

AMERICA UNDER THE WORKERS RULE

By James P. Cannon (See Page 2)

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UAW Convention Faced with Many Critical Problems

By Charles Albert

DETROIT, March 18 — The 14th Convention of the CIO United Auto Workers will convene at Atlantic City at a time when Big Business is riding higher than ever in government. The employers are in a better position, by virtue of the election of the Eisenhower-Taft administration, to push their program of crippling labor where unions exist and safeguarding the open shop where it prevails.

The delegates will review the



WALTER REUTHER

Manager Reports First Results In Sub Campaign

By Dorothy Johnson Campaign Manager

The militant sales and subscription campaign got off to a good start Sunday with a coast-to-coast mobilization of all militant salesmen. Flint, the Twin Cities, Los Angeles, New York and Newark sold a total of 37 subs on the first day. Best results were obtained by the Twin Cities comrades who begin the campaign with 676 points.

Los Angeles' campaign director, S. Stern, reports plans by militant salesmen there to tie in their work with the anti-war campaign of Myra T. Weiss for mayor and Robert Morgan for member of the Board of Education. Eastside and Westside comrades are in competition for the best score. Newark reports that bad weather handicapped their first sale but that more work will be done during the week. Fred Perry writes that although the comrades in Flint are working long hours in the shops and are pressed for time, they expect good results since many workers who had been laid off are now back at work and can afford to subscribe.

Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman writes, "The high spirit of the Twin Cities comrades for the campaign is herewith proudly expressed with the 'Opening Day' results: 676 points. Three live-wire teams are running neck and neck for top place with the following scores: Our first place team has 266 points; the St. Paul team has 216 points; and our third place team has 194 points. Ray is leading the Twin Cities pace setters with a score of 210. Paul is second with 110 points, and Charlie has 78. The competitive situation here will make for some interesting and productive news from Minneapolis, you can be sure. Two new one-year subs brought in by Charlie and Dave from fellow-workers underline for us the objective and possibility of getting many new Militant readers in this campaign."

U.S. Supreme Court Upholds Drastic Strikebreaking Law

Trucks Law Case Sent to State Court

DETROIT, March 18 — The U.S. Supreme Court, in a decision handed down a few days ago, has refused to rule on the constitutionality of the Trucks Law, Michigan's savage thought-control measure, until the state courts have passed on it. The ruling was made on an appeal by the Communist Party against a 2-to-1 decision by a special three-judge U.S. District Court in Michigan that the law was valid.

This opens the way for a test of the law by the Socialist Workers Party, which has initiated action in the state courts. The SWP case is now on the calendar in the Wayne County circuit court before Judge Lila Neuenfeldt. This case will now become the focal point of the fight against the notorious Trucks Law.

Labor's largest unit, Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Automobile Workers, has recently contributed \$500 to aid in conducting the fight. The Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law is conducting a vigorous campaign to rally support and raise funds to defray the expense of pushing the SWP case through the Michigan state courts.

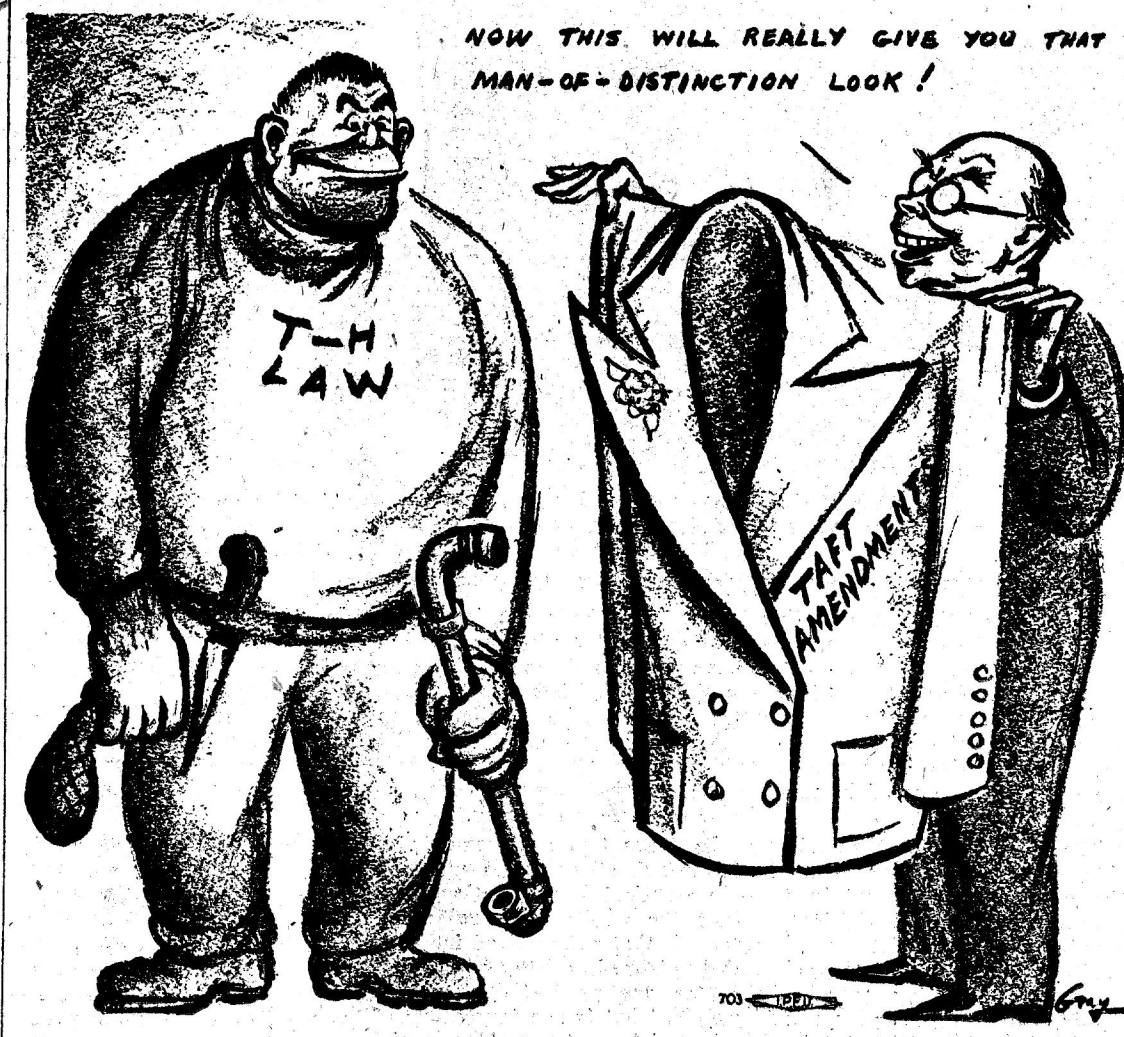
Their address is: Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, 1709 Ford Bldg., Detroit 26.

CLEVELAND, March 14 — Two developments were reported last week in the current drive of Ohio's witch hunters to pass legislation similar to the notorious Michigan Trucks Law now being contested in the courts:

One was the introduction March 11 of House Bill 415 by Rep. Lynch (D., Mahoning County) "To impose a fine of \$10,000 and up and 20 years imprisonment for persons convicted of teaching or advocating violent overthrow of our government."

At the same time Rep. Devine, slated as chairman of the witch-hunting committee, issued a public statement promising that the commission will turn its attention "to what appears to be a fertile field" in industrial northeastern Ohio.

The commission is scheduled to organize itself this week to proceed with its investigations, but it may have to find itself a new counsel since the witch-hunting business pays better in Washington than in Columbus. Former FBI agent Sidney Isaacs, who served as counsel last year, was reported by the Cleveland Press to be "angling for a better paying federal job."



NOW THIS WILL REALLY GIVE YOU THAT MAN-OF-DISTINCTION LOOK!

NEWARK COURT HEARS KUTCHER'S CHALLENGE OF PUBLIC HOUSING OATH

NEWARK, March 16 — The Kutcher-Lawrence suit challenging the constitutionality of the federal housing "loyalty" oath was argued in the State Superior Court here last Friday by lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union and the Newark Housing Authority. Judge Walter C. Freund then reserved decision on the ACLU's request for an injunction to restrain the NHA from evicting tenants who had failed to sign the oath required by the Gwinn amendment pending a ruling on the constitutionality of that witch-hunt law.

James Kutcher, legless veteran; his father, Harry L. Lawrence, a teacher and disabled veteran; and nine other families in Newark housing projects were ordered to move because they did not sign statements swearing that they do not belong to any of the groups arbitrarily included on the Attorney General's so-called "subversive" list.

This fact was well known to the public. Yet when the lawyer, Augustine Kelly, appeared in court last Friday, he brazenly denied that the constitutionality

of the oath has any "bearing on the issue here." The court should not interfere with the evictions, Kelly said, because the housing leases give the NHA the power to terminate them "at the end of any month without any special cause or reason." He asked the court to uphold the NHA's "legal rights" to make any evictions "regardless of its motives."

DECISION POSTPONED Judge Freund was apparently reluctant to accept this trick to get around the constitutionality issue. He was also reluctant to restrain the NHA without its consent. In the end he asked Kelly to get the NHA's consent to a restraint on evictions until the validity of the oath was settled by the courts. Kelly agreed to ask for such consent, and meanwhile the judge postponed decision.

Argument for the ACLU was made by Emil Oxford, state counsel, in collaboration with Herbert M. Levy, national counsel. They called the oath "the most obviously unconstitutional statute within recent memory" because it violates constitutional

guarantees of free speech and assembly and establishes guilt by association.

They also denounced the method used in putting organizations on the "subversive" list without notice or hearings and without suitable standards for judging them. In asking the court to rule the law unconstitutional, they said:

"This court has an opportunity to be the first to so declare and to proclaim once more that freedom, liberty and due process of law, for even those whose views we hate, still exist in the United States, that the judiciary will protect those rights and redress the grievances of American citizens against arbitrary and unconstitutional action of a legislature seized by the emotions of our times."

MARCH 16 — The U.S. Supreme Court today refused to permit a federal court hearing on the constitutionality of the Gwinn amendment. It ordered a case introduced by the International Workers Order to be taken back to the New York state courts.

"Right to Work" Ruling Paves Way for Drive To Restore Open Shop

By C. Thomas

The recent decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in upholding a union-busting Virginia anti-picketing ordinance, underscores the three-pronged assault upon the organized labor movement by the boss-controlled organs of state power: legislative, executive and judicial.

These agencies are steadily hacking away at the elementary rights of working men and women to join a union of their own choosing and defend their standard of living against the greedy and rapacious employers.

By a 7-to-2 decision, the highest court in the land deprived the unions in the State of Virginia of their constitutional right to conduct peaceful picketing in a labor dispute. The rabid union-haters are gleefully hailing this decision as a precedent to be used in other states and are calling for a national law based on the Virginia "Right to Work" statute.

The case reached the Supreme Court on appeal after a Richmond court had issued an injunction against the AFL building trades unions for picketing a school construction project which was employing non-union workers.

"RIGHT TO WORK" "The peaceful nature of the picketing was undisputed," reports the March 17 N. Y. Times. "There never were more than two pickets and at times only one. The picket placard read: 'This is not a union job.' There was no question of the use of coercion. There was no mass picket line. No one tried to prevent anyone from working. There was one, or at the most two union men, with

one picket sign, that simply said: 'This is not a union job.' But even this, according to the learned judges of the highest judicial authority in the country, constituted a violation of the "right to work."

In his dissenting opinion, Justice William O. Douglas declared: "Picketing is a form of free speech — the working man's method of giving publicity to the facts of industrial life. As such it is entitled to Constitutional protection." Justice Douglas characterized the court's 7-to-2 decision as "a broadside against all picketing."

But there are no "rights" for slaves, constitutional or otherwise. Slaves have only those rights that they fight for and win; and having fought and won, must continue fighting to preserve, maintain and extend. According to the majority of the U.S. Supreme Court, American working men and women have only one right: the right to work. And that only under the terms and conditions laid down by the blood-sucking employers. Such measures as the Virginia "Right to Work" statute are nothing but slave-labor laws.

FOUGHT FOR RIGHTS Nobody "gave" the American workers the right to join unions of their own choosing. They fought for, won and established that right after years of bloody

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MYRA WEISS TALKS TO LABOR, CIVIC GROUPS

By Louise Manning

Myra Tannér Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles for the third time, and previously candidate for the Board of Education and Congress is conducting a lively election campaign, having spoken before six meetings totaling approximately 700 people.

The election campaign has enabled our candidates to appear before a number of conservative political groups and present the socialist answer to the pressing problems of the day. Mrs. Weiss

appeared before the Republican Women's Organization, where she encountered all her opponents, including Mayor Bowron.

Poulson, the Republican candidate, directed his attack against the mayor for his so-called "socialist housing program," indicating that the victorious Republicans will not even tolerate a housing reform which is long overdue and completely inadequate.

Mrs. Weiss presented the socialist program as the only alternative to a Third World War, explaining that the capitalist system requires war to maintain its profits. After the meeting a number of women congratulated her with the comment that she was the only one who had anything to say.

At the Carpenters Union, an incident which took place between the business agent and a young man seeking admission to the union set the stage for her talk. This worker objected when he was told that he had to sign a non-communist oath if he wanted to join the union. Our candidate, who got the floor through a vote of the membership, discussed the witch hunt and showed how the defense of civil liberties was essential to the very existence of the unions.

FLAYS JIM CROW The Warehouse local gave Mrs. Weiss the opportunity to address a membership composed mainly of Mexican-American and Negro workers. Their friendly reception indicated support for our program against discrimination and appreciation for the uncompromising

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American Labor Needs Its Own Political Party

An Editorial

The key problem facing the CIO United Automobile Workers, together with the entire labor movement, is political action. Every issue confronting the workers ultimately resolves itself into this over-riding issue: What kind of political action shall labor take? That is the question the UAW convention delegates must answer correctly to reach a realistic and basic solution to their problems.

The auto workers know and have known for a long time what the correct answer must be. Numerous UAW locals over the years have gone on record for a labor party. There are few UAW leaders, national and local, who have not in the past at least paid lip service to the idea of an independent party led by labor.

In April 1951, the UAW convention gave an instructive demonstration of the real sentiments of the auto workers. For the first time in UAW history, the labor party question was discussed on the basis of a formal resolution brought forward by a section of an official convention committee, when the Resolutions Committee minority presented a resolution, to put the UAW on record for a labor party.

That convention was memorable for its discussion over this resolution. The delegates who participated will recall that the views expressed on the floor and the response of the great majority of the convention revealed unmistakably that the sentiment in favor of a labor party was overwhelming.

No one — including President Walter Reuther himself, who took the floor at the last minute to plead against passage of the labor party resolution — stated that he was against the labor party in principle. Indeed, Reuther's arguments had nothing to do with the need for or desirability of a labor party. He conceded that the difference was "not a matter of political principles" and that "all agree on the sentiments of both resolutions. Both criticize both political parties and that criticism is justified."

His whole argument was one of temporary expediency. The "timing" of the minority resolution, he said, was "bad." The CIO was then engaged with the AFL in the United Labor Policy Committee and for the UAW to go on record for a labor party, Reuther claimed, might antagonize the more conservative elements of the ULPC and upset "labor unity." This counter-posing of labor unity to labor party was strictly phony, of course, as events swiftly proved. The ULPC folded up within a few weeks of the UAW convention; the question of political action had nothing to do with its collapse.

Will the argument of "labor unity" be raised at the current UAW convention to again side-track labor party action? That would not make sense at all. Everyone who knows the score on the labor movement understands that the issue dividing the two major union bodies, the CIO and AFL, remains the one that created the division to begin with, industrial versus craft union-

ism. The labor movement can be united only through some great, transcending program which does not involve the issue of union structures and on which all unions can get together with the enthusiastic backing of the whole working class. Every trend of political events, every new crisis confronting the people of America cries out what that program must be: Build the Labor Party.

One thing above all the last election proved is that the Democratic-labor coalition could not halt reaction and actually paved the way for the triumph of rampant Republicanism. Whoever counsels a return in any form to that coalition is urging labor on the road to ruin.

It is time to call a halt to the policy of subordinating the mighty American labor movement to coalitions with corrupt capitalist political machines from which labor gets only crumbs — and blamed few of those. It is time for labor to take its place at the head of the American people, inspiring and leading them in genuine independent political action against the political agencies of the corporate interests.

The UAW could render no greater or more enduring service to the American workers, the oppressed racial minorities, the dirt farmers than to sound the call that will summon organized labor to its historic task of building its own party and challenging the political monopoly of Big Business.

America's Future Under the Workers' Rule

By James P. Cannon

(The following lecture, the fifth in a series on "America's Road to Socialism," was given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum, January 16, 1953.)

Last week we discussed the coming struggle for power, which will decide the question, who shall be master in the American house. Our analysis showed that the advantages in this coming struggle lie on the side of the workers, and that their victory can be expected. This victory of the workers in the showdown struggle with the capitalists and their fascist gangs will culminate, at a certain point, in the establishment of a workers government to rule the country.

Right at this point our differences with the anarchists are brought out most sharply. We don't hear so much about anarchism now as we did in my early days in the movement. Anarchism was then taken more seriously as a revolutionary tendency, but it made a miserable showing under the actual tests of war and revolution. Anarchism, in essence, is nothing but opportunism turned

inside out, but it sometimes appears to be its opposite; and impatient workers, recoiling violently against a pusillanimous and compromising leadership, are often attracted to the high-sounding verbal radicalism of anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists and mistake it for the real thing. It is possible, therefore, that in the course of coming developments in America, anarchism could experience a certain revival. That could cause a great deal of confusion just when clarity of program will be supremely important.

The differences between Marxists and anarchists are very serious and caused many polemical disputes and splits in the past, ever since the days of Marx and Bakunin in the First International. There were many points at issue in this great historic controversy, but the central point was the question of the state. The anarchist theory was that capitalism and the state would be abolished at the same time, in one operation. For them the revolutionary victory was synonymous with the abolition of the state.

Character of Workers State

The Marxists said no, you are running ahead of yourselves. Marxism also envisages a society in which there will be no classes and no state, but does not agree with the contention that the state can be abolished in one step at the moment of the workers' victory. A transition period will follow when the workers will need a state for their own historic, class purposes. Marxism regards the state as the instrument of class rule. It is not the general, impartial representative of all the people, as it is represented to be and as, unfortunately, many people think it is. The state, in its essential features, is the instrument of one class for the suppression of another.

That's the character of the present state in this country. Marxism gives the same basic definition to the state that will be set up following the workers' victory. The workers state — in the transition period between capitalism and socialism — will have the same characteristics, in some respects, as the one that exists today. It will be a class instrument, its chief purpose will be to suppress one class in the interests of another. So far, it's the same thing as the Eisenhower state, with this slight difference: The state we envisage after the victory of the workers will be a governmental instrument of coercion in the hands of the working-class majority to suppress any attempt of the capitalist minority to reestablish their system of exploitation. The workers state will be like the present state only turned upside down and put to the service of a different class.

The main features and role of this new state in the transition period are not for us a subject of imaginative speculation. The nature of society in the transition period between capitalism and socialism, and the kind of state, of government, it would require, were clearly foreseen and elaborated theoretically by Marx and Engels a long time ago; and

the theory was applied in practice in the Russian Revolution of 1917 by Lenin and Trotsky. We have both Marxist theory and serious experience to go by in stating confidently what the general characteristics of the new state will be and what its tasks will be.

In drawing up their conclusions from the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, the first attempt of the workers to set up a state of their own, Marx and Engels stated their theoretical conclusions on the nature of the state in the transition period with absolute clarity. Between the capitalist society of the present and the communist society of the future — they said — there lies a transition period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. During this period the corresponding political state can only be the rule of the workers, the dictatorship of the workers, as every state is, in essence, the dictatorship of one class over another.

That is precisely the way Lenin and Trotsky, who were orthodox disciples of Marx and Engels, understood the question and proceeded resolutely to apply it in practice in the Russian Revolution of November 1917. The theory of Marx and Engels on the question of the state and revolution has been powerfully reinforced by the experience of the great Russian Revolution.

So we can sum up this point by saying with absolute certainty that the working class, victorious in the showdown struggle with the capitalists and their fascist gangs, will not disband all government forms. On the contrary, it will take hold of society and set up its own government, its own state, and use all the concentrated power of this state to suppress any attempt at counter-revolution by the capitalists. At the same time it will use the power of the new state to reorganize the economy and direct it into new channels and new forms.

Lessons of Russian Revolution

Certain things have been demonstrated in the Russian Revolution which prior to that time were maintained, and could be maintained, only theoretically.

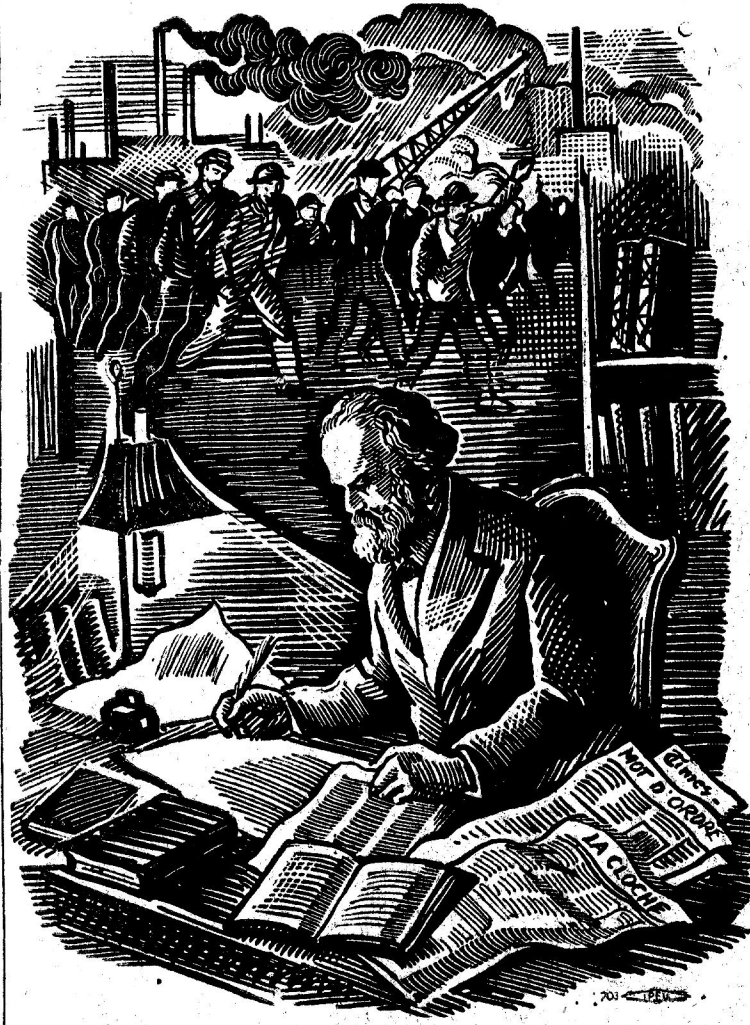
On the positive side of that great historical experience, we can put down first, the demonstration that it is possible — as previously asserted by Marxism, but unproved — for the working class not only to remove the capitalists from power, but to set up a governmental machine to serve their own purposes and to maintain their power. Today, if anyone says, "it can't be done," the answer is, "it has already been done, and done successfully even under the most unfavorable conditions."

If anyone says: "This idea of a workers government sounds good but it wouldn't work. The 62 million workers in this country

wouldn't be strong enough to supersede the capitalists in power and set up a government of their own; they wouldn't know how to run a government; they have never been to school in statesmanship; they didn't study civics in college" — if anyone says that, the answer is: Only four or five million workers — that's all the industrial proletariat amounted to in Czarist Russia — four or five million workers were sufficient, at the time of social crisis, to overthrow the whole edifice of Czarism and capitalism and set up a government of their own. Moreover, they were able to maintain their power, not only against all the capitalists and landlords of Russia, but against the entire capitalist world which blockaded them and tried to overthrow them by military force.

Our programmatic statement that the workers will set up a

The First Attempts at Workers States



At left, a drawing of Karl Marx writing his pamphlet on the Paris Commune of 1871 and, at right, V. I. Lenin addresses a meeting of Soviet people while his closest co-worker Leon



Trotsky awaits turn to speak. The Paris Commune and the Soviet Union were the first attempts by workers to set up states of their own and have taught many valuable lessons.

government of their own in this country, can hardly be dismissed as a utopian speculation — not after the demonstration of the Russian Revolution. Our confident assertion has the verification of practical experience as well as the scientific theory of Marxism behind it.

The second fact on the positive side of the Russian experience is the colossal achievement in the field of production. Czarist Russia was the most backward of the big capitalist countries. Capitalist large-scale industry was only feebly developed there; it was far behind that of America, England, France and Germany. But even with such a poor foundation to build on, it was demonstrated that production can not only be kept going without capitalists and landlords, but can be increased and multiplied. In the brief space of 35 years since the Russian

Revolution, the most backward land of great capitalism has become the second industrial power in the world. That is attributed, and can only be attributed, to the elimination of capitalist private ownership, the nationalization of industry and construction of planned economy.

In these two achievements of the Russian Revolution we have the practical demonstration, first, that the workers can rule; and second, that nationalized industry and planned economy can increase the productivity of the people. That is the touchstone of all social systems. The social system which can raise the productivity of labor, so that more things are produced with less expenditure of labor power, is the more progressive system. It is bound to prevail and to displace any less productive social system.

Stalinists Deformed Soviet State

The negative sides of the evolution of the Soviet Union since 1917 have been the product of specific Russian conditions. We have no reason whatever to minimize or ignore the deformations of the Soviet state under Stalinism, truly monstrous and revolting as they are. But we should try to understand the causes of these excesses before jumping to the conclusion that a workers state in America would necessarily suffer the same degeneration.

There are great differences between the Russia of 1917 and the America of the present day, and these differences will all work in favor of the American workers when they come to power. In Russia the greatest difficulties began after the revolution. The overthrown minority of capitalists and landlords didn't capitulate. They organized a counter-revolutionary struggle which developed into a Civil War, before the new state had a chance to consolidate. While Lenin was reading those great historic-making decrees in the first Soviet Assembly after the Bolsheviks had taken power, the counter-revolutionists were already mobilizing their armies, with the money and military support of the outside capitalist world. For five years from 1917 until 1922 — the main efforts of the new workers government in this backward country, further impoverished and ruined by the World War, had to be devoted to a military struggle to maintain the new regime.

The immediate result was not a development of the productive forces but a further disorganization and disruption. Everything had to be subordinated to the demands of the war for survival against a world of enemies. There was a scarcity of the barest

essentials of life. Daily life became a scramble for an extra piece of bread. Out of this economic circumstance, a bureaucracy arose, took shape and crystallized into a privileged caste — as is always the case when there is scarcity. This bureaucracy after a long internal struggle, eventually gained the domination of the country.

That is the negative side of the Russian experience, based on the economic backwardness of the country and its isolation in a hostile capitalist world. The attempt to march forward progressively and harmoniously, from the proletarian revolution to a socialist society, in a backward country surrounded and isolated in a hostile capitalist world, proved to be a rather difficult undertaking. It culminated, for an historical period, in the deformation of the workers state into a bureaucratic police state.

But even under these adverse circumstances — and this is the point to remember — the new system of nationalized industry and planned economy could not be destroyed. Over a period of 35 years the new system of economy — the greatest achievement of the revolution — has proved its viability and its capacity to develop and expand the productive forces at a rate and on a scale never equalled by capitalism even in its heyday. That is the touchstone.

Things will go differently in this country, and there will be both difficulties and advantages in the difference. The difficulties will come first. The capitalist class in this country is stronger than it was in Russia; it has more resources; and it will fight with the desperate fury of an outlived class in its last stronghold. But once the power has been taken by the workers in this country everything will be changed in their favor. And for the same reason.

Where Russia was poor and industrially backward, America is rich and highly developed. Capitalism has done its historic work in this country, and for that we should be duly appreciative. You see, we're not anti-capitalist 100 percent; we're pro-capitalist as against feudalism, and chattel slavery, and industrial backwardness in general. We are pro-capitalist in recognizing the progressive historic role capital-

ism played in developing the forces of production, as illustrated to the highest degree in this country.

But in making this acknowledgment, we add a postscript: Capitalism has exhausted its progressive role; now it must leave the stage to a higher system. Capitalism has done its

work here, so that when the workers come to power they will fall heir not to a ruined, backward, hungry country, but to the richest country with the most highly developed productive plant in the whole world. That's what the new government of the workers in America will have to start with.

Probable Course of Development

What will be the form of the new workers government? I wouldn't undertake to say positively, any more than I would undertake to say positively just how the transfer of the governmental power from the capitalists to the workers will take place. The two questions are connected, to a certain extent. Many variants are possible, depending on the strength of each side at the time of the showdown, and the disposition of the capitalists in particular.

If somebody says: "I would prefer to see the change effected by the workers getting the majority in a fair election and taking power peacefully" — well, I wouldn't say I'm opposed to that. I would say, if it can be done, if the democratic forms are maintained and it can be done peacefully, that would probably be the most economical way of transforming the government.

Of course, even in such a case, you would have to do a very serious job of fixing up the constitution to make it fit the new needs. But that could all be done, provided the capitalists, contrary to the disposition of all ruling classes in the past, will agree peacefully to submit to the will of the majority.

But if history tells us anything, it is doubtful, to say the least, that they would agree to that. As the workers approach a position of political strength, where their majority in a fair election becomes a threatening prospect, it is possible, and even probable, that the capitalists will disregard democratic processes, organize fascist gangs and try to settle the question with armed force. The workers then will be obliged to set up their own defense battalions. In such circumstances it is quite possible, due to the stupidity, arrogance, and historic blindness of the capitalists, that there will be some scuffling before the government is changed.

But it will be changed just the same, and however it may be changed, the new government will probably approximate the soviet or workers-council form; or will eventually be remodelled along that line. The present form of representation in the government by territorial units will probably be replaced by repre-

sentation of occupational units. The delegates in the Congress will directly represent the workers in the shops, the factories, the farms and so on; not to omit the military units, which will also have a hand in the new regime as long as they continue to exist.

The soviet or council form of government will be preferred because it is more representative and more democratic than the present form of American government. The new government will be primarily concerned with the problems of economy. The workers will have a means of exerting direct pressure and influence through their own delegates in the soviets or councils all the way up from the local, to the regional, to the federal assemblies.

The council form is more representative than the present form of government. For example, I don't think there are many sitting in this room who ever saw the congressman for their district, or even know his name. But there are very few of you who don't know the name of your shop steward in the factory where you work, and the delegates in the central bodies of your unions. They have something to do with your daily work and welfare and you have to see them almost everyday. They are not something remote, like the government in Washington, but directly connected with the workers whom they represent. You can visualize the soviet form of government as just that sort of thing on an expanded scale.

The workers in factories elect their delegates to a local council, the local units combine in a regional body; the regional councils elect their delegates to the federal body. Control comes directly back, not to an election that takes place every two or four years, but to a shop council whose members can meet every day if they want to, right on the ground, and let their representative know what they want. The soviet or council form of government is more representative, more flexible and more democratic than the present form of government could ever be imagined to be. That's why I think it is reasonable to assume that the workers government in this country will take this form.

First Tasks to be Solved

What will be the first tasks of this new workers government? Again, this is not speculative; it is not a mystery. The Marxists face this problem with an answer which was first theoretically outlined by our great masters; which has been demonstrated already in practice; and is now incorporated into the program of every revolutionary party in the world.

The first task of the new government, once it has established its authority and its power, will be to abolish private property in the means of production. This will be done by one law, or by one decree, declaring that the banking system and all the key industries — all the big factories, mines and factory farms; all the means of communication and transportation, public utilities, etc. — are henceforth public property.

a colossal scale. They will be maintained and operated just as they are, with one small difference. Instead of a clique of non-producers directing them for private profit, as at present, they will be nationalized and made the property of the workers government, to be operated for public use and need, and not for anybody's personal profit.

Will these industries be acquired by compensation to the present owners, or by confiscation? This question used to be debated very heatedly in the socialist movements in the old days, but it is not really a question of principle; not in this country, at any rate. We say today: It all depends. It is not necessarily more radical to say: "We won't give them a cent, we'll just confiscate." It is not necessarily wiser to say, "It would be better to compensate." I take a position in the middle and say, that whether the capitalists receive any compensation for the industries they claim to own — but which in reality they stole from the people — whether they get compensation or an order of expropriation without compensation — will depend on how they behave themselves.

If they want to submit to the majority and be reasonable, I think the government could easily agree to give them a certain compensation to avoid further trouble. America is rich enough. The workers government could

afford to hand out a few million, even a few billion, in order to prevent the development of a civil war. The government could do that, and might do it. It depends on the capitalists.

If they get nasty and continue fighting against the sovereign will of the majority, then they won't get anything. I take it for granted that, once the workers have been victorious in a revolution and have set up their own government, they aren't going to be fooling any more. Everything is going to be serious and decisions will have to be carried out.

The next day after the nationalization of industry, or maybe on the same day, the new workers government will lay official hands on all the gold buried in the ground at Fort Knox, and use this gold as the basis for American money. This will be the ironic paradox of history: that it took the workers government to establish a sound dollar in the United States, based on gold reserves, of which, thank God, we have plenty in Fort Knox and other depositories. We can also thank the present rulers for accumulating them for us. Eventually, money will be dispensed with altogether. The fully developed socialist society will have no use for it. But in the meantime, the workers government will have a sound dollar regulating the national economy, and no inflation.

Building the Planned Economy

Industry will be nationalized and operated according to a plan. Will that apply to all kinds of private property, to small farms, to small businesses, little stores? We don't think so. We don't think the new government would have any interest whatever in expropriating all the little corners of American industry and production. It would be wiser to let the small farmer keep his farm and continue to work on his own hook, and to let the little shops continue to operate.

The government will be busy with the great problem of nationalizing coal and steel and auto and rubber and all the rest of the big industries and the railroads. The small farms and businesses can fit into the new scheme and supplement it; fill in the crevices of the national economy. The new government would have every interest, not only in permitting it, but in encouraging it, and helping out with credits, etc., until the small farmers and small businessmen decide of their own account that they can do better and live better by participating in the uniform national scheme and sharing in its benefits. It won't take them long.

farmers. What about the factory farms such as those we have here in California — the great mass-production ranches, where hundreds and even thousands of agricultural workers are exploited in virtual slavery? They won't be left in the hands of parasitical bankers and absentee owners. They will be taken over by the state and developed as models of the new type of agriculture — the factory in the field.

The future belongs to this type of agriculture. In time, the historical anachronism of isolated, privately operated small farms will be preserved only here and there as relics of a backward age. Agriculture will be developed just as all other industry has developed, on the factory system with modern labor-saving machinery, with all scientific methods of soil culture, fertilizing and so on. The aim will be to produce the greatest amount of food with the minimum of labor. The people, including the present farmers and agricultural workers, will get the benefit of it in the form of a higher standard of living, less hours of labor and more leisure for living, for culture and just to fool around and have a little fun. (Continued Next Week)

U.S. HIGH COURT UPHOLDS HARSH STRIKEBREAKING LAW

(Continued from page 1)

struggle. The right to organize into unions is meaningless without the right to strike. The right to strike is a hoax without the right to picket. To deprive the unions of the right to picket is to sound the death knell for free and independent unionism in this country.

make them see that the money changers are systematically proceeding to use their control over all branches of government to paralyze the capacity of the unions to defend and preserve the workers' standard of living? There are but two alternatives. Either the unions will build their own Independent Labor Party to meet the bosses in battle on the political arena, or the bosses will use their political power to smash the unions!

"The 7-to-2 decision," remarks the N. Y. Times reporter, "was in line with a series of decisions on picketing rights handed down in recent years." The Supreme Court, like Congress and the Administration, functions as an agency of Big Business. In this game the corporations hold all the trump cards. Their representatives in Congress and the State Legislatures enact the slave-labor laws. Their judicial arm, the courts, up to and including the Supreme Court, give these laws their legal sanction. And their executive arm in Washington and the various States, enforce and police these laws. And the workers? They, you see, have the "right to work."

TWO ALTERNATIVES

How much longer will the labor leaders continue to sow the illusion that the political campaign that goes under the name of the American two-party system does, or can, serve the interests of the working people? What do these blind leaders require to

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Monday, March 23, 1953

U. S. Threat to Ceylon

A blockade of China poses the threat of U.S. armed interference with the trade of all countries in Asia. American imperialism would dictate the terms under which countries like India, Japan and Ceylon can exchange goods and with whom. What such a blockade policy must lead to is indicated by N. Y. *Herald Tribune* columnist David Lawrence in connection with the shipment of Ceylonese rubber to China in exchange for rice.

Lawrence calls for a blockade of Ceylon as well as China. And he says ominously that if the Ceylonese refuse to bow to the demand of the U.S. to abrogate their trade agreement with China, then it "leaves only one course open — to seize the ships and confiscate their cargoes and, if they resist, to sink the vessels."

Involved in Ceylon's trade agreement with China is the life and death of the Ceylonese masses themselves. The rice which China will give for Ceylon's rubber — at a rate of exchange forty per cent higher than the price of rubber on the Singapore market — is desperately needed in Ceylon, where millions of people are close to starvation.

The capitalist-controlled government of Ceylon, ever servile to the big imperialist powers, is only too ready to accede to the

demand of Washington and London not to ship rubber to China. It has used every trick it could think of to force the Chinese to void the trade agreement. But the Ceylon capitalists don't dare go too far. They have the Ceylon workers and peasants to keep in mind.

Samasamajist, weekly paper of the influential Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, has pointed out that "only the tremendous pressure of public opinion stands as an insurance against a sordid sell-out of a nation's right to purchase its most essential commodity," rice. "The public, its resentment mounting in waves against the machinations of foreign powers in the politics of this country, is closely watching the reactions of its Prime Minister with concern."

This same paper, in an editorial demand for a restoration of the rice ration and fulfillment of the China trade pact, cites official surveys which indicate that "roughly 75 per cent of our population suffer from various diseases arising from malnutrition."

In carrying through their war of domination in the Far East and for Wall Street control of Asia, the rulers of America are telling the Asian people, "Support our war and starve, or suffer warfare against yourselves."

Liberal Clergy and the Witch-Hunt

Witch hunters received a sharp repudiation and setback on March 11 when the general board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. voted, 69 to 2, a statement saying that "certain methods of Congressional committees investigating Communist activities in educational institutions endanger the very freedom which we seek to preserve."

The council is the most authoritative body in the U.S. religious world, consisting of 30 Protestant and Eastern Orthodox communions representing some 35 million members.

The general board also set up a "watch-dog committee" to exercise vigilance against both "Communist infiltration" and also against "wrong methods of meeting that infiltration." It was generally recognized that the two-sided definition of the aims of the committee was a concession to the prevailing mood, and that the chief purpose of the committee is to expose the methods of the witch hunters.

The action by the council came two days after Rep. Velde (Rep., Ill.), chairman of the House committee, declared in a radio interview that it was "entirely possible" that his committee would investigate "Communist infiltration" of churches next year. Velde was forced to back down, together with his committee, within a few days. He brought such a storm of protest by his remark that he was compelled to disavow any intention of "investigating the clergy." In addition, his committee itself curbed him by stipulating that the announcement of new investigations was not to be made before they had been approved by the entire committee.

Whipping Up War Hysteria

In the old days, pre-war periods were marked by "border incidents." These afforded the Jingo press the inflammatory material needed to shout "we have been attacked" and "our national dignity has been affronted." In this air age the border incidents take place high in the clouds where borders are even harder to locate. But this is immaterial; the main purpose of border incidents has always been to serve diplomatic ends and to psychologize the population for war.

Three such incidents have just taken place. An American army jet plane was shot down by a Czech plane; it crashed in West Germany 25 miles from the Czech border. A British bombing plane was shot down and crashed in the Soviet Zone of Germany. Though the British plane carried cannon and machine guns, the British maintain it had no ammunition aboard. After the newspapers had shouted themselves hoarse over this incident as wanton murder, Prime Minister Churchill pulled the rug partly from under them by telling Parliament that through a navigational error the British bomber may have flown over the Soviet Zone.

The third and latest incident involved a U.S. B-50 (a bomber specially fitted out for weather reconnaissance flying) which exchanged gunfire with a Soviet plane. The headline of the New York *World-Telegram*, "U.S. protests Air Attack off Alaska," is typical of the press

treatment of this incident. Close reading of the news shows that the skirmish took place off the coast of Siberia — according to U.S. Air Force claims, 25 miles off the Siberian coast. Furthermore it was in the vicinity of the USSR's big naval base at Petropavlovsk. Far from being off the Alaskan coast it was 600 miles from nearest of the far-flung Aleutian Islands belonging to the U.S.

This whole affair smacks so much of provocation that even some extremely conservative Senators have felt constrained to remark on it. Senator Flanders of Vermont wants to know if there was "an element of chip on the shoulder" in the U.S. plane's flying so close to the USSR, and if the "weather" couldn't be observed at a safer distance. Senator Magnuson voiced similar sentiments.

It must be understood that these plane incidents are part and parcel of the cold war. As long as this cold war continues more and more incidents will take place. American politicians who push the policy of cold war are as much responsible for loss of American pilots' lives as are the Soviet or Czech bullets that shoot down U.S. planes.

The air over Germany would become safe if the occupying powers, who have no right to be there anyhow, withdrew. Americans who are against World War III and the loss of lives in air border incidents should demand that U.S. troops and planes be brought home from Germany.

Monthly Review Whitewashes GPU Trials

By Art Preis

Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, co-editors of the *Monthly Review* and self-styled "independent socialists," this month published an editorial, "On Trials and Purges," which will delight the GPU. It whitewashes and excuses the infamous Kremlin blood purges and frame-up system.

The editors have "sketched a pattern of explanation" which seeks to bolster the GPU-concocted "confessions" in the Moscow Frame-up Trials of the Thirties, when many of the leaders of the October Revolution of 1917 "confessed" they had conspired with enemies of the Soviet Union to overthrow it. This "pattern of explanation," the editors stress, applies "also to the postwar trials in the Peoples' Democracies."

In 1937, the Commission of Inquiry in the Moscow Trials, headed by the late noted Prof. John Dewey, thoroughly exposed the first three big Moscow show trials as frame-ups from start to finish. The Stalinist juridical

process was thrown into complete disrepute. Thus, the recent purges and trials in the Soviet Union and Eastern European "peoples' democracies" have been almost universally regarded in the same light as the earlier Moscow frame-up trials. To gain credence for its latest frame-ups, the GPU must first of all refurbish the Moscow trials.

"CONFIRMS" GPU

During the original Moscow trials, Stalin and his GPU apparatus enjoyed the services of a number of prominent "friends of the Soviet Union" who spoke as "independent" voices to extol or extenuate the Kremlin's system of "justice." The more distant these elements seemed to be from the Stalinist apparatus the more "impartial" their defense of the GPU-staged trials could be made to appear.

Today, however, the GPU finds few "friends of the Soviet Union," let alone reputable liberals, to uphold the latest purges and trials, especially with their anti-Semitic taint. Thus

Huberman and Sweezy's "pattern of explanation" comes most opportunely for the Kremlin murder-machine. What better "confirmation" does the GPU need for its contrived "confessions" than the "admissions" of "independent socialists," no less, who even have ventured mild criticism of the Kremlin?

First, the *Monthly Review* editors seek to show there is nothing unusual about these staged trials with their mass convictions based solely on unsubstantiated "confessions." They claim that "according to the traditional methods of Continental European jurisprudence, an exhaustive pre-trial investigation takes place in which the accused is confronted with all the incriminating evidence. If the investigation shows the suspect to be innocent, the case is dropped. Hence, practically speaking, the fact that a case is brought to trial shows that proof of guilt has already been established."

Thus, they imply, there can be no question of frame-up, because nobody is brought to trial unless "proof of guilt has already been established." A "confession" merely means that "the accused does not deny it."

DISCARDED THEORIES

But most people have no use even for such "traditional methods of Continental European jurisprudence." So Huberman and Sweezy, in the spirit of all-out critical investigation, examine the question of cases "in which leading Communists, holding top positions in the party and the government, are arrested and tried on a whole series of charges which normally include espionage and sabotage, attempting to restore capitalism and plotting to turn the country over to a foreign power."

Not for a moment do Huberman and Sweezy concede the possibility of frame-up and extorted "confessions." But they are ready to concede the incredibility of cruder explanations advanced by "some people" (the Kremlin prosecutors and official Stalinist press) that those who "confessed" were "enemies of the regime" who "instead of fighting it from the outside . . . have wormed their way into it to overthrow it from within . . ." or that after these Communist leaders "had won positions of honor and responsibility they changed their minds and sold out to the enemy."

It is necessary, say the editors, to interpret the trials not as "ordinary criminal" proceedings but "in political terms." Here they lightly brush aside the "theory" which "in one or another of its many possible variants is held by the vast majority of people in this country." That is the theory of a struggle for power among the top leaders of Stalinist parties and governments in which one group throws out its rivals, "then in order to justify what it has done it invents all sorts of charges, puts its victims through what amounts to a mock trial and finishes by shooting or hanging them." This explanation, claim Huberman and Sweezy, has an "obvious and fatal defect: it completely fails to explain why they confess."

They go on with an air of great profundity: "Why should a person who has been framed stand up in open court and confess a lot of monstrous crimes of which he is innocent? The preferred answers — mysterious drugs, the Slavic soul, and all the rest — serve only to underline the total inadequacy of this frame-up theory."

WHY THEY CONFESS

But the one thing we understand above all is why they confessed. It lies precisely in that deliberately ambiguous phrase "all the rest." They "confessed" for the same reasons that innocent men and women have "confessed" to "heresy," "witchcraft" and all manner of fantastic crimes throughout the history of reactionary regimes.

As Joseph Hansen wrote in his introduction to Leon Trotsky's *Stalin's Frame-up System and The Moscow Trials*: "Today there is little mystery about the 'confessions' after the many revelations from those who have managed to escape from the GPU (now the MVD) and describe the psychological and physical tortures used to bring a prisoner into court with his will to resist utterly crushed. In the inquisitions of the Middle Ages similar means wrung similar avowals from unhappy wretches whose main profit from pacts with his Satanic Majesty usually turned out to be the star role at a public bonfire."

To this obvious reason why they "confessed" in the Moscow trials, Leon Trotsky — the chief defendant who was "convicted" in absentia and sentenced to death without a trial — added another weighty reason in his testimony before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry.

Without exception, Trotsky pointed out, "the accused are not Trotskyites, nor Oppositionists, nor fighters, but docile capitulators. The GPU had educated them for these trials for years. That is why I think it extremely important, for the understanding of the mechanics of the confessions, to bring out the psychology of the capitulators as a political group."

Only those who had abused themselves repeatedly before the Kremlin, who were thoroughly broken, were used in the show trials. For each of these there were tens of thousands murdered with scarcely a pretense of judicial proceedings and under conditions of secrecy.

Trotsky and the Dewey Commission furthermore demonstrated by factual and material evidence that in almost every instance where the Kremlin prosecutors cited a name, a date, a place, the evidence was false and perjured. So great was the irrefutable proof of frame-up they uncovered that it has been impossible for anyone to contend that all the charges in the Moscow trials were true.

Huberman and Sweezy do not attempt the impossible by upholding the contention that the accused were enemy agents from the beginning or "ordinary turncoats." But, they say, "it is equally impossible to believe that the accused are simple victims of a frame-up . . ."

What, then, was true about the accusations and confessions? The *Monthly Review* editors have worked out a neat "pattern of explanation" to show that those who confessed were "sincere revolutionists"; but they lost out in a "deadly serious political struggle" inside the Soviet government and Stalinist party "over the issue of world revolution versus socialism in one country, and . . . over the rate of industrialization and collectivization" and thereafter were "driven to more and more desperate expedients in an effort to prevent what they can only regard as the threat of disaster."

They argue further: "A perfectly sincere revolutionary may feel that he is not only allowed but actually duty-bound to make alliances with enemies of the regime. His intention, of course, is to use them for his own ends, just as theirs is to use him. But

if he fails, his intentions will not save him. Objectively, he is putting himself in the ranks of those who are working to overthrow the regime. Objectively, he becomes a part of a conspiracy, and he can hardly expect to escape responsibility for all its acts and purposes. . . ."

By "regime" in the above statement, Huberman and Sweezy make clear they mean the Stalinist dictatorship, which they equate with the Soviet Union. Hence, in their terminology, an "enemy of the regime" is an enemy of the Soviet Union. What the defendants were actually charged with and "confessed" was conspiring with the Nazis, Italian fascists and Japanese imperialists against the Soviet Union.

A PRETTY "PATTERN"

"But why do they confess?" again the editors ask. Precisely because "both parties to the political struggle are trained Marxists" and "the losers, looking backwards, are likely to see the whole affair in much the same light as the winners. They can see that instead of using the enemies of the regime they were used by the enemies of the regime. And since subjectively they remain revolutionaries the only logical course for them is to confess and repent in the hope of undoing some of the harm they have done. . . ."

In order to construct their pretty "pattern of explanation," Huberman and Sweezy have to attach a base canon to Marxists and Marxism, to the revolutionary socialist movement. "Trained Marxists" and "sincere revolutionaries," in this case the leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution, we are supposed to believe, would be stupid enough to turn to the worst enemies of socialism and mortal enemies of the Soviet Union, the Nazis and Fascists, in order to carry out their revolutionary socialist aims. According to this slander, anyone who is a genuine and sincere Marxist and opponent of capitalism is ready, if he loses out in an internal political struggle, to turn traitor "objectively" even if he "remains subjectively true to his principles."

There are only a few small things wrong with this whole theory of the "confessions." Those who "confessed" were supporters of the Stalinist regime themselves and were not engaged in opposition to it. There was not the slightest bit of real evidence to attach them to any "enemies of the regime," least of all the Nazis and similar elements. Nobody ever "confessed" voluntarily because he was a "sincere" and "repentant" revolutionist; they all "confessed" under duress.

One vital question Huberman and Sweezy do not even breath about: Could it be that the Stalinist regime is based on an anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary bureaucracy which usurped power by wiping out the real Bolshevik party and destroying the whole revolutionary generation? Could it be that an anti-Marxist faction led by Stalin sought by means of terror, frame-up and murder to wipe out working-class political opposition and to offer up scapegoats for the crime and failures of the regime?

THE REAL TRUTH

These facts, which are the political truth and the real reasons for the Moscow frame-up trials, are skipped over completely by Huberman and Sweezy. The obvious discrepancies and perjuries of the trials are dismissed by them as the product of mere zeal on the part of the Stalinist prosecution. And if these trials "give evidence of a systematic practice of deceit and violence, not only by the opponents of the regimes but also by the regimes themselves . . . does this give us, does it give anyone, the right to condemn them?"

Thus, Sweezy and Huberman conclude that "all regimes" are "based on and currently practice deception and violence" and therefore if we don't accept the frame-up trials as having some justification, we must keep our mouths shut anyway. After all, they contend, Stalinism is essentially progressive because even if it does "commit stupidities, mistakes, excesses," "for the first time in history we can say that violence is being used to protect regimes which are doing their utmost to create a society which will be able to dispense with violence."

It remains only for them to explain how frame-ups of old Bolsheviks, the destruction of every revolutionary voice, the befooling of every socialist tradition, the prostitution of Marxism and Leninism, the dirtiest means taken from the arsenal of the capitalists and historical reaction are evidences of "regimes which are doing their utmost to create a society" of socialism.

Cleared of Smear



Dr. Joseph Weinberg and his wife, shown after a jury had found him not guilty of perjury. Government case against Weinberg, who was billed as "Scientist X" during the Un-American Committee's cloak-and-dagger show, collapsed during the trial.

Trotsky's Fight Against Stalinism

Growth of Soviet Bureaucracy

By John G. Wright

(Second of a Series)

The Soviet bureaucracy is larger numerically, more complex in structure and mightier than any bureaucratic formation previously known to mankind. It pervades every sphere of Soviet activity, political, economic and cultural.

It not only controls the central state apparatus and the central governing bodies of the constituent Soviet republics but also handpicks provincial, district and local authorities. It selects the commanding personnel of the Soviet armed forces and has kept an even tighter grip on the internal police and the secret police.

Each industrial enterprise is, as a rule, headed by a "general staff" of four: the director and deputy director, the chief engineer and his assistant, not to mention the generally swollen staffs of administrative and technical personnel. Administrators and specialists, appointed from above, run transport, trade, communications, the press, the schools, the movies, etc. There is still another bureaucratic swarm in charge of the trade unions, the state farms, the collective farms, Machine and Tractor Stations, the cooperatives, etc. A detailed listing of the component parts of this colossal bureaucratic structure would itself require an entire volume.

Running parallel with all of the foregoing commanding staffs and closely meshed with them is the greatly expanded staff of the Russian Communist Party.

BUREAUCRATIC GROWTH

Each successive phase of Soviet development has been accompanied by a spectacular growth of the bureaucracy in numbers, in power, in privileges. Both the rate of growth and the actual size of the bureaucracy are among the jealously guarded "state secrets" of the Kremlin. Nevertheless there are a few official figures available that are quite illuminating. The most important of these relate to the party's growth.

When Trotsky and his co-thinkers launched the struggle inside the Soviet Union in 1922-23, the Russian Communist Party numbered less than 700,000. After Lenin's death, Stalin diluted the party ranks with 300,000 hand-

picked recruits, raising the total to almost one million. In the Thirties the party membership, including "probationer members," rose to three million, dropping to below two millions after the blood purges of 1936-38. In 1952 the party membership was officially placed in the neighborhood of seven million. "On October 1, 1952 the figure was 6,882,145, of whom 6,013,259 are members and 868,886 probationer members," reported Malenkov to the 19th Congress of the Russian Party.

Compared with the Lenin era there has been a tenfold growth; compared with the pre-war period, immediately following the purges, the party membership has more than trebled. In the Twenties the bulk of the membership had passed through the 1917 Revolution and the Civil War. In 1952 the overwhelming majority consisted of "dignitaries," "titled persons," "responsible persons," functionaries of one type or another, raised and trained under Stalin.

In 1936 Trotsky estimated that the commanding upper circles of the Soviet Union and the individual republics" at between 400,000 and 500,000. Since then there has been an extraordinary growth of the central state apparatus. The number of Ministries alone has increased in this interval more than fourfold, well over the 50-Ministry mark in 1952, prior to the recent "reorganization."

There has been a hot-house growth of the officer corps, with Marshals and Generals numbering well over a thousand, and with the ranking commissioned officers running into the tens of thousands. Even more spectacular has been the expansion of the internal police and of the secret police, the latter alone reportedly swelling to over two million.

Compared with pre-war levels Soviet industry as a whole has more than doubled. The bureaucratic administrative apparatus has followed suit. There are good reasons for concluding that it has experienced an even greater growth. Malenkov stated that there were "approximately 5 1/2 million specialists" in the whole Soviet economy in 1952. According to the last available official figures there were in 1933 less than 900,000 "administrators and

specialists" in the Soviet Union. The growth registered here in the last 20 years is sixfold.

For agriculture it is also possible to make a rough approximation. Apart from an unspecified number of state farms there were in 1952, some 97,000 "amalgamated collective farms," together with close to 9,000 Machine and Tractor Stations. Counting only one "president" and one "specialist" for each collective farm, plus one "administrator" and one "specialist" for each MTS, the top administrative staff in Soviet agriculture alone, is well over the 200,000 mark.

To all this must be added an entirely new branch of the bureaucratic apparatus. It is the legion of Soviet "dignitaries," "advisors," "specialists" and the like which has been attached in the postwar period to the governmental and administrative machines of the East European countries.

From all of the foregoing, it would be quite conservative to number the commanding upper circles in the Soviet Union today at 1 to 1 1/2 million. Such a figure would approximate the category of bureaucrats with "orders and medals" cited by Malenkov. He stated that since the end of the war such awards had been granted to "1,348,000 workers, collective-farmers, scientists, engineers and technicians, office employees, doctors, teachers and other workers." These are among the Soviet elite.

THEIR SOCIAL BASE

What about the social base of this upper crust? Let us assume, again to be conservative, that the social base of the Kremlin bureaucracy remains at 15% of the population, or approximately the same in 1952 as it was in 1936 when Trotsky made his estimate. This would give us a figure of more than 30 million (out of a population of more than 200 million).

At the apex of this bureaucratic pyramid there now reposes a party Praesidium of ten, headed by Malenkov. This is the smallest "Supreme General Staff" on the Kremlin's peacetime record.

(Next Week: Trotsky's Struggle for Workers Democracy.)

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FRIDAY, MARCH 27
8 P. M.

Housing Reform

By Jean Blake

Housing reform, like other attempts to alleviate the effects of the running sores of capitalism without eliminating their cause, may result in temporary and transient improvements in some conditions and worsening in others. The disease remains and breaks out in different parts of the social body. This is something socialists have repeated for over a hundred years.

American reformists, who deny this fact and keep on urging the working people to attempt to improve their lot within the framework of capitalism, have pointed with pride to the federal housing administration and its program as one of the achievements of their policies. But two important facts about this agency emerged in the news last week:

1. The agency has been transformed into one for destroying its original purpose. "U. S. Housing Foe Becomes Its Boss by a Vote of 64 to 18," one news headline honestly reported. Albert M. Cole, Eisenhower's choice for head of the Housing and Home Finance Administration and an open opponent of public housing, was confirmed by the Senate to head the agency.

He made it clear that one of his first tasks will be to make a survey of the housing laws with a view to changing them. Other Senators noted that he could "choke off" the housing program simply by failing to request adequate funds to carry it out.

2. By its Jim Crow policies, this "reform" agency has been a source of retrogression rather than progress so far as the Negro struggle against discrimination in housing is concerned. This point was brought out during the Senate hearings by Clarence Mitchell, Washington repre-

sentative of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Mitchell pointed out that Cole had said he, personally, was not in favor of segregation, but had not committed himself against the Federal Government's segregation policy in the various housing programs.

In Charleston, South Carolina, Mr. Mitchell charged, there was very little residential segregation until the Federal Government moved in and "followed what it thought was the custom and the law in that community."

In the Waverly area in Baltimore, he said, Negroes were ousted by an urban redevelopment program which built better houses and then did not permit colored persons to live in them.

"In every major city, including Los Angeles, Cleveland, New York and Chicago," Mitchell added, "if a builder tries to build in a white area for colored people, he just doesn't get any encouragement from the FHA."

The development of housing is not opened to colored people, Mr. Mitchell charged, because "the real estate interests, the Federal Government, lenders, builders and everybody else have combined in a frightful conspiracy."

The NAACP spokesman came close to the truth there. Our whole capitalist society is responsible for both Jim Crow and degrading, demoralizing slum housing conditions. And that is why it will be necessary to replace our present form of social organization with a more rational one based on social ownership and direction of the means of production, and planning for human needs rather than profit, in order to solve the housing crisis and end segregation in all forms.

"Little Men and Women"

By Joyce Cowley

Assemblyman Wadlin, a Republican representing the upstate farm bloc, has a unique solution to the problem of juvenile delinquency.

"Our boys and girls should be thought of as little men and women," he says, "and not continually treated as incompetents or anyone else." He points out that children if left at home "may get into serious mischief" and proposes instead "light, healthful, outdoor character-building work on the farm."

Republicans are trying to rush through Wadlin's "little men and women" bill which would permit children of any age to harvest fruit and vegetables during school vacations.

Sol Marcoff of the National Child Labor Committee declares that not a single safeguard would be retained. "Children old enough to walk could be hired to work. No certificate of physical fitness would be required. There would be no limit on the hours of labor. A child could be gainfully employed without the consent or supervision of his parents."

"Times have changed to such an extent," replied Wadlin, "that no one would exploit anyone." (Wadlin is an attorney whose clients include the owners and operators of fruit farms — "naturally" — he admits).

A "companion" bill drawn up by Wadlin would empower the State Industrial Commissioner to grant work permits to young-

sters under 14 years of age when he felt satisfactory conditions existed.

An offensive by labor, welfare and civic groups has temporarily stalled the debate on this bill. Republican leaders, confident that they could pass this bill, were not prepared for such vigorous opposition. The CIO, AFL, Ass'n of Catholic Trade Unionists, N. Y. Women's Trade Union League, the NAACP, the National Child Labor Committee, the Citizens Committee on Children and the Consumer's League are in alliance against Wadlin's bills. But Sol Marcoff warned: "The powerful farm lobby has been stopped only temporarily by the mounting protests of citizens throughout the state who have been enraged by the Wadlin bills."

The New York Post finds it "slightly incredible" that the Wadlin bills are being seriously promoted by any adult in 1953. I'm not surprised. This is the kind of proposal we can expect from the reactionary politicians who control the New York State Legislature — and Congress, too. They're ready to destroy all the progressive labor legislation for which workers fought for the last 100 years — if they can get away with it. The significant thing in this case is that it looks like they might not get away with it. The immediate, united protest of labor brought a partial retreat. Too bad it's a temporary alliance of these various labor groups. There are a lot of other matters they could take care of — like low-cost public housing.

Notes from the News

CENSORSHIP OF BOOKS by forcing dealers to take them off their stands is increasing. The campaign started in Brooklyn when self-appointed censors visited 16 stores in the area of the Roman Catholic Church, Our Lady of Help of Christians, and threatened boycotts unless certain pocket books were removed. Stores co-operating are being awarded "decency" seals of approval by the Holy Name Society. Now police in Cleveland, Youngstown and other cities are enforcing similar censorship. Thus far 414 books and publications, ranging from pulp to Pulitzer-prize winners, are on the blacklists. The writings of Sigmund Freud appear to be a special target. Also under the ban are certain ancient Greek classics, novels by John Steinbeck and Somerset Maugham and Lucy Freeman's "Fight Against Fears," the story of her psychoanalysis.

TRUTH CAME OUT when a 16-year-old Kansas City school girl, troubled by her conscience, told authorities that she lied back in 1948 when she accused a Negro man of raping her. On the basis of her testimony an innocent 50-year-old man was found guilty by a jury that recommended a 99-year sentence. The court fixed the sentence at 20 years. The victimized Negro has been in prison now for five years.

FAKE DATING OF MILK bottle caps by dairies was struck a blow by AFL Dairy Employees Union Local 754 in Chicago. In violation of the city health ordinance the dairy bosses were having their bottlers put dates on the caps to make the milk appear fresher than it was. Finally the union adopted a resolution denouncing the fraudulent practice and forbidding union members to be parties to it even when ordered by employers. Copies of the resolution were sent to the companies and the city health department. The practice ceased immediately and now a member of the city council is demanding to know why the health department had not stopped the illegal practice.

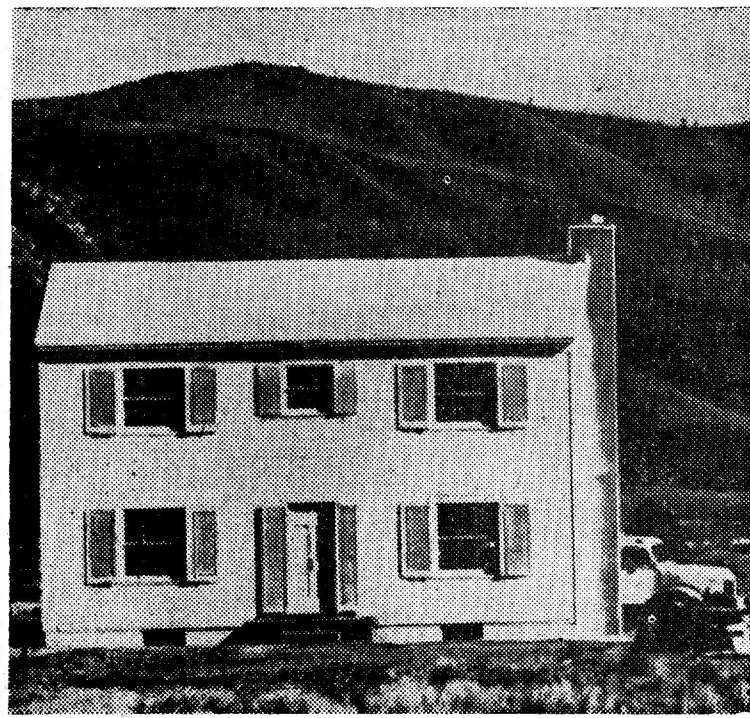
DAILY LABOR NEWSPAPERS are being issued in two strike areas in the Mid-West. This is made possible by the co-operation of Labor's Daily, the only regular daily of the labor movement, which is published in Charleston, W. Va. One strike daily appears in Waukegan, Wisconsin, where the typographical workers have struck the Waukegan News-Sun. The other is for the Quad City area (Rock Island and Moline, Illinois, and Davenport, Iowa) where each city's paper has been struck by the typographical workers. The Waukegan and Quad City labor papers each have 12 tabloid pages. Four are printed locally and the remaining eight, containing national news, are prepared by Labor's Daily in West Virginia and the mats flown to the strike areas.

CIO AUTO WORKERS UNION has signed up the Kohler Corporation of Kohler, Wisconsin. The company gave in on the eve of a strike. This company was famous, or rather infamous, for its anti-labor record. The workers lived in what was advertised as a model town named after the company. In actuality they lived under the feudal rule of a family industrial empire. In 1934 an attempt to organize Kohler resulted in the killing of two workers. The drive to organize Kohler this time was complicated by the fact that Wisconsin's governor is no other than — Walter Kohler.

UNION-BUSTING BILL BEATEN. The Wyoming legislature has overwhelmingly turned down a so-called "right to work" bill that would outlaw the union shop and otherwise restrict unions. The bill climaxed a razzle-dazzle campaign headed by Cecil B. DeMille, movie tycoon, responsible for a larger than average number of stinkeroo films. "DeMille Political Freedom Foundation" showered legislators with propaganda for the bill — some of it sent out in the name of "Labor's Legislative Committee" to give the impression that not all labor was against the bill.

THE MILITANT

Destroyed in Atomic Test



One of the houses that was wrecked by the recent test at the Atomic Energy Commission proving grounds in Nevada. Those in charge said the test was to provide information on atomic effects "on the general public." The public could draw little encouragement from the results.

MORGAN GIVES SOCIALIST PROGRAM FOR EDUCATION

By Louise Manning

The Socialist Workers Party candidate for Board of Education office No. 6, Robert E. Morgan, is the only candidate for this office in Los Angeles who has been able to offer a solution to the

seemingly insoluble and urgent problems of child delinquency, dope addiction and truancy.

Year after year the problem gets worse in spite of all the fine plans of the educators and social workers who base themselves on the very social system which perpetuates these monstrosities against our children. Mr. Morgan presents a socialist answer, showing how the problems concerning the schools, which seem remote from the questions of war, are in reality directly connected with the world-wide crisis.

In his address to such organizations as the Citizens for Better Schools, the Los Angeles Committee of Faculty Representatives, and the Affiliated Teachers Committee, Mr. Morgan showed how the Korean war, the draft, and the general insecurity were the decisive factors causing delinquency.

In answer to a statement made

by a member of the Sheet Metal Workers Union that we should be glad to sign the loyalty oath, Mr. Morgan pointed out that signing the loyalty oath was not signing loyalty to the country but to the McCarthy's who want to eradicate all independent thought in their attempt to push the people into a Third World War. The loyalty oath in the schools, he continued, was a blow at academic freedom, and proved that the whole loyalty program was aimed not at what people did, but at what they said and thought.

"Can we teach in the schools that it is possible for nations to exist peacefully?" This question was advanced at the meeting of the Warehouse Union. Mr. Morgan denied that it was possible to have peace with Big Business controlling the government, and called for a Labor Party which could express the desires of the workers who needed and wanted peace.

Victim of Police Brutality Tells of Sadistic Torture

By George Lavan

More revelations of police brutality are reaching the light of day following exposure of the "gentleman's agreement" between N. Y. authorities and the Department of Justice to deprive New Yorkers of the little civil rights protection that federal legislation affords.

The New York Post on March 16 printed an interview with 22-year-old Leo Cusson, whose case provided the incident that led to the revelations of the New York-Washington deal against civil rights. Unlike most victims of police brutality, who are Negroes or Puerto Ricans, Cusson belonged to no minority group and furthermore he was arrested in a criminal case. This was the "baby sitters case." Three young baby sitters in Massachusetts discovered \$18,000 in cash hidden in a home where one was working. They took the money and came to New York to have a gay time. Cusson had picked up one of the girls and was arrested with them.

When he was brought into court for arraignment, he peeled off his shirt displaying terrible bruises and discoloration. A medical examination could not be avoided because of the presence of reporters. It revealed welts from two to six inches long on Cusson's back and chest.

Cusson told the Post reporter what had happened to him. At the police station he was taken upstairs to a room by four or five cops. One hit him in the face, knocking him down. Another beat him with a rubber hose. Then two or three started beating and kicking him.

SAVAGE BEATING

Then he was taken downstairs to another room for "interrogation" by Detective William Ryan, who was later praised on television by Police Commissioner Monaghan for his work in Cusson's case. Ryan had him stand up against the wall and then kicked him in the groin. Then Cusson was taken to an 8x5 shower room where, stripped naked, he was made to sit on a chair while Ryan on one side beat him with a blackjack and another policeman on his other side beat him with a piece of metal.

"Some big shot came in then, smoking a big cigar in cigar holder," Cusson relates. "He questioned me, too. When he left, they opened a window in the shower and that's when one of the cops said, 'Go ahead. Jump out. We're gonna shoot.' They wanted me to see they meant business. I didn't try." During this last episode the police had drawn their pistols.

ANOTHER VICTIM

This last part of Cusson's story may shed some light on the case of 17-year-old Sheldrick Doyle of a few years ago. Doyle was suspected by police of breaking into a grocery store. He left home in good health. A day after his

arrest his pelvis was broken in four places, his left arm broken in two places, his right arm crippled, his thigh broken, his face battered beyond recognition. The police claimed he had jumped from a second-story window. His side of the story wasn't told. After surgery to remove his spleen, he was committed to an insane asylum.

Public indignation over New York police brutality is reflected in the fact that Police Commissioner Monaghan and Mayor Impellitteri, addressing a graduating class of the Police academy, warned the probationary cops against brutal treatment of prisoners.

UNIONS, CIVIC GROUPS HEAR SWP CANDIDATE

(Continued from page 1)

way in which we fought it in all its manifestations, especially since they expect to be a target of the Un-American Activities Committee which is scheduled to invade Los Angeles again.

Mrs. Weiss arrived at a meeting of the Homeowners' Association late, but in time to hear someone in the audience make a motion that any further discussion on socialism be barred. Unfortunately, there had been no discussion of socialism, but one on the housing program of Mayor Bowron. Mrs. Weiss stated that if they wanted to pass such a motion, they had better do it quickly because socialism was precisely what she was going to discuss.

She explained that the housing program was no more socialist than was the post office, and that the opposition to the program stemmed from the big real-estate interests who wanted to squeeze as much as they could out of the desperate housing situation in Los Angeles. She received applause when, in answer to a question regarding the industrialization of the San Fernando Valley, she stated that before proceeding to industrialize the valley as many businessmen want to do, she would consult the people living in the area. She sympathized with many families who worked

and sacrificed a great deal to get away from the dirt and smog of the city, only to have the factories follow them. Mrs. Weiss ended her talk with an appeal in favor of clemency for the Rosenbergs.

When our candidate appeared before the Business and Women's Clubs Association, she explained that although she had fundamental differences on how to solve the problems facing the people, she welcomed the participation of women in politics, since the fight for the equality of women was an important part of the program of all socialists.

ANSWER QUESTION

In answer to the question as to what Mrs. Weiss would do if she were elected and had to work with a capitalist city government, she stated that such a choice by the people would indicate mass support for socialist ideas. This mass support is what the Socialist Workers Party is building, and if its candidates are not elected now, they surely will be in the near future.

However, even if she were the only socialist elected, she stated she would advocate the cessation of the Korean war, the withdrawal of the American troops, the formation of a Labor Party, and the inclusion of minority and working-class groups as part of the administration of the city.

UAW Delegates Face Critical Problems

(Continued from page 1)

should endorse the demand of the national CIO to include tax increases as a factor in determining the rising cost of living.

The UAW will gain strength by practicing more union democracy, and not by restricting the rights of the members. There have been alarming reports that the International will recommend the abandonment of annual elections of local union officers in favor of elections every two years. This would be a step backward, a step which was defeated at the 13th Convention, and would further weaken the union. The delegates would do well to reject such a proposal in '53 as they did in '51. They would do well to support Local 600's demand for the election of all department heads. The delegates would do well to reject all constitutional proposals to restrict the autonomous rights of the locals or of individual members, under the guise of fighting "communists."

Reuther has indicated that he has designs on Local 600. Since he was not able to win over the membership in a democratic contest he now threatens to provide himself with more dictatorial means of accomplishing the same end. The tactic of red-baiting must be recognized as a tool used to divide the ranks of the union, and smear all minority opinion. This method was first developed by the companies when the union was first organized. Its continued use in the union will serve to weaken the entire UAW.

POLITICAL ACTION
The UAW requires a declaration of political independence from the Democratic and Republican parties. The disastrous results of the 1952 election campaign reveal again the complete inadequacy of PAC. This in spite of the fact that labor in general and the UAW in particular spent more time, energy and money, in support of the Democratic party ticket than ever before. An unprecedented degree of labor unity prevailed, yet the Labor-Democratic party coalition was decisively defeated by the Republican party.

Local 600 has done the union a good service in recommending

to this convention that the union adopt a policy of building a new political party of labor and its allies. A Labor party alone can attract and hold the middle classes and the new voters who fell victim to Eisenhower's demagoguery. Such a course alone can accomplish this because it can do something about the grievances of these people. Support of the Republicans or Democrats must fail to satisfy the needs of the people, who therefore switch in protest from one major party to the other.

The big question of a labor-union program which can safeguard industrial unionism will confront the delegates. Ten years ago the CIO had an avowed goal of ten million members. Today it has less than five million. Today the AFL is approximately twice as large as the CIO. Today Eisenhower plays the AFL against the CIO, which is the target for the employers' main attack.

What the convention does will affect not only the auto workers but the CIO as a whole. To stop the slipping-back trend in the CIO and to put itself in a better bargaining position for unity negotiations with the AFL, the union must win better conditions, wages and pensions than any other existing union. The best way to do this is to step up an energetic organizational drive, capped by a determined drive to organize the south, which will reinvigorate the entire movement.

Such a program will restore the crusading spirit of the UAW. Even in the Detroit area there are a large number of open shops, low wage scales, as well as inequities in UAW wage scales, particularly among the skilled classifications. The job recently accomplished of organizing the Kohler industry in Wisconsin is a good job. It should be used as the opening gun in a widespread organizing campaign and not as an excuse for self-satisfaction and resting on laurels.

CIVIL RIGHTS

An effective weapon in the campaign to organize the south is the struggle for civil rights. Reuther's belated directive to all UAW locals to launch a fight

against discrimination in hiring is reported to have already done considerable good. It shows how much can be done in this field when the union takes a bold stand, especially if the Locals follow through consistently and seriously. It is important to remember that Reuther was compelled to issue this directive by a growing wave of independent actions on the part of Negroes in the state of Michigan, as well as by such rank-and-file actions as the Briggs-Conner strike in protest against the company's refusal to live up to its contractual obligations and rehire Negro women formerly employed at Briggs.

In the wartime '40's the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, an AFL organization under the leadership of A. Phillip Randolph, with about 20,000 members, led a national drive called the "March on Washington Movement" to protest company discrimination in hiring. This movement forced Roosevelt to yield as a concession the original FEPC executive order.

The UAW with its 1,335,000 members is in a position to accomplish much more if it follows that militant tradition. Negro workers still have great difficulty getting hired. They still are barred from the skilled divisions. Together with other minorities they are pressing their demands for FEPC and civil rights legislation, nationally and locally. To support these demands is the elementary duty of every labor organization. But this is not enough. To begin with, there should be Negro representation at all levels of the union, from local stewards to its very highest policy-making elected top leadership. This would demonstrate to the world that the UAW means business.

The above program can stop the backsliding of the union. Action on such a course will make possible the return of the crusading spirit of '36 and '37. The present loss of effectiveness under Walter Reuther has also resulted in a loss of respect by the corporations. We see again in the industry widespread firings of both representatives and

rank and files who try to resist the corporations' speedup and 'get tough' programs.

CONTRACT VIOLATIONS

The most outstanding instance of this is the discharge of Jimmy Solomon, chairman of the shop committee of the Dodge Main plant in Detroit. The failure of the union to reinstate him after a lapse of two years, was a signal to the company that they could get away with a program of speedup and contract violations. These same conditions existed before in the industry when the union was first fighting to consolidate itself. Their return is a serious danger signal. The first step for the elimination of this danger is for the convention to work out a program of action to win reinstatements for all victimized fired workers and union representatives. The companies must be taught that an injury to one is an injury to all.

Under Reuther's administration a policy of so-called "labor statesmanship" has replaced the policy of independent mass struggle. Too often the officials say that the UAW has now come of age; that the old tried and true methods that brought the corporations to their senses are no longer in order. They tell the members that the union has "grown up," and must conduct itself in a "respectable" manner. In practice this means "getting along" with the corporations and their officials. It means complete reliance on bargaining-table procedures which are largely ineffective because there is little if any mass pressure applied to make them effective. It means reducing the Locals to rubber stamps, instead of fighting collaborators of an aggressive international coordinating machine.

TWO TRENDS

There are two opposing trends in the UAW today. One is under the leadership of Reuther's right-wing faction. The outstanding feature of this group is that it has developed a full-blown, one-man rule, in the person of Walter Reuther, who has at his beck and call a large, well-paid machine. This machine has developed a leadership cult. Nobody else

knows anything. Nobody else can propose anything. All ideas come from the top down. Everyone waits on the leader to make up his mind what to do.

This leadership smears all independent and critical thought in the union as "red," and tries to stamp out every free expression of opinion. It views the free play of the democratic process as a threat to its regime. This process is reinforced by the growth in the Locals as well as the International of large treasuries and positions in and out of the shops carrying good incomes and special privileges. These are used widely to entice, bribe and corrupt critical members of the union.

HOPE FOR FUTURE

Thanks to the great tradition of struggle and democracy in the UAW, oppositional currents still exist in defiance of Reuther's efforts to establish a complete one-man rule. The largest of these is Local 600, which has succeeded in winning greater support for its platform than it held at the last convention. This is a tribute to its determined efforts to work out a program of struggle and democracy on the union and political fields, in answer to Reuther's aim of getting along with industry and of domination by red-baiting. It is the existence of this progressive opposition tendency in varying degrees of strength throughout the UAW that offers the greatest hope for the future.

LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum

The Road to a Labor Party in America

Speaker: Myra Tanner Weiss Candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles

Why does American labor need an independent Labor Party? What do the labor bureaucrats think about this?

Fri., March 27, 8 P.M. FORUM HALL 1702 E. 4th St. Tel. AN 9-4953 Questions — Discussion Refreshments