

'BLACK RECONSTRUCTION' -- A MASTERFUL BOOK Reviewed by George Breitman (See Page 3)

THE MILITANT

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First Court Test Of Housing Oaths Starts in Newark

NEWARK, Feb. 3 — The first court challenge of the federal housing "loyalty" oath was started here yesterday by the American Civil Liberties Union, representing three tenants at the Seth Boyden Project — James Kutcher, Hyman Kutcher and Harry L. Lawrence. ACLU executive director Patrick Murphy Malin said the suit was of national significance because its outcome might determine the enforcement of the oath in public housing projects throughout the country.

ACLU Condemns Trucks Law; Files High Court Brief

The American Civil Liberties Union, in a "friend of the court" brief in the Supreme Court, has blasted the Michigan Trucks law as being in violation of constitutional guarantees of free speech and association. The Trucks law requires that all members of so-called "subversive" organizations register with the state police and answer a series of stoolpigeon questions. Arguments on the case of William Albertson, secretary of the Michigan Communist Party who refused to register under the law, were heard in the U.S. Supreme Court on Feb. 2, and the ACLU filed its brief at that time.

Negro History Week Celebration

By George Lavan

From February 8 to 14 there will be many meetings, speeches and newspaper articles celebrating Negro History Week. What meanings will be given to the various celebrations this year? Unfortunately many speeches will have the conscious or unconscious purpose of taking the edge off the present-day struggle of the Negro people. These will be the meetings where the progress of the Negro people in America will be extolled, with the implication that freedom was handed to them on a silver platter and that subsequent progress came about by the automatic working of America's "free enterprise" democracy. The moral will be that Negroes today should sit back patiently and await the further automatic betterment of their position.

Wave of Fear Sweeps World At Eisenhower's China Move

Kentucky Miner's Home Dynamited



Tommy Sizemore, United Mine Workers member, with his wife and six children outside home in Clay County, Ky., after it was dynamited in terror campaign against union. Sizemore has been helping organize mines in open-shop eastern Kentucky. The blast blew the children out of bed, left the young deaf, UMW international representative Tom Roney, leader of union drive in Clay and Leslie Counties, has himself been a target for violent attacks, narrowly escaping death several times.

Prague Confession Exposed as Fake By Canada Writer

An important piece of evidence demonstrating the frame-up character of the trial of Communist Party leaders in Prague last November has appeared in Maclean's Magazine, a widely read Canadian periodical. It is an eyewitness account of an event that took place in 1946 which exploded completely one of the extorted "confessions" made at the trial.

ECONOMIC INEQUALITIES UNDERLIE SOVIET PURGE

By John G. Wright

The Stalinist bureaucracy reacts fiercely and ruthlessly against even a suggestion that its monstrous machine of repressions be relaxed. Instead it demands ever greater strengthening of the totalitarian regime, greater "vigilance," etc. This is underscored by the current blood purge inside the Soviet Union, just as it has been in the past purges.

Peoples of Europe and Asia Voice Bitter Protest at New War Threat

By Art Preis

Eisenhower's "State of the Union" message to Congress Feb. 2, whatever its immediate aims, has given the world a glimpse of the Republican administration's projected course of strategy abroad. And the world has drawn back in horror. Through the carefully couched phrases about "peace," every politically alert person can see that the real intention is to smash the Chinese revolution that drove capitalist warlord

SWP Candidates File Early, Start Campaign in L.A.

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, Feb. 1 — Intent on using all the time possible to present its anti-war program, the Socialist Workers Party completed the petition requirements necessary to run for office well before the deadline. Close to 1,000 signatures each were filed for Myra Tanner Weiss for Mayor and Robert E. Morgan for Board of Education, office No. 6.

Chiang Kai-shek off China's mainland and restore his bestial dictatorship over the Chinese people. It is also apparent that Eisenhower aims to restore the old boundaries in Europe by destroying the non-capitalist states in Eastern Europe. This is the clear meaning of the general's two key foreign policy statements: (1) that he is "issuing instructions that the Seventh Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China"; and (2) that "this government recognizes no kind of commitment contained in secret understandings of the past with foreign governments which permit... enslavement."



GEN. EISENHOWER

Eisenhower Gives Go Ahead Signal To Big Business

By Thomas Raymond

President Eisenhower's first State of the Union speech revealed an outlook on domestic affairs reflecting the most reactionary opinions of the American capitalist class. It was a thinly veiled declaration that the nation is to be turned over to the mercies of the class of finance capitalists from which he drew his cabinet. The economic doctrines he espoused are based upon the moss-encrusted tenets of the most reactionary capitalists: "the natural working of economic law," and the "encouragement" of private initiative. As has been often seen in the past, these doubletalk phrases are merely candy-coated synonyms for the unrestricted exploitation of the nation's population and resources by the capitalist class.

'King' Ryan -- Success Story of Union Bureaucrat

By Joseph Keller

Joseph P. "King" Ryan, who in 1947 had his presidency of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association extended for life, has made sure he receives due acclaim while still alive. He has, in fact, set up a Joseph P. Ryan Association whose sole visible function is the holding of periodic testimonial banquets for his namesake. These affairs have attracted not only fellow union bureaucrats and waterfront employers, but the uppercrust of New York's political and racketeering circles.

dock workers, added the final spicy ingredients to the unsavory stew which had been cooking for two months at the hearing, where hundreds of witnesses revealed the alliance of employers, gangsters, capitalist politicians and rotten union officials to keep down and bleed the longshoremen. During the commission's questioning of Ryan, it was disclosed that he had not failed to avail himself of the small material perquisites that thoughtful employers so kindly provide for amenable union officials. In short, Ryan dipped not infrequently into an "anti-Communist fund," supplied by patriotic employers, to acquire such weapons of anti-Red struggle as \$35 silk shirts, Cadillac cars and insurance premiums. He also withdrew \$31,650.81 from the funds of the union's I.L.A. Journal.

Anyway, it is satisfactory from the standpoint of the employer, particularly McCormack. He admitted he paid his stevedores \$1.54 an hour in contrast with the \$2.10 an hour usually paid union longshoremen. Despite these sub-standard wage scales, his waterfront enterprises have been singularly free of strikes. This freedom from labor difficulties he said was because "I take a human approach to the problem." His "human approach" included, first of all, Ryan, McCormack is a guiding light of the Joseph P. Ryan Association. He also sponsored Ryan for membership in Westchester County's exclusive Winged Foot Country Club. When the club was reorganized and sold bonds, McCormack bought up Ryan's bonds along with some others.

called his "anti-Communist fund." Ryan lightened the fund by \$17,000 in five years. The commission probers uncovered disbursement of the fund monies by Ryan for such "anti-Communist" activity as \$817 for clothing, \$550 for luncheons at the swank Stork Club, \$1,330 for golf guest charges, \$10,744 for insurance premiums, \$478 burial expenses for his sister-in-law, \$460 for a vacation cruise to Guatemala and \$940 for repairs on his 1948 Cadillac.

The fund provided Ryan with a \$40 hat to keep the frost off his craggy dome; nine suits of silk underwear, at \$8.50 per, to protect his tender skin; \$35.50 (apiece) shirts for dress occasions and four at only \$13 each for knock-around; a pair of \$17.95 gloves to protect his delicate mitts from the elements; \$346.16 worth of "ties, hose and handkerchiefs"; \$17.50 for perfume and \$7.50 for one bottle of bath cologne. Of Ryan's take of \$241,097 in 5 years from the union treasury, only

\$100,000 are accounted for by his regular salary of \$20,000 a year. Ryan professed shock that some 30 percent of his union officials, most of them hand-picked by him, are known gangsters with criminal records and numerous jail sentences. When, for instance, he had interceded with prison authorities on behalf of Albert Ackalitis, the thug who has since taken over the "control" of the Jersey piers, it was purely out of the noble impulse to help a "sick man," Ryan explained. The testimony of Ryan and his "advisor and counselor" McCormack adds striking confirmation to the evidence already disclosed by the hearings that shipping industry owners have been "hiring criminals, bribing union officials — because the thugs keep the dockers in line." (Feb. 1 N. Y. Times.) Ryan and his murderous, thieving lieutenants have used "anti-Communism" as the cloak for their collaboration with the employers in stifling the resistance of the longshoremen and providing huge additional profits for the owners.

MEN WHO FOUGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN EARLY DAYS

By Joyce Cowley

The first Women's Rights Convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. A great deal has been written about Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott and the other women who organized this convention. But not much — as far as I can recall — has been written about the men who attended the convention. In fact, if you were to judge by the half-hostile, half-amused manner in which a great many men discuss the woman's movement, you would get the impression that it was a struggle of women against men. But from the start it was organized by women and men who understood that the fight for equality and freedom must be a fight for the rights of all the people, regardless of sex or race.

The early suffrage movement was closely allied to the Abolitionist movement which sought to end the slave system in America. The women who organized the Seneca Falls Convention had attended an anti-slavery convention in London where they were barred as delegates. A controversy arose and they were finally seated — behind a curtain. William Lloyd Garrison, who was to give the keynote speech at the convention, refused to talk and sat behind the curtain with the women. Apparently, the women got ideas. They returned home with the conviction that it was not only the slaves who should be emancipated. When the delegates to the 1848 convention arrived at the Wesleyan Chapel where it was to be held, they found the door locked. A young Yale professor climbed through a window and unlocked it from the inside. Originally, the women had not planned to have men take part in the convention. But since it was a man who climbed through the window to let them in, they decided on the spot to let men participate.

It was a fortunate decision. Among the 31 men attending, there was one who had the courage to support Elizabeth Cady Stanton's resolution for woman suffrage. The women themselves were not quite certain that the suffrage idea would be accepted throughout the country. When they wavered, Frederick Douglass, the ex-slave and great orator, rose and delivered what has been described as one of the greatest speeches advocating the freedom of women and their right to vote that has ever been spoken by a man.

It was he who seconded Mrs. Stanton's motion and his speech that swung the votes and launched the suffrage struggle. With characteristic energy, Douglass entered the fight for women's rights. He was a prominent speaker at every large meeting and convention. His Abolitionist newspaper, the North Star, gave full and enthusiastic coverage to the woman's movement. In editorials he insisted again and again — "in respect to political rights, we hold woman to be justly entitled to all we claim for man — the only true basis of right is the capacity of individuals."

A few years before his death, in a talk before the International Council of Women, Douglass declared:

"There are few facts in my humble history to which I look back with more satisfaction than to the fact, recorded in the history of the Woman Suffrage movement, that I was sufficiently enlightened at the early day, when only a few years from slavery, to support your resolution for woman suffrage. When I ran away from slavery, it was for myself; when I advocated emancipation, it was for my people, but when I stood up for the rights of women, self was out of the question and I found a little nobility in the act."

Douglass, though one of the most prominent, was not the only "women's rights man" — as he characterized himself. The courageous men who joined the fight were subjected to even more ridicule than the women and were branded "hermaphrodites" and "Aunt Nancy men." Men today may smile at this early struggle and find it a bit quaint, but they benefit from the results. Yes, I said men. Today they have healthier, better educated, more intelligent and self-reliant wives. I don't for a moment believe they would prefer the weak, sickly, prudish, clinging-vine type, so "dependent" she is more of a burden than a help. More freedom for women means more freedom for men. It is equally true that in countries where women are held in subjection, men are less free. As Douglass said: "No man can put a chain about the ankle of his fellow man without at last finding the other end of it fastened about his own neck."

SWP CANDIDATES FILE EARLY, START L.A. ELECTION ACTIVITY

(Continued from page 1)

to advocate racial and national equality. The Socialist Workers Party does not support UNESCO because the United Nations is an organization set up to further the aims of American imperialism, and thus cannot fight for equality, but it is in favor of discussing all ideas in the schools, including the ideas of socialism.

The participation of the Los Angeles local of the Socialist Workers Party in this election marks a new stage in its growth. For the first time it has two candidates qualified for the ballot despite the difficult obstacle of

anti-democratic registration requirements. Our candidate for Mayor will be able to present the socialist program in the contest for the highest post in the city, while our candidate for the Board of Education will be able to reach thousands of parents who are directly concerned with the problems of giving their children a good education, free from prejudice.

Our participation at this time is doubly significant because this year the number of candidates running for office in the city has increased about 25% over that of four years ago, indicating a heightened interest in politics.

Negroes in the Postwar World

By ALBERT PARKER
16 pp. . . 10 cents

The Struggle for Negro Equality

By SAUNDERS & PARKER
48 pp. . . 10 cents

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The Basis of the Boom: What Keeps Business at High Level?

By Harry Frankel
(Second of a series.)

In our first article we posed the question which is now being so widely discussed: What would happen to the U.S. economy if war expenditures declined from their expected peak of \$55-60 billion to a "maintenance" level of about \$35-40 billion? This question has a great importance because the Pentagon projects that such a decline will take place during 1954-55 if there is no major war or extension of present fighting.

In order to assess the economic prospects for the future, we must have some conception of the situation of the present and the immediate past. We must ask the question: What sustains the present boom? And in order to answer this we will divide the output of the entire economy into two main sectors, durable products or "hard" goods (automobiles, planes, tanks, guns, household appliances, tools, machines, etc.) and non-durable products or "soft" goods (food, clothing, paper, gasoline, shoes, etc. . . .). This division may not be the best way to approach the problem, but we are limited in using better methods by the manner in which statistics are made up by government and business agencies. It is not always possible to get the statistics we want for other, more scientific, modes of procedure. In any event, the division of the economy into durable and non-durable goods is not without meaning, as we shall see.

DURABLES MOST UNSTABLE
Over a long-term period, the most unstable portion of the economy is the durables group. The depressions are felt first of all and most strongly in this sector, and the booms are marked by a great growth of the durable-goods sector.

There are several reasons for this. Most important of all is the fact that the durables sector includes the capital goods industries, those which produce new tools, machinery, factories, etc. When industry is expanding, the capital goods industries are booming. And it is possible to maintain any sort of capitalist stability or equilibrium only during a period of expansion of industry. When this expansion slows down or stops, the disproportion between production and consumption asserts itself in the form of a crisis.

For example, during the "seven fat years" of the Twenties, the American Locomotive Co. averaged orders for 600 locomotives a year. But in 1932 it got an order for only one engine. This cessation of capitalist expansion, more or less present in all branches of industry, was both the cause and the consequence of the depression.

Another reason the durables sector fluctuates so widely with the economic cycle is that it includes those varieties of consumer goods which are most easily eliminated from the budget (homes, autos, appliances, etc.). Thus between 1929 and 1932, while industrial production as a whole dropped by almost half, the purchases of food declined by only about 10%. Another way to see this same fact is this: In the same years that industrial production as a whole was being cut in half, steel production, chief backbone of the durables sector, was cut by about three-quarters.

Finally, there is a third reason why durables are the shakiest part of the economy. Durables include government armaments purchases, which have been tied very closely to the boom-bust tendencies in the economy in the recent period since the permanent war sector became predominant throughout most of the capitalist world.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents
Movie Review Night
("Limelight," "High Noon" and two important foreign films)
Fri., Feb. 13, 8:30 P.M.
at 52 Market Street

NEW YORK Friday Night Socialist Forum

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2. The Reconstruction Period
3. Since World War II
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If we turn now to the past period of the U.S. economy, we can see quite clearly how important this instability, both upward and downward, of the durables sector is for our analysis. When the slump of 1949 set in, it affected durable goods most of all. Non-durables had been holding level at about index number 180 (1935-39 average equals 100). They were not very much touched by the slump. But durables, on the other hand, which had been up to about 230 at the beginning of 1949, dropped sharply throughout the year, meeting non-durables at the end of 1949 at about index number 180. This decline in the durables sector caused a rise in unemployment from the low level of about 2 1/2 million to almost 5 million.

Thus at the end of 1949 both durable and non-durable goods production stood together at about 180 percent of the 1935-39 average. From that point on the two diverge again like the open blades of a giant scissors. Non-durable production has hardly risen at all since 1949, continuing

along an almost-level line in the range between 180 and 200. But durable goods production, starting from 180 three years ago, has climbed to more than 300! This has meant that durable goods have climbed to the point where they account for more than one-third of total national output, an unusually high percentage. Thus soft goods (primarily consumer-purchased) have not shared much in the boom. But durable goods have increased enormously. Our next question must be: What sustains this durable boom? Here too the answer is clear from the facts. If we divide the total output of the durables sector into three parts, we find that two of them, military hard goods and capital goods, have accounted for the entire durable boom, while the third, consumer durables, has not risen at all.

To give the facts on this very briefly: The military sector of the economy has roughly tripled in the past three years. Capital goods increased by about 50% to a high point in U.S. history.

Consumer durables, by contrast, expanded only very slightly between 1950 and 1951, but then dropped sharply in 1952, falling both in production and sales to below the level of 1950.

The extraordinary import of these facts can be seen from this consideration: that it is just these two sectors upon which the boom now rests which are expected to decline simultaneously after the peak of arms production is reached. Both military and capital-goods sectors, economic and business observers generally agree, will have to decline if the present limited war situation is not expanded into a larger war or into a full world war.

When it is considered that the present boom is based upon these two sectors, and furthermore is based upon their continuous expansion to ever-higher levels, and when it is further considered that this constant expansion of the capital and military sectors has barely sufficed to keep all other portions of the economy on a constant (not expanding) level, then the effect of a simultaneous decline in both sectors may be imagined.

A WEIGHTY ARGUMENT

This line of argument would seem to complete our analysis and show that the economy is virtually foredoomed to a great slump if no major war develops. There is however a very weighty argument raised by many capitalist economists which must be dealt with fully. They point to the ability of the U.S. economy to pass through a far more drastic cut in the arms program in the years 1944-46 (a slash of war expenditures from 41% of the gross national product down to 9% as against the present projected cut from 16% to 11%).

Both Marxist and anti-Marxist economists were in general agreement in 1945 that a great crisis was coming with the demobilization, but such a crisis did not develop. Can a shock in the economy be averted by any means short of war in the coming period, as in 1946-49? We must try to make a careful comparison between that period and the present.

(Next Week: How The Crash Was Postponed.)

Durkin-Reuther Confab



Labor Sec. Martin P. Durkin (l.), former AFL official, chats in Washington with CIO Pres. Walter P. Reuther. Reuther is reported seeking top-level Washington post for a CIO representative.

World Voices Fear at China Move

(Continued from page 1)

Party. Aneurin Bevan, leader of the powerful and growing left wing of the Labor Party, said that "we are not prepared to see Britain drawn into a third world war merely in order to fulfill Chiang Kai-shek's morbid and squalid ambitions on the mainland of China." The next day Bevan publicly proposed, in answer to Eisenhower's "to put the people's government of China on the Security Council (of the United Nations)" and "to get Chiang Kai-shek away from it." This, he said, would "remove the Chinese people's anxiety that a counter-revolutionary war is being prepared on Formosa."

ANXIETY IN ASIA

Apprehension at Eisenhower's message is especially strong in Asian countries like India and Burma. Virtually the entire press of India, echoing the "great concern" voiced by Prime Minister Nehru, attacked Eisenhower in what the N. Y. Times correspondent in Bombay called "biting terms." The Christian Science Monitor's correspondent Ronald M. Stead reports from Rangoon that Eisenhower "has struck a chill among some south-east Asia nations — particularly Burma."

Secretary of State Dulles, whose trip to Europe was timed to deal with anticipated adverse reactions to Eisenhower's declarations, was busily engaged in attempting to assure Washington's disturbed allies that there would be no "reckless action" by Chiang. But everybody knows that use of Chiang's troops for an invasion of China would inevitably bring in its wake American armed forces to back up Eisenhower's ally.

Chiang himself, expressing one of the very few favorable responses to Eisenhower's message, slyly stated that "I . . . will not ask for any aid in ground forces" in his projected assault on China. The inference is plain that he will expect U.S. air and naval forces to back up his invasion. U.S. infantry would be bound to follow sooner or later.

Eisenhower's contention that the U.S. fleet has been "protecting Communist China" from attack by Chiang is, of course, false. It is now freely admitted that Chiang with U.S. arms and backing has been conducting raids all along on China to the extent that his forces permit. The U.S. fleet protected Chiang's Formosa base of operations. It is not expected that in the immediate future Chiang will be able to do much more than he has. But he

knows that Eisenhower has established a formal policy that paves the way for a counter-revolutionary invasion of China with the aid of U.S. armed forces at any time Eisenhower deems the time propitious.

LESSON OF KOREA

As for Dulles' talk about not permitting "reckless action" that would widen the war, we can dismiss that. The U.S. invasion of Korea in 1950 was not considered "reckless"; but there are already one and a half million veterans of that "police action." McArthur's march to the Yalu River border of Manchuria was

not called "reckless"; but it forced China into the war.

Every foreign policy step taken by the Wall Street government since the end of World War II has been a move toward another global war. Eisenhower is continuing and speeding up this war drive.

There can be no peace in the Far East until the American troops are pulled out of Korea. At the same time, we must call a halt to the policy of aiding counter-revolution in China, we must recognize the new Chinese government, end the blockade and establish normal trade relations with China.

EISENHOWER CLEARS PATH FOR BIG BUSINESS PROGRAM

(Continued from page 1)

than more, and for the working people to pay more taxes rather than less. While this has been the trend of taxes even under the past Democratic administrations, it has now become the open tax program of the Federal government.

Thus the N. Y. Times, its reactionary editorial staff made very happy by Eisenhower's message, commented feelingly: "We have already lived too long with the notion that a million dollars in taxes has the same impact on the economy whatever form it takes." (Feb. 3). The clear intent is to lighten the load on business and to increase the already ponderous burden that the low-income families must carry.

Eisenhower addressed the following words to the labor movement: "The determination of labor policy must be governed not by the vagaries of political expediency but by the firmest principles and convictions." This remark is intended to convey to the unions the idea that the new administration will shed the policy of social concessions, already 90% abandoned by the Democrats, as fast as it is able.

The new Big Business president buttressed this warning with the injunction that: "We all — workers and farmers, foremen and financiers, technicians and builders — all must produce, produce more, and produce yet more." Since Eisenhower here mentions some who produce and others who merely lay the whip to their backs, it is clear what he wants. He chooses these confusing words in order to dress up in a more palatable form his exhortation to

the workers and farmers to "produce" and his encouragement to the foremen and financiers to lay the whip on more strongly.

NATIONAL DEBT TO RISE

Among the less brilliant of Eisenhower's declarations to the joint session of Congress is his determination to eliminate the budget deficit. Even the less learned of his economists can inform him that this very budget deficit has encouraged the boom since 1941. By pumping more purchasing power into the economy in the form of expenditures (mostly for arms and war) than has been taken out in the form of taxes, the federal government has for a dozen years helped to relieve the basic capitalist disproportion between production and purchasing power. When for two years (1947-8) the budget deficit was eliminated, this helped bring the slump of 1949.

Of course this is a crisis way of resolving the problem of capitalism, and shows that U.S. capitalism has never emerged from its 1929 collapse on any "normal" basis. But, it may be asked of Eisenhower, does he know of any other way to keep the economy going? He surely does not, as there is no other way open to capitalism. Thus when he expresses the fear that the national debt will soon go beyond the limit set by Congress of \$275 billion (the present debt is over \$265 billion), he is only speaking foolishness. If there is anything at all certain in this world, it is that the U.S. national debt will soon go over the legal limit, and Congress will be forced to change the law to set a new and higher limit.

The American Way of Life

'The City Is Decaying'

Two recent statements help us to get our glimpse this week of the American way of life and what it is really like, not in the pages of Life or Look, but in reality.

On Jan. 28 a Brooklyn grand jury charged, in the words of N. Y. World-Telegram staff writer Norton Mockridge that "New York is infested with so many firetraps and violation-ridden, health-menacing tenements and multiple dwellings that the city itself is deteriorating and decaying."

The snappy slick-paper magazines and the glowing speechmakers like to picture slums and misery as "a thing of the past" in this country. When backed to the wall by facts they will admit that slums still exist but will claim that things are "improving." But listen to the words of the grand jury that investigated slum conditions after a tenement fire in Brooklyn that killed seven persons:

"Slums are being created much faster than they are being eliminated. Overcrowding is the germ of the slum disease. Occupancy of dark, damp and filthy cellars that defy description, and families of six, seven and more, cooking, eating and sleeping in one room lacking proper toilet and bathing facilities, are spreading the slum blot.

"It is the poor who get the least and not always at the lowest price. The problem has been festering for half a century, if not longer. The evidence adduced before us disclosed that the greatest city in the world is, surely but not slowly, being permitted to deteriorate and decay."

This is a candid description of a city blighted by spreading cancerous sores in the form of slums. But of course, the apologists will cry, the slum-dwellers enjoy traditional American rights of protest in order to win fair play. For example the grand jury found a total of almost 12,000 unrecorded housing violations. The people who are forced to live under these miserable conditions will of course be able to organize to improve their lot, such apologists say.

Here is where our second recent statement comes in. The National Federation of Settlement and Neighborhood Centers, which works mainly in the slum areas, issued a national report on Jan. 30 which said: "People in the neighborhoods are afraid to join anything."

The report stated: "Newspaper reports of people losing their jobs because of such associations and questions that they themselves have faced, create a kind of timidity and fear that is quite out of keeping with traditional American freedom we all cherish." It added that people in slum areas may be more sensitive to this witch hunt because "some of them knew that kind of fear before they came here, and in many instances it was the reason for their coming."

Here is a picture of America with the veil briefly drawn aside. "Slums are being created much faster than they are being eliminated" and the slum dwellers are "afraid to join anything" in the way of a protest movement because of the atmosphere of intimidation. It is not a pretty picture.

— Fred Hart

THE MILITANT ARMY

"In the last few weeks we have noted particular interest in The Militant and discussion about the articles," writes Minneapolis Literature Agent Helen Sherman.

"The front-page article on the Labor Party and the editorials on the escalator clause and 'What About Tax Relief' are sure to attract the attention and win the approval of any worker who sees the latest issue of The Militant.

"In addition, the very pertinent and popular writings of Joyce Cowley on the experiences and problems of the working woman are a valuable contribution to the paper. This compliment to Joyce Cowley is, indeed, long overdue. To cinch the argument that The Militant is the best and most significant paper in print, one need only refer to the James P. Cannon series of articles — Capitalism or Socialism. And that is the question and discussion of the day." Helen encloses a batch of subs secured by Prentice, Donald, Wally and Harold.

New York reports a good sale by Tom L. Ethel B. and Anne M. at a meeting to protest the demand by the State Department that the Rev. James H. Robinson surrender his passport. There was a very favorable response and 19 Militants were sold. Frank Z. and Pete T. sold 12 papers at a Monthly Review forum discussing anti-semitism in the Soviet Union. Frank and Pete report that one of those who bought the paper greeted them very warmly and said he knew the paper from Minneapolis and was glad to see them around. Another who said he was a Stalinist got into a discussion with Frank and ended up buying the paper.

Literature Agent Louise Maxwell describes some of the plans and activities of Los Angeles Eastside and Westside Militant salesmen. "Our Westside comrades, a number of whom are students, have been carrying on sales both on and off the campus. During the election campaign

sales were primarily conducted at rallies and other meetings. Since then we have had good results on the campus in our sales of The Militant and of the Fourth International containing Clark's debate with the three NYU professors. At these sales we distributed leaflets advertising the Cannon series at the Friday night forum. This gave us a chance to climax our discussions with an invitation to attend the forum and continue the discussions there.

"Errol, Leonard, Delores, and Phyllis participated in this work, the success of which was evidenced by the fact that at least 15 students came down to hear the lectures. Others showed an interest in our literature. Now we are planning to expand our sales in connection with the coming election campaign.

"The Eastside comrades are centering on projects nearby to build individual sales and through these sales to obtain subs and new friends for our ideas. We are running a contest, with the book 'Black Reconstruction' as a prize. To date the scores are as follows: Chuck, 12; Dick, 7; Natalie, 6; Charlie, 4; Al, 3; and Leo, 3. In addition to sales in the projects, the branch expects to increase street sales and sales in the shop."

Thanks to R. G. of East Greenbush, New York, for his donation of 55c. to help print The Militant.

The Jim Crow Murder of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore

By GEORGE BREITMAN
10c

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Who Should Wake Up?

"The working stiff should be on the alert and beware of tax shifts." This is the title of an editorial in the Jan. 15 **United Mine Workers Journal**, official publication of the United Mine Workers of America.

Denouncing the "steady stream of bunk" about promised tax cuts under the Eisenhower administration, the editors of the **Journal** say: "The free-enterprise boys of the NAM and Chambers of Commerce have been firing salvos on taxes which, in effect, means a shift in the tax burden from the rich and the profiteers to the shoulders of the consumers."

"The three-shell game the free-enterprise politicians seek to employ," they continue, "is to limit federal income taxes to 25 percent, impose a manufacturer's or production tax of from five to 10 percent and a consumer sales tax, such as the Federal Government now collects on gasoline. Right here is where labor should wake up to the realities of the tax situation."

Then comes the conclusion: "The working stiff must alert himself to fighting in every manner he can — from the local political level on up — against the kind of anti-tax crusade that leaves the common folks holding the bag."

This editorial stand, undoubtedly reflecting the views of John L. Lewis, is a good one we think — as far as it goes. We are all for being "alert" to the new tax gouge now in preparation.

It's our impression, however, that the "common folks" have been "alert" for some time, not only to any new schemes to heap

further taxes on the shoulders of the poor but to the old ones under which they are already staggering. The mounting tax burden is one of the big grievances of workers, a grievance many of them voice every time they look at the deductions for taxes on the payroll slip. They have given every indication of their readiness to fight on this issue as well as others bothering them, such as the war in Korea.

Arousing the "working stiff" to the danger is no problem; the problem is to wake up the trade union bureaucrats, including the officialdom of the United Mine Workers. The **Journal** proposes to fight in "every manner" from "the local political level on up" and yet in the last election the **Journal** did not fight — it backed the Democrats, one of the twin parties of the big corporations and the very party responsible for the present intolerable load of taxes.

We think the editors of the **Journal** should follow their own advice and begin fighting on the political level. That means, specifically, advocating the end of company unionism in politics and doing everything possible to build a Labor Party. If the heads of the United Mine Workers, one of the most powerful unions in the country, take the lead in this, it is obvious what tremendous repercussions it would have.

Such a course, wholly in the militant tradition of the miners and a logical continuation of the leading role they have played so often in the past in battling the big corporations on the economic front, would be hailed throughout the country by the rank and file of the unions.

Continue the Fight!

In his State of the Union message to Congress, President Eisenhower declared that he favors amendment of the Taft-Hartley law to make it more palatable to labor. But the actual process of amendment as it is now shaping up will not alter anything in the law of real significance to the labor movement, although it may change the name. And since the objections of the labor movement were not to the name of this act but to its specific union-busting provisions, the fight against the Taft-Hartley law must go on.

The very men who will be in charge of the so-called "revision" of the law are among the strongest supporters of the anti-labor purposes of the Taft-Hartley law. First of all, Senator Taft himself, despite the fact that he has left the chairmanship of the Senate Labor Committee for his higher post as Senate majority leader, will personally take over chairmanship of the sub-committee that will hold hearings.

Then, the new chairman of the Senate labor committee, H. Alexander Smith, one-time New Jersey industrialist, a consistent supporter of the Taft-Hartley law, was Taft's own choice for the post. Finally, the new chairman of the House labor committee, Rep. Samuel J. McConnell Jr., is a Philadelphia investment banker.

The changes which these Republican

Use Labor's Own Measuring Stick

The great confusion and controversy touched off by the Bureau of Labor Statistics' announcement of its new revised cost-of-living index has caused a closer examination by the unions of how this index is compiled and whether it reflects accurately the real rise and fall of living costs.

A change upward or downward of the relative weight of the major factors such as food which make up the index, can mean the gain or loss of millions of dollars to workers whose union contracts contain cost-of-living escalator wage clauses tied to the BLS figures.

In the case of the new index, lesser importance is given to the factor of food, which represents a higher percentage of total family expenditures for the lower income levels than the upper. Under the old index, food had a relative weight of 35.1 per cent; under the new, only 30.1 per cent. Thus, an increase in food prices, which bears most heavily on the workers, would be reflected to a smaller extent in the new index than the old.

What especially disturbed the CIO, according to Emil Rieve, CIO Vice-President and chairman of the CIO Committee on Economic Policy, was the idea that the BLS might institute a policy of "constantly changing the yardstick" and thereby "complicate the process of labor negotiations." This would enable the government to revise the statistics to the advantage of the employers whenever the latter desire.

But the CIO did not specify any wish for a return to the old index. Rieve pointed out that the CIO had itself made a number of suggestions for changing the methods of calculating the cost of living that would more truly reveal the real changes. "We regret that many suggestions have not been adopted," Rieve said. He pointed to one specifically.

"We strongly urge the parallel publication of another index which takes into account the taxes paid by people since the new index is designed primarily to measure the buying power of net wages" — that is, wages after taxes.

Thus, we see, neither the old index, which Eisenhower has ordered to be issued also, nor the new index takes into account certain of the heaviest devourers of the workers' incomes and deliberately minimizes certain others. These indexes, as put out by an agency of the capitalist government, have been and are now rigged and manipulated to the advantage of the corporations.

There would not be the "confusion in the American labor scene" that Rieve complained of in his statement on the new index, if the labor unions, in cooperation with the farmers' and housewives' organizations, compiled their own reliable index and made it the basis of cost-of-living escalator wage clauses. This would avoid the real source of the unreliability of the present index — its authorship by an agency of the anti-labor government.

"Black Reconstruction" -- A Masterful Book

By George Breitman

BLACK RECONSTRUCTION by W. E. B. DuBois. Republished 1952 by Albert Saifer, Philadelphia 43, Pa. 746 pp., \$9.

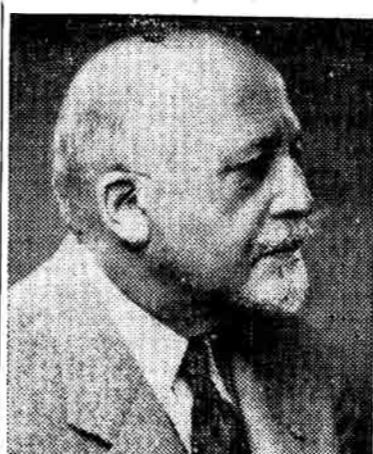
It is a great pleasure to be able to report the reprinting of Dr. DuBois' monumental book, **Black Reconstruction**, originally published in 1935. For this book, one of the outstanding historical works of this country, is must reading for everyone who considers himself a socialist, or who wants to know the true history of the U.S. since the Civil War, or who tries to understand the background of the Jim Crow system and the current struggle for civil rights.

This book had a strong influence, directly and indirectly, especially on young radicals and students in the Thirties. Interest in it continued with the war and during the flood of books on the Negro question, but it has been out of print for several years and available only through libraries. Dr. DuBois is one of the most distinguished scholars in the country, but the original publisher showed no desire to reprint the book even before the author was blacklisted for his opposition to the cold war and his association with some of the Stalinist-dominated organizations. Albert Saifer is to be commended for reissuing the book, although it is unfortunate that he had to put such a high price on it.

EXPOSES THE LIES

Reconstruction (1867-76) was the final phase of the second American revolution, the only time when Negroes enjoyed anything resembling democracy in the South. It is probably the most dramatic period in this nation's existence and certainly the most lied-about period. For decades the leading historians, educators and other molders of public opinion labored energetically to falsify, distort and obscure the real facts about one of the most magnificent and inspiring chapters in American history.

DuBois took them all on in this book, and tore them to pieces, exposing them in all their nakedness as prostituted peddlers of class and race prejudice. It is incon-



W. E. B. DuBOIS

ceivable to me now, as it was the first time I read this book, that any objective reader can finish it without being fundamentally convinced that here is the true balance sheet of Reconstruction. More significant is the fact that nothing written on the subject since 1935 has contributed anything to alter the main picture drawn by DuBois (although some works, notably C. Vann Woodward's **Reunion and Reaction**, have added to our knowledge and understanding of certain aspects of the period).

FOR THE REVOLUTION

Many factors combined to make this a great book. The first is the solid array of facts that it contains, dug up partly by DuBois himself and partly by other scholars, many of them Negroes. No one has been able to refute these facts, and it is not likely that anyone will.

The second strength of the book is DuBois' identification with the revolution he describes and the masses of Negroes in its vanguard. His objectiveness in presenting the facts does not mean that he is neutral or non-committal about the side he takes, as most American historians usually are, including the better ones like Beard. On the contrary, he is a partisan, passionately on the side of the revolution, defending it against its enemies, seeing the events through the eyes of the oppressed slaves and freedmen

and basing his judgments on what their reactions must have been.

This represented quite an achievement for DuBois. For a long time he was one of the chief advocates of the petty-bourgeois theory that the salvation of the Negro people depends primarily on their "talented tenth" of educated leaders. He did not completely shake off the effects of this theory in this book, but he overcame it and his own middle-class outlook to a remarkable degree. The insight that resulted provides the book with an impact, power and eloquence that lift many passages above the level of scholarship and polemic into the realm of lasting literature (for example, the moving and sometimes even lyrical sections of the chapters on the slaves' role in the Civil War and on what emancipation meant to them, and the final chapter's ringing reply to the traducers of Reconstruction).

LINKS WITH TODAY

Another strong feature was his effort to relate the struggle over Reconstruction to the class struggles of our own time. Not content to deal with Reconstruction as merely a finished episode of history, he sought to discover in it the roots of the contradictions and conflicts that characterize 20th-century capitalism. This is probably the only book ever subsidized in part by the Carnegie Fund that predicts and favors the "dictatorship of the proletariat!"

DuBois is not a Marxist, although he was clearly under its influence when he wrote this book. His attempt to adapt certain Marxist categories for use in his own revolutionary-democratic sociology is not always successful; his outstanding error in this respect, the characterization he made of the Reconstruction governments, became the main weapon used against the book by hostile critics.

The Reconstruction governments were dictatorships all right — but they were dictatorships of the capitalist class and its federal government, maintained in the South by military power, supported by the Negroes and for a time by a large section of the white masses, suppressing

the planters in order to institute a revolution in the labor system and certain democratic reforms that would help the capitalists to retain political power in Washington. (Later, the Northern capitalists came to an understanding with the counter-revolutionary planters which led to the withdrawal of the federal troops and the establishment, through force and violence, of white supremacy on a capitalist basis.)

DuBois made the mistake of calling these Reconstruction governments a "dictatorship of labor," similar to the dictatorship of the proletariat created in Russia in 1917. But as J. Meyer pointed out in **Fourth International** (November 1949), "Far from doing harm, the conception that lay behind the mistaken formula was the strength of DuBois' book: he recognized that the Negroes in particular had tried to carry out ideas that went beyond the prevailing conceptions of bourgeois democracy." (The May-June 1950 issue of the same magazine contains two useful articles on Reconstruction and on DuBois' work and influence.)

WE LEARNED TOO

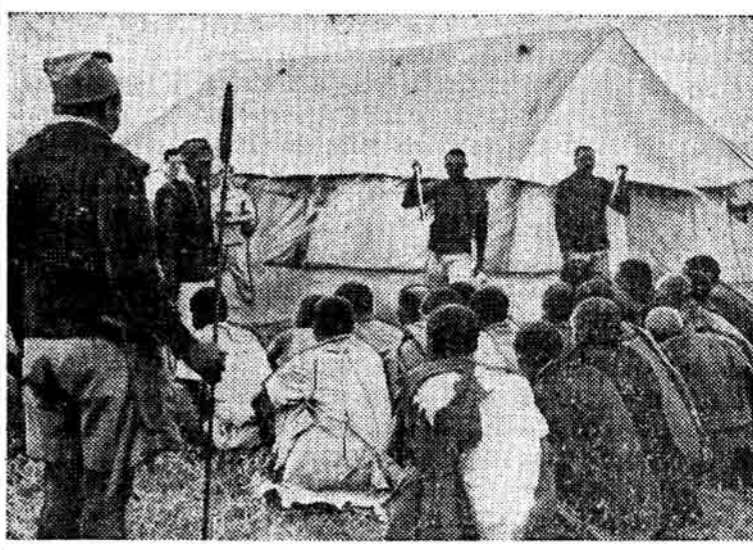
But if part of the value of this book derives from DuBois' at-

tempts to learn from Marxism, it is also true, I think, that American Marxism learned some things from him in this book, things it is specially fitting to acknowledge when Negro History Week is being celebrated again.

From this book and the school of Negro historians out of which it grew, we learned to re-examine 19th-century history from the standpoint, among other things, of the experiences and struggles of that class — the slaves — on whose oppression and exploitation an entire social system was based. All this had been ignored for the most part, even by the Marxist movement in this country, before the publication of **Black Reconstruction**.

But DuBois' masterful analysis, for example, of the part played by the slave in the Civil War, qualitatively superior in its concreteness to anything tried in this field previously, opened new frontiers for Marxist students and led to the fruitful re-examination of the decisive role of the slaves in the anti-slavery movements that preceded and helped to precipitate the second American revolution. For this service we are all in the debt of Dr. DuBois, despite our differences with him on many current political questions.

Terror in Africa



Under toleration of British imperialists, spear-carrying guards surround African nationalist rebels arrested in Kenya as drive continues to wipe out liberation movement. British imperialism, hard hit by colonial movements everywhere, is concentrating on Africa as one of last strongholds.

Bolivians Seek Means To Break Tin Blockade

The recent purchase by the U.S. government of 5,000 tons of tin from the nationalized mines of Bolivia is not an indication that the State Department intends to relieve its pressure against the revolution started there last April by the workers and peasants. In fact, the purchase was aimed at heightening the difficulties faced by the people in freeing their mountainous, resources-rich country from the grip of foreign capitalists.

With this token purchase, the State Department is in effect telling the Estenssoro government that there's more money where that came from provided you demonstrate willingness to play ball with the Eisenhower administration and the big business interests it represents.

The Estenssoro government of Bolivia is inclined to respond to the State Department pressure. However, in face of the armed, revolutionary-minded workers it has to ease.

Trying to pave the way for major concessions, Estenssoro's supporters argue that there is no other possible course but submission. According to the February issue of **Lucha Obrera** (Workers' Struggle), official newspaper of the POR (Revolutionary Workers Party), which has just been received here, "This tendency now maintains that Bolivia cannot free itself from the Yankee orbit and must inevitably remain in the grip of the colossus of the North. In a

panicky way they also seek to carry this pessimism and conformism into the ranks of the workers. They argue that tin must be sold to Yankee imperialism at any price and no matter what the conditions."

OLD ARGUMENTS

Lucha Obrera points out that such false arguments were formerly used to defend the Patino, Hochschild and Aramayo monopoly of Bolivia's tin mines and to contend that "nationalization would be a catastrophe for the country."

In the opinion of **Lucha Obrera**, these people "overestimate the imperialist power" to contain the struggle for freedom. The general trend throughout the world has "created an unfavorable relation of forces for imperialism." In Latin America it has suffered "serious defeats and will suffer still more."

The revolutionary socialist paper points out that "tin is a strategic material which all nations need and which must be purchased no matter what." Consequently, if sales are blocked by the "Anglo-Yankee boycott," the workers should demand that Bolivian tin be placed on the free world market and sold to the highest bidder, whether Chinese, English, Russian or Japanese.

The workers "should demand the breaking of the imperialist encirclement blocking trade relations between the countries of Western and Eastern Europe, the China of Mao Tse-tung, the

USSR and full interchange among Latin American nations."

As a step in this direction, **Lucha Obrera** advocates "formation of a big pool of raw materials" produced in Latin America in order to place them more advantageously on the world market. Thus Latin America would no longer appear as "small, separated republics" faced by monopolists. "An economic power would be born which could discuss prices and conditions of sale as equal to equal with any other colossus." Among other advantages, this would enable the Latin American countries to decrease their dependence on imperialism and their "sharp problems of subsistence could be advantageously resolved."

The Bolivian workers and peasants must not become disheartened over the U.S. boycott and think that they have no allies. **Lucha Obrera** points to the colonial peoples "who are rising against the imperialist oppression" and "the peoples of the Soviet bloc who are struggling against the ring of death which the 'democratic bloc' has placed around them."

FOR SOCIALIST AMERICA

The Bolivian workers must seek allies among their own class abroad, making the workers of China, Argentina and the United States understand that their own fate is involved in the struggle going on in Bolivia. If the imperialist U.S. were replaced by a socialist America, "our victory would be assured and the difficulties in our evolution toward higher social forms in large part overcome. We have been forced to take the lead in seeking the destruction of imperialism in our own country, facing up to the negative aspects involved, with the sure knowledge that those in other climes who think like us are struggling for the same goal."

Looking forward to a socialist Western Hemisphere, **Lucha Obrera** points out that it has become an imperative necessity to build a harmonious political-economic structure linking all the Americas. "The victorious revolutionary workers will establish continental unity, thus doing what the native capitalists cannot do despite all their discourses on this subject. The revolution of the proletariat at the head of the native masses and exploited middle classes, on destroying imperialist oppression will also destroy the major obstacle to the unity of the Americas."

World Events

By Charles Hanley

SOUTH AFRICA'S only representative of the Negro population in parliament, B. P. Bunting, elected by the natives of Eastern Cape Province, is going to be expelled from the assembly, like his predecessor, because of his political views, the Minister of Justice announced.

PRIME MINISTER MALAN will ask the South African Parliament for dictatorial powers to be used in "emergencies." Malan wants to rule by decree to facilitate his persecution of South Africa's Negro majority.

BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT Paz Estenssoro denied rumors that the U.S. had requested the dismissal of union leader Juan Lechin from his post as Minister of Mines, as a condition for the U.S.-Bolivian tin deal. The Bolivian government also signed an agreement Jan. 26 selling half of that country's tin output to a British company. The entire production of the former Patino mines will be bought by a Liverpool firm indirectly controlled by the Patino interests.

VICENTE TOLEDANO, well-known Stalinist Mexican labor leader who once wielded great influence throughout Latin America, declared he now supports Pres. Adolfo Ruiz Cortines, although he ran against him in the election. Toledano claims that Cortines has adopted the opposition's program and should therefore be supported by labor. Cortines, however, is continuing in the tradition of his predecessor in office, Miguel Aleman.

THE VENEZUELAN dictatorship of Col. Jimenez is frequently identified with the U.S. by the democratic majority that voted against him, reports Sam Pope Brewer, N. Y. Times correspondent. A "whispering campaign" has spread the rumor that the illegal December coup through which Jimenez became president was approved by the U.S. Embassy. Brewer does not believe this, but indicates: "There is no doubt that U.S. business men find the present government a good one for them to deal with."

ARMISTICE NEGOTIATIONS started Feb. 2 between the

Filipino government and the Huk guerrillas who are still active in their resistance movement despite repeated announcements of their "annihilation" by the Manila government.

IN BURMA the Karen insurgents captured the important river town of Eimne, 90 miles west of Rangoon, Jan. 28, in their deepening drive into the Irrawaddy Delta area. The government forces retreated.

SIX RUMANIAN ministers were "purged" from that country's Stalinist cabinet in January 1953. Two others were removed from their present posts but given other jobs.

MINISTER OF HEALTH in the new French cabinet is M. Beutemy, the former director of Marshall Petain's pro-fascist secret police in 1941-42, and the Vichy government's prefect of the Loire Department and of the region of Lyons. A healthy person indeed.

A BIG TRIAL is probably being prepared in East Germany against prominent SED (Stalinist) members who lived in Western Europe or America during World War II and were at that time in contact with Jewish relief organizations.

DETROIT

National Negro History Week

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Stalin's Anti-Zionism

By Jean Blake

To understand the true nature of Stalinist anti-Semitism which is a dominant feature of the current purge and frame-up trials in E. Europe and the Soviet Union it is necessary to distinguish between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.

For one thing, anti-Jewish, or anti-Semitic, and anti-Zionist are two different things. Many people are anti-Zionist without being anti-Semitic.

Many Communist Party members, trying to excuse the present purge, argue that it is directed against Zionism, or Jewish nationalism, not against Jews.

But let's examine this Stalinist anti-Zionism for a moment. The first thing that becomes apparent is that there is nothing of a principled internationalist character about it. It is too inconsistent. Not con-

cern for the international working class struggle against capitalism, but the changing needs of Stalinist foreign policy in the interest of preserving the bureaucratic regime in Russia is what determines whether the Communist parties throughout the world are pro-Zionist or anti-Zionist.

All the proof that's necessary is the line of the Communist Party from the time of Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union through World War II. The Stalinists were high on the band-wagon of the bond drives for Israel, and in the various Jewish cultural movements supporting those drives.

As a matter of fact, the Trotskyists, whom they now link with Zionists, were the one working-class tendency that did not succumb to this pressure. The Socialist Workers Party and genuine Marxist internationalists throughout the world continued to point out that the establishment of a Jewish national state would not solve the problem of anti-Semitism and persecution of Jews.

(For a Marxist analysis and proposed solution of this problem, we recommend The Jewish Question by A. Leon. It can be obtained for \$1 from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.)

Stalinist anti-Zionism, then, is merely a tool of the Kremlin's foreign policy, and has nothing to do with criticism of Zionism as a solution to the problem of Jewish oppression.

Next week we shall discuss "What is anti-Semitism?"

Sloan and Marx

By Lewis Peterson

When the Papal Inquisition in 1633 forced Galileo to abjure the theory that the earth rotates on its axis and moves around the sun, it is said he rose from his knees after repeating the formula of abjuration, stamped on the ground and exclaimed, "Eppur si muove!" — "Still, it moves!"

The American capitalists with their modern Inquisition — the witch-hunt against radicals — try to force Marxists to renounce and abjure the findings of Karl Marx, founder of scientific socialism, and his analysis of the operations of capitalism.

The capitalist rulers are especially anxious to stamp out the Marxist teaching that capitalism is a class society of exploiters and exploited; that the modern state with its military and police agencies is an institution for the protection of the exploiters; and that "the executive of the modern State," as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote in their Communist Manifesto of 1848, is "but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie," the capitalists.

No one would say of Alfred P. Sloan, chairman of the General Motors Corp., that he is a Galileo, still less a Marxist. Yet even this bitter opponent of all liberal thought the other day inadvertently confirmed that "still, it (capitalist society) moves" as the Communist Manifesto said over a hundred years ago.

"Our country is predominantly a business society," Sloan told a luncheon meet-

ing of 500 industrialists in New York City. "As business goes, so do we all." He then depicted the national administration as "in part, the general staff of our society. Hence of business."

Sloan lacks the scientific precision of language of Marx and Engels, but his idea is very clear all the same. He's saying that the government is indeed "a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie," as Sloan calls it, "the general staff... of business."

The capitalists understand, and have always understood this key fact, even though they try to tell the workers that America has no class struggle and that the government is an impartial agency standing above the various groups in our society. The capitalists have not one, but two parties to ensure their continued control of the government apparatus and the capitalist state. And today, as Eisenhower's cabinet appointments show, the capitalists are taking directly on themselves personally the operation of the government.

American workers, when they begin to understand the class nature of the government as the capitalists do, will act with class consciousness like the capitalists. They will build their own party, a Labor Party, to establish a government that will be "the general staff" or "committee for managing the common affairs" of all who do the useful work of society — a government that will represent not capitalist "business" but the overwhelming majority in America.

Notes from the News

A U.S. OFFICER in Korea has been court-martialed for beating and kicking to death a Korean Presbyterian minister. The officer broke into a smile when the court martial announced a two-year sentence. Rev. E. Otto de Camp, head of the Presbyterian mission in Korea, said of the light sentence: "This will be the biggest blow to Christianity in Asia since it was introduced by the first missionaries." Chun Pil Sun, head of the Presbyterian Church in Seoul, declared: "It is obvious now the life of a Korean means nothing to the United States Army."

A MISSISSIPPI JURY awarded \$5,000 to Mrs. Mary Dunning because a newspaper erroneously listed her as Negro in reporting an auto accident. Despite a printed correction, Mrs. Dunning had a nervous breakdown and had to be treated in the state mental hospital.

READING LABOR ADVOCATE, official organ of the Berks County (Penna.) Socialist Party, editorially advocates in its Jan. 30 issue that the death sentences of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg be commuted to imprisonment.

546 COAL MINERS were killed in mine accidents in 1952, according to the U.S. Bureau of Mines. It also estimates that 36,800 miners were injured in mine accidents.

LOGIC OF WITCH HUNT. The Southern States Industrial Council, an organization dominated by industrialists and bankers, officially declared that FEPC "is of Communist origin and inspiration."

19-YEAR-OLDS are now being drafted for the first time since the start of the undeclared war in Korea.

IMPARTIAL (?) PRESS. A few hours after Eisenhower's address to Congress, the Associated Press sent out the following dispatch: "He (Eisenhower) made a hit with television viewers

and radio listeners in his first appearance before Congress." How did AP know? Does it claim to have made an audience survey in the brief time between the speech and their dispatch? Or does AP color the news?

PROTESTS to Texaco (the Texas Company) over its contributions to Merwin K. Hart, one of America's leading anti-Semites, have brought the reply that Hart "is a patriotic American, protecting the American way of life."

NEGRO JOURNALISM has come a long way in this country since the first Negro newspaper was published by John B. Russurm 116 years ago. Today there are 204 Negro papers published, not including school and college publications.

PUERTO RICAN AUTHORITIES have indicated their concern over the U.S. Army court-martial for refusal to attack of 91 enlisted men and one officer, all Puerto Ricans. Following the incident the Puerto Rican 65th Regiment was withdrawn from the line for "retraining." The defendants got sentences ranging from 11 months to ten years. Several months ago General Thomas E. Phillips, U.S. Army retired, declared that if U.S. troop losses had been proportionate to Puerto Rican losses they would have amounted to hundreds of thousands. For some time there has been discontent in the 65th Regiment and in Puerto Rico because of the feeling that Puerto Rican troops in Korea were being given more than their fair share of the fighting.

RUTH REYNOLDS, pacifist writer, who was framed and sentenced to six years at hard labor for allegedly being a member of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, is now out of prison on \$20,000 bail. The American Civil Liberties Union is one of the organizations which has interested itself in her case. Miss Reynolds is in the U.S. and is telling her story to interested audiences.

THE MILITANT

Substandard Compensation For Jobless

In the struggle to keep up living standards in the face of mounting inflation, the workers have managed to gain wage increases although they still trail behind prices. But the fight for adequate unemployment compensation has received little attention in union circles in recent years because of the high rate of employment. The weakness on this front becomes glaring, however, in strike situations where workers are out any length of time.

A jobless worker, forced to live on unemployment compensation, is up against a really tough prospect. Compensation rates were set in the first place not much above the hunger level. With prices skyrocketing, those rates are now outrageously inadequate.

A study recently prepared by the Labor Department shows that unemployment compensation now lags about 50% behind the rise in prices and wages. The Department indicates that payments in most states would have to be increased up to a minimum of \$38 to \$40 a week to restore the ratio between wages and unemployment compensation to the 1939 level, a rate scarcely calculated to induce many workers to prefer a jobless status.

The following table, prepared by Labor News Service on the basis of Labor Department figures, shows how great the gap has become between the 1952 rate and what it should be to maintain the 1939 ratio. As you can see, even bringing unemployment compensation up to the 1939 level would still leave this form of insurance far from adequate to bridge that difficult gap between jobs.

Table with 3 columns: State, 1952, Should be. Lists states from Ala. to Wyo. with corresponding compensation values.

Anti-Red Racket

Joseph August Lupia, of New York, has been arrested by the FBI on a charge of misuse of the mails to solicit contributions to the All-American Council, an organization set up to combat "Communism." Lupia, who got \$3,500 from one New York businessman, used all but \$18 for personal expenses such as alimony and a down payment on a new car.

Two Pamphlets

A Letter to American Negroes By Wm. E. Bohannon 10 cents Vigilante Terror In Fontana By Myra Tanner Weiss 15 cents (only a few copies available) Order from Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

Thirteen CP Leaders Sentenced To Prison in N.Y. Witch-Hunt Trial

By George Lavan

NEW YORK, Feb. 3 — Another nail was driven into the coffin of U.S. political freedom as Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock sentenced 13 Communist Party leaders to prison under the police-state Smith Act.

Seven of the Stalinist leaders were given three-year sentences, five were given two-year sentences and another a one-year sentence. All were fined, the total being \$54,000.

Before sentencing these secondary leaders of the CP, Judge Dimock, in a cheap publicity move, offered to send them to the Soviet Union rather than prison. This offer was calculated to let the newspapers crow, if the victims chose the Soviet Union, that here was final proof of their allegiance to a foreign power. If the victims rejected the "offer," which has no legal basis, the papers could crow that they preferred jail in the U.S. to living in the USSR. All 13 prisoners vehemently rejected Judge Dimock's "offer."

REMINGTON CASE

Another blow at American liberties was the conviction of William W. Remington for perjury. This outrageous verdict was the culmination of the long persecution of the 35-year-old defendant. It is worth reviewing the history of the case.

Remington was named by professional stool-pigeon Elizabeth Bentley as a "subversive" who had given her a war-time secret formula about making garbage into rubber. This garbage testi-



WILLIAM REMINGTON

mony set the tone for all the government "evidence" against Remington which is also a lot of garbage.

After a loyalty board hearing failed to find him guilty, the head of his department fired him so that his department would be above reproach. Then Remington was called before a Grand Jury. There he was accused by Elizabeth Bentley of being a member of the Communist Party. Remington had two possible courses of action. He could refuse to testify on the ground that it might tend to

persecute him or he could answer. Apparently he is young and foolish and he chose to answer. He was thereupon indicted for perjury.

CONVICTION OVERRULED

The jury found him guilty — a verdict that is not surprising in view of the prevailing red-hunting hysteria. The U.S. Court of Appeals threw out the conviction on the old-fashioned grounds that the evidence had not proved his alleged membership and suggested a new trial.

But the government, unable to prove that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party, chose not to re-try the case. Instead it had him indicted for perjury which had just been reversed by the Court of Appeals.

As was to be expected in these days when an accusation by a witch-hunting prosecutor almost automatically brings a conviction, Remington has been again sentenced to prison. He was given three years for allegedly lying when he said in his first trial that he never gave classified information to a Soviet spy courier and that he did not know about the existence of the Young Communist League while a student at Dartmouth College.

Should a higher court be unable to stomach this conviction the government can drop the case and re-indict Remington, not on the original charge or even on the second set of charges, but on the charge that he lied in denying the accusations in this case. This is a new and sinister legal departure introduced in the

persecution of Remington. It means this: A man is accused of breaking a window. He denies it and in higher courts the case against him is overruled. Thereupon he is re-indicted, not for breaking the window, but for alleged perjury in denying the charge.

However, Remington's big legal mistake was in testifying at all. The Fifth Amendment was put in the Constitution for the protection of the innocent against inquisitions and legal persecutions. Remington should have invoked his constitutional right to refuse to testify.

LATTIMORE CASE

The newspaper of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Union, whose leaders are also targets of the witch hunt, points out that Owen Lattimore's recent indictment is based on the testimony he gave during days and weeks of questioning. Had he refused to testify, the witch hunters would have no basis for his legal persecution, but, as any lawyer will tell you, a man under lengthy and unscrupulous questioning can be trapped into enough seeming inconsistencies to afford a legalistic basis for a prosecution.

TOP-HEAVY WITH BRASS

Rep. Davis (R-Wis.) told the House Armed Services Committee on Feb. 4 that the number of military officers has multiplied four times since the height of World War II, when the U.S. armed forces were two to four times larger than now.

Economic Inequalities Underlie Stalin's Purge

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destroy the possibility of continuous expansion of our national economy, because the national economy cannot be continuously expanded without giving primacy to the production of means of production."

This argument is based on substituting "the production of means of production" for the original subject under discussion, that is, "heavy industry." Stalin pretends that heavy industry alone permits the expansion of the "means of production," deliberately ignoring the fact that every expansion of light industry likewise requires a corresponding expansion of the means of production.

Bureaucratic arrogance and ignorance are crassly disclosed by this barefaced identification of heavy industry with the expansion

of the means of production. But there are other reasons why the bureaucratic mind is congenitally incapable of seeing a continuous expansion of Soviet economy except in terms of super-expansion of heavy industry, accompanied with a complete disregard for the needs of the toilers. What really speaks here is the voice of self-interest of the ruling Soviet caste.

The production of articles of consumption depends directly on the mass of consumers. The larger the production of these goods, the greater the demand for better quality. The buyer tends to become more critical and demanding. In the articles he purchases he sees the ulcers of bureaucracy. The threat to the bureaucracy is quite obvious.

HIDDEN FROM PEOPLE

Transactions involving heavy industry, however, take place almost exclusively among the bureaucrats themselves. The crimes and vices of bureaucracy are therefore not so obvious in this field, all the more so because the main transactions are shielded from public view.

Again, giving top priority to heavy industry promotes swift formation of privileged layers, further removed from the pressure of the ranks. It also provides the privileged layers with a plausible explanation of why they pay no attention to the living conditions of the workers. As Stalin puts it "theoretically," economy will cease "continuously expanding" unless, as he so falsely claims, the production of consumer goods is completely subordinated to the expansion of heavy industry.

Actually, much higher tempos of Soviet industrial expansion than any thus far achieved would be opened up by more rational

planning controlled by the masses. The bureaucratic method keeps accumulating contradictions within the expanding industry. The masses are blocked from introducing the necessary proportions between the various branches of economy. Depressed living conditions render most acute the key problem of labor productivity. Periodic crises of planning are thus prepared.

But fundamental considerations such as these are completely disregarded. The bureaucracy is blinded by its selfish interests, by its insatiable lust for more power and greater privileges. This brings us to the most compelling reason of all for the super-emphasis the bureaucracy places on heavy industry. Control of the surplus product of Soviet society is the factor which, in the final analysis, paved the bureaucracy's road to power. It seeks to preserve this control at all costs.

The lion's share in the Soviet annual budget is allotted to heavy industry. This is done without any consideration of how costly particular expansions may be. However "unprofitable" these may be to the economy as a whole, they nevertheless provide the bureaucracy with a convenient pretext for siphoning off a larger share of the national income — an indispensable transaction for the bureaucracy.

Precisely because the Stalinist bureaucracy plays no independent role whatever in Soviet economic life, it is driven to place inordinate emphasis on the utmost expansion of heavy industry. It is in this role that the bureaucracy is able to retain the greatest independence from the mass of the people and claim to play a progressive role, a mask it cannot afford to drop before the Soviet masses.

Under the original conditions of backwardness and destitution in the Soviet Union, this stress on heavy industry did actually play a progressive role within the bureaucratic framework. But today the Soviet Union, with its massive working class and its first-rate industry and technology, is no longer an economy of scarcity. A material base exists for the unexampled flowering of the production of both consumer goods and capital goods.

CONSUMER CONTROL

However, every increase in the share of the national income allotted to the production of articles of consumption cuts into the share the bureaucracy wishes to put into its own pocket. The greater the flow of consumer goods the more difficult it becomes to maintain the monstrous inequalities on which the bureaucracy feeds. The more the production of consumer goods expands, the greater the area of economic life that tends to come under the control of the mass of buyers.

Maintenance of artificial scarcities is thus becoming the bureaucracy's law of life and death. Hence its savage intervention in Soviet economic relations to maintain conditions of scarcity by the disproportionate expansion of heavy industry.

This is one of the reasons, by no means the least important one, for "strengthening the state." It is necessary to exercise more and more force to secure the bureaucracy's share of the national income. It is necessary to intervene more and more violently into the living economic relations. By the same token, the bureaucracy is compelled to disclose more and more openly its reactionary, parasitic character.

Prague Confession Exposed as Fake

(Continued from page 1)

assignment to cover this secret expedition.

At first light we had reached the village of Stechowice, about fifteen miles south of Prague. The ashen-faced German, Sgt. Cunther Achenbach, led us on foot through deep forest and heavy snow to the spot where he had buried the archives of the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia. He had staked his freedom from the dreaded, French prison camp on the accuracy of his information. Moreover, he had mined the cave with two thousand pounds of explosives and he knew the peril that attended its opening.

This adventure in full detail was described in an article in this magazine in 1946.

Last Nov. 25, in Prague, Bedrich Reicin — on trial for his life along with Slansky, Clementis and eleven other defendants — entered the witness box and confessed that in January of 1946 he discovered the existence and loca-

tion of the Nazi archives, divulged this information to the Yugoslav military attaché, and that the latter had informed the Americans who "the next night" sent a jeep into Czechoslovakia and recovered the archives. For this dastardly treason, Reicin pleaded, he could only be happy if he suffered hanging.

The court obliged him. Ten days later he was hanged in the Czech manner. A short thin rope was looped around his neck and he squirmed from the gallows for merciful seconds until the executioner ascended a stepladder and broke Reicin's neck by twisting his head sharply around.

We have of course long suspected that the "confessions" at these Communist show trials are false, but seldom have we had such specific and detailed proof. Bedrich Reicin, a lifelong Communist and chief of Czech military until his arrest, blandly arose before a packed courtroom and confessed to a crime which (1) was not a crime, and (2) he

neither committed nor had the remotest connection with.

These are the facts which Lionel Shapiro set forth. They show that, as in the Moscow trials of the late Thirties, whenever any alleged fact was submitted to the court which could be checked against evidence, that fact turned out to be false. It helps to verify the statement of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International which last November said that the Prague trial bore the "GPU trademark" and appealed for a review of the evidence and sentences before an impartial international working-class tribunal.

Korea Casualties

U.S. battle casualties in Korea have reached a figure of 129,424, an increase of 271 over last week's figures. Included are 20,440 killed in action, 13,033 missing in action and 95,951 wounded.