

# Weiss Debates Barry Gray in Hour-Long Show

One of the hottest and most illuminating political discussions New Yorkers have been privileged to hear in a long time took place on Barry Gray's midnight radio show Sept. 22. It was a knock-down, drag-out debate lasting over an hour between the socialist candidate for mayor of New York, David L. Weiss, and his interviewer, Barry Gray, a liberal turned red-baiter.

Barry Gray opened the program like a prosecuting attorney. He read the indictment in the form of a letter from a Vice President of the network, smearing the Socialist Workers Party as "subversive." After Weiss ripped into the self-appointed Attorney General for his undemocratic witch-hunt procedure and attacked the administration for "subversion" in high places, Gray intervened with the comment, "The FCC is also authority in high places and the fact that you are on the air tonight proves that all is not lost in the Union."

Weiss replied: "I have not contended that all is lost in the United States. My contention is that we are fast losing a lot of basic liberties. . . . Although all is not lost, as long as a veteran like James Kutcher . . . can be fired from his job merely because of his belief in socialism . . . then our rights are in danger."

The fur began to fly when Gray started to question Weiss on the program of the Socialist Workers Party. "Tell me the difference," he asked, "between your socialism and Norman Thomas socialism?"

"The main difference," Weiss replied, "is that Norman Thomas is a socialist in name only."

Scoring Thomas' support of the State Department's foreign policy he continued, "Norman Thomas and his Socialist Party have long ago departed from the Socialist Party of the days of Eugene Victor Debs. . . . Debs went to prison for telling the truth to the American people about the first World War being a war for Wall Street's profit, just as 18 leaders of my party, the SWP, likewise stood up in the Second World War and said. . . . 'The war was fought on the part of the American government in the interests of those who really rule the country—the big monopoly capitalists.'"

To this Gray replied, "You said that he (Debs) went to jail because he told the truth. . . . What you really should have said is that in his opinion he told the truth and therefore he went to jail. . . . Obviously in the opinion of the people of the United States, represented through their courts who sent him to jail, they did not agree with his version. . . . I must assume that in going to jail he received a fair trial."

"Your assumption is not correct," Weiss answered, "He was jailed during a period of war time hysteria." Gray's argument against Debs, would have upheld the persecution of Galileo for contending the world was round since the people of that time decided that it was flat.

The discussion ranged over the (Continued on page 2)

# Justice Dept. Reveals Basis of Its Blacklist

By Fred Hart

Six years after the infamous Truman "Loyalty" Order No. 9835 of March 21, 1947, the Department of Justice has admitted in writing that it regards opposition to capitalism and advocacy of socialism as "subversive" and that those guilty of these political "crimes" are subject to blacklisting, which hunting, hounding and victimization.

The Independent Socialist League, a left social-democratic organization, smoked out the Justice Department on this question after a long and tedious struggle to get its name removed from the "subversive" list compiled on the basis of Truman's notorious order. They have repeatedly demanded the administration's reasons for placing them on the list.

The Justice Department released its "reasons" as a result of a procedural change instituted by Attorney General Brownell after Eisenhower's Executive Order No. 10450 was published. This change is a token compliance with the Supreme Court's objection to placing organizations on the list without prior hearing. Under the new procedure, organizations already on the list can appeal the previous decision to smear them. The extent of the difference however can be measured by the fact that when the Socialist Workers Party applied for such a hearing it was turned down by Attorney General Brownell on a flimsy technical pretext. (Militant, Aug. 24.)

The case of the ISL is further proof that Eisenhower, while

technically backing down before public pressure and court decisions on the question of hearings and appeals, actually continues the same anti-democratic purge scheme initiated by Truman. The shift in procedure, however, made it possible for the first time to expose to public view the shocking "grounds" advanced by the thought-control cops in Washington for placing organizations on their purge list.

The Sept. 28 special 12-page issue of Labor Action gives the full text of the Justice Department's Statement of Grounds and Interrogatories, the ISL reply, and the history of their fight to get off the "subversive" list. Here are some of the "grounds" listed over the signature of Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, on July 9, 1953:

"The changes advocated by the ISL if carried out, would result in the destruction of the existing form of government in the United States, and in place thereof would be established an entirely new social philosophy and system of 'proletarian internationalism.'"

## LIST OF QUESTIONS

The Department of Justice submits questions to the ISL that indicate what it considers "subversive." They ask: Did the

(Continued on page 2)

# Medina Once More Brilliantly Serves His Class

By Joseph Keller

Federal Judge Harold R. Medina who presided over the two longest and most notorious trials of the past decade has given us a chemically pure demonstration of the class nature of the American courts and judiciary.

He made almost daily headlines in 1949 during the nine-month trial of 11 leaders of the Communist Party, a dissident political minority within the labor movement, by his hostile demonstrations against the defendants and their attorneys. He virtually directed the hand-picked jury to find the defendants guilty and ordered their lawyers jailed for "contempt."

Exactly opposite was his attitude to the defendants and their lawyers in the investment-bankers-monopoly case involving America's billionaires, including the Morgan, Mellon, Rockefeller and Harriman interests. On Sept. 22 after a nearly three-year trial, Medina dismissed the government's six-year anti-trust suit against the country's 17 biggest investment banking firms, which

represent corporations with combined assets of more than \$100 billion.

The government's complaint, filed on Oct. 31, 1947, charged that the accused investment bankers conspired to "restrain unreasonably and to monopolize" the securities business and had "restricted, controlled and fixed the channels, methods, prices and terms" for the sale of stocks and bonds. The Department of Justice introduced 108,646 pages of evidence, including mountains of documents and material collected by several Senate Committees.

Before the government's major evidence on price-fixing was introduced, Medina dismissed the case without even troubling the defense to present its arguments. His ruling issued "with prejudice," meaning that the government can never again start similar legal action against these 17 firms.

Never has a judge treated defendants and their lawyers with more deference, sweetness and light. The Sept. 23 Wall Street Journal, after describing the repeated occasions when Medina

displayed "impatience," "anger" and similar attitudes toward the government lawyers, recalls:

## BIRTHDAY CAKES

"There were lighter moments which helped relieve the tension when the going got rough. For instance, there was the time the attorney for both contestants chipped in to buy birthday cakes for Judge Medina, celebrating the first and second anniversaries of the trial. Another time, they all took the afternoon off to see a Brooklyn Dodger baseball game."

The atmosphere was described by financial writer Paul Heferman in the February 4, 1951, N. Y. Times as one of "scholarliness, wit and courtroom amenities," where "instead of having to invoke repeatedly the authority of the Court to keep provocative lawyers on the track, Judge Medina this time must sit humbly by and keep his own mind on the track. . . . there can be no doubt of his being thoroughly at home in the trial atmosphere that surrounds him this time. . . . the judge has been encouraging the pointed pleasantries exchanged by

rival counsel—that is, if not too cutting or irrelevant. He even goes in for some himself."

## UNSEEMLY DEMONSTRATION

How different was Medina's attitude toward lawyers who dared to defend political dissenters calling themselves "Communists." In his dissenting opinion on the March 11, 1952, ruling of the U.S. Supreme Court on Medina's contempt charges against the six defense attorneys in the CP case, Justice William O. Douglas called Medina's conduct as well as the lawyers' "an unseemly demonstration of garrulous discussion and of ill-will and hot tempers."

Justices Douglas and Felix Frankfurter felt that "one who reads the record. . . will have difficulty in determining whether members of the bar conspired to drive a judge from the bench or whether the judge used the authority of the bench to whip the lawyers, to taunt and tempt them, and to create for himself the role of the persecuted." Justice Black, commenting on Medina's vindictive attack on the

lawyers, said he could not "reconcile this summary blasting of legal careers with a fair system of justice."

If Medina felt "thoroughly at home" with the investment banker defendants and their lawyers, it may well have been because he did not lack previous association with these elements.

## BIRDS OF A FEATHER

Truman nominated Medina to a judgeship in the U.S. District Court in May 1947 at the request of Harrison Tweed, president of the New York Bar Association. Tweed was chief counsel for the Chase National Bank and legal adviser to the Equitable Life Assurance Society. Officers of both these corporations were originally listed as "co-conspirators" in the government's indictment.

Medina was shortly thereafter assigned by Superior Judge John Knox to preside over the investment trust case. By one of those strange coincidences that haunt this case, Judge Knox soon afterward was named a director of Equitable Life, a "co-conspirator"

Moreover, Judge Medina was involved in real estate transactions during which his company borrowed some \$465,000 from firms connected with defendants in the investment trust trial. His company borrowed \$300,000 alone from the General Realty & Utilities Corp., controlled by Lehman Bros., one of the chief defendant firms whom Medina found "not guilty" last week.

The capitalist press is openly jubilant about Medina's decision in favor of America's ruling financiers. Hearst's N. Y. Daily Mirror, recalling that Medina was rewarded for his previous services to capitalism by an appointment to the U.S. Court of Appeals, now wonders if that's an award "high enough for the man who served his country so brilliantly in two of its most tedious ordeals—the trial of the 11 Communists and hounding of the investment bankers."

For a man who has served his class so brilliantly, could anything seem more fitting than a seat on that highest tribunal of class justice, the Supreme Court itself?

Build a Labor Party Now!

# THE MILITANT

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# AFL Urges 35-Hour Week With No Take-Home Pay Loss

## Five Million Workers in Italian Strike

The unified might of the Italian workers, five million strong, struck all of Italy, Sicily and Sardinia on Sept. 24 and brought industry to a dead halt. The workers downed tools in a complete effective 24-hour general strike. All three labor federations, Socialist, Communist and Catholic, sponsored the strike call.

The Italian workers put forward demands for their most elementary minimum subsistence needs which have been callously and arrogantly ignored by the capitalists and their government.

(1) Wage increases. It costs a family of four at least twice as much to live as the average unskilled worker earns.

(2) Cost of living bonuses based on the actual regional price levels rather than the average national level now used as the basis for the bonus.

(3) Incorporation into basic wage scales of the cost of living bonuses now received.

(4) No more lay-offs. The workers are already groaning under the burden of widespread and prolonged unemployment.

The Confederation of Italian Industrialists has flatly rejected the workers' demands. Moreover they have refused to negotiate with the unions. Angelo Costa, speaking for the industrialists, said, "Our situation is not such that we can reach an accord through negotiations. We are involved in questions of principle on which you cannot make a deal."

To this G. Pastore, Secretary of the Christian Democratic Trade Union Federation, replied, "We only ask to negotiate and to negotiate immediately. But if our good will and sense of responsibility should be mistaken for weakness the fight will go on with greater determination than before."

The situation is developing into a new showdown with the forces of the workers and the capitalists poised for battle.

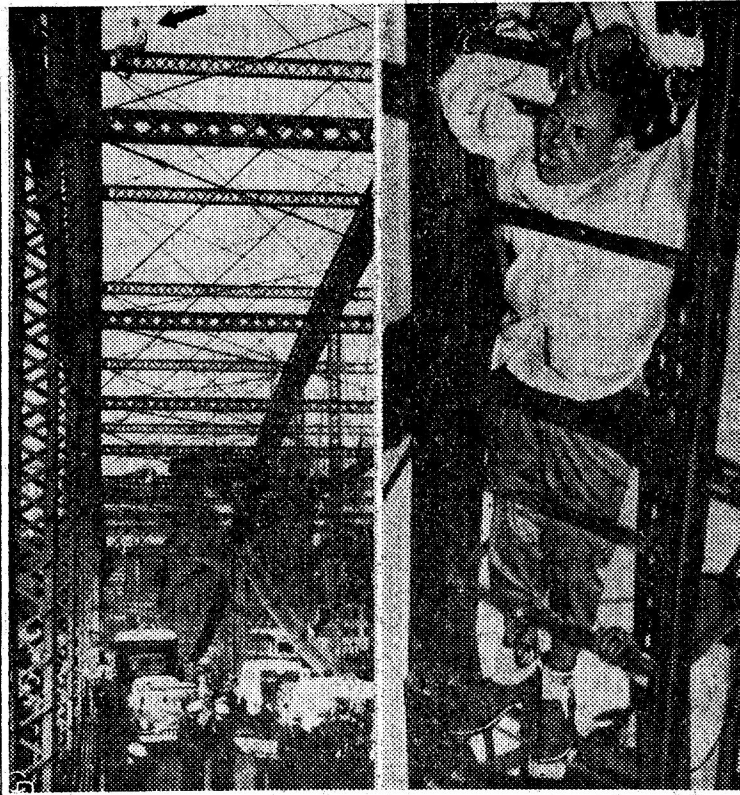
Already two million farm workers are slated to walk out on Oct. 5.

The Italian Parliament is in session and the tense struggle can easily be converted into a major political crisis with the issue of power at stake.

## Kutcher on Radio

James Kutcher will appear on Barry Gray's show in New York this coming Monday, Oct. 5. Be sure to tune in. WMCA, 570 on your dial, at midnight.

## Sign of the Times?



James Fowler, 21, an unemployed Marine Corps veteran shunted from the insecurity of war to the insecurity of "normal" life under capitalism, perches atop Monongahela Bridge (left) at Pittsburgh contemplating suicide leap. He was saved by three workers who climbed bridge, handcuffed him to extension ladder and lowered him to safety.

## STALINISTS ORDER NEW EAST GERMAN SPEED-UP

By Murry Weiss

As the East German Stalinist regime's new speed-up offensive against the workers unfolds, there is widespread speculation in the capitalist press about the prospects for a new June 17 uprising.

For example, Business Week of Sept. 26 says: "The East German government is shifting again to a harsh labor policy. . . . discontent is boiling up toward another explosion like that of June 17."

It goes without saying that a "Second Day" (as the Stalinists nervously refer to a new June 17) is inevitable. There will be a second, a third and a final day. However, as we observe the first experiment in a mass political revolution of the workers against Stalinism, we encounter these questions: What forces are driving the Stalinist bureaucrats to level a harsh offensive against the workers, instead of carrying out promised concessions? How will the workers react to this offensive? How will they become victorious over the bureaucrats?

Walter Ulbricht, Stalinist party boss of East Germany, sounded the signal for the drive to raise productivity. He told the

party Central Committee, meeting during the week of Sept. 18-19, that "it is necessary to achieve a considerable increase of labor productivity in all branches of industry in such a manner that labor productivity increases somewhat more quickly than wages. Thus the prerequisite will be created for a lowering of retail prices and for the building up of greater inventories."

## CRISIS IN AGRICULTURE

A major crisis in agriculture has aggravated the long-standing problem of food supply. There is an acute shortage of farm labor. The East German peasants, who pulled out of the collective enterprises by the hundreds of thousands before June, have been extremely reluctant to accept the offer to return their stripped farms. The problem of productivity is linked with the agrarian problem. Production of plentiful

(Continued on page 3)

## Convention Adopts Vital Resolution To Meet Threat of Unemployment

A resolution calling for a federal law to reduce the legal 40-hour week to 35 hours "without loss of 'take-home pay' in order to combat the threat of 'creeping depression'" was adopted Sept. 26 by the 72nd convention of the American Federation of Labor. This was the most important and far-reaching action by the 710 delegates representing the 10,000,000 members of America's largest general labor organization.

The vital action was obscured by the ballyhoo attendant the disgraceful spectacle of the AFL's platform being used for

## Kutcher Donates Book Royalties to Civil Rights Group

NEWARK, Oct. 1 — James Kutcher, author of a new book published this month, *The Case of the Legless Veteran*, today announced that he will donate all his royalties from its sale to the non-partisan Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

This committee, composed of prominent labor, liberal, church, academic and artistic figures, was organized in 1948 to help Kutcher recover the clerical job with the Veterans Administration from which he was purged under Truman's "loyalty" program. It has publicized the injustice in his case and raised finances for his ten appeals to the courts and administrative agencies. An eleventh appeal is now being prepared by his attorneys in Washington, D. C.

Kutcher's book is an autobiographical account of the background of his case, of his appeals to the public and the courts, and of the basic civil-liberties issues involved in the "loyalty" purge and the "subversive" list.

## TOO HOT TO HANDLE

It was rejected by 35 American publishers, some of whom admitted that it was well-written, important and publishable, but who felt it was too hot to handle at a time when McCarthyism is riding high.

The Case of the Legless Veteran was published by a British firm, New Park Publications Ltd., and is being distributed in this country by Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3.

Although it is a full-length book (about 90,000 words), it will be sold here at the low price of \$1 in order to make possible the widest circulation.

Originally slated to appear on Oct. 1, its publication date had to be postponed until Oct. 26 because of delays in delivery from England.

propaganda by spokesmen of the capitalist parties like Dulles, Nixon and Truman.

But the resolution for a reduced work-week without loss of weekly income provides a program that can mobilize millions of workers in militant action.

The resolution voiced the intention of the AFL to press for amendment of the existing wages-and-hours law which provides that workers in interstate commerce must be paid time and a half after 40 hours of work within a week.

"American business has usually taken the path of laying off the work force which simply means that more unemployment results as spending power decreases," says the AFL resolution. "The most logical and wisest course would be to reduce the hours of work which spreads employment and maintains purchasing power at a high level. This must be done without loss of 'take-home' pay so that the work force can buy the food, clothing and shelter so sorely needed."

## CALLS FOR ACTION

The Militant, naturally, hails this decision of the AFL. We have long advocated the reduced work-week as one important measure to partially ameliorate the effects of capitalist depression on the workers. Readers of this paper are familiar with our slogan for a "30-hour week at 40 hours' pay."

Whether the AFL resolution—which is vigorously pushed or remains on paper depends on the program of action initiated and carried through by the AFL in

## AFL Head



GEORGE MEANY

conjunction with all others sectors of organized labor.

It should be made a rallying cry for the whole labor movement and backed by local, state and national actions involving the mass of rank-and-file workers. Let the AFL call for a United Congress of Labor, with delegates of all the unions, CIO and independent included, to meet in Washington when Congress convenes this fall and put the issue right on the doorstep of the Senators and Representatives.

Such a Congress of Labor could also launch labor's own party which could fight for a Workers and Farmers Government that would ensure enactment of a program to beat depressions and make shorter hours with higher wages a reality.

## Are We Headed For Depression?

By Art Preis

CIO President Walter Reuther deplors "dangerous and reckless talk of depression" as "false communist propaganda." So does Benjamin Fairless, U.S. Steel's head,

who says that if he were a "socialist" and "wanted to discredit capitalism by producing a serious slump," he would "start predicting from the housetops that hard times were on the way." As for Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks, he actually believes a "good depression" is possible only "if everyone continues to think we're going to have one."

At least the American Bankers Association convention, held recently in Washington, took these warnings seriously. They spurned "communist" or "socialist propaganda" and voiced an "unbridled optimism" about the prospects of the American capitalist economy, as one reporter put it. Oh, they recognized "one or two soft spots in the economy," but "absolutely nothing to worry about."

At the risk of expressing "dangerous thoughts" and "communist and socialist propaganda," I would like to disagree with the rose-colored views of the distinguished bankers who can see only "one or two soft spots" in the U.S. profit system.

"Soft spots" are appearing in the most basic industries, particularly the so-called "hard goods" industries, whose declines in the past have heralded serious crises.

Steel: According to Standard & Poor's in the Sept. 19 N. Y. World-Telegram, "large consumers of steel" are pointing "to a possible drop in the operating rate to below 80 per cent of capacity." A Sept. 28 N. Y. Times dispatch from Pittsburgh reports

that in the next three months "most observers look for a rate fluctuating somewhere between 85 and 90 per cent of rated capacity."

Auto: The United Press reported on Sept. 28 from Detroit that the auto industry, "sensing a leveling off in the economy," is preparing to "pull in its production horns." One of the "largest producers" plans to "slow its assembly line 10 per cent" and makers of "less popular models may cut back even further." It adds: "It is no secret that cars are beginning to back up in the supply line. . . ." Business Week

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## Smorgasbord Fete For James Kutcher

A smorgasbord dinner in honor of James Kutcher on the appearance of his newly published autobiography, "The Case of the Legless Veteran," will be held Sat., Oct. 17, 5:30 p.m., at the Militant Hall, 116 University Pl., New York.

Sponsored by the N.Y. Local of the Socialist Workers Party, guest speakers will be James Kutcher and William F. Warde. Contribution to the affair is \$1.50.

The Militant Hall is near Union Square and can be reached by either the IRT or BMT subways.



# Trotsky Murder Disclosures Stir Mexican Press

The confession of Bill Gillespie, former triggerman for Stalin's secret police, the GPU, that he participated in the May 24, 1940 machinegun assault on the home of Leon Trotsky in Coyocacan, Mexico, and witnessed the killing of Robert Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's guards, created a sensation in Mexico. Excelsior, one of Mexico's leading dailies, devoted the entire front page of the Sept. 18 issue to the case.

It recalled the details of the attempted murder of Leon and Natalia Trotsky, which was organized by the Stalinists, and reported the reaction of various public figures to Gillespie's revelations.

Natalia Trotsky stated: "Some day the whole truth will be known about the murder of Leon Davidovich. Continually, each new revelation confirms the fact, which no one could doubt, that it was Stalin who ordered the assassination of Trotsky and that he was killed by agents of the NKVD (formerly the GPU)."

"The revelations of Gillespie," Trotsky's widow continued, "confirm what Trotsky maintained — that Sheldon Harte was no traitor, no agent of the NKVD, but a loyal secretary who died a victim of the attempt to vindicate the memory of a sincere and loyal youth."

(At the time of Harte's murder, GPU sources spread the rumor that Harte was a Stalinist agent. This was doubtless designed to cover the real agent, Frank Jackson, who later succeeded in sinking a pickaxe in Trotsky's brain.)

Natalia called attention to the fact that Gillespie's revelations (reported in last week's Militant) showed what an important role Jackson played in the May 24 assault. It was Jackson, according to Gillespie, who called to Harte sometime after midnight to open the door in the wall surrounding the house.

After the murder of Trotsky, Natalia said, "I recall telling the police that I was sure that whoever called to Bob Sheldon to open the door in the first assault, was Mornard (one of Jackson's aliases). And now Gillespie confirms it."

"In general, the description that Gillespie gives of the facts themselves of the assault is accurate and corresponds perfectly to the reality. We can be confident that in time others who participated in the attempt and in the preparation of the crime will also confess and thus we will come to know the whole truth about the assassination of Trotsky, the names of those who were connected with it and many other details that will confirm the direct guilt of Stalin and the NKVD."

The murderer of Trotsky, Frank Jackson, who has rarely spoken to the press in recent years, broke his silence to come in his peculiar way to the defense of the GPU. Interviewed in prison, he told the press: "I don't know the painter Alfaro Siqueiros. I don't know



ROBERT SHELDON HARTE

who participated in the crime as well as by Siqueiros' own confession at the time. This criminal, who may have given the order to kill Harte, fled Mexico after his arrest but returned later and is today roaming the streets, apparently secure under the powerful influence of Stalin's secret police.

Lombardo Toledano, well-known Stalinist trade union bureaucrat, was also named by Gillespie as involved in the May 24 assault. His response was that the charge was "a vile calumny." He then proceeded to slander the martyred Trotsky:

"Trotsky was a spy of Nazi Germany and an agent of the reactionary bourgeoisie. During the war, the intimate friends of Trotsky in the United States and his principal agents were imprisoned in concentration camps. In Mexico, however, the few followers of Trotsky enjoyed full liberty for their activities, following his body up to the cemetery and continuing to act today freely; except that in this epoch they no longer depend on the so-called Fourth International, which disappeared with the death of Trotsky, but on the FBI, the political police of the United States."

Toledano's reference to the imprisonment of Trotsky's followers in the United States during the war echoes the stand of the American Stalinists. When 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party were imprisoned for opposing imperialist war and advocating socialism, the American Stalinists demanded that these first victims of the Smith Act be given the harshest possible sentence.

Finally, one more prominent voice came to the defense of Stalin's GPU killers. This was the artist Diego Rivera, once friendly to Trotsky. He said that Gillespie's revelations were nothing but "an FBI plot to smear Lombardo Toledano and David Alfaro Siqueiros politically and socially." Rivera, who has been doing his utmost in recent years to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of the Kremlin, was silent about his revelations to the press in 1940 on how the GPU sought his death.

While reporting these revolting declarations of Jackson and his collaborators, Excelsior reserved its main story for the statements of Prof. Garcia Trevino. An editor and publicist who was acquainted with Trotsky, although never one of his followers, he proved from statements made by Lombardo Toledano in 1940 that this well-known Stalinist participated in the moral preparation of the May 24 assault and subsequent assassination of Trotsky. He quoted from Toledano's paper, El Popular, to show how its columns were mobilized to prepare the moral atmosphere for the assault, and later to cover up the Stalinist role by accusing Trotsky himself of having organized the machinegun assault.

Trevino also quoted declarations of the Mexican Communist Party in 1940 trying to cover up the GPU gangsters. Here is a typical one: "The attempt on the life of Leon Trotsky cannot be anything but a maneuver of the Dies Committee in the service of American imperialism while a genuine assault is prepared against our country." Such declarations appeared in the Stalinist press at the very time leading Stalinists were in hiding after participating in the machinegun assault.

Finally, Excelsior reprinted some of Trotsky's own statements following the May 24 assault in which he accused Stalin of plotting his death and in which he named several GPU agents who had been sent to Mexico to establish long ago by others organize the murder.

# How Would "Little Depression" Affect Timetable of New War?

By Joseph Hansen (Sixth of a series.)

The basic force driving American Big Business toward another world war is the need for capitalist economy to expand. In the final analysis this compulsion is decisive, as the statesmen of the capitalist class well understand. Accordingly, both the Democratic and Republican administrations have gone far in advancing the preparations for a conflict in which they hope to crush the Soviet bloc and the colonial world and emerge undisputed masters of the globe.

The establishment of U.S. armed forces, military training missions and advisory groups in more than 49 countries outside the United States has already been accomplished as part of the grandiose design. At present the U.S. has standing armies abroad numbering 10,000 in the Caribbean, 30,000 in the Pacific Islands, 50,000 in the Mideast, Africa and the Mediterranean, 385,000 in Western Europe, and 595,000 in Korea and Japan. By way of comparison, the combined army and navy of the U.S. in 1939 on the eve of World War II amounted to 367,000.

The continued building of military bases in a vast perimeter about Asia is also part of the blueprint. The latest expansion in this field was announced Sept. 26, when Dictator Franco, butcher of the Spanish people, received the official blessing of the Eisenhower administration as well as assurance of huge sums of money in return for permission to build military bases in fascist Spain. These will constitute additional springboards for attack on the Soviet Union.

This course toward war by both Democratic and Republican administrations may be considered the constant, the long-range policy that is pursued no matter what changes may be made in the State Department or the White House under the rule of Big Business.

But understanding this does not give us the answer to the variable, which we have tried to examine in this series of articles, and that is the timetable of the projected war. As we have noted,



When?

the date has been postponed several times since Gen. Marshall first projected the intention in the fall of 1945 to prepare for another global conflict.

### WAR OR DEPRESSION

The latest postponement, announced by Pres. Eisenhower last spring in the form of a declaration doing away with the target dates previously set, has raised a new question. What about a depression? As virtually every informed voter knows, if we are to trust the grass-roots surveys of such competent political observers as Samuel Lubell, prosperity in capitalist America hinges on armaments expenditure. Unless dollars are dumped into the war machine in increasing tens of billions, the threat of depression becomes imminent. A major depression, we may be sure, would give tremendous impulsion to Wall Street to bring its war plans to a head. But what about a "little depression"? It appears that some of the

tycoons are thinking in precisely such terms. I shall cite two typical current examples: Murray Shields, vice-president of the Bank of Manhattan Co., said at a luncheon at the Sales Executives Club in New York, Sept. 22, "If the price of economic growth is a little economic instability, then why not take a little instability?" He predicted a "little depression," but ruled out a "real depression."

The Oct. 2 U.S. News & World Report declared, "There isn't much doubt any more that business is headed for a setback. What people want to know is whether the dip means real hardship ahead. Accepted view is that activity will not drop more than 10%." And it concludes, "All together, as things look now, the coming downturn in business activity will not carry the country into anything like a depression. Actually, the adjustment ahead may turn out to be no worse than nearly everyone expected from official policies to end inflation."

### RETURN TO "NORMALCY"

What these business forecasters seem to have in mind is a return to "normalcy," to some four or five million unemployed, sharper competition, a squeeze on small business. A "controlled depression" of this type would put great pressure on the unions. Its political aim would be to stun and weaken the labor movement — a desirable aim from Wall Street's point of view in preparing for war.

Whether or not it is possible to have a "little depression" without its developing into a major one is another question. But if we assume that such is the intention of the monopolists, then the corollary is that they envisage further postponement of war. Before undertaking the big adventure, in which they stake their entire economic and political system, all of civilization and perhaps the very existence of mankind, they want to assure iron control over labor at home. That means they are looking to ward a preliminary battle on the domestic front before engaging in the projected catastrophic struggles abroad.

This, however, raises a new complex question. Will a "little depression" — granting for the sake of argument that they can keep it to miniature scale — have the effect of cowering the American working class? Will it convert the 17,000,000 trade unionists, for example, into docile atomic-bomb fodder? Or will the sting of the economic whip arouse the American workers, impelling them with their traditional energy and dynamism into vast new struggles that can shake Wall Street to its very foundations?

The latter alternative appears to me to be the more probable. The American workers have the memory of the depression of the Thirties, the bitter experience of two world wars and the Korean nightmare — and the schooling of building the CIO in a great nationwide upsurge of revolt in which millions discovered they were of like mind and will.

These psychological factors, although latent today, are nonetheless potent. They can be stirred up and activated by the "minor recession" that the bankers, industrial captains and capitalist politicians may think of prescribing for "the good of business."

### GOODBYE TIMETABLE

And once the working class moves with its colossal force into the political arena, then Wall Street might as well tear up its timetable for World War III. The preliminary battle, planned to subdue the labor movement, would have turned into a crushing defeat; and a new force — American labor — would be moving with unparalleled power toward establishing itself in government. Such is the possible hazard of bringing the whip down on the American working class.

Thus Big Business, in projecting punitive and preventive action on the domestic front so as to strengthen its hand for conquest abroad faces a new and terrible dilemma. The minor depression might prove to be the catalyst precipitating new formations in American politics that could rule out any possibility for engaging in a Third World War for a long time to come, if not forever.

# \$18,000 Fund Scoreboard

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
PHILADELPHIA	\$ 400	\$ 493	123
AKRON	150	175	117
CHICAGO	1,500	1,654	110
BUFFALO	1,500	1,546	103
MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL	1,200	1,237	103
ST. LOUIS	75	77	103
BOSTON	550	550	100
LOS ANGELES	2,500	2,500	100
NEWARK	500	500	100
PITTSBURGH	30	30	100
SEATTLE	40	450	100
Milwaukee	400	385	96
Cleveland	350	325	93
Flint	250	230	92
Allentown	60	45	75
New York	4,500	3,382	75
Youngstown	450	328	73
San Francisco	1,000	633	63
Oakland	250	137	55
Detroit	1,500	603	40
General	385	213	55
<b>Total through Sept. 30</b>	<b>\$18,000</b>	<b>\$15,493</b>	<b>86</b>

# NATIONAL FUND DRIVE TOTAL REACHES \$15,493

By Reba Aubrey, Campaign Manager

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party contributed \$308 this week to the \$18,000 Party-Building and Publication Fund, raising the total paid through Sept. 30 to \$15,493 or 86% of the national quota.

There wasn't much change from the scoreboard of last week. Philadelphia still leads among the eleven branches which have completed their quotas in full and ahead of schedule. None of the nine branches still behind schedule last week managed to catch up. And only two weeks to go!

New York made a \$110 gain during the week and San Francisco added \$187 to its score. M. M., Minneapolis, a friend of the Socialist Workers Party of many years standing, sent \$1 and wishes us the "Best of Luck." Two friends in Ohio sent in their third contribution, this one for \$10.

# Justice Department Reveals Basis of "Subversive" List

(Continued from page 1)

ISL teach and advocate "The desirability of a system of government founded upon the principles of Marx, Engels, and Lenin? . . . That the workers must eventually destroy the existing capitalist regime? . . . That private means of production and land should be confiscated by force if necessary, under a socialist form of government? . . . That capitalists control the existing form of Government in the United States and use it against the workers as a repressive force?" etc., etc.

The "grounds" also make clear that the Justice Department regards opposition to capitalist war as "subversive." They accuse the ISL of having "openly sought to impede efforts of the US to prepare its defense from aggression."

Now we have the "grounds" on which the FBI has been hounding and badgering tens of thousands all over the country and intimidating millions. Now we know why workers have been fired and blacklisted, newspapers gagged, lawyers frightened, teachers silenced and a muzzle placed on the voice of criticism and free expression. Now we have it out of their own mouths. Anti-capitalism is subversive. Advocacy of the socialist ideal of the brotherhood of man and the scientific socialist theory of achieving it is verboten just as it was under the Nazis in Germany. People believing in the "social philosophies" and the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky are placed on the witch-hunt list of the Democratic and Republican political police.

Under the police-state concept advanced by the Justice Department, anyone, literally anyone, who does not see eye-to-eye with the "social philosophy" of the FBI can be driven out of a job and purged from all walks of life. Any organization that does not show "positive loyalty" to the witch-hunt program can be put on the "subversive" list. This follows from the fact that what the Justice Department has declared "subversive" is interwoven in the whole history of human thought including all living thought in the United States.

Particularly endangered by the Justice Department's "grounds" are all liberal and labor organizations, no matter how pro-capitalist they think they are. On the basis of its "grounds" the Justice Department can prove anything.

For example, take the official line of the Republican Party that the Truman and Roosevelt administrations were following a policy of "socialism." What is to stop the FBI from placing on the Attorney General's desk a dossier on the "red socialist" conspiracy of the Democratic Party? In one sweeping move they could place all labor officials and the whole New Deal-Fair Deal wing of the Democratic Party on their "subversive" list.

This is not pure fancy. Close observation of the McCarthyite preparations for the 1954 elections will show how far we have travelled toward this.

### THE MAIN TARGET

The AFL and CIO at their National Conventions in 1948 showed that they were aware of the danger inherent in Truman's initial "Loyalty" order. They passed resolutions condemning it. Since then, the full implications of the whole "loyalty" procedure have been spelled out for all to read. Now that the witch-hunt investigating committees, the Justice Department and the FBI have established a beachhead by an attack on the radical organizations, the next moves will not be long in coming. The main target as we have said all along is the trade union movement.

Big Business wants the unions reduced to impotence. Already they have been listed for Congressional investigation. The hunt for "subversives" in the unions can affect every militant, no matter what his political views may be. As the McCarthyites spearhead the drive to include the unions in a streamlined "subversive" purge, a mighty and unified opposition must be built to meet this onslaught with decisive and coordinated tactics. To delay any longer would be criminal light-mindedness.

What the unions need is a uniform and carefully constructed policy to (1) force the government to call off the witch-hunting dogs; (2) unite the unions in a common refusal to "cooperate" in any way whatsoever with the McCarthyite union-busting "investigating" committees.

The Pacific Coast Union of Marine Firemen, Oilers, Water-tenders and Wipers has decided by membership referendum to re-enter the AFL as a charter affiliate of the Seafarers Int'l Union. The union has been independent since 1936.

# What Barry Gray Didn't Know About the 'List'

The following is the text of a letter sent by Art Sharon, N.Y. Campaign Manager of the Socialist Workers Party, to the N.Y. Post, protesting the stand taken by radio commentator Barry Gray in his column of Sept. 24 on the "subversive" list and the candidacy of David L. Weiss for mayor of New York. The letter was printed in the Post of Sept. 28:

The interview between Barry Gray and David L. Weiss, mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, over WMCA last Tuesday night was a real public service, enabling the people to learn something about the anti-war and anti-capitalist program of the extreme left wing party in this campaign.

But Barry Gray was guilty of a grave disservice to the cause

of civil liberties, both over the radio and in his Post column Thursday, when he undertook to defend the Department of Justice's "subversive list" against Weiss' vigorous denunciation of this police-state procedure.

Doesn't Gray know that the "subversive list" has been denounced several times by the New York Post editorially? That it has been condemned by every

liberal organization in this country, including Americans for Democratic Action and the American Civil Liberties Union? That the national conventions of the AFL and CIO in 1948 both demanded the rescinding of the presidential executive order under which this list was issued?

### HOW IT WORKS

Apparently Gray doesn't know what this "subversive list" is all about. Here is how it worked in the case of the Socialist Workers Party:

In 1947 Attorney General Clark announced he had put the SWP on this list. The SWP protested, pointing out that it was never informed of the basis on which it had been listed, and never was given a chance to even refute the (unspecified) charges on the basis of which it had been listed. With the aid of the ACLU, it formally requested a hearing at which it could defend itself. Clark flatly denied this reasonable request.

Does Gray know that the U.S. Supreme Court, in its only consideration of the "subversive list," voted 6-3 in 1951 to severely censure the Attorney General as acting in a "patently arbitrary" manner when he blacklisted organizations without first granting them a hearing? Does he know that the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in New York, also in 1951, ruled that the blacklist was "a purely hearsay declaration of the Attorney General . . . It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed association . . . ?"

### BROKE HIS PROMISE

This spring Attorney General Brownell promised a new procedure which would permit hearings. But twice since then he has rejected the SWP's demand for such a hearing.

Gray seems to think that because the SWP is on the blacklist, there is no reason to consider what it has to say. He would have done better to stick to his political differences with the SWP rather than pick up the witch-hunt technique. Instead of trying to smear Weiss and the SWP for being on a "hearsay" blacklist, let him answer the SWP candidate on: How to prevent an H-Bomb war? How to combat growing taxes, prices, profits, slums, discrimination and McCarthyite assaults on free speech and association? How to achieve a world system of peace, abundance and democracy for all?

# BARRY GRAY TRIES WITCH HUNTING IN HOUR-LONG DEBATE WITH WEISS

(Continued from page 1) whole field of American foreign policy. On China, Weiss said, "Nobody controls it today. The Chinese people made a new decision and . . . slipped out of the fingers of the State Department's agent, China's Chiang Kai Shek."

Gray: "The State Department's agent in China was Chiang Kai-shek? Then how come he's in Formosa?"

Weiss: "Well, that was the action of the Chinese people. They pushed him off the coastline of China . . . He's able to maintain his residence there merely because of the American fleet."

Gray: "I was always under the impression that the reason he went to Formosa is because the Truman administration actually refused to give him the aid he requested and as a result he had to withdraw his forces."

Weiss: "There's one shred of truth to the point you make . . . further aid to Chiang Kai Shek was considered by Truman . . . as being simply a waste of money. Chiang Kai-shek . . . had four million soldiers . . . armed and equipped by the U.S. . . . These troops in their great majority . . . joined with the great peasant uprising in China."

Unable to answer these facts, Gray sputtered. "There isn't a shred of truth in the whole story." When challenged by Weiss to give a "concrete answer," he changed the subject to alleged Russian jet-planes in North Korea.

Weiss called for the withdrawal of all US troops from foreign soil. When Gray asked "What do you think the Russians would do if we withdrew our troops?" the socialist candidate outlined the foreign policy of a future Workers and Farmers government in America.

If we used America's productivity to help other peoples, "it would mean that the peoples of all countries who want to get their land, to have national independence, would be able to win it with our help . . . And the Russians under these conditions would . . . get rid of the dictatorship with which they are now saddled."

### NEW YORK PROBLEMS

When Gray said: "Suppose you tell me . . . what you intend to do if elected Mayor of the City of New York," Weiss said he would tackle the "scandalous problem of the slums . . . the terrible shortage of schools . . . increased fares . . . increased taxes . . . discrimination against the Negro and Puerto Rican people . . . police brutality. In addition to all these problems . . . the most important issue of all confronting us in New York City is the question of the very survival of NYC itself in an H-Bomb war."

At this point Gray cut in. Forgetting that Truman, to the horror of the whole world, had threatened to atom bomb Korea, Gray blithely contended, "Never once . . . has the responsible press of the nation, I underline the word responsible, suggested anything like an atom bomb to straighten out the North Korean picture. This has been uttered by the hot heads in the community."

But Weiss insisted on returning to the question of the war danger and the New York elections: "It is not enough to tell school children to hide under a desk . . . I believe that the only way to save this city . . . is to put a stop to the war program . . . If I were Mayor of New York I would call for a popular referendum . . . on the question of

The British Labor Party is favorably considering a resolution which "deplores the harm done to Anglo-American relations by political witch-hunting in the USA."

Lombardo Toledano. I never knew Robert Sheldon Harte. What this Bill Gillespie says could be a story for a film but in reality it is the product of a heated imagination. Entire books and stories filled with adventures have been written about this case, my name, nationality, beliefs, family and other things, but all are pure fiction." The GPU killer did not offer, however, to reveal his identity.

Donisio Encina, head of the Mexican Communist Party, also came to the defense of the GPU. "Leon Trotsky," he said, "was not assassinated for political or ideological reasons, but because of grudges among a band of provocateurs and agents of imperialism to which he belonged." Encina remained discreetly silent about the band of Stalinists who organized and carried out the May 24 assault and who were later apprehended by the Mexican police.

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# Report from West Germany

By Karl Edward FRANKFORT, Germany —The result of the Sept. 6 "Bundestag" elections confronts West Germany's socialists with difficult tasks whose solution is possible only if through careful analysis the social causes of the outcome are shown and correct conclusions drawn about the future perspectives for socialist policy.

Comparing the 1949 and 1953 figures, we notice that the bourgeois parties, other than the CDU (Christian Democrats), lost more than four million votes. Two of these four millions went to other petty-bourgeois organizations; the other two millions, as well as a corresponding proportion of new voters, to the CDU. Thus, the CDU gained from the losses of the other bourgeois parties — not the more solid bourgeois organizations (FDP, DP) but the smaller petty-bourgeois groups like the Bavarian Party, DRP (Nazis), etc. These smaller groups lost two million votes.

The SPD (Social Democrats) gained one million votes. This includes above all the 700,000 votes that the KPD (Stalinists) lost. But as the SPD also lost petty-bourgeois votes, we can say that it got between half a million and a million votes from the new voters (who were too young to vote in 1949). If we consider the votes for the SPD from the point of view of their class nature, we find out that an overwhelming majority of union members voted for the SPD.

The social composition of the votes can be ascertained on the basis of electoral districts. Quite obviously, the decisive sectors of the working class voted for the SPD. The latter gained many votes — in some of them up to 50% or 100% — in these industrial districts, while changes and considerable losses occurred in petty-bourgeois districts.

The election results clearly demonstrated the polarization of class forces. CAPITALIST POLE On one side, the CDU stands as the concentrated force which emerged victoriously from the competition among the bourgeois parties. It expresses today the political strength of the German bourgeoisie. The FDP mainly plays the role of the coalition partner, who, without having to take into account a mass base, represents the political requirements of the capitalist class in the federal parliament or the administration. Under the CDU banner, with Christian phrases and political slogans linked to the cult of the Bismarckian personality of Adenauer, the ruling class has succeeded in carrying to the ballot boxes broad layers

of the petty-bourgeoisie for its economic policy of the "free market," the European Army Treaty and a "United Europe." The success of the CDU, obtained by all imaginable means, was made possible by the mobilization of the politically unstable elements of the petty-bourgeoisie.

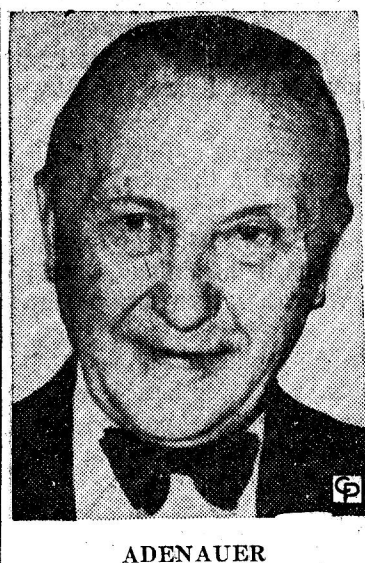
Because of the sharpening antagonism between the classes, a concentration of bourgeois forces was to be expected. But it was impossible to foresee that this concentration would take place exclusively in the CDU. In the general predictions, the decomposition of the petty-bourgeoisie was overestimated. It was assumed that many CDU voters would shift to the extreme right and that many of the new voters would support neo-fascist groups much more than was actually the case.

We cannot expect these layers of the petty-bourgeoisie to have any historical foresight in the sense of being aware of the consequences of the fantastic strengthening of German Big Business, of the industrial barons of the Ruhr and the trusts. They hope that continuation of the present foreign and economic policies will maintain, expand or rebuild their economic positions. As long as the petty-bourgeoisie is capable of living on the war boom — and this will be possible during the first phase of rearmament — it will not turn against an aggressive foreign policy, even if it is but the prelude to the horrors of war.

NOT LIKE 1933 Those who are disappointed and depressed compare the election results with those of March 1933. Despite the fact that both elections may be considered the starting point for war preparations, this comparison is unjustified.

The CDU is not a monolithic party like the NSDAP (Nazis). In the CDU, despite the authoritarian figure of Adenauer, the social process disintegrating the basis of the petty-bourgeoisie continues. And even after the creation of armed German divisions, the CDU will not be equipped with such strongly organized extra-parliamentary instruments of power as the SS and SA.

It is true that the CDU is supported by the same social layers: artisans, farmers, pensioned officials, backward sectors of the working class; but, the CDU will not be able to mobilize these layers in authoritarian organizations and control them as the Nazis did in order to make them a part of their apparatus of power. Moreover, the mood of these petty-bourgeois is not the same as then because of a different



ADENAUER

economic situation. In 1933, these masses were desperate; Hitler's appeal came from their dissatisfaction with the existing conditions. The masses wanted to regain economic security by changing the political power. In 1953, the masses elected Adenauer because they want to maintain, continue and expand his course from which they at present benefit. And last, but not least, the existence and functioning of labor organizations determines the difference between 1933 and today's situation: Hitler entered rearmament with a defeated working class; Adenauer is entering upon that path with an intact and hostile working class.

Without wishing to make the situation appear brighter than it is, we have to point out that the SPD — although it lost out in the struggle for parliamentary representation — did not suffer a defeat. In its nine million votes the concentration of the working class in and around one political party is expressed. It got the highest number of votes that the working class parties have scored since 1919 in the present territory of the German Federal Republic. In the last three elections before 1933, on Nov. 6, 1932, the two workers' parties together received 6,000,000 votes in this territory, and this was the highest labor vote between 1919 and 1933.

Although the election result is no reason for becoming panicky, important lessons have to be drawn from it for general analysis. After all, the SPD is at most 100,000 votes behind its 1949 percentage.

This retrogression is the result of great oscillations in the past period. The failure could not be avoided despite heroic efforts by the most active worker members of the party during the last days of the electoral campaign. Nor could it be avoided by the

effort toward the end of the campaign of numerous speakers emphasizing the party's opposition to the rearmament program. An electoral campaign cannot be waged defensively. The laws of war also apply to the class struggle. One couldn't help getting the impression that the electoral campaign was conducted with one eye on the possibility of a coalition.

### VIGOROUS POLICY NEEDED

A clear and strong opposition linked with a campaign against any remilitarization would have mobilized even larger masses against Adenauer's policy. It would have aroused the young and the women and rallied them to the banner of the Social Democrats. The SPD would have become an even stronger magnet for the voters of the ailing KPD. It might have received a greater part of GVP (neutralist All-German People's Party) votes. The one-million voters-opposition-bloc KPD-GVP would have been dissolved and most of its votes would have gone to the SPD.

The lack of action regarding the East German revolt and the open agreement with Adenauer and his coalition during the decisive days left the leadership of the political wave generated by these events to Adenauer and his partners. A gigantic demonstration of the West German, working class under the leadership of the SPD and the unions would have shown that only the working class can reunify Germany in

peace, freedom and socialism. It would have shown that the overthrow of the Ulbricht-Grotewohl regime in East Germany necessitates the simultaneous removal of the Adenauer regime.

The loss of many petty-bourgeois votes showed that the middle classes were not attracted by the party's adaptations to petty-bourgeois demands. If we can call it a defeat, it's the defeat of the views of petty-bourgeois intellectuals and SPD mayors like Kaisen, Reuter and Brauer, who believed they could win the German petty-bourgeoisie by watering down the theory of socialism, by putting Marxism in mothballs, by ideological loans from bourgeois liberalism. The petty-bourgeois could have been won over if the SPD had shown them a genuine alternative in the decisive question that was debated — war or peace.

In the parliamentary field the SPD faces a completely changed situation. From the viewpoint of formal democracy its purely parliamentary opposition, maintained to the very end, still had a certain logic. The new distribution of seats has liquidated this state of affairs. Pure and simple parliamentary opposition has become a mere comedy. Only an extension of the parliamentary struggle to the extra-parliamentary field can provide the opposition with a favorable perspective. This situation also characterizes the sharpening of the class antagonism — bourgeois bloc vs. working class!

## Lackawanna Workers Make History

History was made at the Lackawanna Bethlehem steel mill in the Buffalo area when 17,000 workers conducted a "wildcat" strike for 19 days. The strike started Aug. 31. It was touched off by the company's provocative increase of work for the coke-oven crews. When the workers struck, the company added fuel to the fire by discharging four workers, three of them stewards, for interfering with the "employees who wished to gain access to the plant." The strike ended Sept. 19 after David J. McDonald, President of the United Steel Workers of America, ordered the strikers back to work.

What's so history-making about a "wildcat" strike? "It happens all the time," an observer of the labor movement might argue. As the labor bureaucrats fall under the domination of the bosses and the government, the workers are often forced to take action without "official" union sanction. Victimization follows. Leading militants are punished. A lot of workers get disgusted. Temporary demoralization sets in. Then the workers regain confidence and the cycle begins again.

What is notable about the Lackawanna strike is that it differs from this pattern. The strikers had to drag the dead weight of the union officials all through the bitter struggle. But their militancy never subsided, their morale was not breached. The officials did all they could to break the spirit of the workers, but they did not succeed.

Other features differing from most "wildcat" strikes were of unusual interest: The ranks conducted a brilliant, disciplined, tenacious

strike action over a remarkably long period. All the strike problems usually controlled by the bureaucrats — strategy, publicity, picket organization, relief and morale — were taken over by the rank and file. Most significant of all, a strike leadership was selected and tested under fire, a new leadership composed of workers no higher in "rank" than shop stewards.

Another notable feature: The defense of the four Negro workers who were fired. The company obviously calculated on splitting the workers by touching prejudices among some, which in the past have made solidarity in action difficult. But the attack on these workers acted as a signal to close ranks.

The order to return to work was considered a sell-out by the rank and file. They were bitter. But the important thing is that they were not routed or demoralized. They had learned that it isn't enough to beat the company on the picket line — you have to beat the sell-out bureaucrats. And they had acquired a rich, fresh experience — how to raise up new leaders of their own in the very heat of battle.

This in our view is history-making. It isn't the speeches of Dulles, or the utterances of Meany, or the conferences of the "big" people that are fashioning the history of our time. These are only puppets occupying the stage for the moment. The real historical force is at work in the deepest layers of the industrial working class. The 17,000 Lackawanna steel workers sent up a brilliant flare that illuminated the big changes taking place, like a molecular process, in the consciousness of millions.

## How Do You Feel About Kenya?

Two passions are aroused in the colony of Kenya, now in revolt against British imperialist despotism. One is the passion for freedom, stirred up by hope for a new and better life, a hope that has brought the people of the Kikuyu tribe to their feet and taken them down the road to freedom. The other passion is born of the lust and greed of a small minority of white settlers, who, with their superior technology, have subjugated and enslaved the native population.

The heat generated by this life and death struggle is so intense that it is reflected in the emotions of people throughout the world, even here in distant America.

We socialists hail the great emancipating movement taking place in this continent laboring its way out of the darkness of oppression. The ultimate victory of the African people against the system of "white supremacy" and colonial impoverishment will be one of the most liberating events in the history of man.

But there is a different and opposite reaction in the United States. We get a glimpse of it in *The Wall Street Journal*. Whenever colonial people rebel against the inferior status allotted them by imperialist powers, all sham talk of "liberty," "independence," "majority rule," and the rest is quickly forgotten. The pretense of objectivity goes by the board. And the real power-drunk money-hungry soul of the rich imperial rulers is bared in all its ugliness. In one single article Sept. 16 by Edward Hughes, staff reporter for this voice of Big Business, every slanderous epithet in the book is leveled at Kenya's Mau Mau movement, consisting of "85% of the entire adult Kikuyu population," the largest tribe in Kenya.

They are referred to as a "professional murderers' club," "toughs," "marauders."

"gangsters," "killers" "terrorists," and so on. Part of this spleen may be due to the fact that some "whites" believe the nonsense they write about the superiority of their own color and can't stand being challenged by anyone of different pigment. But the basic reason for the hysteria is pressure on the main nerve involved in clipping coupons. Says *The Wall Street Journal*: "Kenya's trouble . . . could be the spark that touches off racial powder kegs elsewhere on the continent."

And this representative of the profiteers explains: "That wouldn't be good for the U.S. and its Western allies. A militarily strategic land mass — the world's second biggest — and an important source of raw materials hangs in the balance."

In a follow-up article Sept. 22, Mr. Hughes tells us that "in the heart of the Congo, a huge Belgian air base — big enough to handle American B-36 atom bombers — is abuilding under hush-hush conditions." What happens to such military bastions "if black revolt spreads across the continent?" Yes, what will happen if "110 million black people" refuse to stay "under the thumbs of three million whites"?

When the Kikuyus win their battle against terrible odds, the "White Highlands, 13,000 square miles of handsome hill country" will no longer be "reserved for ownership by white settlers." There will no longer be two laws in the land — a law for natives and a law for "tuxedo-clad diners," the privileged foreigners.

The prospect of victory for the Negroes over the "sub-machine guns and rifles" of their exploiters appalls *The Wall Street Journal*. To us it means a new day for Africa and a great day for the world. We're all for it.

## Another Purge

Government by purge continues to be the system under Malenkov as it was under Stalin.

Moscow disclosed Sept. 15 that in the Ukraine, one of the most important subdivisions of the Soviet Union, Dmitri Manuilsky (joined Bolsheviks in 1903) has been replaced by one Anatole Baranovskiy. Along with Manuilsky, three Vice Premiers went — N. D. Dubnovskiy, A. P. Yeremenko and G. B. Bondarchuk. The charges against these top governmental figures are not reported.

In the Republic of Georgia, the third major purge in 18 months swept out leading government figures. Premier V. M. Bakradze was replaced by G. D. Dzhabakhishvili; and A. T. Mirtskhulava, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party was replaced by K. I. Mzavaladze.

Announced Sept. 22, this crop of purgees was followed by another three days later. Mikhail Baramya, Minister of Agriculture and Procurement, was replaced by Mikhail P. Georadzze. Minister of Culture Vladimir I. Chauréli was replaced by Konstantin I. Guria and Education Minister Rustam K. Tsulukidze was succeeded by Georgi N. Chevladze.

Baramya had already been purged once, in April 1952, as second secretary of the Central Committee of the Georgian Communist Party. The charge was "bourgeois nationalism." A year later, one month after the death of Stalin, he was reinstated along with other ousted leaders. He had Beria's backing, which is probably the main charge now lodged against him.

The capitalist press is, of course, seeking to take full advantage of these latest purges. Its aim is to utilize them to smear the whole concept of socialism, to picture the purge as an inevitable consequence of socialism.

To do this, the capitalist press conveniently overlooks the crimes that make capitalism a living horror to millions on this earth. It is silent about the fact that Stalinism could come to power in the Soviet Union only because of the ruthless pressure by world capitalism on the first workers state. And, finally, it lies in making out Stalinism to be socialism.

The truth is that American Big Business shares the guilt for the continued existence of Stalinism and its crimes. Its present drive for another world conflict is the biggest single obstacle to the Soviet workers cleaning out the Kremlin bureaucracy, for it diverts their attention from the task at hand and arouses fear that any action they might take could possibly provide an opening for another assault on their country such as they suffered from the Nazis.

Our duty, while continually opposing Stalinism and its crimes, is to help the Soviet workers by standing firm against the war drive of Wall Street. By putting a Workers and Farmers Government in power in the United States, we could assure the world an end to imperialist war, an end to all threats of conquest, the opening of an era of enduring peace.

And that assurance to the Soviet workers that they need no longer fear attack would prove to be the death knell for the hated regime now oppressing them.

## How Many in Congress Are You Entitled To?

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The American labor bureaucracy has been under growing pressure to enter the field of political action. The old methods of struggle against the individual boss cannot begin to touch the burning problems of the working class today. Inflation and taxes cut into the living standards of the workers. The fear of war and atomic annihilation oppresses everyone. These problems require political struggle if they are to be solved.

But the closer the labor bureaucrats get to the political structure of the United States, the more they are compelled to replace the traditional twaddle about our "great democratic system" with a more serious and critical examination of some of the obstacles to democracy.

This examination reveals among other things how obsolete and undemocratic the apportionment of electoral districts is. The need for a political struggle to equalize representation is underscored. This fight deserves the wholehearted support of everyone.

The July issue of *Economic Outlook*, published by the Department of Education and Research of the CIO, proves that our "representative government" is "unrepresentative." And the August issue follows up by illustrating some of the technical devices by means of which "the minority rules in the States." "Rotten Boroughs" and "Gerrymandering" are exposed.

This CIO research job, as timid as it is in its generalizations and conclusions, should be made required reading. It shows that modern boss politicians are not content to rely on the constitutional provisions for a system of "checks and balances" designed to thwart, not express, popular opinion. Both Democrats and Republicans just don't bother to assure the people of equal representation by redistricting the states as the population shifts.

Although the 1950 census is almost three years old, only 15

states have redistricted since then despite the fact that 35 states need to revise their districts. And when they do, as in California in 1952, they don't correct the unequal districts, but create new ones with fantastically disproportionate population. In Los Angeles County alone, one district consists of 219,000 people while another has more than twice that many: 481,000. In this way, as the *Economic Outlook* points out, one person's vote is worth more than twice someone else's vote.

As part of the struggle for redistricting in the states, and for fair redistricting, the labor movement is fighting for the passage of the Celler Bill (H.R. 6428) which would keep inequality of representation below 15%. There is no question that passage of the bill would act to curb the greedy snatching of political pie by the Democrats and Republicans. But there are some serious obstacles to even this reform, the purpose of which is merely to enforce what the constitution already provides.

The CIO's *Economic Outlook* shows how the Republicans have used the system of unequal districts, or "rotten boroughs," to reduce the voting strength of the Democrats in such states as California and New York. The Democrats would like to see the Celler Bill passed in these states. But rotten boroughs bolster the power of the Democrats in southern states. And all the rotten boroughs throughout the country keep down the representation of "unreliable elements" of the city working class districts.

Unless compelled by mass pressure, Congress will not upset its political base in the rural population in order to grant fair representation to city dwellers. The state legislatures will not want to change the districts which put them in office, either. For these reasons it is necessary for the labor movement to try to put the question of reapportionment directly before the people in those states where this is possible.

In addition to the lack of representation in the lower houses of both State and Federal government we have the upper houses, the Senates, where rule by the minority is assured by the Constitution. As the *Economic Outlook* points out in passing, "the Constitution itself has been responsible for the emergence of so many rotten borough senatorial seats." Election of the Senate is not based on the principle of representation. "The 13 least populated states have less than half of the population of New York. Yet, in the United States Senate, they have 26 votes, compared to two from New York."

But the principal obstacle to a true expression of the desires of the American people is the two-party system. Both the Democratic and Republican Parties are owned lock, stock and barrel by the capitalist class. The American people have nothing to say about the formulation of program or the selection of candidates. That is why, in most elections, the majority of the people don't even bother to go to the polls. Very few, if any, candidates can honestly claim to have been elected by a majority of the people they are supposed to represent. Eisenhower, even in a year of a record popular vote, was elected by only about one-third of the adult population.

### LABOR PARTY NEEDED

One sure way to clean up the rotten boroughs and remove other obstacles to real democracy is through a Labor Party. Both the Democrats and Republicans must be thrown out of office, and with them, the vested interests that don't want to see the people represented fairly. A new party, based on the working class and advancing a program in the interests of the small farmers and agricultural workers as well as the city working class, can clean up all the discriminatory practices of the boss politicians, and begin the job of providing real democracy in America.

## STALINISTS ORDER NEW EAST GERMAN SPEED-UP

(Continued from page 1)

and cheap commodities lies at the base of establishing an equilibrium between the prices of farm and industrial products.

These are real problems that would be faced by the workers of East Germany if they had political power in their own hands. However, it is precisely the bureaucratic political structure which precludes any genuine solution to the economic difficulties. As long as the Stalinist bureaucratic regime remains in power, economic difficulties will continue to bear down heavily on the masses, provoking ever deeper discontent. The bureaucracy can see only one way out of difficulties — bringing the whip down harder on the workers' back.

The bureaucrats cannot lead, let alone inspire. They can only command and terrorize. But commands and terror do not always raise productivity. Productivity has declined since June 17. In addition to vast strike actions, workers have resorted to the slowdown weapon. It should also be recalled that the Stalinists had to withdraw their 10% speed-up decree on June 16 when the workers' uprising began.

### INFAMOUS DECREE

That decree is worth quoting. It casts a revealing light on the relationship between the workers and the bureaucracy — the most basic factor in East Germany's problem of productivity: "At its meeting on Thursday, May 28, under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Grotewohl, the Cabinet decided to concede to the wish, expressed by the broad mass of the workers, for a general revision and increase of working norms." (My emphasis. M. W.)

From May 28 to June 16 the infuriated workers read every day in the Stalinist press how they "welcomed the Government's decision" to "concede to the wish" of the workers to institute a 10% speed-up.

Now Ulbricht is repeating this crude performance. "Workers in some places have said the norms were so low they could fulfill them by 200% or more. They have themselves demanded a reduction of the time set for norms. To abolish this abnormal situation the government has ordered the factories themselves to fix the norms." The Stalinists, while conducting a reign of terror against the workers, pass censored resolutions at police — and spy-controlled meetings, and then read the resolutions back to the workers as proof of their "enthusiasm" for speed-up.

All this illustrates the chasm between the worker and the bureaucrat. The workers are excluded by the whole structure

of the Stalinist police state from any control over their productive activity. There are grave problems besetting the economy, which has achieved a planned and nationalized structure through bureaucratic and military measures. But the workers can see no way to solve these problems other than by a struggle for genuine democratic control of the factories and the government.

The Stalinist bureaucrats confront the workers as a parasitic caste devouring an unfair share of the national wealth, well fed and concerned above all with defending their privileges and strengthening the repressive apparatus of the state over the workers. Bureaucratic sloth, the care and feeding of the repressive apparatus consume slices of the workers' product. In addition the workers have had bitter experience with the Kremlin's policy of looting and pillage after the war.

The workers therefore cannot see any identity between their own interests and the bureaucratic exhortations for more production. Slow hunger and overwork sap the strength of the workers. But the bureaucrats cannot think in terms of raising productivity by improving the lot of the workers.

### NEED FOR PARTY

When this whole situation erupted in the June 17 general strike, the workers learned a bitter lesson. Nothing prevented their victory over the impotent native Stalinist bureaucrats except the presence of the Kremlin's armies. They had the East German Stalinists beaten with their first powerful thrust. Only the Kremlin's tanks and firing squads saved the Stalinist regime.

Undoubtedly the tested fighters of June 17, who displayed such skill and tactical wisdom, will assimilate this lesson and measure the relationship of forces carefully before launching a new assault. They will watch particularly for new signs of crisis within the Soviet Union.

Above all, they will assemble the cadres of leadership in the factories and workers' districts. These cadres have already revealed themselves in the glorious fighting of the June days. The burning task is the welding of a revolutionary party out of this material — for the party is the indispensable instrument of the workers' victory.

**NEW YORK**  
**Friday Night**  
**Socialist Forum**  
presents a talk on  
**White Collar Workers**  
and Where They Belong

Speaker:  
**Mark Burns**  
Fri., Oct. 9, 8 P. M.  
**Militant Hall**  
116 University Place  
(near Union Square)  
Questions, Discussion,  
Refreshments  
Contribution 25 Cents

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**Newark Fri. Night**  
**Socialist Forum**  
presents a talk on  
**Why and How America**  
**Will Go Socialist**

Speaker:  
**Harry Ring**  
Friday, Oct. 9, at 8:30  
at 52 Market Street



# "Solid South"

By Jean Blake

If we've been sharply critical the past few weeks of the Republican administration's hypocritical and demagogic policy on segregation, we hope no one gets the impression that the Democrats are one bit less guilty.

There is no "lesser evil" as between the two. It's only space limitations that prevent us from telling the whole story of the record of both parties on the issues we single out for discussion each week.

To turn to the Democrats for a while, we received several items in the mail from a friend traveling in the South this week.

On Nov. 1 the Southern (read "Democratic") of course) governors will convene at Boca Raton, Fla. The *Atlanta Constitution* reported Sept. 22 that Georgia Gov. Herman Talmadge, chairman of the Southern Governors Conference, had announced a round-table discussion would be held on "the organization and operation of our elementary and secondary schools."

Asked if the discussion will deal with the development of the South's educational facilities or if it is still scheduled in view of the segregation suits now pending in the U.S. Supreme Court, Talmadge replied:

"It was scheduled as a routine discussion on educational problems and development. However, some of the governors may take the opportunity to talk about how to preserve segregation in the event the court should rule adversely to the South's traditions."

Gov. Talmadge already has announced he would move to abolish public schools in Georgia should the court outlaw segregation in public schools, and a similar plan has been announced by Gov. James Byrnes of South Carolina.

Meanwhile another line of attack by the Dixiecrats was announced in the same issue of the *Atlanta paper*: Trial of Horace T. Ward, suit for entry into the University of Georgia law school was postponed indefinitely when it was learned that Ward has been drafted into the Army.

Ward was drafted on Sept. 9 and immediately sent to Fort Jackson, S. C., for basic training. State attorneys announced the postponement means the case will lie dormant for "at least two years until Ward is discharged."

According to the *Atlanta Constitution*, "Observers who interpreted the postponement as 'the real death of the Ward case' reasoned that the two-year delay might add weight to the State of Georgia's contention that Ward should take the examination (a new entrance requirement set up while Ward's application for entrance was pending). They also suggested that Ward, who began his attempt to enter the university in 1950, might have changed his mind about studying law by the time he is discharged in 1955."

— And Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell said Sept. 10 the Democratic Party will be rebuilt "on the solid rock of the South!"

# Martin Luther

By Trent Hutter

Almost any motion picture condemned by the Catholic hierarchy is worth seeing, for Cardinal Spellman and the Catholic "Legion of Decency" as well as the American Legion attack only pictures they fear. And they fear pictures that show up dogmatism and stress intellectual freedom.

This is certainly true of *Martin Luther*, a movie sponsored by the International Council of Protestant Churches and filmed on location in Germany with an excellent, mostly British, cast. Niall MacGinnis plays the title role — Luther, the revolutionist who broke through the totalitarianism of the Roman Catholic Church in Central and Northern Europe to proclaim man's right to beliefs based upon his own inner conviction rather than edicts of a Pope.

The script faithfully follows the historic facts, which Hollywood generally ignores in its so-called "historical" pageants, although Luther's opposition to the German Peasants' War of 1524-25 and his other political shortcomings are not indicated. But then his progressive struggle against Popery was far more decisive than his political conservatism.

In his 95 theses which he nailed to the door of the Palace Church at Wittenberg in 1517, Luther exposed and denounced the corrupting practices of the Papal Court. When he burned the Pope's edict of ex-communication in 1520, he demonstrated his determination to engage in all-out struggle for what he called "a Christian's freedom." The ideological revolution, which ended the Middle Ages in Germany and paved the way for the scientific spirit of modern times, had started.

While in hiding at the Wartburg under the protection of the Duke of Saxony, Luther translated the Bible into German, thereby enabling the common man to read it. Hitherto it had been the prerogative of the Latin and Greek-speaking clergy. Luther's translation practically created the modern German language, easily understood from the North Sea to the Alps.

Luther was one of the great 15th and 16th century innovators who developed the notion of individual freedom bringing man's outlook into consonance with the profound social and economic changes of the times. Among these were the discovery of America, the formation of Spain's colonial empire, the influx of gold from the New World, the development of early commercial capitalism and the rise of the city bourgeoisie.

In creating for the screen a stimulating picture of Luther, the revolutionist, and the era of the Reformation, the Protestant Churches have helped the movie-going public to understand a gigantic figure of the past.

At the same time they have challenged the totalitarian forces of our time — the arrogant Catholic hierarchy, the witch hunters and their new Inquisition, the narrow-minded and cowardly conformists. Free thought must still be defended against those who would strait-jacket our minds with thought control!

We applaud this effort to counter the flood of Catholic and conformist propaganda pouring out of the Hollywood studios where both Catholics and non-Catholics are more concerned about appeasing the Cardinal Spellman and witch-hunting McCarthys than in hewing to the standards of freedom of thought.

# Notes from the News

**AIR FORCE RESERVIST**, Lieut. Milo Radulovich of Detroit had the misfortune of having a sister and a father whose "loyalty" was questioned by Air Force officers. Headquarters assured him that his own loyalty was not questioned. But in view of his "close association" with members of his family, he faces dismissal from the service.

**THE U.S. ARMY BAN ON KINSEY** in European libraries has now been explained. Despite an earlier report that many requests had been made for his report on "Sexual Behavior in The Human Female," the Army now explains that the book "was not thought to be of general interest" to G.I.s. "Military libraries contain essentially recreational and educational material," the Army spokesman said. However, the Air Force will have "at least one copy" of the new Kinsey report in libraries in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East.

**"THEY HAD IT BETTER UNDER SLAVERY,"** declared the New York Joint Committee on Migrant Labor, referring to the Negro families that are transported north in the summer to work in the fields of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Sol Markoff of the National Child Labor Committee charged that "hundreds of underage migrant children are unlawfully employed each year picking crops under a hot sun 10 or 12 hours a day in stooping, creeping, crawling, back-breaking work." A survey of migrant camps made by the *New York World-Telegram and Sun* found humans living in filthy, makeshift shacks the "farmer wouldn't put his cow or hog in."

**WE ARE LIVING TODAY** on the labor of tomorrow. According to the Commerce Department, the public and private debt went up 6% in 1952, or \$31 billion to a record \$53 billion. The increase is continuing in 1953. Most of the increase in debts was in the form of mortgage, consumer credit and corporate debt.

**DR. BARROWS DUNHAM**, author and head of the Philosophy Department at Temple University, was dismissed by the university board of trustees for defying the House Un-American Activities Committee. Dr. Dunham explained his principled stand on the ground that he disapproved of the committee and that he did not intend to act as an informer.

**\$10,000-A-YEAR WAGE INCREASE** was given to George Meany and William F. Schnitzer, officials of the AFL, by the union's national convention. Meany will now be paid \$35,000 a year. One dissenting vote was cast by Frank Turko, representing the Seattle Newsboys Union. What's the matter with the newsboys in Seattle anyway? Do they think anyone can get by on \$25,000 a year?

**GERMANY HAS JUMPED** from fifth place in exports to Argentina to first place with shipments valued at approximately \$19,800,000. U.S. exports to Argentina dropped from \$49 million in the first four months of 1952 to \$19 million (approximate figures) in the corresponding period of this year.

**SHOULD THE DEMOCRATS BE PERMITTED** to distribute their monthly magazine abroad? The National Chairman of the Republican Party, Leonard W. Hall, thinks the Democratic Digest can "promote distrust" of the United States with its criticism of Eisenhower.

**CONGRESS IS NOW SPENDING** its second trillion dollars appropriated in the last 82 years. Well over half the money spent by Congress since 1872 went to the military. And more than half the total was appropriated in the last ten years.

**HARRY TRUMAN WILL SAVE \$165,000** in taxes on his forthcoming Memoirs to be published in *Life* magazine. The Internal Revenue service granted Truman's request for a six-year tax spread. President Eisenhower got an even bigger tax break on his book *Crusade in Europe*. There are always angles to work if you have enough pull.

**ARRAIGNMENT OF NINE** Communist Party leaders in Philadelphia has been postponed for the fourth time. Only one of the nine victims of the witch hunt has been able to obtain counsel.

**TWO PROTESTANT GROUPS** filed petitions with the State Department in Washington protesting against "unjust" and "exorbitant" taxes which have been levied on their churches by the Italian Government. One of the Protestant spokesmen said, "Taxation at this level amounts to confiscation."

# Are We Headed Toward Slump?

(Continued from page 1)

observes that "it looks now, the industry won't have it so good again for a long time." It compares "the industry's projection of 5 million cars annually" with 1950's 6.6 million and this year's 6 million. And "seasoned economic observers . . . have a hunch that new car sales could plummet toward the 4-million mark."

**Farm Equipment:** This industry is already in a serious slump as reflected in its average net profits per firm for the first half of 1953. These declined 6% from the same period in 1952, while the average of all industry rose 13%. "Reduced farm income was a prime factor in the small sales of farm equipment makers," reports the *N. Y. Times*.

**Construction:** The Sept. 28 *Wall St. Journal* reports its 13-city survey which shows that "home building, which has been a staunch prop under the economy this year, appears to be taking a sharp turn downward." For instance, there are 15% to 25% less new homes started in Philadelphia now than a year ago and 50% less in Houston. ". . . A downturn of the magnitude of the one now taking place could have considerable impact on the general economy. And some of the biggest builders are slashing their operations deeply," the *Journal* finds.

Another significant economic indicator is capital expansion. Does private industry propose to increase or reduce its expenditures for expansion? The National Industrial Conference Board on Sept. 22 released the results of a poll of 159 representative manufacturing firms which indicates, according to the *N. Y. Herald-Tribune*, "a downturn in planned expenditures for next year's capital expansion programs." 46% of the companies plan to reduce their capital expenditures; only 14% said they expect to spend more. This is no small "soft spot" in the economy.

## YOUR POCKETBOOK

But it takes more than evidence of such "soft spots" to shake the "unbridled optimism" of a Fairless and make him "see red" about the prospects of a recession or depression. For, said he, "there is one statistic in which I put more faith than in any other — and that is the condition of the American consumer's pocketbook."

I hate to undermine the touching faith of the Board Chairman of U.S. Steel, but all the evidence goes to show that the poor aren't going to get any richer in the period ahead. In fact, consumer income is already lagging far behind production and is going to fall still further to the rear.

The present situation is one of production expanding at such a rate that the beginnings of glut — surpluses due to overproduction in relation to buying power — are increasingly visible. The previously cited poll of the National Industrial Conference Board (a Big Business agency, by the way) discloses that only 7% of manufacturers report current demand in excess of their capacity. 17% find their capacity now greater than the demand for their goods. In fact, 13% of the companies said they expected to retire some of their capacity in the near future.

The *Wall St. Journal* of Sept. 22 cites example after example of firms reporting sharp declines in their backlogs of unfilled orders and says that "these tales of backlog shrinkage are typical of a production-overtaking-demand trend that's found across the country. . . Sagging sales are responsible for the declining — or disappearing — backlogs of many firms."

Declining incomes for workers and farmers are not merely a future threat. America's farmers in the first eight months of this year got 6% less for what they sold than in the same period of 1952, reports the Agriculture Department. Citing this decline in farm income, Leon Keyserling, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, on Sept. 28 warned the CIO Electrical Workers convention that there is a danger that labor will be asked to "take a small wage reduction or stay where you are for a while."

Actually, a growing wave of lay-offs in the past few weeks has stripped many scores of thousands of industrial workers of all their wages. New reports of lay-offs now appear in the financial pages almost daily. I cite a few of the most significant from the dozens in my files:

General Motors, Studebaker and Chrysler have laid off tens of thousands, many for indefinite periods. General Electric threw out 700 from its freezer division; Singer Sewing Machine reduced its work force by 500; McDonnell, Boeing and Bell aircraft companies all have laid off sizable groups of workers. International Harvester has dropped



Delegates from the International Longshoremen's Association sit glumly with their leader President Joseph P. "King" Ryan (right) glumly awaiting the decision of the AFL convention in St. Louis which expelled them. The expulsion has touched off a bitter struggle on the New York-New Jersey docks. (See article on this page.)

10,300. U.S. Rubber gave the gate to 600. Republic Steel laid off 1,018 in 2 plants; Jones & Laughlin Steel "furloughed" 350 as the result of a drop in the "seasonal demand" for tin plate; and Fairless's own U.S. Steel has informed 500 men at its tin plate mill in Pittsburgh that they are "expedient."

A considerable slice in American labor's purchasing power is also being made through the elimination of overtime pay, which millions of workers find necessary to make both ends meet. The National Association of Purchasing Agents on Sept. 26 reported that "overtime is fast disappearing and some plants have cut under forty hours to hold their people." (*N. Y. Times*, Sept. 27).

Julius Backman, an economics professor at New York University, recently wrote in the *N. Y. World-Telegram* that there is an average of about two hours overtime a week in manufacturing industries and the "elimination of this overtime could act as an offset to a reduction . . . in employment opportunities." Anyway, it could act to cut an average of \$6 weekly from the paychecks of millions of workers.

Unemployment, part-time and elimination of overtime pay are not the only factors working to destroy Fairless's "faith" in the "condition of the American consumer's pocketbook." He must also have noted newspaper headlines of Sept. 23 reporting that the official Department of Labor cost of living index has reached a new all-time high for the sixth straight rise in a row.

Thus, the only question facing most of us today about the condition of our pocketbooks is how far and how fast will consumer purchasing power drop?

## RETURN TO "NORMALITY"

The economic decline toward which we are heading is represented by virtually all capitalist spokesmen and leaders as really a good thing — God forbid that it should be called anything so ominous-sounding as a recession or a depression. Fairless calls it a return to "plain old-fashioned competition," as if he were talking about "plain old-fashioned strawberry shortcake." Edward T. McCormick, president of the American Stock Exchange in New York, speaks of a "shakeout" and "period of rolling adjustment." W. Harold Brenton, president of the American Bankers Association, would welcome it as a "healthy adjustment." And Sylvia Porter, the financial columnist of the liberal *N. Y. Post*, sums up the attitude of the business class and press by agreeing that a "return to competition" would "just be a return to something approaching normality." But what will this "normality" mean for the workers?

This "normality" of American capitalism means five million or more unemployed. It was the "normality" that Truman said was desirable when he tried to minimize the recession of 1949-50, before the Korean War pulled the profit system out of another hole. Truman then said, as quoted by Arthur Krock in the *Feb. 15, 1950, N.Y. Times*:

"A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times; this is healthy for the economic body."

The capitalists and their government in the spirit of Truman's words, have set their sights on a "49-type" depression. "It will be mild," the *U.S. News and World Report* assures us, "maybe as mild as the adjustment of 1948-49 that few people remember." Note that word "maybe."

# Waiting For the Axe To Fall

# National Labor Action Urged to Stop Sales Tax

The executive board of Local 447, CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, representing the production workers at the Federal Telephone & Radio Corp. in Clifton, N. J., has started the ball rolling toward national labor action against Eisenhower's projected sales tax.

Local 447's board last week adopted a resolution calling for nationwide union protest demonstrations if a bill for a national sales tax is brought before Congress. The resolution proposes that all union members in the United States — 17 million of them — stop work an hour early on the day the bill is presented, and repeat the demonstration each day thereafter until the proposed law is dropped.

## THE TIME TO FIGHT

If some such real mass action had been taken prior to the passage of the Taft-Hartley Law, in all likelihood it would never have been passed. The time to start the fight against the sales tax is right now. And the way to fight is not only by verbal protests but by some form of nationwide united mass action along the lines suggested by the leaders of Local 447.

Rank and file unionists everywhere could take no more effective measures to defeat the drive for a sales tax than to take up the proposal of Local 447 and urge the leaders of the AFL, CIO and big independent unions to undertake united action to combat the sales tax.

## CONGRESS OF LABOR

A Congress of Labor in Washington, with representation from all the local unions of every section of the labor movement, could advance genuine labor unity around the fight over such real issues as the threat of a sales tax and through joint mass action involving all the workers. Here is an issue that will win the support not only of the

organized workers, but of the tens of millions of non-organized wage earners who will also feel the bite of further federal tax extortion.

Eisenhower and his lieutenants are pushing the build-up for the campaign to put the sales tax bill through Congress in the fall. When the General opened the drive with his speech about "no tax . . . too hard for us to bear," Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey made it clear that Eisenhower wasn't talking about increasing the taxes on the rich. He told the American Bankers Association convention that "there will be no request for renewal" of the excess-profits tax which expires Dec. 31. Likewise the elimination of the temporary increase in regular corporation-income taxes "will become effective," he said, as well as a 10% cut in income taxes.

All these cuts for the rich will leave a loss of an estimated \$8 billion in federal tax revenue and a still more serious deficit than already exists. But Eisenhower proposed to balance the budget. How? His spokesman Humphrey leaves no other avenue open except the sales tax.

## ATTRACTIVE LABEL

According to the Washington staff of the Scripps Howard newspapers in their weekly size-up on Sept. 26, the Administration's plan is to put over the tax on consumers goods in a disguised form. The "term 'sales tax' will be avoided by GOP as it was by Democrats. Hope is that 'manufacturers' excise tax' won't sound so bad, won't become political liability."

But it will be more dough out of the workers' pockets by whatever name it's called.

# DOCKS TORN BY STRIKE, INTERNAL UNION BATTLE

By Art Sharon

NEW YORK, Sept. 30 — The kingdom of International Longshoremen's Union Boss Joseph Ryan looked in a bad way this week as the American Federation of Labor, the state government, the courts and Eisenhower moved in to bleak the stranglehold of Ryan and his henchmen over the longshoremen here and impose their own domination.

After turning a pious face away from the stench of extortion, murder and just plain shake-down of some two decades, the AFL high chiefs looked into the ILLA affairs and, under pressure of unsavory publicity, expelled the ILLA from the AFL.

AFL forces spearheaded by Paul Hall, leader of the East Coast AFL Seamen Union, moved in quickly to break off pieces from the hard-pressed Ryan empire. Their most important acquisition to date has been Manhattan Local 891 of some 800 members known as the rebel local with a reputation for a vigorous struggle against Joe Ryan.

The Ryan gang had their difficulties with the ship owners too. The AFL move came in the midst of the union's contract negotiations and was undoubtedly prompted by the desire to prevent the ILLA from getting a legal contract. The Ryan leadership, on the other hand, sees a contract as an important weapon against the threat of the AFL. At the same time they are no longer in position to sell out the rank-and-file longshoremen in return for a bargain-basement contract. Fresh in everybody's mind is the stubborn struggle put up by the rank and file longshoremen against Ryan's sell out in 1951. For the Ryan gang to repeat the performance of that year would be to invite certain catastrophe.

Accordingly, for the first time in the memory of longshoremen here, the Ryan gang called a strike against the ship owners who have refused the demands of the union. There have been numerous strikes in the past, but they were all so-called "wild cat" strikes initiated by the rank and file longshoremen in opposition to Ryan.

Dewey's moves, while ostensibly directed against the Ryan gang, actually are aimed against the longshoremen and control all port hiring. AFL Teamsters head Dave Beck is seeking to coordinate the AFL drive with Dewey's campaign.

Maritime workers the world over have had bitter experiences with governmental registration,

## CHICAGO

### Saturday Night Socialist Forum

#### How to Fight The Slum Problem

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# Chicago Tenants Score Fire Traps

CHICAGO — Tenants of the slums surrounding the scorched ruins of the tenement where 18 were burned to death in the Labor Day fire are beginning to take action. Some 150 residents in the neighborhood met in the Progressive Baptist Church to discuss ways and means to make landlords do something about the firetraps.

During the past week, committee members have been ringing doorbells to acquaint people with the new organization and ask their cooperation. The committee has an appointment to place its grievances before the mayor.

## DISCUSS INSPECTION

Another meeting of tenants at the McKinley Community House Sept. 29 discussed the possibilities of forming tenant groups to inspect buildings for violations of fire and health laws.

This is a very good idea because the City Hall inspectors have a reputation for reporting "no violations" on tenements no matter how dangerous their condition may be. The building where the Labor Day tragedy occurred was just one of many such examples.

## FCC Aids Phone Profits, Hikes Rates

Wage increases of less than 4% granted long-lines workers were the principal reason for the Federal Communications Commission to grant the Bell Telephone System an 8% rate increase for interstate long-distance calls. The phone trust will net \$30-million profit more on the deal.