

# THE MILITANT

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## Hail 25th Year Of Fighting for Socialist U.S.

By Murry Weiss

This week we celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the Socialist Workers Party and a quarter of a century's battle for a Socialist America. On Oct. 27, 1928, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern were expelled from the Communist Party by its Central Committee. They were expelled for their views on Trotskyism — support of Leon Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism. These views were set forth in a Statement, "For the Russian Opposition! Against Opportunism and Bureaucracy in the Workers Communist Party of America."

From October 1928 to October 1953, the line of continuity is unbroken in the struggle of American Trotskyism to build a revolutionary party in this country. But 1928 was really not the beginning — it was a landmark — a landmark in the history of American radicalism.

Our pioneer Trotskyists of 1928 were the custodians of the precious experience and lessons of the pre-World War I Wobblies, the Socialist Party of Gene Debs, and the foundation period of the American Communist Party. At the same time our

pioneer Trotskyists bore another proud tradition — they were Leninists. They had assimilated the experience of the Bolshevik Party of Russia, the lessons of the Russian revolution and the First World War. This gave depth and clarity to their native American radicalism.

In 1928 the Trotskyist leaders served notice to the Stalinists: "We will not allow you to destroy the revolutionary party of the American workers." By this principled stand they assured the continuity of the struggle to build a revolutionary party. They prevented the Stalinists from transforming the entire revolutionary movement in America into a tool of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

### STALINIST ARSENAL

There were two interrelated reasons why Stalinism could wreck a revolutionary party.

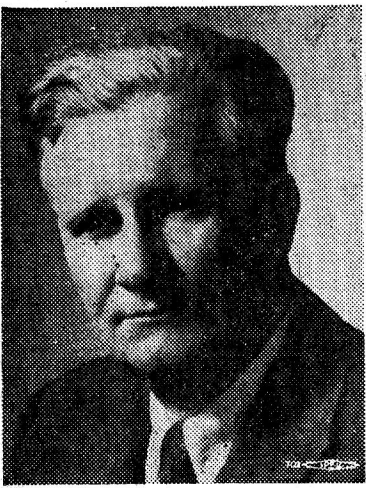
First, the Kremlin bureaucrats had abandoned the program of revolutionary internationalism. They replaced it with "Socialism in one country." A party dominated by Stalinism was henceforth transformed into a "border guard" of the Soviet Union. The Kremlin used these parties to make deals with the capitalists at the expense of the workers. The workers paid heavily for this treacherous policy with decades of defeats.

Second, the Kremlin introduced the practice of hand-picking and corrupting the leaders of the Communist Parties. It thereby assured itself of a spineless, functionary-type party leadership which could be relied upon to carry out Kremlin dictates but were worthless in the struggle against capitalism. Thus the revolutionary party could be built only in irreconcilable struggle with Stalinism.

Special conditions fostered the

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### SWP Founder



JAMES P. CANNON

## Weiss Scores Wagner, Halley Labor Records

NEW YORK, Oct. 16 — In a speech presented on radio station WNEW, David Weiss, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, today exposed the major party candidates whom he said try to paint themselves up as friends of labor before election day.

He pointed out that both Wagner, the Democratic candidate, and Halley, the Liberal Party candidate, did nothing while in city office to aid the repeated struggles of the New York longshoremen to clean out gangster rule of their union and

win better wages and conditions. Weiss said that "the so-called outlaw strikes on the waterfront were attempted by the rank and file to get rid of Ryan and force better contracts from the employers. Why weren't the rank-and-file longshoremen able to clean up their dictator-riden union? Well, up to a short time ago Ryan and Co. had powerful friends. Not only among the waterfront employers but in every capitalist political party and in City Hall, Albany and Washington. When- ever Ryan went to City Hall they practically rolled out a red carpet."

**THEY DID NOTHING**

"Ryan was highly praised by politicians and newspapers for his anti-communist campaigns. Of course, the main targets of Ryan's anti-communism were rank and file longshoremen who wanted an honest militant union."

Weiss linked Wagner to Ryan's corrupt past by pointing out that in 1951 the Tammany candidate Wagner had been "listed as vice-chairman of an affair for the greater glory of Joe Ryan."

Halley's main labor support comes from David Dubinsky of the AFL Garment Workers who "for years sat complacently while longshoremen got their heads beaten for trying to bring honest, militant unionism to the docks."

**HALLEY'S RECORD**

"Fearless Fossdick Halley," Weiss said, "talked a lot about crime and graft on the waterfront. Did Halley support the so-called outlaw strikes of the longshoremen against the combined forces of Joe Ryan and the employers? Did he ever do anything about the waterfront that was for the benefit of the longshoremen and not just to build his own political reputation?"

The only majority candidate who has been a real, consistent supporter of the rank-and-file longshoremen and all other workers is the Socialist Workers Party candidate David L. Weiss. The SWP has been exposing Ryan and the waterfront situation not just recently but since Ryan got his stranglehold on the longshoremen. Weiss and his party have publicly supported every rank-and-file movement against the Ryan leadership and every "outlaw" strike.

## SWP Candidate In S.F. Addresses Bldg. Trades Body

Frank Barbara and Frances James, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for supervisor in the San Francisco municipal elections, addressed 18 more union meetings last week.

The speech made by Frances James to the Building Trades Council was given a full and friendly write-up in the semi-monthly newspaper, Organized Labor. Reporting her statements on inflation, taxes, the witch-hunt and the threat of a third world war, the AFL paper concluded its account of the speech with the comment, "President John Hogg courteously expressed everyone's sentiments when he said that 'we're all certain that a fine-looking girl like yourself will be a credit to the Board of Supervisors.'"

The President of a Local of Electrical Workers heard Mrs. James talk, and declared, "I was proud to present Mrs. James to-night, and would certainly like to see her sitting on the City Council."



FRANCES JAMES

## Fear Another Cicero Case In Chicago

By Marjorie Ball

CHICAGO, Oct. 14 — Jim Crow violence flared here again on the Southside as three Negro families moved into the Trumbull Park public project. Although the Chicago Housing Authority had the families accompanied by 13 police cars, hooligan elements, aware of the anti-Negro sentiments of the police, shouted insults and hurled tomatoes and rocks at the families. Four demonstrators were finally arrested. Only one lives in the project. This prolonged anti-Negro terror is being organized and maintained by elements outside the project.

Similar violence broke out in Trumbull Park last August when the first Negro family moved into this tax-built project, which had been kept all-white for 15 years in violation of the public housing law.

An extreme housing shortage faces the Chicago working class, the Negro people in particular. The influx of 20,000 Negroes a year from the South with no increase in dwelling units has intensified these conditions. In their desperate attempt to break from over-crowded ghettos and firetraps, Chicago Negroes are moving into areas formerly all-white.

Last year the newly purchased home of a Negro family in an all-white suburb was burned by a racist mob. Trumbull Park has all the potentialities of another Cicero with even more dangerous implications.

Since August the project has been guarded by Chicago police. But anti-Negro attacks are continuing. Numerous workers at Wisconsin Steel Co., a nearby plant, have been attacked and beaten. A continuous state of tension has been kept aflame by

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NEWS ITEM: Eisenhower on Oct. 14 ordered government agencies to fire any federal employees who dare to exercise their rights under the Fifth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and refuse to testify at Congressional witch-hunt hearings.

## UPSET OF GOP IN WISCONSIN SHOWS QUICK SHIFT IN POLITICAL MOODS

Whether the Oct. 13 upset of the Republicans in Wisconsin's Ninth District congressional election is viewed as a "flash of lightning in the political skies" or a mere "straw in the wind," it clearly indicates the instability of political loyalties in America today and the rapidly of shifts in the political mood.

Only last November the Ninth District, predominantly farmers although there is a good block of union workers in Eau Claire, gave the late Republican Merlin Hull 65% of their votes. This same district also ran heavily for witch-hunting Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy both in 1946 and 1952.

In the election to fill the vacancy left by Hull's death, Democrat Lester R. Johnson got 57% of the vote to Republican Lester R. Padrut's 43%. Johnson is the first Democratic congressman ever elected from this district. However, Roosevelt carried it three times as did Truman in 1948. But it gave a landslide vote to Eisenhower.

The Democrats, of course, are elated by the outcome, although

it constitutes dissatisfaction with Republican policies, particularly on farm problems, rather than strong faith in the Democrats. The Republicans concede the significance of the abrupt shift in the Ninth District as a reflection of moods that may have national currency and can decisively affect the outcome of the '54 congressional elections.

Defeated candidate Padrut said: "The results showed clearly that the farmer and laboring man does not like Republican policy." Leonard U. Hall, Republican National Chairman, admitted that by "any realistic appraisal" the Ninth District results were "not good."

### WHY THE QUICK TURN

Why this quick political turn in this sensitive farm district? The Milwaukee Journal's political analyst Edward Bailey seems to have put his finger on it. "District Nine... is composed largely of marginal farmers who are the first to feel economic setbacks. They got hit first and hardest in the depression and they haven't forgotten it."

Not that these farmers are starving and facing dispossession, as many did in the early thirties. But the whole point is that even a slight threat to their economic security meets with immediate political response. The same is true of the workers. An Eau Claire hotel manager who gets a good bit of business from union workers quotes them as saying: "We're sore about layoffs and loss of overtime pay."

Even a slow economic downturn and a "small" depression today can set off sweeping political trends, reversals and new tendencies. It's not written in the stars that such trends must be completely back to Democrats, repudiated last November. These moods and trends can gain a swift momentum, carrying over into a movement for a decisive political change, a movement for a labor party, for instance.

Since the start of the Korean war, corporations have been allowed to write off \$17 billion against taxes for capital expansion over five years.

## West Coast GM Locals, Illinois AFL Endorse Plan on Unemployment

By Art Preis

Sentiment is rapidly growing in the labor movement for a shorter work-week with no loss of take-home pay to meet the rising threat of unemployment. Both CIO and AFL bodies in important industrial areas have adopted official resolutions in the past 36 hours calling for the "30-hour week at 40 hours pay."

This slogan has just been endorsed by a number of West Coast General Motors locals of the CIO United Automobile Workers. Similar action has been taken by the 900,000-member Illinois State Federation of Labor.

These actions are in line with the most important resolution adopted by the recent national convention of the American Federation of Labor. The AFL, taking cognizance of the impending serious economic situation, called for a 35-hour week "with no loss of take-home pay."

The Militant is especially pleased to see the movement of "30 for 40" begin to take on momentum because we initiated this proposal as part of our program to meet unemployment.

We urged the unions to adopt this program back in 1938 and 1939 before Roosevelt "solved" the depression with a war economy. We revived the slogan in the period from 1945 to 1949, before Truman was able to again avert an economic crash with huge war spending and the Korean War.

UAW LOCALS ACT

The UAW-GM Sub Council No. 7, which includes all GM locals in California, adopted a "30 for 40" resolution after its con-

stituent locals had acted on this issue. Among the locals are the Buick, Oldsmobile and Pontiac Local 216 and the Chevrolet Local in the Los Angeles area and Local 76, Chevrolet Local 1031 and Fisher Body in the Oakland area.

Some 1,700 delegates to the Illinois state AFL convention in Springfield recently voted overwhelmingly for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay to meet a possible crisis in which, according to union leaders, as many as 20,000,000 could lose jobs. (Story on page 4).

These practical unionists are pushing today the shorter work-week program which was only recently brushed aside by top labor bureaucrats as "unrealistic." It now appears as a logical, realizable and absolutely necessary step. For the unionists are no mere "calamity howlers" when they accept with deadly seriousness the real possibility of a depression.

Since early August, the Militant has warned of the great possibility of big lay-offs and cut-backs. The most important economic factors and statistical trends now more than confirm this. Our recent issues have given an abundance of figures. Here are some further recent ones.

Paul G. Hoffman, board chair-

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### Soviet Farm Crisis -- I

## Malenkov Caught By the "Scissors"

By John G. Wright

What is the matter with Soviet agriculture? To believe the Kremlin and its apologists, it is simply a question of assuring a "sharp upturn" of production with the aim of assuring an "abundance" of food and raw materials within the next "two or three years."

The Stalinists portray matters as if nothing more were involved than the growing pains of "Further Development of Agriculture in the USSR," as the official documents put it.

The capitalists for their part have seized upon the Kremlin's unavoidable admissions to raise a hue and cry about the "bankruptcy of communism." The shocking admissions of existing "shortcomings," "abnormalities," etc., have been used by the imperialists to besmirch nationalized property and planned economy — the conquests of the 1917 Russian Revolution — which permit rhythms of industrial growth wholly impossible under capitalism. It is not the first time that the Kremlin despots have supplied the imperialists with weapons to attack the Soviet Union and to try to discredit the struggle for the socialist future of mankind. Both sides are deliberately misrepresenting the situation.

The truth is that one of the unresolved contradictions of Soviet economic life — the contradiction between agriculture and industry — has once again erupted to the surface. At no time, under the bureaucracy's method of administration and rule, has progress in Soviet agriculture been in the remotest degree comparable to progress in industry. Leon Trotsky long ago likened the gap between agriculture and industry to a "scissors." The task is to close the blades. The reality is that the two scissor blades — the one representing

agriculture, the other industry — remain today wide apart, as they have for the last 30 years.

The backwardness of agriculture inherited from Czarism is the primary cause of this gap. What perpetuated and aggravated it has been the policy of the bureaucracy. In its planning, the Kremlin has persistently ignored the need of the mass of the people, the vital needs of the workers as well as of the peasants. The bureaucratic over-emphasis on expansion of heavy industry resulted in a chronic lag of the light, consumer-goods industry, accompanied by a chronic lag of agriculture.

Throughout the entire history of the USSR under Stalinist rule the agricultural policy has zig-zagged between administrative, coercive measures of the most brutal sort, and concessions to stimulate private, individualist production. These violent shifts of policy failed to produce stabilization. The struggle of the peasant against the state, while changing in form, has all the while continued. The Stalinist lie remains, as it has been, that this struggle has long ago been liquidated; that the peasants have grown into socialism and will "gradually grow into communism."

**WHY PEASANTS RESIST**

Just the opposite is true. The peasants today under the new conditions, refuse as in the past, to voluntarily supply foodstuffs and raw materials. Why? Because the "scissors" between industry and agriculture has not

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## That "Average Income" Gimmick

By Joseph Keller

Last week I took up the little matter of every "average family" in this country being owed \$1,063 this year because of the difference between what the government claims we've been making in family incomes and what we're really getting due to price rises.

I showed that when the government says that the "average family" was \$850, "richer" in 1950 than in 1944, because its money income rose from \$3,610 a year to \$4,460, we were actually \$478.87 poorer in real buying power. While income went up 23.5%, prices in the same period rose 36.7%. By August 1953 prices had gone up 53%, leaving the "average family" \$1,063 in the hole compared to 1944 in purchasing power.

As I indicated, however, I was taking the government's own figures about what an "average family" makes a year. I usually think of my family as average and I know blame well we didn't make \$4,460 in 1950, even before taxes, which the government forgot to mention in its figures.

Well, I searched around until I found a survey of the U.S. Department of Commerce (which had also produced the "average family" figures so widely quoted in the capitalist press) that gave an actual breakdown of the family incomes according to the various income levels. This revealed that in 1951 — a war-boom year — while the "average family" was getting \$4,460, two-thirds of all the real actual families in the U.S. were getting less than that.

**"ONE-THIRD OF A NATION"**

In fact, they were getting even less than the government's own figures for a "modest but adequate" living for a family. Indeed the late President Roosevelt's words in 1937 about "one-third of a nation... ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished" still apply today. For the Commerce Dept. survey in 1951 showed that a third of all families living entirely on wages and salaries — 81.5 million out of 40.4 million total family units — had incomes of less than \$3,000, the equivalent in purchasing power to a 1939 hunger income of about \$1,500 a year, or less than \$29 a week.

Here's the table of figures:

showing the spread of family income as reported by the Commerce Dept.:

Income	Percent of Families
Under \$500	5.9%
\$500 to \$999	4.1%
\$1,000 to \$1,499	4.2%
\$1,500 to \$1,999	5.9%
\$2,000 to \$2,499	8.3%
\$2,500 to \$2,999	8.7%
\$3,000 to \$3,499	10.8%
\$3,500 to \$3,999	10.3%
\$4,000 to \$4,499	9.5%
\$4,500 to \$4,999	6.5%
\$5,000 to \$5,999	11.0%
\$6,000 to \$6,999	6.7%
\$7,000 to \$9,999	7.0%
\$10,000 to \$14,999	1.6%
\$15,000 and over	0.4%

Half the above-listed families were \$600 or more a year short of this minimum "modest but adequate" standard; two-thirds of them did not make it.

That's the answer to this flood of propaganda the capitalist newspapers and radio have been drenching us with about how "rich" the American working people are getting, how we're all becoming "capitalists," and how we don't need any socialist revolution because we've already had a "revolution" — a very quiet one, to be sure — in the distribution of income.

### Witch Hunt in Iran

The counter-revolutionary drive against Communists and supporters of Mossadegh in Iran continues to roll up victims. According to a spokesman of the new royalist regime, 1,222 persons were arrested during the past month because of their political views. Of these, 413 were released after questioning and 181, all Communists, were sent to penal labor camps.





