

CHURCHILL REVELATIONS ON USE OF A-BOMBS

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Build a Labor Party Now!

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Don't Let It Happen Here In America!

An Editorial

As McCarthyism begins to give unity and cohesion to a new native fascist movement, it is clear that America stands at the crossroads.

We face the biggest decision in the history of our country. Which road shall we take: Fascism or socialism?

What will America look like if it goes fascist?

For wage workers, it means the end of the unions. The size of our paycheck will be decided by the boss. Your hours and working conditions and speed-up will likewise be decided by the boss. Objections will be referred to the club-swinging company police or the FBI.

Your standard of living will drop disastrously. Hunger will stalk the land.

Under the Iron Heel

The youth will be regimented and militarized, converted into fascist-minded mercenaries, indoctrinated with the mission of conquering the earth for the benefit of Big Business. The bodies of millions will become fertilizer on foreign battlefields.

There will be no more talk of equal pay for women and opportunities to choose an interesting, well-paid, liberating career. Fascism always insists on tying women to the kitchen the better to produce new generations of cannon-fodder.

Free thought, free inquiry, free speech — all this will be ground under the iron heel. The schools, staffed by fascist propagandists, will mold the tender minds of American children in the horrible pattern decreed by the police state.

Barbarism on a Global Scale

All this is only the beginning.

Remember the headsman's axe in Nazi Germany — and the gas chambers and incinerators that devoured millions of Jews?

What do you think will happen in fascist America when the racist-minded rulers decide the time has come to "purify" the blood of the American people? Then this land will indeed write in agony.

You think this picture is exaggerated?

Many Germans too thought the Hitler danger was exaggerated. But it wasn't.

And still we haven't finished the picture.

The dominant power in the world will be a fascist America. That means it will seek to place its bestial stamp on all lands under its influence.

Canada, Mexico and the rest of the two American continents will go under as the fascist volcano pours its lava in consuming streams across the world.

England and France and the rest of Western Europe will face a similar fate.

The whole world will see civilization going into eclipse as the land that once boasted of its statue of liberty replaces the torch of freedom with the club of McCarthyism. The end will be a planet smoking from the radioactive ashes left by World War III.

America Under Socialism

But this doesn't have to happen. America doesn't have to take the fascist road.

We can turn toward socialism.

Socialist America will enjoy full production without wars. Living standards will rise as factories expand and are nationalized under the guidance of the workers and farmers own government. Science will develop automation until goods from raw materials to finished products are worked up by machines. Atomic energy will open up dazzling vistas of material well-being and ease of living. Everyone will have leisure and the means to enjoy it. The very word "insecurity" will drop out of the language.

Work will become a pleasure without profit-hungry bosses driving for maximum output from unwilling human flesh. The workers will democratically discuss and decide for themselves the pace of work, safety regulations and efficiency. All will be inspired by the great ideal of working for the common good.

We can make all the things we want in boundless quantities — food, clothing, decent homes, hospitals, schools, playgrounds. And, yes, any number of luxuries.

Great Promise of the Future

Cradle-to-grave medical care will be guaranteed to everyone. Science will turn full attention to the task of stamping out such killers as cancer, polio, heart disease, and all the other scourges of today.

The doors of opportunity will swing wide open. Sex, nationality, race or religion will no longer serve as obstacles to a full life. Differences will not be viewed with hostility or suspicion but will lend variety to a unified whole.

Then will come such a flowering of science, and technology, and education, and art, and culture as had never been dreamed possible before.

Joy of living will make this world a wonderful place to find yourself in. The future will appear bright and attractive like the new sparkling wonder cities of the new wonder America.

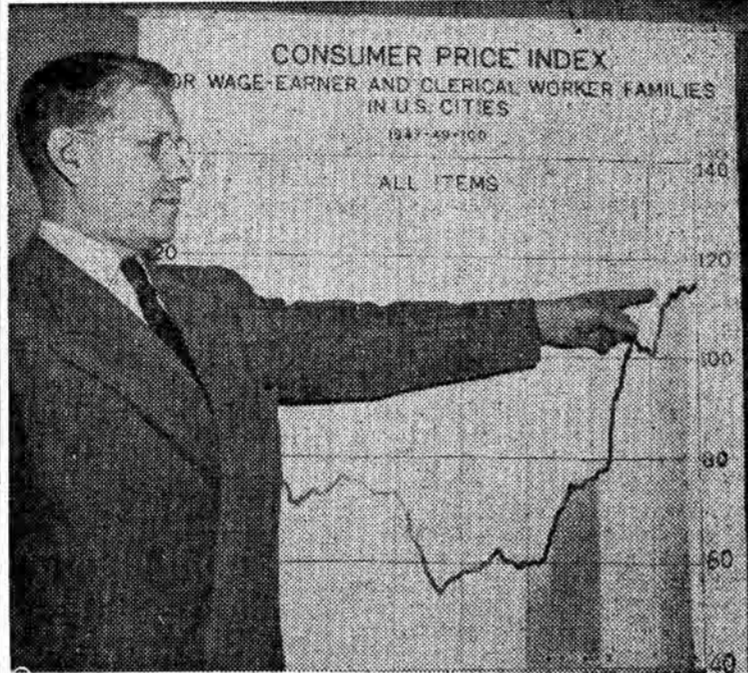
Isn't a socialist America worth fighting for?

And we can have it if we really want it.

We just have to get together and say, "It's high time."

McCarthyites Mobilize First Action in Fascist Power Bid

Living Costs Hit New High



Ewan Clague, commissioner of labor statistics, shows a chart illustrating his announcement that the cost of living index has hit an all-time high for the ninth straight month. Rising prices and growing unemployment mark the economic instability and insecurity which create the atmosphere in which fascist demagogues, like McCarthy and Father Coughlin, thrive.

A Steelworker Tells Reaction to McCarthy

By Manuel Rodriguez

"What do the workers you know think about McCarthyism?" I asked an active unionist who has been working in a Pittsburgh steel mill since he left the army in 1945.

"I don't hear too much about McCarthyism around the mill right now," he said. "I was really surprised when I came in for the Thanksgiving holidays. In New York everyone is hot on the subject. At least everyone I talk to, and that includes people in stores and on the streets. You feel like the whole city is taking sides on McCarthy and McCarthyism. Back home there is a lot of interest but I can't say it is uppermost. And in the mill there isn't too much talk about it."

"What are they talking about in the mill?" I asked.

"Well, most of all you hear talk about layoffs and cost of living. That is, when the talk is serious. There is a great deal of concern about the layoffs in Detroit. The men talk quite a bit about that. They feel almost like it was happening in one of the mills next door. And then there is the rise in the cost of living the same time we hear about unemployment. I'd say the talk was about layoffs and cost of living — bitter talk."

"Who are they bitter against?" I asked.

He laughed. "Some of the fellows go around chalking up the machines and walls with 'I Like Ike.' They mean it as a jibe at the workers who voted for Eisenhower. Everytime the talk gets around to how conditions are getting rough on the workers, someone says, 'I like Ike.'"

"You say there isn't too much talk about McCarthyism among the workers you know, but what talk do you hear about it?"

"That's a little hard to answer," he said. "It's mixed. Some of the men will tell you McCarthy is doing a good job against the communists. Others supported Truman when he was smeared as a 'spy protector.' I wouldn't be surprised if some of the fellows support Eisenhower against McCarthy in this latest hassle about trade with China."

DON'T THEY KNOW?

I was somewhat surprised at that. "Do you mean that some of the workers support McCarthy? Don't they realize he's out to crush the unions?"

"I don't say a majority are for McCarthy, and I don't think that those who do speak up for him are conscious McCarthyites. At least very few of them are. They get a lot of this propaganda about 'red atrocities' in Korea. Some of the men get pretty excited about that. Particularly those with relatives in the armed forces. And they think McCarthy is doing something against the communists in a businesslike way. They feel

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Demagogue Coughlin Reappears

Father Charles E. Coughlin, most notorious fascist demagogue of the depression Thirties, has made his first public appearance, aside from his priestly duties, since the Roman Catholic authorities were forced to put a ban on his political activities 14 years ago.

Coughlin's reappearance on the scene, through a talk before the Little Friday Club in Detroit on Dec. 5, coincides with the growing menace of fascism represented by the emergence of McCarthy and McCarthyism as a force starting to bid for power in America.

The former "radio priest," who inspired the anti-union Social Justice movement and anti-Semitic Christian Front before World War II, announced that his talk before the First Friday Club had been cleared by the higher-ups in the Catholic hierarchy.

ATTACKED UAW IN 1939

His bitter attack on the CIO United Automobile Workers in 1939 aroused such protest and hostility from union workers, including hundreds of thousands of Catholics, that Church authorities found it expedient to shut him up. Coughlin at that time had declared that membership in an independent union was incompatible with Catholicism.

His speech, breaking 14 years of silence, was conspicuously pitched to catch the workers this time. He spoke for the guaranteed annual wage, which the UAW leadership is espousing. He also spoke for trade with India and China, now a popular sentiment in the Michigan area with its mounting unemployment. This seems in apparent contradiction with the line of McCarthy in his dispute with the present administration's foreign policy, but certain auto barons have indicated they favor such trade.

Coughlin is again demonstrating an adroit use of social demagoguery, appealing to the economic and social needs of the people. This is the side of fascist propaganda to which McCarthy has so far paid relatively small attention. Coughlin, like McCarthy, undoubtedly recognizes that the social atmosphere is once more becoming favorable for a fascist movement. It remains to be seen whether Coughlin will seek to assume the leadership of a movement of his own or tie in with McCarthy, who has received the praise of Cardinal Spellman, at some future stage.

When knife-wielding Coughlinite Christian Front hooligans in 1938 and 1939 began to assault Jews and anti-fascists on the streets, the Socialist Workers' Party in New York, Los Angeles and elsewhere called for action by labor. Great militant workers demonstrations beat back the fascist gangs.

Senator Orders Telegram Drive To Challenge Eisenhower Himself

By Murry Weiss

The new American fascism has taken its first major nationwide action. McCarthy's call Dec. 3 for "no trade with China" telegrams to the White House was a call to the fascist mob to rally to action and show their power. The anti-McCarthyite forces are making two serious mistakes in combating this move.

(1) They miss the point about the McCarthyite action by disparaging the number of wires sent. According to White House reports, 50,000 telegrams and letters had come in response to McCarthy's call by Dec. 8. They are running two to one in favor of McCarthy. After one week they are still coming at the rate of 100 an hour.

But the point is not the number of telegrams. An action has been taken. The McCarthyites are conducting a nationwide mobilization of their forces. They have taken the initiative and are keeping it. It would be dangerous to underestimate the significance of this.

(2) The anti-McCarthyites, including the liberals, labor officials, Stalinists and Social Democrats have committed a serious blunder by supporting the Eisenhower Republicans' counter-telegram campaign.

McCarthy is thus allowed to choose the issue and the form of action. He can't lose in this kind of a contest. With a week's head start he can turn off the telegram campaign and move to a new arena at a moment's notice.

The issue McCarthy has posed in his call for telegrams is: for McCarthy's foreign policy or for Eisenhower's. This offers no fundamental choice. In such a game the war mongers and witch hunters will win heads or tails.

McCarthy must not be met on his own false terms. That applies to both policy and tactics. The liberals and labor officials have done enough harm with their attempt to prove that they are better witch hunters than McCarthy. McCarthy must be fought on the issues that the working class and its organizations pose with the methods the labor movement is most powerful in wielding.

The labor movement doesn't have to mimic McCarthy's tactics and try to meet him on the telegram front. Labor has more powerful weapons. For example if a Congress of Labor were in session it could consider calling the workers of the United States to demonstrate their opposition to the fascist menace by a one-hour nationwide work stoppage.

It could demand that Eisenhower demonstrate his opposition to McCarthy by recognizing the Chinese Peoples Republic. Trade with China is to the mutual interest of the workers of the United States and China. Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO has pointed the way by coming out strongly for trade with all nations.

Some of the leaders of the labor movement are showing a new and welcome awareness of the McCarthyite menace. The vice-president of the national CIO, Emil Rieve, told the New Jersey State CIO convention on Dec. 4, that FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's testimony in the Truman smear case "put him and the FBI in a partisan political position and I know enough about history that when the secret police — and the FBI, make no mistake, is a secret police agency — serves the interests of the administration in power, God help the liberties of the people."

This is a clear and strong statement. But what should be done about the danger to our liberty? Time is pressing. There is the threat of the secret political police; there is the growing fascist movement around McCarthy; and now Father Coughlin has once again appeared on scene.

A program of action is needed by the anti-fascist. It is time to summon a C of Labor and minorities to do such a program and the counter attack on Mc-ism.

lenged the authority of the committee, its legality and method of functioning. They refused to cooperate with it, and asserted their rights under the First, Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments not to answer questions which might incriminate them or restrict their rights of free speech, assemblage and belief.

At least six of the nine witnesses either are or have been prominent in union activities in the area, including the AFL Machinists, CIO United Auto Workers, AFL Bakery Drivers, independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (formerly CIO), United Electrical Workers (independent), and AFL Teachers Union.

Edward Likover, 36-year-old instructor in auto driving at Cleveland Trade School, was given a two-week leave of absence with pay by the Board of Education, with the statement that "without prejudice to Mr. Likover... it would be better if he not be in school during the time of the hearing."

Since under an Ohio law passed by the last session a teacher who refuses to answer questions under the Fifth Amendment must be fired, Likover

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9 DEFY WITCH HUNTERS AT CLEVELAND HEARING

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Dec. 7 — Increasing labor opposition to legislative witch-hunting committees and their smear sessions was clearly demonstrated in the Dec. 1-2 inquisition here by the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission.

The Cleveland Civil Liberties Union attacked the hearings as an abuse of the function assigned the commission by the reactionary Ohio legislators themselves.

"HOSTILE" WITNESSES

The Cleveland Federation of Labor sent a delegation to the hearings as observers in support of the civil rights of a subpoenaed witness, Albert Young, business agent of the AFL Bakery Drivers' Union.

Only professional stoopigeons were designated "friendly" witnesses. All nine persons marked out in advance as victims were characterized as "unfriendly, hostile, arrogant, and defiant" by the committee and the daily press, with some of the newspapers using those designations in advance of the hearings.

Sidney Isaacs, chief counsel and inquisitor for the commission, left no doubt as to what his purpose was. Summing up the two-day Cleveland experience, he said: "We brought out into the open a lot of individuals who had been able to tell their organizations that they were not members of the Communist party."

The witnesses themselves chal-

The FBI's Most Powerful Political Weapon

By Art Preis

Little of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's forces and finances is used in connection with actual crimes. Its major activities are compiling and filing information, mostly defamatory and largely unverified, about persons against whom no crime has been charged. Most of the FBI's work is done by office clerks, stoolpigeons and anonymous letter-writers.

The FBI division in the Department of Justice resembles nothing so much as a huge warehouse of garbage neatly stacked in filing cabinets. This is the gossip and loose slander, mainly from malicious or misinformed sources, that has been piled up for more than four decades about everyone in public life, from politicians to union leaders. To this is added "tips" on millions of obscure persons on whom the FBI may want to take action some day.

"The most powerful weapon in this sensational political dispute, observes Joseph C. Harsch, special Washington correspondent

of the conservative Christian Science Monitor, "was the selective use of documents from the secret files of the internal security police — the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

"This is a weapon which never was used in American political actions before. There is little doubt about its effectiveness. Mr. Truman was hurt by it, and the Democrats could not answer in kind because only the party in power can declassify secret documents from FBI files." (Our emphasis)

Such documents, says Harsch in his Dec. 3 article, "when used in politics, could well become the absolute weapon of political warfare. The secret files of the FBI, as of any security police, contains dossiers on everyone of importance of all parties. Few dossiers indeed are free of damaging information. The use of only the

damaging information could be politically devastating."

Barring an agreement between the Republicans and Democrats "it seems inevitable that this particular weapon will be used again," Harsch believes. "Certainly the Democrats feel they are entitled to retaliation if they ever again regain control of the FBI files." While the Republicans "would be reluctant to deprive themselves of a weapon which might decide an uncertain and narrow election in their favor."

However, Harsch continues, "the realization remains that unlimited use of the weapon could be as revolutionary, and perhaps as decisive, in political life as the atomic weapon is in warfare. A whole political party could be destroyed by use of selective documents from secret security police files."

Many people falsely assume

that anything the FBI puts out is gospel truth. Thus, if J. Edgar Hoover states that information in his files, from sources he cannot disclose, leads him to believe a certain public official is a Soviet spy, few might stop to consider that this "information" may be contained in the written ravings of a mental patient who had never even seen the public official. It is within the administration's power to keep the latter information "classified" and release only that part of a poison-pen letter that will do damage.

By and large, there has been tacit agreement among the capitalist politicians to keep the FBI files on themselves buried. But their employment as a political weapon in the White case, shows how easily reputations and persons can be damaged by their unscrupulous use.

Stalinist Policy On McCarthy

By Martin Porter

Not every worker in the United States is aware of the McCarthyite fascist menace. That's one of the big jobs that has to be done in the next immediate period: make every worker conscious of what McCarthyism means to him.

But there are hundreds of thousands of workers who realize that whether we like it or not the issue is now drawn — we will either smash the McCarthyites or they will smash us.

For these workers the uppermost problem is program and tactics in the anti-fascist fight. The American workers can't afford a false policy in the fight against McCarthyism. If our policy and tactics are wrong we will go down to bloody defeat. Make no mistake about that.

The German, Italian, Spanish and Austrian workers organizations followed a false policy. And the working class of those countries was maimed, tortured and destroyed as an organized class. The minorities were slaughtered by the millions. The dread pall of fascist darkness descended for decades.

We must have the correct policy in fighting McCarthyism. The fascist beast will show us no mercy if we make one bad slip.

MUST STUDY PROGRAMS
Therefore the advanced workers must use every precious experience, study every available record, search for all the lessons of the past defects and fight for the correct anti-fascist policy. Everything is at stake.

What about the policy of the Stalinists? Do they have anything worthwhile to offer the labor movements? If they do, then we must overcome our revulsion over their long past record of treachery and betrayal and consider their proposals on their merits. Let us see.

The National Committee of the Communist Party of the U.S. issued a statement, published in the Daily Worker Nov. 27. They say, "McCarthyism is growing American fascism and it must be labeled as such." This is correct. But how shall we fight it?

William Z. Foster, National Chairman of the CP, tells us in the Daily Worker of Nov. 26, "The McCarthyites can be given a thorough licking in the elections (in 1954). This can be done by creating a broad democratic coalition."

What has been our experience with such "broad democratic coalitions?" Take the most recent example. The Stalinists, in the New York mayoralty election of November applied the "multi-class coalition" line. They supported the Democratic Party candidate Wagner. (We leave aside the treacherous manner in which this support was given.) The workers were called upon to rally to the

U-Spies -- The Universal Automatic Stoolpigeons

By Art Preis

In 1957, early in the new President's administration, the Federal Bureau of Investigation ran into a major crisis. Anonymous letters and stool pigeons were its main source of information on communists, spies, traitors and eggheads. But it could not meet the mushrooming demands on its services because of a serious shortage of stoolpigeons. The FBI found its complex machinery in actual danger of break-down.

The crisis was particularly acute because censorship of private mail and telephone wiretapping had become practically worthless as sources of incriminating evidence. People simply discontinued letter-writing and phoning except in emergencies and then used the most guarded language. More than 50,000 postal employees had been dismissed for lack of work and the telephone trust verged on bankruptcy as millions discontinued their telephone service.

Within a month of the appearance and disappearance of the inventor of the Universal Automatic Stoolpigeon, arrests of subversive elements leaped 400%. Soon all concentration camps, prisons and even unused warehouses, city hall basements and every other possible place of incarceration were full to bursting with political criminals.

And in every case, the FBI had the goods. It really did. Motion pictures plus recordings. Thousands upon thousands upon thousands of communists, spies, traitors of all hues, caught in the act — in parlors, bedrooms, baths and kitchens — in the most intimate moments of their private lives. Their exact faces and gestures, their precise voices and words.

FATAL WORD
More than 100,000 arrests alone were made on the charge of disrespectful and traitorous references to the President, to whom the term "Egghead" had been popularly applied after he won office on the slogan, "I Don't Like Eggheads."

Soon the word "Egghead" disappeared from popular usage even in the most private reaches of the home. But then people were arrested for employing "Aesopian" language — any use of words like "egg" or "eggplant" being considered an "oblique" reference to the President. People became afraid even to ask for eggs or eggplant in the grocery.

This resulted in one of the many unusual and unexpected phenomena that were traced to the activities of the U-Spies. The huge numbers of arrested persons, particularly workers, reduced the labor force drastically and curtailed production to the point where shortages resulted in

skYROCKETING inflation. But eggs and eggplants were a drug on the market; you couldn't give them away. This created a contradictory, mixed tendencies of inflation and deflation at the same time. The stock market gyrated in the most erratic fashion.

For months, the existence of the U-Spies was kept completely secret. Only the most trusted, screened and re-screened agents of the FBI were employed in their manufacture and use. It was possible to mass produce the U-Spies with few human agents through a completely up-to-date electronic automation process which dispensed with all but a handful of control employees. U-Spies in action were controlled by radio beams and were used only in pairs, so that they kept a check on each other. Every precaution was taken to keep their existence secret.

PERFECTED STOOLPIGEON
As it was later discovered, the Universal Automatic Stoolpigeon was a tiny robot-like device equipped with a minute microfilm camera and wire recorder, which could be directed anywhere and enter any habitation except an absolutely air-tight sealed room. Its cockroach shape enabled it to get under doors or through large key-holes even and, like the cockroach, it would hide in cracks, dark closets or cupboards, behind drain pipes, etc. There was nothing that went on in parlor, bedroom or bath that the U-spy did not film and record.

For months, the effects of the U-Spies were vastly felt by the people without their knowing what they were up against. Husbands and wives were called in for questioning by the FBI, whose agents confidently read off word for word conversation that had been held under circumstances that no human eye or ear could have been privy to. Thousands of happy marriages were destroyed because each spouse thought the other was rattling to the G-men.

Suspicion and fear spread like wildfire throughout the populace. It became apparent that the FBI had a way of finding out everything that went on in any American home, apartment, business office, factory, etc. People no longer trusted their closest relatives and friends. Silence became the customary mode of expression. Within a year after the U-Spies were put into use, the birth-rate had declined more than 50%.

Strangely enough, it was the real live stoolpigeons who were responsible for the disclosure of the Universal Automatic Stoolpigeons. The automatic stoolpigeon was immensely more reliable and efficient than the old-fashioned human stoolpigeon. Besides, the automatic variety could be produced in limitless numbers at a cost of a few dollars a piece. The unemployment among the human stoolpigeons soon reached catastrophic proportions. They were reduced to living on their savings and on the small royalties that still dribbled in for sales of their autobiographies and sensational disclosures about "How I Spied for Stalin," etc.

CAUGHT RED-HANDED
Finally, in desperation, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Stoolpigeons, whose president was Boobie Ludenz, respectfully petitioned the FBI Chief for some employment, even proposing a share-the-work plan. A committee of Boobie Ludenz, Elizabeth Bent-Knee and W. Chamber-Potts was tossed out of the Chief's office.

Within 24 hours they were under arrest, charged with being "self-confessed Communist spies." Nothing has ever been heard of them again. Their organization was dissolved.

But one disgruntled stoolpigeon, who had a pipe-line to an old ex-stoolpigeon pal promoted to the U-Spies factory, had picked up a hint of the nature of the competition. Just before he was picked up in the round-up of human stoolpigeons, he had leaked what information he knew. In 24 hours, the word spread everywhere about the existence of the minuscule U-Spies. The search was on.

Once the workers knew what they were looking for, it did not take them long to find a couple of U-Spies. Before the interception could be traced by the FBI, the captured U-Spies were turned over to skilled workers in electronics who were able to disas-

semble and study the U-Spies. It was then possible to quickly devise magnetic and radio-jamming devices to counteract the U-Spies. More important, the U-Spies could be reproduced and sent out on missions in the interests of the workers.

The FBI then turned all its forces, at the direct orders of the President himself, to tracing down and destroying every U-spy in existence. With its vast resources the government did eventually perfect detector devices through which U-Spies operating for the workers were located. But not before certain films and records had been secured by these illegal U-Spies of the activities of the President, Attorney General and FBI Chief themselves.

The disgusting personal habits of the regime's leaders, as revealed by these illegally-circulated records, evoked revulsion everywhere. But more important, their proven ties with the big corporations helped to arouse organized revolutionary resistance. This finally put an end to the system that had created the Universal Automatic Stoolpigeons.

THE MILITANT ARMY

The fourth national mobilization celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Militant resulted in a sale of 157 single copies and brought the total subscriptions to 182. The New York comrades, determined to wind up in first place, continue to lead the country, but the Twin Cities subscribers are promising some lively competition.

Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "Chester brought in two of the enclosed subs, putting him out in front on the Minneapolis scoreboard with 161 points. One of his friends, a young trade unionist, also attended the Twin Cities Sunday Forum. A North Dakota visitor who came up last week took a subscription to the Militant and bought other literature. Ray sold the new sub. He is second high on the scoreboard with 109 points. Watch for the Twin Cities on the national scoreboard!"

New York Campaign Director Tom Denver reports, "Reba and Connie sold ten single copies and were promised a sub by a young worker just as soon as a strike he is engaged in is settled. "Ethel P. and Dorothy J. each got a new sub as a result of the follow-up of single sales and Beezie got a sub on her first visit to the same area. Robert sold a sub to a young Puerto Rican reader we had lost touch with and relocated as a result of the campaign."

"So far work in one area has resulted in the sale of 284 single copies and seven subs." This week Chicago passed up Los Angeles, Cleveland and Seattle to take third place on the scoreboard. Literature Agent Alice Wiley reports that Bert, Doty, Jackie and Dee are setting the pace locally, having gone out the most times to sell the Militant. Doty has sold three subs. St. Paul Literature Agent Winifred Nelson writes, "Enclosed are two six months subs. Our single copy total this week is 26, which includes two more four-week subs sold by Winifred, who claims that you can sell a four-week sub as easily as a single copy. Bill B., following the same idea, went out this morning with two bundles of five back issues, which he sold to friends of the militant who have not seen the paper during the last weeks. He reports they were very glad to obtain these five important issues. Bill K. also sold four single copies of the Militant this morning."

Newark sold 12 copies in door-to-door work this week according to Literature Agent Ruth Franklin. Two renewals were obtained. Local pace setters are Ruth, 91 points; Joe, 39 points; and Eddie, 26 points. Leon is still leading the Seattle sub-getters with 79 points to his credit. In second place is George with 65 points and Frank is third

with 52. Literature Agent H. Baker reports 13 single copies sold on their last mobilization with the promise of several subscriptions. Detroit Literature Agent Janet MacGregor writes, "Sarah, Kevin, A. Winters and Elaine went out to the housing project this last Sunday and though the weather was very cold and it was snowing they sold 22 copies of the Militant and one new sub. As soon as we get our new bundle we plan to call back on the people we visited last week."

"Al and Fred went to a meeting of Ford workers and also covered some renewals. The meeting was a small one of about 30 people but they sold seven copies of the Militant. This was a very good response." The national scoreboard this week:

New York	1,750
Twin Cities	926
Chicago	655
Los Angeles	628
Seattle	551
Detroit	457
Cleveland	448
Buffalo	338
Philadelphia	333
San Francisco	223
Newark	191
St. Louis	151
Boston	130
Milwaukee	124
Oakland	66
Youngstown	52
Akron	10
General	130

First place among the pace setters was taken this week by Chester of the Twin Cities with a score of 161 points. In second and third place are Cleveland sub-getter Jean S. with 153 points and New York Militant salesman Ethel B. with 146 points. Other national high scorers are Winifred, Twin Cities, 116 points; Harold R. of New York, 110; Ray, Twin Cities, 109; Cathy, New York, 104; Mac, Cleveland, 104; Dick, St. Louis, 99; and Dorothy J., New York, 95.

Police Arrest 48 For Protesting Jim Crow on Bus
Forty-eight Negro soldiers were arrested and fined in Columbia, S. C., because one of them took an empty seat next to a white woman. The woman asked the soldier to move. He refused. When the police came the soldiers wouldn't surrender the "accused."

The army authorities at Fort Jackson made a statement: "When military personnel go off the post they come subject to local laws. . . . The Army expects its personnel . . . to be law abiding at all times." South Carolina law requires racial segregation on street cars and busses.

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Churchill's A-Bomb Disclosures

By Myra Tanner Weiss

In the final volume of his memoirs, "The Second World War," Churchill tells us how he received the news of the first successful trial explosion of the atom bomb. On the afternoon of July 17, 1945, Stimson called on Churchill at his home and laid before him a sheet of paper on which was written, "Babies satisfactorily born."

"It means," he said, "that the experiment in the Mexican desert has come off. The atom bomb is a reality."

Churchill comments, "No one could yet measure the immediate military consequences of the discovery, and no one has yet measured anything else about it."

This announcement was followed by U.S.-British conferences to develop a new strategy in the war with Japan. In addition to altering the relation of forces between the warring powers, possession of the atom bomb decisively altered relations among the allies. Churchill was elated at the weakened position of the Soviet Union and the fact that "we should not need the Russians. The end of the Japanese war no longer depended upon the pouring in of their armies for the final and perhaps protracted slaughter. We had no need to ask favours of them."

However, neither Soviet troops nor the atom bomb were needed to defeat Japan. Churchill considered Japan in a hopeless position. Her navy, the military backbone of an island power, was broken in the naval battle of Leyte Gulf. Her ally, Germany was crushed. The only question that could possibly remain was the terms of surrender.

MIKADO ASKS TERMS
Churchill was informed by Stalin in July 1945 at a conference of the "Big Three" that a message had been received in Moscow from the Japanese emperor. "It stated that Japan could not accept 'unconditional surrender' but might be prepared to compromise on other terms."

Churchill reported the bid for peace to President Truman: "I explained to the President that Stalin had not wished to tell him direct lest he might think the Russians were trying to influence him towards peace. In the same way I thought we should abstain from saying anything which would make us seem at all reluctant to go on with the war against Japan for as long as the United States thought fit."

Elsewhere Churchill explains to us the reasons for this shyness on the question of peace: "We had

to regain on the field of battle our rightful possessions in the Far East, and not have them handed back to us at the peace table."
In addition to regaining Pacific colonies, Churchill was anxious to avoid any significant diversion of forces from Europe for the Japanese conflict. He envisioned the struggle against the Soviet Union as developing primarily in Europe. This was the real reason he was ready to consider negotiations for peace with Japan.

TESTS TRUMAN
Churchill cautiously felt out Truman's views. ". . . I dwelt upon the tremendous cost in American and to a smaller extent in British life if we enforced 'unconditional surrender' upon the Japanese. It was for him to con-

sider whether this might not be expressed in some other way, so that we got all the essentials for future peace and security and yet left them some show of saving their military honour and some assurance of their national existence, after they had complied with all safeguards necessary for the conqueror. The President replied bluntly that he did not think the Japanese had any military honour after Pearl Harbour. I contented myself with saying that at any rate they had something for which they were ready to face certain death in very large numbers, and this might not be so important to us as it was to them."

But Truman was adamant. Negotiations for surrender were not even attempted. Instead, a new demand for "unconditional surrender" was published on July 26. The first atomic bomb was dropped on Aug. 6.

The death and destruction unleashed by Truman and Churchill on the men, women, and children of Hiroshima and Nagasaki served more than hastening the surrender of an already beaten Japan. Its primary purpose was to announce to all the world, and to the Soviet Union in particular, that the U.S. not only had this hideous military weapon but was ruthless enough to use it on anybody regardless of their age, sex, or civilian status.

Truman's use of the atom bomb thus brought down the curtain on the closing scene of World War II. Two populous cities were smashed to the ground in a rubble of burned flesh and smoking radioactive ashes. Let that be remembered. If the curtain rises on the new world that Big Business is now preparing, such scenes will be visible on a global scale.

AFL Pipe-Fitters In Chicago Seek Thirty-Hour Week
By Bert Deck
CHICAGO, Dec. 7 — This city's 9,000-member AFL Pipe-Fitters Local 597 is seeking a 30-hour week in current negotiations with the Contractors Association. Martin Ward, business manager of Local 597, said the demand is being considered as a protection for the membership against unemployment.

The union leader explained, "We are thinking of the 30-hour work-week in terms of increasing employment. We have no unemployment now, but we are working out a plan in anticipation of a period of unemployment as a result of the changes in our economy."
The union has not yet announced its wage demands, but Ward indicated that the total wage structure should depend on the outcome of the 30-hour week talks.

The Illinois State Federation of Labor convention in October approved a recommendation of it: executive board for a 30-hour week with no reduction in take-home pay. At that time AFL leaders saw it as general demand "for the distant future" but not of immediate importance. However the increasing layoffs since the convention have forced the decision out of the "for future reference" file.

LAYOFFS CONTINUE
Layoffs and overtime cuts are continuing in the Chicago area. Overtime is disappearing in steel and it is reported that 8,000 more Ford workers will be laid off before Christmas.
This parallels lay-off reports from other parts of the country, including such leading cities as Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Los Angeles. The spread of the idea of a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay is indicated by its recent adoption by the California CIO.

The Wall Street Journal reports a boom in the "private eye" business. "Ferretting out Communist subversives in industrial plants and offices" accounts for a good portion of the boom.



CHURCHILL

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9 DEFY WITCH HUNTERS AT CLEVELAND HEARING

(Continued from page 1)
refused "under the First Amendment and because the commission is illegal. The Legislature has adjourned."

Questioned by the daily papers, the Board of Education refused to commit itself in advance as to whether it would dismiss Likover, but said it would look into the matter.

BLACKLIST VICTIM FIRED
However, Paul M. Albert, a former United Electrical Workers local secretary, was promptly fired by the Osborn Manufacturing Co. where he was working under an assumed name to secure employment despite local blacklisting.
Edward F. Broginni, an architect, also on the basis of

the committee's unsubstantiated smears, was notified of suspension by the City of Parma of all its business with him.

The nine Cleveland witnesses bring the state-wide total of those who refused to co-operate with the witch-hunt and join the ranks of informers to 39. The other 30 have been cited for contempt.

While none of the local victims succumbed to the campaign of intimidation and pressure, one of the commission members found the charges of McCarthyism hurled at him and the rest of his group too much to bear.

"It is not a McCarthy commission," Senator Edward H. Dell tried to claim. "If it were a McCarthy commission, I wouldn't be a it."

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Shachtman and Cochran -- Their Strange Affinity

By Joseph Hansen

In the Nov. 30 Militant, I reported the first political act of the Cochranite faction after they split from the Socialist Workers Party earlier in the month. This was to distribute their unwarranted complaints about the SWP leadership to the membership of the Independent Socialist League (Shachtmanites) and then send this group of Stalinophobes a political statement for publication in Labor Action.

We reported this curious political fact because in the long, democratic discussion we had with the Cochranites, trying to get this group of about 18% of the SWP to develop their views preceding their split, one of the main charges they leveled was that the SWP was infected with Stalinophobia — an unreasoning hatred of Stalinism.

This charge was designed to help cover up the conciliatory views of the Cochranites toward Stalinism.

Our analysis of the Cochranite faction showed that at bottom they were buckling under the pressure of American capitalism as it heads toward another world war, and that in this they were following in the footsteps of Shachtman and Burnham, one-time revolutionary socialists who buckled under similar pressure at the beginning of World War II.

This analysis shocked the Cochranites. The only coherent reply they proved capable of making was that anyone buckling under pressure of the war drive today would not turn toward Stalinism, but would either renounce socialism outright or develop political views in precisely the same pattern as that of the Shachtmanites in 1939-40.

According to the Cochranites, the manifestation that one can actually expect from someone conceding to the weight of reaction is Stalinophobia. And they rattled the horrible example of Shachtman before us as if this political skeleton belonged in our closet.

Cochran's political statement to Labor Action, seeking sympathy from the Shachtmanites and refraining from voicing any of his previously proclaimed differences with them, constituted swift proof of the correctness of our analysis. It showed that at bottom, Cochran felt a bond of attraction between his own group and Shachtman's.

That such a bond actually exists was further proved by the sympathetic response of the editor of Labor Action to Cochran, a reaction that undoubtedly appears grotesque if you look at just the surface of politics and therefore only at the Shachtmanites and its opposite, the Stalinophilia of the Cochranites.

After reading my report of the

facts, the Shachtmanites apparently decided that it had been a political blunder to so openly display the sympathy they feel for Cochran. The Dec. 7 Labor Action thus beats a retreat that can be characterized as hasty if not altogether dignified. It consists of a good part of a page principally devoted to calling me a mud-slinger.

I will not argue the point with Labor Action as I do not happen to be skilled in this kind of polemic and prefer to leave the "buckets" and "dippers" and such paraphernalia to those more accustomed to their use. I simply note that the vehemence of the outburst against me, when measured against the sympathy that was previously shown Cochran, demonstrates afresh what a gulf lies between the political views of Labor Action and the Militant and how real the bond of sympathy is between Shachtman and Cochran.

WHY THE FRIENDLINESS?

As a curious additional item, I note that Labor Action, trying in its retreat to show that it has a real and substantial difference with Cochran, insists that his "line represents a capitulation to Stalinism" and that "we were not the last to point that out."

The vigor of the protest is impressive as is the nicety of the calculation that the protest be not too much. But why then did Labor Action publish the political statement of a capitulator to Stalinism? Even worse, why did it express sympathy with him?

Here is Labor Action's explanation: "We published the letter, as anyone familiar with our policy in such matters would expect us to do. This seems to displease Hansen."

"It is regrettable. But given Hansen's standards, what else could he expect? According to these standards, Hansen has a right to make whatever statements about Cochran and his friends he finds appropriate for the pages of the Militant, whereas Cochran has no right to make any commenting statements in the Militant or anywhere else, least of all in Labor Action, where he had the 'evident expectation of a sympathetic response.' This would seem to leave Cochran rather circumscribed living space." (Emphasis in the original.)

First of all, I was not displeased at Cochran writing for Labor Action and shaping his statement to fit Shachtman's political needs, or Labor Action sympathetically accepting his contribution in order not to circumscribe his living space. In fact I was pleased, as it confirmed the analysis we had made of the relationship between Shachtmanism and Cochranism. And of

course I am in favor of Cochran exercising his right to send polite political contributions to Labor Action and Labor Action's right to gratefully publish them. Isn't it a prerogative in politics for strange bed fellows to occasionally climb in together if they feel that way about each other?

Secondly, take another look at that explanation about why Labor Action published Cochran's first public political statement. It demonstrates one of two things: Either (1) the columns of Labor Action, in accord "with our policy in such matters," are now open to political contributions from capitulators to Stalinism, which puts a question mark on Labor Action's declamations against Stalinism. Or (2) the editor of Labor Action opened his columns to the Cochranites because he felt sympathy for them, sensing that under the conciliatory attitude toward Stalinism was something linking Cochranism and Shachtmanism together that should be given living space.

Either alternative verifies what I said in the Nov. 30 Militant: namely, that despite their apparent differences "Shachtmanism and Cochranism are symmetrical petty-bourgeois reactions to capitalist pressures. . . . At bottom, Cochran has much in common with Shachtman, particularly in the profound break he has made with orthodox Trotskyism, and in his revision of the basic program of Marxism as it touches the most burning questions of our time."

THEIR COMMON GROUND

My contention that conciliatory views toward Stalinism can constitute one of the first forms of capitulation to the pressures emanating from American capitalism in its drive toward war is ridiculed by Labor Action as beyond comprehension.

The emphatic statements of Shachtman's Stalinophobe paper on this no doubt struck a sympathetic chord among the Cochranites. They too ridiculed this as beyond comprehension shortly before they began sabotaging party activities as part of their preparation to split from the SWP.

The cases of the Haston group in England and the Geoffroy group in France remained a complete enigma to them. That was because these two groups began by finding something progressive about Stalinism but ended up as Stalinophobes.

From the viewpoint of orthodox Trotskyism, the riddle of this seeming paradox is not so difficult to solve. It is necessary only to understand the character of Stalinism. This understanding was provided long ago by Trotsky.

Stalinism according to him — and life has verified his analysis — is not revolutionary. It is at bottom a petty bourgeois agency of imperialism. Its power in many countries, especially of poverty-stricken Europe and the colonial world, enables it to offer considerable attractions to frustrated elements of the middle class.

However, in countries where capitalism remains powerful, as in the United States, Stalinism is in a poorer competitive position. The radical-minded petty bourgeoisie find the State Department a more attractive pole.

In between these centers of attraction any number of differences in attitude are possible. That is why a petty bourgeois who has cut himself loose from Marxism can oscillate wildly and seemingly reverse his position without really changing at all in essence. In all his gyrations he remains a petty bourgeois, not a revolutionary socialist.

FORMS OF CAPITULATION

Labor Action does not discuss the forms of capitulation to the pressure of American imperialism. However, their attitude would indicate that they are in substantial agreement with the contentions of a leading Cochranite, Frankel, that it is absurd to maintain that conciliation to Stalinism can be included among these forms.

Debating with me last March Frankel in support of his mechanical view cited the example of Shachtman and his followers who moved away from revolutionary socialism and toward American imperialism through the form of Stalinophobia. That he held, was a typical form of capitulation. He was, of course, incapable of seeing any other form outside of socialist views.

But living reality is far richer in forms than the rigid schemas of the Cochranites and Shachtmanites admit. This is easy to demonstrate.

The pressures on the socialist vanguard are heavy. They are in the forefront of the fight against the witch hunt and the war drive. They are hounded, persecuted, vilified. To stand up under this social and ideological pressure requires not only a clear head and iron

Two Dictators Meet



South Korean President-Dictator Syngman Rhee (left), who threatens to renew the Korean war, reviews guard of honor with his host, Chiang Kai-shek, on the latter's island hang-out of Formosa. The two despots armed and financed by Wall Street are cooking up schemes to set Asia aflame once more.

Defend Our Class Brothers in Bolivia

We have just received word from Bolivia that the government of Paz Estenssoro has suppressed the newspaper Lucha Obrera.

Lucha Obrera (Workers Struggle) is published by the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party, POR). This party has been in the forefront of the workers' struggles in Bolivia against the tin barons, the landlords and the imperialist agents who have been trying to stop the Bolivian revolution from putting a Workers and Farmers government in power.

The Paz Estenssoro government was installed by a mass workers uprising in April 1952. Estenssoro represented the middle-class, wavering elements who moved to the left for a time under the impact of the powerful revolutionary movement of the working masses.

The POR gained rapidly in influence after the revolution started. It became a leading force in the working class and peasant movements. It vigorously fought for the workers and peasants demands that the mines and the land be taken away from the landlords and capitalists and returned to the people. It conducted widespread agitation for preserving the gains made by the revolution and continuing its progressive tasks by installing a Workers and Farmers government.

Meanwhile the Estenssoro government was steadily being pressured by the counter-revolutionary capitalists and landlords to take measures against the revolutionary workers. The U.S. State Department played a major role in this campaign to utilize the Estenssoro regime to crack

down on the revolution. Recently Milton Eisenhower visited Bolivia. Estenssoro made a deal with Eisenhower for economic aid.

It is clear now that the "economic" pact contained secret counter-revolutionary clauses. The economic concessions the Bolivian capitalist government will get from Wall Street contain the proviso that the revolution must be crushed. This is the same game the State Department is playing all over the world. Behind the smoke-screen of cheap talk about the "free world," Wall Street's State Department is plotting and maneuvering 24 hours a day to crush the real freedom that is being born in the revolutions of the toilers of South America and all corners of the globe.

American labor cannot be indifferent to these bloody schemes of Wall Street. The Bolivian masses are fighting for liberation from inhuman exploitation.

Our Bolivian brothers and sisters are fighting the same enemy the workers of the United States are fighting — the billionaire clique in power.

If the Bolivian workers are defeated it will be a terrible blow at the workers of this country.

But the defeat of the arrogant Wall Street overlords who seek to smash the Bolivian revolution will be a mighty blow for the working class in the whole world.

The indifference and cowardly silence of the aristocratic labor officials must be broken. The State Department must be told in no uncertain terms that the workers of the United States will not stand by idly while their class brothers are beaten down by Wall Street's Club.

UAW Unemployment Conference

The full employment conference of the CIO United Automobile Workers, held in Washington on Dec. 6 and 7, has helped to focus attention on the growing problem of unemployment and the threat of economic crisis. It is to be hoped that this will help lead to the recognition of the necessity for a broad Congress of Labor, representing all sections of the labor movement, to deal with unemployment, McCarthyism and other basic issues that can be solved only through the united action of all organized labor.

Under the direction of UAW President Walter Reuther, however, the auto union's conference served as little more than a sounding board for Reuther's own inadequate program. His main stress was on the vague, guaranteed-annual-wage program that he pushed at the recent CIO convention. At the same time, he took occasion to insist on deferment of the program for the shorter work week at no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

Guaranteed annual wage schemes, unless covered by the most elaborate safeguards, can be real pitfalls for the workers. Certainly, none of the plans thus far offered or contemplated by Reuther or any other CIO leader meets the problem of mass layoffs in the period ahead. Ford Facts, paper of UAW Ford Local 600, correctly puts the matter when it contends: "The fact is that the fight for substantial

wage increases, against speed-up and for the shorter work week is the best guarantee of an effective fight for the guaranteed annual wage."

From Reuther's recent speeches it can be gathered that he thinks unemployment is the result merely of a nasty whim on the part of the corporations or their sheer stubbornness in refusing to adopt certain easily applied precautionary measures. Actually, unemployment is an integral part of the workings of the capitalist system. The present growing unemployment is technological in large part. A new rationalization of industry, displacing workers at a fearful rate, is under way. It is being introduced by Ford in the auto industry. In radio and TV, the Raytheon Mfg. Co., as reported in the Dec. 4 Wall Street Journal, has set up an automatic assembly line geared to produce 1,000 radios a day with only two workers instead of the standard force of 200. Automation, as this super-rationalization process is called, threatens joblessness for millions.

The demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay offers the only immediate answer to the threat of mass unemployment that automation involves. We believe it would be extremely short-sighted and unwise to play down or dismiss this demand or subordinate it to proposals which, whatever their merits may be, do not hit at the heart of the problem.

Stevenson Flunks Out

In a showdown fight against its mortal enemies, the working class can never depend on capitalist "liberals." That's the lesson the workers of Germany, Italy and Spain learned in their fight against fascism. The capitalist politicians and those who supported them sold out every time and left the workers and the minorities to take the rap.

This lesson is being taught all over again in the United States. Take the case of Adlai Stevenson. Witty, suave and sweet-talking Adlai Stevenson was recommended to us by the labor officials and leaders of minorities as a genuine dyed-in-the-wool liberal. A man who lived and breathed democracy. A stout-hearted fighter in the cause of justice. A man who spurned cynical political advantage in favor of democratic principles.

This was the image created by the Stevenson boosters. What has been the reality?

Let's grade Stevenson on his performance in a fight involving the fate of democratic rights and liberties: the struggle against racial segregation.

Racial segregation in schools is up for an historic test before the United States Supreme Court. But the Southern barons served notice that they will not abide by any unfavorable decision reached in the Supreme Court. Governor Talmadge of Georgia spoke to his State Legislature on Nov. 17 and gave his "solemn promise . . . that as long as I am Governor there will be no mixed schools and colleges in Georgia."

In other words, Talmadge publicly defied the laws of the United States and in effect called for sedition.

Eight days later Stevenson spoke to the same Georgia Legislature as a guest of the Southern plutocrats. What did the "liberal" former Governor of Illinois have to say to Governor of Jim Crow Georgia?

"I am not unmindful," he said, "of the achievements of Georgia under the administration of Governor Talmadge." This was the answer of the "great democrat" to the challenge Talmadge had flung at the people of the United States. In the legislative cave of the Southern lynch jackals the Democratic Lion turned out to be a bleating lamb.

The Lion of democracy got out a few more lamb-style roars: He applauded the "enormously improved" position of the Negroes in the South. "I believe, and I think in common with the great majority of thoughtful white people of the South," he said, "that this improvement must and will continue."

And what about the great majority of "thoughtful" Negro people, Mr. Stevenson? Do you believe with them that lynched-minded Bourbons like Talmadge are conducting a tooth-and-nail fight to maintain the rule of white supremacy over super-exploited Negro labor in the South? Or don't you talk to "thoughtful" Negro people since they are not represented in the halls of the Georgia Legislature?

How would you mark the performance, of Adlai Stevenson on this test? We mark it zero. In our record he flunked out.

A Steelworker Tells Reaction to McCarthy

(Continued from page 1)

everybody talks about how dangerous the 'reds' are but only McCarthy does something about it. Some of these men are good unionists; they just don't realize what McCarthyism means."

"What do you think the majority sentiment is on this subject in your mill?"

"Well, I certainly wouldn't set myself up as a Gallup on what the guys are thinking, and it's only one man's opinion, but I would say that the majority were definitely anti-McCarthy. I base that on their reaction to Truman's speech. The feeling was high for Truman, and when McCarthy answered Truman the majority were pretty antagonistic to McCarthy. But it's hard to be sure because like I told you it wasn't the big topic of conversation around where I work."

"What do you think this support of Truman meant?" I asked. "Was it a feeling of defense of someone getting a raw deal?"

SET UP FOR THE KILL

"I'd say it was more than that," he answered. "I think a lot of workers feel that the only way they can fight back against Big Business is through the Democratic Party, and when McCarthy attacked Truman and Trumanism these workers felt the Democratic Party was being set up for the kill. They felt it was all part of a Republican trick to stop the people from voting Democrat like they did in the recent elections."

"What are the union officials saying about McCarthyism?" "That gets me back to what I said about what is uppermost in the minds of the workers in the plant," he replied. "The union officials don't talk much about McCarthyism either, they are trying to deal with the workers' grievances and they talk a lot of politics these days."

"What kind of politics?"

He laughed again. "Not your kind, nothing about a Labor Party or like that. I'll give you an example. My last local meeting was very well attended. The men were hot about some grievances in the coke-oven department. The President made a big political speech about how the workers voted for Eisenhower and now they got all this grief. He implied that the union couldn't do anything with Big Business in power. And he kept blaming the workers for their indifference to political action. The long and the short of it was — get behind the Democratic Party."

"Did the workers go for that?" I asked.

"That's a funny thing," he said. "They didn't like that at all. Most of them felt the officials were trying to get the heat off themselves and giving us an excuse for not getting off their big cans and hustling for our grievances. The feeling is we're hardly getting any representation at all. And it doesn't sit well to hear a big political speech in answer to grievances."

I started to thank him for his patient and informative answers. He interrupted me with the remark, "I hope you don't get the wrong picture. The guys sound pretty conservative the way I told you about it. But there's a lot of thinking going on."

"What do you mean, thinking?" I asked him.

"I can't exactly explain it, but I get the distinct feeling that things are heading for a big change. This McCarthy threat may touch it off, or something else. Or maybe it's the layoffs and the cost of living plus the McCarthy threat that will do it, but I got a feeling the next time I see you things will be a hell of a lot different."

will but unusual capacity to absorb punishment.

It is dangerous to imagine that the continual pounding does not have a cumulative effect even in the best revolutionists. It is because of the cumulative effect of the pounding that revolutionary parties tend to be weighted with young people, particularly in periods of harsh reaction such as we are living under.

The first manifestations of cumulative pressure may not take a political form. The pressure may reveal itself in the form of a contradiction between thought and feeling in which the resultant is inertia, unwillingness to carry out assignments, depreciation of certain tasks, apathy, etc. It may take the form of personal frictions, irritableness, emotional tensions, fear, anxiety and so on.

Consciousness of the possible meaning of such things enables one to resolve them without too great difficulty. In addition, the added insight becomes part of the great intellectual satisfaction a Marxist gets from deep understanding of society and the fact that he has found his place among the advanced minority whose task is to lead in carrying the development of society forward.

If the pressures are permitted to develop until they break through into politics, the first forms are generally indirect. A typical one is loss of confidence in the capacity of the workers to carry out a revolution. This often leads to a search for easy shortcuts, get-rich-quick tactics, etc. The fruitlessness of prospecting for this kind of pay dirt can quickly lead to disillusionment.

Loss of confidence in the capacity of the party, in its role, in its program belong to the same category. This negative reaction often has its positive complement in a skepticism that turns into a more and more poisonous cynicism. The group that followed Shachtman and Burnham in 1939-40 offers any number of such cases for clinical study.

But these feelings may be rationalized. The deluded victim seeks explanations that permit him to retain his self-respect. One of these rationalizations may be that Stalinism, despite all its crimes and betrayals, does have a revolutionary side.

The Stalinists, precisely because they are victims of the witch hunt, attract sympathy. Someone seeking a rationalization for his own weaknesses finds it convenient to extend his support of the right of the Stalinists to

express their views without persecution into support of their views or at least some of them.

This is all the easier because the Stalinists do talk about the advantages of peace as against imperialist war. And while their program may be incapable of achieving peace, still they have a relatively large following, among whom great gains might be made by a friendly approach that puts questions of program aside and is willing to cut corners on principles. Even if you grant that the Stalinists have no chance in the American labor movement and are therefore not worth one's main attention, still abroad, according to the rationalizers, they are pretty successful and represent the principal stream of the future. And so the rationalizations go.

THE END RESULT

Thus for a time, a person or group actually responding to the pressure of the war drive and witch hunt may gravitate toward Stalinism. The end can be a quiet spot in the rather large periphery of Stalinism that is currently in a state of passive rot in America, or withdrawal from politics altogether.

Of course it can end in conversion to Stalinism. We saw this in the case of a section of the Trotskyist party in Ceylon which went over to the Stalinists in October. A month earlier, a contingent of Cochranites in Seattle, carrying the position of their faction to its logical conclusion, went so far as to try to justify the monstrous Moscow frame-up trials and the shooting of Trotskyists by Stalin. They were, of course, expelled at once as enemies. These two cases show what conciliation to Stalinism can lead to. The repeated assertions of the Cochranites that the main danger facing the world Trotskyist movement is Stalinophobia helps prepare such capitulations.

Most of the Cochranites, particularly the trade unionists will probably not go so far as to become conscious supporters of the Kremlin. The rude experience of active contact with Stalinism plus the blandishments of the pro-war labor bureaucracy may bring their flirtation with Stalinism to a quick close, in which case the form of their capitulation will swiftly change.

In that case the Shachtmanites may see with their own eyes, in the way pragmatists prefer, that despite the different lipstick, they and the Cochranites are really sisters under the skin.

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Brownell's Brief

By Jean Blake

Eisenhower's "fall guy," Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., has submitted a 188-page brief in the public school segregation cases now before the U.S. Supreme Court that exposes the present administration's support of Southern Jim Crow as clearly as his recent smear of ex-President Truman exposed the administration's support of McCarthyism.

The Justice Department brief, which represented the Eisenhower administration's first official expression of its attitude on the school segregation issue, was a typical weasel-worded, unprincipled politician's masterpiece.

It carefully pointed out that the government (administration) is not taking sides in the dispute and that the brief is submitted "as an objective non-adversary discussion of the question stated in the court's order of reargument."

It sidestepped the basic issue involved in the suits brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People — the contention that the court should reverse its past position that segregation in schools is legal so long as equal facilities are provided for Negro and white. The NAACP is arguing that segregation is discrimination, and unconstitutional. Brownell's brief tells the Supreme Court that it has the duty and authority to see to it that there is no discrimination against anyone on account of color. (Southern lawyers have little argument with that

view; they contend they don't discriminate, they just segregate.)

Finally — and this is where the full measure of the administration's hypocrisy is revealed — the brief notes the Southern opposition to a change and suggests that if the Supreme Court should decide to outlaw segregation, a one-year period be provided for the adjustment, with allowance for a further "reasonable" extension. (Can't you see Brownell suggesting to Congress that if the Communist Party is outlawed, a similar "reasonable" period be allowed for the adjustment?)

Ninety years after the Emancipation Proclamation, Brownell thinks the Southern die-hards should be given a little more time to get used to the idea that all men are created equal!

The newspapers report that Brownell's brief "drew bitter reaction... from southerners who want the color line retained in Dixie schools." Talmadge called it a "stab in the back."

What about the Negro leaders? What about the NAACP? More important, what about the parents in Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, Delaware and the District of Columbia who have risked their jobs, their homes and their lives in this attempt to win equality for their children? What do they think of this rotten political intervention by the government with a compromise proposal aimed at buying Southern votes by extending the life of Jim Crow?

"Under a Double Whammy"

By Joyce Cowley

"Under a double whammy" — that's how a reporter on the Akron Beacon Journal sums up the position of the Negro woman worker.

"Erected against the Negro woman in Akron," he says, "are barriers of sex and color." The median wage for Negro women in this city is \$872 a year. There is nothing unusual about the Akron figure. In suburban Canton it's \$665 a year. In Cleveland it reaches a magnificent high of \$1,017.

If you want to understand how pitifully small these incomes are, figure them out on a weekly basis — about \$13 a week in suburban Canton, \$17 in Akron and \$20 in Cleveland.

The national average is even lower than in the industrial cities of Ohio. When the incomes of Negro women working in suburban towns and agricultural areas of the south are included, you get an average for the whole country of \$12 to \$13 a week.

White women, who are not particularly well paid, make double this amount. The income of the average male worker is four times that of Negro women. That's certainly a powerful "double whammy"! It robs the Negro woman of three-fourths of the income she would have if she were a man, and white.

What kind of work do these women get? The reporter studied a typical group of 2,609 Negro women working in Akron. Half of them — about 1,300 — did housework in private homes. Another 654 worked as maids in offices and stores.

Throughout the country, about 1,200,000 Negro women spend their lives with a mop and pail, cleaning up the mess that other people make. This is their share in American prosperity.

Of the two million Negro women employed, 71% work as servants, service workers and agricultural laborers. High schools prepare Negro girls for office and professional work, but only 4% of Negro women workers achieve a "clerical" status (usually in the lowest paid work like direct-mail houses) and 1% are salesgirls. Sales jobs and clerical jobs — not considered very exciting by the white workers — are listed in the Akron report as the "absolute top bracket" of Negro female employment.

Obviously, Negro women haven't got much of a stake in this society. For just that reason they will be among the first to struggle for a new kind of social system. Month after month, year after year, they have been scrubbing dirty floors, cleaning windows, sweeping up after the white-collar crowd leaves the office, cleaning toilets and emptying rubbish. I know they haven't enjoyed it much but they've got one cleaning job ahead of them that should really be fun and they have the right kind of experience to handle it.

Once they understand that a labor party will represent them and fight in their interests, these doubly exploited women can sweep the capitalist politicians out of office and clean up the whole dirty mess in our schools, our hospitals, our housing and our transportation system.

Notes from the News

GALLUP POLL ON UNIONS reveals an all-time high in favor of unionism. Three out of four of those interviewed recently approve of union. The last previous poll in 1949 showed 62% in favor. Thus pro-union sentiment increased 13% in the last four years. The highest vote in favor of unions came from "manual workers" — 81%.

LABOR'S DAILY of Dec. 5 reports that "The Chamber of Commerce, the National Manufacturers' Association and lesser satellites of Big Business are busily engaged right now in planning strategy, bringing up their heavy guns and stockpiling ammunition for a concerted campaign to destroy the last vestige of organized labor in this country." Big Business is organizing a campaign to force Congress not only to retain the Taft-Hartley Law but make it "even more stringent in its strangling holds on labor and the destruction of freedom as it applies to those who toil." Big Business organizations are sending letters to their members outlining the pressure campaign on Congress. Labor's Daily calls for labor to "counteract the force and power of this calculated campaign," and to rally its forces for a show-down fight. "Organized labor in the United States is now face to face with the most critical period in history. The next few months may well determine whether organized labor — FREE LABOR, to put it more bluntly — is to survive or perish."

STEEL PRODUCTION DROPS are no cause for alarm according to Max D. Howell, executive vice-president of the American Iron and Steel Institute. "It probably would be a good thing for the country and for the steel industry if steel operations dropped back to around 80%." It is well known that what is good for the profit-gouging steel barons is obviously good for the country.

A COST OF LIVING pay increase for army career personnel was recommended by a special Defense Department committee. The committee noted that "unless the present trend of career pay leaving the service can be reversed, serious consequences to the national defense will result." According to the committee attractiveness of the armed forces is due, following causes: "unfavorable" public to the Korean war, "slandering attacks" on military leaders, use of term to describe high officers and failure of the "to exercise more stringent" discipline.

AN OKLAHOMA CATTLEMAN, Pink Williams, known as Cowboy to his friends, decided he had made a tragic error when he voted for Eisenhower. The farm program of the Republican administration got him all riled up. He sent out a postal card to cattlemen and farmers inviting them to a convention. The invitation promised that "all cattlemen who voted for Ike will have their a — kicked free and all the crow they could eat." The idea spread like wildfire and Cowboy sent out 350,000 cards within a short time. The Republican post office administration took a dim view of the "joke." They cracked down on Cowboy on two counts. (1) Cowboy's use of a common term to name a portion of the human anatomy was obscene and vulgar. (2) The use of the name "Cowboy" in the signature on the postcard constituted doing business under an assumed name. The department locked up Cowboy's post-office box. Williams went to Washington to fight for his right to poke fun at a President.

WAGE DEMANDS of 4,000 textile workers were dropped by the union. Wesley Cook, vice president of the CIO Textile Workers Union of America notified the Viscose Corp. that the seven textile locals would not press their demand for a 10% wage increase. A union spokesman in Philadelphia said the demand was dropped because of "poor conditions in the rayon industry." An official of the American Viscose Corp. said the negotiations had ended "very satisfactorily" and congratulated the union negotiators for "good business judgment."

WESTBROOK PEGLER, the poison-pen labor-baiting columnist is being dropped from a number of newspapers around the country. Reasons given: "Too much bitter diarrhea on the same old subjects." (Pooria Journal, Ill.). "Not enough of his stuff printable to justify the cost." (Deseret News, Salt Lake City). "Reduce the monotony of subject matters." (Fort Worth Press.) In response to a query from the newspaper, Labor, as to their reasons for dropping Pegler, the Deseret News replied, "This newspaper prides itself on being a family newspaper. We try to keep our columns clean. By the time we had edited Pegler to length and had taken out the strong language and some of the more objectionable personal attacks he made, there wasn't too much left. We simply decided it wasn't worth the effort."

UNIONISTS WELCOME LEGLESS VET'S BOOK

NEW YORK, Dec. 8 — More than one out of every ten delegates at the convention of the New Jersey CIO, held last weekend at Atlantic City, bought a copy of James Kutcher's book, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*.

Kutcher himself was present at the convention and sat at a special booth provided by the CIO officials. Dozens of delegates, already familiar with Kutcher and his fight, came to the booth to shake hands with him, wish him luck, pick up literature and invite him to appear before their local meetings. Seventy-three of them bought copies of the book.

Kutcher expressed satisfaction over the initial reactions to the book. He told the Militant that although it has received little publicity in the daily press, news about the book is beginning to get around by mouth, and sales are off to an encouraging start, especially in the labor movement. "The first union I visited with the book in Newark was Local 444 of the IUE-CIO," Kutcher reported. "Although they had never acted on my case before, they kindly let me speak to the members for a few minutes, and ten of them bought copies of the book. On its own initiative, the local voted to donate \$25 to the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee."

All of Kutcher's royalties from sale of the book are also donated to the KCRC, a non-partisan organization helping the legless veteran to appeal his "loyalty" discharge from a clerical job with the Veterans Administration in Newark.

Kutcher also showed the Militant letters that he had received from people who had read the book and were willing to comment on it publicly.

One of these was Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, the noted philosopher,

Kutcher Letter Printed in 'Nation'

The Nov. 28 issue of *The Nation* published a letter from James Kutcher, the Legless Veteran, in which he reports a conference with former Attorney General Tom Clark back in 1948. At that time Kutcher warned Clark that the witch hunt measures used against Kutcher for belonging to the Socialist Workers Party, might some day be turned against the Democratic Party. Mr. Clark, who was a member of Truman's cabinet, vigorously denied the possibility. Today both Truman and Clark have been witch-hunted.

Favorable comment also came from Frank Kingdon, columnist of the N. Y. Post. "You have done wisely to put your story into a book," Kingdon

educator and author of many books and articles in defense of civil liberties and the American democratic tradition of free speech. "I must send you my appreciation of the fairness and forthrightness with which you state your side, and the other side of the issue," Dr. Meiklejohn wrote Kutcher.

"You are, as you recognize, a minority man. You can have little immediate hope of winning acceptance of your political or economic views. But that, I take it, is not your purpose. As against features of the Loyalty Program which you find in violation of the Constitution, you are appealing calmly, objectively, honestly, that all Americans join in the repudiation of that violation.

"Your own personal experience is so revealing of the basic values and the basic dangers of our American Plan of Government that I hope you may have a wide reading."

"GOOD PIECE OF WORK" Another letter to Kutcher was from H. H. Wilson, member of the Department of Politics at Princeton University, author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise," and contribution editor of *The Nation*.

Kutcher's book, wrote Wilson, is "a good piece of work, told effectively and with a most attractive modesty and dry sense of humor that should win you an appreciative audience.

"One of the virtues of Americans has always been our capacity for self-criticism. We have made mistakes as a people, but we have been capable of shame. You have performed a useful service in reminding us that in the pursuit of that will-o'-the-wisp 'loyalty' we have been both cruel and stupid. I hope that thousands of Americans will read your quiet, unemotional account of the treatment accorded one man who fought in the defense of his country.

"Again my thanks for the opportunity of reading your story and all good wishes for the future."

"MAY MANY READ IT" Favorable comment also came from Frank Kingdon, columnist of the N. Y. Post. "You have done wisely to put your story into a book," Kingdon



JAMES KUTCHER

wrote. "It comes out as a document of our times which will cast light for the future. Sometimes one phase of a generation is fully illuminated by a single incident, and your experience sums up one of the less desirable aspects of our time. May many read it and devote themselves to seeing that its like does not occur again!"

A review appeared in the Dec. 7 issue of *Labor Action*, the Independent Socialist League (Shahtman group) paper. It said in part:

"One of the best points of this surprisingly well-written book is the extensive amount of quotation both from the public press and from the various 'hearings' and 'interviews' that took place in the course of appealing the case. Every (almost literally, every) section of the liberal, labor and radical movements supported Kutcher's defense. . . . The Case of the Legless Veteran is certainly worth the dollar it costs, and even more certainly deserves a wide audience."

Copies of the book may be ordered from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3.

The Assistant Secretary of Defense for manpower, Dr. John A. Hannah, predicts that "cold war tensions may continue for the next 20 years." And Selective Service Director, Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, predicts, "There will be no end to selective service in my time."

N.Y. Newspaper Strikers End 11-Day Battle

By Jack Murtagh

NEW YORK, Dec. 10 — The blessed relief from screaming tabloids, sensational sex stories and hate-Russia propaganda has come to an end. The eleven-day strike of the photo-engravers, which stopped the publication of seven major newspapers in the world's biggest city, was finally settled with the photo-engravers taking a \$3.75 weekly package.

Of this settlement \$3 will be added to the weekly pay envelope, \$2.50 for the Welfare Fund and another \$50 toward an additional holiday, Washington's birthday. This was the original offer of the powerful Publisher's Association, the only difference being the agreement to refer the possibility of a further wage increase to a Fact Finding Board composed of AFL President, George Meany, publisher Richard Slocum of the Philadelphia Bulletin and a third member to be designated by these two.

At their local union meeting where the photo-engravers voted 198 to 77 to accept the agreement, there was little illusion about the Fact Finding Board adding anything to the settlement. Members were more interested in the assurances of Local President Dennis M. Burke that the Fact Finding Board could not take anything away from this agreement.

UNION SOLIDARITY Twenty thousand other newspaper workers respected the photo-engravers picket line thus insuring shutting down of the newspapers. The pressure from the business agents of the other newspaper unions is conceded to be a factor in bringing the final acceptance.

As a result of this solidarity, it appears that a goal of many years standing, simultaneous expiration of the agreements of all newspaper unions, will be reached. This strike revealed the great power possible through united action.

Had the other newspaper unions ignored the photo-engravers picket line, then it would have been a comparatively easy task for the publishers to have defeated and demoralized the small union.

During the strike, New York's streets looked unusually clean as the remains of the pre-strike newspapers disappeared from the gutters. The circulation of magazines and out-of-town papers jumped considerably. The Militant, displayed on the few newspaper stands that had not closed down, sold out completely.

Anti-Velde protest meetings were also held by civil liberties bodies as well as groups on the University of California campus.

The most significant events were the 24-hour stop-work meetings of the longshoremen and the protest meetings of the warehousemen. No call, however, was made for support of other labor organizations. United labor action is needed to halt government witch-hunting in the unions.

SOUND ADVICE With a straight face the Kremlin now proclaims as a revelation that herds must be fed and properly cared for lest they die off.

But what are the prospects for adequate fodder? On Sept. 24 Pravda announced that it will take "the next two-three years" to develop corn and other grain feed "on a scale to assure a sufficiency to the publicly-owned cattle." The prospects for animals turns out about the same as for the mass of the Soviet people — "in the next two-three years."

In the critical decline of livestock more is involved than supplies of meat, dairy products, hides, wool, etc. which hardly reach the mass of the population in the first place. The point is that Soviet agriculture still depends for fertilizer primarily on farm-yard manure which, naturally, varies with the size of the herds. With the decline of the herds the problem of fertilizer has grown more acute because the lack must be made up by synthetic products. In fact it has already become converted into a critical problem for the Soviet chemical industry.

Existing plans had to be scrapped because the output of mineral fertilizers, chemical insecticides, etc. is completely inadequate. The new plan roughly doubled "in the next two or three years" the targets originally set for 1953.

COME 1963 — Tikhomirov, the Minister of the Chemical Industry, has since announced that a new nine-year plan has been adopted in this connection. From 1954 to 1963 the Chemical Industry and the Ministry of Metallurgical Industry are to build and put into operation every two years plants producing fertilizer whose output must equal the volume of all the plants "that had been placed in operation during all the pre-war Five-Year Plans put together."

By 1963 there will be a sufficiency of fertilizer. But meanwhile? Mineral fertilizers for "food and fodder cultures" are "still produced in insignificant quantities," according to Tikhomirov who is surely in a position to speak with authority (Pravda, Sept. 21, 1953). The "neglect" in the countryside where the peasants fail to raise enough fodder finds its natural supplement in the bureaucracy's "oversight" throughout all the previous plans to supply large-scale agriculture with the necessary mineral fertilizers, leaving it dependent — till 1963! — on farm-yard manure.

SOVIET CATTLEMEN In the early Thirties the peasants replied to forced collectivization by the wholesale slaughter of cattle. The effects of this make themselves felt to this day. In recent years the peasants have not resorted to this measure. Instead they have been sabotaging the publicly owned livestock in favor of their own privately owned animals, cows particularly. From Khrushchev's own figures it follows that out of every 100 cows, almost 60 are today in the hands of individual proprietors. But that is not all. Not every collective farmer owns a cow. Almost half of the peasants have no cows. "The number of collective-farm households with no cows increased up to 45%," reported Khrushchev. In other words, the ownership has become concentrated in the hands of the well-to-do elements in the countryside. It is they who stand to benefit the most from the Kremlin's reforms. It is they and not the collective farms who are dominant in this vital branch of Soviet agriculture.

Soviet People Diet on Kremlin Promises

By John G. Wright

According to the Kremlin liars, the current Soviet farm crisis is not really a crisis at all. On the contrary, it is presumably a question of pulling up farm production to meet the growing needs of the mass of the people.

All that is necessary is to remove certain "shortcomings" and within a brief span of time — "in the next two-three years" — the official formula reads — the country will be assured an "abundance" both of foodstuffs and of civilian goods. Living standards in the Soviet Union are to rise at the same stormy pace as has its industrial development.

This propaganda of Malenkov, Khrushchev and Co. has been accepted and disseminated merely by all the Stalinist agencies inside and outside the USSR. There is a school of observers typified by the English journalist Deutscher, who, with a few minor reservations, peddle an identical line. The *Paibolites* chime in. They, too, accept the substitution of one ruling clique for another — that headed by Malenkov in place of the clique headed by Stalin — as the beginnings of a fundamental change in the very methods of administering the economy and guiding the culture of the country. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The current agricultural crisis arises from the previous blunders, waste and inefficiency of the bureaucracy. It arises, in brief, from the very nature of this bureaucracy, its methods of rule and administration. It points up, as have the previous farm crises, the complete incompatibility of this regime with the needs and aspirations of the Soviet people.

To be sure the 1953 farm crisis does not threaten famine, as has been the case in the past. This time, the production of bread grains appears assured. But as Malenkov himself cautioned in October 1952, "it would be a grave error to assess the achievements attained in agriculture solely by the level of grain production." Why? Because, among other things which Malenkov did not mention, a sufficiency of bread by no means secures the minimum diet of Soviet workers.

Next to rye bread, their staple is potatoes, supplemented by cabbage. Bread and potatoes, this classic diet of poverty still remains unassured — and this, after a quarter of a century of Stalinist collectivization!

ADMITS DECLINE Among the annihilating admissions made in Khrushchev's September 1953 report is that the output of potatoes and vegetables has been declining, not just in 1953, but "in recent years."

Only a year ago Malenkov had boasted that the area growing vegetables had increased by "more than 2.4 times." Now it turns out that in the alleged period of "transition to Communism," the Soviet workers, the city dwellers generally, are faced with dwindling supplies of potatoes and cabbages. What that does to the prospect of getting more meat, more milk, etc., may be imagined.

Is this perhaps exaggerated? Listen to Khrushchev: "The demand for potatoes and vegetables has grown so much that the present level of their production must be recognized as absolutely inadequate. Far from increasing, in recent years the crops and gross collections of these cultures have actually dropped. The area under vegetables is 250,000 hectares [a hectare is 2.47 acres] less than in 1940. . . . But what is most alarming is the lower crop yield in many districts, which has resulted in small gross harvests of potatoes."

For the last few years the output of potatoes and vegetables has been "absolutely inadequate"; smaller areas are under cultivation than in pre-war days; gross harvests have been dropping. All this spells acute shortage, not abundance. All this was kept secret by the Kremlin autocrats until finally the situation became too acute for continued secrecy.

HERDS DECREASE

Take the case of livestock. By official admission the situation is most critical in this field. This is just the opposite of what Malenkov said in October 1952. Then he claimed that pre-war levels had been surpassed for cattle as well as for sheep and pigs. Total livestock production as well as



MALENKOV

production for sale of meat, milk, butter, eggs, wool and leather had surpassed pre-war levels, Malenkov then boasted. If not an abundance, at least the maintenance of previous supply levels appeared assured.

Now the Soviet masses suddenly learn that far from reaching pre-war levels, the number of cattle is some 9 million less than it was in 1928; the year before forced collectivization. As compared to pre-war, it is 3 1/2 million less. The September 1953 decision of the Central Committee Plenum affirms that "In 1952 alone the total herd of cattle decreased by 2,200,000 head, the number of cows by 550,000 head." We thus learn that Malenkov claimed an increase in cattle at the very time that the sharpest post-war decline was actually taking place.

Conditions in cattle-raising are truly shocking. The cattle lack proper fodder, not to speak of barns, sheds and other shelters. "The productivity of the stock is low, there are big losses due to cattle dying; there is a large number of barren cows," announced Khrushchev.

Among the "examples" he cited were the following: ". . . Last year the collective farms received 11 calves fewer per hundred cows, 27 lambs fewer per hundred ewes and 163 suckling pigs fewer per hundred sows than in 1940." To this Khrushchev added a list of many territories and regions

which lost "every third calf . . . every second lamb . . . every fifth suckling pig, and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic every fourth suckling pig."

With a straight face the Kremlin now proclaims as a revelation that herds must be fed and properly cared for lest they die off.

But what are the prospects for adequate fodder? On Sept. 24 Pravda announced that it will take "the next two-three years" to develop corn and other grain feed "on a scale to assure a sufficiency to the publicly-owned cattle." The prospects for animals turns out about the same as for the mass of the Soviet people — "in the next two-three years."

In the critical decline of livestock more is involved than supplies of meat, dairy products, hides, wool, etc. which hardly reach the mass of the population in the first place. The point is that Soviet agriculture still depends for fertilizer primarily on farm-yard manure which, naturally, varies with the size of the herds. With the decline of the herds the problem of fertilizer has grown more acute because the lack must be made up by synthetic products. In fact it has already become converted into a critical problem for the Soviet chemical industry.

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But that is not all. Not every collective farmer owns a cow. Almost half of the peasants have no cows. "The number of collective-farm households with no cows increased up to 45%," reported Khrushchev. In other words, the ownership has become concentrated in the hands of the well-to-do elements in the countryside. It is they who stand to benefit the most from the Kremlin's reforms. It is they and not the collective farms who are dominant in this vital branch of Soviet agriculture.

The unfolding farm crisis illuminates what a monstrous obstacle the bureaucracy is to the growth of the Soviet economy. It underscores the need of the Soviet economy and people to eject this bureaucracy. It confirms Trotsky's program of political revolution which alone can replace the Kremlin autocracy with workers' democracy.