

# Where Will American Labor Go from Here?

By Farrell Dobbs

The political policies of the labor leaders have been proved bankrupt. For twenty years they have been the most ardent supporters of the Democratic Party. They have insisted that only support of the Democratic machine could stem reaction. They have bitterly opposed the creation of a labor party. The end result of their policy is the elevation to power of the party of Taft and McCarthy.

By supporting the Democrats, the labor leaders were aiding those who paved the way for the Republican victory and the strengthening of reaction. Above all, by their alliance with the Democrats, the labor leaders gave sanction to the Korean War, the most unpopular war in U.S. history. While sentiment was growing for an end to this war and for withdrawal of American troops from Korea, these union officials backed the party that openly espoused continuation of the war.

The Republicans were able to capitalize on the popular sentiment against the Korean War because the labor movement offered no political alternative, by way of a powerful labor party, to those who were disgusted and angered by the "police action" initiated by the Truman administration. These disaffected people, especially among the middle class, sought to protest by voting for the Republicans.

This Democratic Party which the labor leaders supported has fostered reaction all down the line. The Democrats have not carried through a single significant progressive measure since 1938. Under the Democrats, as Stevenson boasted, the corporations amassed profits on a scale never known before. One reactionary law after another — the Smith Gag Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the McCarran Concentration-Camp Act, the McCarran Immigration Act — has been pushed through with the majority support of the Democrats in Congress.

Instead of mobilizing the mighty power of labor and its allies to fight the reactionary trend of the Democrats, the union officials deliberately concealed it. They closed their eyes to the anti-labor implications in Stevenson's speeches, as they had previously ignored the many strike-breaking acts of both Roosevelt and Truman. Instead of fighting tooth and nail to defend civil liberties against the anti-Communist witch hunt initiated and carried through by the Truman administration, they emulated this witch hunt in their own unions. They helped pave the way for the Republican triumph.

Thus, the energy, activity and resources that labor spent on this election are worse than wasted. If this same energy and resources had been used to lay the basis for labor's own party, there would now be something solid and substantial on which to build for the future. If labor had built its own party soon enough to campaign independently in this election, we might have had a Workers and Farmers Government in Washington today instead of those darlings of Wall Street, Eisenhower and Nixon.

Let us heed the lesson and warning of this election. Labor does not have unlimited time ahead. The next logical and imperative step for labor is to fight for political power in its own name and on its own program.

Our party, the Socialist Workers Party, has campaigned for the socialist solution to war and capitalist crisis and for a complete break of the labor movement with the two-party system of Big Business. The debacle of the policy of labor support for the Democratic capitalist party underscores the need to fight harder than ever for our program.

Labor must come forth with its own party as the political leader of the nation. That is the only way we will be able to halt reaction in its tracks and to carry through a progressive solution of the grave problems facing the American people.

## PEKING PEACE CONFERENCE HEARS CEYLON REVOLUTIONIST

The participation of Ceylonese representatives of the Fourth International in the recent Peking Peace Conference of Asian peoples is reported in the Oct. 30 issue of Samasamajist, English weekly of the Lanka Samasamaja Party. Two LSSP leaders, Edmund Samarakkody and Hector Fernando, were members of the Ceylon delegation to the conference.

Edmund Samarakkody, addressing the General Session of the Peking Peace Conference, made a stirring appeal for the overthrow of imperialism as the prerequisite for the restoration of peace in Asia. He spoke in behalf of the entire delegation which represented different points of view, according to the Samasamajist. We reproduce his speech below:

As a representative of the workers, peasants and the peace-loving people of Ceylon, my first task is to extend our fraternal greeting to the People's Republic of China which has arisen out of the mighty revolutionary struggles of the Chinese people. We hail the victories of the Chinese people and stand shoulder to shoulder with the class warriors of the Chinese Revolution in the historic struggles still facing them.

The far-reaching changes in China and the astounding achievements of the Chinese people within a short period of three years are the greatest incentive for the maintenance of peace. Nearly one-fifth of the human race are moulding with their own hands a new society with unexampled faith and unparalleled courage. We, the people of Ceylon, salute the New China and are truly proud to see the Chinese

people leading the peoples of Asia in the fight for peace and freedom.

To the peoples of Asia the direct connection between war and imperialism is too clear to require demonstration. The achievement of peace in China is the logical outcome of the overthrow of imperialism by the Chinese people. The struggle to restore and preserve peace in Asia is therefore nothing less than the struggle to throw the imperialists out of Asia and to stamp out the imperialist system forever.

As fighters for peace, therefore, we stand shoulder to shoulder with the other subject peoples of Asia who in the most adverse conditions and even without proper arms are struggling for their national freedom.

In regard to the organization of the struggle for peace in Asia we desire to urge the widest application of the United Front method. On that basis we urge the importance of seeking to draw into this peace movement of the Asian regions all progressive political parties and peoples in Asia.

To win their co-operation will be to ensure the participation of the entire working class in these countries and all peace-loving people in our struggles for peace in Asia.

Friends, allow me to add one more word. In my humble opinion it is not too early to state that this Conference is a complete success. Out of a conference a movement has been born. Long live the movement for national independence and peace!

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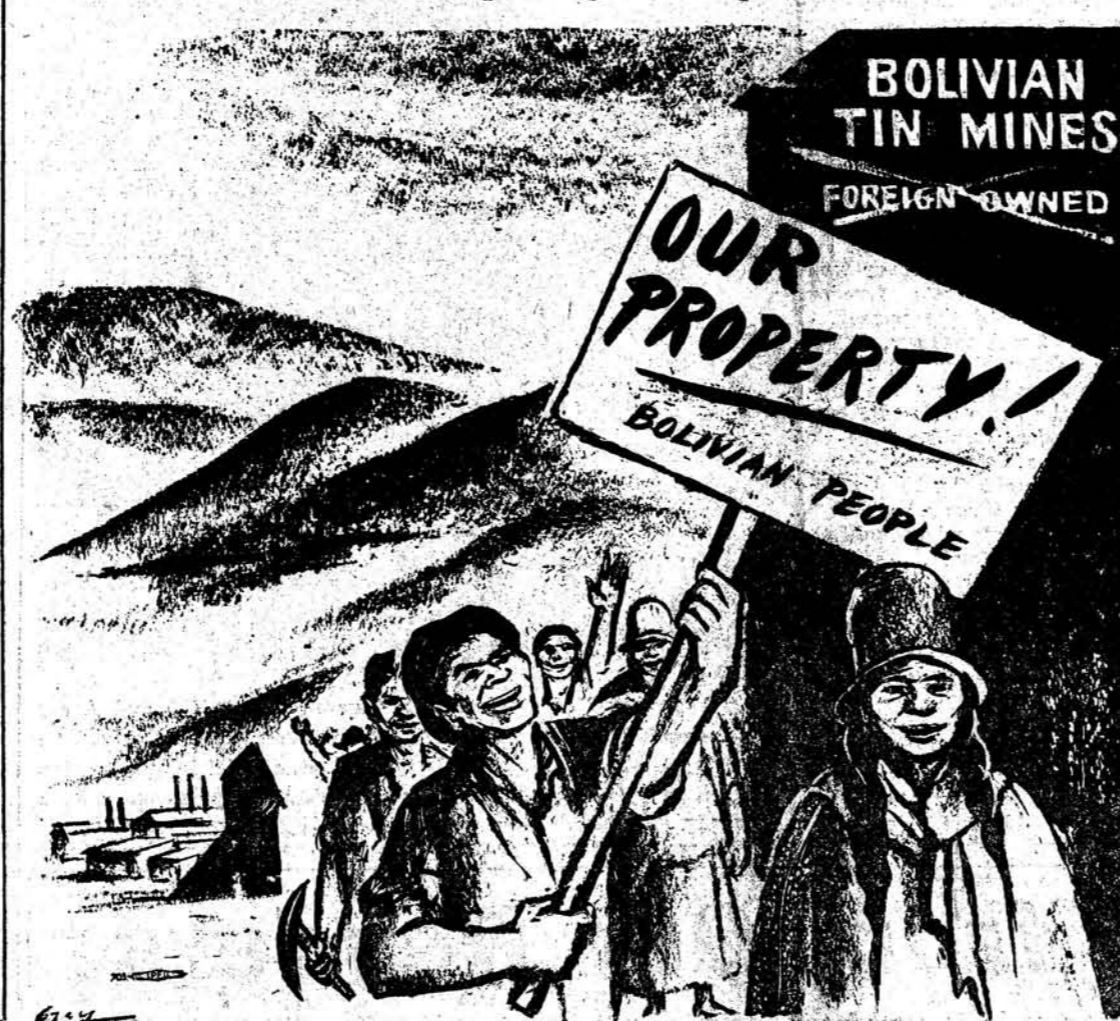
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# THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

## GOP Victory Continues Trend To Right Begun by Democrats

An Inspiring Example



## BOLIVIAN TIN MINES NATIONALIZATION STRIKES BLOW AT U.S. EXPLOITERS

An event of great significance for labor in the United States has occurred in Bolivia, a small land-locked South American country whose population is mainly Indian. On Oct. 31, amid ceremonies in the mining center of Catavi, the new Bolivian government under President Victor Paz Estenssoro formally seized and nationalized the big foreign-owned tin mining corporations, Patino, Hochschild and Aramayo.

Thus, a powerful blow has been struck at U.S. imperialism within the Western Hemisphere, which Wall Street has always considered its very special private preserve. This is the first time that such nationalization has taken place in this hemisphere as the result of revolutionary action by the workers. The previous Bolivian military government dominated by the tin interests was overthrown by the direct mass action of the working people.

It is conservatively reported that one-third of the shares of the three seized companies are in the hands of American investors. The bulk of the Patino stocks are owned by U.S. interests and the company is registered in this country. British and Swiss interests are sizable in the other companies.

For decades U.S. capitalists have profited from the toil of the terribly exploited Bolivian workers. Patino profits in 1950 alone were 42.7% of the company's claimed investment. So great was the intensity of exploitation that profits within three years equalled the value of the companies.

The U.S. capitalist newspapers have been growling and snarling at the nationalizations but, at this stage, the U.S. imperialist government is not in position to intervene directly to grab the mines back for American private investors. It can only, as the N. Y. Times demands editorially, "seek the prompt, adequate and effective compensation of American interests."

These three companies, forced to relinquish the property and resources they looted from the Bolivian people, are claiming \$60 million compensation. The government has offered them nearly \$22 million — if they pay the more than \$500 million they owe the government in back income taxes, illegal dollar exchange transactions, fines, etc.

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## Discontent over Korea, Inflation, Taxes Brings Shift to Republicans

By George Breitman

The Republican victory marks a continuation of the shift to the right in American political life that began with the 1946 election. It gives political power to the capitalist party that is viewed as most conservative by the American people, that was opposed by the labor leaders and that has no obligation to the labor movement. It

proves once again that the labor leaders' policy of hanging onto the Democratic Party is ineffective as a means of stopping the advance of reaction.

Eisenhower's election was made possible by a shift of around five percent of the total vote, but it was a decisive electoral victory. However, this does not mean that the Republicans won a majority of the votes of all classes in the country. By and large the workers in the big cities and the Negroes stuck to the Democratic Party in about the same numbers as in 1948, with minor exceptions. The increased GOP vote resulted mainly from a bigger turnout by the middle classes, including farmers, and by the decision of part of the Southern ruling class to support the national ticket of the Republicans with whom they have been informally allied in Congress for several years.

Under a two-party system where both major parties promote the interests of Big Business but (Continued on page 4)



FARRELL DOBBS and MYRA T. WEISS, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President, thanked their supporters and pledged to continue the fight for a labor party, against war and for socialism.

## Kutcher Decision Commented on by Nation Magazine

"The Nation," liberal weekly printed the following editorial comment on "The Kutcher Decision" in its Nov. 1 issue:

The United States Court of Appeals, in a unanimous decision, has held that mere membership in an organization listed as "subversive" does not constitute sufficient ground for the discharge of a government employee. Handed down in the case of James Kutcher, the legless veteran who held a minor clerical position in the Newark office of the Veterans Administration, the decision represents the first legal setback the government has received in an individual case since the loyalty program was established.

The Loyalty Review Board from its inception has taken the position that membership in a listed organization made dismissal mandatory. The court has now said that mere membership, in the absence of other evidence, does not justify dismissal. In effect the decision shifts primary responsibility for the determination of loyalty back to the administrator or department head — where it belongs. In this instance, the Administrator of Veterans Affairs must determine "the ultimate issue as to whether on all the evidence a reasonable grounds exist for the belief that Kutcher is disloyal." In view of this decision and the Supreme Court's ruling in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee case that organizations cannot be listed as subversive without notice and a hearing, the present list should be set aside. Otherwise the government will be in the untenable position of maintaining an illegal official "blacklist" and thus gravely undermining freedom of political association. Until it is formally abandoned, the list will continue to work grave injustice on a great many citizens of whom only a few have ever been government employees.

It stated that "factors such as the size of the potential audience because of the appearance of the first candidate on an established or popular program should obviously be considered by the parties in reaching a satisfactory and equitable adjustment of the problem."

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## KOREAN WAR -- DECISIVE ISSUE OF THE ELECTION

By Art Preis

One of the strange paradoxes of the election is that millions of the people who believed they were voting for peace helped to put into the White House a professional

militarist and thereby gave the strongest position in the land to a representative of the war-minded military caste. Their traditional and justifiable distrust of militarists gave way to their hopes that Eisenhower's promise of peace could be trusted.

It is generally acknowledged that the issue which contributed most to the defeat of the Democrats is the Korean war. Stevenson showed his awareness of the crucial nature of this issue and its threat to his aspirations by his insistence throughout the campaign that the Republicans abide by their original bi-partisan agreement to exclude Korea from election discussion. Finally, he made an eleven-hour gesture on election eve, stating that the Korean war and "the miserable stalemate must be freshly reviewed by fresh minds" and that "solution, settlement and an armistice" in Korea "is the first order of public business."

Eisenhower's campaign bogged down, as even the Republican press admitted, until, fearful of losing, he began to attack the Truman administration for "bungling" into the Korean slaughter and implying that he would make serious and strenuous efforts to halt the war and achieve peace.

### WHAT HE PROMISED

His precise promises, on close examination, reveal nothing that actually assures even a reduction of U.S. casualties — now five times more numerous than last spring — let alone bringing the fighting to a halt or withdrawing U.S. forces from Korea. But he deliberately conveyed the impression to millions of people sick of Korea that he would bring the war to a close without further heavy U.S. losses, although he slyly worded his utterances so he could later deny that he intended to give such an impression.

All Eisenhower said was that he thought South Koreans should be trained to replace American troops in the front lines and that he was ready to go to Korea to examine the situation there. He did not say how soon or to what extent South Koreans would re-

place GIs and did not elaborate just how his presence in Korea could help establish peace.

### TRUCE NOT EXCLUDED

It is not excluded, of course, that he may find it expedient to agree to a truce in Korea. That can be achieved any time the U.S. command drops its stall of "voluntary repatriation" and agrees to return all Chinese prisoners of war in exchange for Americans held in North Korea. But the Republicans even as the Democrats would have done, will accept a truce only if they feel that continuation of the Korean war interferes with their larger aims and strategy for a future atomic world war against the Soviet Union, with the central battlefield in Europe.

This is not, however, what those who swung to the Republican candidate on the Korean issue were led to believe. And they may well insist that Eisenhower carry through on what they consider his implied, if not outright, promise to end the Korean war promptly and without further losses. Before the elections fear was already voiced that both the GIs in Korea and their folks at home might press demands on Eisenhower, if he won, far beyond what he intended. Fear especially was expressed that Eisenhower might be confronted with the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea.

### REACTION IN KOREA

Thus, Henry S. Hayward, Chief Far Eastern Correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor, reported on Oct. 30 from Tokyo that failure of Eisenhower to make his trip to Korea or failure of such a visit "to improve the situation . . . might have an unfavorable effect on American troops, some of whom already, according to reports, are anticipating General Eisenhower's arrival and the war's early termination."

Hayward the next day further reported the opinion of observers in Korea that "the withdrawal issue . . . may misguide the American people on the eve of

(Continued on page 2)

## Who Made America?

### The Fight for Free Schools

Today it is taken for granted that every child has a right to an education. That's what there are public schools for. To be sure, these schools may be inadequate, overcrowded, the teachers may be underpaid and scared to say boo because of the witch hunt, nonetheless there is free education up through high school in the U.S. But it wasn't always that way.

For example in 1820 there were 24,000 illiterate children in New York City — because their parents couldn't afford to pay for their education. In 1830 in Pennsylvania 250,000 out of 400,000 children didn't go to school — because schooling wasn't free.

The progressive ideas of a revolution — the Puritan Revolution of 1640 in Britain — reverberated across the ocean and started New England off with a school system very advanced for its day. The Massachusetts Puritans in 1647 ordered that every town of over 50 families must maintain a reading school. This was based on the Protestant belief that everyone should be able to read the Bible.

These schools weren't free. The cost of running them was pro-rated among the parents of the children. In the early days when the settlers were pretty much of the same social level this worked. But with the birth of industrialism in New England and a class of property-less workers owning nothing but their labor power it broke down. Only as "paupers" with the hateful stigma of charity on them and their parents could poor children get an education. And the number of "charity" school seats was limited.

As the Puritan Revolution had given the first impulse to schools in America, so the American Revolution and the soon-following French Revolution gave the second impulse. No longer was the Bible the argument, now it was the radical claim that if a country was to be run by its people, the people should be educated to run it intelligently.

In the first half of the 19th Century, as class divisions became sharper, another argument was added: That free education for the masses would prevent the hardening of a ruling aristocracy possessing not only all the wealth but all the education also.

Here are some typical statements by workers' organizations in the struggle for free schools.

In 1829 the mechanics and workmen of New York City declared: "Resolved, that next to life and liberty we consider education the greatest blessing bestowed upon mankind. Resolved that the public funds should be appropriated (to a reasonable extent) to the purpose of education upon a regular system that shall insure the opportunity to every individual of obtaining a competent education before he shall have arrived at maturity."

In Philadelphia the Workingmen's Society asserted: "No system of education, which a freeman can accept, has yet been established for the poor; whilst thousands of dollars of public funds have been appropriated for building colleges and academies for the rich."

And from Newcastle, Delaware, in 1850 came the cry: "Let us unite at the polls and give our votes to no candidate who is not pledged to support a rational system of education to be paid for out of the public funds and to further a rightful protection of the laborer."

The leaders of the free school movement from the first were mostly radicals, admirers of Tom Paine and the French Revolution. They opposed religious training in the public schools they proposed and consequently the reactionaries labelled them infidels and atheists. In the 1820s and '30s, socialists — utopian, not Marxist — played a prominent role in the agitation for free education.

Robert Dale Owen was one leader. His father was the famous millionaire socialist who had turned his textile mills in New Lanark, England, into model mills and villages with schools. Another leader was Frances Wright, who had started a school for Negro children in Tennessee.

They pointed out that the best schools of the upper class were academies and advocated such a set up for all — where rich and poor children would mingle on terms of equality and where food and clothing would be supplied out of the public funds.

The capitalists, who were opposed to the "squandering" of public funds on schools for working-class children were apoplectic at the suggestion of furnishing them food and clothing as well. The capitalist press damned Owen; and Frances Wright, one of the most brilliant and courageous women of her day, was regularly referred to as "the Great Red Harlot of Infidelity."

Despite the red-baiting of the workingmen's movement, the agitation for free schools won victories. A free education law was passed in Pennsylvania by 1834, although it wasn't enforced in all parts of the state until 1868. Similarly in New Jersey a law was passed in 1838 although it was not enforced throughout the state until 1871.

Thus the free primary and secondary education for children that we have today in America came not because "free enterprise" gave it to the people but because the working people agitated and fought for it.

— George Lavan

## Letters on Radio-TV Speeches Praise SWP Stand, Candidates

The following are a sampling of the many letters — the vast majority favorable — received recently in response to the radio and TV broadcasts by Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President.

I heard your speaker on television. Every word he said was 100% true, and I have expressed myself in those same terms numerous times. Let's have more of those real facts.

L. W. Pine Bush, N. Y.

I agree with you on your viewpoints as stated on television. I would appreciate learning more about your ideas as I think those are the principles or concepts which Americans should follow.

S. M. Chicago, Ill.

Your broadcast was heard by myself and family last night. I don't recall the speaker's name but hearing his message impressed me that he is the man needed in the White House.

W. A. Uniontown, Pa.

Your speech tonight sure changed my mind. Everything you said was 100% TRUE.

G. D. Jersey City, N. J.

I caught Mr. Dobbs on TV last night. While I have been aware for many years of the witch hunts and the gradual abrogation of the Bill of Rights, Mr. Dobbs is the first man I have heard talk about them without ranting and raving.

I don't know whether yours is the political party I have been looking for or not, but I would like to know more about it.

You will also find enclosed a small contribution (\$5). I wish I could be more.

J. W. Lyndhurst, N. J.

It was my good fortune to see and hear your telecast. Please send me more information about the Socialist Workers Party and

what part I can play in helping this crusade for the workingman.

C. M. New York City

As a puzzled voter I would like to find out what your party has to offer me, an average citizen. I am tired of Republican and Democratic campaign speeches.

W. J. New York City

I just heard your speech tonight. Some speech! I wish to subscribe to your publication.

W. S. Hartford, Conn.

Your speech was very good and, according to the statements you made, goes along with what I believe to be true. I am a college student.

D. M. Macomb, Ill.

We, the students of Connecticut College, wish you to know that the speech this Sunday morning by the Socialist Workers Party Vice-Presidential candidate was the vilest piece of propaganda against the American way of life that we have ever heard.

You and your party by using low class language and innuendoes try to appeal to those of our country who have not been able to educate themselves enough so that they may discover why capitalism represents freedom, life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for Americans.

By pulling down the upper class and pulling up the lower class to the same economic level, you Socialists would reduce this country to a dictatorship, destroy our long sought for ideal of opportunity for those who seek it, and ridicule those who fought and died in World War II.

May God's will and the level-headed American people soon crush out your criminals of the Socialist Workers Party.

With hatred and pity for you misguided individuals, we remain a group of American students, all here on money earned through our magnificent capitalist system.

J. E., spokesman New London, Conn.

I would suggest that since you hate everything that has made this country such a great country, you go to any of the many communistic dominated countries.

Ordinarily I would sign my name, but anyone with a mentality that can accept communism is a dangerous person and I would not trust them even with

my identity. Suffice it to say, I am very well educated, have traveled all over the world, and hope some day all people will be aroused against such as you in our midst.

Go see the concentration camps in Russia and stay there.

"Unsigned" New York City

### Heading for Korea?



Army chief of staff Gen. J. Lawton Collins (L) and Army Sec. Frank Pace Jr. inspect 85-ton atomic cannon at Aberdeen Proving Grounds, Md. A top Defense Dept. official in Washington said it may be used in Korea, where other deadly weapons have already exacted an enormous toll of civilian lives.

## Letters from Our Readers

### Wants Article By Harry Ring Spread Widely

Editor:

I would like to state that the article, "They Looked for Me," by Harry Ring, in the Oct. 27 Militant is far too good to be just published in one issue of a newspaper and then allowed to die. Readers Digest and other publications have reprints of some subjects, stating their source, and interested parties make it their business to give these reprints a wide distribution. You are passing up a wonderful opportunity by failing to learn from them.

Frankly, if you fail to do something like this, I believe that I shall run off some mimeographed copies and distribute them, although printed articles carry more prestige than anything mimeographed.

R. D. Baltimore

### Daughter's Tribute To the Life of Samuel L. Montague

Editor:

My father, Samuel Leland Montague, died Oct. 10 after a long illness, at the age of 82. In his youth he knew Charles Proteus Steinmetz and from him first heard of Marx and Engels, whom he always believed to be the two greatest minds the human race has ever produced.

Long before I had ever heard of the Socialist Workers Party,

he often spoke to me of the strange way in which Stalin had supplanted Trotsky. He said it seemed to him that Trotsky had done most of the work for which Stalin had taken the credit.

He said he would have become a member of the Socialist Workers Party were it not for his age and increasing ill-health. He told me that The Militant was the finest newspaper he had ever read in his life.

His attitude toward religion is very interesting. He considered himself a Christian in the sense that he revered Christ and His teachings, but he regarded the churches, one and all, as base betrayers of the Master they professed to follow. In the First World War, he walked out of a church in the midst of a sermon because the preacher stated that the Christian principle of forgiveness for enemies did not apply to Germans. I think that was the last "sermon" my father ever attended.

During the Second World War, he told me he would never forgive the churches for their second betrayal of Christianity, in supporting American imperialism in an even worse slaughter than the first. When Wall Street started its bombing-murders of helpless civilians and covered the cities of Europe and Asia with the ashes of women and children and the "Christian" churches never raised their voices against it, my father made me promise that no preacher of any faith should "preach" or "pray" at his funeral. However, he retained his respect for Christ to the end of his life and he requested that Christian hymns should be sung at his grave. All of his wishes were carried out.

My father's philosophy of life was beautiful. His greatest grief was the dis-unity of mankind and he looked to the world-wide scientific communism of the future to unite the human race forever. He truly regarded his fellow man as his brother and himself as his brother's keeper.

A dear old man has departed from us. I shall never forget his goodness as long as I live.

Belle Montague Cambridge, Mass.

### Praises Talk On Jim Crow by George Breitman

Editor:

I enjoyed George Breitman's latest talk prepared for WNEW and carried in the Oct. 13 Militant. I have for many years an-

icipated only the best from his pen. This talk, as well as the last one he prepared for radio broadcast, exceeds even that.

The most difficult task is not that of convincing the white workers of the need for socialism. This they will readily agree to (although they think it utopian). Many workers have become indoctrinated with chauvinism and white supremacy prejudice. The logical simplicity of Breitenman's talk on Jim Crowism will be of great help to all who heard or read it.

B. K. Cleveland

### Suggests Title For Popular Song On Korean War

Editor:

The letter by "D. B., Oakland, Cal." regarding war songs, in The Militant, Oct. 6, was most interesting. During World War I, war songs sprang up spontaneously as people felt we had to lick Kaiser Bill. During World War II, the war songs did not come spontaneously, as there was some suspicion about the Pearl Harbor incident. So song writers were "assigned" to incite war-mongering.

But during this Korean thing, there simply are no songs to fit the deplorable situation. A Lyons, Nebraska, soldier wrote home telling his mother about civilians spitting on the soldiers during a parade.

If we, the people, were to write a song on the Korean debacle, it would probably be titled, "EVERYBODY HATES US."

Mrs. Harvey Sydnor Lyons, Nebraska

### Two Young Friends Died in Korea In the Last Month

Editor:

My family has lost two of our young friends in Korea in the last month.

One had been the captain of his school football team. He could have gone to college, but he was anxious to get out in the world. His parents were disappointed when he decided to go to sea. That was in 1950, and he was 18 years old. As he wasn't in school, he enlisted in the Marines, had his basic training, was shipped to Korea and within a week, was killed. Last week, his body was sent back, and his funeral was held in his home town.

The other young fellow, who also stayed in our home as a guest of my daughter, was an actor. At least, his burning ambition was to be an actor, but he was called into service the very week that he was playing his first decent part. He, also, was killed almost immediately on arrival at the Korean battlefield.

These are brief biographies, because they were so young, and their lives lay before them. Of course their families are grief stricken. The Militant has cried out since the beginning against the useless, tragic, monstrous war that is destroying our youth. So it is fitting that these young men's stories should be told in a socialist newspaper as a memorial that will strengthen us in our struggle to bring the troops home from Korea now!

Constance Farr New York, N. Y.

### Korea War Proves Decisive Issue

(Continued from page 1)

their crucial election about the possibility of getting soldiers home speedily, that "nobody in authority has stated categorically that troops could be withdrawn 'either from front-line duty or from Korea itself... any time in the near future,' but 'unfortunately that assumption now is being made all along the line — from American fighting on Korean hillsides to United Nations allies in the fight and to the American public at home.'"

Eisenhower's promises of peace, of course, were deliberately vague and deceptive, but the American people took them as honestly meant. They can have no assurance of peace unless they press vigorously for an end to the Korean war. They should insist that Eisenhower, as his first order of business on taking office, issue a presidential order recalling all U.S. armed forces from Korea.

### Something Worth Seeing

Bolivia's new government has invited John L. Lewis, Philip Murray and William Green, heads of the United Mine Workers, CIO and AFL respectively, to attend ceremonies on Oct. 31 formally nationalizing the three big tin-producing companies, Patino, Hochschild and Aramayo. Americans held big interests in the tin industry which brutally exploited Bolivian labor.

## The American Way of Life

### When You Get Old

The other day a friend of mine told me about an old fellow called Mac who works in a small shop next to the one she's in. After working hard and well every day of his life since he was a kid, Mac was finally "retired" in accordance with the American way of life.

With all the proper fanfare, and a hearty handclasp from the boss, he left to just "take it easy" for the rest of his days. One month later he showed up again to say hello to the boys. Since then he's been turning to as regular as anyone on the payroll although he's not paid. It seems that after 50 years of nothing but work he just couldn't take nothing but sitting around.

There are plenty of things around town to see and do, but not for a guy who has to take care of room and board on \$75-a-month old-age pension plus the few bucks that he scraped together over the years. In this strange new world of leisure, I suppose even the shop looks better than the walls of a crummy furnished room.

Mac's story isn't nearly as bad as it could be. In an excellent series of articles on "The Tragedy of the Aged," in the N.Y. Compass, Richard Carter combines statistics and personal investigation to prove that the American Way of "industry, thrift and devotion" most often leads Ma and Pa not to "the rose bedecked cottage but the State mental institution or vegetating in the bleak halls of the home for the aged."

The crisis, of sudden, total idleness, which drove Mac back to working for nothing, usually brings mental and physical disintegration to the "retired" worker. Carter discovered this in a tour of private nursing homes under guise of trying to place an imaginary "diabetic, bedwetting, quarrelsome" mother. Let's go along part way for the ride:

Nursing Home "A" — \$55 a week for a semi-private room. I saw the room, which was the wretched kind of over-sized closet found in fifth-rate flea bags, except that there were two beds in it instead of one. I told them my mother had an alert, active mind and needed things to do. "Some of them sit and gossip," said the manager. He assured me there would be no extra charge for aspirin.

Nursing Home "B" — \$60 a week, semi-private. I explained my mother required an active atmosphere. The response was, "Does she like the radio?" I was shown the lobby in which were a couple of leatherette chairs. "Sometimes they come down here and sit, but mostly they sit in their rooms, they like to sit in their rooms." The rooms were small and depressing.

Nursing home "C" — \$70 a week, semi-private. I explained that when my mother awakes in the night and finds she's wet, she stirs up a fuss. Would it disturb the other occupant of the room? The answer was "no." They were ready to take \$70 a week from some old lady and then subject her to nightly disturbances from an incontinent room-mate.

Nursing home "D" — \$40 to \$60 a week depending on accommodations. The place stank of disinfectant and urine. The rooms were grim.

I am told that you can pay \$150 a week in some places and not be sure of any better treatment than seemed likely in the above described dump heaps.

This tour conducted by Carter leaves me with two thoughts: First, the one-and-a-half percent deducted from my pay every week for "Old Age Benefits" may not be much, but it's still grand larceny, and second, the capitalist system sure better "retire" before I'm ready to.

— Harry Ring

## THE MILITANT ARMY

Militants sold at election rallies, a Stevenson-Volunteer from the forums and debates, door to door,

on street corners, in the shops, and on the campuses, have brought the Socialist Workers Party program to hundreds of new readers.

Literature Agent Ethel Swanson reports some of the windup sales by the New York comrades. "When our candidates spoke at election forums some of us went along to talk politics, sell The Militant, and distribute election platforms and leaflets. Some of the people we've met on those occasions have later attended our own meetings."

"The ALP held an election rally at Madison Square Garden last Monday. The audience got hundreds of our election platforms and leaflets on the Rosenberg case. In addition we sold 29 Militants and one The Road to Peace."

The Twin Cities did some intensive campaigning with a large bundle of the Oct. 6 issue. Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman describes how they utilized their share. "Using around 700 copies we went house-to-house in ten different neighborhoods. Pauline, Harry, C. R., and Bill did their campaigning on the Northside; Charles, Prentice, Millie, Ches, Ralph, and Donald went out in South Minneapolis; and Dave and Doris worked in the university area. In addition Harry, Pauline, Dave and Donald covered a Progressive Party election meeting with The Militant and the platform. About half of their audience had our literature with them. We also hit the campus with the paper and platform at a meeting of over 150 students who heard Dobbs debate

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### What the Future Holds

The Republican electoral sweep raises the question: What will the future contain?

A panicky left-winger called an Eisenhower victory "the point of no-return on the road to fascism. . . ." That is nonsense. It represents a rightward swing, but the new administration will continue to be restricted by the power of the organized working class, which, although not in action for bold aims, is nevertheless prepared to resist encroachments on its present standards. Only by smashing this powerful movement can fascism come to power in this country, and to do that, a bitter struggle (which the capitalist class would not necessarily win) would be required.

What then do we face in the immediate future? The important thing is this: The basic course of U.S. capitalism is determined by deep-seated structural factors. If world capitalism continues to crumble, U.S. capitalism cannot survive. Further, without a war program, the domestic economic structure would be shaken to its bottom-most footings by an embarrassment of productive riches. Therefore, Wall Street has absolutely no choice but to don the armor of counter-revolution and make bloody war on the world's people.

This war-perspective, pledged by both candidates, leaves very little room for differences. The encouragement of a reactionary hysteria, the structure of the federal budget, the lowering of living standards, the staffing of Washington departments with Wall Street personages — all of these are dictated to both parties by their common war program.

However, the election results will certainly give momentum to Wall Street's reactionary drive. The Democratic Party, in the popular mind, is the party of "Dealism" and reforms; the Republicans the party of Wall Street. This false notion has long lost any truth it might once have had, but the Republican victory will still be interpreted and utilized as a strengthened mandate to reaction.

The Eisenhower victory may thus be expected to encourage the most bigoted and conservative political elements in the plants and in the general population. At the same time it will temporarily dishearten workers, liberals, unionists who have been falsely led to place their hopes in the Democratic Party.

Eisenhower will face a problem in appeasing those portions of his support which were roped in by his demagogic promises, particularly on Korea. This will slightly limit his operations, as will the fact that workers will be more wary in the future of a government ruled by people they consider to be openly avowed enemies.

The election results will raise special problems, but essentially they change nothing for socialists. We have no reason to change our course. But one added obstacle we face now is that the Democratic Party in opposition will do its utmost to capture resentment that will grow under the coming shocks and keep this resentment in the major party channels. For this reason, socialists must do the utmost to keep the memory of the Democratic administration, which initiated all that the Republicans will now continue, fresh in the minds of the people.

### 35 Years Later

Stalin's police regime has been so well publicized by the capitalist press for Wall Street's own reactionary purposes since the end of World War II, that the heroic early days of the Soviet Union which stirred and inspired millions here have become obscured.

Let us recall what happened. In November 1917 the Russian workers rebelled against further participation in the imperialist slaughter of World War I. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, they broke the dictatorial rule of capitalism and set up the first workers' state. Democracy was extended into the factories. Industry was operated under supervision of the workers and then under their management. Democracy was extended into the armed forces; officers were elected by the ranks. National minorities, oppressed under the Czar, were given full equality. The most advanced legislation in the world was passed on education, family life and women's rights.

The great goal of Lenin and Trotsky and their collaborators was world socialism — a scientifically planned global economy. A rational economy like that will eliminate war, hunger, poverty and disease and unite mankind in a truly civilized society of peace and friendship and boundless plenty.

Small wonder that millions of poor people in America as in other lands wished the Soviet Union success and did what they could to prevent world capitalism from crushing the infant workers' state!

Today Stalinism has made a clean sweep of all this except the economic foundation — state ownership of the means of production and planned economy. This was the single most important conquest of 1917. Stalinism is the counter-revolutionary force that usurped power in the Soviet Union when the technologically advanced countries failed to go over from capitalism to socialism following 1917. Stalin smashed the party of Lenin and Trotsky and slaughtered or imprisoned its leading figures. At the recent 19th Congress, he made one of the few gestures of his career that comes anywhere near decency — he ordered that the name "Bolshevik" no longer be used to designate the boot-licking machine he put in place of Lenin's party.

Instead of the great emancipating goals

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that guided the Bolsheviks under Lenin, Stalin set up the narrow, selfish aims of the ruling caste. Stalin proclaimed "socialism in one country" as his goal, and by that he meant "socialism" for Soviet bureaucrats. In place of the international solidarity of the working class needed to build world socialism, Stalin put Russian bureaucratic interests first. He converted Communist Parties of other lands from instruments of struggle for socialism into tools of Moscow's opportunist foreign policy.

Despite Stalinism and against Stalinism, the October revolution nevertheless still lived, although in horribly mutilated form, in the Soviet state-owned, planned economy. Planned economy was made possible through the overthrow of Russian capitalism. It brought the Soviet Union — even under Stalinist mismanagement — from a weak, backward land to the second world power. The Russian experience proved you can run a country without capitalists and make unparalleled progress despite formidable obstacles and handicaps, including the frightful devastation of World War II.

And the October revolution lived in another form. It lived in the memory and experience of humanity, ready to ignite again under favorable conditions. In the past few years the conservative Stalinist ruling caste, which holds movements like the 1917 revolution in deadly fear, has proved no more capable than the capitalist class of forever containing the tremendous social forces that are pressing on a world scale toward socialism.

Today on the 35th anniversary of the November revolution we see the whole Far East in flames. China has been torn out of the orbit of world imperialism in the greatest revolution since 1917. And capitalism itself in its old stronghold of Europe is battered from all sides, its eastern bulwark caved in as one consequence of the colossal Soviet victory over German imperialism in World War II. Only in America does capitalism, in the deceptive glow of war prosperity, seem strong.

The spirit of the 1917 revolution rising in China — and yes in the very back yard of Wall Street, in Bolivia — gives the capitalist rulers good cause for gloom and foreboding over the world situation. It causes no dancing in the Kremlin either, for it is undermining Stalinism too.

But to everyone who dreams of a better world and who fights for its realization, the new upsurge is cause for the brightest hope and optimism. The majority of humanity is again moving forward in revolutionary struggle as Lenin and Trotsky forecast they would. And part of the inspiration of hundreds of millions of people today is the great example which the Bolsheviks set in Czarist Russia 35 years ago.

# New Light on Soviet Economic Conditions

By John G. Wright

The 35th anniversary of the October Revolution finds the Soviet Union recording enormous economic successes and, at the same time, as far away as before from attaining internal equilibrium. Remarkable industrial progress has been achieved on the basis of the new property forms, the great revolutionary conquest of 1917.

Thanks to the nationalized productive forces and the planned economy thereby made possible, the Soviet Union has finally been converted from a predominantly agricultural country into a first-rate industrial power, second only to the United States. But this record growth has been accompanied by a sharpening of material and cultural inequalities. The mass of the people remain at one pole; the huge, privileged and uncontrolled bureaucracy at the other.

The entire Soviet development continues to be determined by

this irrepressible conflict between Stalin's bureaucratic regime and the material, cultural and social needs of the Soviet economy and the Soviet people.

Striking facts relating to both sides of this contradictory Soviet reality were disclosed at the 19th Convention of the Russian Stalinist party held last month.

Granted a temporary moratorium by World War II and its victorious outcome, the Kremlin oligarchy was able to successfully accomplish the Fourth Five-Year plan and is approaching the targets set by the Fifth Five-Year Plan.

#### OUTSTRIP EUROPEAN CAPITALIST POWERS.

The productive capacity of the Soviet Union is already from 40% to 45% of the peak output of the American colossus. No other country in capitalist Europe was ever able to attain such productive levels.

The figures cited at the 19th Convention by the main reporter

Malenkov show that Soviet production soared in 1952 far above pre-war levels. Output of pig iron reached 25 million tons as against 15 million tons in 1940; steel — 35 million tons compared with the 1940 figure of 18.3 million; rolled steel — 27 million tons as against less than 15 million.

Coal output totalled 300 million tons compared with the 1940 level of 166 million. The bottleneck in oil seems finally to have been broken with the lifting of production to 47 million tons from 31 million in 1940. This goal of 47 million tons of oil was set as far back as 1937 but proved impossible for the bureaucracy to obtain until this year.

Phenomenal has been the increase in electrical power which has more than doubled since 1940, reaching the level of 117 billion kilowatts. Similar progress has been obtained in other branches of heavy industry.

Greatest growth has been in the Urals, Siberia and Soviet Central Asia. Under Czarism these were the most backward regions, if not wastelands. By 1951 these areas accounted for about one-third of the industrial output of the USSR, more than half of the steel and rolled metal, nearly half of the coal and oil and over 40% of the electric power, reported Malenkov.

Figures like these provide irrefutable historical justification for the October Revolution. Capitalist property forms and productive relations have never permitted of such rapid tempo of development in the most advanced areas, including the U.S. let alone in areas among the most backward in the world.

#### LAG IN CONSUMER GOODS

This bright picture of industrial progress has its somber contrast in the lag of consumer goods production. In this field the "successes" recorded by the Stalinist bureaucracy remain meager and disproportionate. In cotton textiles, for example, the 1952 output of 5,000 million meters still falls short of the 1937 target of 5,100 million meters. On the other hand, there has been proportionately a much bigger rise in the production of woollens and

silks which are beyond the reach of the mass of the people.

It remains the rule of Stalinist-controlled production that items intended for mass consumption remain scantier in quantity and the worst in quality. The proportions and lag in consumer goods production highlight the sharpening inequalities amid monumental economic successes. We have here the crassest expression of the antagonism between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the needs of Soviet economy and the mass of the Soviet people.

#### INCREASE OF WORKERS

The Soviet Union has made a leap. Everything has been drastically transformed in the post-war years, everything except the bureaucracy, that is. With industry predominant in economic life, the bulk of the population now lives in cities. Strangely absent from the Moscow reports are figures concerning the post-war growth of the working class which must have been considerable. An equally impenetrable veil conceals the real wages of the workers.

The Russian countryside, too, is no longer the site of many-millions of small peasant holdings. The number of farm collectives has been reduced from more than a quarter of a million of the pre-war days to less than 100,000. These are now highly mechanized, huge agricultural factories, with agricultural laborers providing the main labor force.

#### MONSTROUS BUREAUCRACY

The bureaucracy alone remains unchanged, growing in numbers, in power and privileges and uncontrolled and repressive in its rule as ever. Bureaucratic ranks remain artificially swollen, despite orders from above to reduce administrative staffs. Malenkov larded his report with complaints that "overhead administrative expenditure is still high."

Cutting such expenditures "has not yet become a matter of daily concern to the executives of the establishments and organizations. Many ministries and departments permit the employment of personnel in excess of stipulated staffs. There is considerable ex-

cess personnel also in the offices of the regional, city and district establishments and organizations," said Malenkov commenting on one of the worst running sores.

Technological progress has reached high levels. But the key problem of productivity, which finds its expression in production costs and prices, not only keeps lagging behind but is rendered increasingly more acute from the top.

#### EXCESSES THE RULE

The current campaign of "self-criticism" pursues among its tasks the practical aim of cutting down these "overhead expenses." In vain! The "excesses" are the rule, not the exception.

The regime remains characterized by "great waste and unproductive expenditure," admitted Malenkov. He went on to touch only on three examples. But these tell enough about the actual state of affairs.

First, in agriculture, the production costs of state farms are the highest. Malenkov singled out the fact that in "a large number of state farms" there prevails "the high production cost of grain, meat, milk and other produce."

Second, inefficiency and waste in industry are dangerously widespread. "During 1951, for example, losses and unproductive expenditure in establishments of national significance totalled 4.9 billion rubles, including 3 billion due to spoilage," complained Malenkov.

Third, certain key branches, such as the building industry, continue to run at a heavy loss. "The construction organizations" incurred in 1951 "a loss of 2½ billion rubles" instead of "a planned profit of 2.9 billion." This represents another discrepancy in the budget to the tune of almost 5½ billion rubles. It would not take many such "discrepancies" to throw the entire budget and plan out of kilter!

#### CORRUPTION RIFE

On top of this, graft, corruption, "squandering" of state property and "other violations" are rife. "Quite a few functionaries," said Malenkov, "forgetting that the enterprises entrusted to their supervision are state enterprises, try to turn them into their own private domains. . . ." They not only "try" but actually do, as witness Malenkov's own exposures of "instances" of "embezzlement, of stealing and pilfering state property" and collective farm property.

Stalin and his henchmen are obviously of the opinion that they have surmounted the internal postwar crisis and are now busy consolidating their positions. But they themselves fear trouble ahead. "Now that all branches of economy have been equipped with up-to-date technique and that the cultural level of the Soviet people has been raised beyond measure, the demands made on leading cadres HAVE CHANGED, HAVE BECOME GREATER," warned Malenkov.

We shall show in subsequent articles why the gravest internal crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy lies not behind but is still to come.

### Imperialism in Kenya



A British official, Victor Aubrey (L) and policeman handcuff member of Mau Mau group in Nairobi, Kenya. Hundreds of Africans have been arrested in effort to stamp out spreading colonial revolt. Kenya has joined Egypt, Sudan, Algiers, South Africa, Morocco on list of African trouble spots for imperialism.

## Kidnaping of Gloria Hernandez

By Joseph Hansen

When a mysterious Spanish-speaking woman kidnaped 7-day-old Gloria Hernandez from Bellevue hospital in New York Oct. 12, the world's largest and richest city appeared ready to go the limit to find and restore the baby to her agonized father and mother.

The police set a watch at every bus terminal, railroad station, steamship dock and airplane line, sent out a 14-state alarm and notified Cuba, Puerto Rico and Mexico to be on the look-out for the criminal.

The newspapers mobilized their powerful resources behind the police. In addition to shrieking headlines about the sensational crime, New York's mass-circulation tabloids the News and Mirror published staff-artist sketches of the 40 to 50-year-old baby-snatcher based on the description by the nurse who had mistakenly given Gloria to the unknown woman. They gave the baby's formula in Spanish and English; and the Mirror, as a "public service," even put up a \$1,000 reward for "exclusive information which solely leads to the safe return of the Hernandez child and the arrest and conviction of her abductor."

What were the motives of the kidnaping? Ransom? Here the case took a most puzzling turn.

#### THE HERNANDEZ FAMILY

The kidnaped baby was the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Rafael Hernandez. They came to New York from Puerto Rico three years ago, part of the latest wave of immigration to the land of opportunity.

Their home was not exactly the kind that would give a kidnaper visions of a lush pay-off. It was just an ordinary, unheated, cold-water, one-room apartment in a sagging tenement. And somewhat crowded too, for the couple had five boys ranging in age from one to eleven, all living in the same room. Besides the Hernandez family, two other families shared the apartment.

Mr. Hernandez was not exactly rich although he was no doubt better off than in the slums of American-ruled Puerto Rico. As a porter, he made \$65 a month. This was supplemented by \$125 from the Welfare Department.

The reporters, checking every possible clue, discovered that the rent was two weeks overdue. Also the family was almost without food; and no money in sight for more than a week.

The reporters chipped in for a bag of groceries and took human

interest pictures of the hungry children diving into breakfast. They also took human-interest pictures of the mother prostrate in bed with four of her boys by her side and the heart-sick father standing vigil at the head of the iron bed.

The one-year-old child slept in the crib, said the press. The family plan was for him to keep the crib until the new little sister came from the hospital. The papers did not report whether he would then graduate to the big bed with his mother or sleep with a brother or two on the floor the way some families do.

Mrs. Hernandez had given birth to Gloria in this crowded, three-family apartment before the ambulance took her to Bellevue.

#### MOTHER COMPLEX?

With no ransom demands and little possibility any ransom note would turn up in the case, the newspapers reported that the kidnaper must have been motivated by a "mother complex" and the search seemed "hopeless."

Then came the big break in the baffling crime. Checking over the babies at Bellevue, the police found another Puerto Rican baby girl named Ellen Rodriguez. Its mother was 32-year-old Mrs. Carmen Rodriguez of 246 E. 41st St. She had given birth to the baby a few weeks before. It was seriously ill and perhaps in need of an operation. That's why it was still in the hospital.

Police closed in on the one-room apartment of Mrs. Rodriguez and there found the stolen baby safe and sound.

The interest of the police and the newspapers shifted to the kidnaper. Married in Puerto Rico at the age of 16, Carmen Rodriguez had seven children before she was 29. One died. Then three years ago her marriage ended in divorce. Hoping to make a new start, she came to New York about 18 months ago.

As a poverty-stricken, friendless immigrant in the gigantic metropolis of world capitalism, life was not easy. Inability to speak English made it still more difficult. She found work as an embroiderer. Then Catalina Feliciano, a dishwasher, became her common-law husband, only to leave her three months ago.

#### ASKS FOR HELP

The police said that after she was discharged from Bellevue hospital following the birth of her baby, Carmen applied for home relief. They did not explain why she failed to go back to work. Maybe she was worried

about taking care of little Ellen. Maybe she was just too sick. Sick or not, the relief authorities refused to grant her humble request for help. They told her she had to prove she had a child to support.

Mrs. Rodriguez went to Bellevue and tried to get her baby. As it had been taken away from her because of its illness, she had never seen it. In a bassinet marked "Hernandez" was a baby girl. Had they got the name wrong? She told the nurse's aide she had come for her baby. They gave her the infant and helped her dress it in the brand-new, going-home clothes Carmen had brought, a yellow and white sweater with cap and booties to match and a home-made pink dress.

That was on Sunday. On Tuesday she went to the relief authorities with the baby as "proof." But this time the investigator she had seen previously was not in. Nothing to do but go back to her room. The police nabbed her there next day.

#### IN HANDS OF THE LAW

"Under the pitiless glare of lights in the police lineup room," said the News, Carmen's face was "drawn with pain and fear" and in her bobby sox she "looked like a teen-ager with a face beyond her years. . . ."

She appeared sick. A detective had to hold her up to keep her from falling and before the court she "seemed utterly crushed."

The judge turned out to be unusually kindly for a judge. In violation of custom and the respect due the court, he let her sit down as he charged her with kidnaping and ordered her held in bail of \$2,500. He also recommended that she be hospitalized.

#### WELFARE DEPT. INDIGNANT

The Department of Welfare was thoroughly aroused and indignant about being dragged into the kidnaping and issued a statement to the press: "The rejection of Mrs. Rodriguez' application for public assistance had nothing whatsoever to do with the fact she did not have a child in her home. It was based solely on the fact she was unable to establish her need for public assistance to the satisfaction of the Welfare Department." They did not specify what it was that failed to meet with their satisfaction.

The court appointed Benjamin Schmier to act as defense attorney. He argued that it was all a tragicomedy of errors and Carmen was not a "calculating, scheming" kidnaper who stole a baby just to get on relief as

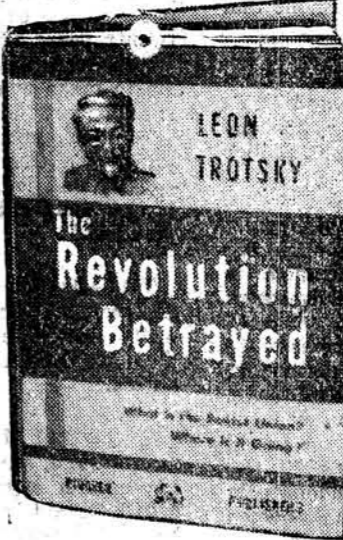
charged by Assistant District Attorney Peter D. Andreoli. Magistrate Amedeo Lauritano agreed with him, however. "It looks like a kidnaping as far as I know now," he said. The judge, the prosecuting attorney and the defense lawyer all got a good publicity break with their names and statements in the papers.

#### FEEL SORRY FOR HER

Mrs. Hernandez, who spent three sleepless nights crying and praying for the safe return of her baby, sided with the defense attorney's view of the kidnaper. "We feel sorry for her. She's so pathetic. I can't help feeling sorry for the poor woman."

That was before the hospital announced that death had taken the jailed mother's own baby. The press didn't send a reporter to get the reaction of the Hernandez family to this new tragedy.

Interest in the case has now subsided. Fresh sensations, especially sensations about the menace of communism to our way of life and measures proposed by the Democrats and Republicans to meet it, are in the headlines in the world's richest city. Even the Mirror seems to have forgotten about the \$1,000 reward it offered as a "public service" for a solution to the crime. After all, they didn't get "exclusive information" and the baby-stealer has not yet been convicted.



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## Rough on Housewives

By Joyce Cowley

Last week the N.Y. Daily News offered \$100 for the five best letters from housewives telling how they beat the high cost of living. Dreary suggestions of prize winners included baking at home, making clothes at home, home haircuts, buying only the cheapest food and using every scrap in left-over dishes, getting second-hand household equipment and buying clothes out of season.

During the last war when consumer goods were scarce and housewives were having a difficult time, I read the most tantalizing articles about new inventions. As soon as the war was over, we could produce these wonderful gadgets and the American housewife would really have a soft thing of it.

Well, we do have wonderful new appliances in America. They take all the drudgery, even most of the work, out of housework. But most of us don't have the money to buy them. Judging from these letters, we're going back to the ways of the pioneer. Pretty soon women in America will be spinning, weaving cloth and making soap at home. Pioneer life may look good in Western movies, but I think most of us prefer a washing machine and diaper service to the old-fashioned washboard.

But you can't have everything. You have to pay for an army of millions of

men, for warships, planes and atom bombs. That's why the home you were planning to buy after the last war looks further away each year. That's why, instead of going to a restaurant once a week like you used to do, you cream the left-over ham.

We could bring the troops home from Korea and produce for peace instead of war. Instead of destroying cities in Asia, we could build low-cost housing here. Our factories could turn out enough home freezers, dustless vacuums and electric floor polishers for every housewife in the country. I'm sure the people of both Korea and America would be a lot happier if we did.

But every time there's a "peace scare," Wall Street's in a panic.

We all know it would be ridiculous for every woman to weave cloth at home in a machine age when we can make so much more — make it cheaper and better — by cooperating in factory production. But we have an economic system that's just as outmoded as the colonial spinning wheel. The only way it keeps going is through a drive to dominate and exploit the rest of the world, through destruction and war.

Before we can enjoy the new life we were promised after the last war, before we can have real abundance and peace, we will have to build an up-to-date economy that serves the needs of all the people instead of just a few.

## The Shark Advises

By Harry Frankel

"Marx did not know all the Engels," Benjamin Fairless, head of U.S. Steel, told the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce on Oct. 22. This snappy remark was elaborated as follows: "If the workers of this country truly wish to own the tools of production, they can do so very simply. They do not even have to win an election. All in the world they have to do is buy, in the open market, the capital stock of the corporation they want to own . . . why should they do it the hard way?"

In order to do this, Fairless pointed out, the 300,000 workers of U.S. Steel would each have to pay out \$10 a week, every week for 7 years. If the workers of the entire country wanted to own industry, they would all have to put up a similar amount for a similar number of years. Hard as we already find our task Mr. Fairless' way is even harder.

Fairless tells workers to abandon their political and economic strength and fight capitalism with money. This is like telling men to throw away their weapons and fight sharks with their teeth. The shark is far better equipped for that form of combat than is man, and, we must admit, the capitalist class is our superior in any money combat. We concede them the ribbon in advance.

Mr. Fairless will not be able to lure us into any battle in which we pit our nickels against Wall Street's billions because we have seen people who had more money than

we'll ever have try this form of jousting and we have seen what happened to them.

It may be quite a shock to Mr. Fairless, but this was one angle that Marx was thoroughly familiar with. He knew about this proposition because he fought it when it was advanced in earlier form by the Frenchman Proudhon, who had also figured out a way for the workers to own their workshops under capitalism.

Even more important, Marx was quite familiar with an earlier period of capitalism when the majority of the people actually did own their tools of production. He devoted his lifetime to the task of demonstrating the inexorable tendency of capitalism which takes ownership away from the majority and concentrates it in the hands of a tiny group. How well his prediction was borne out by history, we don't have to tell Mr. Fairless. He is one of the few beneficiaries.

So that even if such a fantastic scheme had anything practical in it, it would not solve any of the problems of capitalism. Moreover, it would inevitably lead back to the same concentration we now have.

Finally, there is one other little thing that we don't like about the scheme. We don't like to pay for something we have already paid for a hundred times over. So we'll make Mr. Fairless a counter-offer. You just turn the U.S. Steel Corp. over to the people who built it, and we'll let you and the Board of Directors go to work at \$1.90 an hour, and you try to buy it back.

## Notes from the News

**"DAILY COMPASS" FOLDS.** The N. Y. Daily Compass published its last issue on Nov. 3, the day before election, and then went out of business. Its plant was sold at auction the same day, following the foreclosure of a chattel mortgage held by Corliss Lamont, candidate of the American Labor Party (Progressive Party) for U.S. Senator from New York. The Compass had great financial difficulties since its birth due to lack of advertising from big companies and rising costs of printing material and labor. During its first year it was subsidized by Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine, 86-year-old Chicago liberal. In the closing weeks of the election campaign the paper did a political split. Starting off as backers of the Progressive Party ticket, columnist I. F. Stone and Ted O. Thacker, editor and publisher, switched in midstream to Stevenson. The paper continued, however, to back Corliss Lamont and other Progressive Party candidates.

**RENT INCREASES** as high as 200% have already taken place in the 900 towns and cities that were de-controlled on September 30. Officials noted that "as always" low-income families were hardest hit.

**BLOOD IN THE OIL.** Standard Oil Company of New Jersey's profitable connection with the bloody anti-labor dictatorship in Venezuela is pointed up by the paper of the CIO Oilworkers Union. It reveals that in 1951 Standard made 16 cents in profits on every dollar it had invested in the U.S. and the rest of the world, except in terror-ridden Venezuela. There it made 36 cents per dollar invested. On a profit-per-worker basis Standard made \$3,036 everywhere in the world except Venezuela, where it made \$13,950 per worker. Venezuelan workers are undoubtedly watching the nationalization of the foreign-owned tin mines in Bolivia with great interest now.

**D. C. SCHOOLS ARE "SOCIALISTIC"** according to Big Business lawyer Robert Faulkner, recently appointed member of the Washington, D. C., Board of Education. Some of the features he found threatening the "free enterprise" way of life were physical education classes, lunches for students, medical clinics and play rooms.

**THE AFL UPHOLSTERERS UNION** newspaper reporting the assassination in New York City of Andres Breguena, one of its members and a revolutionary opponent in exile of the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic, writes: "The political murder of Carlo Tresca, New York

anti-Communist and anti-fascist spokesman of some years ago, is still unsolved. Political murder of exiles in democratic countries by international agents was apparently initiated by the murder of Leon Trotsky in Mexico by a Spanish agent of Joseph Stalin just before World War II."

**"FORD FACTS,"** the paper of UAW-CIO Local 600, has a column for short letters telling why it's nice to work at Ford's. Here is a sample: "I like to work at Ford's because it is such a nice clean place to work in. You have such nice clean oil to slop around in. You can slide and skid your head off without one foreman who gives a darn."

"You have such great opportunities at Ford's. For instance, I started in the Crank Shaft Department. Today I am working in the same department on the same machine that I started on twenty years ago."

"On every side of me there are posters telling me to make quality — for QUALITY is the life and blood of the Ford Motor Company. So I make QUALITY, but when I make more quality than PRODUCTION, then they send me to that accuser — jury and judge, all in one. He then gives me justice that only the Supreme Court could be proud of."

**TEXAS CIO STEELWORKERS** in a meeting of locals at which 90% of the delegates were white elected James Ross, a Negro, to represent them on the union's national Wage Policy Committee.

**TAFT-HARTLEY IN ACTION.** The CIO Newspaper Guild, on strike against a Nashua, N. H., paper after a year's futile negotiations, sent out a call for aid in maintaining a picket line. Members of the CIO National Maritime Union from Boston responded. Within two hours the company had obtained a T-H injunction limiting the picket line to one person.

**A COURT CHALLENGE** of the ballot furnished voters in Ohio failed. The Prohibition party attacked the ballot as unconstitutional since it did not provide space for write-in votes for president.

**SOCIALIST OUTLOOK,** left-wing paper of the British Labor Party, will shift from a fortnightly to a weekly beginning November 21. Copies of the latest issue can be obtained from The Militant for ten cents.

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## Rice-Stix Strike In St. Louis Gets Teamsters' Help

ST. LOUIS — A strike by 650 members of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers against the Rice-Stix plants in Missouri and Mississippi is holding firm despite strikebreaking attempts of judges, the Mississippi National Guard and AFL International Ladies Garment Workers officials.

In St. Louis picket lines around cotton-garment company's warehouses and offices are being observed by the AFL Teamsters and by rank and file members of the ILGWU. Because of their solidarity with the strikers, members of the latter union are being threatened and brought up on trial by Meyer Perlstein, ILGWU vice-president.

The CIO union won elections at the Farmington, Mo., and Water Valley, Miss., plants of Rice-Stix. Nonetheless the company refused to sign a contract.

Eight members of the faculty of the University of the South's Theological School have resigned in protest against the school's refusal to accept Negro students.

## Wives Picket Harvester



A baby-carriage parade in front of Chicago office of Int'l Harvester Co. is staged by wives of striking members of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE). The strikers have been out for ten weeks, earlier repelled attempt by House un-American committee to break strike by redbaiting.

## Republican Victory Continues Trend to Right

(Continued from page 1)

seek to give the impression that they represent the interests of all the people, it is always hard to point to any single factor that plays the decisive role in determining how the majority of the people vote. The Republicans began, of course, with the solid core of people who always vote for that party because they favor consistently conservative policies, opposition to any social reforms, "no coddling of labor," etc.

In addition to these they attracted another sizeable number of people who voted Republican (many for the first time) because of dissatisfaction with the Democrats on one or more issues they regarded as important.

The issues on which they made up their minds must have varied with different groups of voters, but virtually all commentators agreed that one which loomed big in the minds of these voters was the Korean war.

The Republicans had the support of the reactionary pro-MacArthur forces to begin with — that is, those who were dissatisfied not so much with the Korean war as such with the "indecisive" way it is run, and who favor extending the conflict to settle it more quickly.

In addition, Eisenhower picked up votes from other elements by his demagogic promises to do something about ending the war or withdrawing some or all of the U.S. troops in Korea. Large numbers either accepted these promises as good coin or figured they had nothing to lose and possibly something to gain from electing an Eisenhower who at least promised something in preference to a Stevenson who stubbornly insisted he would continue the Korean status quo "as long as it was necessary."

It would be wrong to designate the total Eisenhower vote as anti-war, but some of his supporters, who may even have cinched the election for the GOP, undoubtedly were motivated by anti-war sentiments, however confused.

The labor leaders' subservience to the war policy of the Democratic Party, and consequently their failure to provide political leadership to the voters who wanted to express protest against the Korean war was responsible for permitting the Republicans to exploit these anti-war sentiments for reactionary purposes.

**"ANTI-COMMUNISM"**

Another big factor in the Democratic defeat was the "anti-communism" issue, whose potency was demonstrated by the victory in Wisconsin of McCarthy, the symbol of unrestrained Republican red-baiting, and the ouster in Connecticut of Benton, the Democrats' chief critic of McCarthy in the Senate.

We pointed out six years ago that the witch hunt started by the Democrats would ultimately hit not only radicals and the labor movement, but the Democrats themselves and anyone who professed liberalism or any other policy to the left of the extreme right wing of the Republican Party.

This prediction was confirmed to the hilt in the 1952 election which saw Stevenson and his liberal supporters in Americans for Democratic Action smeared and discredited by the weapon of "anti-communism" introduced and made fashionable in American political life by the Democratic Party's counter-revolutionary foreign policy, "loyalty" purges and thought-control trials at home.

The Democrats were powerless to counteract this weapon when

it was turned against them. Their complaints about McCarthy's methods, at the same time they were endorsing his objectives and claiming to be better "anti-communists" than he was, had little impact on voters whom they had convinced that communism is the greatest menace in the world.

The Republican "big lie" technique cannot be exposed effectively without showing that it is practically identical with the Democratic "big lie" technique. The labor leaders couldn't do this because they were trying to cover up for the Democrats. Moreover, they came into the dispute with unclean hands because they too have subscribed to the principle of the "anti-communist" crusade and have applied it against militant opponents inside the unions. Here too their own policies played into the hands of the GOP.

### ECONOMIC ISSUES

Among other issues that figured in the outcome, we can here discuss only three more:

1. Discontent with high prices and taxes.

The Democrats put great stress on full employment and high wages, relying on the (now exploded) theory that the party in power is invariably returned to office in periods of relative prosperity. The labor leaders concentrated on this to the exclusion of almost everything else in the final weeks of the campaign, trying to convince the people that a Republican victory meant a return to a Hoover depression.

But propaganda has certain limits, and in this case it evidently failed to overcome the effect of economic facts that have sunk deep into the consciousness of many Americans. A housewife who goes to market is concerned about the number of dollars in the pay envelope, but just as much concerned about the price of what she has to buy. People on fixed incomes and pensions could not be persuaded they "never had it so good."

Furthermore, millions of young voters don't remember the depression and have been convinced by Democratic as well as Republican apologists for capitalism that another bust of the 1929 variety is no longer possible. Others who remember the depression felt the Republicans were telling the truth when they charged it was ended not by New Deal policies but by war production.

The Democrats and labor leaders counted on the 12-year boom (which was produced by World War II and preparations for World War III, and which has helped to conserve the labor movement) to win the election for them. But the election seems to indicate that conservative moods resulting from relative prosperity do not work uniformly to the advantage of the party in power, especially when it is running against a party which seems to conservative voters to be more conservative.

### THE SOUTH SPLITS

2. Civil rights.

The Democrats were faced with a tough problem: If they appeared to make too many concessions on civil rights to the Negro people, they would alienate the Dixiecrats, and vice versa. They tried to solve the issue by straddling. This was acceptable to the timid Negro and labor leaders, who swallowed Sparkman without gagging, and to part of the Southern Democrats.

But another part of the Southern ruling class, tasting blood in the concessions already given them, held out for more. And when Stevenson could not accom-

modate them without losing the crucial Negro vote, they went over to Eisenhower, splitting the South for the first time in 24 years.

### SOIL FOR A HERO

3. The personal factor.

This secondary question is usually over-rated in the capitalist and liberal press, but that is no reason for socialists to overlook or discount the effect it has under certain social conditions.

Resentment against political corruption prepared the way for mass support of a figure without a party background. Frustration resulting from the dilemmas confronting the government — how to win a world counter-revolution in an international situation where the trend is against capitalism — created the soil for the rise of a reputedly "strong man" capable of acting decisively. Acceptance of the idea that war or a lengthy period of war preparations is on the agenda, cultivated by both capitalist parties, weakened resistance to "the man on a horse."

Eisenhower, the war hero, was the beneficiary of these resentments, frustrations and pro-war psychology. The half-hearted attempts of the Democrats and labor leaders to frighten the people with the prospect of a militarist in the White House could not have broad success because they had formerly tried to get him to run on their own ticket.

### THE DECISIVE THING

All these subjective factors played their part, but the decisive thing favoring the GOP in the election was the objective fact that American capitalist politics has been moving to the right since 1946. The Republicans won the election that year; Truman's victory in 1948 did not stop the trend to the right in both major parties, despite his reform demagoguery, but on the contrary continued it; the Republican made new gains in 1950; and now they have taken over both the executive and legislative branches.

Underlying this shift and determining its main direction is the crisis of world capitalism and the need of U.S. imperialism to recapture the resources and markets lost to capitalism by the revolutions that followed the first two world wars. This stupendous (and hopeless) task requires the building of a huge military machine and the regimentation of the American people as well as those in other lands. Both capitalist parties are committed to this counter-revolutionary crusade and both would carry it out to the best of their ability. Big Business evidently prefers to entrust the job to the party that promises to do it more cheaply, more efficiently and with a minimum of concessions to the people.

The same factors that produced a shift to the right inside the Democratic Party operated to the advantage of the Republicans in their contest with the Democrats. It seems to be a law of politics that in such situation, a program of reaction, no matter who starts it, tends to strengthen the most openly conservative forces in their bid for power.

### LESSONS TO STUDY

The lessons of the 1952 election must be studied by every class-conscious worker. No attempt should be made to minimize the fact that the rightward trend in American political life has been strengthened; to do so would be just as wrong as it was before the election to deny the fact that the rightward shift would be continued by a Stevenson victory.

## Supreme Court Asked to Rule On Trucks Act

The Michigan Communist Party filed a brief October 18 with the U.S. Supreme Court challenging the constitutionality of Michigan's police-state Trucks Act.

The brief declared that the Trucks Act, which a federal court in Detroit last July upheld, violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution in that it denies those forced to register under the Act freedom of speech, press and assembly. It stated:

"The Communist Party or any other organization coming within the definition of the act, could not function without subjecting its members, and other persons who might be interested in its program or activities, to the criminal penalties of the act (10 years imprisonment, \$10,000 fine, or both)."

"Public speaking, printing and distribution of its publications, public or even private assembly,

would become the evidence upon which persons could be convicted of the crime of failing to register. No organization could exercise freedom of speech, press or assembly under these circumstances."

Another outrageous section of the Michigan law scored by the lawyers for the Communist Party was that which prohibits names of Communist Party members or members of any other organization which might be listed as "subversive" under the sweeping language of the law, from appearing on the ballot in Michigan. The brief declared:

"No statute, state or federal, in the opinion of the plaintiff, has ever before been held to be constitutional which so openly and crudely disregards the spirit as well as the letter of the Constitution."

The first action taken by the Michigan officials under the Trucks Act was to rule the Socialist Workers Party off the ballot, despite the fact that the SWP had filed all the required signatures and papers qualifying it for a place on the ballot.

### SWP VICTORY

A vigorous protest campaign and legal action by the Socialist Workers Party resulted in Secretary of State (who ran for Governor) Alger backing down on his first ruling and restoring the SWP to its rightful place on the ballot. Encouraging though this was, it was but a temporary victory over the Trucks Act.

In their counter-brief before the U.S. Supreme Court the attorneys for the State of Michigan did not answer the attack on the Trucks Act made by the Communist Party but limited themselves to arguing that the Supreme Court should not hear the case but send it back to Michigan courts.

Despite the long steel strike which took place in this period U.S. Steel Corporation showed a higher net income for the third quarter and nine months ending September 30 than a year ago. This is explained by the fabulous profiteering prices for steel plus the shameless adjustments allowed by the government to the corporation.

## World Events

By Charles Hanley

**CHARLES CHAPLIN** and his wife, Oona, were greeted by an enthusiastic crowd when they arrived in Paris Oct. 29. President Auriol of France invited them to the Elysee Palace to see a private showing of Chaplin's picture "Limelight." Chaplin was made a knight of the Legion of Honor. In London, meanwhile, Queen Elizabeth had the picture shown privately at Buckingham Palace for the British Royal family. These actions are taken generally as pointed demonstrations against the U.S. Attorney General's selection of Chaplin as a witch-hunt target.

**ITALIAN Treasury Minister** Pella declared his country cannot assume any new war-preparation burdens in 1953. The United States will ask Atlantic Pact members to increase their military effort at a meeting in Paris Dec. 15.

**FIVE UNITED STATES ALLIES** — Denmark, The Netherlands, Canada, Australia and New Zealand — formally charged the United States with violation of trade agreements and said they were harmed by American restrictions on food imports to the U.S. from their countries. They threatened reprisals. The Netherlands has already cut U.S. flour imports from 75,000 to 57,000 tons.

**A NEW OUTBREAK** on Kojima Island prison camp resulted in the killing of one North Korean prisoner of war and the wounding of 75 others. None of the American guards was hurt. The North Korean armistice delegation lodged a bitter protest.

**VIET-MINH** freedom fighters attacking the French in Indo-China, wiped out the Benhan defense post, 12 miles north of Saigon, Oct. 29. The renewed offensive is an imposing demonstration of the continuing power of the Indo-Chinese struggle against

despotic French colonial rule after seven years of desperate fighting. Washington is backing the French with arms and dollars.

**SAVAGE REPRISALS** against an entire Malayan village were taken Nov. 1 by the British High Commissioner Gen. Templer because three police constables were killed and two wounded there by partisans. Templer demanded that the villagers act as stoolpigeons and give information to help capture the guerrillas. But they did not cooperate with the British.

possibly because they had no information. For a month there will be a 12-hour curfew restricting residents to their houses and the rice ration will be reduced. For two months the 1,600 inhabitants must provide labor to build a defense perimeter against the guerrillas.

**THE MALAN REGIME**, carrying on its apartheid policy in South Africa, has announced that in Durban alone more than 150,000 Indians and Negroes must move into a segregated area. To complete the segregation, 3,000 whites will have to change their residence. The South African Institute of Race Relations calls Malan's big ghetto plan an "unrealizable dream."

**SPANISH FASCISTS** announced a military and economic agreement between Franco and the Truman administration has been reached. Spanish air and naval bases will be built by U.S. dollars for use of American military forces as part of the preparation for World War III.

**SOUTH KOREAN Foreign Minister** Pyun admitted at a UN hearing Nov. 3, that the Rhee dictatorship was preparing to attack North Korea in 1950, but failed to launch the war simply because it had not yet readied its armed forces for the assault.