in court, the Negro was fined \$25 and sentenced to serve 60 days in jail. The white man claimed, of course, that he did nothing to start the fight, and that the Negro jumped him from behind and cut him with a knife. I understand the knife used was a small penknife. There was a storm of protest and the case was taken before the Grand Jury, and the Negro was indicted on the more serious charge of "assault with intent to murder." I understand that "double jeopardy" means that a man cannot be tried the second time if he is once acquitted, but this business of "shopping" for a judge who will give a sentence which will satisfy reactionary people, is something new to me. The general attitude can be understood better when you read in the papers that some of the whites have threatened to form "vigilante groups" and patrol the streets looking for trouble. R. D. Baltimore, Md.

Can Capitalism Prolong Its Life Another 100 Years?

Editor: Regarding Mr. Cannon's Jan. 26 lecture on the dark outlook for American capitalism. His final conclusion that American capitalism has no place to turn for