Legless Vet Asks Renewed Struggle For Bill of Rights

By James Kutcher

T. L. Caudle, the corrupt former Assistant Attorney General and head of the Department of Justice Tax Divi-

only at a public hearing.

The Attorney General, it appears, are involved and under investi- list. gation. I don't blame him. At a | But the Attorney General has of 1948 promised an FEPC with public hearing he can present his remained stone-deaf to all such effective enforcement provisions. own views, hear the accusations requests. He seems to figure that But the Democratic - controlled against him, examine whatever evidence is offered and make for him, but too good for the whatever defense he can.

NOT FOR OTHERS

However, Mr. McGrath follows a different policy toward other people. As Attorney General he is compiler of the "subversive" blacklist and executor of the "loyalty" purge which is based on that list. A number of the groups JUSTICE CLARK which were included in the list have protested the whole proce-



JAMES KUTCHER

be "delighted" to appear, but on dividual, I too made such a power to wipe out discrimination one condition — he would appear request after I was purged out of in industry. What he gave them my clerical job with the Newark on Dec. 3 was a CGCC - a Com-That interested me very much. Veterans Administration solely mittee on Government Contract because the Socialist Workers Compliance, which has no power is strongly in favor of public Party, to which I belong, was to do anything but to "study" hearings where his own interests arbitrarily included on the black- and "confer" and "recommend."

> victims of the "loyalty" purge. He makes an open hearing a condition for appearing before the House subcommittee, but he denies the same right and safeguard to the political opponents whom his department is persecut-

Another name that has figured Grath's predecessor as Attorney Supreme Court Justice. The House subcommittee, it is reported, is considering calling Mr. Clark to explain why he chose Caudle for the Tax Division job in the first place, since Caudle had absolutely no qualifications or experience for that particular

It also turns out that Mr. Clark, while he was Attorney General, had taken a number of "pleasure jaunts" with Caudle in a plane provided by a businessman whose tax manipulations were being investigated by the Department of Justice. Mr. Clark admits taking the trips, but denies that he knew the businessman was being investigated.

PLEADS "IGNORANCE"

the public, especially that portion of the public whose thinking has been most strongly influenced and particular the employment will at all times aid in increasing defense production."

And patricular the employment will at all times aid in increasing defense production." been most strongly influenced by Mr. Clark himself.

Mr. Clark, it should never be forgotten, was the initiator of the

(Continued on page 2)

WHO MAKES DECISIONS FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE?

By George Clarke

James Reston's article in last Sunday's N. Y. Times (Dec. 2nd) should be required reading for every American. Stimulated by the fatal dilemma of U.S. imperialism's

foreign policy and by the present 9crisis in the "cold war," it is a | the so-called "American Way" of And as such it is a welcome dished out by the monopolycontrolled press including the N. Y. Times.

Reston's theme is contained in the following lines:

"Events of the last few days indicate once more that East and West, Communist and non-Communist, American and European, Republican and Democrat, have at least one thing in . common: they are overwhelmed by events and trapped by the consequences of their mutual hostility. . .

"All the world figures are extremely effusive - President Truman in Florida lecturing the press; General Eisenhower in Rome exhorting the ministers; even the Prime Ministers of Iran and Egypt, posing as the George Washingtons and Thomas Jeffersons of the Middle East. But the theory that men dominate event's does not prevail. All the evidence is to the contrary. . .

"In every country those having responsibility are trying to deal with forces that are almost beyond the imagination, let alone control, of mortal men, and the dilemma they face at every turn are stubborn and dangerous."

DANGEROUS CONCESSION

Reston's opinions about the decisive importance of material forces, what he calls "events," are a dangerous concession to Marxism and may some day bring him a summons from the Un-American Activities Committee. They are clearly at variance with

tory is made and unmade by the leaders." The unprecedented, unwealth of our financial oligarchy "theory" should be given greater credence in the U.S. than anywhere else in the world.

COMPLETELY BEWILDERED

But the very fact that Reston is not a Marxist leaves him completely bewildered about these 'uncontrollable forces." Classes, not individuals, dominate and shape events. And it is only to the extent that individuals are the conscious expression of these classes that they can play a leading role in determining the course of events. It is precisely for this reason that Reston is right in saying that the men in the Kremlin are as much "overwhelmed subject for another article.

The "uncontrollable forces' loose in the world today are the the revolutionary struggle of the forces of social revolution. Everywhere in the world, but in the United States, capitalism is dying of an incurable disease. Its property has been expropriated and nationalized in all of Eastern Europe, in addition to the USSR. Its rule is being attacked and overthrown by the peoples of the Orient and the Middle East: and challenged by the insurgent working class of western Europe

and the British Isles. The old system is crumbling on

(Continued on Page 4)

THE

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XV - No. 50

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

The Democratic Party platform an open hearing is a good thing Congress flatly refused to pass such a law. Then Truman was urged to act on his own and establish an FEPC, which he can do merely by signing an executive order.

Truman stalled for a long time, but now he has given his answer: no FEPC.

For the last ten years all government contracts have contained a clause prohibiting racial or religious employment practices. in the Caudle scandal is Mc- But no one has ever paid much attention to this clause, although General, Mr. Tom C. Clark, now the government has the power to cancel contracts where it is violated.

Now Truman has set up an 11member committee to deal with compliance with this clause. He will appoint six members himself, and the heads of the five government agencies handling contracts will each appoint a representative.

However, the power to enforce the anti-discrimination clauses is not given to the CGCC - it remains with the heads of the five agencies, where it was before. All the new committee can do is study the situation and recommend what the five agencies should do. But the agencies can keep on doing what they please.

Even the CGCCs power to recommend is strictly limited, for making a plea of ignorance. I Truman has ordered that its don't know how the courts would recommendations "are subject to take such a plea, or how the House subcommittee will react to it. But I strongly suspect that crimination in employment will at

> Defense Mobilization will never permit the CGCC to even recommend the cancellation of contracts with corporations guilty of discrimination because that would not "increase defense produc-

Furthermore, the CGCC will have no independent funds. Whatover money it has to operate on will be provided by the five contract agencies, which will thus have the power to strangle it to death if it should ever contemplate any action not approved

The FEPC that was set up by Roosevelt ten years ago under the pressure of the Negro people was never anything to cheer about. But at least it had indepiece of sober, lucid thinking. education which teaches that his- pendent enforcement powers, even though it practically never used change from the daily diet of genius and inspiration of "great them, while the CGCC has no propaganda, bluster and ballyhoo, men," 'great generals," "great powers at all. And the FEPC's jurisdiction extended to pracequalled economic power and tically all of U.S. industry, while government contracts, which covers about one-fifth of the

(See editorial on Page 3)

General and head of the Department of Justice Tax Division who made a good thing for himself out of monetary and other bribes he accepted from tax-grafters he was supposed to prosecute, says that he got permission from his boss, Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, to accept a \$5,000 "commission." The House Ways and Means subcommittee investigating tax scandals then began to talk about calling Mr. McGrath for questioning on this matter. Mr. McGrath announced that he would be "delighted" to appear, but on the "d



Gets Only 3% of Income point that Truman and his mili- folks back home. Britain, France tary aides, contrary to their desires, were forced to coun- (Continued on page 4)

The bottom fifth of the U.S. population gets only 3 percent of the country's income, while the top fifth gets almost half, the Census Bureau reported in figures released on Dec. 1. Income distribution was shown to be as follows:

Top fifth - 47%. Second fifth - 24%. Third fifth - 17%. Fourth fifth — 9%. Poorest fifth - 3%.

The startling fact disclosed in these figures is that 40% of the population of the U.S. gets only 12% of the money income of the country. This supports previous disclosures that almost 70% of the families of the country have a cash income below the \$4,000 minimum which has been set as the lowest figure for maintaining an American family at a "health and decency" level.

The Census Bureau figure on the lowest fifth, showing that the CGCC is confined, even in its 20% of the people have to try to makes it only natural that this studies, to industries holding live on 3% of the national income, shows that the trend of relative

.4%, and in 1937, 3.6%.

today. So has the second fifth, next to the top, going up from 19% to its present 24%.

RICH GET RICHER

These increases in relative income have been entirely at the expense of the bottom and middle income fifths. The top fifth has held its own. Today, as in 1910, than before. this group takes almost half the wealth of the country. However, the national income has risen enormously, and, where in 1910 lion, today it takes half of about \$225 billion.

The Associated Press, in releasimpoverishment of this group is ing the Census Bureau report, same kind of story and then continuing. In 1910, the lowest tried to discredit the figures by buried it on page 57 of its Sunfifth got 8.3% of the national in- implying that the taxes on in- day edition.

section of the population to lose However, an examination of inground. The middle fifth, which come figures of a similar type in 1910 got 15% of the national for previous years shows that the income, and in 1937 was still tax laws are so rigged that they getting 15.7%, has dropped do not substantially change the sharply to 9% in 1950. The distribution of income. In 1947, fourth fifth, next to the bottom, for example, the top income fifth has shown an increase in its got 48 percent of the national relative prosperity, rising from income before taxes, and after about 12% 40 years ago to 17% taxes this was cut by only 2 percent, to 46%. The lowest income fifth got only 4% of the national income, whether figured before or after taxes.

LAWS FAVOR WEALTHY

Since 1947, the tax laws have been changed in the direction of favoring the wealthy even more

While the New York Herald Tribune placed the Census Bureau release on Page 1, it did its best to weaken the effect of the the top fifth got half of \$30 bil- startling figures by casting doubt upon thir accuracy, citing the tax laws and other trifling factors. The New York Times printed the

Only Organized Demand Can Bring Troops Back Home

U.S. troops in Korea appear to be following the policy of you don't shoot at me and I won't shoot at you. Killing is still going on, to be sure. Truman, Acheson and Ridgway

are trying to keep the atmosphere warlike by sending men to their deaths in commando raids far behind the main lines and in air combat. But they dare not order actions involving the main bodies of troops. Truman and his generals have been maneuvering under cover of the cease-fire negotiations to keep the war going and the troops in Korea. But everyone has seen through the fraud. The shyster pretexts and petty obstacles raised to stall the negotiations have become obvious. Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst of the N. Y. Times, conceded in an article on Dec. 2 that "serious and responsible observers - among the troops at the Korean front, here in this country, and abroad have at times questioned whether the United States was sincere in desiring peace in Korea."

EIGHT "MISTAKES"

British or other Allied represen- policy to "pressure." He reports tative has been included on the that "the folks at home were truce negotiating team and that putting pressure on" and quotes of bargaining."

805 More

U.S. casualties in Korea went up another 805 last week, bringing the total for the war to 101,688. This is an incomplete total, since the figures are several weeks old. In addition, it does not include socalled "non-battle" casualties. If these are included, the actual total of U.S. casualties is close to 200,000. Bring the boys back home!

That is the only way to end the slaughter.

most of the bat ront, although the President and the accusation" that he had ordered such a cease-fire as if he had been charged with some heinous crime.

Robert Eunson, Associated He cites eight "mistakes" which Press Bureau Chief in Tokyo, ne says have contributed to the testified on Nov. 30 to the scope misunderstandings." Among of popular opposition. He attrihese are the fact that no buted "sudden change" in U.S. on several occasions we gave the a "highly placed officer" in impressions not of sincerity, but Ridgway's headquarter's as saying, "You don't know how much Opposition to the whole U.S. pressure is being put on Ridgway. course in Korea reached such a And it isn't only coming from the

ome, in 1918, 6.8%, in 1929, comes, not included in the figures, would change the picture. This has not been the only if they were taken into account. U.S. Paves Way for Terror Campaign In South Korea

Syngman Rhee's regime has opened a new drive to "exterminate" thousands of guerrillas admittedly still operating behind the lines in South Korea. This drive by

"our murderous allies" - as a 9 ed the South Korean soldiers and with hidden weapons." police — is also serving to screen a campaign of terrorism against will be charged with "rendering

Announcement of the drive on the guerrillas, who can operate only with popular support, was preceded by proclamation of marmilitary rule is so "extreme," re-United Press reported on Dec. 2 that "house-to-house searches were ordered by the Defense Ministry" and "police were ordered

Life correspondent once describ- to arrest and jail anyone caught Anyone who offers resistance

the South Korean populace, who aid and comfort to the enemy are bitterly hostile to the Rhee and will be shot or imprisoned. dictatorship and U.S. interven- Anyone caught with arms "will be assumed to be a guerrilla." reports McGregor.

Most of the guerrillas are not 'Communists," McGregor says. tial law in half of Korea. This simple outlaws, not necessarily Communists. The other 10 per ported Greg McGregor, N. Y. cent are Communists." A Dec. 2 Times correspondent in Pusan, ed that "many guerrillas were that "residents were forbidden to morely anti-Government. Partimove from their villages." The merely anti-Government Partisans who had little or no connection with the Reds." A Dec. 2 UP story from Taegu reports that on their way into the mountains the South Korean troops first "searched about 100 villages along the way."

> WAGE CIVIL WAR The estimates of the number

of organized guerrillas now operating against the Rhee regime and the U.S. invaders range up to "10,000-odd bandits pocketed at various points in South Korea," says the UP. Last March, according to McGregor, the estimate was 80,000. Moreover, these guerrillas have been waging civil war "since long before the Red invasion of South Korea." (UP, Dec.

Although a UN official in Pu-

san was reported to have said that the campaign, called "Operation Rat Hole," was being waged Fleet, 8th Army commander, atat Namwon in person. He said it was "coming along beautifully, too soon." As revealed in the campaign by burning down with gasoline and phosphorous grenlas allegedly might hide.

Titoism and War: A Reply to Yugoslav CP

Yugoslav Communist Party, has found it necessary to devote an it declares that in reality the by events" as the 'leaders" of the | Congress "has no importance for capitalist world. But that is the the international workers movement because it assembled men who are completely isolated from progressive forces in the world."

The Yugoslav leaders, who failed to attend the Congress to which they were invited but now criticize, will permit us a different estimation from theirs on our "isolation" and the "revolutionary struggle" of the progressive forces" to which they refer. In the first place this "isolation" does not appear to us to be "complete" even as regards their own party and their own country, where Trotskyists and ternational movement.

June 1950 when the Korean war many of their members by imthe Fourth International although first and most active defenders of We were, it appears — oh direct and indirect agents of imthe Yugoslav revolution among irony! - too . . . anti-Stalinist! perialism who for the most part vanguard working class circles continents where Trotskyist organizations are active.

This enthusiastic activity of the Trotskyists has affected hundreds of Yugoslav revolutionists, and despite all the barriers which the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia erected against the development of this activity and the free dissemination of our ideas among the revolutionary vanguard in their country, many Yugoslav communists have come to believe in the correctness of our ideas and in the revolutionary caliber of our in-

of the Fourth International, and Yugoslavia from time to time. to devote an article to it, this is THEIR REAL MASTER primarily the result of the "Trotskyist memories" which still Trotskyism in revolutionary vanguard circles, even in its present fluence of the Yugoslav leaders; and that in reality, their break with Trotskyism has against imperialism in the Far deprived these leaders of all real East, in the Middle East, in Trotskyism have been known! At that time, the bureaucrats support in the international work- Africa and of the international

If Borba now finds itself to little else but attend this or in more than 35 countries on all obliged to mention the Congress that "conference' convened in

Moreover, the master these men serve is naturally not in Yugoremain alive in the CPY and slavia. They serve their own which they are now trying to bourgeoisie and now commend erase. Secondly, the author of the the Yugoslav leaders only insofar Borba article is well aware that as the policy of the latter apthe international influence of pears to them to be properly moving into the camp of "democratic" imperialism. As a choice distances the "ideological" ingle" of these elements and the revolutionary struggle of the colonial masses now in revolt

Borba, official organ of the the break with the Kremlin, and "the pro-Trotskyist' ardor of "forces" as "progressive" and war preparation, the Trotskyists "representative" as the journal- have committed the "crime" of and pro-imperialist turn of the planting doubts as to the sincerity sts, parliamentarians, trade union supporting, unconditionally, the article to the recent Congress of Yugoslav leaders began), as the of our anti-imperialist struggle. bureaucrats, reformists and other struggle of these masses regardless of their leadership. The Yugoslav leaders reproach

us precisely for having supported the struggle of the Korean masses against imperialism and for our appeal "to the workers of Germany and other western countries calling upon them to fight against measures taken in these without U.S.-UN help, Gen. Van countries aimed at their defense against an eventual Great-Rus- tended the start of the campaign

These "measures" are the rearmament policy of the "Atlantic" but I shouldn't look for results bourgeoisie which, according to the very "Marxist-Leninist" Nov. 13 N.Y. Times, U.S. air-Yugoslav leaders, are designed craft, including helicopters, acfor "defense against a Great- tually had paved the way for the Russian aggression."

Thus these leaders, who have abandoned all class criteria and ades peasant huts where guerril-

Fund Campaign Manager

Total payments this week were

the largest since the Socialist

Workers Party launched its

\$18,000 Organization and Press

Fund seven weeks ago. Fourteen

branches and friends sent in \$1,-

708. The scoreboard through Dec.

3 shows a national total of \$6.-

906 or 38% of the total amount

assigned for the three-month

campaign. While still lagging be-

cause of the slow start, the

branches closed the gap by 2% -

we are now 16% behind schedule.

Newark maintained its lead by

reaching 78% of its \$500 quota

with a \$16 payment, but Akron

is moving in fast. S. Harte air-

mailed \$34, boosting their per-

centage to 76. Chicago, in third

place, is making a determined bid

for second. Comrade Hildegarde

sent in \$69 this week, saying:

'Hope this pushes us up into

second place this time!" Pitts-

burgh's 60% holds fourth place

and St. Paul-Minneapolis moved

nto fifth place with a check for

\$138. Grace Carlson, Organizer of

the Minneapolis branch, says:

'We regret very much that we

were not able to get this in in

time for the last scoreboard, but

what with the Thanksgiving Day

dinner, a public meeting, etc., we

didn't find the time. However,

inasmuch as we are the only peo-

ple who can be really thankful

good comrades to carry it out, we

Those branches holding the first

Los Angeles made the biggest

gain during the week. This tele-

gram came from Lil Charles to-

day: "\$500 in mail. Al Lynn

memorial meeting contribution to

fund. Story follows." Comrade

Al, who died Nov. 23, understood

well the political importance of

regular appearance of its press.

He would be the first to applaud

this magnificent tribute by the

Los Angeles comrades to his

G. Holley, Treasurer, sent in

lieving that funds will roll in

Buffalo and Detroit are run-

ning neck and neck with 38%.

Seattle chalked up a big gain

during the week - 21 to 34% -

with two payments totaling \$55.

points to 31% with a check for

This note from Sally Conti ac-

companied Boston's \$25 payment:

"I know we are quite far behind.

but I got a lot of promises of big

payments next week so we expect

New York made a \$305 gain and

The group of Socialist Workers

Party supporters down South sent

York friend of the party has been

following the campaign in The

Militant, and decided to give

"General" a hand - a big hand

Cleveland moved ahead seven

Buffalo sent \$50; Detroit \$84.

Notebook of an Agitator

A TRADE UNION EPISODE

After the top bureaucracy of the CIO had carried through its great purge, two of the weaker Stalinist unions, decimated by the raiding and wrecking assaults of both the CIO and AFL, sought shelter from the storm in a hasty merger with a stronger organization. Last year the hardhit and groggy Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers and the United Office and Professional Workers effected a fusion with the former Local 65 of the CIO Wholesale and Retail Union. This local has a membership of about 30,000 centered in big New York department stores and dry goods concerns. The amalgamated body took the name of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union, the original Local 65 of the CIO becoming District 65 of the new set-up.

This merger of convenience of three unions in unrelated fields appeared, on the surface at least, to consolidate the defensive position of the Stalinists against the fury of the government-CIO-AFL attack. Latest reports, however, indicate that things didn't turn out this way, as mentioned last

Major Internal Shuffle

The Food and Tobacco Workers and the Office and Professional Workers, which were weaker and more dependent on the Communist Party and, therefore, more firmly controlled by it, were originally given equal representation in the executive body and staff of the new organization. That arrangement is out the window now. A few weeks ago the heads of District 65, which represents the real numerical and organizational power in the national body, carried through a major internal reorganization. Four of the vice-presidents from the other unions suddenly found themselves out of office and presumably out of jobs. At the same time the list of vice-presidents was reshuffled to give the Distributive section a mechanical majority in the future.

The meaning of this shake-up is quite clear, and so are the reasons for it. It is sufficient to read the comments of George Morris, labor editor of Daily Worker, to get the pitch. He refers to "alarm and bewilderment" of many people the "recent trend" in the union, and leaves no doubt that he shares in the alarm if not in the bewilderment. He laments the unceremonious ousting of such old reliable Stalinist hacks as James Durkin, former president of the old Office and Professional Workers Union, later secretarytreasurer of the merged union, and now divested of all official titles and emoluments.

Naturally, Morris says, "It is the DPO's democracy that has suffered." But Arthur Osman and David Livingston, the top bosses of District 65, who learned the tricks of demagogy from the Stalinists, didn't fail to give the same "democracy" a verbal work out in their press release. They justified their move in the name of "more democratic organization" and "equal representation in the leadership.

Own Axe To Grind

What really happened here is the same thing that has happened before and will happen again before the skein is finally unwound. Opportunist labor leaders whom the Stalinists help to put in power, and protected against the pressure of rank and file militants, turned against the party at the moment when their allegiance was most needed. Osman and Livingston, like all the rest of

their breed, have their own axes to grind. They are obviously taking advantage of the difficulties of the Communist Party to shake loose from its control and get themselves into a position for maneuvers and deals with the CIO, which has something to give them.

To be sure, this ingratitude, not to say cynicism, of these white-haired boys who so long enjoyed the favor, support and publicity boosts of the Communist Party, is not a very admirable trait. But that's the way it is with careerists; you can buy them but they won't stay bought.

Morris' comments on the new developments are all couched in a hypocritical tone of regret and friendly admonition. The curses and brutal denunciation, which the Stalinists usually bestow upon their friends and favorites of yesterday, are withheld. This could indicate that the fight is still going on in the ranks and that the issue is not finally decided. The trend, however, is clear.

Morris refers to the recent anniversary festival of District 65 in Madison Square Garden, where the union's 18-year history was told in skits, pantomimes and speeches. "What struck me," he says, "was the omission of any reference to the union's origin and history as a left-wing organization, and the fact that throughout its history and foreign pressures and won a it drew its spirit, program and strength from the complete victory for its wage deleft stream of America's labor. This couldn't mands. have been an oversight."

Not An Oversight

No, it was not an oversight. It is obvious that Dsman and Livingston are engineering a swing to the right in line with the American labor bureaueracy as a whole. And it doesn't take a prohpet or the son of a prophet to foretell that the majority of the job holders in the Union, most if not all of whom belonged to the CP when it had something to give them, will go along with Osman and Livingston in the showdown. It is possible, of course, for an honest revolutionary party to raise and educate a cadre of trade union militants, including officials, who will stand up under pressure. We proved that in the Minneapoli's fight. But human material of this kind can't be bought, as the new experiences in District 65 illustrate once again.

Such incidents as the shake-up of functionaries in the DPO are primarily of interest for the future. Nothing now taking place in the trade unions settles anything definitively. All the expulsions, raids and wrecking operations of the conservative bureaucrats are, after all, mere episodes in the evolution of the American labor movement. They are the product, in the main, of the present atmosphere of reaction and are favored by it. This atmosphere will change and with it, the situation and relation of forces in the

The radical labor movement will rise again, stronger than before and wiser for the rich and varied experiences of the past twenty years. The Stalinists perverted and betrayed the last uprising of militant labor and thus made possible the present domination of the unions by the government. Will they get a chance to repeat that performance next time? Not if the revolutionary workers know their business and stick to it. That is the most important conclusion to be drawn from current events in the trade unions.

- J. P. C.

population to independent action. When, against this background, the Yoshida regime brought up its two repressive measures durits two repressive measures durity for the victory push." Toledo doubled its score to 40% with a store where the companies of that is the generation of the companies of that is the generation of the companies of the companies of that is the generation of the companies o Opens; Io Enu

Branches which have begun selling the pamphlet report enthusiastically on their success. agent, Helen S., writes as fol-

"Our Road to Peace pamphlet will surely be a best seller here Spurned by Workers in Minneapolis. All the comrades are so enthusiatic about it! The Road to Peace is a part of every day's conversation - it is so atthe day. We say again and again. that Comrade Cannon is our prize journalist.

Peace so do we have wonderful workers gave the sign-up booth success with sales. Sunday night at a Stalinist 'Crusade for Peace' showed that less than one in fifty rally, Millie, Fannie, Julia, Doris, took the time to endorse the Voice Otto, Harry and Helen sold the of Wall Street.

R. GINGER:

J. P. CANNON:

J. BELDEN:

E. PINCHON:

116 University Place

BOOKS MAKE FINE GIFTS

Bolsheviki and World Peace, rare

Writings and Speeches (special price)

History American Trotskyism

China Shakes the World

Zapata the Unconquerable, rare

My Life (Yiddish) two volumes, rare 5.00

The Moscow Trials - foreword by J. Hansen 1.00

The Bending Cross (special price) 1.50

The Jewish Question - A Marxist Interpretation 1.00

Catalogue on request

Order from

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

Living Thoughts of Karl Marx

Stalin's Frame-Up System and

The three month campaign to pamphlet to 1 out of 5 who its quota before the campaign circulate the new pamphlet by showed up for their meeting. One ends on Feb. 15, 1952. James P. Cannon, The Road to man, who first refused to buy, San Francisco reports plans to Peace, which started on Nov. 15, came out of the meeting with "present the pamphlet to our

time." Akron promises to sell out were best."

Militant subscribers, to our buyis well under way. Close to 1400 money in his hand for a copy." Militant subscribers, to our buy-copies of the pamphlet are to be Akron, in accepting its quota, ers on our few weekly routes, and sold under present branch quotas. commented that "We are look- probably best of all will be sales Not all branches of the Socialist ing at this as a campaign - through mobilizations to do Workers Party have sent in their therefore not ordering pamphlets house-to-house work in the areas that will lay around for a long where the sales of the Militant

For example, the Minneapolis Letters to the Edi

Voice of Wall Street

Editor: The Crusade For Freedom drive was opened here in Youngstown with considerable tractive and made to order for fanfare by the management of the local plants of U.S. Steel. Despite steady plugging on payday and on several previous "Just as we 'talk' the Road to days it appeared that production a cold shoulder. Observation

New York, N. Y.

Workers' typical comments: "Another scheme to get your money." (a cynical materialist)

"Why don't they fix up freedom at home?" (a Negro worker) "If the Company is behind it, it ain't any good for us." (a worker with well-founded suspicions) "Who the hell wants another war anyway?"

This last comment came from a worker who is a rabid right winger in local union politics.

Youngstown, Ohio

Negro Income

the Negro family is 55% below of the workers. the general average for the country as a whole, and only 40% of the income estimated as necessary to sustain the minimum stand-

ards of health and decency. . . "The average yearly earning of the Negro woman in 1948 was \$492, as compared with \$1142 for white women, which is way below the national average for men. . - From resolutions of the National Negro Labor Council

YE OLDE S.W.P. BAZAAR

Dancing - Food Entertainment Bargains!

Sat. Dec. 15, 1951 3 PM to Midnite SWP HALL - 734 S. Wabash Chicago, Ill.

25c After 6 PM

JAPAN LABOR MOVEMENT Fund Collections Pick Up; WITCH HUNT LEGISLATION Total Reaches 38 Percent TOKYO - The Yoshida government, disturbed by

the growing opposition to the recent treaties and by a number of militant wage struggles, attempted at the spe-

cial session of the Japanese Diet called to ratify the treaties to development undoubtedly registenact two reactionary laws "for ered on the consciousness of the the maintenance of the public General Council, whose members peace and regulation of political realize they face a similar fate organizations" that would give the government the power to suppress all opposition movements. But the laws were not enacted ecause of the determined re-

sistance of the masses. Rising prices have made the conditions of wage earners more difficult, and big strikes are being fought for wage increases and special allowances. The Coal Miners Union, mobilizing more than a million workers, fought a struggle with astonishing solidarity and militancy against national

At present the Electric Industrial Union and the Teachers Union are striking on a national scale for wage increases. The Civil Servants Union of the gov goya section of the State Railclared a state of emergency warning that unless their demands are met they will refuse the responsibility for the normal operation of the trains. There are trikes in other industries as well

Strike movements have become



PREMIER YOSHIDA

traditional at the end of each year, when the workers seek special allowances. The present sweep of strikes is due not only o this, however, but also to the

if necessary, and immediately or- dence" they required. ganized a Central Committee of

bers 49,480.

so-called "red" unions; that the ing). General Council, usually denounced by the Stalinists as conserva-"The average annual income of endous pressure from the ranks more violently and ferociously

> I must add here that as a re-State Railway Workers Union (where the "Four Principles of Democratization of the Unions was forced to declare its own liquidation. The Mindo was originally formed for the alleged purpose of fighting the dictatorial leadership of the Stalinists. Its leaders are ultra-right conservatives. They were completely swept out of the leadership of the Railway Workers Union. This

CLEVELAND Public Meeting The Korean Atrocity Speaker: LOU COOPER Sunday, Dec. 16, 8 PM 10609 Superior Auspices: Cleveland

Socialist Workers Party

\$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch Quota Percent Newark Akron 150 Chicago 1,000 614 Pittsburgh St. Paul-Minneapolis 1,000 Los Angeles 2,600 1,238 47 Milwaukee 250 112 Flint 350 152 Connecticut Toledo Buffalo 1,000 Detroit Seattle 137 Youngstown Cleveland 94 Boston 147 New York 5,000 1,360 Philadelphia San Francisco 1,000 120 Allentown Oakland General 1,150 550 48 Total through Dec. 3 \$18,000 \$6,906

ernmental departments is likewise preparing a strike. The Nawise preparing a strike. The Naway Workers Union, after long and futile negotiations, has de-

present witch hunt (under orders these remain hollow mockeries so who have shown furthermore that from the White House, of course). He gave the orders for bureaucrats have the power to "totalitarianism" include a prothe issuance of the "subversive" list (which Mr. McGrath's prosecutors are now trying to uphold against my appeal to the U.S. District Court of Appeals in Washington) and he carried out the "loyalty" purge so vigorously that he won promotion at the hands of a grateful president.

if they ignore the moods of the

The General Council's warning

to the government had its effect.

The Yoshida regime abandoned

efforts to put the bills through

at the special session. The Gen-

eral Council then cancelled its

threatened strike. But the Coun-

cil, knowing it is quite possible

that the bills will be introduced

at the regular session of the Diet

early next year, is keeping a vig-

ilant watch on developments and

maintains the special struggle

In a letter I will send The

Militant next week, I will dis-

cuss the present policy of the

Communist Party and present my

estimate of that policy.

But the underlying basis of the 'loyalty" purge, or one of its bases anyhow, is the doctrine of "guilt by association." I know how this works because it was worked on me by Mr. Clark and his associates. They accused my party of being "subversive" (although, as the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit ruled in the Remington case, the 'subversive" list is "a purely hearsay declaration by the Attorney General. . . . It has no competency to prove the subassociations. . .").

My party and I both denied psychological effects of the treat- this charge and branded it for les recently ratified, which have what it was — a criminal frameup awakened many sections of the attempt to suppress minority The General Council of the I freely admitted my membership ple, and who therefore don't like essence. Trade Unions of Japan proclaiming in the Socialist Workers Party, ed a state of emergency, declared of which I am proud, and that that it would fight against this was enough for them. My mere attempt at suppression with force membership was all the "evi-

That is what is known as the Struggle. They warned the gov- assumption of "guilty by associaernment that unless the two pro- tion," and Mr. Clark, as much as bosed bills were withdrawn, the anyone now living is responsible Council would issue an order for for the acceptance of this doctrine nationwide strike on Nov. 17. and the unjust, discriminatory The General Council is com- practices that flow from it. And pletely under the leadership of I suspect that he is now going the left wing of the Socialist Par- to get a taste of it himself. What ty. As of Sept. 1, it had a mem- people are going to remember is bership of 2,935,629. At present, that he appointed Caudle and that the only unions still under Stalin- he associated with Caudle while ist leadership are those affiliated | Caudle was engaging in crooked to the CIO of Japan, which num- practices, and not his plea of ignorance. I don't think he is The most striking character- going to like the experience of stics of the present strike wave being on the receiving end of are that the initiative is being "guilt by association" (assuming, taken by the Social Democratic of course, that he is not guilty unions; that their scope is wide of anything else in this case, and not an isolated struggle of which I have no way of know-

What is written above may seem extraneous to Bill of Rights tive and reactionary, has openly Day, the subject on which The taken up a struggle with purely Militant invited me to write this political aims, limited though week. But I don't think it is. The they are. This testifies to a trem- Bill of Rights is under attack than at any time since it went into effect 160 years ago. And terested in socialism and is sult of the Tenth Congress of the the point I have been trying to awaiting a Militant representative make is that the most dangerous attacks on it are coming from Peace" was endorsed) the so-call- high government officials, who ed Mindo - the League for the will probably observe the anniversary occasion with noblesounding words about preserving ed our resubbing and enclosed the democratic liberties and are some renewals obtained last traditions they themselves have Sunday. We will continue until done so much to violate and we have completed our list." befoul. I also think it is not a New York Literature Agent pure coincidence that the most George Rock reports a good start rabid witch hunters usually turn in New York's campaign. Last cut to be animated by the most Sunday 12 renewals were obtained sordid and corrupt personal con- in Harlem and Brooklyn. These, siderations as well as reactionary added to six obtained previously, nolitical aims.

The events of the last four sold so far in the campaign. years have proved that it is not tion provides for many demo-doubled his usual sale.

long as Stalin's secret police and their preparations for war against determine how these provisions gram for turning this country for having a good program and shall be interpreted.

So when we say that the Bill of Rights must be preserved, we mean not only that its democratic safeguards must be retained on the books, but that they must be protected and enforced in real life. And since the government is the chief force in this country today which is undermining these liberties, it is the government they must be protected against, and it is the American people seeing that they are enforced.

appeals to public opinion to win will we be able to live as truly functioning of the party and the a reversal of my discharge under the "loyalty" purge, and I think izations.

into a totalitarian police state.

I was pleased to read, in the that this viewpoint, more or less Nov. 19 Militant, J. P. C.'s re-

Fundamentally, it is because of certainly don't want to let the that belief that I was purged. Thanksgiving season go by with-The paradoxical situation is that I out paying some form of tribute. believe in the Bill of Rights, and Hence, the check.' the purgers don't; they are purging me and others like me as five places on the scoreboard are "subversives" because we want to ahead of schedule with 54% or uphold the democratic liberties more. which THEY are subverting. I am confident that they will not succeed in their aim of destroying freedom in America; but who must take the initiative in meanwhile their very efforts confirm my conviction that only by removing them from power and It is from this viewpoint that I replacing them with the repream fighting in the courts and by sentatives of the working people free men and women.

consciously held, is at the bottom marks about the attitude the versive character of the listed of the gratifying amount of sup- coming Workers and Farmers port that has been given to "the Government will take toward the case of the legless veteran" by Bill of Rights. The people of the so many labor and liberal organ- socialist future, he wrote about \$5 for Milwaukee. "I think you the Bill, "believing in and need- are right," he comments, "in be-But, in all frankness, I do not ing democracy and freedom" will the whole working class was en- making even an effort to prove are inherently hostile to the in- the capitalist witch hunters who with a \$10 payment. that I personally am "subversive." terests of a majority of the peo- seek to pervert it and destroy its

THE MILITANT ARMY

Branches now beginning on | Literature Agent Gail Sellers their Militant campaign renewals writes that work has been started will have to go some to match on Los Angeles renewals and



Literature Agent meeting recently. Sunday," she writes, "the Min- "More power to you."

neapolis comrades will be out visiting old and new friends for Bronx, New York, for his \$1 contheir renewals to The Militant. tribution sent in with his renewal This will cover all of our 'pend- to The Militant for two years. ing renewals' through December. The whole idea is that anyone bush, N. Y., for his donation to who has been reading The Mili- help pay the printing costs of tant for six months has found The Militant. the paper indispensable for a clear-cut presentation of the news of the day; he has become into attend to his renewal. Expect a 'big success' letter from Minreapolis next week with a big share of renewals enclosed."

Seattle writes, "We have start-

give New York a total of 18 subs

Sunday night, George says, enough to have the Bill of Rights Jeff and Johnny went to a on the statutes. The intent and forum at the Community Church purpose of statutes can be evaded. and sold 21 copies of The Militant and is. Hitler too left a lot of and a copy of James P. Cannon's laws of the German republic on new pamphlet "The Road to the books when he came to power, Peace." Donald's weekly sales at but he violated them every day Washington Irving High School in every way. Stalin's constitu- have been good. This week he

the pace set by the that street sales are picking up. comrades in Flint. "Don sells about 12 every week," This week the branch she reports, "and May sells door wound up their work to door for an hour each week." to do better." with an impressive Two Westside comrades sold 15 gain of 17 additional Militants in about half an hour in subscriptions, bring- Los Angeles' Negro community. San Francisco pushed ahead four ing their score to 57 Gail also reports two new sub- points with a \$45 payment.

Helen S. reports H. L. W. of California sends in in another \$100, making their that Minneapolis is a P. S. with his renewal to The total contribution \$300. A New ready to start their Militant. "You are surely getting campaign. "This coming out a real newspaper!" he writes,

scriptions obtained at a public

Many thanks to J. K. of the Thanks also to R. G. of Green-

The campaign has passed the half-way mark. Those branches below 54% will have to do some tall stepping in the last half to catch up and finish 100% by the campaign deadline - Jan. 15.

MARXIST LABOR SCHOOL

"The Crisis of World Stalinism — The Post-World War II Revolutions"

a lecture by GEORGE CLARKE Editor, Fourth International

An analysis of the social transformations in Eastern Europe; the significance of the Yugoslav and Chinese revolutions: the form and outlook for the crisis in Stalinism. Friday, Dec. 14, at 8 PM

> Register now for classes in "Marx's Capital, Volume I" Lecturer: MICHAEL BARTELL Every Monday at 7 PM

"The First American Revolution" Lecturer: HARRY FRANKEL Every Monday at 8:45 PM

AT 116 UNIVERSITY PL. (corner 13th), N. Y. C.

THE MILITANT

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460

Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Subscription: \$2 per year: \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3,50 per year: for 6 months. Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S.. 4c each in foreign countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Mili-t's policies. These are expressed inits editorials. "Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the actof March 3, 1879."

Vol. XV - No. 50

Monday, December 10, 1951

Bread Box and Ballot Box

A favorite pastime of the American labor leaders is scolding the workers for not voting on election day. Such complaints have recently swelled into a chorus of reproach: The workers must learn the connection between economics and politics, and vote!

George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the AFL writes: "In Congress and in the state legislatures we have found that the big business interests have been able to wipe out almost overnight freedoms and gains that the working people of this country were able to win only after years of patient organization and collective bargaining." The remedy? Contribute a dollar to AFL Labor's League for Political Action — and vote!

Walter Reuther, president of the CIO-UAW in a speech at the union's convention: "Millions of workers small country," of "violation of have not as yet learned of the relationship between the bread box and the ballot box. . . It is time the American people learned the political facts of life." The lesson? Give a buck to CIO Political Action Committee — and vote!

Hugo Ernst, president AFL Hotel and Restaurant Employees, writing in the union's magazine, says: Our wages in times like these, because they can be frozen or thawed out by a government board, become a political question." The answer? Register and vote!

To drive the lesson home, Ernst makes a comparison between the United States and Great Britain. "About 85 out of 100 citizens of Great Britain took the time and the trouble to go to the polls," he says, whereas in our own cratic socialism! country, "only 50 out of 100 voters go to the polls." Why the difference? In our country, he sadly concludes, "some folks have the idea that 'it doesn't matter how you vote of the struggle for peace," - the politicians are all alike." Ernst unwittingly puts his finger on the nub of the question.

The workers in Great Britain long ago learned the "relationship between the bread box and the ballot box." They had their two-party system — the Liberals and Conservatives. They learned that both parties represented capital and used their control of government to enrich the employers at the expense of the workers. Having learned that lesson they proceeded to act in accordance with the "political facts of life" and turned their backs forever on the two-party swindle.

When the British workers go to the polls today they vote Labor. They vote as they strike — against the bosses. They don't have to be lectured, scolded or berated. They have absorbed the "political facts of life" so well they are unable to comprehend any other course. An American labor leader recently attended the British Trades Union Congress and there proceeded to give a lecture on the virtues of the two-party system. The British were too polite to throw brickbats, they merely smiled as they would at a

Is it still necessary to argue, in this day and age, that the two-party system is a political shell-game? That both Republicans and Democrats represent the interests of Big Business? That the politicians of both parties "are alike?" Yet, it is this argument that absorbs the attention of the with their recent Labor Govern- "police actions" could not keep which have tied them to the old American labor leaders. Some say vote Democrat. Some ment. The pamphlet is intended their empire in Indonesia. Mil- Laborite policy of collaboration say vote Republican. The majority say vote both! And to meet that state of mind with lions of pounds' worth of Amer- with capitalism. out of the nourishment provided by this watery stew the workers are supposed to gain clarity and inspiration.

The exhortations of the labor leaders leaves the workers cold. They don't register, they don't vote, because they see no real difference between the capitalist politicians of either major party. From this the labor leaders arrive at the conclusion that the workers are dumb. Has it ever living standards despite unpenetrated their thick skulls that it is just barely possible precedented production efforts in inner contradiction. It is very a different position. the fault lies with their own bankrupt policy?

Truman's Fake 'FEPC'

Truman's new Committee on Government Contract Compliance is not intended to wipe out discrimination in employment — it is intended to ease the labor and Negro pressure on the White House for issuance of an executive order that would set up a Fair Employment Practices Commission with the power, personnel and funds needed to do an effective job in combatting discrimination at the hiring

That was made evident by the fact that the CGCC has and then turned it into a retreat." no power to compel a single employer to discontinue Jim Crow anywhere. And it was made glaringly obvious by the statement of Trumanite Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, the "super"-liberal from Minnesota. Hailing Truman's phony action as "a step in the right direction," Humphrey gave the show away by insisting that "we must now shift our fight to the floor of the Congress."

True enough, the fight for FEPC must be continued in Congress. But Humphrey knows very well that the adoption of FEPC by the present Congress does not have any more chances than the well-known snowball in hell. It was recognition of this fact that led the Negro, labor and liberal movements to demand action by Truman, who the outset: "From now on all does not need the approval of Congress to issue an execu- wars . . . even if they begin as Ministers of the Crown, these are to show the background of the tive order creating an FEPC. The CGCC and Humphrey's national wars, will end as interstatement show that Truman is trying to get the heat national civil wars." But they add, removed without granting any satisfaction to the antidiscrimination movement.

This shabby maneuver re-emphasizes an important political lesson. Why should any worker or member of a are not prepared to renounce their minority group place the slightest confidence in the promises of capitalist parties when they both promised an FEPC in their platforms, and both failed to keep their promises? Why should anyone believe their other promises about promoting peace when they can't even be relied on to enact such elementary democratic safeguards as protection of the right to a job without regard to the color of one's skin?

The pressure on Truman for an FEPC must not be relaxed. And the fight for FEPC and other progressive colonial peoples), and the revolt Only" thus reveal a sensitivity to British workers continue their measures must be conducted with the understanding that they can be won only by defeating the capitalist parties or revolution which it brings in the developments untracted in the subject of the final article in the subject of the subject of the final article in the subject of they can be won only by defeating the capitalist parties. revolt of Englishmen against the ship up to the present. They this series.

Titoism and the War: A Reply to the Yugoslav CP

who with startling ease negate everything they themselves have written and supported up to the Korean war, completely espouse the bourgeois thesis on rearmament and therefore place themselves even to the right of left socialist leaders like Bevan.

The "Marxist - Leninist" orthodoxy of the Yugoslav leaders is illustrated by another noteworthy criterion in the Borba article: They reproach us for insisting "on the inevitable character of a new world war as the inherent consequence of the existence of capitalism." The Yugoslav leaders counterpose to this fundamental thesis (which is not peculiar to the Congress of our International as they try to make people believe, but to Marxism-Leninism itself), their "theory" of the war resulting from the appetite of "aggressor and dominating countries," of disrespect for "equality between large and the principles of the United Nations charter," etc. Under this incoherent and wretched centrist phraseology they camouflage the "great idea" justifying their whole present policy; that is, 'the aggressiveness of Soviet im-'democratic" imperialism is conng CPY spokesman, has already "theoretically" explained "transmutation" into demo-

The author of the Borba article ostensibly put forward by the our aim "of justifying the aggressive policy of the Soviet leaders and the sowing of defeatism among the peoples who are preparing to defend their inde-

Nowhere in the documents of our Congress is there to be found ship. any mention of "the futility of the struggle for peace" but the author of the Borba article per-



MARSHAL TITO

this axiom only prove the miserable futility of their own struggle for peace, consisting of phrases, perialism" as the cause of present chatter, confusion, association international tension which can with the most diverse elements degenerate into war. As far as who curb and sabotage the only genuine "struggle for peace" cerned, Milovan Djilas, top rank- the revolutionary struggle of the masses against capitalism and imperialism.

The most significant aspect of article was written is the one attributes the supposed "futility concerning "the attitude of the of Europe, is explained and Trotskyists toward Yugoslavia." The author tries to make his Congress of our International, to readers believe that the Trot- interaction of the revolutionary skyists have abandoned their slav revolution and state and our criticism of the CPY leader-

Following the example of the direction.

istence of capitalism." In reality, and their leadership is a struggle tarian revolution but in good war is inevitable so long as the against the USSR and the mass Stalinist form, they simply subcapitalist system continues to movements, the Yugoslav leaders stitute for the mass movement exist, and the only effective strug- identify the present course of the party, which is then reduced its abolition. This is an elementa- revolution and the Yugoslav work- Committee." ry axiom of Marxism. Centrists ers state and make the same and opportunists who question reproach against us that the Stalinists do.

"According to the Trotskyists," ays Borba, "the (Yugoslav) evolution occurred in Yugoslavia solely (our emphasis) under pressure of the popular masses. The aim of such statements is to completely efface the role of the Yugoslav Communist Party, that is, of its Central Committee (our emphasis) in the leadership of the popular revo lution. In effect this is the Comin formist theory of the spontaneity of the revolution in Yugoslavia." The resolution on "The Yugo

slav Revolution and the Fourth International," adopted by the Third World Congress of our International, begins as follows: "The victorious proletarian rev

olution in Yugoslavia is fundamentally the product of two historic factors: the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masse expressing itself in the movement of the armed partisans, and the specific policy followed by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in the important turns of the objective revolutionary process, (Our emphasis.)

Further on in the same resolution this specific policy of the the purpose for which the Borba CPY, in contrast to the policies of the other communist parties emphasized.

The resolution emphasizes the pressure of the masses and of the position of defense of the Yugo- subjective role played by the CPY and its leadership, while at identify themselves with the the same time insisting on the Cominform. On the other hand he primary importance of the revo appears extremely sensitive to lutionary movement of the masses which also influenced the course of the CPY in a progressive

Stalinist leaders who, identifying The present conception of the themselves with the USSR and Yugoslav leaders is naturally mits himself to derive this con- with the social regimes and quite different: Not only do they clusion from our contention of revolutionary movements they claim to have consciously led the

inist leadership, to erect themselves into a caste of omnipotent and uncontrollable bureaucrats who can carry out the sharpest zig-zags without giving an account to anyone. On the other hand it permits them to identify themselves with the revolution and its state in such a way that whoever makes any criticism of organize a Leninist opposition in them is supposedly "attacking" the revolution and the state.

since the Yugoslav leaders have in the world." This appeal, he convened a Congress of their finds, "unmasks" us as agents of principled line, and as there is party, but in the meantime the "Central Committee, that is, the Yugoslav Communist Party" has serving the hegemonist policy of possibility of gaining for us the arrogated the right to change the the bureaucratic caste of the sympathy of inveterate opporline of the Fifth Congress of the Soviet Union." CPY from top to bottom on fundamental questions and prin- Trotskyists have now become ciples such as the character of the USSR and the "Peoples ed from Moscow, they are still

the inevitability of war "as an lead, declare that the struggle mass movement from the begin- lution, the colonial revolution in of this optical paradox derives inherent consequence of the ex- of the Trotskyists against them ning (1941) toward the prole- general, and the character of from the fact that the Trotskyimperialism, etc. The "Central Committee" can

allow itself to attack the Trotskyists, as does the author of the gle for peace is the struggle for their policy with the Yugoslav and identified with its "Central article, by deforming the spirit ers movement. In their eyes we This exercise in simplification the capitalist press available to want to deliver the Yugoslav - mass movement equals com- the Yugoslav masses but refusing munist party equals central com- the publication and free circulamittee - permits the Yugoslav tion of the literature of the revoleaders, just as the classic Stal- lutionary tendencies of the modern revolutionary workers' movement, the works of Leon Trotsky, etc. After that, they can very easily discourse at leisure on the accelerated "democratization" of their regime.

> The author of the Borba article s indignant because we call upon the Yugoslav communists their party" to "replace the opportunist leadership and establish It is more than three years now ties with the revolutionary forces the policy of the Cominform and

Viewed from Belgrade, the Cominformist agents," but view-Democracies," the Chinese revo- "Titoist agents." The explanation

from the fact that the Trotskyists, whose position flows from revolutionary Marxism, has never been able to tolerate any bureaucratic leadership of the workand letter of their texts, making are "Cominformist agents" who revolution to the yoke of the Kremlin because we are against the present policy of capitulation and betrayal on the part of the Yugoslav leaders and we call upon the revolutionists of the

> But, at the same time, because we are still for the unconditional defense of proletarian Yugoslavia against imperialism and against the Soviet bureaucracy we are "Titoist agents" in the eyes of the Kremlin.

country and the CPY to replace

them with a genuine Leninist

leadership.

As there is no force on earth which can make us abandon our no device that can win our "our new line which consists in sympathy, this rules out the

> They slander us because they program, will have the last word - in Yugoslavia as in the USSR. (Translated from La Verite)

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 5

THE PEOPLE SHOUTED!

By Harry Frankel

Early in 1765, the British Ministry threw a match into the powder barrel of American colonial discontent. Parliament, intent upon raising evenue in the colonies, passed the Stamp Act. This tax law provided that all legal documents, newspapers, mortgages, titles, deeds, and so forth, had to be printed on stamped paper, which was

The passage of the Stamp Act brought a great ceaction. Of course, the American ruling classes opposed the new tax. But in addition, the mass of the people, especially the city masses, now entered the fight in person. It must be remembered that revolutions differ from all other political events in that the people enter upon the scene, and make history directly, without intermediaries. And in the Stamp Act campaign of 1765, that is what happened in America.

to be sold by the British government.

Most political leaders of the opposition were shocked and repelled by the entrance of the masses, and by the work they did. But not Sam Adams. He welcomed the people as they entered the fight, and understood the meaning of the events. The Stamp Act demonstrations, said Sam Adams, "ought to be forever remembered in America. The people shouted, and their shout was heard to the distant end of the continent.'

The People Acted

"The people shouted! . . . " and they acted too. Great crowds met incoming ships and seized the stamps. The stamps were burned in big bonfire celebrations. British ministers and their Again, noticeably, an otherwise Only" sets forth logically leads Tory supporters in America were burned in effigy at great mass meetings in Boston, Salem, The big fact in the British Korea. There is no attempt to alliance with American capital- New York, Philadelphia, Norfolk, Charleston, and the other principal cities. At these meetings, held under the Liberty Tree, the stampmasters, brought in by large committees of brawny Sons of Liberty, were compelled to resign their obnoxious office.

> One historian writes: "The stampmasters found themselves the most hated men in America. . . Most stampmasters probably did not suspect when they received their appointment that t was to be a traveling job — usually with a mob at their heels. In their headlong dash across country, they may well have outridden Revere himself. Had you seen a disheveled figure with a hunted look in his eye thundering down a colonial nighway in 1765, you might well have concluded that here was an American stampmaster, on his way to the nearest British fort or man-of-war."

> It was at this time that the Sons of Liberty were formed in most of the colonial cities. The sons of Liberty were organizations of the leading active fighters, which planned and led the mass demonstrations. They were composed mainly of workers, artisans, shopkeepers, and, very often, were formed directly out of craft or trade organizations, or out of fire-fighting companies.

The Sons of Liberty

The following description of the functioning of these revolutionary action organizations is taken from a biography of Sam Adams: "The 'Sons of Liberty' were soon thoroughly

organized and subject to the direction of influential leaders. They were composed, for the most part, of the laboring classes and mechanics, and were successfully secret in all their meetings and preparations for concerted movements. They issued warrants for the arrest of suspected persons, arranged in secret caucus the preliminaries of elections, and the programme for patriotic celebrations, and in fact were the mainspring, under the guidance of the popular leaders, of every public demonstration against the government. They probably numbered about three hundred, (in Boston) and held their public meetings in 'Liberty Hall', the name given to a space around 'Liberty Tree' at the junction of Newbury, Orange and Essex Streets, which afforded ample room for a gathering of several thousand persons. . .

The leaders of the Boston Sons of Liberty, or 'Liberty Boys" as they were sometimes called. were all Adams men, staunch radicals. The steering committee of the organization was called the Loyall Nine. It was composed of one printer Benjamin Edes, of Edes and Gill, printers of the Adams newspaper, the Boston Gazette), two distillers, two coppersmiths, one ship captain, a painter, and a merchant. The lone merchant on the committee, Henry Bass, was a cousin of Sam

Adams. The Boston copper and silversmith, Paul Revere, who was to become famous as a courier, was also a prominent member.

In Charleston, South Carolina, Chris Gadsden. a radical merchant, was aided in the formation of the radical organization by a printer, a blacksmith, two house carpenters, a boatbuilder, two glaziers, and an upholsterer. This indicates the leading role of workers, independent artisans, small tradesmen and mechanics in the opposition.

Masterful Strategy

The Stamp Act campaign in Boston was organized by Sam Adams. It was in this fight that the masterful abilities of the great revolutionary strategist first came into active play.

Just prior to the demonstrations, Adams unified the North and South End "gangs" or "cudgel boys" of Boston into a single force. These "gangs" customarily battled each other on "Pope's Day" or on other suitable occasions.

Adams brought them together in a "Union Feast" and convinced them that patriotism came before local rivalry, or sport. Ebenezer Mackintosh, leader of the South End gang, became the first Captain-General of the Liberty Tree, and paraded his "troops" through the streets of Boston to the terror of the Tories.

Mackintosh, about whom only a few scraps of information have come down to us, was an Adams lieutenant on the field of action; a battle commander in the streets of Boston. He was small of stature, and a natty dresser, a reader of poetry by taste and a shoemaker by trade, a real fighter and an interesting individual about whom we know all too little.

Mackintosh led the two great demonstrations which put the Stamp Act out of business in Massachusetts. In retaliation for his part as leader of the popular movement, he was arrested and imprisoned by the government, but when Adams threatened reprisals, he was released. Others who were arrested after the demonstrations spent over a year in prison despite the protests.

The popular demonstrations in Boston which forced the stampmaster to resign, became so extensive and so militant, that the Governor of the colony fled to Castle William. There he remained. bottled up in the fort together with the stamps, which had been sent along for safekeeping.

Adams now set a further objective for the Boston insurgents. He opened a campaign to compel the various government departments to do business without stamps; that is, illegally. The letters and articles for which he became

famous poured from Adams' pen. He worked with inexhaustible energy, writing, speaking, organizing, exhorting, cajoling, convincing. Emissaries were sent to the Massachusetts farm-

ing towns, in the first of Adams' back-country campaigns. Mass meetings were organized; demonstrations threatened a renewal of the August days of violence. The General Court and the Boston town meetings, soon joined by town meetings throughout the colony, passed strong resolutions. This combination of methods was used to hammer the Tories down.

The Tories Yield

The Tories were forced to yield. One by one the government departments had to reopen. Customs agents were forced to issue unstamped clearance papers to sailing vessels. The courts of common law, the probate courts, and finally even the court of the British Admiralty were compelled to go along. Finally, as the tension mounted to the breaking point, the Superior Court of the colony yielded after a hard fought two-month battle. Thus the governor and his council were left alone in their determination to do no business without stamps.

The Stamp Act was a total failure for the British rulers and the Tories. The British were compelled to repeal it. The first great campaign ended in victory.

Sam Adams had shown himself to be the most able revolutionary leader of the colonies. He welcomed the mass movement of the people, and helped to organize and lead it. But there, were other oppositionists who were not so happy to see the masses come upon the stage. They feared the insurgent workers, farmers, storekeepers, artisans, mechanics. Because of their fears, the movement of opposition to Britain had its first serious internal rift.

(Next Week: The Rift Begins)

One Way Only: Bevan's

By Paul G. Stevens

"One Way Only," the programmatic statement of Aneurin blind tyranny of George III. It is tions of the British workers. But Bevan and his associates in the born of the same spirit which in- when these generalizations are British Labor Party, reflects the spired the Chartists and the early given more concrete expression. bitter dissatisfaction and disap- Socialist Movement in Britain. It Bevan and his friends show that pointment of the British workers will not be put down. . . Dutch they have not at all cut the bonds a policy of action different from that of the present Labor leader-

of the workers with their low of this mass sentiment, "has have earned by five years of more serious, it has first halted the advance towards socialism

The Bevanites then attempt to re-examine the whole background of fifty years." of the Cold War and to reevaluate it. Parts of this analysis are almost indistinguishable from that of the revolutionary Marxists. But it is interlarded with qualifying clauses that show unmistakably the authors' continued involvement in the class-colthey appeared to break when they resigned from the Govern-

Thus, for instance, they say at as a sort of a Ministerial afterthought . . . all wars "except police actions conducted by the United Nations." Obviously they share in the responsibility for

the "police action" in Korea. Their analysis proceeds on a radical note throughout, and it is breaks out today is bound to be- resolutely break with the politics worth citing a few of the thoughts

they express: "The social revolution in Asia, Africa and the Middle East is the dominant fact of the twentieth socialism established on a world step in that direction. Will century. . . "That discontent (of

American colonists against the general form echoes the aspira-Chiang Kai-shek. . ."

labor movement of the past few explain what distinguishes Syng- ism. Indeed, Bevan has been

The policy proposed to fit this the name of Socialism. The radical in general terms. "The British workers have begun to tie only sane policy for the West, "suggest that the alliance should that fact up with the problem of the only reputable policy for be broken. We do propose that war and international policy with Socialists," says the pamphlet in over the coming months a series increasing understanding. The one section, "is to ally ourselves of British initiatives should be Bevan pamphlet proceeds from with the forces of social revolu- taken to rectify the lop-sided there. "The intensification of the tion and to prove by deeds that nature of the alliance. . cold war," it says in recognition our aim is not dominion, but honorable partnership." In an-tives" to be aimed at? They British people the dividend they Party needs today is a reaffirma- (in Korea) as a prelude to a affairs, have brought us so far General Franco; 3. peace pro

ing the principles of fair shares still a long way to go before we 5. a fairer allocation of raw can claim to have established a materials "between the Atlantic socialist society. Our next great powers." task is to extend that same prinlaborationist politics with which ciple of fair shares between nations and to the tens of mil- distinguishable from Attlee's. It lions for whom poverty is still is not even sharply counter-posed the greatest enemy.'

For insular Britons, among them some who were only recently of interesting economic statistics strong internationalist words, social revolution which their plan whatever their context. What is meant to serve. The trouble they say, in effect, is this:

confine ourselves to Britain alone, can we must work for its establish- allies" - that is, Wall Street ment on a world scale - we must to join in carrying it through. ally ourselves with the social

scale.

eral policy such as "One Way correct analysis stops short at to a call for an end to the years is the growing discontent man Rhee from Chiang Kai-shek. | called "anti-American" on that assumption. But when it comes analysis is equally marked by down to cases, the pamphlet takes

"We do not, of course," it says What are these "British initia

ended our hopes of paying the other section we read: "What the enumerate them: 1. An armistice tion and renewal of our socialist negotiated settlement in the Far recovery and austerity. Even faith, a new determination to East; 2. an Atlantic coalition realize on a world scale the old "without insistence on German principles which, in our home rearmament or the inclusion of towards Socialism in the course posals to the Russians, including one for a World Mutual Aid Finally, the pamphlet winds up: Plan; 4. the scaling down of the We have made a start in apply- combined rearmament program "in order to release labor and in these islands, although there is resources for World Mutual Aid;

In this concrete form, the Bevan policy becomes hardly to Churchill's.

The Bevanites present a wealth with their program is that it is To achieve socialism, we cannot based on the notion that they "persuade our Western

The British workers turned to revolution in Asia, Africa and the Bevan because they feel the need Middle East. Any war that of a new leadership that will come an international civil war of compromising with capitalism directed against this social rev- and move decisively to a socialist olution. To avert war, this social society. Bevan's present program revolution must be completed and is only a hesistant, half-hearted Bevanism move further to the left The authors of "One Way in the days to come? Will the

Then years ago this week, the federal government secured its first convictions under the thought-control Smith Act. The trial was in Minneapolis. The 18 victims were leading members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis CIO Truckdrivers union.

The Truman administration is busy celebrating this Tenth Anniversary assault on the Bill of Rights by another Smith Act trial. This present trial is in New York and the victims this time are functionaries of the Communist Party.

By one of history's bitter ironies the current victims not only did not protest the first Smith Act convictions ten years ago but on the contrary applauded the railroading to prison of their Trotskyist opponents. By slander, pressure and power politics the Communist Party did all in its power to discredit and break up the movement of defenders of civil liberties that had rallied to the defense of the first Smith Act victims.

This must give rise to curious reflections in the minds of the current prisoners in the dock, facing long prison terms for having "dangerous thoughts." What for instance is defendant Louis Weinstock thinking? Ten years ago as head of the New York AFL Painters Union he corresponded with the Attorney General about the Minneapolis Trial. He wanted the Attorney General to aid him in combatting the sympathy and support that the Smith Act victims had aroused in the labor movement. Today Weinstock and his fellow victims realize that one of the few voices raised in defense of their civil rights is the very voice they tried to silence ten years ago - the voice of the Socialist Workers Party.

Ten years ago the Stalinists stabbed the labor movement and the cause of civil liberties in the back by refusing to support the fight against the Smith Act. Today large sections of the labor movement and of the liberals are acting as the Communist Party did in 1941.

In 1941 the hatred of the Stalinists against the Socialist Workers Party blinded them to the fact that it was not a question of defending the 18 Trotskyists but of defending civil liberties. Many labor leaders and liberals so hate the Communist Party that they are blinded to the fact that the issue is not defending Stalinism but defending civil liberties.

Ten years ago the Militant warned: "If the government succeeds in its frame-up. . . it will have established a precedent by means of which the guarantees contained in the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution can be wiped out altogether. . . This trial threatens infinitely dangerous consequences for all labor, for all progressive men and women the country over." That ten-year-old warning has just as much validity today - even more - because libertydestroying court precedents have been set and consequently that much more of a fight is neces-

In the present trial, Yale Law Professor Thomas I. Emerson, recently argued for the dismissal of the indictment. In his preliminary remarks he revealed the plan of the Attorney General to prosecute thousands of Communist Party members if convictions are secured in the present case. Emerson warned: "The implications of these facts are indeed portentous for the nation. For the first time we would be outlawing on a vast scale an entire political party, jailing its members and making advocacy of its basic doctrines unlawful. Numerous other persons would be implicated or threatened. Under such circumstances, the limits of permissible political action would become obscure and therefore seriously restricted. In actual operation a program of this nature could be carried out only through an apparatus of secret political police, informers, and the Westinghouse workers had undercover agents, and amid an atmosphere of gained as a result of several public passion and fear. No one can doubt that | years of struggle. In addition to | Federal Mediation and Conciliathe damage to freedom of political expression in the above issues, the union has tion Service Cyrus S. Ching had the United States would be overwhelming and charged the company with violat- summoned the company and the perhaps irretrievable."

In his cogent argument Emerson shows that the conviction of the 17 Stalinist functionaries would not be a mere legal repetition of the 1949 conviction of the eleven Stalinist top leaders but would represent a widening of the scope of the vicious Smith Act. Emerson's main points were limited to those narrower issues that the Supreme Court decision on the Dennis case leaves to the lower courts. He showed that the present indictment, even under the precedents of previous Smith Act cases, was illegal. The indictment violates the statute of limitations, it fails to cite an offense under the Smith Act as interpreted by the Supreme Court, and thirdly violates the First Amendment and the "probable" danger test that the Supreme Court substituted for the "clear and present" danger test in the Dennis

THE MILITANT

BUFFALO IUE-CIO STRIKE SOLID AFTER 10 WEEKS

BUFFALO, Dec. 3 — The ten-week strike of 6000 workers of the Cheektowaga plant of the Westinghouse corporation reached a climax as the Federal Government

directly intervened today. The strike, conducted by Local 1581, called a membership meeting IUE - CIO, has been one of the which was attended by more than bitterest on the Niagara Frontier 3,500 workers - the largest atsince the Bell Aircraft strike of tendance in the history of the 1949, which was marked by wide- union. This meeting marked a spread violence and vigilante turning point in the strike. In a terror by the local authorities ringing resolution denouncing acting in collusion with the in- the compay's strike-breaking and dustrial magnates.

VOLUME XV

and job-posting provisions which resolution. the contract and of having dis- ton, comes upon the heels of a charged a departmental steward threat made by Ralph Stuart, on "trumped up charges of having vice-president in charge of the used abusive language to a foreman." The company later introduced a charge of insubordination against the steward and

COMPANY PROVOCATION

union a lesson" the membership voted nine to one in favor of a strike which culminated in the plant-wide stoppage last Sept. 22.

During the course of the past ten weeks the company has unloosed the most vicious barrage of propaganda in the capitalist press. It has attempted four separate back - to - work movements, all of which proved miserable failures.

MILITANT RESOLUTION

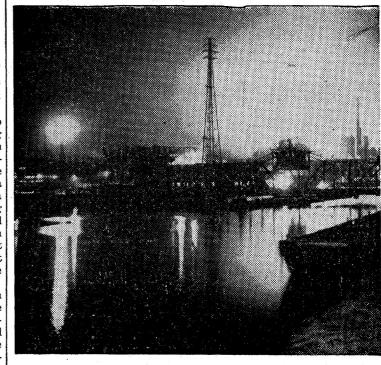
union-busting tactics, the union The Westinghouse strike arose membership resolved to stay out cut of company attempts to until victory was achieved. Not abrogate vital seniority rights a single worker voted against the

Today's announcement from Washington that Director of the ng the grievance procedures of union to a meeting in Washinglamp division of Westinghouse Electric that the company will permanently close down its Bowling Green, Ky., plant, which withdrew the first charge without also has been out on a strike for four months, unless the union even appraising the union of the agrees to a company ultimatum

Two days earlier, James B. It has been apparent for some Carey, International president of time that all these issues are the IUE-CIO, appealed to Presimerely the outgrowth of the com- dent Truman for the second time pany's design to provoke a show- to intervene in what he termed down fight with the local union, the crisis in Buffalo. Ching's inwhich has enjoyed a reputation tervention into the strike, it was in the area for militancy and noted by many unionists, came aggressiveness in its labor rela- amidst increasing signs of growtions. On two previous occasions, ing support for the strikers, not corporation but particularly on it. the Niagara Frontier where the Buffalo strike-bound plant is

Many unionists viewed with of Cyrus Ching, particularly in guerrilla warfare in South Koview of the fact that three of rea reveal, will undoubtedly conhis Buffalo conciliators have been | tinue against the regime of Syngsitting in on the fruitless negotiations for the past several weeks without so much as letting out a peep - except for an occasional press release which shielded from Only two weeks ago, after the public view the company's hostile workers had been out more than attitude towards the union.

Will the Fires Go Out?



United Steelworkers President Philip Murray has hinted of strike possibility if the CIO union does not win a substantial wage boost in current talks with steel industry. A strike would bank fires in huge open-hearth furnace in Gary, Ind., steel mill (above) and shut down mills across the nation.

Popular Opposition Forces Slow-down in Korea Fighting

tries are putting pressure on the State Dept., too.

Truman and his military negotiators have been forced to retreat a step under popular pressure, but this by no means assures that a permanent cease-fire will be the union deferred strike action; only amongst the rest of the achieved. And even if a ceasebut after it became clear that the workers in the fifty-two plant fire were signed, that will not company was out "to teach the set-up of the Westinghouse mean peace in Korea. Far from

The U. S. leaders have made plain that American armed forces will remain in full strength in Korea regardless of any ceasesuspicion the sudden intervention fire. Civil war, as the reports on Rhee and the U.S. occupation troops. At any subsequent time, American imperialism will be in position to renew full-scale warfaré and even to extend the war to China proper.

From the beginning, the Korean intervention has been the most unpopular war in U.S. history. Every Gallop poll, every newspaper questionaire, a continuous flood of letters to Congress and editors has expressed the American people to this war to act. and to their desire to withdraw

the U.S. troops from Korea.

The administration and the supthe U.S. troops from Korea. take shape as a free, socialist world. This is the march of his-world. This is the march of his-world. This is the march of his-world. This is the march of hisscope and consequences It was said, for instance, that this is bombs — can stop. This is the year of "hot war?" Or to put it said, for instance, that this is a "United Nations" war. Rep. ous dilemmas" faced by the stand the preparations for war, George H. Bender of Ohio admitted in Congress on Dec. 1 Department and Pentagon build- "is not that men are very little President Truman on the Korean that "the UN label placed by war forces is a shabby and disgraceful farce, designed to de-

ceive the American people." "All decisions on fighting, on Canuto they are attempting to circle, the problem is not only big truce negotiations, on cease-fire heart ailment which afflicted him unsuccessful efforts to win the announcements come from our government," declared Bender, doomed him to an early death. ridiculous as when the Lundeberg Does this mean, as the liberals citing figures to show that more Perhaps it was this knowledge, than 93% of all "UN" armed which must have accompanied him Mahoney believes in the slogan majority of UN nations are not

participating. Truman lied that the Korean intervention was only a "police action." Today, the U.S. alone has more than 400,000 personnel in the Korean war and has Close to one hundred of his comsuffered over 100,000 battle cas- rades gathered together in the

Ban on Shachtman

volved and casualties.

In spite of their opposition to the war and their awareness of Truman's lies, the American people have been unable to impose their will on the government. The of getting a fair hearing or concapitalist politicians and generals have brazenly defied American that the b and world public opinion. That is because popular opposition to the war has been unorganized. FLAYS DICTATORSHIP It has lacked sustained, concentrated striking power.

Such power can come only through the organizations of the people, the trade unions and the Negro groups like the NAACP. his supporters who did not bow Unfortunately, the leaders of to the ukase of the dictators at these organizations have shame- headquarters were cut off with fully failed their members and such implacable fury as this the American people by keeping silence on the issue of ending the war in Korea and withdrawing the U.S. troops and by supporting the position of the warmakers.

The people of this country want to pull the troops entirely out of Korea. More pressure is needed to carry out the people's will. It is up to the ranks

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 2 -

this afternoon for Comrade Al longshoreman. Lynn who died suddenly last Friday of a heart attack. Al was USE FINKY ARGUMENTS only 33 years old.

During most of his 33 years Comrade Lynn knew that the of anti-labor arguments in their in childhood had in all likelihood case. At times this reached the cusness and earnestness, which to all." Mahoney's lawyers showmade his life a symbol of devotion to the Socialist Workers of the union's paper for years Party. For Al had no life outside before the Lundeberg machine the revolutionary movement. The changed the S.U.P. from a miliparty was his life.

Today the party - his party - paid tribute to his devotion. ualties, while the South Koreans SWP headquarters to hear Chairhave sustained 212,000 more. The man Myra Tanner Weiss tell of Korean War is second only to his 13 years' work in the movement from the time he joined as a young man to the very day and hall. hour of his death. She told of the eloquent, but mute, testimony of his activities chronicled in his berg bureaucracy will appeal the notebook where, on that last day, The growing protest of students he had checked off his 2 o'clock against the thought-control drive appointment with the doctor and his 4:30 appointment on party demonstrated at the University of work, but where his 8 p.m. ap-

Following Myra's talk, a chorus Memorial song, after which all those assembled rose and sang the Red Flag and the International. As a special tribute to Comrade Lynn, who gave so much of his time, energy and thought to The student newspaper, Daily handling the difficult task of

> Another and also a fitting Lynn Memorial Library.

Court Blasts **Dictatorshipin** Sailors Union

By A. Taylor

SEATTLE, Dec. 3 - The Lundeberg dictatorship over the AFL Sailors Union of the Pacific was roundly condemned last week in a Washington Superior Court decision ordering reinstatement of militant rank-and-filer John A. Mahoney to membership in the union and back wages for the period he was unemployed due to his illegal expulsion.

TWO YEAR FIGHT

This court victory culminated a two-year struggle by Mahoney and other militant seamen for free speech in the union. At the May 23, 1949 meeting of the Seattle branch of the S.U.P. Mahoney asked the question: Who gave the union officials the right to send men through the Canadian Seamen's Union picket lines?" For this he was ordered to San Francisco to stand trial.

Mahoney refused on the grounds that the union constitution specifically provided that he be tried in the nearest union branch, in this case Seattle, and that he couldn't get a fair trial in San Francisco where the Lundeberg machine ruled dictatorially.

For this he was expelled. Wholesale expulsions of union members speaking in his defense also took place. Finding no way stitutional treatment in the police went to court.

In his decision Judge Donald A. McDonald said: "I do not see how any court of justice can condone the ruthless purge by which Mahoney and every one of record attests.

"They (the Lundeberg machine) say they were engaged in a life-and-death struggle with subversives. But assuming this to be true, it did not justify resort to fascist tactics."

Referring to the campaign carried on by the union paper in an attempt to terrorize the memberof the mass labor and Negro or ship against any expression of the overwhelming opposition of ganizations to force their leaders support for Mahoney or the Mahoney Defense Committee, the judge stated: "The issues in evidence of the West Coast Sailor, the official publication of the union, make plain the fate that awaited the recalcitrant."

The judgment for Mahoney's loss of earnings orders the union to pay him \$425 a month from April 17, 1950 plus 6.8%, which is the rate seamen's wages have increased since the expulsion, less the money Mahoney earned in Memorial services were held here that period while working as a

Lawyers for the Lundeberg machine utilized the whole arsenal lawyers told the judge, "This that an injury to one is an injury ed that this was an official slogan tant and democratic labor organization into a despotism."

Testimony at the trial also revealed collusion between the Lundeberg officialdom and the Alaska Steamship Company, whose officials testified that they would not hire Mahoney even if he were shipped from the union

It is expected that the Lundecourt decision. There is no way, however, that the machine can escape the encouraging effect of Mahonev's court vindication on the rank and file of the union which is chafing at the lack of democracy in their union.

presents a lecture on The Bill of Rights be done to preserve it.

GEORGE BREITMAN Fri., Dec. 14, at 8:30 PM at 423 Springfield Avenue

This series of forums will be discontinued during the holiday period (Dec. 21 and 28) and will resume on Fri., Jan. 4

The "Two-Job" Trend

By Thomas Raymond

Although it doesn't show up in the government statistics, the present trend of higher prices and higher taxes is knocking the workers' 40-hour week into a cocked hat. Many workers who fought for the 40-hour week, and who feel that the time has come to fight for a further reduction in hours, now find that they have to work two jobs, a 40 hour job and a supplementary job of 10, 15, 20 or more hours a week in order to keep the wolf away from the family door.

A New York fireman reports that a large percentage of the City firemen have to work on an additional job to make ends meet. Most workers know by their own observation just how widespread the practice is, although there are no

Employment Service. The shocking conclusion of this survey is that "an estimated 50 percent of St. Louis area wage earners have to have more than one source of income to make ends meet. . . '

in a family. "Some postmen sell eggs and police hold extra

"Most people believed almost confiscatory tax-

coordinated statistics available. The St. Louis Globe-Democrat reports a survey of the two-jobs trend made by the Missouri State

"The average worker," the Globe-Democrat says, "is working more than 40 hours and five days a week where there is only one income

jobs. It has become a distinct part of a worker's life to have two jobs.

es and the higher costs of living are responsible. "This is in spite of the highest level of employment and the so-called highest wages in the

The Globe-Democrat goes on to report that employment service officials estimate that the 50 percent of the St. Louis area workers who have two jobs work about 52 to 55 hours a week. One official is quoted as saying: "It's an economic thing. They don't have those extra jobs because they enjoy working. They have to have them. . . '

"One of the best examples," the St. Louis paper continues, "is furnished at the Post Office. The State Employment Service refers scores of workers there for part-time jobs during the

"At the same time, employees of the Post Office, permitted to work only the allotted hours there, pour into the employment office looking for part-time work elsewhere." The average wages for industrial workers in the St. Louis area were \$62.48 per week in Aug-

ust of this year, with a majority of the workers earning less than that average. The pay ranged from an average of \$42.60 a week in the textile and clothing industry to \$75.54 in the food and food products lines. The conclusion of the Globe-Democrat from these figures is: "To pay the tax bill and fill the

food basket has become increasingly difficult for the St. Louis wage-earner. Thus "the worker who in the 1930's said 'I want a job,' today is the man who says 'I need

two jobs." The 30-hour week, which is justified by the enormous growth of productivity and by every other consideration, thus appears further away than ever, and the war-drive of American imperialism is undermining even the 40-hour week.

Purge in Czechoslovakia

lated from the Aug. - Oct. issue opening a discussion on the basis Rude Pravo, central daily of the four years they have been rulers. of Quatrieme Internationale as of Kapp's article. It was this dis- Czech CP. The clique struggle be- promoting the "cold war" with background information on the cussion that provoked Tvorba's tween Gottwald and Slansky, billions of American dollars, are beginning to dream again, present purge in the Czechoslovak attack. In its economic review the which terminated in the removal Eventually they plan to build a that the "cold war" will soon colforces in Korea are either from always, which gave him his serithe arrest of Rudolf Slansky, who article by Fr. Papanek, "Remarks CP general secretary, is explained force to smosh the non-capitalist tions, and that the danger of is not part of the UN). The vast

Communist Party of Slovakia has "semi-Trotskyist" since the au- tion: little relation to the preceding thor, under the cover of a polemic purges against Klementis and against Kapp, actually defended cadres and organization has been Novomesky. It was caused by the ideas similar to those of his ad- treated in an erroneous an the plan proceeds the more un- trollable forces" will plunge into publication of an article by versary. It was then that the new irresponsible manner . . . the Cen-Doctor O. Kapp on "Socialism and wave of repression was unleashed tral Committee has drawn all the Bureaucracy" published by the in the Slovak CP.
Academy of Slovak Sciences. This article defended the view that the ossification of the bureaucratic apparatus, with its cracy problem assumes special special interests, represented an significance in Czechoslovakia beimportant danger on the road of cause the state apparatus was

tral Committee, replied with a by representatives of each of the system would have unhealthy confurious attack against both the four big parties. None of these author and the entire Academy. parties dared to attack this sys-schismatic tendencies in the lead-The opinions of Doctor Kapp were tem before February 1948 for ing organisms of the party. . ." said to be "purely Trotskyist con- fear of losing their base among ceptions." The bureaucracy, as a the functionaries. But this situacaste, supposedly exists only in tion became untenable as a result feudal bourgeois states in the of the enormous dead weight ures, Rude Pravo, Sept. 9, makes rivals in this part of the world, thought. Should we entrust our form of an alliance of the military which burdened the economy. clear that what is involved is the caste with the caste of state After the CP's domination was extension and strengthening of Japan in China. Failure to supthat means all of them, Taft, the Attorney-General's "subverfunctionaries. Basing itself on an established and the principle of the system of individual res- port the British and French article by Lenin, Tvorba "demon-| individual responsibility was re- | ponsibility and of the principle strates" that Lenin's struggle introduced in the factories, the of the "single head" in all levels against bureaucratism was direct- Stalinists found themselves oblig- of economic life. "There should ed exclusively against the rem- ed to start a big campaign to be one leader at the head of each nants of the Czarist bureaucracy. transfer functionaries to "sectors unit of production who takes all In the USSR and the countries of of productive work." This provok- responsibility on himself within the "Peoples Democracies" the ed furious clique struggles in the his sphere; a leader who enjoys bourgeois state apparatus is ranks of the administrative ap- unlimited rights and is subject alleged to have been completely paratus itself, particularly be- directly to the higher funcdestroyed so that only "crude cause the former functionaries tionary." This article also conbureaucratic methods on the part were incorporated into industry tains a significant admission of of individuals comprising the as unskilled workers. state apparatus constitute a dan- The significance of the con- this same bureaucratic apparatus bases in Indochina, Morocco and people, not a world empire for a

PROVOKES STRUGGLE

The discussion of the bureau-

(The following article is trans- | The Academy countered by made clear on Sept. 7, 8 and 9 in had previously been removed as on the Question of Kapp's as follows in an editorial in the general secretary. — Ed. Note.) Article." This article was also Sept. 8 Rude Pravo signed by The new wave of purges in the violently attacked by Tvorba as Kopecky, Minister of Informa-

"Up to now the question of necessary conclusions from these experiences which signify a complete turn in the cadre and organization policy of the party . . the Central Committee has come to the conclusion that the organisms which have existed thus far especially swollen between 1945 and the entire activity of the and 1948, when all the key posi- secretariat of the C.C. no longer QUESTION OF BUREAUCRACY tions in the administration and corresponds to present conditions, Tvorba, organ of the CP Cen- the economy were jointly occupied that the maintenance of this sequences and would facilitate

CULT OF LEADER

Discussing new economic measthe enormous dead weight which troversy for the apparatus was represents for the economy.

(Continued from page 1) a global scale and a new system | maintain them by the free consent s being born that will eventually of these peoples themselves

WHO MAKES DECISIONS

FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE?

tory which nothing, - not dol- results of five years of "cold war" "brain trust" of international how can it survive the war itself? capitalism located in the State ngs at Washington, D. C.

Their whole strategy, all of

realizable it becomes.

The attempt to rearm Western | their dying system. Europe is creating a galloping inflation and driving these coun- differentely. That is how the Rus-'weak," a "critical point" -

Indonesia. In reality it means peoples. failure of American corporations to supplant their commercial just as they failed to supplant Reston says, "will weaken the confidence of its two most power-

ful allies in Europe.'

Basically, however, it is not a question of "confidence" but of stability. Capitalist Europe cannot survive without the superprofits it derives from the ex-And — another not unimportant - only direct imperialist rule can assure the U.S. its military elsewhere. It can never get or few monopolists?

lars, not military force, not atom what will be the result of one reason for "the stubborn, danger- | differently: If capitalism cannot "The point of all this," he says,

- which alas, many of them are - but that the problems are their plans, runs counter to this very big." Never were truer course of history: like King words spoken. Like squaring the hold back the tide. For almost but insoluble for the capitalist

big enough counter-revolutionary lapse amidst its own contradicworld at its strongest point, the World War III will disappear? USSR, making the destruction of Just the contrary. It means that the colonial revolutions at the the blind leaders trying to periphery a relatively easy affair. protect the mountains of wealth Reston not only reports dismal and privileges of a tiny decadent failure; he shows that the further class and buffeted by "unconthe maelstrom of war to save

No ruling class has ever acted tries to bankruptcy — and thus sian Czar acted, the way Hitler to social revolution, which Reston and the Japanese militarists actomits to mention. But the failure ed. That is how it is happening to rearm them will leave them today. Washington did not recognize the Chinese Revolution, meaning a liability not an asset but is making war against it in a war against the Soviet Union. through Korea. Washington American support to the British | meets the Middle East Revolution and French empires in Asia, the right now, by supporting British Middle East and North Africa Imperialism and by jamming means, he says, loss of U.S. through its "Middle East Comprestige in the Philippines and | mand" despite the wishes of these

Reston's article should give the American people food for banned from the U. of C. campus fate to these "little men" - and | Shachtman's organization is on Truman and Eisenhower, all of sive" list. them according to Reston fit into 'uncontrollable forces?"

Is it not time to unleash the the "little men" right here at ciple of free speech be upheld. home — that is, the great mass | When the college administration | tribute was paid him. The exploitation of the colonial peoples. farmers, students, those who an off-campus hall available for had collected and studied during want peace, not war, who want a prosperous America for all the

Students Hit U. C.

of university administrations was California. A scheduled debate be- pointment remained unchecked. tween Max Shachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist of comrades sang the Workers' League, and a professor was by the Dean of Men, because

the category of the victims of California, took the lead in the party finances, comrades and protest movement. Students re- friends sent to the national office presenting all shades of political \$1000 to the Militant and Party "uncontrollable forces" against opinion demanded that the prin- Building fund. of ordinary Americans, workers, remained adamant students made tensive Marxist library which he the banned debate on the situa- his life was turned over to the tion in Great Britain. The meet- party as the nucleus of a pering was chaired by a U. of C. manent library in party headprofessor who spoke in defense quarters, to be known as the

of academic freedom.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

How it was born, why it is under attack today, and what can Speaker: