

STALIN -- THE BETRAYER OF THE REVOLUTION

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THE MILITANT

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Protest Rallies In Harlem Score Police Brutalities

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, March 4 — The long-smoldering indignation of the Negro people over police brutality in this city has flamed up with exposure of the conspiracy of U.S. Department of Justice officials and top local police brass to deny victims of such brutality legal recourse under the Federal civil-rights statutes.

Thousands of Harlem residents, in four mass meetings last Sunday, demanded the ouster of Police Commissioner Monaghan and all local and Federal officials involved in this plot against civil rights. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has taken the lead in pressing the fight against police terrorism.

As the protest movement continues to grow, new victims of

savage treatment by the police have come forward to demand justice. Mrs. Elizabeth Azinors, a Negro, has filed a \$10,000 damage suit against the city. She charges that on Dec. 10 a patrolman beat her and kicked her crippled husband, Isaiah, after they had phoned a burglarly attempt to their local precinct. Police arrived and brought three Puerto Rican boys to their basement apartment.

CALLLED COPS, BEATEN

The cops started beating the boys, who evidently could not understand English, Mrs. Azinors testified. Then one cop suddenly stepped over and kicked her husband in the groin. "I went over to the officer and told him we were the people who called the police and that my husband was superintendent of the house," she said. "He turned around and spit in my face. He then started beating me over the right side of my head and face with his nightstick and then pushed, beat and shoved us back to our apartment."

When she insisted later that the cop be arrested, she testified, he offered to apologize and to pay for her medical bill at Roosevelt Hospital. Another victim of police brutality, Joseph Belansky, an unemployed shipping clerk, has instituted proceedings to sue the city and detective Henry Rada for \$425,000. He charges that he was so badly beaten and tortured by the detective that he attempted suicide and was confined to a mental institution.

Belansky was picked up and "questioned" by Rada last June about a theft of piece goods from the firm where he was employed. He was subsequently completely exonerated. His lawyer has accused Rada of "beating, flogging, pushing, manhandling and threatening" Belansky at the station house and phoning him "at all hours of the night in an attempt to psychologically torture him into a confession of a crime which he never committed."

"This interrogation of Joseph Belansky is reminiscent of the witch-hunting and burning at the stake by the Puritans in Salem," the lawyer charged. As a result of the persecution, he said, Belansky became violently ill, locked himself in his bathroom,

(Continued on page 2)

Case Reopens



JAMES KUTCHER

Case of Legless Veteran Reopens In Washington

NEW YORK, March 4 — The legless veteran James Kutcher is being called up for another loyalty hearing after his court victory over the government witch hunters last fall and the recent refusal to return him to his job. His case will be heard before the Veterans Administration Loyalty Board of Appeals in Washington Monday, March 9.

This initiates a new stage in the fight conducted by Kutcher since 1948 when he was discharged from the Newark Veterans Administration for belonging to the Socialist Workers Party. He and his many supporters set out to challenge the validity of the loyalty purge and get back his job. This 4 1/2-year struggle was climaxed last October when the U.S. Court of Appeals unanimously decided that he had been improperly discharged on the sole ground of membership in an organization on the Attorney General's "subversive" list.

This decision was the first judicial defeat of the loyalty program. The N. Y. Times stated editorially that it "cast new doubts . . . on the validity of the Attorney General's list as a proper means of determining the loyalty of individual Americans," which had already been condemned as arbitrary by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The government attorneys decided against appealing the verdict to the Supreme Court. Instead Kutcher's case was remanded to the Veterans Administration where it started over four years ago.

Several weeks ago General Gray, head of the VA, turned down an appeal from Kutcher's attorney to give back the victimized veteran his job. He now comes once again before the VA Loyalty Appeals Board. Since the court has ruled Kutcher cannot be found disloyal solely on the basis of membership in the SWP alone, the Loyalty Board must find different or additional grounds to justify his discharge. The court decision opened a way for this by stating that membership in a proscribed group could be included as evidence of possible "disloyalty."

The non-partisan Kutcher Civil Rights Committee which is handling his defense has announced that it intends as before to take the case through administrative hearings to the Federal courts. It is appealing for further financial aid to carry on this prolonged fight. Contributions for this purpose should be sent to the KRDC, 19 West 10th St., N. Y. C. 11, N. Y.

"I'm Still Waiting" is the title of an article by James Kutcher in the Feb. 28 issue of "The Nation."

Kutcher describes how slowly the wheels of justice have turned in his "loyalty" case and concludes by emphasizing the acute "need for all believers in the Bill of Rights to join in defense of the civil liberties of all."

Myra Weiss Hits Attacks On Negroes

LOS ANGELES, Mar. 1 — "The tense racial antagonism that has developed recently in the Compton-Willowbrook area of Los Angeles is a direct result of the vigilante attempt of Compton real-estate interests to prevent the natural spread of the Negro population into the area," declared Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Los Angeles, in a news release today.

"The answer of the authorities was typical — arrest and punishment of the victims of race prejudice, while ignoring the crimes and threats of the vigilantes."

Two recent incidents have spotlighted the seething situation which exists in the southern section of the city. In one incident, fist fights broke out between groups of Negro and white teen-agers at the Enterprise school. The Negro youths were arrested. No action was taken against the whites. Last week, four of the Negroes, juveniles, were being sent to lumber camps for indeterminate terms. The young Negro adults, over 18 years old, were awaiting trial.

In the other incident, thugs beat up a white home-owner who had listed his property for sale with a real estate firm which customarily sells to Negroes. Other whites who were trying to sell their property were warned and threatened not to sell to Negroes. Two owners fled the city. Others decided to leave the neighborhood.

STOP CALLING THE COPS

"It is time," declared Myra Tanner Weiss, "to end the practice" (Continued on page 2)

5-Year Contracts Under Criticism In Auto Workers

With more than two years still to run, the once highly-touted five-year contracts with which President Walter Reuther saddled the CIO United Automobile Workers are now placed in question by the union's top leaders themselves.

Explaining the union's "five basic demands" for General Motors contract revisions which are not formally subject to contract negotiation until 1955, the UAW International Union stated that it regards long-term agreements as "living documents" that "must not . . . foreclose the working out of such practical problems that may arise which the parties could not anticipate at the time such agreements were negotiated."

Any view of the contract "as a legalistic, static document," the UAW statement declares, "makes long term agreements unworkable, impractical, impossible and unacceptable."

Reuther and his colleagues have been forced to insist that General Motors negotiate new wage, pension, and other contract terms where problems arise "because of abnormal economic developments or for reasons beyond the control of the parties to the contract."

The UAW international statement concludes with the information that a full report on the status of the General Motors negotiations, which were still unsettled at the time of the March 1 deadline, will be made at the coming UAW convention starting March 22 in Atlantic City.

This convention report, it is stated, will also include a discussion on "the future of long-range agreements."

If long-term agreements are to be regarded as "living documents" subject to revision because of "abnormal economic" (Continued on page 4)

Stalin's Heirs Continue Dictatorial Kremlin Rule

Caught in the Act



Washington Regrets End Of His Career

By Joseph Hansen

"Stalin will depart from the scene laden with all the crimes which he has committed — not only as the gravedigger of the revolution but as the most sinister figure in the history of mankind." Those words of Leon Trotsky in 1937 came to my mind on August 21, 1940, as I stood at Trotsky's bedside and heard the labored breathing of the great revolutionary socialist leader a few hours before he died from the pick-axe driven into his brain by an agent of Stalin.

Trotsky's prophetic words came again to my mind today, March 4, at the news that the career of the Kremlin's high executioner reached its end Sunday, March 1, when a blood vessel burst in his brain and placed the dictator on his death bed.

No one who really knew Stalin will mourn his passing — neither the millions in the slave-labor camps and dungeons of the Soviet Union nor the favored few who owed their special privileges to his cruel and calculating hand and who are even now eyeing each other with "murder in their hearts. Those who grieve, grieve over a lying myth deliberately created by Stalin himself which will not survive the first cleansing touch of socialist revolution in the workers state created under Lenin and Trotsky.

Symbolically enough, the first words of regret came from the lips of the most implacable foes of socialism and the world working-class movement.

James Reston, Diplomatic Correspondent of the powerful N. Y. Times, reported that the news when it first reached Washington "produced some apprehension." This is due to the fact that Stalin has been regarded by "Soviet experts" as a "more moderate influence on Soviet policy than some of his associates in the Politburo." Reston explained that although Stalin "was a symbol of all the anguish of the 'cold war' period that followed World War II, the paradox of the situation here this morning was that his death or incapacitation might signify an even more tense period in the relations between the Communist world and the free world."

Max Lerner of the liberal N. Y. Post, a rabidly anti-Soviet paper, put it even more plainly: "There are many people who have publicly wished for Stalin's death, on the easy assumption that it would solve everything. They must be puzzled now to" (Continued on page 3)

MOSSADEGH'S RETENTION OF POWER DISAPPOINTS U.S.-BRITISH RULERS

By John G. Wright

Last week a new crisis gripped Iran where a revolutionary situation has existed for the last two years. This crisis was precipitated by an attempt to overthrow the Mossadegh government which has ruled the country since April 29, 1951. The attempt has apparently proved abortive to the obvious disappointment of the American and British imperialists.

On the evening of Feb. 28 anti-Mossadegh crowds, shouting the slogan "Death to the Shah," attacked Mossadegh's residence, forcing him to flee in his night-clothes to the Iranian Parliament. For three days thereafter the streets of the capital city of Teheran witnessed clashes between rival groups of demonstrators, amid carloads of patrolling police, rumbling Sherman tanks and armored cars. Several have been reported killed, scores wounded.

According to the garbled accounts published in London and New York newspapers up to March 1, the outcome "was touch and go." But on March 2 the United Press cabled that "The aged Premier appeared to have" (Continued on page 4)

swamped with the magic of his popular support the opposition. . . Mossadegh's opponents were being arrested by the hundreds. In a radio broadcast he urged his supporters to refrain from further demonstrations at the present time," promising to call "upon them again if necessary."

"Return to work," urged Mossadegh. This plea discloses not only his own fear of the revolutionary masses but also the significant fact that the bulk of his support had come from the workers of Teheran.

"TIMES" DISHEARTENED

The editors of the N. Y. Times, the most authoritative mouthpiece of American financiers and industrialists, lamented on March 2 over "the chaos in Iran." These individuals never view revolutionary developments otherwise than as "chaos." They confess that they are "disheartened by the news from Teheran this past week-end."

In the same issue columnist Anne O'Hare McCormick concludes pessimistically: "The turmoil in Teheran is another reminder that the Middle East" (Continued on page 4)

of today is a volcanic region that even the experts no longer know."

The showdown in Iran was engineered around the figure of 33-year old Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlavi. This Shah heads the elements in Iran anxious for an "amicable settlement" with the British oil monopolists whose Iranian properties have been nationalized under Mossadegh. The Shah is more than willing to play ball with Washington. "That young man," explain the Times editors, "made a good impression during his visit to this country some years ago and there have been indications that he favors a saner policy on the tortuous oil issue than has been followed by Mossadegh."

OFFICERS' CONSPIRACY

When the pro-Shah riots were touched off, U.S. Ambassador Loy W. Henderson demonstratively paid a visit to the palace "to talk to the Shah."

The main force behind the Shah appears to have been a group of high army officers, particularly scores of those who had been dismissed by Mossadegh in recent" (Continued on page 4)

Labor and the Rosenberg Case

By George Lavan

Eisenhower's message, refusing to commute the death sentence in the Rosenberg case, was intended to end the growth of public demands for clemency. It has failed to accomplish this purpose. Instead, throughout the world and in the United States itself new voices have swelled the demand that Eisenhower reconsider his refusal of mercy for the doomed couple.

The mounting public protest on the Rosenberg case in the United States is very significant. Despite the increasing efforts of an out-and-out frameup. More are persecuted of the Communist Party, and the spy hysteria, more and more people have had the courage to protest the unprecedented and barbarous death sentence.

Nor can this demand for clemency be labelled, as the press at first tried, as Stalinist or Stalinist-controlled. It is obvious now that the protests come from people of all shades of opinion,

including a large number who are very conservative in their politics. The academic world is well represented; the clergy is outstanding; and the atomic scientists — who have been shocked into a sense of social responsibility by the awesome implications of their discoveries — are in the forefront with Professors Albert Einstein and Harold Urey.

The opinions of those demanding commutation of the death sentence in the Rosenberg case vary widely. Some maintain that the Rosenbergs are victims of an out-and-out frameup. More are undecided on their guilt. It is safe to state, however, that the majority of those demanding clemency believe that the Rosenbergs are to some degree guilty but that their guilt does not warrant execution.

They see the Rosenbergs as symbolic victims of the growing atmosphere of witch hunt and repression in America. They point out that the Rosenbergs

were not even accused of espionage but of "conspiracy to commit espionage." Further, that it was not espionage as always understood by Americans — that is attempting to aid an enemy in time of war — but allegedly attempting to aid a wartime ally. They see no evidence, despite the judge's hysterical statements on this point, that any information of value was possessed by the doomed couple. And finally they point out that in contrast to the comparatively light sentences given the other defendants, the Rosenbergs were given a sentence without precedent in peace-time U.S. history — death.

CLERGYMEN'S OPINION

A petition by an unaffiliated group of 2,300 clergymen from all 48 states, asking Eisenhower to reconsider, declared in its major portion:

"It is difficult in a short letter to convey adequately the sense of the considerations which led us to make our original appeal.

Certainly one major consideration is the fact that the Rosenberg case has become an occasion that catches up within itself all kinds of attitudes, forces and movements which are operating within our society.

"For this reason, we suggest that the Rosenberg case cannot be looked at simply in terms of itself. For this reason, in this instance the death sentence is an indication of our national weakness, rather than our national strength. It is a reflection of our own growing hysteria, fear and insecurity.

"When looked at in this symbolic way, the death sentence itself further reduces the range of our freedom to think and act. It contributes to a paralysis of critical thought. It furthers the mood of suppression that becomes increasingly characteristic of our way of life.

"We are not questioning the justice of the trial, but we earnestly question the political" (Continued on Page 2)

Million Families Face New Rent Gouge in N.Y.

"One of the most extensive mass protests in the state's history" (N. Y. Post) is now going on in New York over an administration proposal to boost rents of at least a million tenants by a flat 15% starting May 1. Protests are pouring in from labor, liberal, tenant and civic organizations. The Democratic minority in the legislature joined the protests together with the Liberal party. The American Labor Party, demanding an investigation, pointed out that T. Mallory Stephens, chairman of the committee which drafted the bill to decontrol rents, is a director of the City Title Insurance Co., prominent real estate outfit pushing the measure. According to the ALP, Sen. Mahoney, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee to which the bill was referred, was recently appointed a director of the same company.

It appears that the rent of 1,300,000 families in the state, most of whom are in New York City, would go up an annual total of \$187 million under Governor Dewey's bill. The heaviest burden of this increase will fall on the poorest people, especially those in the crowded tenement areas and communities of various minorities where rents are already unreasonably high.

The gains of the rent-gougers will mean a corresponding decrease in food, clothing and care for tens of thousands of families.

Subscription Campaign Plans Being Readied

By Dorothy Johnson, Campaign Manager

The subscription and sales campaign announced in last week's Militant promises to be a real success. The campaign, to begin March 15 and continue for six weeks, comes at a time when the American working people are deeply concerned with the inroads being made in their living standards, with attacks on their civil rights, and with continuation of the Korean war and the threat of its extension.

Literature Agent Nick Bennett reports that San Francisco and Oakland Militant salesmen are making plans to tie in their subscription work with activities around the current mayoralty campaign in Oakland. Here the anti-war program of Lillian Kiesel is expected to arouse a deepened interest in these questions. Nick also reports good sales recently on the campus by Esther and G. Bailey. Bruce and Beverly continue their door-to-door work on Sundays.

The Newark comrades are also making plans for the campaign. Newark salesmen found a very good response recently at a NAACP meeting where 20 Militants were sold. At a Zionist meeting one of the comrades sold four copies of the November-December issue of Fourth International.

An encouraging sale last Sunday by New York Militant sales-

men indicates excellent possibilities for a successful campaign in this city. At three rallies held to protest the deal between the New York cops and the FBI to squelch the investigation of police brutality in Harlem, comrades sold 121 Militants and six copies of the pamphlet "The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore."

One of the salesmen at one of the smaller meetings reports that there was a very great interest in The Militant with its headline, "City, Federal Officials Protect Killer-Cops on Loose in New York." She estimates that one out of three persons going into the meeting bought the paper.

Salesmen at the other meetings report an angry audience with comments like "We don't have to read about it." The sales indicate a large number of people were interested in reading a paper offering a socialist solution to Jim Crow.

High scorers were Ruby, 25 Militants; Ruth T., 21; Sherry, 18; and Ray, 16. New York is planning a street sale in Harlem of the same issue for next Saturday.

SOVIET OUTPUT GREW TEN TIMES AS FAST AS U.S. SINCE 1929

By Harry Frankel

Every new world production index shows the great superiority of nationalized and planned economy over capitalist economy. Although statisticians are notorious for their figure-jugglery, in this case not even the most skilled statistician employed by the capitalist class can find any way to alter the picture, as the differences between the performance of capitalist and nationalized economies are so great.

The latest United Nations yearbook, published on March 1, is an excellent case in point. It says that U.S. industrial production has risen by about 100% since 1929, and that by contrast industrial production in the USSR has risen by about 1000%! These figures are undoubtedly authentic, roughly reflecting the rate of industrial growth within the limits of statistical error. The figure given by the UN for the U.S. is the same as that to be found in Commerce Dept. figures. The figure given for the USSR of a 1000% increase is slightly smaller than that given by G. M. Malenkov in his "Report to the Nineteenth Congress" of the Communist Party of the USSR. In that report, Malenkov gave the growth of industrial production as 1166%.

The USSR went through a war that cut industrial production by one-third. But the U.S., most favored capitalist nation, increased industrial production by more than one-half during the war. The contrast between the USSR and the European capitalist countries, somewhat fairer, is even more devastating. Production in Europe as a whole has risen by only 63% for 1951 as against 1929.

Even this does not complete the picture, because part of this European continent has in the meantime adopted the new economic structure that exists in the USSR. This 63% increase in all-European industrial production reflects in large measure the growth of the new nationalized economies.

Seven nations (excluding Albania) of Europe have been added to the sphere embraced in whole or in part by the nationalized and planned economic systems. These are Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia, which, while it has broken with the Kremlin and allied itself with imperialism, retains the economic structure it won through a revolution. These seven nations, by 1948, had increased their production above the pre-war level by an average of 37%. In the same year, the 19 capitalist nations of Europe had only attained a level of 11% above pre-war.

That was up to 1948, when the nationalized economy was only in the process of being established in these Eastern European regions. But since 1948, the diverging trends have been even sharper. By 1951, the seven countries of the Eastern European region that had adopted planned economy averaged an increase of industrial production of fully 80% above the 1948 level, as opposed to an only 30% increase, on an average, in the 19 capitalist countries in the same period.

In summary, according to UN figures, the Eastern European countries raised their production on the average of 146% above pre-war, while the capitalist countries of Europe raised their production only 44% above pre-war levels. It must also be taken into consideration that these countries of Eastern Europe were all battlefields of World War II (Yugoslavia, for example, lost one killed out of every 16 of its population), while many of the countries of capitalist Europe were not in that position.

Another important factor in gauging the power of the new forms of economy of the Soviet bloc is this: that since the mid-Twenties the Soviet Union has suffered from the handicap of a parasitic bureaucracy that consumes large parts of the national income which could be used for still greater expansion. More important, this bureaucracy, by its restraints on the initiative of the working class and by its feverish shifts and turns of policy on the economic front made the process of industrialization harder than it otherwise would have been.

The prospect for the future is a still wider divergence between capitalist and nationalized economies. Plans and predictions show that the USSR will expand output far faster than the U.S. For example, the National Planning Association in Washington, in a pamphlet by economist Gerhard Colm, estimates that by 1955 the U.S. gross national product will have risen to \$368.8 billion. This is an optimistic estimate, based upon the continuation of present business expansion. It is also one of the most authentic estimates, since the National Planning Association has a record of making rather precise forecasts on the growth of the gross national product.

Mr. Colm's estimate shows that the U.S. may at best expect a growth between 1950 and 1955 of about 22%. But the latest five-year plan of the Soviet Union projects the following increases for the same period: Industrial output to rise by 70%, output of means of production to rise by 80%, and output of consumer goods to rise by 65%. More than two-fifths of this plan has been completed, and Soviet production figures show that the planned production rises are becoming, in large measure, actual. But even if they are not achieved in full, as they probably won't be, particularly in the consumer-goods field, the general rate of growth of the nationalized economy in the USSR will be at least triple that of the capitalist U.S.

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Negro "Progress": What Facts Show--A Splendid Study in F.I.

By George Lavan

The latest issue of the magazine Fourth International contains an article of the utmost importance to all those interested in the struggle of the Negro people. The article, written by George Breitman, is entitled "Negro 'Progress': What the Facts Show." It is a painstaking and critical analysis of the Senate Subcommittee report, "Employment and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States." Many will recall the great hullabaloo with which Senator Humphrey released the report last November. It was seized upon by the Negro and liberal press as proof of great economic advances registered by the Negro people in the latter half of the New Deal-Fair Deal period. Negro and liberal editors, smarting under the defeats of civil

Anti-War Rally Broken Up



Former army Col. Olimpio Ferraz de Carvalho is forcibly carried from peace conference in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, by police. He was leader of meeting, attended by 500 delegates and held in defiance of police ban.

Rallies Score Police Brutalities

(Continued from page 1)

and tried to commit suicide by drinking iodine. He was confined at the Brooklyn State hospital for five months before being released in custody of his wife.

A Bronx postal employee, Frank Clark, has filed a \$100,000 suit against the city and accused a detective of beating him while questioning him about a traffic mishap. Clark was summoned to the station house after his mail truck scraped the side of a passenger car. The motorist charged that Clark pulled his gun on him. Clark denied this completely. The detective questioned him about the gun, he said, and then started smashing him over the head with his blackjack. At one point the detective pulled out his gun, Clark charges, and threatened to shoot him for "resisting."

Later the motorist appeared and said that Clark "did not exactly draw the gun, but started to." The detective then produced a bottle of Scotch, Clark said, and insisted that both of them have a drink with him. He then told Clark something to the effect that he was "sorry to mess you up so badly."

After ten murders of innocent citizens by trigger-happy cops during the past three years, the very first of such killers has finally been convicted of his crime. A Brooklyn jury has returned a verdict of manslaughter against Patrolman Stanley Davis who invaded the home of Arthur Battle last May and shot him down before his wife and children. The victim was a Negro, as is Davis.

Accompanied by two other patrolmen, Davis had entered Battle's home in search of a revolver that one of them had lost in a bar-room brawl two days before. Battle, who did not have the revolver, was shot four times by Davis. His spine was shattered by one of the bullets, causing paralysis from the waist down. He died seven months later.

Despite the fact that the evidence against them was just as strong, all of the killer-cops up to Davis, had the full support of the Police Department in winning exoneration. The conviction of Davis, without any attempt at intervention from his superiors, strongly suggests that, as a Negro, he was "thrown to the wolves" in an effort to allay

the present fierce resentment against such killings.

Following the Davis verdict, the Brooklyn Branch of the NAACP issued a statement condemning the Police Department for "invading private homes and searching citizens without search warrants." The statement demanded a public investigation of "the illegal policies and practices pursued by the Police Department."

"The fact that the Federal and State Constitutions . . . require policemen to use search warrants has been of no meaning to the Police Commissioner for many years," the statement said. "Policemen like Davis and his companions Ferguson and Giescombe have been trained by their superiors to assume they can enter any home . . . any time, in any manner. This situation prevails throughout the entire Police Department and is one of the greatest reasons for countless police brutalities and other forms of unlawful conduct."

WHITE COP LET OFF

Hard on the heels of the Davis conviction came the announcement of a complete whitewash of William Brennan, the cop charged with administering a sadistic head-beating to Jacob Jackson and Samuel Crawford while they were handcuffed together in a Harlem precinct.

In a bitter denunciation of the Grand Jury action, Edward W. Jacko, Jr., NAACP attorney, declared to an indignant Harlem rally of the NAACP: "The Jackson case is one of the most brutal and flagrant violations of the civil rights of a Negro by the Police Department of this city. We are going to fight on with this case until we get a new Grand Jury hearing and a conviction." In a fighting speech, Ella J. Baker, President of the NAACP Harlem Branch, pledged to the rally that, "We will continue the fight until every last vestige of police brutality is removed from this city."

JUST AN "EXPERIMENT"

Despite the vehement denials of Commissioner Monaghan, and the twisting and squirming of the Justice Department, it has become entirely clear that an agreement between the Justice Department and the N. Y. police has been in existence, whereby the FBI would not attempt to investigate charges of police

breasting light on government statistical methods.

As well as examining the actual economic progress of the Negro people in the decade between 1940 and 1950 the article deals with the important population and geographic shifts of Negroes. Then the causes for the economic changes and population shifts are revealed.

FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

More important, perhaps, than the critical examination of the economic status of the Negro people in the last decade is the writer's discussion of the permanency of economic gains made by the Negro people. In case of war would Negro wage earners forge ahead? Would they hold their own? Or would they lose ground?

In case of recession or depression would Negro workers hold their own or register absolute losses? These are not academic speculations but questions of vital concern for every Negro leader and every Negro militant.

Though the article deals with what many consider a dry-as-dust subject — statistics and economic facts — it is really a fascinating, vibrant example of living Marxist analysis. From the opening line the subject is related to the current struggle of the Negro people and the struggle for the leadership of this great, exploited, Jim-Crowded mass by two different camps. The camp that is dominant now — the camp that stands for "gradual reform" — and the camp that stands for radical change.

An insight into the dynamics of the contest between these camps and a thorough understanding of the position of the Negro people today will result from a reading of "Negro 'Progress': What the Facts Show."

Also in the November-December Fourth International is an article on the "Soviet Purges and Anti-Semitism" by George Clarke. Here the frame-up character of the Slansky Trial and the charges against the Soviet physicians is exposed to the light of day. The author traces the causes of the Slansky frame-up and the use of anti-Semitism. Similarly the growth and causes of government-sponsored anti-Semitism in the USSR itself are

gone into. The author well disposes of the official Stalinist line that not anti-Semitism but anti-Zionism is all that is involved in the current campaign against Jews in the Soviet areas.

The reader will find a thoroughgoing description of the emergence of that terrible weapon of reaction — anti-Semitism — in the USSR. This article will do what the thousands of articles in the pro-war capitalistic press have failed to do — draw the picture with objectivity and without propaganda distortions.

ARTICLE BY PABLO

The latest issue of Fourth International also contains an article by Michel Pablo that will be of great interest to all who are following the changes in the Kremlin leadership. The article, entitled "The 19th Congress of the Russian Communist Party," is devoted mainly to a penetrating study of Georgi Malenkov's report to the congress. Using Malenkov's statistics with the caution necessary when dealing with any statements of the Kremlin leaders, Pablo assesses the current economic strength of the USSR in industry and agriculture. The five year plan for 1951-1955 is looked into.

Out of Malenkov's own report the defects of the bureaucratic management of the Soviet economy are described. Similarly the pillaging role of the enormous bureaucracy is portrayed. And finally the futile appeals of Malenkov for a renewal of vitality of the Party and a renaissance of Soviet culture are examined and the reasons for their futility put forth.

STALIN'S "OPUS"

This issue of Fourth International also contains a brilliant economic study by Ernest Germain entitled "Economic Problems of the Transition Epoch." It is an analysis of Stalin's last work — his economic "opus" on Marxist economics in contemporary Soviet society. Not only are the falsifications of Marxism by Stalin shown up, but the reasons for these falsifications are laid bare. Then Germain gives the Marxist answers to the problems of the Soviet economy that Stalin couldn't and wouldn't give. No serious student of economics should miss this important contribution.

The American Way of Life

Blue Dye

The Jan. 5 *International Oil Worker*, in a bitter article spread all across one page, excoriates the menace of smear tactics in the witch hunt in a novel way. It seems that the French government proposes to "spray participants in any future demonstrations with a penetrating blue dye, which they will find almost impossible to wash off." An American industrialist, Jack Frye, president of General Aniline and Film Corp., proposes this method be used by other governments, and offers to donate dye. The *Oil Worker* comments:

"Frye's idea of spraying everybody with blue dye is terribly messy. Actually, though, Frye is taking a much more straightforward approach than are many others among the modern world's mad aristocrats. Frye believes in splashing his smears right in the open, right on the skin of the people." The *Oil Worker* tells a little story about how such a smear would work in America, which we reprint in full:

Tom Jones, a member of Oil Workers Union Local 100, is walking down the street on his way home from Wednesday night prayer meeting, when he hears a ruckus going on in front of the Bluebird Bar. Tom strolls over that way, sees two men fighting and a crowd standing around. Tom edges up closer, thinking maybe somebody ought to stop the fight. Then the whole crowd erupts into fist-swinging, and Tom decides he had better scam out of there.

But by then the crowd is all around Tom, and before he can get clear a police car rolls up. A cop jumps out carrying a gadget that looks like a fire extinguisher. He points this gadget towards the crowd. A spray of liquid comes from it. Tom can feel the spray hitting him. It sort of stings in his eyes. The crowd breaks up and Tom walks away.

When Tom gets home he goes into the bathroom and finds that he is covered with specks of blue dye. It looks like his suit is ruined. He takes off the suit and gets in the bathtub to wash off. But the blue won't wash away.

Tom goes to bed, worrying about it. Next morning the blue spots are still on his face and neck and hands. He washes again, with strong soap and then with turpentine, but the spots won't come off. Tom opens the morning paper and reads the headline, *POLICE BREAK UP COMMUNIST RIOT. Participants Sprayed With Blue Dye to Permit Identification.* The newspaper article goes on to say that while no arrests were made in the riot in front of the Bluebird Bar, all participants were sprayed with a permanent blue dye. It will be an easy matter, say the police, simply to round up every person in town who bears the tell-tale blue splotches on his skin!

Tom looks up from the paper to see his 14-year old son staring alternately at the newspaper then at his father's face. "I didn't know you were a communist," says the boy.

Tom opens his mouth to answer, then the stark implications of the situation strike him. Not only this innocent boy, but also his neighbors and friends and the boys at the refinery will look at the blue spots on his face and wonder.

It shouldn't be hard to clear the matter with the police . . . but what about the children and the friends? Tom realizes with a shudder, that he has been smeared. Not only his face, but also his respected family name has been smeared with an indelible dye.

Myra Weiss Hits Racial Attacks In Los Angeles

(Continued from page 1)

of trying to 'solve' social problems by police measures.

"The housing problem is closely related to all the other problems — police brutality, job discrimination, segregation in hospitals and elsewhere — which combine to keep Negroes and other minorities in the category of second-class citizens.

"Moreover, there is a close link between the discrimination against minorities and the needs of the entire working class.

"To begin to correct these evils, we must elect representatives of all races who will protect the rights of the people instead of the profits of the bosses.

"This means a break with capitalist parties and capitalist politicians and the immediate election of working-class representatives.

"Many of the main problems which face the workers today are national in scope — the need for the immediate ending of the war in Korea, prevention of the outbreak of World War III, stopping the witch hunt and discrimination, and the curbing of inflation. These problems necessitate the formation of a nationwide Labor Party. At the same time, many of these problems can also be tackled at the city level.

FOR FEP LAW

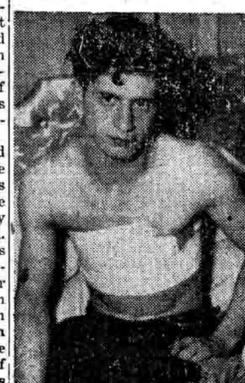
"If elected, I shall do everything possible to bring about the passage of a Los Angeles Fair Employment Practices law, to encourage federal low-rent housing, stamp out every vestige of discrimination in the city's agencies.

"I shall, moreover, attempt to free the people of Los Angeles from the deadening hand of the witch hunt and the loyalty oaths, and encourage the fullest possible participation by workers of all races in running the city's affairs.

"Socialism alone can solve the burning problems of the day. A start on the road to a solution can be made through the election of working-class candidates.

"I urge you to read my full program, and on the basis of that program to vote for me for mayor in the April 7 election."

Police Victim



Salvatore Pace, showing taped ribs, may be a witness in hearing on N. Y. police brutality. The 22-year-old father was beaten in police car after being picked up as disorderly conduct "suspect" had to go to hospital.

brutality until the police had conducted their own "investigation." The FBI would take action, if at all, only on the "report" drawn up from such "self-investigation."

Although denying existence of an "agreement," former Ass't Atty General McInerney has now admitted that he had consented to an "experiment" along these lines. Despite his denial of an agreement, Monaghan has been forced to admit under oath that he "may have" told two FBI agents, who wanted to question Brennan, that the Federal Civil Rights law was intended only "for south of the Mason-Dixon line."

The most convincing proof that there has been an agreement in fact between the Federal and local "law enforcement" agencies not to do anything about police brutality is their record. Despite the ominous increase of police brutality they haven't lifted a finger to stop it. Systematic police brutality is part of the deliberate means used to maintain the Jim-Crow terror against the Negro people.

WHAT LABOR HAS AT STAKE IN CASE OF THE ROSENBERGS

(Continued from page 1)

is bound up with an opposition to the course toward World War III, with opposition to the war hysteria that powerful forces are cultivating, and with opposition to the political repression that is part and parcel of preparing the home-front for a police state.

LABOR ABSENT

One force in America which should be in the forefront of the fight for clemency is absent. That is the labor movement. With a few honorable exceptions, such as Patrick Gorman, Sec'y-Treasurer of the AFL Butchers, labor leaders have been silent on the Rosenberg case. This is not because they are not aware of the sinister forces behind the campaign to execute the tragic couple, but because of cowardice.

The labor leaders from the beginning adopted the viewpoint of the social-democratic liberals — it would be fatal to identify the labor movement's opposition to the witch hunt with support of the clemency campaign for the Rosenbergs. They accepted the government's premise — that Communism equals espionage and any defense of the Rosenbergs would lay the defender open to the McCarthyite smear of supporting Communist espionage. Publically the social-democratic liberals tried to prove themselves 200% Americans by attacking the Rosenberg defenders as Stalinist dupes, and warning liberals not to become entangled in a case which, narrowly interpreted, was "not a civil liberties case."

Privately many of these liberals would admit that the death sentence was unwarranted and could have terrible consequences — it would give the McCarthyite sharks a taste of blood — but, they said, the case couldn't be touched with a ten-foot pole because of the spy-hysteria.

Unfortunately the labor movement followed and still follows advice of this kind.

But events have shown that great masses of people of the most diverse political views throughout the world and in the United States recognize in the Rosenberg death sentence a symbolism of the trend and forces they want to stop. Their opposition to the death sentence

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Stalin--Betrayal of Revolution

By Art Preis

Fought Stalin



LEON TROTSKY

Stalin's political supporters and sycophants have attributed to him a consummate genius in all spheres, from politics to music and natural science. Bourgeois political analysts, if not ready to concede many endearing traits to Stalin, likewise speak with a certain awe of his superior personal qualities. Thus they relate Stalin's rise to power and the consolidation of his dictatorship largely or wholly to capacities within himself.

Such explanations for the phenomenon of Stalin are myths. Leon Trotsky, the most implacable revolutionary socialist foe of the Stalinist dictatorship, pointed out that Stalin displayed utter mediocrity as a thinker, writer and orator. He usurped power in the Soviet Union not by virtue of superior personal qualities, but as the chief representative of a privileged stratum of Soviet society.

This stratum formed a conservative bureaucracy, which gradually hardened into a caste. It included many petty-bourgeois and even former possessing class elements who, once the workers and peasants had won the revolution, infiltrated into the Soviet government and Bolshevik party. The Soviet Union's heritage of economic and cultural backwardness from Czarist Russia, the wreckage and ruin of imperialist and civil wars, the hostile encirclement of capitalist countries which cut off the new workers state from international exchange of goods and resources, all provided the fertile soil for the growth of the parasitic bureaucracy.

This bureaucracy, as Trotsky wrote in his book *The Revolution Betrayed*, formed a "lead-in rump" that "outweighed the head of the revolution." The social weight of the parasite caste, seizing upon its host in a period of a decline in revolutionary resistance, prevailed against the politics of Bolshevism. The bureaucracy converted the Bolshevik party to its opposite -- from an instrument of proletarian conquest against capitalism into a weapon for the defense of the bureaucratic caste against the workers and peasants who had made the revolution.

"FELT OUT STALIN"
Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, said in *The Revolution Betrayed* that it would be naive to imagine that Stalin, previously unknown to the Russian masses, suddenly issued from the wings, after Lenin's death in 1924, fully armed with a strategic plan for seizing dictatorial power.

Before Stalin felt out his own future course, wrote Trotsky, "the bureaucracy felt out Stalin himself. He brought it all the necessary guarantees: the prestige of an old Bolshevik, a strong character, narrow vision, and close bonds with the political

machine as the sole source of his influence. The success which fell upon him was a surprise to Stalin himself. It was the friendly welcome of the new ruling group, trying to free itself from the old principles and from the control of the masses, and having need of a reliable arbiter in its inner affairs."

The program of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which had arrogated to itself enormous material benefits, could be summed up in four words: *Preserve the status quo*. It not only looked with contempt on the masses, it feared them mortally as the source of revolutionary sentiment and action so upsetting to the status quo. Hence, the Stalin machine undertook to politically expropriate the workers. Its first step was to destroy the democracy

that had prevailed in the Bolshevik party under Lenin and Trotsky.

At the same time, Stalin sought to preserve the status quo internationally by deals with the capitalist powers or playing off one against the other. For this purpose, he gradually perverted the Communist Parties outside the Soviet Union from revolutionary bodies to pawns to be used in pressuring their governments in accordance with the Kremlin's shifting diplomatic needs and moves.

OPPOSITION TO STALIN

Stalin and the bureaucracy did not achieve their program all at once and without opposition. Far from it. From the start, Stalin confronted a resolute Bolshevik opposition led by Trotsky, who conducted an uncompromising struggle for Soviet democracy and for a world revolutionary policy.

Trotsky proposed to give free democratic rein to the Soviet workers and to ensure them by law the fullest rights of criticism of the officials of the government and party. He fought relentlessly against converting the Communist Parties into what he called mere "border guards" of the Soviet Union or, more precisely, of the Soviet bureaucracy. He wanted the workers of every country to be free to carry through their socialist revolutions in accordance with their own capacities and objective conditions. In the bitter struggle that ensued between the bureaucracy and the opposition, Trotsky symbolized the revolution, as Stalin represented its gravedigger.

To maintain the power of the bureaucracy against the inner forces of the revolution that constantly welled up within the masses and pressed against the bureaucratic crust, Stalin's re-

gime had to rely more and more on naked brutality. From 1927, when Stalin succeeded in expelling Trotsky from the Bolshevik Party, until the height of the Moscow frameup purge trials in 1937, the victims of the most monstrous repression in all history increased by the hundreds, then the thousands and tens of thousands, and finally the millions. Stalin exterminated the old Bolsheviks, virtually the whole generation who had made the revolution and every single person who might bear within him one germ of the revolutionary "infection." He crowned his abominations with the assassination in 1940 of Leon Trotsky.

Stalin plunged the knife of betrayal into the back of one revolutionary struggle after another. His policy of the bloc of classes in China and subordination of the Communist Party to the coalition with the capitalist-landlord Kuomintang, led to the defeat of the Chinese revolution in 1925-27. Under his direction, the Communist Party of Germany in 1933 capitulated to the Nazis without a struggle.

In the Spanish revolution of 1936-39, Stalin's GPU, operating within the Loyalist forces, murdered the flower of the Spanish working-class revolutionists, subverted the proletarian revolution to an alliance with the so-called "democratic" capitalists and paved the way for a surrender to Franco.

By his alliance with Hitler in 1940, Stalin gave the green light to the Nazis for the attack on Poland and the start of the Second World War. By disorienting and disarming the Soviet people to the menace of Hitler, Stalin made possible the initial effectiveness of Hitler's "surprise" attack on the Soviet Union and the terrible destruction wrought by the Nazis.

Through his Communist Par-

ties, which at his order became servile tools of the imperialist governments, Stalin helped to tie the workers in the countries allied with the Kremlin to the capitalist war machines. In America, the Communist Party became the advocate of a permanent no-strike pledge, incentive pay and class peace.

The last world war undermined capitalist regimes everywhere throughout the world. Vast revolutionary currents were set in motion in Europe and Asia. Stalin sought by every means at his command to crush or contain these revolutionary movements. His parties in Western Europe collaborated with the capitalists and bolstered shaky capitalist rule. Stalin seriously delayed the post-war revolution in China and tried once more to effect an alliance of the Communist Party with Chiang Kai-shek's forces. He attempted to retain capitalism in Eastern Europe and then put through nationalizations by military bureaucratic means that stifled the revolutionary fervor and initiative of the people.

But everywhere the revolutionary forces have been pushing forward and threatening the Stalinist bureaucracy as well as capitalism. Stalin therefore climaxed his post-war crimes with a series of new purges, in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, that have been strongly flavored with vile anti-Semitism. In the new purge trials, 30 years after Stalin's struggle Trotskyism began and more than 12 years after Trotsky's murder, "Trotskyism" has again been placed in the dock by the Stalin regime.

Thus does the Stalinist bureaucracy give testimony to the continuing underlying struggle in the Soviet Union against the counter-revolutionary regime and to the growing revolutionary forces that will spell its end.

Searching for a New Party

Considerable interest is being displayed in the labor movement over the proposal for the formation of a new political party. The speech by Senator Wayne Morse at the annual Roosevelt Day Dinner of the Americans for Democratic Action advocating the formation of a new liberal party was featured in many labor papers throughout the country.

In his speech Morse declared: "I have long since given up hope of finding liberalism in the Republican Party and I think it is on its death bed in the Democratic Party. I think it is time for the formation of a new alignment in this country to carry out the principles of representative government."

While Morse demonstrated the political necessity of a "new alignment," he neglected to explain the basis upon which a new liberal party would be formed. Now the editors of *Labor's Daily*, Feb. 26, the only daily labor paper in the United States, take the question up where Morse leaves off and carry it one step further. "The logical place to start a liberal party," they contend, "is in the labor movement."

It is an incontestable fact of American political life that no real "liberal party" can hope to succeed unless it is based on the organized labor movement. In this sense the editors of *Labor's Daily* have made an important contribution to the

discussion of the need for a new political alignment in this country.

Several important questions are posed but left unanswered by the editors of *Labor's Daily*. Namely, that of leadership and program. If the labor movement is to initiate the new party the assumption is that the new "liberal party" would be under the control of the labor movement and its allies: the working farmers, Negro organizations, etc. The program of the party would, of necessity, have to represent the interests of these groups, which constitute the overwhelming majority of the population. It is only such a leadership and program that could inspire the confidence of the laboring people and rally them to the enthusiastic support of a new political party.

The people of this country have been betrayed too often by professional politicians masquerading as "liberals." We presume that the editors of *Labor's Daily* do not propose that the leadership and control of the new party be turned over to individuals of that ilk. At any rate the discussion itself is a healthy sign of a growing political awareness on the part of larger sections of the labor and liberal movement of the necessity for a decisive break with the politics of tweedledee and tweedledum as exemplified by the so-called "two-party system."

"Tell Us How We Are Going to Eat"

The Japanese people are saying to the American State Department today, in effect, "Before you talk to us about communism, tell us how we are going to eat."

This is the view of Dr. Harold H. Fisher, Chairman of the Hoover Institute and Library at Stanford University, expressed on Feb. 27 to the Commonwealth Club of California. Dr. Fisher went on to express further opinions:

"American opinion (he means capitalist and governmental opinion) considers direct and indirect aggression by Soviet communism as the greatest threat, and hence the number one problem is security against communism. But to the Japanese, a far more fundamental and more serious problem than communism was this: How can a nation survive that has too many people, too little land, too few natural resources, and too little access to markets and sources of raw materials?"

How indeed can such a nation survive on a capitalist basis? Of course, Japan could survive and prosper with a socialist economy and with a program of economic cooperation with the Chinese mainland. However, Dr. Fisher continues with his statement of the problem, as follows:

"The data papers and the discussion brought out that the Japanese had been able to eat since the end of the war because of billions of dollars of American aid, and more recently because of the sale

of goods and services to the United Nations forces for the war in Korea. The Japanese, naturally, would prefer to have their survival rest on another basis than the indefinite continuation of the fighting in Korea or the pockets of the American taxpayer."

The Japanese people, Dr. Fisher went on, raise questions like this: "Is the United States prepared to pay most of the cost of Japanese rearmament? If not, the Japanese standard of living will be forced down even lower than it now is, thus creating discontent and giving aid and comfort to the Japanese Communists."

From this wording, it is clear that Dr. Fisher has talked mainly to rulers of Japan, who worry about a falling standard of living in Japan only insofar as it gives "aid and comfort" to communists. But the point is clear: the U.S. imperialists are driving Japan into a hopeless position.

Finally, Dr. Fisher quotes one more common remark now being made in Japan, which is: "if Asians are to be prepared to fight Asians (Eisenhower's slogan), then Asians should have a say in what they are going to fight each other about."

Dr. Fisher's remarks, despite their inconclusive nature, are valuable in giving a picture of the problem of the Japanese nation and the thinking of the Japanese people. They are not inclined to fight Wall Street's war, and getting less inclined every day by all indications.

Dollars by Distortion

Under the headline "Red-Hunt Good For Business?" *Labor's Daily* for March 3, hints at an interesting story behind the witch hunt in the schools. According to that paper, "the ancient game of smearing a competitor to wrest business away from him" may be involved in the attempts of certain reactionary groups to get textbooks banned in the schools because of the views expressed in them.

The incident picked up by *Labor's Daily* is the drive against Frank A. Macgruder's "American Government," the most widely used high school civics text in the country, a drive directed by the Conference of American Small Business Organizations. *Labor's Daily* points out that "newer and better" books are being considered."

There are actual incidents of the past, unreported by *Labor's Daily* in this article, which strongly substantiate the suspicion expressed by this paper. The magazine *Commentary* of Feb. 1952 contained a careful study of the textbook controversy by Dr. Edward N. Saveth, later reprinted as a pamphlet with an introduction by the U.S. Commissioner of Education. This article contained the following allegation:

"Yet it is perhaps unfair to blame the individual publisher (of textbooks), since his competitors apparently have no scruples about profiting from the chaos created by pressure groups. Early last July, Georgia newspapers reported a statement by G. S. Hubbard, director of the State Department of Education's division of instructional materials, to the effect that the McGraw-Hill Book Company, to induce Georgia to put its own text on Georgia's

approved list, was willing to take up 30,000 copies of Macgruder for which the State of Georgia no longer had any use. 'They suggested they might offer us a generous exchange price on the Macgruder book for their new book,' Hubbard said. 'And this was not the only 'exchange' offer he had received.'"

The big complaint against Macgruder's book, by the way, is that it shows itself to be "subversive" by advocating strengthening of the United Nations Charter.

Textbook publishers who rush in to make a profit out of the witch hunt are genuine "free-enterprisers" in the fullest capitalist sense of the term. To turn everything to advantage in order to make a dollar -- that is the law of the capitalist. If this involves the choking off of free thought and expression, the further twisting of school children's minds into a pattern of bigotry and hate, then no matter. It makes money, doesn't it?

This little textbook incident is only a microcosm of the whole witch hunt and anti-radical drive. The capitalists and their servants in the government are against communism and socialism, they claim, out of affection for the mass of mankind. Actually, they care nothing for the people, and look first of all to their own pocket-books. They hate radicalism because it threatens their profits and power.

Thus just as a few scheming textbook manufacturers look for some extra dollars out of the witch hunt in the schools, the whole of the capitalist class needs the witch hunt in order to extend and protect its present hold upon the wealth of the nation.

Stalin Heirs Continue Dictatorial Kremlin Rule

(Continued from page 1)

learn that in every world capital there is great concern for him."

These spokesmen in the camp of Wall Street regret Stalin's passing because they understand his real role. They know that his long record of betrayal upon betrayal of socialist revolutions throughout the world gave hope for new treacheries that might further prolong the life of capitalism.

What they fear is that his death might give an impulse to forces that will put a new dynamic leadership in power in the Soviet Union, lifting again the revolutionary banners trampled in the mud by Stalin.

There was of course an immediate reason for some dismay in Washington. It appears that Eisenhower was laying the base for a possible conference with

Stalin and had even gone so far as to get public approval for such a step from witch-hunter McCarthy and his associates.

Stalin's stroke "meant the end of serious maneuvers for peace in the current session of the U.N. General Assembly," according to UP staff-writer Bruce W. Munn's round-up of opinion in diplomatic circles. "It obviously stopped all speculation about a possible get-together between President Eisenhower and the Russian leader."

A different opinion about the possible future course of the USSR was also voiced in Washington. As an "extreme" alternative, reported by AP, "Russia under new leadership might give up its theories of world-wide Communist domination and subside into its own sphere, thereby opening the way for true cold war settlements." This means in

plain language, that there are some who hope that the Kremlin might open the door to capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Both views are mistaken. Stalin's passing from the scene will not change the character of the bureaucratic caste which he headed, no matter how sharp the internal crisis that is precipitated in the struggle among top circles for his mantle. This reactionary caste whether now or with some delay, will push forward a new figure in its image that will not differ in fundamentals from Stalin.

The caste will not turn to the program of Lenin and Trotsky, for that would mean giving up its special privileges and its power. Only the Soviet working class can do that and only against the ferocious opposition of the ruling oligarchy.

But neither will the caste welcome imperialism into the Soviet Union as a result of Stalin's death, for that would mean destroying its own economic base in the planned economy. The caste can be expected to continue the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist assault -- a defense, it must be added, of the type symbolized by Stalin that undermines the remaining conquests of the October 1917 revolution.

The first reaction of the imperialist powers who have been projecting a new war on the Soviet Union since 1945 may be to wait and see what happens in the Kremlin as the oligarchy opens up a knife fight for the succession. But we may confidently expect that voices will soon be raised demanding immediate attack on the USSR to take advantage of the confusion and possible paralysis of will and defensive power following the dictator's sudden removal from the scene of world politics.

Such a course must be resisted with the utmost firmness. It would mean the opening of World War III. It would rally the Soviet people around the Kremlin no matter what figure temporarily stepped into Stalin's vacated place. It would block the possibility of new developments that might lead to the downfall of the hated dictatorship and its replacement by a progressive regime controlled by the workers.

The task of class-conscious workers is to insist on the imperialist powers keeping hands off the Soviet Union. Let the Soviet people freely develop whatever possible openings Stalin's departure may offer to raze his police regime to the ground.

Creed for "Free Enterprise"

By Charles Hanley
A CREED FOR FREE ENTERPRISE by Clarence B. Randall. Little-Brown, Boston. 1952. 177 pp. \$2.75.

The president of Inland Steel, writing this book in defense of American capitalism, outlines what he calls the "free enterprise philosophy."

Randall claims to fear monopolies, syndicates and price fixing. He advocates free competition, preferring to ignore the fact that modern capitalism with its mass production is characterized precisely by an obvious trend toward monopolies.

A return to 19th-century "free competition" is impossible because of the tendency inherent in the capitalist system to concentrate capital in fewer and fewer big firms.

The author criticizes the European monopolies, their demand for state controls and the suppression of the free market.

It is true that European capitalism needs government intervention and abolition of the free market more than American capitalism. That is because it is weaker. But what about American monopolies? Does Randall really believe the Sherman anti-trust law is actually enforced? Does he believe free competition really exists in America? What about the DuPonts for instance?

American industry long ago ceased to be the free-for-all Randall talks about where the personal capacities of the individual business man are decisive. Today a few gigantic trusts control the major sectors of American industry. It is misleading to call this a "free enterprise" system. Small firms don't have much chance competing

against the giants who dominate sources of raw materials and who operate hand-in-glove with the banks.

The 19th-century capitalist was often a rugged pioneer -- as well as a ruthless pirate -- who maintained almost daily touch with his men, even if he didn't care much about their well-being. His personal initiative played an important part in the growth and development of numerous American cities. A hundred years ago, capitalism still had a progressive task to accomplish.

Randall would like to see this 19th-century boss revived in our time, although conditions in industry have considerably changed. The 20th-century trust is directed by men the average worker never sees. The workers only know that powerful men and families are somewhere at the head of Big Business. They also know they have to organize in order to resist this tremendous power. To resist Big Business successfully, they have to be Big Labor.

WANTS "COLLABORATION"

The head of Inland Steel knows the "unions are here to stay." But he wants the unions to collaborate with the bosses. In his opinion, union leaders should share "responsibility" with industry leaders. Yet he wants to exclude union leaders from participation in determination of domestic and foreign policy. He is hostile to "labor statesmen" and deplores "the growing thirst for power of the labor tycoons." But he is convinced that the capitalist tycoons should get as much power as possible. That's his idea of sharing "responsibility."

He urges capitalists to compete with the unions by providing

many social services and other advantages for their employees. But the vast majority of capitalists would not even dream of improving "their" workers' standard of living without union pressure. His own firm provides proof of this.

Randall thinks American capitalism can be strengthened by workers buying shares of the company they work for and "voluntarily" taking part of their wages in stock. He attacks John L. Lewis for disagreeing with this practice.

This Big Business executive talks a lot about the right to quit a job but says nothing about the right to hold a job. Those who remember the crisis of the Thirties know that the right to quit a job isn't worth much when widespread unemployment forces you to stay on a bad job where you are shamelessly exploited. And it's worth still less when you've been laid off and prospects of another job are near the vanishing point.

Randall calls the Community Chest and similar capitalist charity organizations "this unique American invention for clearing away the human wreckage which our mass production has brought in its train."

Seldom has capitalist charity been explained more clearly. The peoples of the world don't want this "unique American invention" to "clear away the human wreckage" caused by capitalist "free enterprise."

They want social justice, not charity committees. That's why hundreds of millions of people all over the world are on the march against the capitalist system and why American workers too will join in the not distant future the advance toward world socialism.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

ANDRE MARTY, ousted French CP leader, started to fight back when he made public three letters he wrote to the Central Committee in defense of his position. They were distributed to CP cells throughout France, between Feb. 20 and 27. Marty refused to "confess" his deviations and "crimes." CP boss Jacques Duclos admitted March 2 that the party had lost much of its popular appeal and a large percentage of its members in France, implying that further losses might be expected.

"THE TOTAL membership of Communist parties throughout the world has declined by about 1,000,000 persons in the last three years," says Harry Schwartz in the N. Y. Times, quoting figures published in the Soviet newspaper Pravda. Largest Communist parties outside the USSR are in China (five million members) and Italy (two million). The world total is more than 24 million, three quarters being in countries having Stalinist regimes. Before World War II, Communist parties outside the USSR had only about one million members.

"THE STATE Department's successive retreats before Senator Joseph R. McCarthy's pres-

sure on the personnel of the Voice of America have caused a kind of nervous chill in some European circles not ordinarily much concerned about such matters," N. Y. Times correspondent M. L. Hoffman points out from Bern, Feb. 26. Even conservative Europeans are worried over witch-hunter McCarthy's possible influence on foreign policy.

INDONESIA'S government took over the rich Bangka Island tin mines Feb. 28, preparing the nationalization of all the strategic mining industries in that country. The contract of the Dutch company that exploited the tin mines was not renewed.

U.S. MARINES are training Chiang's forces for amphibious assault landings, reports N. Y. Herald Tribune correspondent Homer Bigart from Formosa, March 1.

BELGIUM'S SOCIALIST opposition called the Catholic government to account Feb. 26 for its stand on an interview which King Baudouin gave to a Paris newspaper without the approval of the Government required by the Belgian Constitution. The King said in the interview any attack on the royal family was the same as an attack on Belgium itself (1).

The Man of Distinction

By Theodore Kovalesky

We stopped dead in the doorway of Emil's place. There, immaculately out of place in his best suit and gleaming white shirt was our old friend Sam. I recovered first and said, "Well, Sam, you look like a Man of Distinction."

Emil, visibly ill at ease, was pouring a shot of Lord Calvert into a glass of ginger ale and ice. The glass clinked in his quivering fingers. "This crazy guy," he muttered, "That's what he tells me. He switch to Lord Calvert because he's Man of Distinction. No more beer he's gonna drink in my place!"

Jimmy and I, being merely a couple of slob from the blast furnaces with the grime of eight hours just scrubbed off except for slender black rings around our eyes, Jimmy and I, feeling no kind of distinction at all unless that of being the two most tired men in the world from a particularly bad day on the furnace, merely ordered beer.

At the second glass we felt human enough to be curious about Sam.

"Well," he explained, "I am becoming a Man of Distinction. . . and please, Emil, stop muttering in your mouth. Too long I am a proletarian, meaning workingman."

"All my life I am crawling with a yawn and a whimper from my bed in the cold, dark mornings. All my life I am breaking my back at my machine and looking over my shoulder for the boss to come around and tell me, 'Come on, faster, we got to get more work out of this machine!'"

"Go on," Jimmy interrupted. "We know you. You're a job-killer from way back."

"Hah, if I'm a job-killer then my foreman wants I should be a mass murderer for the jobs. Always faster, faster he wants them."

"But anyway I am wanting to be a lord of creation like I read once in a book. Why is it all my life I'm struggling to make a lousy living? Why am I always half a jump ahead of the landlord? Each week I go fearfully to the supermarket wondering have I got enough money for this week's eating or do we have to go back to dog food like during the depression. And frankly," he added with a disarming smile, "that horse meat in the dog food gives me heartburn."

"Well, come on, man," Jimmy broke in impatiently, "what's with the clothes?"

"At the night school," Sam answered serenely, "at the night school, which is free and therefore I can afford it, they are giving an aptitude test for whoever wants to take it."

"There is the answer, Sam, I tell myself."

That is the answer to all your gropings. You are in the wrong field running a lathe in the Wilson Machine Co. You should be something else in order to get the good things in life. For the worker there is only dregs and crawling from the bed with a yawn and a whimper in the cold dark mornings every day in your life. So I go down and I take the test."

"You mean," Jimmy asked, "this test tells you what kind of work you ought to be doing?"

"That's right." There was a modest ring of pride in Sam's voice.

"And you ain't supposed to be a lathe operator?"

"No," answered Sam in the tone that Beethoven or Michelangelo might have used if somebody had asked them if they were grave diggers.

"As I understand it, Sam," I said slowly, "you're fitted for a different and better life than a factory worker's according to the test."

"Right."

"And that is. . . ?"

"The test," Sam announced, "shows that I am best fitted to be a big business executive, a Man of Distinction, you might say."

We finished our beer in a thoughtful silence. Then Jimmy said, "You tell your boss yet?"

Sam's face fell. "My boss is not impressed."

"Got any other prospects?" I asked.

Sam was evasive, but we could see that he had not been snapped up as quickly as, say, General MacArthur had been at Remington Rand.

"Well," Jimmy summed it up, "you got the qualifications. All you have to do is just wait for an opening in some big company that needs a top executive."

"Sure," I said. "If Wilson's hasn't got sense enough to use you, there's always Dupont or Bethlehem or G.M. . . ."

Sam ordered another highball, fumbled in his pocket, and then guiltily asked Jimmy to loan him half a dollar. Jimmy and I had another beer and then turned to go.

"Wait a minute," Sam said, "and I'll go along with you. Meanwhile I got to get to bed early," he sighed, "because I got to get to work at four-thirty tomorrow morning."

"Kind of early," Jimmy said.

"Kind of," Sam moaned, "Four thirty! The middle of the night! It shouldn't happen to a dog! At three-thirty I have to crawl out of my bed. . . but it's overtime. For time and a half, what else can you do these days?"

News from Canada

Count Us Out

By Peter Farnsworth

"It should be made very clear to the U.S. administration now, that if they are contemplating policies which will lead to a reopening of the Chinese civil war, or which may lead to an extension of the Korean war, they will enter any such adventure alone as far as Canada is concerned." This declaration by Angus MacInnis, Cooperative Commonwealth Federation member of parliament from Vancouver East, in the second day of the House of Commons debate on foreign policy, reflects the prevailing reaction in Canada to Eisenhower's recent belligerent foreign policy moves.

MacInnis' statement followed a declaration by Stanley Knowles, CCF parliamentary whip, at the Toronto nominating convention Feb. 12. "Now is the time to take a stand," Knowles said. Attacking Prime Minister St. Laurent and External Affairs Minister Pearson, who had expressed confidence in Eisenhower's intentions, Knowles declared, "Withdrawal of the (Formosan) fleet may not mean a great deal in itself; but somewhere down the line we may get the step which leads to the catastrophe which will bring a third world war."

Hazen Argue, CCF member of parliament from Assiniboia, a few days later declared in the House: "I am particularly fearful that an unilateral blockade of Chi-

na by the United States would be a step leading to all-out war. I would object to Canada's involvement in such a war and the taking of Canada's youths from their normal peace-time occupations to be thrown into a conflagration on the continent of Asia. . . We (the CCF) are certainly opposed to any such further steps as might lead to that terrible result."

These protestations are a far cry from CCF leader M. J. Coldwell's 1950 convention speech in which he castigated the government for letting the U.S. go into the Korean slaughter alone and urged Canadian participation.

So many doubts have arisen in Canada during the almost three-year-old "police action," that even top government officials feel it necessary to register uneasiness. For example, at the opening of the parliamentary debate, Pearson declared that "we do not think that the defense of Formosa which has not been assumed by the United Nations, should be confused with the defense of Korea, which has. . . We consider that the purpose of the United Nations in Korea remains to defeat aggression there, and does not include intervention in the civil war in China."

Only the discredited Tories and the newly groomed third capitalist anti-CCF party, Social Credit, have given blanket endorsement to the Eisenhower administration.

Notes from the News

WITCH HUNTERS WERE DEFIED by their intended victim when Professor Barrows-Dunham of Temple University, standing on his rights under the Fifth Amendment, refused to give self-incriminatory evidence. Dunham refused to divulge even his occupation. All he would give was his name and address. Only after it was made plain that it was asked for purposes of identification did he admit the year and place of his birth. "Never before," says the New York Times, Feb. 28, "had the House committee been stopped so short in an inquiry." Un-American Activities Committee members fumed that "they might as well close up shop," if the Fifth Amendment is upheld. They are demanding contempt proceedings against Professor Dunham.

A DEPORTATION WARRANT has been issued for the arrest of Mrs. Earl Browder on charges that her entry into this country was inadmissible as an alien "belonging to or affiliated with the Communist Party." Agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service who sought to arrest Mrs. Browder found she was ill and could not be moved. A \$2,000 bond has

since been posted by her attorney, O. John Rogge. Earl Browder and his wife are also under indictment for perjury. They have been charged with falsifying information on her entry questionnaire.

STALIN'S ANTI-SEMITISM was the cause attributed to the worst defeat suffered by the Communist Party group in the recent election of officials in Dressmakers Union, Local 22, AFL International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Charles S. Zimmerman, manager of Local 22, received 15,321 votes to 2,492 for the Stalinist candidate, Mrs. Fannie Golos. Zimmerman got 86% of the vote as against 78% in 1950 and 71% in 1947.

UNPAID MEDICAL BILLS at the beginning of 1952 amounted to about \$1,000,000,000, according to a report recently issued by the Commission on Health Needs of the Nation. The average medical debt of all families was \$105. In 1951 more than \$480,000,000 was borrowed from small loan companies to pay such bills. The average rate of interest was 33%.

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THE MILITANT

Push Demand For FEP Law In Michigan

FLINT, Mich., Feb. 27 — A Statewide Fair Employment Practices Conference was held Feb. 19 in Lansing, sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Michigan. Over 550 delegates from various organizations were in attendance — with better than half this number sent by locals of the United Automobile Workers, CIO.

Even though the Crampton bill now before the Michigan legislature is wholly ineffective and without any teeth, a rosy picture of the future, once an FEP bill of any type is passed, was painted for the delegates.

Addressed by leaders of the NAACP, AME Church and UAW, the delegates were cautioned that their cause would be judged by their conduct and actions and they should conduct themselves "properly" and in a "non-communist way" if they desired to see an FEP law passed. All of these leaders, filled with fear of the witch hunt, injected a fair quota of red-baiting into their speeches; but the delegates, generally speaking, did not respond favorably to these remarks.

Not all the delegates felt like "Uncle Tomming" the hostile Representatives and Senators and on more than one occasion the recalcitrant or impertinent official was informed of the real sentiments of the Negro people who have been betrayed so long in their efforts to obtain their legitimate rights. The more aggressive Negro delegates came, as could be expected, from the UAW, where they are elected officers or committeemen. Their experience teaches them that smiling at a boss or a state senator doesn't win their demands.

The truth of the matter is that

Pushing Blockade Plans



Sec. of State John Foster Dulles, (l.), shown at his first Washington press conference, said his department is "studying" measures for increased "pressure" against People's Republic of China, including naval blockade of mainland. Object is to destroy Chinese revolution, drive people back to feudal-imperialist domination.

a similar bill was defeated by only a 46-45 vote in the House last year and State officials, including Governor Williams, speaking at the Conference banquet, voiced their confidence in its being passed this year.

To even a casual observer, two aspects of the Conference were immediately recognizable as different from FEP conferences of former years. One, that the composition of the delegates was 90% Negro and this percentage dropped to only around 70% for union delegations — a significant factor showing the growing extent of active participation by Negroes in the UAW-CIO.

Second, the absence of known working-class party representatives — with the exception of the Socialist Workers Party — who were the most active supporters in such affairs of previous years, and the complete absence of any literature dis-

tributed or sold by minority parties. Stalinists, in particular, used to abound at these gatherings, distributing their literature, collaring delegates or getting petitions signed for some "peace" organization. There was not a known Stalinist at this gathering and only the number of old Social Democratic paid union functionaries remained about the same.

While pressing for an effective FEP, the failure of the delegates to make any real reference to the other multifarious problems of the Negro people in general reflected the absence of working-class party representatives and the increasing pressure of the witch hunt.

This Conference can be said to be an accomplishment only in the sense that it gave the Negro people some realization of their strength and power when organized.

Rhee's "Drive To Yalu" Slogan Makes No Hit

By Art Preis

Some American generals and dictator Syngman Rhee in South Korea have been urging an offensive to drive to the Manchurian border. The brunt of this offensive would be borne, of course, by the South Korean people. But we hear little of what the South Koreans think about the war in which their country has been almost pulverized by U.S. "liberation" bombs.

On rare occasions, however, a few lines in dispatches of war correspondents slip through the censorship to give us revealing hints of the true sentiments of the Korean people.

On March 1 in Seoul, the Rhee government ordained a celebration of the 34th anniversary of the original Korean declaration of independence from Japanese imperialism. The theme of Rhee's celebration was a call for a drive to the Yalu river — the largest sign on the Capitol read: "March north! Unify country with the spirit of March 1."

But the Korean people are somewhat less than enthusiastic about this slogan — and its sponsors, according to N. Y. Times correspondent Robert Alden who witnessed the events in Seoul. He writes of "tens of thousands of citizens of Seoul, many gathered at the behest of the local police organizations, massed in front of the Capitol building. . ."

Although Alden cynically describes South Korea as "this brave, troubled democracy," he admits it "still has a long way to go before its people are allowed to enjoy the true dignity of the human spirit." This was "all too apparent," he said, at the

"declaration of independence" celebration.

"Masses of the people were herded by the police away from the steps of the capitol" after the police had forced them to attend and swell the crowd. "Thousands of policemen were on hand at every turn to curb movements of the crowd. Only young students and civilian defense volunteers were allowed inside the courtyard of the capitol itself and there hundreds of burly plainclothes men, with weapons showing through tight-fitting clothing scattered through the crowd."

The fact that the people are herded like cattle to show demonstrations speaks volumes for the "popularity" and "democracy" of the South Korean government which American youths are dying to defend.

In his pro-Rhee "Korean Tales," which recently caused his court-martial for mildly criticizing Gen. MacArthur, Lt. Col. Melvin B. Voorhees — former Eighth Army chief censor — bluntly admits:

NEVER A DEMOCRACY

"To understand Korea today, one should begin by recognizing that: There is not now and never has been a Korean democracy; the voice of the people simply is not heard or raised. . . The Korean Army does not see itself as of its people, but rather as an elite class raised above the masses. . . One is either of the comparatively few privileged or of the twenty-seven million work-ridden, debt-burdened poor."

These Korean people don't want to "drive to the Yalu." They want the war ended and the Rhee regime and its foreign imperialist supporters taken off their backs.

Kutcher Housing Oath Suit Hearing Again Postponed

NEWARK, March 4 — At the Newark Housing Authority's request, another two-week adjournment was granted last Friday in the court suit against the "loyalty" oath requirement for tenants of all Federal housing projects.

The suit was filed last month by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of James Kutcher, Hyman Kutcher and Harry Lawrence, residents at the Seth Boyden housing project who failed to sign a certificate stating that no one in their families belongs to any organization on the Attorney General's "subversive" list. Signing of this certificate was made a condition of residence in the projects by the Gwinn amendment, passed by Congress last summer.

Eleven Newark families were ordered to move March 1 for failing to sign. But all of them, including the Kutcher and Lawrence families, were assured of a two-week extension of this deadline last Friday when Augustine Kelly, counsel for the Newark Housing Authority, appeared in the State Superior Court to ask for a two-week postponement of a previous court order requiring the Authority to show why it should not be restrained from insisting on the oath.

Superior Court Judge Stein granted an adjournment to March 13 when Kelly promised there would be no evictions in the meantime. Kelly said Federal housing officials are still studying the Newark suit to decide whether or not to take an active part in the case.

Herbert M. Levy, staff counsel for the ACLU, appeared in court with Emil Oxfeld, counsel for Kutcher and Lawrence. Their suit seeks to have the oath declared unconstitutional and to stop the authorities from evicting anyone for non-compliance.

James Kutcher is the well-known legless veteran purged from a government job for belonging to the Socialist Workers Party. His discharge has been reversed by a U.S. Court of Appeals, but he is still suspended pending further action by the government. His father, Hyman, does not belong to any group on the Attorney General's list but cannot truthfully sign the housing certificate because of his son, Lawrence, a teacher who has signed other "loyalty" oaths, refuses to sign this one as an infringement of his civil liberties.

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Mossadegh Defeats Rightist Overthrow Attempt

(Continued from page 1)

weeks. This military-court camarilla enjoyed the support of some key military figures still in the service, among them the Iranian Army Chief of Staff who has since been ousted.

The officers' conspiracy was quite widespread. The military governor of Teheran has reportedly been relieved "at his own request after complaining of lack of discipline among his officers during the demonstrations." Some of the top police functionaries likewise appear to have been involved. According to the dispatches the "mass support" for the Shah was primarily mobilized by the Moslem religious

leader, Mullah (Mohammedan priest) Kashani.

The National Front, Mossadegh's political organization headed by some 30 Iranian deputies, immediately upon the outbreak in the streets, issued a statement denouncing "foreign elements" and their "stooges."

ORDERED INDOORS

It is clear from the dispatches that Americans are viewed with considerable suspicion and hostility. Members of the U.S. Embassy have been subjected to attacks. The Iranian government issued on March 2 a warning to all Americans to remain indoors. From all indications the Tudeh

Party, which is illegal but which, under Stalinist control, has the largest mass following in the country, played no independent role whatever. The Tudeh leadership evidently contented itself with supporting the pro-Mossadegh demonstrations.

The Times' editors bewail the fact that "the situation so created and perpetuated plays directly into the hands of the only real enemy of Iran's sovereignty and freedom, the great Soviet colossus on its northern border." Time and again in the last two years, the Tudeh Party could have taken the government into its own hands in Iran. It has studiously refrained from even

posing the issue of power in the country. All tendencies in this direction have been unquestionably curbed by orders from Moscow, which shies away from the international implications that would arise from such a turn in Iranian developments.

The Times' editors tell a deliberate untruth when they claim that the existing situation plays only into the Kremlin's hands. It also plays into Washington's hands, as evidenced by the State Department's mounting pressure on Mossadegh's regime to reach a "reasonable compromise."

The pre-condition for a lasting compromise between any Iranian regime and the imperialists is the setting in of moods of demoralization and despair among the Iranian masses. This would bring in its wake, first, a subsiding of the revolutionary ferment and, then, the complete dissipation of the revolutionary energy and will of the masses.

In Iran, as elsewhere, the masses cannot remain indefinitely in a condition of the highest political tension, without matters being brought to a decisive conclusion. The desperate move of the Iranian military-court camarilla was calculated on the possibility of catching the masses off-guard, and confronting them with an accomplished fact before these masses could move into the political arena. Instead, reaction has suffered a blow. It is most painfully felt by the British and American imperialists.

The Iranian revolution has now received an added impetus. The looming possibility now is that the revolutionary wave may gather enough momentum to sweep over the heads of the Shah, of Mossadegh, Kashani, and the Tudeh leadership, along with the strategists in the Kremlin.

It is this eventuality, and not as all any projected intervention by Moscow, that is causing nightmares in Washington and London.

REUTHER'S FIVE-YEAR CONTRACTS UNDER FIRE IN CIO AUTO WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

developments," why have them at all? The Militant pointed out at the time of the signing of the GM five-year pact that we are living in a period of constant "abnormal economic developments" and that long-term agreements are a noose about labor's neck. The GM developments have proved this to the hilt.

Today, the UAW is asking that 20 cents of the 25 cents gained under the cost-of-living escalator clause be included as part of the base wages; that the \$125 a month pension maximum be upped to \$200 because of price rises; and that the annual improvement factor of four cents an hour be increased to five cents. Militant members and local leaders of the UAW have been pointing out the need for such increases for a long while and have repeatedly termed the five-year contracts the chief obstacles to realizing these demands.

Blocked by the terms of the GM contract he himself had put over, Reuther had to wait for an opportunity to resort to a stratagem in order to circumvent the rigid terms of the five-year contract. The recent issuance of a new BLS cost-of-living index gave Reuther a legal basis for insisting on contract revisions because the contract was geared to the old index. What would Reuther have done if he had not been provided accidentally with this legal "out"? It might have meant long delay in pressing the union's just demands while seeking some other legal key for unlocking the shackles of the five-year contract.

The issue of the five-year contracts is likely to receive heated, if not extensive, discussion at the



WALTER REUTHER

UAW convention. Almost from its inception, the policy of long-term agreements has caused widespread dissatisfaction within the auto-union ranks. The workers quickly learned that the real purpose of these agreements is to tie the hands of the union for a long period of time and prevent militant action for better conditions.

LOCAL 600 STAND

Ford Local 600, largest local union in the world with some 55,000 membership, has taken the lead over the past year and a half in pressing within the UAW for a progressive program against the five-year contracts and for improvements in the

basic wage rates and pensions. The entire front page of the local paper Ford Facts, Feb. 28, is devoted to the campaign for revision of the contracts.

Local 600 President Carl Stellato, in a front-page statement, says: "We in Local 600 have, for almost two years, recognized the complete failure of the five-year contract and have said so openly in Ford Facts, in membership meetings, and where it counts the most — the National Ford Conference."

"At the National Ford Conference in 1951 and again in 1952, we in Local 600 have insisted on action from our International Union. It is history now that in 1951 at the National Ford Conference, THE DELEGATES FROM LOCAL 600 WERE SEVERELY CRITICIZED AND CASTIGATED BECAUSE THEY DARED TO SUGGEST CHANGES IN THE CONTRACT. Yes, we were called disrupters, Communists and what have you. We were accused of being out of line with the rest of the UAW which we readily admitted."

Stellato cites chapter and verse of the record of Reuther and his lieutenants in trying to beat down the Ford leadership for their stand on behalf of the membership.

So far, Reuther has not come out with any repudiation of five-year contracts as such. He may produce one of his typical straddling formulas which will have the effect of continuing the policy of long-term agreements. The issue will then very likely become a fighting one at the convention.

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