

WHAT SOCIALIST U. S. A. WILL LOOK LIKE

By James P. Cannon (See Page 2)

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Purge in USSR Spreads; New Charges Hurlled

By John G. Wright

The blood purge in the Soviet Union, which began at the end of June, had as one of its main objectives the complete overhauling of the secret police. Within ten days of Beria's public downfall, confirmation came that this purge, as The Militant predicted, would not and could not be limited in scope. It has already extended to key sections of the Stalinist party and government apparatus.

His downfall came at a joint plenum of the Central Committee of the Azerbaijan CP, the Baku City Committee and "the active party workers" that was held, according to Pravda, "the other day" in order to solidize unanimously with the "exposure of the treacherous activities of Beria, the vile provocateur and agent of international imperialism."

But Bagirov was not removed on the same charges as Beria. He was not even denounced as one of Beria's henchmen. The July 19 Pravda says that the main charge against Bagirov was that he "violated the principle of collective leadership." He "supplanted party methods of leadership by rude administrative practices, trampled underfoot the rights of Bureau members and Central Committee members, refused to permit the slightest criticism of his conduct, ignored the proposals of members of the Bureau of the Central Committee, and personally decided all the most important questions." In other words, he behaved just as the other Kremlin masters do.

The post-Stalin regime evidently feels that it must have a "liberal" cover for its massive purge. The excuse of ferreting out "degenerates" linked with Beria is not enough. The question naturally arises — what local party functionaries, let alone top government and administrative officials, can now feel secure in their posts, if a Bagirov can be purged on such

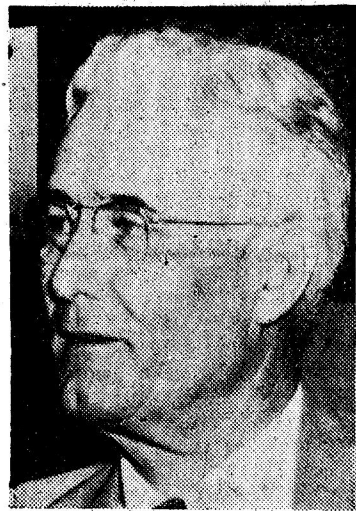
FEATURES OF PURGE

The following features of the purge indicate the new conditions and difficulties in which Malenkov-Molotov & Co. find themselves: (1) In previous post-war purges the hue and cry against "Trotskyites," "Bukharinites," etc., was invariably raised. The Russian press, along with the Cominform press, has thus far avoided this. But the Peking People's Daily, Mao's official mouthpiece, took a contrary course, referring to the "struggle against traitors Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kameney and their like." This was carefully deleted by the Moscow censors. Nor was it reported in the columns of the Cominform weekly, For a Lasting Peace etc. (2) Previous post-war purges invariably tied in with the Kremlin's foreign policy, victims of the purge being framed up as agents of some "foreign intelligence service," linked with

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Senate Witch Hunters Pass "Talk-or-Go-to-Jail" Measure

Labor Hater



Sen. John M. Butler (R. Md.), sponsor of a bill to require licensing of unions by Subversive Activities Control Board. Unions could be outlawed under this witch hunt measure.

Rhee Tries Again to Knife Korea Truce

Even while armistice negotiations in Korea seemed to be nearing completion and hopes for peace once again soared high last week, renewed provocations and threats by the State Department's puppet dictator in South Korea, Syngman Rhee, underscored the instability of a truce under present conditions.

The entire country was assured by Dulles after President Eisenhower's special envoy Walter S. Robertson returned from talks with Rhee, that an understanding was reached with the South Korean regime that it would unconditionally abide by the negotiated armistice. On July 22, however, Rhee declared that the truce must have a 90-day limit after which, if his demand for the withdrawal of Chinese troops from North Korea is not met, the United States must resume the war or promise to support Rhee in his renewal of the war. Otherwise, the dictator announced, "we cannot regard the understanding as binding upon us."

A South Korean cabinet member declared the same day that if a truce were signed tomorrow on the basis of the present negotiations at Panmunjom, "I am indeed afraid it would be a black day."

The day before, Secretary of State Dulles threw cold water on the truce negotiations by questioning at a news conference whether there is "a real will to conclude the armistice" on the part of the Chinese.

At the same time he asserted that he "would not expect a truce in Korea to release forces for aggression elsewhere." Thus he publicly layed the basis for resumption of the war in Korea after an armistice is reached, if the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people against French imperialism, for example, should appear to be nearing success with the aid of the Chinese.

These developments verify what The Militant has been emphasizing over and over again — that there can be no peace in Korea as long as America troops occupy South Korea and support the thoroughly hated and discredited dictatorship of Syngman Rhee.

Even if the armistice agreement is finally signed, the truce will hang by a thread that can at any moment be severed by the State Department or its agent Rhee.

Resign from McCarthy Committee



Sen. McCarthy is shown with members of his witch hunt committee before Democrats resigned, accusing him of assuming dictatorial powers. Seated, left to right: McCarthy, John L. McClellan (D. Ark.) and Henry M. Jackson (D. Wash.); standing, Charles E. Potter (R. Mich.) and W. Stuart Symington (D. Mo.).

Workers in East Germany Resist Stalinist Repression

By Murry Weiss

The workers struggle continues, repressions continue, the Stalinist apparatus is in deep crisis marked by a growing purge, and more evidence of the scope and revolution-

movement comes to light. This is the essence of the news trickling out of East Germany. Despite severe repressions and 300,000 Kremlin troops, the workers refuse to be cowed. They have changed the form of their struggle in the light of the new conditions but they remain undefeated and full of fight.

A sitdown strike of 14,000 workers in a synthetic rubber plant, at Mersburg has been underway since July 15. The demand of the strikers is the release of those workers arrested after the June 17 uprising.

A slowdown strike of the Zeiss optical workers has been in force since July 14. After walking out July 11, they were forced back by threats of the local military commander to "shoot every tenth striker." Their answer was continued struggle in a different form.

"We want action, not words" is the reply of the workers to the promises of concessions by the bureaucrats. The Stalinists responded with a "get tough" policy. Neues Deutschland, official newspaper of the Stalinist in East Berlin, admits widespread demands among the workers for new union elections. The workers also insist that the union apparatus should not be used for Stalinist government propaganda.

Walter Ulbricht, secretary of the Socialist Unity (Stalinist) Party, while admitting that in some cases the unions were acting as an extension of the long reach of the factory management, rejected the demand for "unprepared" new union elections. As for the demand for union independence from the government, Ulbricht characterized this as being in the interests of monopoly capitalism.

STALINIST REPRESSIONS

The following savage sentences were given: Lothar Markwith, photographer, charged with lead-

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Seek to Kill Protection Bill of Rights Provides McCarthy's Victims

By Murry Weiss

A bill to deprive victims of Congressional inquisitions of their last legal refuge was quietly slipped through the U.S. Senate July 9 in a little-publicized night session that devoted not more than an hour and a half to the far-reaching measure. The Senators said little about the dangerous implications of the measure. They took no roll-call vote. If the ominous measure (S. 16) is now stamped through the House of Representatives, as the witch-hunters plan, it will have the effect of nullifying the Fifth Amendment, the important provision in the Bill of Rights which holds that no man may be required to testify against himself.

Passage of the witch-hunt bill through this sneak play is a big victory for Sen. McCarran (D. Nev.) who has singled out the Fifth Amendment since 1951 for a wrecking job. Witnesses dragged before Congressional committees and grilled about their political beliefs and affiliations, or the alleged political beliefs and affiliations of their friends, have invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution which states that "No person... shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." Under this provision, written into the basic law of the land more than a century and a half ago by demand of the American people, a witness can refuse to testify on the ground that it may tend to incriminate him. This legal protection irritates the witch-hunters. They regard it as a "loop-hole" for "subversives."

Here is how the McCarran sneak play in the Senate worked: (1) The whole country was watching the sensational McCarthy-Protestant battle which resulted in the dismissal of one of McCarthy's bloodhounds, J. B. Matthews, and the resignation of three Democrats from his committee.

(2) With the spotlight on McCarthy, few people paid attention to the July 9 night session of the Senate. McCarthy seemed to be holding the ball and going down under a mass of Democratic tacklers. Meanwhile, McCarran scored a touchdown with his "Kill-The-Fifth-Amendment" bill. The measure is designed to tighten the inquisitorial screws by empowering Congressional committees to grant "immunity" to witnesses. When they refuse to testify on grounds of possible self-incrimination, they are granted

"immunity." Thus the Fifth Amendment no longer applies! This promise of immunity is a fraud and a trap. The investigating committees have become inquisitorial bodies that do not rely solely on legal penalties to punish their victims. Those called before the committees and accused by some bigot of being un-American are automatically smeared. The usual consequences, particularly if the witness invokes the Fifth Amendment, are disgrace, loss of job and blacklisting. Even to be mentioned "unfavorably" at these hearings is a signal for the whole McCarthyite pack to start baying. The actor John Garfield was hounded to his grave in this way.

But actually McCarran's bill does not grant legal immunity from prosecution. Note the following clause: "No person shall be exempt from prosecution or punishment for perjury or conspiracy." (Continued on page 4)

Chalks Up Victory



SEN. PAT McCARRAN

Kenya High Court Rules Kenyatta Trial Was Illegal

The frame-up of Jomo Kenyatta and five other African leaders who had been railroaded to seven years imprisonment at hard labor on charges of organizing Mau Mau acts of terror, was exploded last week when the Kenya Supreme Court ruled that the entire trial, which had lasted four months, was illegal.

The court held that Judge Ransley Thacker, who had passed the brutal sentence with a Sten gunner beside him in the courtroom and then was smuggled out of Kenya like a conspirator, had no jurisdiction in the Rift Valley Province where the trial took place. The defendants, however, are still imprisoned awaiting a second trial and the British crown government is moving to appeal the court's decision.

Kenyatta, head of the Kenya African Union, is the acknowledged leader of the 3,000,000 Kikuyus in Kenya who are fighting for their national independence against British rule. A reign of terror has been unleashed against them by their British overlords. Soldiers and armed police follow a "shoot-on-sight" policy against any Mau Mau suspects. Britain's Colonial Secretary Lyttleton announced that in the four months between March 7 and July 7, Africans killed numbered 1,300 and those taken prisoner 232.

Akron, Newark Share Lead in Fund Campaign

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager

Ten branches of the Socialist Workers Party contributed \$970 last week on their pledges to the \$18,000 Party Building and Publication Fund. This is the largest weekly total since the campaign began, but we are lagging 15% behind schedule. The scoreboard (see page 3) shows a national total \$4,307 through July 20 — 24% of the goal to be reached by Sept. 15.

Four branches have set the pace necessary to hold the on-schedule line — 39% or better. Akron moved up this week and now shares top honors with New-

work for first place on the scoreboard.

Chicago, in third place with 43% of its \$1,500 quota, is sticking close to its goal of \$100 a week.

Buffalo's hard drive shot this branch into fourth place with 42% of its \$1,500 quota fulfilled.

The other branches, behind schedule, are making a determined effort to catch up. Philadelphia, only 1% short, will probably be right on the beam for next week's scoreboard. Alma Seton says: "We are all very pleased to be so high on the scoreboard, and we're going to try hard to stay up there."

A \$50 check gave San Francisco a boost to 20%. Los Angeles is moving into high gear. Four contributions, totaling \$373, chalked up 19% for this local. Jeanne Morgan writes: "We are setting up two or three money-making projects for the summer months which will help us make our quota securely."

New York increased its score by \$192.

Milwaukee pulled out of the zero column with a \$25 contribution.

Clara Kaye explains for Seattle: "You can expect some money on our quota in just a few days. It's going to be hard to raise our full quota, but we are sure we will make it. Our 'down payment' won't be very large as some of our best contributors are currently on vacation trips, but we will make up for it as the campaign rolls along."

Ohio SWP Urges Governor to Veto Witch Hunt Bills

CLEVELAND, July 20 — In a telegram today, Jean Simon, State Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party urged Gov. Frank Lausche to veto two thought-control bills now on his desk. "Under the guise of anti-subversive control," said Miss Simon, "The Devine bill and the bill depriving public employees in particular of important civil rights would open the gates to unrestrained McCarthyism in Ohio." "By setting up a special agency for investigating the political beliefs, ideas and associations of all citizens, the Devine bill places a powerful weapon for intimidation and victimization of all opponents or critics in the hands of the dominant political party in the state legislature. "We urge you to veto these two bills." (See article: page 4)

The Narrowing Differences Between AFL-CIO

By C. Thomas (First of two articles)

In all of the current talk about unity negotiations between the CIO and AFL, the question of program, which should occupy the most prominent part in the discussions, is given the least consideration. Organic unity, as an abstract proposition, has great appeal to the workers but in and of itself does not and cannot provide a solution for the problems confronting the organized labor movement. Nor are glittering generalities any substitute for a positive program.

An example of the above approach is the statement by CIO president Walter Reuther in the July 20 CIO News protesting the AFL Teamsters raids on the CIO Brewery Workers Union. Our goal, said Reuther, must be for "all of us in the democratic trade union movement of this country" to "stand together; to organize the unorganized; to improve the economic and social status of workers; to protect labor from its enemies; and to build a stronger, more democratic America for all the people."

These are lofty sentiments. But Reuther does not answer the problem; he merely poses it. It is obvious that organic unity, by itself, will not bring the labor movement one step closer to its goal. The policy of the labor leadership has led the unions into a blind alley. Organic unity, under the same policy and leadership, could lead nowhere. Only a radical break with the policy, program and methods of struggle of the present union leadership could invest Reuther's generalities with meaningful content. This is the inescapable conclusion that must be drawn from the experience of the past two decades since the rise of the CIO.

The CIO enters the unity talks with the AFL under unfavorable conditions, as pointed out in the article on this subject in last week's issue of The Militant. It is smaller numerically, less cohesive than the AFL and is plagued by centrifugal tendencies. What is most significant is that it has lost that dynamic quality which distinguished it during its formative period and made it a powerful pole of attraction for millions of workers

awakening to trade union consciousness. In the period of its rise, the CIO took on the character of a vast social movement that overflowed the narrow channels prescribed for the trade-union movement by the fossilized AFL leadership. It attracted the best elements in the labor movement to its banner. Worker flocked into its ranks by the million and its crusading spirit engendered an attitude of fierce patriotic loyalty to the organization. Its dynamism was reflected in its rapid and continual expansion, growth of prestige and tremendous social influence.

To carry forward its program of organizing the workers in the basic mass-production industries, the CIO was compelled to break, not only with the AFL craft-union form, concepts and methods of struggle, but with the organization itself. Organic unity, under the conditions then imposed by the AFL leaders, would have meant betrayal of the fundamental interests of the American working class. The CIO triumphed by bursting the bonds of AFL unionism. It

toppled the hitherto impregnable industrial empires by resorting to militant methods of struggle. It went further and by establishing Labor's Nonpartisan League broke with the sterile Gompers policy of keeping the workers politically atomized. Implicit in these developments was the tendency of the CIO to break through the narrow trade union boundaries and move toward independence, not only on the economic but on the political field.

This forward movement was halted with the advent of the war as the CIO leaders adapted themselves to Roosevelt's war program. After Phillip Murray became head of the CIO the retreat became a rout. The Murray leadership surrendered the independence of the CIO to the Roosevelt regime in Washington, stifled its dynamic quality, dampened its crusading spirit, and more and more adopted the conservative outlook of AFL business unionism. True, the CIO continued to grow throughout the period of the war. The tremendous expansion of war production, together with the "maintenance of mem-

bership" deal with the administration in Washington, continued to swell the ranks of the union. But this growth was achieved by sufferance of the government and served to cement the labor coalition in support of the Democratic administration at the cost of labor's independence.

Parallel with these developments, the rapid transformations in the character of the labor movement heralded by the hectic rise of the CIO, together with the monstrous growth of war production, did not leave the AFL unaffected. Even the fossils of the AFL Executive Council were compelled to adapt their thinking to the new conditions. To compete with the CIO in the organization of mass production workers, the AFL leaders were forced to abandon their intransigent opposition to the industrial form of organization.

This issue no longer constitutes an insuperable barrier to unification of the two organizations. Life itself has demonstrated what the AFL leaders so stubbornly refused to recognize — that the industrial form of organization is the only suitable and accept-

able form to the workers in the mass-production industries. They went further. The traditional Gompers' political policy was thrown overboard and the AFL established its own political arm, Labor's League for Political Education. For the first time in its history, an AFL convention in 1952 endorsed a candidate for president, Adlai Stevenson. These steps constituted a radical departure from traditional AFL policy. An indication of how far the present head of the AFL, George Meany, has travelled from Gompers is his recent statement to a British audience that "if necessity demands us to go down the road toward a political party we'll do it."

These developments indicate a narrowing of the essential differences between the two organizations. Both carry out practically an identical policy on the political field. The question of organization form is no longer a major issue. Both compete for the favor of the administration. No great principle divides them. The question then, is not organic unity as such, but what road the American labor movement.

# What America Will Look Like Under Socialism

By James P. Cannon  
(The following lecture, given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum, January 23, 1953, is the last of a series on "America's Road to Socialism.")

We Marxists conceive of socialism, not as an arbitrary scheme of society to be constructed from a preconceived plan, but as the next stage of social evolution. The preceding five lectures dealt with the struggle for socialism, which develops in succeeding stages foreseen, understood and consciously organized by the revolutionary party on the basis of a program. The subject of this lecture — "What Socialist America Will Look Like" — carries us beyond our formal program.

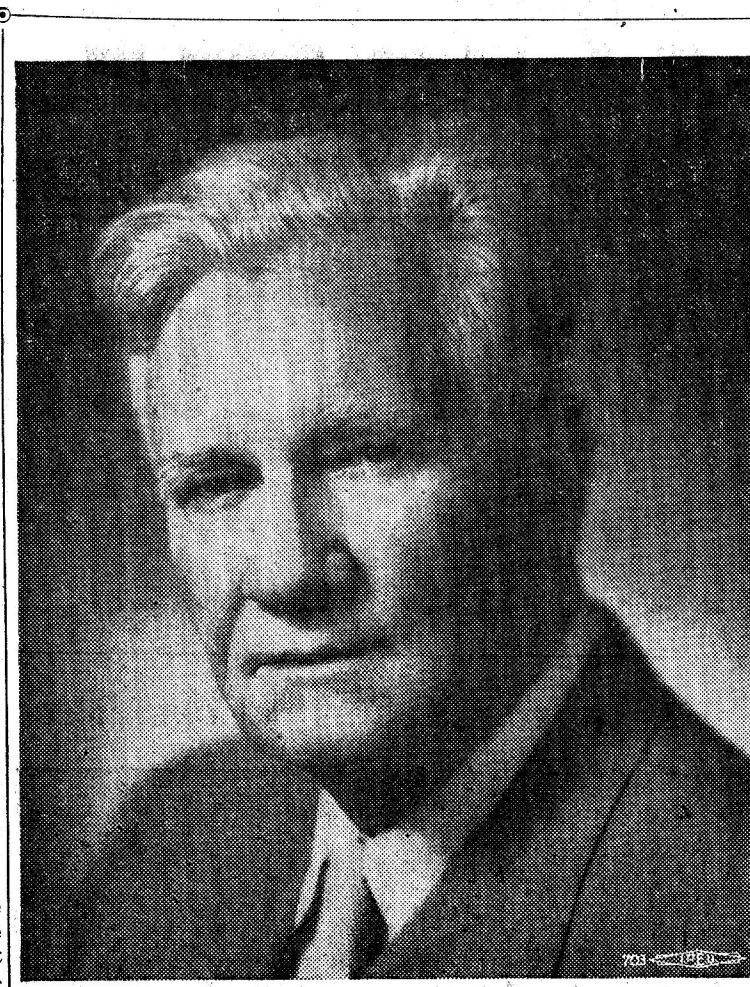
Our discussion tonight deals with the socialist society itself, which will grow out of the new conditions when the class struggle will have been carried to its conclusion — that is, to the abolition of classes and consequently of all class struggles. Our preview of the socialist society, therefore, is not a program for struggle, but a forecast of the lines of future development already indicated in the present.

The architects and builders of the socialist society of the future will be the socialist generations themselves. The great Marxists were quite sure of this and refrained from offering these future generations any instructions or blueprints. Their writings, however, do contain some marvelous flashes of insight which light up the whole magnificent perspective. The insights of these men of transcendent genius will be the guiding line of my exposition tonight.

Auguste Blanqui, the great French revolutionist, said: "Tomorrow does not belong to us." We ought to admit that, and recognize at the same time that it is better so. The people in the future society will be wiser than we are. We must assume that they will be superior to us in every way, and that they will know what to do far better than we can tell them. We can only anticipate and point out the general direction of development, and we should not try to do more. But that much we are duty bound to do; for the prospect of socialism — what the future socialist society will look like — is a question of fascinating interest and has a great importance in modern propaganda.

The new generation of youth who will come to our movement and dedicate their lives to it, will not be willing to squander their young courage and idealism on little things and little aims. They will be governed by nothing less than the inspiration of a great ideal, the vision of a new world. We are quite justified, therefore, in tracing some of the broad outlines of probable future development; all the more so since the general direction, if not the details, can already be foreseen.

In attempting an approximate estimate of what life will be like under socialism, we run up against the inadequacy of present-day society as a measuring rod or basis of comparison with the future. One must project himself into a different world, where the main incentives and compulsions of present-day society will no longer be operative; where in time they will be completely forgotten, and have merely a puzzling interest to students of an out-lived age.



JAMES P. CANNON  
National Chairman, Socialist Workers Party

effort to lift himself out of the framework of the present society, and not consider this conception absurd or "impractical." The contrary would be absurd. For in the socialist society, when there is plenty and abundance for all, what will be the point in keeping account of each one's share, any more than in the distribution of

food at a well-supplied family table? You don't keep books as to who eats how many pancakes for breakfast or how many pieces of bread for dinner. Nobody grabs when the table is laden. If you have a guest, you don't seize the first piece of meat for yourself; you pass the plate and ask him to help himself first.

## Help Yourself at the Banquet Table

When you visualize society as a "growing board" on which there is plenty for all, what purpose would be served in keeping accounts of what each one gets to eat and to wear? There would be no need for compulsion or forcible allotment of material means. "Wages" will become a term of obsolete significance, which only students of ancient history will know about. "Speaking frankly" — said Trotsky — "I think it would be pretty dull-witted to consider such a really modest perspective 'utopian.'"

The ethic of capitalism and its normal procedure, of course, are quite different. But don't ever, dear comrades, make the mistake of thinking that anything contrary to its rules and its ethics is utopian, or visionary, or absurd. No, what's absurd is to think that this madhouse is permanent and for all time. The ethic of capitalism is: "From each whatever you can get out of him — to each whatever he can grab." The socialist society of universal abundance will be regulated by a different standard. It will "inscribe on its banners" — said Marx — "from each according to his ability — to each according to his needs." I speak now of the higher phase of socialist society, which some Marxist authorities prefer to call communism.

In the present society people are haunted by insecurity. Their mental health is undermined by fear for their future and the future of their children. They are never free from fear that if something happens, if they have a sickness or an accident for which they are not responsible, the punishment will be visited upon their children: that their children will be deprived of an education and proper food and clothing.

Under such conditions this "human nature," which we hear so much about, is like a plant trying to flower in a dark cellar; it really doesn't get much chance to show its true nature, its boundless potentialities. In the socialist society of shared abundance, this nightmare will be lifted from the minds of the people. They will be secure and free from fear; and this will work a revolution in their attitude toward life and their enjoyment of it. Human nature will get a chance to show what it is really made of.

The present division of society into classes, under which the few have all the privileges and the

## Bring Down the Kitchen Jail Walls

Thirty or forty million women every day of the year trudging to the market, each one loading her separate basket and lugging it home to cook thirty or forty million different meals for thirty or forty million different families. What a terrible waste of energy, waste of productivity; to say nothing of the cultural waste; to say nothing of the immolation upon the women victims. The enlightened socialist women will knock the hell out of this inefficient, unjust and antiquated system. The mass emergence of the socialist women from the

confining walls of their individual kitchens will be the greatest jail break in history — and the most beneficent. Women, liberated from the prison of the kitchen, will become the free companions of free men.

The drudgery of housework will be organized like any other division of labor, on an efficient communal basis, so that women can begin to have some leisure too. Cooking and house cleaning, like any other work, can be done much better, much quicker, in an organized, scientific manner. Proper air-conditioning and dust-

catching "precipitrons" — which will be standard equipment for every home — will take care of most of the house cleaning automatically.

I cannot see why the average housewife, who isn't specially trained for it or specially adapted to it, should want to bother with it. I cannot see why cooking, house cleaning and janitor work shouldn't be one of the national divisions of labor, for which various people take their turns in the process for a certain number of hours a day, a certain number of weeks in a year, however it may be allocated. Or if some people prefer to live communally, as many have found it advantageous, they'll do that, and simplify things still more.

## Wonder Cities of Socialist America

What kind of homes will the people have under socialism, what kind of home life? I don't know, and neither does anyone else. But they will have the material means and the freedom of choice to work out their own patterns. These two conditions, which are unknown to the great majority today, will open up limitless vistas for converting the "home" from a problem and a burden into a self-chosen way of life for the joy of living.

Homes will not be designed by real-estate promoters building for profit — which is what the great bulk of "home building" amounts to today. The people will have what they want. They can afford to have it any way they want it. If some of them want a house of their own in the country, and if they want to have their cooking and their house cleaning done on their own basis, nobody will stop them. But I imagine they will evoke public curiosity and quizzical glances. People will say: "They've got a perfect right to do that, but they don't have to."

Every man can have his little house as he has it now, and his little wife spending her whole time cooking and cleaning for him — providing he can find that kind of a wife. But he will not be able to buy such service, and he'll be rather stupid to ask for it. Most likely his enlightened sweetheart will tell him: "Wake up, Bud; we're living under socialism. You've been reading that ancient history again and you've a nostalgia for the past. You've got to break yourself of that habit, I'm studying medicine, and I have no time to be sweeping up dust. Call up the Community Housecleaning Service."

## A Delight to Live In

Communal centers of all kinds will arise to serve the people's interests and needs. Centers of art and centers of science. Jack London in the Iron Heel, speaking in the name of an inhabitant of the future socialist society, referred to a matter of course to the numerous "Wonder Cities" which had been given poetic names — "Ardis," "Asgard" and so on; Wonder Cities designed for beauty, for ease of living, for attractiveness to the eye and to the whole being.

Farming, of course, will be reorganized like industry on a large scale. The factory farm is already in existence to a large extent in the West. Tens of thousands of acres in single units are operated with modern machine methods and scientific utilization of the soil, for the private profit of absentee owners. These factory farms will not be broken

up. They will be taken over and developed on a vaster scale. Eventually the whole of agricultural production will be conducted on the basis of factory farms. The agricultural workers will not live in cultural backwardness, in lonely, isolated farm houses. They will live in the town and work in the country, just as the factory worker will live in the country and work in the town.

The separation between manual and intellectual labor will be broken down. The division between specialized knowledge of single subjects and ignorance of the rest, which is a characteristic feature of capitalism, will be eliminated. The half-men, produced by these artificial divisions, who know only one thing and can do only one thing, will give way to the whole men who can do many things and know something about everything.

By this forecast I do not mean to draw a picture of regimentation. Just the opposite, for any kind of regimentation such as that imposed by the present social order will be utterly repugnant to the free and independent citizens of the socialist future. They will live the way they want to live, and each individual — within the limits of his general obligation to society — will decide for himself. Better, in this case, say "herself" — for old-fashioned reactionaries who ignorantly think they know what "woman's place" is, will run up against the hard fact — for the first time since class society began — that women will have something to say about that, and what they will say will be plenty.

Every child who has a talent for music or drawing or sculpting or molding or writing — and there is no such thing as a child without some talent — can become an artist of one sort or another. One who has an instinct and feeling for words can become a writer. There will be poets who will glorify the great theme of human solidarity, and they will not be starved and ridiculed as they are in this ignorant society. The poets will be honored, perhaps above all, because they have more insight than any others.

All-sided cultural development under socialism, will not be some special gift or opportunity for favored individuals, but the heritage of all. The socialist man will have the most priceless of all possessions. He will have time. He will have leisure. He will have time and the means to live, to play, to grow, to travel, to realize to the full the expression of his human personality. And that will not be the exception, but the rule. There will be a whole race of people enjoying and expressing all those things.

I have a theory — again a personal opinion and not a program — that there will be two kinds of labor under socialism. All, without exception, will participate in the organized productive process, the source of the peoples' maintenance and abundance. But that will take up only a small amount of time, as already indicated. Then, I visualize another form of purely voluntary labor, unorganized, anarchistic, practiced as a means of artistic self-expression, and freely given for the general good or as a service of friendship.

Handicrafts, once the basic form of production, were virtually wiped out by the development of capitalism because of their comparative inefficiency, and many of the old skills of the artisans have been lost. The cooperative machine process, which produced more things faster and easier, eliminated handicraft as a serious factor in the productive process, and this progressive historical development can never be reversed.

But under socialism, where machine industry will be developed to the highest degree, producing even more abundantly many times over than at the present stage of its development, I can foresee a revival, a new flowering of handicrafts on a new basis. If this is theoretically admissible as a form of labor in the socialist society, perhaps my speculative suggestion can be considered under the heading of art.

I spoke before of the artificial division between intellectual and manual labor, and the half-men this division produces. The whole man of the socialist future will not be content merely to know what he reads in books, or to write books, or to confine himself exclusively to any other purely intellectual occupation. He will be trained from childhood to use his hands productively and creatively, and he will have plenty of time to exercise his skills in any way he sees fit; to do what he wants to do, what he likes to do.

I should imagine that under such conditions man, the tool-using animal, will assert himself once again. There will be a resurgence of free-lance cabinet makers, shoemakers, hand tailors, book binders, etc. These artisans of the future won't compete with machine industry — that would be anachronistically absurd — but will ply their crafts as a special form of recreation and artistic self-expression, and to make gifts for friends. If they want to do it that way, who is going to stop them?

In the present society very few get a chance to do the work they really want to do, and thereby they are deprived of life's most solid satisfaction. "Blessed is he who has found his work," said Carlyle. But how many are so blessed? Most people do what seems best to make a living. Those who are able to choose their work, and to persist in it at all costs, are very rare.

## "I Made It for Fun"

Taking the present society as it is, I personally have had the work I wanted, that I thought the time required, the occupation I was made for — that of a professional revolutionist. But in a socialist society, where there will be no need and no room for social struggles or revolution, the likes of me would have to find another trade. I have thought that under such circumstances I would be a cabinetmaker, as my grandfather was, a man who took pride in his fine work with wood and tools. Another would be a book-binder, another a shoemaker, another a tailor — there are a lot of fine old crafts which will challenge the ingenious and the tool-minded.

Under socialism people will not fear to love their neighbor lest they be taken advantage of, nor be ashamed of disinterested friendship, free from all self-interest and calculation. There will be powerful impulses to give things to each other, and the only possible way of giving will be by doing, by making. There

will be no chance to "buy" a present for anybody — because nothing will be for sale; and besides, everybody will be free to take anything he needs from the super-abundant general store of material things rolling from the assembly lines. Presents, to mean anything, will have to be made, outside the general process. I think they will be, and such gifts will be really treasured and displayed on special occasions.

I imagine that when a man goes to his wedding, he'll wear a coat of many colors, like Joseph in the Bible, handmade for him by a friend who is an expert tailor, who has made it for him as a service of love. On holidays, he'll wear a handmade shoe, moulded to his own foot by a friend who is a craftsman, who takes pride in his perfect work. And when he, in turn, wants to present a gift to a friend, he will make it for him.

Your house, the house of the well-regulated family, will have as the things it is proudest of, certain things specially made for you by people who like you. This easy chair made to your own measure by your friend so and so. This hand-mortised hard-wood bookcase made for you by a cabinetmaker, as a gift. And those pictures and decorations on the walls — they were not machine-stamped at the factory, but hand-painted especially for you by an artist friend. And your important and most treasured books, which came well-bound from the print shops of the socialist society, have been rebound in fancy leather, by an old-fashioned bookbinder, a real craftsman. He does this outside his general contribution to the cooperative labor process, as a form of creative self-expression and as an act of friendship. I think it will be a great joy and satisfaction to be an expert craftsman in the coming time.

Morality, which in class society, is either a hypocritical cover for material self-interest, or an escapist withdrawal from the harsh realities of the class struggle, will be changed inside out. The advancement of individual special interests at the expense of others — the highest standard of capitalist society — is summed up in the slogan: "Getting Ahead" — which means: getting ahead of others. It is the root cause of lying, demagoguery and deception which are the central features in every election campaign, in advertising, and in all mediums of information and communication. The people are bombarded with lies every day of their lives. Capitalist morality itself is a lie.

## Truth Will Come Into Its Own

There can be no doubt whatever that the new society will have a different morality. It will be a social morality based on human solidarity, having no need of lies, deception, demagoguery and hypocrisy. Those who cannot conceive of any human relationship without the "getting ahead" philosophy of capitalism say socialism would not "work" because people would have no incentives. They really have a low opinion of the human race. Incentives will not be lacking. But they will be different.

For one thing public opinion, uncontaminated by phony propaganda, will be a powerful force, as it was in the unspoiled primitive societies before people knew anything about private property and special class interests. The desire to be approved by one's associates will be a powerful incentive. In the new society the most useful people will be ac-

claimed, not the most "successful" in the business of getting ahead of others; not the rich exploiters, the slick fakers, the lying politicians, and the generals famed for slaughter.

The youth will venerate heroes of a new type — the scientist, the artist, the poet; the inventor who discovers a means of shortening the labor time necessary in this or that occupation; the agricultural expert who discovers a new way of breeding seed and making bigger crops. The applause and approval of the people will be the highest incentive and the highest reward of the socialist man.

Scope for ambition will not be lacking either. The socialist people will be completely alive and animated by driving ambitions. But their ambitions will have a different motivation and a different direction. Struggle is the

(Continued on page 3)

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# What Socialist America Will Look Like

(Continued from page 2)

law of life, and so it will be under socialism. But under socialism the struggle of men against each other for personal gain will give way to the struggle for ideas; to competition and rivalry in serving and advancing the general good of all; and to their cooperative struggle to complete the conquest of nature.

The people will struggle cooperatively — and through the competition of alternate plans — to move mountains, to change the course of rivers, to control climate and to get the full benefit of all its charges. They will organize huge migrations with the seasons. Why should only the birds have the right to move South when it gets cold in the North? The rich have already claimed this right. The people who own New York, for example, don't live there much of the time. They spend their summers in Bar Harbor, Maine, where it's cool and breezy and their winters in Florida, on the sunny beach. Some of them travel to other countries with the changing seasons. They stop over in New York only in the spring and fall when the New York weather is better than that of Maine or Florida. That, it seems to me, is a very

sensible way to live — if you can afford it.

Under socialism, everybody will be able to afford to live comfortably and to travel freely, without passports. Can you imagine people living in Chicago in the wintertime, when they might be in California on a six-months vacation? Nobody ever saw the sun in Chicago from Labor Day to the Fourth of July; but here — I am told — it shines every day in the year — even when it's raining.

Some people who have lived in a frost-bound place all their lives may continue for some years, even under the new society, just from tradition, habit and ignorance. But once you get them to come to the Land of the Sundown Sea on a trial journey, and see what California is like on the 23rd day of January, they will never be the same again. And the daring souls, the pioneers who will find this out, will write letters back and the word will pass, and the idea will grow up amongst the people in the frozen North: "Why shouldn't we, with all our abundance — we can afford it, we have plenty — why shouldn't we travel around and enjoy climate with the seasons — just like the birds."

what kind of an economic plan we should have; what great scheme of highways should be developed; what system of education; what type of architecture for the Wonder Cities. Differences on these, and numerous other questions of public interest and general concern, will give the competitive instincts of the people all kinds of room for free expression. Groupings will be formed and contend with each other for popular support without "politics" or parties in the old sense of class struggle and the conflict of material interests.

In the classless society of the future there will be no state. The Marxist formula that the state will wither away and die out has a profound ultimate meaning, for the state is the most concentrated expression of violence. Where there is violence, there is no freedom. The society of the free and equal will have no need and no room for violence and will not tolerate it in any form. This was the profound conception of the great Marxists.

I recall that when I was very young, I read Jack London's *Iron Heel* and got from there for the first time, in one single reference, a glimpse of the socialist future wherein violence will be unknown. In a footnote to the manuscript in this great book about the ruthless class war in capitalist society, ostensibly written by an editor in the socialist society, the author calls attention to an enigmatic expression in the story. One of the characters is described as having the build of a prize-fighter, and the editor thought it was necessary to explain to the citizens of the socialist society what prize-fighting meant. This footnote reads: "In that day it was the custom of men to compete for purses of money. They fought with their hands. When one was beaten into insensibility, or killed, the survivor took the money." That had to be explained in the socialist society because they wouldn't know it otherwise.

Trotsky, in his last Testament, written in anticipation of death, said: "Life is beautiful. Let the future generations cleanse it of all evil, oppression and violence and enjoy it to the full." Just ponder those words — Trotsky was a writer who weighed every word. His last injunction to the people who would follow him was: "Cleanse life of all violence."

It is difficult for us to comprehend such a possibility, living in a society where even the smallest children are taught that they have to fight and scramble to protect themselves in a hostile world. We can hardly visualize a world without violence. But that's what socialism means. That was the ultimate meaning of our far-seeing teachers when they said that the state will wither

away and eventually die out. They meant that eventually all violence of people against each other will wither away and cease to be.

The people will turn their attention then, to that most important problem of all — the problem of the free development

of the human personality. Then human nature will begin to change, or rather, to assert its real self. People will recover some of the virtues of primitive society, which was based on solidarity and cooperation, and improve them and develop them to a higher degree.

## Solidarity Will Encircle the Globe

Leisure is the condition for all cultural development. "The Glory that was Greece," justly celebrated in song and story, was the first great confirmation of this law. Ancient Greece, borrowing from other civilizations, produced the first truly cultured class. In some important respects it touched the highest peaks our race has yet known; and in the Golden Age of Pericles it came to its fullest flower. Its attainments in literature, the drama, sculpture, architecture, philosophy; in the beginning of science and in the graces and amenities of civilized intercourse — are the original pattern from which western civilization stems.

But that glorious Greece had a fatal flaw. Its leisure — and therefore its culture — were limited to a very narrow stratum of privileged aristocrats. It lacked the technological basis for universal leisure and culture. The society of ancient Greece rested on a base of dehumanized slave labor. It was surrounded by a world of barbarism. It was con-

stantly embroiled in wars and eventually went down in ruins, and nothing was left of it but what is scratched on stone and preserved on parchment. A few ruins of the marvelous sculpture and architecture still stand to give an intimation of what was known and done twenty-five hundred years ago.

Socialist society will stand immeasurably higher than that of ancient Greece, even in its Golden Age. Machines and science will be the slaves, and they will be far more productive, a thousand, ten thousand times more productive, than the human slaves of ancient Greece. Under socialism, all will share in the benefits of abundance, not merely a favored few at the top. All the people will have time and be secure for an ever higher development. All will be artists. All will be workers and students, builders and creators. All will be free and equal. Human solidarity will encircle the globe and conquer it, and subordinate it to the uses of man.

## Our Role

That, my friends, is not an idle speculation. That is the realistic perspective of our great movement. We ourselves are not privileged to live in the socialist society of the future, which Jack London, on his far-reaching aspiration, called the Golden Future. It is our destiny, here and now, to live in the time of the decay and death agony of capitalism. It is our task to wade through the blood and filth of this outmoded, dying system. Our mission is to clear it away. That is our struggle, our law of life.

We cannot be citizens of the socialist future, except by anticipation. But it is precisely this anticipation, this vision of the future, that fits us for our role as soldiers of the revolution, soldiers of the liberation war of humanity. And that, I think, is the highest privilege today, the occupation most worthy of a civilized man. No matter whether we personally see the dawn of socialism or not, no matter what our personal fate may be, the cause for which we fight has social evolution on its side and is therefore invincible. It will

conquer and bring all mankind a new day.

It is enough for us, I think, if we do our part to hasten on that day. That's what we're here for. That's all the incentive we need. And the confidence that we are right and that our cause will prevail, is all the reward we need. That's what the socialist poet, William Morris, had in mind, when he called us to

"Join in the only battle  
Wherein no man can fail,  
For whose fading and dieth,  
Yet his deeds shall still prevail."

## 'Disaster' for Japan

The Japanese government issued a warning July 14 that Japan's economy will head straight toward "disaster" if the U.S. cuts back on military orders following a truce in Korea. The report attributed a big slump in exports to "shrinking trade with Korea, Formosa and Communist China." Trade with the New China has been blockaded on orders of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations.

## Americanizing "Pravda's" Lies

The lying and squirming of the American Stalinists, in their crude attempt to explain away the revolutionary movement of the East German workers against a hateful and tyrannical regime, is an ugly sight. With firing squads, mass arrests and other forms of terror, the Kremlin satraps are acting as strikebreakers trying to crush a genuine workers struggle.

And where are the American Stalinists in this picture? On the side of the counter-revolutionary strikebreakers!

This treacherous clique masquerades as a communist movement. They have nothing in common with the interests of the working-class struggle either in this country or elsewhere. Vena agents of the bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, they try to give an "American twist" to Pravda's monstrous slanders against the East German workers.

For instance, the Stalinist *Michigan Worker* complains in a July 19 editorial that Reuther made a radio speech calling "upon the workers of East Germany to rise up against their government." The editorial appeals to "workers who yearn for 'peace' to recognize that Reuther's speech is an abandonment of the 'line of the recent UAW convention resolution on foreign policy which called for negotiations with the Soviet leaders for peace.'"

There are at least three major lies in this one editorial of the *Michigan Worker*: (1) Reuther is depicted as an organizer of

the East German workers revolt. Actually, Reuther follows the line of Wall Street's State Department, and he was trying to sell that line to the anti-capitalist East German workers, who believe Reuther is fighting for their freedom even less than the American assembly-line worker believes Reuther is fighting against the speed-up.

(2) The UAW foreign-policy resolution is depicted as a "peace" resolution. Actually, the Reutherite bureaucracy supports the Big Business policy of heading toward World War III.

(3) The Kremlin line in East Germany is represented as a "peace" policy. There is as much peace in the Kremlin's actions in East Germany as there is in the "pacification" campaigns of western capitalism to put down revolutions of the workers and colonial peoples.

The Kremlin's counter-revolutionary terror in East Germany today serves the same aim as the Kremlin's sell-outs in Europe to Anglo-American imperialism after World War II. Through these various forms of betrayal of the interests of the working class, the privileged bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union seeks to maintain its despotic rule.

Both sell-outs and repressions weaken the anti-capitalist camp and facilitate the war plans of the capitalists. By the same token, the rise of the East German workers enormously strengthens the world socialist revolution.

## The "Little Tiger"

Witch hunters McCarthy, McCarran, Dirksen and Jenner were hailed at a Nazi meeting in Mannheim, West Germany, July 19 as "true friends" of Germany, according to the *N.Y. Times*. The speaker was an American pro-Nazi, Edward A. Fleckenstein, who said he had been touring Germany for weeks in search of "true Germans."

He appears to have found the type he was seeking among the representatives of the 30 neo-Nazi groups he addressed at the launching of the National Rally party. This new party aims at the return of Nazi rule in Germany. This is the kind of audience that can take to its bosom American McCarthyism and embrace the American witch hunters as "true friends."

The new German Nazis can find much to admire in their American friends. McCarthyism fosters views similar to those of the Nazis. It attacks the democratic rights of the people and seeks to destroy the Bill of Rights. It hunts down and persecutes dissenters. It pillories anyone who dares criticize its practices. It enthrone bigotry in the Congress and State Department and puts books to the torch in its drive to stamp out any expression of free thought.

In a sense the McCarthyites are the disciples of Herr Hitler. They may even dream of seizing power in America the way Hitler did in Germany. But this does not mean that they are agents of Hitler or of the new German Nazis. They are

native Americans who are preparing the ground for the rise of a homegrown fascist movement. This is attested to by even so prominent a figure as the Democratic 1952 presidential candidate, Adlai E. Stevenson. In Paris last week he admitted that when McCarthy started out he "could be considered a little tiger," but that "it seems to me that McCarthyism runs the risk of presenting from now on a rather serious threat, so much so that it would not be out of place to make an analogy with certain aspects of the beginning of Hitlerism."

Stevenson's warning is worth noting. It is also worth noting, however, that the Democratic Party head doesn't offer any proposals for combatting the danger of McCarthyism. The real problem is how to fight McCarthyism, to halt it dead in its tracks and destroy it.

McCarthyism aims ultimately at the annihilation of America's mighty union movement. It is this movement, matching in its gigantic social force the miraculous productive powers of American industry, that can put an end to McCarthyism. It can do this by getting into the political fight with its own fists — namely a Labor Party.

The time grows short. Labor waited too long to fight in Italy, Germany and Spain after the first world war. The price was destruction of the labor movement by the fascists. McCarthyism is only a "little tiger" today. We must not wait until it grows into a raging beast before we act.

## Why Do They Revolt?

What is the great driving force that is bringing one and a half billion people in the vast undeveloped areas of the world to revolt against the domination of the capitalist powers of the west?

The answer is *poverty* and the dawning realization that this poverty *need not be*.

As a pamphlet recently published in England puts it, these teeming populations "live in mud huts or tin shanties, in rags and in ignorance; they are almost always underfed, often ill and hungry, sometimes starved."

Some of these areas are among the most fertile and richly endowed on earth. But the great natural wealth is either siphoned off to the capitalist countries or development is sabotaged by the imperialist powers. Thus the gap between the poor countries and the rich ones constantly widens.

The shocking fact is that the 19 richest countries with 16% of the world's people monopolize two-thirds of the world's income. The 15 poorest countries, with more than half of the world's population, have to make ends meet with 9% of the world's income.

These figures graphically reveal the basic source of the urge for freedom and independence in the countries reaching from Korea clear around Asia to Africa and across the Atlantic to South America.

Every American worker who believes in progress and the possibility of building a better world must feel encouraged and inspired by the mighty spirit of rebellion that is stirring abroad. That is not because the American workers simply have a humanitarian interest in seeing other peoples improve

their living standards. They too are acquainted with poverty.

The prosperity in America, most prosperous of all lands, happens to be somewhat lopsided. Alongside the fabulous profits raked in by the capitalists, the working class has little to boast of.

For instance, the Federal Reserve Board recently noted that one out of every three skilled and semi-skilled workers doesn't have a dime set aside for emergencies. Among the unskilled or service workers, who constitute 55% of the total labor power, one out of two is living from hand to mouth. Even among the skilled workers only one in eight has as much as \$2,000 in bank accounts or assets readily convertible to cash. To round out the picture, we would have to know how deeply in debt the average worker is, but the above figures are sufficient to show that in the United States itself poverty remains an ever-present menace even to steadily employed workers.

A downward turn in the economic cycle, and it is quite clear that the American workers will feel not only solidarity with their class brothers abroad, but an irresistible impulse to join them in breaking through the limitations of the capitalist system.

That, in our opinion, will prove decisive in the world-wide struggle of the masses to end poverty. When the American workers decide that the time has come to put our economic system in order, then the socialist society of abundance, so eloquently described by James P. Cannon in this issue of *The Militant*, will be established on unshakable foundations and the era of hunger will be ended forever.

## Explore the Great Universe

The people will have ambition, under socialism, to explore the great universe and to unlock its secrets, and to extract from their knowledge new resources for the betterment of all the people. They will organize an all-out war against sickness and disease and there will be a flowering of the great science of medicine. They will look back with indignation, when they read in their history books that at one time people had to live in a society where there was a shortage of doctors, artificially maintained.

I believe it can be said with certainty that among the heroes of the new society, whom the youth will venerate, will be the doctors of all kinds who will really be at the service of man in the struggle for the conquest of those diseases which lay him low. Man's health will be a major concern and sickness and disease a disgrace, not to the victim, but to the society which permits it.

Having conquered nature, having solved the problems of material existence, having taken care of the problem of health, the socialist man will begin finally — as Trotsky forecast in his brilliant work, *Literature and Revolution* — to study, to know and to conquer himself. The study and mastery of the body and the mind will bring the socialist man to physical and mental harmony and perfection, to the realization in life of the old aspiring motto:

"a sound mind in a sound body" — producing a new race, the first worthy of the name of man.

Under socialism there will be no more private property, except for personal use. Consequently there can be no more crimes against private property — which are 90% or more of all the crimes committed today — and no need of all this huge apparatus for the prevention, detection, prosecution and punishment of crimes against property. No need of jails and prisons, policemen, judges, probation officers, lawyers, bondsmen, social workers, bureaucrats; no need for guards, bailiffs, wardens, prosecutors, stool-pigeons, informers and professional perjurers. No need for this whole mass of parasitical human rubbish which represents the present-day state and which devours so much of the substance of the people.

With the end of classes and their conflicting interests there will be no more "politics," because politics is essentially an expression of the class struggle; and no more parties, as they are now known, for parties are the political representatives of classes. That is not to say there won't be differences and heated debates. Groupings, we must assume, will arise in the course of these disputes. But they will not be based on separate class interests.

They will be "parties" based on differences of opinion as to

## East German Workers Fight Stalinist Reprisals

(Continued from page 1)

ing the June 17 uprising, life imprisonment. A master wheel-right, 13 years. A shoemaker, 11 years. A vulcanizer and a builder worker, ten years each, three farmers, six years each. Eighteen agers, four to six months each.

Nieske is a town on the Polish-German border. During the June days, the secret police headquarters were destroyed and the Stalinist officials were beaten by the workers. This is the first official news we have of the participation of the Nieske workers in the June 17 struggle. The reason for this mass trial can be gleaned perhaps from an Associated Press report that this is the town "where Polish tank troops saluted the striking workers." It is precisely where the insurgent workers fraternized with the Red Army that the Stalinist repression would be most severe.

The latest developments in the growing purge of the East German Stalinist apparatus dovetail with the reports of continued workers struggle, revealing a sharpening crisis in the regime. Adalbert Hengst, a secretary of the Stalinist party, was reported by Neues Deutschland to have been expelled for "supporting the provocateurs" on June 17.

Bernard Weinberger, Minister

## Nickle Bar Goes

The nickel candy bar is about to join the five-cent subway fare and the nickel cup of coffee. C. M. McMillan, executive director of the National Confectionery Wholesalers Association, gave this unwelcome news to the annual Candy Salesmen's Convention in Atlantic City, on July 9. He told the salesmen that the public would be "happy" to pay the ten cents for the new candy bar, but the salesmen took the news without enthusiasm.

for Construction of Transport Vehicles and Machines, is on the skids. He was "sharply censured" at the same meeting of the political Bureau of the Stalinist party that expelled Hengst. Weinberger is the second cabinet minister to fall since June 17, Max Fechner, former Justice minister being the first.

Will Stoph, Minister of the Interior, is reported to be next in line.

The purge is revolving around two parallel axes. First, is the reaction to the initial panicky reflex of the Stalinist bureaucrats to the powerful movement of the workers in the June 17 uprising. In their fright, the Stalinists tried to deflect the workers wrath by announcing all kinds of "concessions" and promising a "new course." Now the pendulum of official Stalinist policy is swinging towards open ruthlessness and the rooting out of "defeatism" and "softness" in the ranks and leadership of the party.

On July 16, Neues Deutschland announced that the East German working class is infested with "former Fascist officials, functionaries, and employees of the Nazi state, former businessmen, entrepreneurs, etc." This was followed by a declaration by Herman Axen, cadre chief of the party who said the "central committee will investigate rigorously in the next few days how everyone (in the party) has fulfilled his task for the working class and draw stern conclusions."

In a speech to the staff of the Justice Ministry, Hilde Benjamin conceded that the continued movement of the workers was damaging the regime severely. She made clear why Max Fechner was purged. There were "dangerous tendencies" inside the Justice Ministry "to spare the provocateurs, save them from their just punishment and thus enable them to carry on their criminal works still further." This "criticism" of

Max Fechner is made despite the fact that he reported 50,000 arrested shortly after June 17. Hilde Benjamin announced that "The ringleaders of June 17 can expect no leniency from me."

The second axis of the current purge in East Germany turns on the downfall of Beria in the Soviet Union and the accentuation of the crisis in the world-Stalinist apparatus.

The July 18 Neues Deutschland announced a "general screening" of the party. It stated that the workers of East Germany had "a very special reason" to draw lessons from the "treachery" of Beria. "Foreign agents," the paper claimed, were involved in both the Beria "treachery" and the East German general strike. Thus in the distorted mirror of the Stalinist purges, with all their frame-ups, can be seen the interlocking crisis of Stalinism in Eastern Germany and in the Soviet Union.

Last week's U.S. casualties in Korea, were 1,026, one of the highest weeks since November 14, 1951. A new total of 139,272 casualties was announced by the Defense Department. The total showed 24,965 G.I.'s dead and 101,363 wounded.

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| Boston                 | 550      | 193     | 35      |
| Cleveland              | 350      | 120     | 34      |
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| Flint                  | 250      | 65      | 24      |
| Youngstown             | 450      | 105     | 23      |
| San Francisco          | 1,000    | 200     | 20      |
| Los Angeles            | 2,500    | 465     | 19      |
| New York               | 4,500    | 800     | 18      |
| Pittsburgh             | 30       | 5       | 17      |
| St. Louis              | 75       | 5       | 7       |
| Milwaukee              | 400      | 25      | 6       |
| Detroit                | 1,500    | 33      | 2       |
| Allentown              | 60       | 0       | 0       |
| Oakland                | 250      | 0       | 0       |
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# Cleveland Scandal

By Jean Blake

Cleveland, Ohio, is faced with the danger of an outbreak of anti-Negro violence such as occurred in Cicero, Illinois, two years ago, but city officials nervously weigh political expediency against the costliness of a "race riot" instead of acting decisively.

On Monday, July 13, Wendell and Genevieve Stewart moved into their new home at 15508 Talford Ave. despite anonymous threatening phone calls and a meeting the previous Saturday night of 500 whites in the neighborhood who "wallowed in an orgy of racial vituperation" for three hours, according to eyewitnesses.

Mr. Stewart, determined to exercise his right to live in the home he had found with difficulty and bought despite all pressures to prevent title-and-loan companies from handling the transaction, hired a moving van with former heavyweight boxer Jimmy Bivins in the cab to prevent the advocates of force and violence from carrying out their threats.

That night he refused the offer of a three-man committee of the neighborhood whites to buy him out.

Tuesday, a meeting of the Mayor's Community Relations Board tried to figure out how to claim the whites and at the same time protect the Negro family. A police car patrolled the area. The Board passed a resolution urging the Mayor to issue a strong statement on the Stewarts' rights under city, state and federal laws and a clear warning that the City would act swiftly against anyone who engaged in further threats or violence.

This is the mush-mouthed statement Mayor Burke gave at a meeting with a

committee of the neighborhood bigots, as reported in the press:

"As a matter of law, if Stewart buys a home and wants to live in it, there is nothing the Community Relations Board or you or I can do about it. We are proud of the race relations record of this city. The board wishes to give further consideration to this matter."

Members of the city anti-subversive squad and the head of the Community Relations Board attended the hopped-up meetings of the white supremacists. The sessions were referred to as "leaderless protest meetings." Why didn't the officials who characterize the advocate as "clear and present," identify the advocates and instigators of force and violence and cite the law against them?

Vince J. Busa, president of the Lee Land Heights Civic Council, according to one local daily paper, was the only member of the committee meeting with the Mayor who was willing to identify himself. This is the same Vince J. Busa who led a successful campaign some months ago to stop the City Council from approving a low-rent housing project in the area.

No wonder the City Fathers are on the spot. They've condoned, if not aided and abetted, Vince Busa's anti-Negro campaigns up to now. But with no legal recourse left for the race-haters in their attempt to prevent Negroes from living where they wish, and with the Cleveland Negro community in no mood to back down in its support of the Stewarts' rights, the administration is being exposed. Political expediency, not concern for "law and order," is the rule it lives by when the rights of minorities are involved.

## Liberals Pick Halley to Run For Mayor

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, June 20 — With the mayoralty race well under way, the major development in the campaign has been the unsuccessful attempt of the Liberal Party to secure a coalition with the Republicans and its subsequent decision to wage an independent campaign, with City Council President Rudolph Halley as standard bearer.

Neither the Democratic or Republican bosses have as yet decided whose hat they will throw into the ring. The Tammany politicians are confronted with the burdensome problem of Mayor Impellitteri's embarrassing insistence on nomination despite a highly unsavory record that has now been capped by boosting subway fares from a dime to 15 cents.

Although Halley is undoubtedly the strongest of the major candidates, he appears to be somewhat uncomfortable in his role as an independent and is making strenuous efforts to achieve a "broad coalition" of "independent Republicans and Democrats." To demonstrate that he really means this he has selected a Republican and a Democrat as his running mates.

The Liberal candidate for City Council President will be Judge Juvenal Marchisio, a machine Democrat who accepted the Liberal nomination only after losing his bid for nomination by the Democrats. For Comptroller, the Liberals have nominated Chase Mellen, Jr., a former County Chairman of the Republican Party. Mellen, still a registered Republican, is a silk-stocking proponent of "good government."

**WANT A WINNING HORSE**  
With "Boss" Flynn and Tammany leader DeSapio opposed to Impellitteri on the grounds that he can't win, it now appears likely that they will attempt to shove through the nomination of District Attorney Frank Hogan or Robert F. Wagner, Jr.

**ALP CHOOSE McCOY**  
The American Labor Party entered the campaign with Clifford T. McAvoy as its principal candidate. This indicates a victory of the Marcantonio forces over the Stalinist wing in the party. For some time the Stalinists have indicated they would prefer that the ALP support the Liberals. Since the outset of the campaign the Daily Worker has trained its main fire on the Republicans and Democrats and has been quite gentle in its treatment of Halley.

A short week before the ALP's nomination of McAvoy, the Worker declared, "The role of the ALP in the Mayoralty campaign is one of the unsettled aspects of the election. . . . Election observers are wondering how the ALP campaign will fuse with the developing anti-machine movement." Apparently Marcantonio saw no profit at this time in such a proposition and refused to go along with it.

### UNION CHIEFS SILENT

Aside from the unions that support the Liberal Party, the leadership of the balance of the labor movement has remained totally silent about the campaign. At best their situation is not a happy one. Tied as they are to the old-time machines, they would certainly be reluctant to aid the Liberal Party to a position of political power in the city. At the same time it appears rather dubious that either Democrats or Republicans will come up with a candidate they can sell to their membership as a "friend of labor." Insofar as they can avoid the issue, a course of "sitting out" the race appears to be indicated.

The Socialist Workers Party, which will hold its annual City Convention August 1 and 2, will have before it a motion from its outgoing City Committee to enter the campaign with candidates of its own for the major posts.

### Dulles' 'Blunder'

Secretary of State Dulles, while testifying before a Senate committee, inadvertently revealed the plan of the Eisenhower administration to build up Japan's military forces to ten divisions. William J. Jordan, N.Y. Times correspondent in Tokyo, reports that U.S. foreign-service officers regard Dulles' revelation as a "blunder." They felt, according to Jordan, "that Dulles' statement had erased in one day months of patient work aimed at slowly bringing Japan into the free world defense community."

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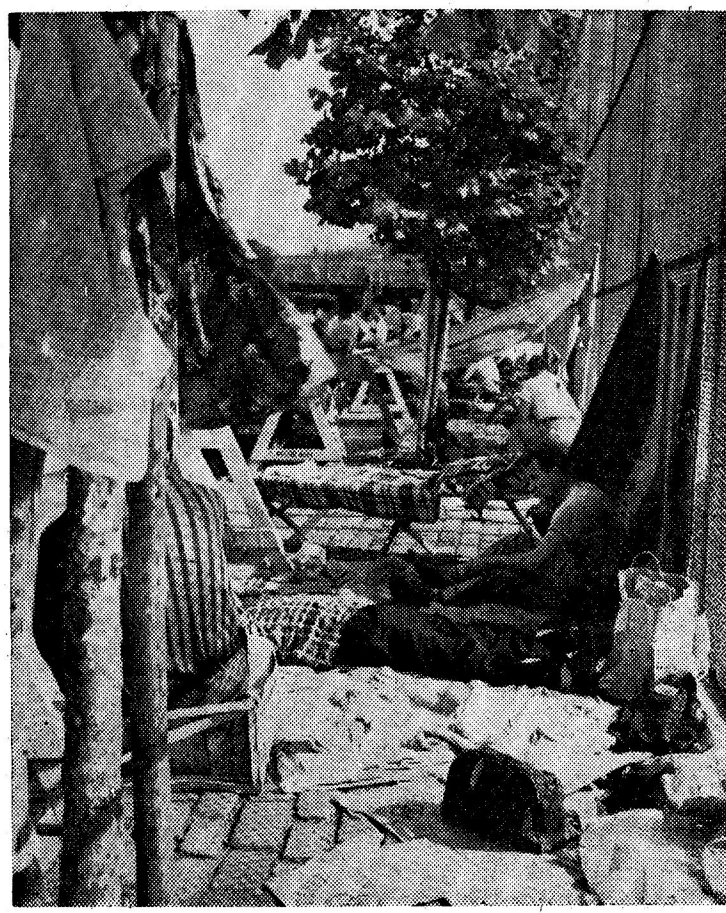
# THE MILITANT

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## Hunting for Jobs



These men camped out for almost five days on sidewalk line waiting to apply for New York City laborer jobs paying from \$51.90 to \$59 a week. When applications were finally handed out, 7,500 men were on line. Available number of jobs 180.

## WITCH HUNTERS PASS "TALK-OR-JAIL" BILL

(Continued from page 1)

tempt committed in so testifying. This makes clear the aim of the Bill — to destroy the present constitutional protection of witnesses and confront them with the alternative: become a stoolpigeon or go to jail for contempt or perjury. Contempt, if they refuse to inform on the beliefs and political associations of their friends; perjury, if they deny "subversive" thoughts and associations or make any statement of fact that might be challenged by a professional stoolpigeon on the government payroll.

### LIBERALS BUCKLE

The liberals in the Senate were either silent or openly favored the McCarran bill, or, while offering token opposition, actually helped the Nevada witch hunter stampe it through. The roll was called during the brief debate to establish a quorum, but apparently the majority drifted back into the cloak rooms. According to Richard L. Strout, Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, only a minority was present when the vote was taken. If this is true, then the liberals must be charged with acting, in collusion with McCarran.

A single Senator could have blocked McCarran's maneuver, if he had wished, by simply making a long speech. A filibuster in defense of the Bill of Rights would have attracted nationwide attention, put the heat on every member of the Senate and given the forces interested in defending democratic and civil rights time to mobilize for action.

The truth is that not one of the liberal Senators dared to stand up and fight. Not one felt it politically expedient to get in the line of fire from the witch-hunters: Senators Kefauver and Morse, who are highly recommended by the labor officials as "labor friends," supported McCarran, reaching agreement with him on minor amendments. In the course of the debate Morse admitted, "I want to say to the Senator from Nevada that we have not been as far apart in our objectives as some of our remarks might seem to indicate."

Lehman, the "reliable" liberal, made a brief token speech against the measure. Others like Humphrey, Sparkman and Douglas were tongue-tied. The liberals could have forced a record roll-call vote. Instead they participated in the shameful voice vote that passed the measure. Some, like Lehman and Magnuson, later recorded their opposition. Humphrey, Sparkman and Douglas matched their silence during the debate by refraining from recording their positions.

These are the people the labor officials ask the workers to support as leaders in the fight against the anti-labor reactionaries! One genuine representative of labor, backed by millions of organized workers, could have blocked McCarran's "Kill The Fifth Amendment" bill. But labor doesn't have a single representative in Congress.

### "FREEBORN JOHN"

In his Weekly of May 16, I.F. Stone, who was one of the first to call national attention to the danger of this new McCarran bill, recalls a timely bit of history concerning the origin of the Fifth Amendment: "The firm es-

tablishment of the privilege against compulsory testimony goes back to the case of John Lilburne, a contentious character who lived to become known as 'Freeborn John.' He was arrested in 1637 on his return to England from the freer atmosphere of Holland and accused of having printed certain heretical and seditious books for distribution in England. Lilburne was then a youth of 20. When brought before the Court of Star Chamber, he refused to take the oath and asserted that no one had the right to compel him to incriminate himself and friends. He was publicly whipped, pilloried and imprisoned. In 1641 the revolutionary Long Parliament set him free and abolished the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber. One of the successful demands of Cromwell's New Army was that no man be required to testify against himself."

McCarran, McCarthy and Velde want to return to the Court of Star Chamber. They are the modern representatives of the medieval darkness dispelled by the democratic revolutions of England, France and the American colonies. The American people face a crucial decision: either submit to the new tyranny and lose all rights and every protection against the economic and political program of capitalist reaction, or fight back and launch an organized counter-offensive against the McCarthyites.

The first step in such a counter-offensive should be speedy action to defeat McCarran's "talk-or-go-to-jail" bill. The labor movement must put the heat on Congress and demand that the "sweet talk" of the liberals be matched by deeds. If the House can be forced to hold public hearings on the bill, it can be defeated. Its backers count on rushing it through before Congress adjourns. Insistence on traditional procedure in considering this far-reaching and dangerous piece of legislation could kill it for the current session of Congress.

## NEW VICTIMS FALL IN USSR PURGE

(Continued from page 1)

Washington. Beria was accused of being a "hiring of foreign imperialism" but no specific foreign power has been named as yet in the current purge. Apparently the Kremlin is anxious to keep Beria's crimes primarily "domestic" in character.

(3) In previous purges, with the exception of Stalin's unfinished anti-Semitic purge, the military was studiously kept in the background. Just the contrary is true this time. The Soviet officer caste has been brought more and more to the fore.

Thus, the initiative for the purge in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia came from the Commander of the Trans-Caucasian Military District. It was Gen. Antonov who called a special meeting of "all Army Communists" and announced complete solidarity with the "decision of the Central Committee" on Beria's case. The plenums of the Georgian and Azerbaijan parties — and the accompanying purges — took place after the officer caste had spoken.

## Rank-and-File Strike Flares at Linden Over GM Plant Grievances

By Ralph Rodney

LINDEN, N. J., July 21 — A jam-packed special meeting of 2,500 members called by the "Rank and File Strike Committee," of CIO United Automobile Workers Local Union 595, today rejected an appeal by five International Representatives to call off their "wild-cat" strike and return to work tomorrow pending the negotiations of their grievances.

A counter-proposal was introduced and carried overwhelmingly not to return to work until next Monday, July 27. This proposal was made and carried in order to demonstrate to the General Motors Corporation that the men were prepared to resist the threats of management and the pressure of their own International officials in support of the fight for their just grievances.

The dispute which led to the walkout on July 16 involved a long-standing grievance of "forced overtime" for the men in the repair department. For the past six months or more, these men have been compelled to work 12 hours a day, 7 days a week. Any refusal to work these killing hours was met with the imposition of drastic penalties by the corporation. The dispute came to a head when one of the men in the repair department refused to work overtime one evening and was suspended by management.

A majority of the repair men walked out in protest. A union meeting was held after the end of the shift, and decided to strike the plant. When the day shift showed up the next day they were met by pickets at the gate and refused to go to work. The plant was shut down tight. At a special meeting called on Saturday, July 18, attended by approximately 500 members, the whole question of working conditions in the plant came up for discussion. Many grievances of long standing were raised and the fight was broadened to include the most pressing of these grievances.

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## Mounting Opposition in Ohio Seeks Veto of "Dangerous" Thoughts Bills

CLEVELAND, July 20 — A new wave of opposition to the two thought-control bills passed by the 100th General Assembly of Ohio developed this week as House Bills 308 and 575 went to Gov. Frank Lausche for his signature.

Unions, minority parties and the American Civil Liberties Union sent wires to the governor urging him to veto the measures. In a lead editorial July 19, the powerful Cleveland Press, local Scripps-Howard publication, headed the daily press in opposing the "anti-subversive" bills.

Although the newspapers had been silent on the matter, the news leaked out early this week that the opposition was considerable by the time the omnibus Devine Bill (308) reached the Senate for a vote last week. A third of the Senators voted against it (11 to 19). Moreover, since opposition to these bills was reportedly made a matter of party policy in the Democratic caucus in the Senate, some hope was felt in liberal circles that Lausche, nominally a Democrat, may veto the bills.

The feeling is spreading in Ohio that the new restrictive legislation would give a green light to McCarthyism in this state. As it becomes apparent that McCarthy does not stop with attacks on radicals, but aims to clean out Democrats and anti-McCarthy Republicans as well, Ohio Democrats are beginning to recognize the danger to themselves of a similar drive in this state where the Republicans control the legislature.

Even if the governor should veto the Devine Bill and H. B. 575, which denies public employees the right to refuse to testify against themselves in investigations into their political activities, the Legislature could and probably would pass the bills over his veto. However, opposition to the reactionary drive of the witch-hunters itself would then be taken out of the realm of "subversive" activities.

At the opening of the 100th Legislature last winter anyone who criticized or opposed the recommendations of the Ohio American Activities Commission was treated as a suspect. At the close of the session that is no longer the case.

### SPECIAL SESSION

To top it all, a special session was held "the other day" in Moscow of "party activists of the Ministry of Defense of the USSR." The report was made by Col. Gen. Zheltov, chief of the Army's Political Department, i.e., the military secret police.

In addition to Marshal Bulganin, Minister of Defense, the floor was taken by Marshal Zhukov, Admiral Kuznetsov, Marshals Sokolovsky, Govorov, Budenny and Peresepkin, plus Artillery Col. Gen. Nedelin and Air Force Col. Gen. Zhigarev. The name of Marshal Vassilevsky, Deputy Minister of Defense, is strangely missing from this list.

These grievances are not peculiar to the Linden General Motors Buick-Oldsmobile-Pontiac assembly plant but are general throughout the GM empire. In a leaflet setting forth the reasons for the strike, the "Rank and File Strike Committee" listed the main grievances as follows:

**Excessive Overtime:** 12-hour days, 7-day weeks have got to stop! The excessive hours GM forces us to work are ruinous to our health, our families and our dignity.

**Inadequate Relief:** We demand adequate relief. The company has been giving us no relief, or running gaps of 3 to 5 minutes at their convenience.

**Speedup:** The killing speedup forced on us by the company must stop. It is injuring our health, shortening our lives.

**Union Representation:** No more coercion and intimidation of workers, new or old, for filing grievances and other legitimate union activities, etc., etc.

While admitting that the men had legitimate grievances, the main concern of the International Representatives was to get the men back to work. They promised that if negotiations failed to bring relief a strike vote would be authorized. They pointed to the weakness of tying up one GM assembly plant as an argument to get the men back. But what they failed to stress was that all General Motors B.O.P. plants throughout the country have the same grievances and the way to force the corporation to come to terms would be to strike them all at one time in preference to the one-at-a-time outbreaks that constantly occur as the patience and endurance of the GM workers become exhausted.

## A Cop Stops You

By Manuel Rodriguez

You drive along the highway, a citizen of the 'free world' somewhere near Galveston, Texas. You're a doctor, graduate of the Texas Medical College. You were the first Negro to be admitted into that Medical School and you received the highest honors of your class of 1953. Now you're interning in a local hospital. Your teachers and associates have a high opinion of your ability. They expect a brilliant career for you.

A highway cop stops you. He claims you were speeding. Maybe he doesn't like your looks. He decides to take you down a peg. He puts the handcuffs on you and then comes down on your head with his pistol. That's the last you remember. You wake up in a hospital and they tell you it took 27 stitches to pull your lacerated scalp together. What you feel in your heart can't be stitched together.

Your friends go to the local redress committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the NAACP attorney asks the FBI to investigate the violation of your civil rights. The

and their cronies are enraged. They decide to give you the works. The cop, thinking fast, claims that you pulled a knife on him, that he had to subdue you in self-defense. They charge you with speeding, resisting arrest, assault with a deadly weapon, and intent to commit murder.

A rusty blood-stained knife is found by a Justice of the Peace near the place you were beaten. They don't stop to think that the cop didn't claim to be wounded and that they will have to explain the blood stains.

Now you face serious charges with the possibility of long imprisonment. Just to let you know what Southern justice thinks about your case, the Judge fixes your bail at \$10,000. Now besides recovering from a pistol whipping you've got to defend yourself against a frame-up.

An imaginary incident? Not at all. It's a real-life case, and not an unusual one either. It's the way capitalist democracy works in the U.S.A. in 1953, as Dr. Herman Barnett of Galveston, Texas, can testify.

## Notes from the News

**CLASS-MINDED JUDGE.** U.S. District Court Judge James Alger Fee in Portland, Oregon ruled that 54 transportation firms are liable for damages because their employees refused to cross picket lines of the Montgomery Ward strikers in 1941. Attacking unionism, the Judge made the novel argument that "The insistence upon the paramount obligation of an employee to some distant union . . . is the basis of the Marxian conflict of classes."

**BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM** of the Methodist Church after requesting and getting a public hearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee, attacked some of its procedures. Bishop Oxnam said in part: "It gives rise to a new and vicious expression of Ku-Kluxism, in which an innocent person may be beaten by unknown assailants, who are cloaked in anonymity and at times immunity, and whose whips are cleverly constructed lists of so-called subversive organizations and whose floggings appear all too often to be sadistic in spirit rather than patriotic in purpose."

**FREE ENTERPRISE.** A 28-year-old Texas woman has offered to sell one of her eyes for \$10,000 because "all of her married life has been a struggle and she hopes to pay off debts and get a fresh start by moving her family to Alaska."

**FORMER CHAIRMAN** of the Democratic National Committee James A. Farley told the Colgate University Conference on July 16 that much of the criticism of over-seas book-burning was "hysteria" on the part of persons who had not "ascertained the facts." Mr. Farley, who is president of the Coca-Cola Export Corporation, says that we should make available abroad only those books about the United States "which would put us in a favorable light." Only Coca-Cola and half-truths for export, Mr. Farley?

**THE CONEY ISLAND** amusement park in Cincinnati, Ohio is being sued by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for denying admission to Negroes.

**SKYROCKETING TRANSIT FARES** are taking an increasing bite out of workers' incomes. According to the July 20 Wall Street Journal, "There are now 42 cities in the 25,000-or-more population class that charge a 15-cent transit fare. . . . Eight transit systems have moved up to 20 cents." Before the end of World War II most cities charged only a nickel or dime. What's more, for more money, transit riders are getting slower and worse service today.

**THE VERY REVEREND** Francis J. Connell, dean of the School of Sacred Theology of Catholic University, defended not only the right but the duty of the government to ban books in overseas libraries. Writing in the August issue of Catholic Men, this patron of the book burners declared: "Every decent person agrees that obscene writing should be banned, but some do not seem to realize that false philosophies of life can also be harmful. . . ."

**IN REPLY TO A LETTER** of Norman Thomas suggesting that "socialists" might be useful in the Mutual Security Agency in dealing with countries where socialists were in office, Scott McLeod, head of the State Department security system, pointed out to Thomas that "it would be impossible for a socialist to make or influence policy which would carry out the intentions of President Eisenhower and the Republican administration."

**THE COST-OF-LIVING**, according to the latest Consumers Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is now at an all-time high as food prices continue to advance. Rents and other living costs are expected to push the index still higher.

**ARMY JUSTICE.** Seven soldiers, ranging in age from 18 to 21, were found guilty of mutiny by a general court martial last week. They were charged with acting in concert to override lawful military authority when they disobeyed an officer's command to fall in for close-order drill. They received sentences of 15 to 20 years imprisonment each.

**SECURITY SCREENING** by the Coast Guard of maritime workers was upheld by Federal District Judge Edward P. Murphy, in San Francisco. The Judge ruled, however, that a worker must be given specification of charges against him if he insists, but not the source of the charges. A screened worker is also denied the right to confront and cross-examine adverse witnesses.

**"JOSEPH PORGIE"** got his job thanks to Mayor Impellitteri. Fired last March after 45 years service for the city because a stoolpigeon reported that Porgie's real name was Nicholas Lana, the 74-year-old worker couldn't get his pension. He finally managed to get a break in the papers about his case. The mayor's sudden charitable interest in Porgie won his Honor a round of applause in the press, all of which helps in what looks like a tough year to win another term in office.