

# THE MILITANT

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## Our May Day Appeal: Bring The GIs Home

An Editorial

Since the first May Day struggle, waged by American labor in 1886, each May 1 working-class holiday has emphasized anew that the salvation of humanity depends on the organized workers. The masters of modern society — the lords of finance and industry, their political hirelings and brass-plated generals and admirals — can lead us only to the abyss of total war and economic collapse.

We have been driving toward that end at an ever-accelerating pace for more than five decades. Since the turn of the century capitalist society has suffered the throes of recurrent economic convulsions and the agonies of two world wars. Even now we are locked in a "minor" war whose victims number in the millions.

We are being deluged with propaganda designed to convince us that we must once more prepare to plunge into a world-wide slaughter to "save democracy." We are harangued in every headline and news broadcast about the "war peril" from "Communism," from the Soviet Union, from China, from everywhere that men have cast out or are seeking to cast out the system of private profit.

Has "Communism" been responsible for the whole past half-century of wars and economic crises? In what way could the Soviet Union, for instance, have been responsible for the First World War or the Second, or for the world-wide depression in most of the years between? We must seek the answer to the evils of our capitalist society in the profit system itself.

### Two World Wars for Profits

After the First World War into which he had dragged this country, President Woodrow Wilson asked in his famous St. Louis speech whether there was a man, woman or even a child who did not know that the war had been a "commercial war." Thereby, Wilson conceded that his war to "make the world safe for democracy" had been a struggle between "commercial" — that is, economic — rivals for trade, markets, spheres of financial influence.

Similarly General Eisenhower, the chief commander of the Allied forces in World War II, indicated that the war of "democracy against fascism" had a basic economic impulsion in the crisis of world capitalism after 1929. During his election campaign last fall, Eisenhower said in his Peoria, Ill., speech that "whatever economic gains have been made since 1932 have been due . . . to war or the threat of war."

He said further: "1929 was the last year in which we enjoyed prosperity in a time of peace. . . The New Deal never actually solved the unemployment problem. . . World War II did what the New Deal was unable to do." And after World War II, "just as . . . the economy was beginning to weaken, along came Korea. Defense production again propped up the economy."

War serves a "useful" purpose — for capitalists. Since 1914 they have kept their system afloat on the blood of hundreds of millions of war victims. If they did not have an "enemy" at hand in the Soviet Union and China, they would have to invent some other "enemy." American capitalism needs war for its very life. It cannot survive without it.

That is why Eisenhower's latest "peace" speech, seeking to place responsibility for the rapid trend toward another world war on the Soviet Union, was a sham and a fraud. The Wall Street rulers would still be driving toward war even if the Soviet Union conceded most or all of Eisenhower's provocative demands. The fear that spread its pall over the Stock Exchange when the Chinese and North Koreans offered concessions for a truce was not that there might be some concealed "gimmick" to the offer; it was fear that a cessation of fighting in Korea might mean a cutback in arms production and set off a depression.

### Socialism -- Only Hope for Peace

On the day World War II ended, we blazoned in our headlines: "THERE IS NO PEACE!" That was no inspired guess. We knew for a certainty that world capitalism had settled none of its problems by the six-year slaughter of World War II. That war, we knew full well, had intensified all the inherent contradictions of the world private-profits system. War, particularly against the Soviet Union, was the only means left to capitalism to prolong its existence.

We proclaim now, as we did then, that there can be no real peace under capitalism. That this system — the breeder of depressions, fascism and war — must be replaced by socialism, the classless society of planned, cooperative production and distribution, democratically operated and controlled by the working people without private profit.

The hope for peace lies not in the discussions at Panmunjon, in secret negotiations behind locked doors of the chancelleries of the world's rulers, in the "peace" maneuvers of the pin-striped diplomats and statesmen. Peace can be assured only through the independent mass struggle of the organized workers and their allies.

A first great step toward peace can be taken when the American people, led by the labor movement, wage an irresistible drive to compel Eisenhower to withdraw all U.S. troops immediately from Korea. So long as American armies are entrenched on Korean soil within striking distance of Manchuria and Siberia, Korea will remain a powder keg liable at any moment to explode into atomic world war.

The whole problem of war and peace must be taken out of the hands of those who profit from war. The working people, through their own political representatives, must take control of America's foreign as well as domestic policies. Labor must establish its own political party, with a program to win political power in Washington, set up a Workers and Farmers Government, set into motion a socialist economy and extend the hand of fraternity and material aid to all mankind.

On this May Day we have no new revelations. We can only proclaim as firmly and fervently as ever the central idea of those courageous and far-seeing labor pioneers of the first May Day in 1886: In labor's power alone lies the hope of humankind for permanent peace, plenty and security.

# Road to Real Peace Blocked By Demands of Eisenhower

## Order for CP 'Registration' Hits Liberties

The decision of the "control" board set up under the McCarran Act that the Communist Party must register its membership, finances, etc., is a severe blow against political freedom and can lead to serious consequences for the rights of all Americans.

The Subversive Activities Control Board ordered on April 20 that the Communist Party file annually with the Justice Department a complete list of officers and members and a complete financial accounting. The ruling came under the Internal Security Act of 1950, called the McCarran Act after its sponsor, the notorious reactionary and witch-hunt leader, Senator McCarran, Democrat of Nevada.

The verdict will not lead to any immediate actions, since the verdict is subject to appeals up to the Supreme Court, which may take as much as two years, in the opinion of some legal observers. But in the meantime the decision extends the police-state pattern of political suppression in American life, and strikes at the right of every American to freely join or assist in forming a political party of his own choosing.

The verdict against the Communist Party was based upon the contention that it is an "agent of a foreign power" and seeks to establish "a dictatorship of the proletariat" in the U.S. Vito Marcantonio, John Abt and Joseph Forer, attorneys representing the CP, pointed out, however, that the decision was "dictated by McCarran and (Sen. Jos.) McCarthy, who wrote a guilty verdict against the Communist Party into the language of the McCarran Act itself."

The CP attorneys also said that the issue of the case is not communism, but the constitutional guarantees of free expression. "If today's decision were to stand," they added, "McCarthyism and McCarranism would replace the Constitution as the supreme law of the land for Communists and non-Communists alike."

The national committee of the CP, in a statement issued the same day the decision was issued, declared that it would fight the ruling of the board, and that it would not register under the terms of the decision.

The N. Y. Times, which has been critical of the McCarran Act, published an April 22 editorial which stated:

"Here lies one of the many weaknesses of the Internal Security Act, which, as we have said before, endangers the existence of other unpopular causes or parties that may have little or nothing to do with communism."

The Times, of course, is not concerned with civil liberties, and goes on to say that perhaps it

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May Day, 1953

## Insists Upon One-Sided Concessions

By Art Preis

The Big Business press and Congressional leaders of both parties have hailed Eisenhower's recent foreign policy speech as "taking the initiative in the peace offensive." If this means he is driving toward an actual peace of any duration, nothing could be farther from the truth.

Under his bland phrasing and pious reiterations of pacific intent, Eisenhower's speech contained a hard core of provocative demands addressed to the Soviet Union and China. They were clearly designed to place insuperable obstacles in the road of any firm peace.

Take his proposal for "the holding of free elections in a united Korea." What kind of "free election" can be held under the guns and bayonets of an army of American troops whom the Korean people fear? Does Eisenhower propose to withdraw these troops? On the contrary, he has emphasized that even with an armistice they will remain in Korea "quite a while."

South Korea, in which 70% of the Koreans live, is run by a brutal military-police dictatorship headed by Syngman Rhee. Only last fall Rhee, using his police and troops as campaigners, won a "free election" by methods that brought expressions of shock even from the cynical capitalist press of this country.

### NECESSARY CONDITION

The pre-condition for any kind of free political action by the Korean people themselves is the withdrawal of American troops. And this fits in with the feelings of the American people too, if the letters pouring into the White House since Eisenhower's election are any indication.

Eisenhower's demands go further. He speaks of "an end to the direct and indirect attacks upon the security of Indo-China and Malaya." This can mean only one thing: The U.S. is determined to uphold British and French imperialist robbery in Southeast Asia and to help put down the struggles of the colonial peoples there for independence. The Kremlin is asked to underwrite this counter-revolutionary project and to permit U.S.-armed British and French forces to establish military bases against China on its very borders.

At the same time, Wall Street's puppet-dictator Chiang Kai-shek and his armed forces, financed and equipped by this country, would be maintained on Formosa, the island snatched from China by the Japanese and kept under subjection by Chiang since he boled up there after the Chinese people drove him off the mainland. Similarly, the dethroned Bao Dai, the play-boy king whom the French returned to Indo-China in 1949, would be maintained.

What Eisenhower is asking New China to accept is a ring of imperialist military bases on the Asiatic mainland at every point of possible invasion of China.

### DEMAND ON USSR

His demands on the Soviet Union in Europe are cut from the same pattern. He proposes "peace" treaties for Austria and Germany and "free elections." The essence of his proposals is that the Russian troops be withdrawn while the American, British and French troops remain and that a plebiscite be held to maintain regimes under U.S. domination.

The aim of Eisenhower's demands for Germany and Austria, coupled with his insistence on "elections" in Eastern Europe whose governments are allied with the Soviet Union, is to reconstitute unchallenged capitalist control of all Europe and to

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## BERIA'S COUNTER-PURGE ATTEMPTS TO APPEASE UNREST IN THE USSR

By John G. Wright

Within 14 days of Beria's reversal of Stalin's "anti-nationalities" purge by exonerating the 15 physicians, a counter-purge has swept over one-half of 16 Soviet Republics: RSFSR or Great-Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Latvia, Tajikistan and the Karelo-Finnish Republic. Still to be heard from are: Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Lithuania, Moldavia, Kirgizia, Armenia, Turkmenia, Estonia, plus the different provinces and districts.

In Georgia a second frameup has been publicly admitted and "reversed." It implicates not subordinate figures as in RSFSR (Ignatiev Ryumin, "and other" officials of the former Ministry of State Security) but top figures of Georgia (Premier Ketskhovelli, General Secretary Mgeladze and his predecessor Charkviani, Secret Police Chief Gen. Rukhadze "and others"). At the same time among the admitted victims of the Georgian frameup

are: Baranlyan, former 2nd Secretary of the Georgian CP; Rapava, former Secret Police Chief, Zodelava, former head of the Georgian YCL; "and others."

What an admission! Renowned, titled Moscow scientists are helpless before secret policemen; so are top party and government figures of the different national republics. In trying to rehabilitate himself and the repressive apparatus, Beria is unwittingly exposing the regime's abuse of power, the rottenness, the corruption.

Meanwhile Beria has still to explain how it happened that he personally directed in April 1952 the frameup in Georgia he reverses in April 1953.

More of the same may be in store. On April 17, the new Soviet Justice Minister, Gorskhenin pledged to "mercilessly eradicate" fomenters of "national hatred" (read: racial persecution) and "violators of Soviet civil liberty" (read: frameup artists) regardless "of their posts in the state apparatus" (read: all those whom the Kremlin "ins" consider as the "outs," i.e., unreliable, too inflexible, too discredited, too corrupt, etc.).

The Georgian case, Gorskhenin's pronouncements, the continued Pravda-Kommunist fulminations against "deliberate efforts to incite feelings of national hatred," etc., underscore that Stalin's last purge involved not only anti-Semitism but persecution of other Soviet national minorities, who together comprise the great majority of the Soviet population.

What's behind Beria's nationwide counter-purge? There is no lack of dopesters who see only a power-struggle among the tops. Arguments fly pro and con over whether Beria is Malenkov's "ally" or his "rival," etc. It goes without saying that personal maneuvering goes on among the top echelons under Malenkov & Co. As in Stalin's day, every Big Chief strives to consolidate his own position, to handpick

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## Militant Campaign Gains Hundreds Of Subscriptions

By Dorothy Johnson  
Campaign Manager

As the Militant Subscription Campaign enters its sixth and last week, a gain of at least 500 subs is assured. The fifth week's work brought the total to 430. Single-copy sales during the drive so far amount to nearly 2,000. Still in first place on the national scoreboard, the Twin Cities subscribers rolled up 1,514 points this week, the best gain of the campaign.

Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles are running neck and neck in second, third and fourth place. In fifth place, Seattle pushed its score over the 1,000 mark this week with an excellent gain in subs; and Buffalo moved into sixth place, nosing out Detroit, Flint and Newark. Philadelphia and Youngstown also made good gains in sales.

Among the pace-setters, Twin Cities subgetter Milt added 314 points to his score to take the national lead. A close second with 702 points is Evie, also of the Twin Cities. Two more Twin Cities salesmen, Paul and Ray, are in third and fourth place on the scoreboard.

St. Paul Literature Agent Winifred Nelson writes, "Four of our subs this week are new ones obtained by our star, Milt, who sold them to fellow workers in his plant. Milt is our star in total new subs in the campaign thus far, as well as in total points. He has sold eight new subs so far, all to workers in his plant."

Lou Kay, and Susan are leading the campaign in Akron. Five subs and 34 single copies of The Militant have been sold in door-to-door work, in the shop, and at debates and union meetings in the past few weeks.

Dick Carter reports a good response in a Negro neighborhood in St. Louis where he has become known. He has sold three subs and 43 single copies door to door and on the street corner since the campaign began.

Literature Agent Bob Kingsley reports good results in door-to-

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## The Economic Consequences of World Peace

By Harry Frankel

It's early in the year to be announcing choices for the Pulitzer Prize, but I'm ready to throw in a nomination for Michael L. Hoffman, chief European economic correspondent for the N.Y. Times, solely on the strength of the first two paragraphs of his April 13 dispatch. Seldom has a world-shaking fact been stated more candidly and more succinctly:

"GENEVA, April 13 — In a few short weeks Russia, by talking mildly and doing a few little things that would be considered quite ordinary on the part of any other country, has done more to produce adverse economic repercussions in the Western world than have all Russia's threats, agitation and conspiracies in the previous post-war period. "Evidence pours in from nearly every European capital, from

Tokyo, Washington and Southeast Asia that the economic framework of the non-Communist world has an alarming tendency to melt in any atmosphere slightly less frigid than the 'cold war.' In the face of this evidence, economists can only repeat earlier warnings that real relaxation of international tension would find the West in a serious and perhaps fatal economic condition."

The most exacting Marxist finds himself disarmed in the face of such perfect candor and precision! Capitalism "has an alarming tendency to melt in any atmosphere slightly less frigid than the 'cold war.'" "Real relaxation of international tension" would produce "a serious and perhaps fatal economic condition" for the capitalist world! If, after having written the above lines, Mr. Hoffman remains a defender of the capitalist system, then one

can only say that along with his Pulitzer Prize should go an order forbidding him to write another line for the rest of his life. He'll never do better than he did on April 13, anyhow, so he might as well quit now.

### U.S. RECESSION EXPECTED EVEN WITHOUT "PEACE"

In the early part of this year, The Militant carried a series of articles showing the depression danger in this country (see The Militant, Jan. 19, Feb. 9, 16, 23). We cannot take space here to repeat that detailed analysis, but one important fact should be pointed out. At the time those articles were written, there was a big discussion going on in the U.S. press over the prospects of a depression in this country starting from the fact that, even without any truce, the level of arms spending would be forced to

decline by technical factors alone: the completion of basic "tooling-up" for war production, huge stockpiles of arms and equipment, etc.

The consensus of capitalist opinion was that the economy faced a "downturn," a "recession," or "shocks" even without any change in the international situation. There is not a single reputable economist in capitalist circles who dares to even consider, much less openly discuss, what would happen to the U.S. economy if the entire war sector were removed. There has never been a small war sector accompanied by prosperity in this or any other capitalist country since 1929. In Europe, as a matter of fact, we have not seen this since 1913.

Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, in a mellifluous address before the

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# WALL ST. SEES TRUCE AS A DEFEAT; STILL HOPES TO PREVENT IT

By Harry Frankel

Writing about "the Pentagon and politico-military observers in Washington," Hanson Baldwin of the N. Y. Times said on April 5: "This time there was genuine fear of what a truce in Korea, under these conditions and at a moment of Communist choosing, might mean, in the long-term view, to the world struggle. As viewed from here, the Communists have timed their offer with considerable astuteness, and the timing is calculated to do the most damage to the United States and the least to the Soviet Union."

This is one quotation on how Washington views a truce in Korea. One could fill a book with hundreds of others, culled from the papers and magazines of the last few weeks, all expressing the Wall Street and Washington view that a truce in Korea would be a defeat for imperialism, and all expressing the greatest puzzlement as to how a truce can be avoided.

Korea has been the keystone in the arch of the war drive, and at the same time the guarantee of U.S. war prosperity and the only factor preventing a collapse of the Japanese capitalist economy. The cost: Estimates run about \$5 billion a year; imperialism would consider it a bargain at twice the price.

The Pentagon has already succeeded in delaying a truce for almost two years since the initiation of negotiations by the Soviet bloc. The attempts to stop a cease-fire, now desperately close from the viewpoint of imperialism, are still continuing. Washington is not in a position to make its obstructionism too obvious. It has already skated on very thin ice by using the absolutely phony "prisoner issue" for the better part of a year. Now that the Chinese-Korean negotiators have removed that issue, the task of blowing up renewed truce talks is very difficult, and U.S. imperialism may find itself unable to accomplish this, in which case a truce will be arrived at and Washington will have to search for other means to maintain and step up the war drive. But the administration has made some careful moves in the past few weeks to try to break up the truce prospects in Korea.

The U.S. press has changed from the tone of sullen truculence with which it greeted the first truce proposals to outright and angry hostility. This turn, sparked by politicians' statements such as those made by Senators Humphrey, Taft and Wiley, is a change from the early reaction which was one of saying "Let's wait and see whether all this is fake or genuine" and to the more recent tone which says: "We now know it is all fake." They don't explain how they know. The New York Times, bellwether of the capitalist press, has gone so far as to publish an April 12 editorial calling the Chinese concessions on prisoners "not acceptable."

More important was the planting of a story by Sec. of State Dulles at a special press "briefing session" called for the purpose. This story, sprung on April 8 as the talks over sick-and-wounded-prisoner exchange were starting, set forth a series of U.S. demands which Washington presumably "intends" to make "if a cease-fire is reached in Korea." The demands, which include one that the North Koreans give up almost half of their area, are certainly unacceptable. Washington, of course, knows this well, since the U.S. Army has been unable to take this ground by force, or to take any part of it by negotiations, as they tried when the cease-fire talks started.

In fact, this "demand" is released now not because the administration intends to make it "later"; that interpretation is nothing but a bad joke. It has been thrown in now because of a hoped-for effect on the present negotiations.

The N. Y. Times of Sunday, April 12, said: "The administration renegeated the newspaper stories, but there was no doubt in Washington that it had been 'thinking' and 'considering' as reported. The unanswered question was why it had chosen to talk at all when delicate negotiations were in progress in Korea."

In view of the fact that this type of provocation has been used dozens of times since the start of the Korean negotiations, there is no mystery about the answer to this question. It is precisely because "delicate negotiations" are in progress, and because Washington would like to make them so "delicate" that they will collapse, that the story was planted.

Foreign diplomats, reflecting the European and Asian concern over Washington's action, according to the Times of April 12 "feared that any U.S. proposal for giving South Korea a large slice of North Korea might jeopardize both the truce and a political settlement."

Muddleheaded liberals attribute this move to "clumsiness" or "stupidity." That would be true if Washington's object were to avoid "jeopardizing" a truce in Korea. Actually, it was a last-minute provocation which has not met with any success.

If a truce is finally arrived at in Korea, it will be because U.S. imperialism has been dragged against its will every step of the way right up to the very signing table. That is what has been going on for almost two years, and that is what is still going on. On the other hand, if imperialism can find some pretext to block a truce without raising a world storm of protest, then there will be no truce.

# New Progressive Currents Stir Below the Mason-Dixon Line

By Fred Perry

In this period of retreat of the progressive forces throughout the country, we are apt to think of the South, the traditional citadel of conservatism, only as a bottomless pit of reaction. But this is not entirely true. There are processes in motion and changes occurring in Dixie which can only be thought of as progressive.

Recently I had occasion to visit my native South for the first time in several years. My travels took me from one end of the region to the other and brought me in touch with Southerners of all classes and educational levels. The changes were not only discernible, but impressive. Let me try to give a cautious, but accurate, account of the trends as I was able to observe them.

First, on white supremacy, the touchstone of all Southern policies and thought. Among young white Southerners a real revolution is occurring in their attitude toward the race question. The generation now coming out of school and out of the armed services has a qualitatively different outlook than did my own generation only 10 or 12 years ago. This is the most surprising and encouraging thing that I encountered.

Now what is their attitude toward the Negro and how did they arrive at it? I would say that at present most white boys under 25 are willing to serve with the Negro in the army, living together in intimate association; they certainly believe in his right to vote and to advance economically; they would be entirely ready to go to school together and to ride together on buses if the courts so rule. Full social equality is another matter, but the old bugaboo of intermarriage no longer holds the terror it did for them.

There is a significant minority which has advanced to the position of initiating friendly social contacts with colored fellow servicemen, especially on posts outside the South. Perhaps one quarter of them have reached this degree of development.

It would be incorrect to say that these are a majority as yet. And there are a few especially among young middle-class intellectuals, who, under the impact of the changes going on around them, have thought the question through and have arrived at a position which in the North would be called left-wing liberalism. They want to see complete equality for the Negro as soon as it can be achieved.

I say there are a few of these. By few, I mean a few dozen on every campus in the South. Back when I went to school I don't think I ever met a single one.

### AT AN ARMY PX

Most of these are quiet, respectable, professional people who don't go around pushing their beliefs very hard. But occasionally they do translate them into action. To illustrate, let me repeat a story told me by a young graduate student from a college in Louisiana.

He and two other white soldiers were drinking beer at an Army PX in San Antonio with a Negro soldier who had been a professor at a Negro college. Later they walked into the airport cafe, forgetting for a moment where

they were. When the waitress ordered the Negro out, all four of them stomped out in a huff, denouncing in their soft drawls this lack of democracy. This would have been inconceivable a decade ago.

What has caused this change? It is a consequence of the class struggle on a world-wide scale. These progressive consequences in the South have been brought about as a result of a complex and contradictory interplay of pressures from both sides of this struggle.

### SOME OF THE CAUSES

For a number of years in the South the effects of Northern liberalism have made themselves felt. This liberalism and radicalism was primarily the outgrowth of the great class struggles and the rise of unionism in the 1930's. The depression and the rise of unionism forced American capitalism to sponsor the New Deal.

The New Deal era, with all its liberal ramifications, produced some effect on Southern thinking, but its effect was not great enough to more than start the change. A little later, World War II had certain liberal by-products.

In its war propaganda against Fascism, the government, the press and Hollywood had to denounce Hitler's master-race theories. This caused some white Southerners to think a little. Then also millions of Southerners traveled outside the U.S. and saw with their own eyes that racial discrimination is not well thought of in many countries. Many went into war industries, such as the merchant marine, auto, steel, etc., where they had an entirely different type of contact with Negroes than they had ever before experienced.

Now, while these wartime conditions forced some white Southerners to think, it permitted the Negro people to protest their lot more forcibly than at any time since Reconstruction days. The thousands of courageous acts of defiance by Negroes during and after the war was one of the most important factors in forcing the white Southerner to the realization that changes must come. And the post-war campaign of the NAACP against school segregation is known and talked about by everyone below the Mason-Dixon line.

This five-year fight by the Negro people themselves has won more whites, and more rights, than the previous 75 years of enforced silence and servility. Let that lesson be forgotten by no one.

All the factors discussed above might be thought of as pressures from the left — from Northern labor and liberals and from the Negro people themselves. All these are natural and genuine pressures. They are not hard to understand. But all these pressures by themselves would not as yet have brought about the change of attitude had it not been for a certain amount of pressure which comes from the opposite side of the fence, from the most reactionary force in the world today, from U.S. imperialism.

The cold war is forcing the American government to make certain concessions on the race question. In its efforts to win acquiescence in its war plans from the governments of such non-white nations as India, Indonesia and even of certain European countries it has to put on a show

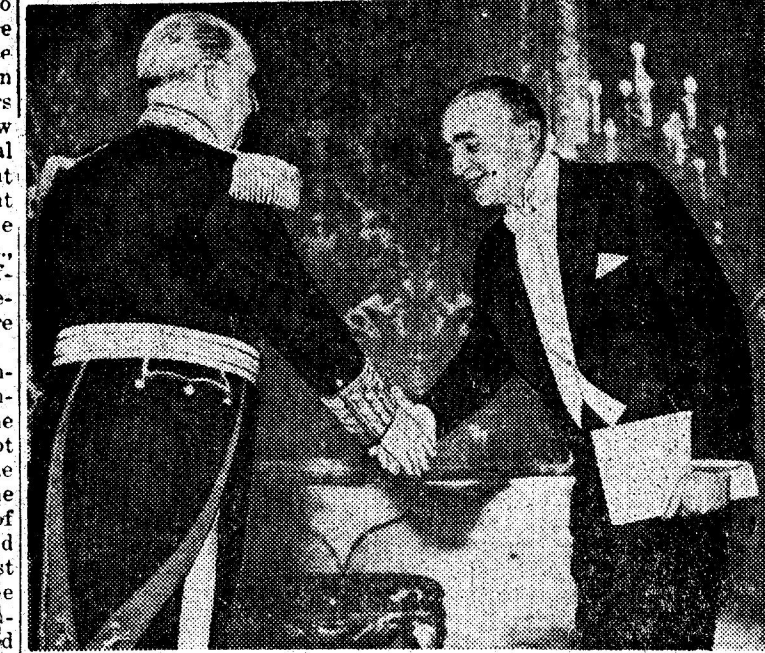
of progress on the position of American Negroes. Especially necessary is that it not attempt to fight the next overseas war with a strictly segregated army. These small concessions raise serious contradictions for the American ruling class, especially for its Southern section, but its whole diplomacy might bog down otherwise. Here is a good example of the international class struggle, whereby the hatred for racism of the peoples emerging from colonialism and of the politically advanced workers of Europe brings pressure to bear on the ruling class in the U.S.

Washington has been forced to transmit some of this pressure to the Southern whites. Wanting its limited integration of Negroes in the armed forces to succeed, it had to back it up with a limited amount of "race-tolerance" propaganda. The courts handed down a few concessions in the form of liberal verdicts on education and public travel facilities. For a while, both big parties put an FEPC plank in their platforms.

All this had its effect on Southern whites. Some sections saw "their" government apparently advocating progress for Negroes. Especially to younger whites and those with no class stake, no economic stake, in maintaining discrimination, it began to appear that perhaps it was "anti-government" and "un-American" to hold back on the question. Accordingly they changed to the extent described above.

Other sections of the white population responded just the opposite way. Alarmed by the encroachments on their "peculiar institution" — Jim Crow — they resisted to the point of defying their traditional political party — the Democratic — and the federal government as well. This section, best symbolized by Gov. Byrnes of South Carolina, who emerged from the 1952 elections with greater national power and prestige, has already taken necessary steps to circumvent any possible Supreme Court decision against school segregation. (To be concluded next week.)

### Franco and U.S. Envoy



Gen. Francisco Franco, fascist oppressor of Spanish people, welcomes new U.S. ambassador James C. Dunn to Na'l Palace in Madrid. Dunn arrived at palace in gilded 16th-century carriage escorted by Moorish lancers; hopes to tie Franco into U.S.-dominated anti-Soviet bloc in preparation for counter-revolutionary war.

# Consequences of World Peace

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Associated Press members on April 21, sang sweetly: "There is no reason to fear peace. We are not headed for a depression." Unfortunately for the hard-headed business moguls of this country who expect serious arguments from their cabinet representatives, he gave no factual picture to sustain this idyll. The best he could do was the following: "We cannot preserve our way of life through another long, deep depression and we must never permit it to occur." Mr. Humphrey seems to have intoxicated himself with the powers he has long held over his flunkies in the iron and steel enterprises which he heads; he appears to think that economic laws can be made to jump before commands in the same way.

### EUROPE AND COLONIES

The economic repercussions that have already resulted from the Pacific moves made by the Soviet bloc nations can be summarized as follows: First, there has been a sharp drop in the stock market, exceeding any for the past three years. Second, there has been an important decline in prices of primary raw materials in the world market. These effects are reflections of the quaverings of confidence in the war boom. More widespread effects will naturally require time to develop, since nothing serious can happen to industrial production or any of the more basic indices of capitalist economic life in such a short period of time. But one of these events, the decline in primary commodity prices, is already beginning to have important repercussions.

The decline in the prices of tin, lead, copper, rubber, etc., have a very important adverse effect on all portions of the capitalist world outside of the U.S. American capitalism temporarily benefits from this event, because the prices it must pay for raw materials go down, and the profit margin may thus be increased. It might be thought that the same effect would show up in Europe, but this is not true. European industry gains somewhat from lower raw-materials prices, but this is more than cancelled out by the fact that the raw materials areas in Asia and the Middle East are largely bound up in currency blocs with England, France, Holland, etc. Thus the decline in the dollar earnings of Malaya, Indonesia, etc., have the effect of

lowering the dollar earnings of the European capitalist nations and increasing the European dollar gap.

At the same time the colonial areas of Asia, Africa and South America, dragging out an existence which has been slightly stabilized for three years by the jump in raw-materials prices, now feel the sudden drop in these prices like a blow to the solar plexus. Almost all of these countries have no other serious source of foreign exchange.

The troubles which European capitalism would face if there were any slackening in the war boom in the U.S. and in U.S. military spending in Europe must be placed in their proper 40-year setting if they are to be understood. Europe faces not just some "troubles," but the final blows, the coup de grace.

Fact No. 1: European industrial production was cut by about one-third in the first world war. Only a full decade after the end of World War I did Europe succeed in restoring 1913 production levels. But, immediately after achieving this, European capitalism fell into the 1929 pit which again cut production by at least one-third. Ten years later, Europe had, with the help of the arms race, not quite succeeded in restoring production to its 1929 levels. But the Second World War then cut production again by more than one-third. Since the end of that war, capitalist Europe has, by means of a fantastic volume of American aid (U.S. aid to Europe has totalled almost double the entire British national income of 1946), reached a level of production about one-third higher than that of 1939. This means that the industrial production of capitalist Europe is today only slightly higher than it was in 1913; but since population has probably grown more than the increase in production, the per capita production is very considerably below 1913!

Fact No. 2: In 1913, Europe was the greatest imperial area, and thus the outstanding creditor on the face of the earth. Since that time, the losses in foreign investment have been so great, and the increases of indebtedness have been so large, that we now confront the amazing fact that Europe is actually a debtor area. Since this has compelled almost every European capitalist country to pare its imports to the bone and to enlarge the amount of goods it ships out of the coun-

try as much as possible, this has resulted in a further slash in goods available for consumption in addition to the slash resulting from production declines. Thus there is absolutely no doubt that general European living standards today are below those of 1913, possibly even below 1900. Accounts of the living standards of the people, then and now, in general bear this out; this despite the introduction of some new products and luxuries today which were not available then.

Fact No. 3: Europe runs further into dollar debt every year to the tune of about \$2 1/2 billion a year, a deficit that can be made up only by U.S. military aid and spending in Europe of about that same amount. Withdraw that and the situation immediately becomes hopeless.

# MILITANT SCOREBOARD

Cities		Pace-Setters	
	Points		Points
Twin Cities	5,400	Milt	Twin Cities 712
Chicago	2,360	Evie	Twin Cities 702
New York	2,000	Paul	Twin Cities 467
Los Angeles	1,823	Ray	Twin Cities 394
Seattle	1,189	Perry	Flint 338
Buffalo	736	Bob	Twin Cities 326
Detroit	651	Bob H.	Chicago 306
Flint	650	Howard A.	Chicago 306
Newark	612	Charlie	Seattle 291
Milwaukee	530	Bob R.	New York 236
Cleveland	524	Erroll	Los Angeles 234
Youngstown	620	Helen	Twin Cities 231
Philadelphia	397	Al A.	Los Angeles 213
Boston	342	Sam S.	Los Angeles 213
Akron	220	George	Seattle 210
St. Louis	121	Bill B.	Twin Cities 208
San Francisco	104	Larry	Twin Cities 208
Oakland	95	Charlie	Twin Cities 185
General	208	Harry	Twin Cities 185

# SUB CAMPAIGN GAINS MANY NEW READERS

(Continued from Page 1) door work and at a recent forum in Cleveland. Bob and Jean are the local pace-setters with scores of 156 and 134.

"The Twin Cities Campaign is still going full blast!" writes Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman. "How does a Twin Cities total of 5,400 points stack up on the National Scoreboard this week? The best is yet to come with the final week before us and some hot competition in the local contest for team and pace-setter honors. The team scores are as follows: The Classy Strugglers, 1,977; The Cover Scouts, 1,928; and The Marching Militants, 1,495.

"Minneapolis, this week, sends in 19 subs, 13 one-year and six six-months. Four of these are new subscribers to The Militant, contacted by Evie, Charlie, Ralph, and Bob. Special credit goes to Harry, Ralph, Doris, and Millie, who went out in freezing weather to sell The Militant at AFL and CIO union meetings."

M. P., a reader in Phoenix, Ariz., writes, "Wishing you success with The Militant Campaign. Those were very good articles by Cannon."

Mrs. H. S. of Lyons, Neb., also wishes to express her appreciation of the recent series of articles by James P. Cannon.

"The lecture by James P. Cannon titled 'The Coming Struggle for Power in America' is such a masterpiece I wish it could be had in leaflet form," she writes. "Every American should read it. Can't Mr. Cannon get on the radio with it?"

From J. G. B. in Moon Lake, Canada, comes the following comment. "I certainly enjoyed the articles in The Militant by J. P. Cannon. They explained U.S. policy past and present in a language anyone can understand. These articles should clear up a lot of misunderstanding some people have about the 'liberators of the free world.'"

### Ohio Witch-Hunters Focus Attention On Akron Rubber

Witch-hunting in Ohio will be given fresh impetus some time in May when first hearings of the new state Un-American Activities Commission are scheduled to begin.

Target No. 1 will be workers in the rubber industry at Akron. Sidney Isaacs, legal director of the Commission, announced that "witnesses" will be asked about "Communist activity" in the plants there.

### SOVIET GAINS IN RACE

Moreover, China, with its enormous productive potential, now having initiated its first five year plan, would be well on the way to establishing itself as an industrial power. If it is further considered that in 1928 the relation of U.S. to Russian production was about 7 to 1, that today this superiority has been cut below 3 to 1, and that the rates of growth even if there is continued U.S. prosperity are very unfavorable to the U.S., then the consequences are clear. The imperialist bloc, over a period of time, can lose its industrial superiority to the Soviet bloc.

To those who say: industrial superiority isn't everything, we must reply that in this case it is. In every other field of contest the relationship of forces has evolved strongly to the disadvantage of the capitalists. The industrial field is the only one on which they retain great superiority, and in this field time is working against them.

This entire picture adds up to only one thing: The impossibility of any serious and extended "peace." Nothing could be more disastrous from the Wall Street viewpoint. Only if one is ready to conceive that imperialism would melt away without a showdown struggle can one say that the Soviet overtures can bring imperialism to a serious discussion of terms.

It might be possible to say that imperialism would fold up without a serious battle if one were dealing only with European imperialism. But the world situation is characterized by the peculiarity that the strongest base of imperialism is in the U.S., and that Wall Street, on the very eve of its doom, is at a peak of wealth, power, arrogance and relative social stability at home. This peculiarity spells war, counter-revolutionary war to try to save capitalism. And, in the end, it also spells the education of America's working class to the realization that capitalism can provide neither prosperity nor peace for very long, and certainly not both at the same time. This means the extension of the crisis of capitalism to the American continent in an open and unresolvable form, and hence the real beginning of the era of world socialism.

# EISENHOWER DEMANDS BLOCK ROAD TO PEACE

(Continued from page 1)

convert it into a solid anti-Soviet war base.

In short Eisenhower is saying to the Soviet Union: You want peace? Well, retreat to your old pre-World War II borders and give us command of all Europe. He doesn't propose that the U.S. give up its military bases outside its borders — bases in more than 60 foreign countries on all the continents forming an iron ring around the Soviet Union and China. He doesn't propose that the U.S. give up all the Pacific and other territories seized in the last war.

His proposal amounts to asking the USSR not only to give up its bases but to help strengthen the U.S. bases. He wants the Soviet Union to participate in constructing its own gallows.

Eisenhower's program, even with the Kremlin's consent, calls for putting down hundreds of millions of people throughout the world who no longer want to live under foreign domination and capitalist exploitation. The tremendous cost of Korea gives us only a pale intimation of what price the American people would have to pay for such a policy on a world-wide scale.

Eisenhower has promulgated this foreign policy program, in

part, as an answer to those right-wing Republicans who regard even a temporary military truce in Korea, however expedient it might be from the standpoint of Wall Street's diplomatic position, as "appeasement." He has attempted to quiet them with the assurance that no matter what tactical shifts may be necessary, his strategic aims are pointed squarely at pressure for maximum concessions under threat of total war against the Soviet bloc.

These right-wing Republicans — Asia-Firsters, China Lobbyists, etc. — are pressing for nothing less than immediate all-out war on China. They would like to see the current truce negotiations blown up. Their press has revived the atrocious propaganda campaign used in Nov. 1951 to stall off truce talks and is screaming its head off now.

But the decisive Republicans and Democrats favor a diplomatic demonstration by Eisenhower aimed to convince the world and American public opinion that Wall Street's government has nothing but "peaceful" intentions and that the war danger comes from Moscow. A truce in Korea might serve as part of such a propaganda demonstration but would not alter the basic war perspective of American Big Business.

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# Splashing the Whitewash on Stalin's Tomb

By Art Preis

Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, editors of Monthly Review magazine and self-styled "independent socialists," are continuing their efforts to whitewash the crimes of Stalinism and to glorify the Stalinist bureaucracy as an historically progressive force. In March they published an editorial upholding the Moscow frameup trials and executions of the old Bolsheviks and the more recent purges in Eastern Europe. In their April issue, they publish an unrestrained panegyric to Stalin. They describe the late despot and murderer of millions of Soviet workers and peasants who betrayed revolutions all over the world, as the man "who, at Lenin's death, took over the helm of the Russian Revolution and steered it triumphantly through the shoals and storms of industrialization and collectivization and World War II."

If it were not for Stalin, say his two "independent" apologists, and his "overwhelming confidence in the ability of backward Russia to build socialism and defend herself—singlehanded and against all enemies," Hitler would have won World War II and "a new Dark Age would have settled on the vast majority of the world's people, and we in the United States would be faced in all earnest with the threat of annihilation."

If it had not been for Stalin, however, and his counter-revolutionary policy of sacrificing proletarian and colonial revolutions for deals with the imperialists, Hitler would never have come to power.



STALIN

in the first place. It was Stalin's criminal policy which led the Communist Party in 1933 to capitulate to Hitler without a struggle and was chiefly responsible for Hitler's consolidation of power. It was the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 that gave the green light to the Nazis for World War II and paved the way for the terrible destruction and slaughter in the Soviet Union that almost brought it to defeat.

The inherent strength of the nationalized property of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary consciousness of the Soviet workers triumphed over the Nazi invaders in spite of the demoralization and disorientation produced by Stalin. That is the real picture.

Stalin was "the architect of socialism in its first homeland and the generalissimo of victory

over fascist barbarism," claim Huberman and Sweezy. "He did more than anyone else to bring socialism out of the realm of hopes and into the realm of facts and he did more than anyone else to keep the road to socialism open to the peoples of the world." And "for these great achievements... history will honor him as long as the human race survives."

Actually Stalin did more than all the open enemies of socialism put together to bring the name of socialism into disrepute. His concentration camps, slave-labor armies, legions of political prisoners, monster frameup trials, mass executions, barbarous repressions of workers and peasants and wiping out of whole nationalities have provided the world capitalists with their most potent propaganda weapon.

The Monthly Review editors dismiss Stalin's monstrous repressions, frameups and mass murders with an airy wave of the editorial hand. "One can argue that Stalin's methods were unnecessarily harsh and ruthless," they concede. But they add: "Perhaps they were, it is hard to judge." They are willing to put only a question mark over Stalin's vilest infamies. They sneer at Leon Trotsky, who "looked for salvation from the international revolution which, unfortunately for him, was in retreat at just the time it would have been needed."

**THE GREAT BETRAYALS**  
Unfortunately, the Stalinist bureaucracy did nothing to halt this retreat and for three entire

decades repeatedly betrayed great revolutionary opportunities. Stalin's policies led to disaster in the German, Chinese and British revolutionary situations in the Twenties; his conscious counter-revolutionary policies led to the crushing of the German, French and Spanish workers in the Thirties.

After the end of World War II, Stalin imposed a policy on the great mass Communist Parties of France and Italy that led to the revival of capitalist political power. In Greece he sold out a civil-war struggle. In Germany, he joined in the atomization of the country and the working class. He deliberately pushed Yugoslavia into the arms of American imperialism.

Huberman and Sweezy not only glorify Stalin; they wind up by

indicating their readiness to glorify his successor, whom they designate as Malenkov.

The two editors have given us no new revelations about Stalin that cannot be found in the official Stalinist press. But they have given us further and definitive evidence of their own affinity for Stalinism.

Ignatz Mezei, a 56-year-old Buffalo cabinet maker who came to this country from Hungary in 1923, faces possible life-time detention in Ellis Island after the U.S. Supreme Court recently ruled he could be confined indefinitely as a "security risk." The government has refused to make known its "evidence" even to a judge, claims it's "confidential."

## Labor's Political Policy

For three days running, April 14-16, America's only daily labor newspaper, *Labor's Daily*, discussed the most important problem facing organized labor today — the need for an independent Labor Party. This was done in the newspaper's regular column "Labor Today." It is well worth reviewing and commenting on the points raised by the writer of that column.

He points out that under the present system official labor backing is given to candidates chosen by the machine politicians of the old parties. "The result of this machine-picking is that in the general elections labor has a decidedly limited crop of political apples from which to choose. Frequently — almost always, in fact — Labor has a Hobson's choice between two wormy pieces of fruit." "Something is basically wrong" with such labor endorsements of Republican and Democratic candidates and "This situation should be remedied."

What is the remedy? "This we feel will be the path which Labor will eventually take, and this is the path to an independent Labor Party."

only by their own desires and what is economically and politically feasible."

After discussing the political blind alley that organized labor now finds itself in and pointing out that the only way labor can extricate itself is by building a Labor Party, the writer observes: "The mere mention of a Labor Party will be enough to give many people the galling tizzies."

The justification for presenting his views on the need of a Labor Party is that "until our country is captured from the political bosses, from the 'malefactors of great wealth'... until, somehow, we the people do in fact... rule these United States, then this writer is not free, and neither are you and you and you. And freedom, if you will pardon the seeming contradiction, is something worth going to jail for."

The above-quoted articles on the Labor Party question can only be hailed. Surely they will provide food for thought for countless union members throughout the country.

Many unionists will agree right off the bat with the idea of building a Labor Party. A number of these have for, sometime been agitating for labor's own party. Many others will think the idea good but not immediately practicable. But very few workers are so wedded to the Big Business parties that they will have even mild "tizzies" at the idea. Only the labor leaders, who are deeply involved in political deals with the Democratic or Republican machines, will get the "galling tizzies" at the proposal of a Labor Party. But since these deals are less and less nourishing with Eisenhower and his General Staff of General Motors in the saddle, even the labor bureaucracy will prove to be less certain and less powerful than hitherto in opposing sentiment for a Labor Party.

If the cold war is intensified the "logical step" of the union movement — building a Labor Party — will, in the opinion of, the *Labor's Daily* writer, be retarded. On the other hand, "A move toward peace, with a certain relaxing of international tensions and a concomitant relaxation of government control over individual freedom, can cause the movement for a Labor Party to bloom like a hot-house plant."

Noting that the idea of a Labor Party is nothing new in this country, the writer undertakes to explain why Labor has not already built its own party. His analysis is that the New Deal saved the capitalist system and that Roosevelt's "reforms, coupled with outer factors which led to World War II, bettered the lot of the workingman in the United States." Consequently, the workingman "voted for Roosevelt and the revitalized Democratic Party every chance he got." But the "magic" of the Democratic Party has worn off now, and it "is not the vote-catcher it used to be."

With Eisenhower's victory "the real giants of finance are in the political saddle, controlled

the idea of building a Labor Party. A number of these have for, sometime been agitating for labor's own party. Many others will think the idea good but not immediately practicable. But very few workers are so wedded to the Big Business parties that they will have even mild "tizzies" at the idea. Only the labor leaders, who are deeply involved in political deals with the Democratic or Republican machines, will get the "galling tizzies" at the proposal of a Labor Party. But since these deals are less and less nourishing with Eisenhower and his General Staff of General Motors in the saddle, even the labor bureaucracy will prove to be less certain and less powerful than hitherto in opposing sentiment for a Labor Party.

Many people have the fatalistic attitude that a Labor Party will arise in the U.S. only when the labor bureaucracy is "ready" for it. What they fail to realize is that (1) strong sentiment in the union ranks can make the leaders "ready" for it a lot sooner than they would ever be otherwise and (2) that once the rank and file see the light they will soon replace those official leaders who are incurably blind to the political needs of Labor.

## Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinism

# The Social Contradictions

By John G. Wright

**Social antagonisms in the USSR are by no means exhausted by the central contradiction, namely: the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy at the one pole, the basic socialist conquests of the 1917 Revolution at the opposite pole. Leon Trotsky also called attention to the antithesis between city and country and the antagonism between mental and manual labor. The columns of the Soviet press are larded with references to these two sets of social contradictions that have found a peculiar expression in Soviet development.**

In addition, Trotsky differentiated and analyzed profoundly a whole series of other social antagonisms, each of a different kind: the contradiction between the workers as a whole and the peasantry as a whole; the various federated republics, autonomous republics and provinces (to which we must add today the interrelations with the East European countries); the contradiction between the different groups of peasantry; between the different layers of workers; between the diverse groups of consumers; and, last but not least, the international factor, the social contradiction between the USSR "as a whole and its capitalist environment."

relations with the outside world except through trade" (Trotsky). Soviet agriculture as a whole still has no other means of "defining its economic relations" except through the market. Hence the necessity of concessions to the restorationist elements. Hence, too, the periodic collusions.

While Lenin lay on his sickbed the rising Stalinist bureaucracy took the road of further concessions to the peasantry as against the policy advocated by Trotsky and his co-thinkers of building up industry. Along this road Bukharin was later to promulgate the slogan of "Kulak get rich!" and to issue pronouncements to the effect that the kulak would grow painlessly into socialism, that "we can build socialism even on this pauper technical basis," that socialism could be built even at a "tortoise tempo," and the like. For his part, Stalin, by 1925, when the hiring of labor and the renting of land were legalized for agriculture, went so far as to begin preparations to denationalize the land.

the collectives for 'perpetual' use, which differs little from group ownership. The tractors and elaborate machinery [the Machine and Tractor Stations] belong to the state; the smaller equipment belongs to the collectives. Each collective farmer moreover carries on individual agriculture. Finally, more than 10 percent of the peasants remain individual farmers." (The Revolution Betrayed, page 234.)

In the pre-war Soviet economy as a whole, the specific weight shifted more and more from the countryside and agriculture to the cities and industry. In certain respects this acted to mitigate the conflict between the restorationist tendencies in agriculture and the swiftly growing state-owned industries. But in other respects this also deepened the antagonism. The majority of the population remained on the land, deprived of the comforts and culture of city life.

**BULLDOZERS** were used by the despotic British rulers of Kenya to raze the homes of 7,000 Africans in the suburbs of Nairobi April 19. Carrying what possessions they could on their backs, men, women and children were driven on foot to Kikuyu tribal reservations. Some 700 were arrested as suspected members of the Mau Mau independence movement.

**AMERICAN POINT FOUR** headquarters at Shiraz, Iran, were sacked by members of the Pan-Iran Party April 16. Demonstrations against Anglo-American imperialism took place in Tehran, the capital; and on April 17 the car of American attaché Eric Pollard was stoned and his Iranian chauffeur stabbed.

**JASCHA HEIFETZ**, world-renowned violinist, was injured by an Israeli terrorist who swung an iron bar at him in Jerusalem April 16, striking his right hand. Mr. Heifetz, an enthusiastic supporter of Israel, has given many benefit concerts in America for the Jewish state. He aroused the ire of Israeli chauvinists when he played a sonata by Richard Strauss, noted German composer, who died in 1949 at the age of 85.

**INDONESIAN STUDENTS** stormed the office of a Dutch newspaper in Surabaya April 18. Office equipment was wrecked and a picture of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands imperialist government was torn up and burned.

**BISHOP FULTON J. SHEEN** of New York denounced the people of Rome April 19 for permitting Communist Party election posters to be pasted on walls of the "holy city." In his opinion it was "a great scandal." The views of the Pope on this question have not appeared in the American press.

**WOLF SALUS**, one of the leaders of the Trotskyist movement of Czechoslovakia and a distinguished Marxist writer, died in Germany March 4. Salus met Trotsky in Moscow in 1927 and joined him in Prinkipo, Turkey, two years later. He participated in the armed struggle of the workers of Vienna in February 1934; was arrested by the Nazis in 1939. In 1945 he took part in the liberation of Prague and was awarded the Czech Medal of Resistance for his heroic role. After the seizure of full power in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, he had to flee to Bavaria.

## A Party That Is True to May Day

May Day began in the historic militant struggle of the American workers for the eight-hour day. The world socialist movement a few years later established May 1 as an international working-class holiday — a day when the laboring classes of all countries proclaimed their enmity to capitalist exploitation and rallied under Karl Marx's slogan of solidarity: "Workers of the world, unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains."

May Day was thus born in the spirit of irreconcilable hostility to capitalism and of universal brotherhood of the working people in struggle for the better world of socialism. It was for this that the pioneers of May Day, the Chicago Haymarket martyrs, went bravely to the gallows.

Capitalist reaction has never ceased its attempts to destroy May Day, directly by physical violence and police terrorism and indirectly by defiling and twisting its spirit and tradition to serve the exploiters' own ends. Thus, in recent years we have witnessed the organization of "loyalty" parades by the anti-labor jingoes and witch-burners who have tried to turn May Day into an orgy of war hysteria and red-baiting.

Within the working-class movement itself, there have been leaders and tendencies which have tried with every means at their command to betray the spirit of May Day, to pervert its meaning and bury its true program. The official top union leadership long ago turned their backs on the struggle for which the Haymarket martyrs died and have even tried

to expunge their memory and the holiday they founded. The Social Democrats, the heirs of the Second (Socialist) International, from the time of the first World War on have played the role chiefly of recruiting sergeants for their own imperialists in every war, and have trampled underfoot the working-class internationalism of May Day.

The Stalinists, ever the servile tools of the Kremlin bureaucracy and always ready to betray labor in accordance with the twists and turns dictated by the Kremlin's diplomatic needs, befouled the May Day tradition. Even while they face the hammer-blow persecution of American capitalist reaction, the Communist Party leaders, as in the Los Angeles election campaign, proclaim that "socialism is not the issue," support capitalist-party candidates and obstruct the party which fights against imperialist war and for socialism, the Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP alone, in words and deeds, keeps alive the true May Day spirit. From coast to coast, the branches of the Socialist Workers Party will hold public meetings to pay homage to our martyred dead and to pledge anew to carry through to victory the great emancipating struggle begun in this country three-quarters of a century ago by the American pioneers of the revolutionary socialist movement.

Elsewhere in the paper we list SWP May Day meetings. Attend and bring your friends and shop-mates. Refresh and renew yourself for the glorious battle for socialism.

## Fifth Amendment in Danger

The McCarthy-McCarran crew are much exercised about the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. Witnesses placed by the witch hunters under the oven-like TV lights for grilling have been invoking it to protect their rights, since under its provisions no one can be forced to give any evidence which might tend to incriminate him.

So the witch hunters have come up with a novel proposal to close this way of getting off the torture rack.

They want Congress to pass a measure that would force anyone standing on his Fifth

Amendment rights in Congressional witch-hunt inquiries to appear before a U.S. judge in district court and "show cause" why he should not answer the loaded questions fired at him by the inquisitors.

In brief, the witness would be forced to testify why his testimony would tend to incriminate him and why he is therefore justified in appealing to the protection of the Fifth Amendment in order to avoid testifying. If the court decides that the witness is not justified in his stand, he could be jailed.

Thus the Fifth Amendment, built into the Constitution by the founding fathers, would in effect be outlawed by passage of this proposed law. The mere fact that a proposal like this could be seriously advanced to destroy one of our main basic rights at one blow is an indication of how far the witch hunters have taken America down the bleak road to the police state.

**Their Morals and Ours**  
By LEON TROTSKY  
64 pages 25 cents  
PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

According to Stalin's doctrine, these contradictions, singly and collectively, internal as well as international, must and will steadily soften. Upon this spurious assumption rests his entire "theory of socialism in one country," and its corollaries, "the gradual transition to communism," "peaceful co-existence" with the imperialists, etc.

The Kremlin bureaucracy is itself the product of these social contradictions. It exploited them, at home and abroad, in order to intensify itself in power, becoming converted, as Trotsky put it, "into an uncontrolled caste alien to socialism." At the same time the oligarchy and its policies act to aggravate these contradictions, first and foremost, the antithesis between city and country, particularly as this antithesis finds its expression in the interrelations of industry and agriculture.

**INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE**  
An outstanding feature of Soviet reality to this day is the unresolved contradiction between industry and agriculture. Let us explain why.

Over the years, since the birth of the first workers' state, the contradiction between state-owned industry and the mixed agricultural economy has passed through several distinct stages, each stage marked by a sharp crisis, each accompanied by a collision, varying in intensity, of the regime with the restorationist tendencies. It would take us too far afield to treat in detail with all of the stages.

We need only point out here that the economic retreat of 1921 (the NEP) under Lenin and Trotsky was dictated by the need to make concessions "to millions of isolated peasant enterprises, unaccustomed to define their economic

This opportunist economic line inescapably led to a hot-house growth of restorationist tendencies. And by 1929 a crisis exploded during which the well-to-do peasant seized the regime by the throat. Stalin resolved this crisis empirically by an abrupt shift to an adventurist economic course — super-industrialization, "socialist inflation," forced collectivization, destruction of "the kulak as a class," etc.

In the early Thirties approximately nine-tenths of 25 million isolated peasant units were destroyed by military-police measures through what Trotsky termed a "single combat" fought out in panic "on the backs of the toilers; and since neither of the embattled gladiators (bureaucrat vs. kulak-restorationist) trusted the masses, since both feared the masses, the struggle assumed an extremely convulsive and sanguinary character" (Trotsky's biography, Stalin, page 408).

Millions of peasants paid with their lives but the agricultural base of the restorationist elements, while restricted and modified, still remained. Zigzags in economic policy from opportunism to adventurism, from concessions to peasants, to new repressions, marked the successive Five-Year plans. Trotsky's writings up to 1940 provide an unsurpassed analysis of Soviet economic growth, of each zigzag of leadership, each collision with restorationist tendencies, each successive crisis. What feeds the restorationists?

**LAND RELATIONS**  
"In the industries," explained Trotsky in 1936, "state ownership of the means of production prevails almost universally. In agriculture it prevails absolutely only in the Soviet farms, which comprise no more than 10 percent of the tilled land. In the collective-farms, cooperative or group ownership is combined in various proportions with state and private ownership. The land, although legally belonging to the state, has been transferred to

**PETTY-BOURGEOIS LAYERS**  
The Soviet Union went into World War II with a bastardized agricultural structure, not differing significantly from the one analyzed by Trotsky in 1936. The collectives numbered approximately 250,000. "Millionaire farmers reproduced under war and post-war conditions the well-to-do muzhik, a rural petty-bourgeois, and alongside him a layer of rural neo-bourgeoisie. These created their own counter-agents in the urban centers in the shape of free traders, free industrialists, alongside the consumer-producer cooperatives. They penetrated into the ranks of the party and government apparatus, including the army and the police. Collisions of varying intensity with these restorationist tendencies continued to occur during and after the war.

A significant change in the interrelations of Soviet industry and agriculture took place in 1949-50, when the postwar crisis of reconstruction was finally surmounted, and both industry and agriculture leaped to a new level. For the first time the urban population, previously a minority, now constituted the majority of the population. The stormy growth of industries, of new cities and city culture became a dominant feature of Soviet reality.

**THE VIET-MINH** drive against the French despots in Indo-China is sweeping through the Kingdom of Laos. The Liberation Army occupied Xiengkhouang, the important fortress town, April 20. Former French Premier Edgar Faure, chairman of the Foreign

**Casualties Now Total 133,787**  
United States battle casualties in Korea for the week ending April 22 were 324, bringing the total for the war to 133,787. Last week's losses were 496 and the previous week's 1,039.

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# "Ostrich" Politics

By Jean Blake

We see by the papers that the facts of political life today are forcing even the wishful thinkers in the official leadership of the Negro struggle to recognize that we are in a reactionary period.

When they hear that 64 organizations have joined a California group's petition asking the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold the right to sue for violation of racial restrictions in housing — in effect, to reverse a decision of 1948 — our Polyannas must realize that race-haters are emboldened by the anti-liberal atmosphere in the country today and are taking the offensive.

And even a staunch Republican like Ohio's leading Negro editor, W. O. Walker, has become perturbed by the fact that the Eisenhower administration is clearly making no concessions to colored people. As Walker noted in his personal column last week:

"The failure of the Eisenhower Administration to clear just one Negro for appointment to a federal job of some importance is the chief topic of conversation in political circles wherever the interests of Negroes are discussed. . .

"Up to now the President has awarded a number of very desirable plums to southerners. None of these are noted for their liberality in the field of race relations."

"There is a growing silence in Washington," Walker says. "Unless something is done pretty soon the explosion of this silence is going to have reverberations from one end of the land to the other."

These sound like strong words . . . but they have a very hollow ring. What do they mean? How will the "silence" explode? Will the Negro leaders denounce the Eisenhower regime, and the Democratic Party as well, for using the burning issue of Jim Crow in America as a political football? Will they call for an end to support of both parties and embark on a new political course of independence? Of launching a movement of Negroes with labor, the other organized group discriminated against by the rule of the capitalist class, to make some basic changes in our society?

Nothing of the sort is proposed or even implied by the present Negro leaders. Their basic loyalty to capitalism bars any course other than the ostrich-type politics they have been practising. They can only stick their heads in the sand and refuse to see that the era of reforms is over. When the tank of reaction bumps them in their exposed rear, all they can do is cry out and run to another hole in the sand.

It will take a new leadership, one that has its head up, that is using it, and that is determined to wipe out Jim Crow lock, stock and barrel, to adopt bold, new perspectives demanded by the times. Only a fundamental break from the bonds of capitalism can provide the basis for leading the day-to-day struggles against discrimination in such a way as to recover lost ground and win new substantial gains.

# Robber Barons Ride Again

By Joseph Hansen

The early capitalists in America have become known in history as the "robber barons." The label is an accurate one. In robber fashion they piled up enormous fortunes by plundering the vast resources of the virgin American continent. As an aristocracy, whose coat of arms was the dollar sign, they made their robbery legal through control of government power.

Although they skimmed off the top cream, they did not get all the golden fat in the public domain. Pressure from an aroused populace forced through certain conservation measures that saved something for future generations.

But now the robber barons are riding again. Eisenhower's victory was the signal to strap on the guns and organize a new series of hold-ups.

The biggest operation at the moment is the gigantic oil steal. Legislation now pending in Congress will turn over title of the federally owned tidelands to the states. This means in effect turning over property belonging to all the people to the private interests represented mainly by the powerful oil lobby.

It involves tremendous untapped pools of oil and gas fields in the tidelands extending from three to ten miles seaward from low-water mark, and also the fabulous resources in the continental shelf extending as far as 150 miles from states boundaries.

The most conservative estimates put the value of these public resources at from 40 to 150 billion dollars. But the real value may run into trillions of dollars, according to expert opinion.

This gigantic steal would seem to be enough to satisfy the most voracious. But it is only the beginning. Other legislation now contemplated would turn over to private interests the

mineral resources of the United States in some 700,000,000 acres of public lands.

That leaves the forests in our national parks. However, the lumber kings are eyeing them hungrily. After all, like the rest of the capitalist class, the more they eat the more starved they feel.

Even this does not complete the picture. Billions upon billions of dollars have been poured into the development of atomic energy. That's money from the public treasury. The fruits of this investment now open up dazzling prospects for the future well-being of the people.

The giant trusts, however, take a somewhat different view. They see a new radiant stream of profits if they can only sluice it into their bank reservoirs. And, of course, the Eisenhower administration feels sympathetic toward this kind of initiative and enterprise.

This still does not complete the list of safe-cracking jobs. In case it might have been overlooked, former Pres. Herbert Hoover called attention to the public-power field. He proposes that the government stop producing cheap electric power and turn over the facilities to private interests. It's not in the legislative mill yet. Hoover is only casing the far-flung network of government-built and government-owned power plants and power lines.

While these major stick-ups are being planned and organized there are, of course, smaller pick-pocket and purse-snatching jobs such as giving away government-built synthetic rubber plants to those in dire need of them for profiteering purposes.

With these new robber barons shooting up the town it looks like it's high time for labor to take down its political irons and get together a posse.

# Notes from the News

**COMMUNITY CHURCH** in Boston is being given the bounce out of the auditorium it rents from the John Hancock Life Insurance Company. Community Church is a 30-year old non-sectarian congregation that brings to its platform liberal speakers on social and religious subjects. John Hancock Life Insurance Company is terminating the lease on its auditorium next month because Fulton Lewis, Jr., extreme reactionary news commentator does not approve of the speakers sponsored by Community Church.

**PATRIOTISM.** Most of the workers of the Southwestern Co. in Chicago are Estonian Displaced Persons. When the AFL Chemical Workers tried to organize the plant the boss, who hitherto had posed as a benefactor of refugees from "behind the iron curtain," showed his true boss colors. He tried to prevent the DP workers from voting in an NLRB election on the grounds that since they were from a Russian satellite country (Estonia) they should be considered enemy aliens under the McCarran Act. He also fired some of the workers, accused them of being "Communists" and the AFL union of being a "Communist" organization. At the NLRB polls police showed up thus further intimidating the workers. The boss had called them saying that "enemy aliens" were voting. The union is asking that the election results, which were unfavorable, be set aside by NLRB.

**GUESS WHO GETS IT?** Between December 1951 and December 1952 prices received by farmers for all foodstuffs dropped nearly 12 percent. Retail food prices however went down less than 1 percent in the same period.

**20 MILITARY POSTS** in the U.S. have Jim Crow schools for children of service men.

**PURGING SPORTS HISTORY.** The recently printed records books list only ten players for the All-American football "elevens" of 1917 and 1918. The name omitted by the sports "historians" is that of Paul Robeson, who in those years was an end for Rutgers and one of the all-time football greats.

**THE NAACP** is giving official support to the strike of CIO Packinghouse Workers Local 262 in Selbyville, Delaware. The 350 strikers are all Negroes. Since the beginning of the strike Ku Klux crosses have been burned before the home of the local's business agent, threats of violence by white townsmen have been made and 12 local whites deputized and armed. A few years ago a Negro CIO organizer was lynched in this town. The union is demanding recognition, a minimum hourly wage of \$1.00 and a guaranteed 32-hour week.

**EISENHOWER'S EFFICIENCY TEAM** is trying out a new system at the Chicago Post Office with a view to installing it nationally if it works out. Postal workers must fill out a job ticket every time they go to and return from the toilet during working hours.

**COAL MINE EXPLOSION** caused death of five men in Lovilia, Iowa. The dust explosion was attributed to use of black blasting powder. Six months ago a Federal Mine inspector ordered company to stop using the dangerous black powder. Company went to court and got an injunction preventing enforcement of the ban. This company along with other coal operators even persuaded the Iowa Legislature to pass a resolution defending the use of black powder.

**CO-OP SUPERMARKET** set up last year in Akron by three big CIO Rubber Workers locals now does a \$50,000 a-week business. Store sells principally foodstuffs, but also carries drugs, toys, clothing, TV sets; operates a restaurant, dry cleaning shop and a credit union.

**SEA SAGA HERO,** Captain Carlsen of the wrecked Flying Enterprise, recently invited his aged father in Denmark to visit the U.S. The old man agreed and applied for a visa at the U.S. consulate in Copenhagen. There he was refused because he belongs to the Danish Communist Party. Old man Carlsen's comment was: "I think I can bear it."

# Generals Give Army Lyric A Trial Run

For some time the Pentagon has been concerned about the disinclination of the troops in Korea and elsewhere to burst into song. They don't seem cheerful. They don't seem to want to hum and whistle. So the Pentagon put its collective brains together and after much effort came up with the answer to the problem: What is needed is a song the troops will sing.

Composers were prodded and told to get going — the Pentagon wants a song that will bring out the lilt in the troops.

One song picked by an army music board seems to have wowed the Top Brass. They think it's good enough to be made official; but being cautious after having been defeated a few times on this song stuff they're going to give it a three-months test run the way you try out a newly designed bomber.

Some of the words that brought gaiety to their hearts are as follows:

"To the far-flung corners of the earth,  
At a moment's notice we're off and gone,  
Thru the dark of night or the dawn's early light,  
The army goes on and on.

### CHORUS

When there's trouble brewing anywhere,  
You can bet the army's always there  
Any place on earth we prove our worth . . .  
Ready to do our share.  
Let the shells come flying thru the air,  
Let the bombs begin to rip and tear.  
But we'll fight, fight, fight . . .  
Fight with all our might  
(We may gripe and yell . . . but we'll fight like hell.)  
You can bet the army's always there."

However, first reactions to this joyful lyric about shells and bombs and the far-flung corners of the earth have proved somewhat disappointing to the musically-minded Pentagon Brass.

Rep. Wint Smith (R. Kan.) for instance found a discord in the fact that the song "makes no mention of God, flag or country." He filed protests from certain organizations that think the song plays into the hands of "Communist" propagandists who have been pointing to Wall Street's dream about conquering the world.

Smith apparently also believes there's some dark plot involved in the composition of the song. "The author of the song was born in Odessa, Russia," he reports, "and came to this country with his parents at an early age." He was forced to admit, however, "that his record has been checked by army intelligence which found no derogatory information."

# THE MILITANT

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## Joseph Ryan Arrested



Arrested on a 30-count grand larceny indictment for stealing union funds, Pres. Jos. P. Ryan of AFL International Longshoremen's Assn. walks past iron bars in New York police station to be booked and fingerprinted. Ryan used union money for pleasure trips, clothes, cars, etc.

# Explosion, Fire In Chicago Plant Kill 31, Hurt 37

By C. Houston

CHICAGO, April 20 — A disastrous explosion wrecked a factory at 864-908 North Ave., in which 100 people were working last Thursday morning. Sparks from a polishing machine at the Haber Corp., makers of screw machine parts, are believed to have ignited aluminum or other inflammable dust.

The explosion rocked the plant. Flames spread rapidly throughout the structure. People knocked each other down running to the fire escape. They leaped from windows. On the ground floor, men ran out onto the street, their clothes afire — human torches.

There were two exits, a fire escape and one stair well. People on the third floor, unable to get out quickly, did not have a chance.

A third of the city's fire-fighting force was called to the scene. Firemen arrived minutes after the alarm sounded, but, with flames leaping out of second-floor windows, were unable to enter the plant for two hours. The toll as of today stands at 31 dead. Two people are still missing. Firemen continue to search the debris for their bodies. Of the 37 injured, 28 are still in the hospital, four on the critical list.

What caused this terrible disaster? Why should a building reported in good condition at the Jan. 31 fire inspection be brought to the ground by a spark less than three months later?

The employer claims that the dust-ventilating system was in good order, that no explosives were used, that a vat of mineral spirits used for dripping casts on the first floor had been judged safe by fire inspectors.

A 12-man "blue-ribbon" jury was selected to investigate the explosion. They discovered that the ventilating system around the polishing machine was not working at the time. An employee will testify to this at the inquest scheduled for April 29. Employees revealed further that fire precautions were lax.

At an inquest held by the coroner Friday, relatives of the victims packed the room. The 12-man jury and Edward J. Ryan, personnel director of Haber Corp., were also present. It was a heart-rending scene. Men and women cried openly. They shouted accusations at Ryan.

One man said that his nephew had died in the fire. "He told me he used to work with chemicals."

A woman revealed that her aunt had told her of cleaning her machine with gasoline. People angrily demanded the presence of company officials.

**EXIT BLOCKED**  
At the time of the explosion, Haber Corp. was remodeling the building. A stair well had been closed off, the doorway nailed shut. The one fire escape which ended on the 2nd floor had been moved to a different wall.

The 12-man jury has accused the Haber Corp. of laxity in building inspections and violation of safety regulations through a shortage of exits.

The 12-man jury has accused its request to Gov. Stratton for enactment of a new industrial safety law. Pres. R. G. Soderstrom urged enactment of the recently defeated House Bill 20 which requires all employers of 25 workers or more to appoint a safety supervisor and report to the Labor Department.

**CHICAGO May Day Meeting**  
Speaker: Frederick J. Lang  
Veteran trade unionist, author of Maritime  
Saturday, May 2, 8 P.M.  
Enjoy an international smorgasbord at 5 P.M. Donation of \$1.25 covers all you can eat  
Socialist Workers Party  
734 So. Wabash

**MILWAUKEE May Day Round Table Banquet and Celebration**  
Toastmaster: James E. Boulton  
"Short Talks On Labor's Great Men"  
Saturday, May 2, 7:30 P.M.  
SWP Hall 917 No. 3rd St.  
Donation: \$1.00 — Dancing

**NEWARK May Day Celebration**  
Speaker: Farrell Dobbs  
Sat., May 2, at 9 P.M.  
at 52 Market St.  
Social Refreshments

**LOS ANGELES May Day Meeting**  
Meaning of Socialist Internationalism  
On May Day 1953  
Speaker: Myra Tanner Weiss  
Fri., May 1, 8 P.M.  
1702 East 4th Street  
Social, Refreshments, Dancing also  
**May Day Picnic**  
Sun., May 3, Elesian Park  
Lunch served — 1 to 4 P.M.  
Games for young and old

**NEW YORK May Day Celebration**  
Main Address: FARRELL DOBBS  
National Chairman Socialist Workers Party  
"The Real Aims of Eisenhower's Foreign Policy"  
Fri., May 1, 8 P.M.  
Adelphi Hall  
74 Fifth Ave. Cor. 14th St.  
Refreshments.  
Dancing to 3-piece band  
Contribution 50 cents

# BERIA'S COUNTER-PURGE ATTEMPTS TO APPEASE UNREST IN THE USSR

(Continued from page 1)  
reliable henchmen, settle old grudges, cut anybody's throat and the like. But unlike the Stalin era, all this is today subordinate to the primary task of the first post-Stalin bloc to consolidate their regime.

Today's "ins" have exchanged mutual guarantees. They are trying to work as a harmonious team against today's "outs," who happen to comprise the majority of the former central party and central government apparatus. Hence the consolidation of All-Union and of various national ministries; hence the shifts of key personnel. Hence all the major moves now unfolding, not according to any blueprint but according to a "general line," which is naturally being modified by internal and external developments unforeseen, as usual, by these hand-to-mouth politicians.

For the sake of illustration, let us take the case of Molotov. Whoever his personal allies may be, he is working today hand in hand with the dominant group. To assume that any major shifts, especially within his diplomatic apparatus, take place without his prior agreement is tantamount to saying that Molotov is on his way out. But from all indications, Molotov is more firmly entrenched in April than he was in March. So are his old-time colleagues.

A transfer of such a seasoned Soviet diplomat as Dekanazov, who rose to prominence in Molotov's prewar commissariat, to the post of Georgian Secret Police Chief is just as much open to the interpretation that Beria is here offering guarantees of his good will (in Georgia) to Molotov (and others) as that Beria is simply taking over Georgia. It is a trifle premature to grant Beria, or any other single Kremlin incumbent, the power to move at will into the apparatus, party and government alike, of the different national republics, of the different provinces and districts. These constitute the keys to the control of the central party and government apparatus. None knows this better than Beria's colleagues.

What is now taking place is that the "ins" headed by Malenkov are consolidating their positions as against the "outs" who were, under Stalin, entrenched in the peripheral, but all-important, posts.

A major factor in this consolidation struggle is the mass discontent, as yet largely unorganized but nevertheless extremely dangerous of the regime as a whole. Working class opposition is a primary factor; that of the restorationist elements — secondary. Combined with general repressions against the apparatus "outs," we witness repressions by the "ins" against both the Soviet Left and the Soviet Right. To effectively curb working class

opposition, it is imperative to first lull the masses. Hence the concessions, especially the relaxation of anti-labor laws and other Draconic statutes.

The laws against the restorationist elements, particularly against "pillage" of state and collective farm property have not been relaxed. Neither has the notorious Article 58, Stalin's "counter-revolutionary" statute aimed primarily at the Left. The relaxation thus far has actually been slight. And that is how the incumbent rulers intend it to remain. But as against their intentions, there is the fact that fissures are appearing for the Soviet masses to try to widen.

A passionate, though still muted, political struggle is now unfolding throughout the Soviet Union. The Stalin Constitution, especially its "habeas corpus" article, provides a semi-legal cover. On the one hand, the extent of concessions wrested from Stalin's "heirs"; and on the other, the savagery of repressions against "Trotskyites" will provide the best gauge of the extent to which the masses succeed in intervening in this unfolding consolidation crisis.

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