

CIO Convention Pledges Fight On Wage Freeze

NEW YORK, Nov. 8 — After listening politely to speeches by the top mobilization officials the Thirteenth Constitutional Convention of the CIO bitterly assailed the mobilization set-up and resolved that "we shall never submit to discriminatory wage freezes or unfair policies of any other kind which will threaten the standard of living and the hard-won collective bargaining advances of free American labor..."

The outspoken attacks of all the CIO leaders on the policies of the Wage Stabilization Board were the opening barrage in the campaign of the CIO Steelworkers union for "substantial wage increases" in the coming negotiations with the steel magnates.

WSB RUN-AROUND
Speaker after speaker gave glimpses of the run-around and general trimming the labor movement is getting on wages, prices and taxes. Emil Rieve, President of the Textile Workers Union and a labor member of the Wage Stabilization Board, described the reconstituted 18 member WSB as functioning "in a sort of way now." He told how he and the other labor members "often times must vote — when we don't want to — to cut down wage increases won by unions in negotiations, like in the case of the NMU. But we voted for it because they would have got less otherwise..."

In an attempt to justify participation in the Big Business dominated mobilization set-up, Rieve continued, "A lot of people say maybe we ought to take another walk out of the WSB. I don't know if that is such a good idea. Even if we go out of the WSB the law doesn't go out of existence." His alternative was staying in since "there is nothing we can do except protest."

Joseph Beirne, President of the CIO Telephone Workers referred to graveyard of grievances that the WSB and its regional offices are becoming. Said he, "We have today over 10,000 cases tied up, 10,000 cases where we know and we feel . . . the keen desires of the workers whose wages are held up, and wanting those wages, wanting some relief . . . we have found a desire on the part of others connected with the wage stabilization program who have a keen delight in dragging their feet so that months and months go by and no relief is given to those workers whose cases are before us."

Indicating the heat that angry union members have been putting on the labor representatives of the WSB, Beirne continued: "But don't stop your pressure at our office. We are with you before you even begin to pressure us. But level your pressure against the public members on the regional boards and the National Board. Don't hesitate to send them telegrams, don't hesitate to send them the rather direct letters you send to us . . ."

Nathan Feinsinger, Wage Stabilization Chairman, closed his speech, (which delegates described privately as an attempt to do a "snow job" on the convention), with the hollow promise that his pal, "Phil" (Murray) could go into negotiations with the steel corporations with the knowledge that the WSB would in no way

CIO Convention Hits Smith Act

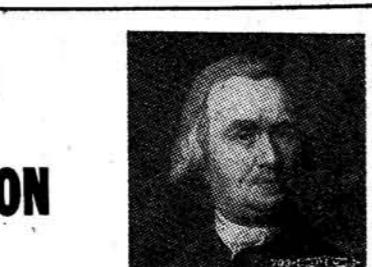
The 13th CIO Convention unanimously condemned the Smith and McCarran Acts in a resolution on Civil Liberties and Internal Security. The Resolution stated: "The Supreme Court's decision upholding the conviction of the Communist leaders was a grave blow to America's precious heritage of freedom of speech." The resolution asked that Congress review and revise all "security" legislation with the objective of giving "full protection to the civil rights of all persons, recognizing that freedom of speech is the foundation stone of democracy. Revisions of existing law which permit prosecution on the basis of speech or advocacy alone should be stricken out."

interfere with the collective bargaining process. Since the role of the WSB is to chop down gains won by unions in strikes or negotiations this "guarantee" was meaningless.

Every protest by CIO leaders against the mobilization set-up was prefaced by breast-beating declarations of support to the government's program for war. The speeches of the many government officials addressing the convention started from the same premise and drew the logical conclusion, namely, if you support the war program you must use sacrifice wage demands, you must use "self-restraint and self-control." The tone of the whole convention was flag-waving as an American Legion conclave. (See editorial on page 3.)

ASKS DEEDS NOT WORDS
A strong Civil Rights Resolution was passed. It called for a Federal FEPC, an anti-lynch law, an end of poll taxes and federal and state Civil Rights Laws. In discussing the resolution Willard Townsend, head of the Transport Service Workers, said the labor movement had frequently "given a nod to a resolution that says that the black brother should be treated on an equal basis." But how were these courageous words translated into actions when concrete discrimination situations arose, Townsend asked. He said that his investigation of the Cicero riot showed that union members were among the rioters and that local CIO leaders did not speak out against the Jim Crow mob. The Negro trade union leader concluded: "And so today, my friends, let's not support this resolution because we think it is a charitable thing to do. Let's support this resolution because to us it means the salvation of America and the salvation of a democratic world."

A separate resolution was passed condemning racial discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone which is based on the federal government's pay differentials for white and colored workers doing the same jobs.



Strikebreakers Inc.



Strike Breakers Gang Up On N.Y. Dock Workers

By Frank Faber

NEW YORK, Nov. 7 — The name of Anastasia has loomed large in the longshore strike which has kept the port of New York tied up for almost one month. The name has become a symbol of the forces involved in this struggle. Anthony and Gerry Anastasia, brothers of Albert, trigger-man for Murder Incorporated, typify the waterfront hooligans pushed forward by King Joe Ryan to spearhead his back-to-work strikebreaking activities.

The name of Anastasia, and others of like kidney who comprise the core of the Ryan machine, once had an intimidating effect upon the dock workers. But no more. The rebel longshoremen have taken the offensive against Ryan's hoodlums and carried the fight into their strongholds. Neither the hoodlums, nor the yellow press, nor Truman and his shotgun mediators, have been able to intimidate the strikers into returning to work without a settlement of their grievances.

On the contrary, the rebels have solidified their ranks and perfected their organization in the very heat of the struggle.

Each day has seen another demonstration of the strikers' ingenuity in devising and utilizing new means of struggle. Yesterday, for example, the strikers chartered the motor launch Helen, equipped it with a loud speaker and used it as a picket boat to cover the waterside sections of struck piers. The N. Y. World Telegram reports: "A police launch, the Lt. Ronaghan, followed in the Helen's wake to see that the public address systems were not used." Depend on the cops to come to the support of the Anastasias!

Meanwhile, Edward Corsi, N. Y.

State Industrial Commissioner has appointed a fact-finding board to investigate and settle the dispute. In testimony before the panel, Ryan was forced to admit that no signed agreement existed between the union and employers.

The rebels are demanding that a new agreement be negotiated, charging that the vote to accept the Ryan agreement was fraudulent. Dr. Martin C. Catherwood, chairman of the fact-finding panel, echoed Ryan and his gangsters by "stressing that the element of first importance in the board's function was getting the men back to work."

Supreme Court Rules Bail in Smith Act Case Is Excessive

The U.S. Supreme Court tipped its hat last week in recognition of the growing popular dissatisfaction with the witch hunt and the Court's own endorsement of the Smith Act.

In a unanimous decision written by Chief Justice Vinson, the Court ruled on Nov. 5 that the federal district court in Southern California should reconsider motions for a reduction in bail of 12 persons arrested under the Smith Act and held in the exorbitant bail of \$50,000 each.

COURT SKIRTS ISSUE

Vinson's decision skirted around the issue of whether the bail in this case was exorbitant. All it ruled was that the government had not proved the need for such high bail. Under this ruling the government can either agree to have the bail reduced, or it can still try to concoct "proof" of the need for high bail.

The Court's ruling in this case only touches the fringes of the issues in the witch hunt. It does not seriously affect the main trend toward thought control which was reinforced by the Court's own decision last spring when it declared the Smith Act unconstitutional. This act enables the government to hound and terrorize everyone who "advocates" minority political views.

In another decision on Nov. 5, the Court refused to override a lower court ruling that informers who "maliciously" give false information to the FBI may be sued for libel.

Cecil E. Foltz Jr. had sued the Moore - McCormack Lines for \$350,000 damages because he had been fired from the Economic Cooperation Administration in 1949 after the steamship company gave the FBI a "false, misleading and defamatory" report about his activities during the time he had worked for it.

The Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that he might sue if he could prove "malice."

The Department of Justice and

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover both appealed to the Supreme Court to reverse the Circuit Court. Otherwise, they claimed, the whole "loyalty" purge might be disrupted and other federal law enforcement activities might be "seriously hampered." Hoover even said "the public" would be "frightened" and stop bringing "information" to the FBI for fear of prosecution.

But while Hoover may have to move a little more cautiously, the Court has refused so far to interfere with the "loyalty" purge.

The Court's decision skirted around the issue of whether the bail in this case was exorbitant. All it ruled was that the government had not proved the need for such high bail. Under this ruling the government can either agree to have the bail reduced, or it can still try to concoct "proof" of the need for high bail.

The Court's ruling in this case only touches the fringes of the issues in the witch hunt. It does not seriously affect the main trend toward thought control which was reinforced by the Court's own decision last spring when it declared the Smith Act unconstitutional. This act enables the government to hound and terrorize everyone who "advocates" minority political views.

In another decision on Nov. 5, the Court refused to override a lower court ruling that informers who "maliciously" give false information to the FBI may be sued for libel.

Cecil E. Foltz Jr. had sued the Moore - McCormack Lines for \$350,000 damages because he had been fired from the Economic Cooperation Administration in 1949 after the steamship company gave the FBI a "false, misleading and defamatory" report about his activities during the time he had worked for it.

The Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that he might sue if he could prove "malice."

Thus, as U.S. News and World Report summarizes, "Unlike their

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XV - No. 46

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

People Oppose War in Korea, Poll Shows

OLD PARTIES SLIPPING, HALLEY VICTORY PROVES

56% Agree War 'Useless, Gallup Finds

NEW YORK, Nov. 7 — The notion that a third party "doesn't have a chance" was given a stunning blow in yesterday's election when Rudolph Halley, running on the Liberal, Independent and Fusion tickets, was elected President of the New York City Council with a margin of more than 160,000 votes.

Halley is a Democrat himself, and shares the outlook of other capitalist politicians. But because he could not get the Republican or Democratic nominations, he made the most out of masquerading as an "independent." This pretense, together with the "gang-buster" reputation he acquired as Kefauver Committee counsel, was enough for him to beat the candidates of the major parties.

Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate, summed up the results in a short statement over Station WNYC last night, shortly after Halley's victory was announced. Bartell said:

A PROTEST VOTE

"Rudolph Halley's victory demonstrates that the voters of New York are fed up with the two old parties and want a change. They voted for Halley, just as they did for Impellitteri a year ago, as a protest against the triple alliance of the politicians, the underworld and the monied interests. That is the significance of the outcome of this election."

"Unfortunately, experience will soon demonstrate that Halley's victory will result in no change whatever, for Halley is a Democrat, essentially no different from any other Democrat. I predict that crime and corruption will remain; the anti-labor policies of the city administration — as demonstrated in the sanitation workers' fight and the longshore strike — will continue; the 3% sales tax will continue, and the subway fare will go up; police brutality against the Negro and Puerto Rican people will continue."

"I want to congratulate the thousands of voters who saw through the demagogic of Halley's 'Fearless Fosdick' routine, and voted against ALL employer-dominated politicians for real change, a fundamental social change, for a labor administration and a socialist society. You

are the far-sighted voters, for you represent the socialist future."

"I urge you not to limit yourself to voting for socialism. Follow through! The fight for socialism does not end on election day, it goes on 365 days a year. Those who want to join with us in the fight for socialism or learn more about our program are cordially invited to come to our headquarters at 116 University Place. I should be very happy to speak with you about our ideas and activities."

BREAKDOWN OF VOTE

Halley got 657,000 votes. He was supported by the Social Democratic leaders of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and elements like Democratic wardheelers Robert Blaikie and Republican Newbold Morris. He was endorsed by the N. Y. Times and Daily News.

Tammany candidate Joseph T. Sharkey got 494,000 votes. He had the formal support of most of the AFL and CIO leaders, and the endorsement of Sen. Lehman and Rep. F. D. Roosevelt Jr., both of whom were elected with Liberal Party support.

Henry Latham of the GOP got 436,000 votes.

Clifford T. McAvoy of the American Labor Party got 104,000 votes. (Last year, when the total vote was higher, the ALP candidate for mayor got 149,000.)

Bartell's vote will not be tabulated until next week.

This war which is opposed by the majority of the people can be stopped. It must be stopped. The way to do it is by demanding that the will of the people shall prevail. This means to demand a nationwide referendum which would permit the people to decide.

What better way is there of showing what the American people really want done about Korea? Those who oppose this demand for a referendum flout the will and wishes of the majority who want THE U.S. TROOPS BROUGHT HOME FROM KOREA!

as usual, to enrich arms manufacturers, clothing and building contractors, food monopolies, and an army of sundry grafters.

Meanwhile, as the war-like ardor of the Pentagon and Congress increases, that of the youth decreases. Time magazine, in a recent survey of the "Younger Generation," found this response to questions about the army: "Hardly anyone wants to go into the Army; there is little enthusiasm for military life, no enthusiasm for war. Youngsters do not talk like heroes; they admit freely that they will try to stay out of the draft as long as they can."

Time reports the words of a Korean battle veteran: "For 15 months, the guys have been running up and down the mountains getting their fannies full of lead. And what have we proved? I got news for you, Mister; the next time this boy fights to defend anybody's country, it'll damn well be his own."

SAM ADAMS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By Harry Frankel

1. The Army of the People

On the night of April 18, 1775, a small detachment of British troops moved out of Boston up towards Lexington, where they hoped to capture the radical leader Samuel Adams. He was reported to be nearby, preparing, together with John Hancock, another prominent rebel, to set out for the second meeting of the Continental Congress, in Philadelphia.

Within hours, the giant blaze of a revolution — already mobilized — swept through the cities and countryside of New England. Adams and Hancock went on to the Congress. The detachment of British troops was driven back into Boston, and the British army encamped there found itself besieged by a people's militia of 20,000 armed workingmen and farmers.

This powerful body of troops was something new under the sun. It was neither hired nor conscripted, but entirely volunteer. It was not raised by law; it was organized in defiance of all existing laws. It was staffed and officered, not by royalty, nor by professional militarists, but by farmers, printers, blacksmiths, doctors, tailors, barbers, and others elected to their commissions by the ranks.

This New England army of the people was soon joined by other plebeian armies throughout the nation. The common people of America organized themselves into military units, armed themselves, and challenged the military might of Imperial Britain.

The revolutionary army of 1775-1781, with all of its imperfections, discontent in the ranks,

(Continued on Page 3)

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500,000

500

Notebook of an Agitator

FROM HOLLYWOOD TO ROME

Taking advantage of what is left of my rights, I hereby serve notice of intention to join in the public discussions stirred up by President Truman's decision to send a United States ambassador to the Vatican. And if you expect me to be calm and politely restrained in my utterances, you're in for a disappointment. I was burned up about the encroachments of authoritarian clericalism long before the President's decision was announced. His latest stroke of statesmanship just added a little fuel to the flames which have been searing my tender flesh.

This is not a debate, properly speaking. From the looks of things, it is turning into a free-for-all fight. I am glad to see that, and I want a hand in it. My intellectual convictions on this issue, which are quite firm and definite, are reinforced by personal grievances which cry for redress. Grover Cleveland once remarked: "It is a condition which confronts us — not a theory." In this case there is a theory too, and a very simple one. But the thing that hurts right now is a condition which is already infringing on my right to live as a free man in a free society.

Clerical Thought Control

The Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country is getting pretty bold and taking in a lot of territory. They not only want to regulate the morals of their communicants; they also want to regulate mine and yours according to their own perverted conceptions of morality. That's where my grievance begins. It may seem like a long way from a couple of movies to the highest affairs of state. But there is a direct connection as I see it; and they merge together, along with a lot of other related questions, into a menacing shadow of clerical thought-control over America.

Experience has made me leery of Hollywood and taught me to be choosey about what movies I see. This caution and discrimination pays off. When something good comes along on the screen, some artistic creation which holds the mirror up to human nature, I appreciate it all the more. And I treasure my right to see and admire and pay for the privilege, like any other free-born citizen. I saw "Open City" and "The Bicycle Thief," and bowed in reverence before the uncontaminated art of the Italians. When I read the reviews and heard the comments of friends about Rossellini's picture called, "The Miracle," I decided to see that, too, at the first opportunity.

But before I got around to it, the right to see this picture was brutally taken away from me and others who wanted to see it. Cardinal Spellman, the ecclesiastical hoodlum who broke the strike of the cemetery workers and splattered Mrs. Roosevelt with mud in a gutter brawl, denounced "The Miracle" as immoral. And forthwith the subservient public officials in New York banned the picture and took it off the screen.

The Question of Rights

I won't stop here to argue the worth or worthlessness of Spellman's moral standards. I am concerned with more important questions. What about the right of Rossellini and his company to produce their work of art according to their own lights and insights? And what about my right and the right of other citizens to see the production and judge it for ourselves?

When I read the announcement that the movie version of "A Streetcar Named Desire" would be shown in New York, I said right away, without waiting for reviews or recommendations from anybody: This is a picture I must see. The reason for my recklessness in this case was that I had seen the original play on the stage, as played by a good company of actors on the summer theater circuit. I don't care much for decay and degeneration as themes of art. But that, it seems, is all you can get in a serious novel or play about people in the land lost in darkness south of the Mason-Dixon line. The artists paint what they see, and will not lie. It's terrible, but it's true and therefore beautiful.

That is the profound impression I took away from the theater when the final curtain fell on Tennessee Williams' powerful, mercilessly real-

istic, and yet compassionate play. I wondered what Hollywood would do with it, and made arrangements of my time in advance to go and see for myself.

I am happy to report that Hollywood didn't foul up this job. The picture faithfully follows the stage play and brings all its characters to life as the author conceived them. For this we owe our thanks to Elia Kazan, who produced the original play on Broadway, and then went along to Hollywood to direct the picture. Warner Brothers had sense enough to provide him with the best possible cast, headed by the incomparable Vivien Leigh, and let him alone.

Good Picture Mutilated

But then, after the picture was finished to the satisfaction of all concerned, some mutilating cuts were made without the director's knowledge or consent. Elia Kazan told about it with cold fury in the New York Times a couple of weeks ago. Between the time the picture was finished and its release in New York, the Legion of Decency went to work. This is a special organization set up by the Catholic hierarchy to police and censor works of art, and to decide what can't be shown under threat of boycott.

They preach Christian charity, but they rely on brute force. They let Warners know that they were going to give the picture a "C" or "Condemned" rating. "This," says the angry director, "would mean that people of the Roman Catholic faith would be instructed not to see it."

You might think that this doesn't concern you, since you pay no attention to such "instructions." But you are mistaken. Warner Brothers didn't doubt for a minute that it concerned them in the center of their most vital and sensitive interest — the box office.

Says Elia Kazan: "The studio's reaction was one of panic. They had a sizable investment in the picture, and they at once assumed that no Catholic would buy a ticket. They feared further that theatres showing the picture would be picketed, might be threatened with boycotts of as long as a year's duration if they dared to show it, that priests would be stationed in the lobbies to take down the names of parishioners who attended. I was told that all these things had happened in Philadelphia when a picture with a "C" rating was shown there, and, further, that the rating was an invitation for every local censor board in the country to snipe at a picture, to require cuts or to ban it altogether."

So, without consulting or even informing the distinguished director of the picture, they made twelve cuts in the finished film to satisfy the demand of the clerical censors, and delayed the planned showing of the picture until the mutilated version finally secured their "B" rating.

Threat to Freedom

It is just the good luck of the moviegoing public that the cuts were minor and do not seriously affect the flow and tremendous drive of the picture. That may be because Tennessee Williams' play, directed by Elia Kazan, is too powerful and subtle a thing for the ignorant Legion of Decency really to understand. We can't hope for such good luck every time. If this gang gets a little more power in this country, it will tell the people what they can see, and hear, and read, and what their children shall be taught in schools, and back up their regulations with force, as they do everywhere they can get away with it.

I, for my part, can get along without the movies, if necessary, but I can't get along without freedom. One of the greatest threats to our freedom in America comes precisely from the totalitarian enemy of enlightenment and freedom known as the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which President Truman has greatly strengthened and encouraged by his monstrous decision to send an official ambassador to the Vatican.

I am looking for allies in this fight, and it begins to look now as though we're going to have plenty of them. Some of them are good allies, and fighting mad, which is just exactly the mood this great discussion needs.

— J. P. C.

A Report From London on British Election

By T. Burns

LONDON, Nov. 1 — The election is over and "the rats are back." That just about sums up the attitude of rank and file Labor people to the Tory victory. It is full of bitterness, but not pessimism. This great labor movement with almost fourteen million supporters is in a fighting mood. It rallied to the election fight not on the basis of the articles and speeches of the "Labor statesmen" but out of instinctive class hatred of the Tories. Right to the last minute where the polls closed, campaign workers fought in a desperate attempt to get every single Labor supporter to vote, and the results in some marginal constituencies

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

ROBERT A. TAFT

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanites prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
 THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
 Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN
 Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$3.50 per year;
 \$2 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 Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
 "Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office
 at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XV - No. 46

Monday, November 12, 1951

Labor's Only Alternative

The AFL Building Trades Department, numbering some three million members, devotes its entire current monthly bulletin to the key question facing the whole organized labor movement, namely: "the alternative course of labor political action."

This bulletin starts from a correct premise, which is, that the Truman administration has "a terrible labor record," especially on such key issues as the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and civil rights legislation. The Democrats do not merit labor's support.

What then is the road for labor to follow? Four "possible alternatives" are listed. They are: 1 — form an independent labor party; 2 — elect our friends and defeat our enemies; 3 — vote Democratic; 4 — vote Republican.

The alternatives here posed are not at all four in number. The last three simply amount to one and the same proposition of voting for this or the other capitalist party and capitalist politician as against the real alternative of putting forward labor's own party and candidates.

There is a difference only in labels but not in substance between labor's voting a "split ticket" for its alleged "friends" among Democrats or Republicans and labor's voting a straight Democratic or Republican ticket. In each case the workers are duped into voting for capitalist politicians.

The AFL Building Trades "statesmen" pull another fraud in pretending that the formation of an independent labor party lies on the same level as the policy of "elect our friends and defeat our enemies." They dismiss both as "impractical."

What is there "impractical" about a labor party? In every major country where labor has organized its own political movement it has rallied millions of supporters. One need take only the example of Britain where the Labor Party is the biggest single party in the country. But the AFL officials, along with the rest of the official labor leadership, have long bitterly resisted making the test in practice of the power of labor's independent action on the political field.

They now admit that voting a capitalist split ticket, the traditional AFL policy since the days of Gompers, is "impractical." But what do they propose instead?

The bulletin does not say it openly, but does find a "very meritorious" argument in favor of labor's bolting the Democrats to vote for the Republicans in 1952. This "argument" reads as follows: "It would force the Democrats to respect us and after four years we would then be in a very advantageous position to obtain our demands."

In other words, these "practical" people are proposing to blackmail the Democrats into "respecting" labor and granting "us our demands" by putting the avowed enemies of labor, the Republicans, into the seats of power!

The CIO leaders' "alternative" is to hang on to the Truman administration at all costs. Their AFL opposite numbers have nothing to offer but a sell-out to the Republicans. Such "practical" politics has led labor up a dead-end street. So far as the millions of workers are concerned, they will find no way out of this blind-alley until they break completely from both the Democrats and the Republicans and build their own independent labor party.

CIO Foreign Policy

Delegates to the 13th annual CIO convention last week were given a lesson in political economy which pointed up the intimate connection between domestic and foreign policy. War and preparations for war, explained Economic Stabilization Administrator, Eric Johnston, are the main causes of inflationary pressures which have boosted prices and increased the cost-of-living. "Is there anyone in this room," he asked, listing the foreign policy measures of the Truman administration, who would not support these measures?

Johnston, knowing full well that the CIO leaders are militant supporters of the American State Department's foreign policy, needed no reply to his rhetorical question. Then, he insisted, the price you have to pay is the exercise of "self-discipline and self-restraint" in your wage demands.

Every Truman stabilizer who addressed the convention, and it seemed they all were there, played variations on the same theme — "self-discipline and self-restraint." For labor to exercise "self-discipline" it must refrain from fighting for pay increases higher than the wage-freezing formula of the WSB allows. If so, "self-restraint" can only mean — tighten your belts and get along on less. The British have a word for it — austerity!

The preachers of austerity — for the workers — buttressed their sermons with facts and figures. War preparations meant inflationary pressures on the economy; to ward off inflation requires sacrifices; if CIO supports Washington's foreign policy, austerity is the price that must be paid.

But what about profits and dividends, what of the rent hogs and price-gougers, what of the rich who are getting richer, the corporations who are coining fabulous wealth out of war production, the stock-jobbers and copper-clippers? That, the CIO leaders were told, was something the stabilizers could do little about.

"Price stabilization," explained Michael DiSalle, Director of the Office of Price Stabilization, "is not a means of reforming the American economy." It is not, he said, "a method of correcting social and economic maladjustments rooted in our society through the years." No, it is not that at all! On the contrary, the war preparations and the war program are designed to prevent such reforms here and destroy them wherever they exist in other parts of the world.

The American labor leaders find themselves in an insoluble contradiction. So long as they support the reactionary war aims of American capitalism they cannot effectively defend the living standards of the workers at home.

Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

By George Clarke

November 7 marks the 34th anniversary of the great Russian Revolution. On that historic day, workingmen, soldiers and peasants tired of war, sick of poverty and hating the tyranny of the Czar, the landed nobility and the bankers, took their fate in their hands to form a government of their own.

It was the first time in history that a workers' government had been built on so vast a scale, on one-sixth of the surface of the earth. The Soviet Republic, as they called it, was clearly a class government. Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolshevik leaders who spoke in the name of Russian labor, frankly acknowledged it to be that.

But unlike all other governments then known by mankind, the Soviet government represented the class — workers and poor farmers — which constituted the bulk, the overwhelming majority of the population. It openly proclaimed its intention to serve these people, to use the wealth, the labor and the means of production within the nation for the common good, to put an end to the exploitation of man by man for the profits of a parasitic minority. In short, their aim was to build the foundations for a socialist society.

In the 34 years that have elapsed since then, the Russian Revolution has more than justified its reason for existence.

GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

Its outstanding achievement is the fact that it has proved the superiority of the system of planned economy over the anarchy and waste of capitalism. Within this brief span of time, Russia has been transformed from a backward farming nation into one of the leading industrial powers of the world. It has eliminated the crises of over-production and the scourge of unemployment. It has eliminated mass illiteracy, the curse of Czarism, and trained an entire generation of young scientists, engineers and technicians.

All of this has been done without any outside help, an unprecedented accomplishment in the building of a modern industrial society. On the contrary, the capitalists of the world and



TROTSKY LENIN

their political representatives realized that the Russian Revolution was the signal of doom for them and their system. For thirty-four years they have been planning and plotting to smash the Soviet Union, to reopen its vast areas to the pirates of Big Business, to the banking houses and coupon clippers.

It was this situation of poverty, of shortages, of general want, for which the "democratic" capitalist powers of the West are primarily responsible, that created the conditions for Stalin's rise to power. The Russian workers did not want the privileged and tyrannical caste of bureaucrats that finally came to rule over them. The mass purges of the Thirties and the concentration camps showed how great their opposition was. The Kremlin won out only because the Russian

masses feared to go the limit, feared that in the showdown struggle which would ensue, Western capitalism would step in and destroy their revolution. None but liars and hypocrites can deny that Stalin is the product of capitalist reaction and not of revolution and socialism.

But despite Stalin, despite his innumerable crimes against the working people of Russia and of the whole world, the Soviet Union still stands and it is stronger than ever. Its property forms and

system of planned economy have now spread over one-third of Europe and are reaching into the vast areas of China. That explains why the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union began in 1917 and continued by Hitler in the last war is once again moving to a showdown. The capitalist world cannot live with 800 million people, one-third of the human race, outside its area of exploitation and profit.

And yet it cannot destroy the system which was born out of the Russian Revolution and which survived war and blockade even in its infancy. Imperialism may atom-bomb cities, lay waste to great areas as it has done in Korea, bankrupt the United States in the attempt but it cannot destroy a revolution that is anchored in the minds and hearts of millions of people.

That is the lesson of 34 years of the Russian Revolution. It is also the warning to those who want to make war against it.

Tito Regime Adjusts Its Policies To Suit Aims of U.S. Imperialism

By Michel Pablo

PARIS, Nov. 1 — From week to week the policy of the Yugoslav leaders brings actions and commitments binding Yugoslavia to the chariot of imperialism and preparing the liquidation of the anti-capitalist conquests achieved by the revolutionary struggle of the Yugoslav masses.

This is an example of the debacle to which the opportunism of the leadership of a revolutionary movement fatally leads under the present conditions of sharpening of the world class struggle. It is an example of how a leadership abandons a policy based on revolutionary Marxism and exhausts the social content of the proletarian power and in reality prepares the way for its total collapse.

Because the basis of proletarian power in Yugoslavia was, from the beginning, infinitely narrower than that in Russia after the October revolution; and because the class struggle has never before known such acuteness as now with the approach of the Third World War, this power in Yugoslavia is now degenerating and disintegrating on all fronts: economic, political and ideological.

We have here a new confirmation of the absurdity of "socialism in one country" and of the enormous role which the leadership of a revolutionary movement

can play in one of two ways: Either to utilize the power conquered in a country in order to impel the international working class movement forward, subordinating the former to the vital interests of the latter; or to consider this power as an end in itself and try to safeguard it by resorting to a policy of extreme opportunism.

But in the second case, what is safeguarded is no longer exactly the power of the proletariat, but more and more the power of the leadership hardened into a bureaucratic caste which undermines and exhausts the social content of the proletarian power and in reality prepares the way for its total collapse.

After a brief left-centrist period which followed their break with the Kremlin, the Yugoslav leadership in their attempt to safeguard the regime with the money, the military and diplomatic guarantees of Western "democratic imperialism," has been liquidating the proletarian power in Yugoslavia bit by bit and preparing its total demise.

Let us grant, as the Yugoslav leaders are now hoping, that at least part of this proletarian power remains, up to the time of the imperialist war against the USSR, and let us even grant that this war is won by America. It really requires the most extraordinary naivete to believe that in such an eventuality Washington would content itself with punishing the evil Stalin and would leave Tito at the head of his "humanist socialist" republic.

In reality, the Yugoslav leaders cannot be credited with such naivete and thus somehow entitled to the benefit of "extenuating circumstances." Either their opportunistic and adventurist policy lacks any perspective whatever, or they are consciously proceeding to an adaptation of the present regime in Yugoslavia to the capitalist system.

No other explanation is possible on the basis of the facts which have been rapidly multiplying for some time.

Under cover of a struggle against the danger of bureaucratism and against centralization, the Yugoslav leaders have recently adopted a series of measures which tend in the general direction of a gradual abolition of the system of statified and planned economy and of the self-sufficient basis.

The Huks say that they attempted to establish ties with the U.S. army, but were rebuffed. Supplies parachuted for guerrilla purposes were mostly withheld from the Huks. Estimates of the Huks' strength vary all the way from 20,000 to 100,000.

When the war ended the Huks leadership offered to come out of the hills and disarm, as well as to liquidate the dual government structure that had sprung up in its areas. However, this betrayal of the struggle was never consummated. Small groups of Huks disarmed and were then murdered by government troops. It is hardly surprising that most guerrillas after this experience, kept their arms in spite of the desires of their leaders to end the struggle.

Taruc himself helped to organize the Democratic Alliance, a vaguely left-wing reformist party with a program of mild reforms in the tenant system while backing the Osmena faction of the ruling class. This Alliance elected a few representatives, among them Taruc. However, they were refused their seats in the Philippine House of Representatives. The Osmena group was defeated and Manuel Roxas became the new President of the Philippines. Taruc returned to the dissident districts.

Taruc returned to his home province in 1937 where he joined the Socialist Party and helped organize the General Workers Union, becoming its General Secretary. He led the first strike of government workers in the quarries. When the war came he went into the country and organized the Huks. Without military experience himself, he became the Commander in Chief, taking charge of organizing large scale guerrilla warfare. His Vice Commander, Casto Alejandrino, took charge of the military operations.

The right to separate from the U.S. does not place upon us the obligation to separate. . . The resolution then went on to plead that "separation does not assure the best means towards the attainment of fuller democracy for the people and complete independence," and added the following fraudulent warning:

of circumstances which allow less and less room for ambiguity and which wipe out intermediate positions. Marshal Tito had to show his hand in such a way that he succeeded in shocking even a paper like *Le Monde* which by no stretch of the imagination can be considered as "socialist." Tito found it necessary to bury the myth of "neutrality" and of a possible "third bloc" and openly took a position in favor of America in the event of a war with the USSR. In addition, the Marshal made a declaration in favor of rearming Germany and for "normalizing and improving" relations with the Vatican, as well as with Greece and Turkey to whose aid Yugoslavia would immediately go in case of "aggression."

A few days earlier, a ranking member of the Yugoslav General Staff created a sensation at another Zagreb peace conference, for which the Yugoslav agencies abroad succeeded in recruiting less than 100 "delegates," who for the most part represented nobody but themselves. Tito held one of his "sensational" press conferences at the White Palace attended by 150 foreign and Yugoslav journalists. (The Zagreb correspondent of the N. Y. *Herald Tribune* compared the "peace conference" from which the real revolutionary representatives were excluded, to an incoherent hodgepodge of all possible opinions and described it as a defeat to the ambition of the Yugoslav leaders to constitute a "third ideological tendency.")

Everywhere the social forces are being polarized and are taking their battle positions. Everywhere the protagonists of the "third bloc" are either unmasking themselves as agents of the imperialist bloc or because of the logic of their policy and the necessities of the struggle are being led to make a definitive choice in favor of this bloc.

The attitude of the Yugoslav leaders confirms this in a manner most painful to all revolutionists friendly to proletarian Yugoslavia and to its revolutionary masses.

It is now more necessary than ever that the revolutionary Marxists of the Yugoslav Communist Party organize into a Leninist tendency and align themselves against the treacherous policies of their leaders.

Proletarian Yugoslavia is on the verge of being struck down by a leadership which has shamefully capitulated even before the actual outbreak of World War III.

MARSHALL TITO

SAM ADAMS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(Continued from Page 1)

followed by a revolutionary war. The dispossessed reactionary classes, sometimes with foreign help, throw the weight of their remaining strength against the new regime.

In the American Revolution, the masses and their radical leaders started on the road to revolution some years before Concord and Lexington. By the time the war began, the framework of a new regime had already been elaborated.

Since the historians would like to hide, or disregard as much as possible, the revolutionary past, they prefer to ignore the actual overthrow of the outlived regimes. They prefer to treat the revolution as a war between two sovereign states.

In contrast to these historians, we will not be primarily concerned with the military stage of the revolution. We will be concerned with the process by which the new regime arose within the shell of the old. We will be concerned with the way in which the people sifted programs and parties, and found their way to the radical party, which they then built into the foremost political force.

We have already seen that the open warfare between the old regime and the new was touched off by a British military foray, one of the objects of which was the capture of Sam Adams. We shall see that this was no accident. The British and the American Tories had good reasons for hating Sam Adams, and for attempting to lay their hands on him.

Sam Adams was the leader of the seething revolutionary masses of New England. He was able, by skillful use of this powerful force, to determine the fundamental course of the revolution throughout the colonies, despite the widespread suspicion of the New England radicals that existed among the opposition elements elsewhere.

There were very important reasons why Boston was the center of the revolutionary movement.

In the first place, Boston contained a large working class, mechanic, and independent artisan-shipkeeper population. It was the center of the shipbuilding region, as well as the most important port. As we shall see, this type of population was the spearhead of the revolution everywhere.

The Boston sailors, shipyard and ropewalk workers, brewery workers, fishermen, sawmill workers, together with the small merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, were the shock troops of operations of a certain section of the merchant class: the so-called free-trade merchants, who imported goods without paying duty on them, or, in a word, smugglers.

The whole economy of the New England region did not fit well into the mercantile system, by which the British merchants exploited the colonies. This led to serious frictions. And so Boston early became a center of resistance to British colonial rule.

Boston developed the best of the radical leaders. At the head of the Boston mass movement was Sam Adams, the most capable, intransigent, and far-sighted leader of the American Revolution. He was the greatest revolutionary leader ever developed on this continent, and one of the greatest the world has ever known.

Samuel Adams was not Johnny-come-lately. He was one of the first, perhaps even the first, of the real radicals in the Revolution. He had been a fully conscious revolutionist for at least eight years before Concord and Lexington, and a revolutionist in deeds, if not yet fully in his consciousness, for a dozen years prior to that.

Thus, when we write about Sam Adams and the American Revolution, we are writing about a great historic event, and about the man who gave that event its most conscious expression and guidance.

(Next Week: The Young Sam Adams)

Jim Crow in Stork Club

By George Lavan

Josephine Baker left St. Louis at an early age and went to France where she became one of the most famous entertainers in Europe. She became a French citizen, and recently returned for a tour of the U.S., winning acclaim for her great talents. She is admired by the Negro public for her uncompromising refusal to submit to the Jim Crow pattern of race discrimination so prevalent in this country.

On Oct. 16 in the late evening she was taken by the French singer, Roger Rico, male lead of South Pacific, and his wife to the Stork Club.

The Stork Club is New York's most famous night club. It is run by Sherman Billingsley, a prohibition-time speakeasy operator. It thrives on the fact that it is frequented by "celebrities" and uses this snob appeal to attract people who want to go where the "celebrities" go. It receives reams of free advertising from columnists, like Walter Winchell, who detail who was seen there with whom, etc.

The Rico-Baker party was ushered in, seated, and served a round of drinks. They then ordered food. Suddenly service became unobtainable. Though Billingsley and Walter Winchell were in the room the Rico-Baker party couldn't get service. After an hour when a waiter finally came over he told them there was no steak, etc. Instead of meekly submitting to the humiliation Josephine Baker went to a phone and called her manager. Upon returning they found that Winchell had gone and that food had been brought. Too upset by the incident to eat, the party asked for their check. The reply was that "celebrities" weren't charged at the Stork Club. Rico refused this "hospitality" and threw \$30 on the table to cover their bill as the party left.

Miss Baker immediately went to Walter White of the NAACP. Attempts to get Billingsley to issue a statement were unavailing. But White was immediately contacted by Walter Winchell's lawyer who asked Mr. White for a statement to be read by Winchell over the radio to the effect that since Winchell had not been present for the duration of the "incident" he bore no responsibility. Given to understand that Winchell would preface this statement by a condemnation of dis-

Docket No. 1-3-2649

By George Breitman

This is a report about one case involving the so-called 1951 rent control law, which is known in the government's records as Docket No. 1-3-2649. I can vouch for it because it is my own case.

When I hear about a rent control law, I think of rents being controlled or kept controlled. That just goes to show how old-fashioned I am. Because the new rent control law, which went into effect on Aug. 1, does nothing of the kind. Its main feature is a provision that permits landlords to get "relief from increased costs and prices" — up to 20% more than they got on June 30, 1947.

On Aug. 22 I got a letter from my landlord, who is three men named Haskin, giving me notice that he, or they, had applied for a rent increase. On Aug. 29 I am sitting and thinking about this when I get another letter from my landlord. It is in two parts; in the first I am curiously informed that I am "hereby required to vacate and quit the premises" by Oct. 1; in the second part, I am graciously advised that if I will increase my rent from \$40 to \$48 a month then I can "re-let" my apartment — otherwise "please arrange to move by the date set in the notice previously served upon you." In the same mail I get a copy of an order from the Office of Rent Stabilization, Northeastern New Jersey Rent Office, authorizing an increase of 20%. I wonder how my landlord got word so quickly that he could write me the same day the ORS director approved the increase.

I could only marvel at the speed with which everyone acted. What a fast-moving landlord! He had never shown such rapidity in acting when oil ran out in the furnace, or when the water pipes went out of order. And what a marvelous "rent stabilization" director! He didn't even have to consult me — all he needed was an application from the landlord and he knew exactly how to rule. Who says the bureaucrats appointed in Washington are bumbling, snarled in red tape, etc?

In small type, the rent increase order (D-140) said I could appeal within 15 days if the land-

lord had decreased living space, or failed to provide any item of service, or "failed to make ordinary repairs, replacements or maintenance." Not being a lawyer myself, I was not sure what that meant, but I decided what the heck. So I appealed on the ground that "ordinary maintenance" includes painting, which the landlord had not done since mid-1947, and which I had to do twice myself. I also asked for the right to be present at any hearing on my appeal.

For a whole month I heard nothing. It seems that during that time the Office of Rent Stabilization was busy raising the rents on some 170,000 dwelling units in North Jersey, and had no time for anything else. The papers reported that about 10%, or 17,000, of the tenants had appealed. Then I got from the ORS a carbon copy of a new form (D-18) addressed to the Messrs. Haskin.

It informed them that "a preliminary investigation by the Rent Director indicates that the maximum rent (for my apartment) should be decreased on the grounds stated in Section 5(c) of the Rent Regulation. Therefore, the Rent Director proposes to decrease the maximum rent from \$48 to \$43.20 per month." My landlord was given five days to file a reply to this proposed action, together with "written evidence." A footnote told me that "the LANDLORD only" should be advised.

That is the way things stand now, three weeks later. I don't know if my landlord filed, or what to expect from the "rent stabilization" director. All I can say is that that man is liable to do anything. What kind of "preliminary investigation" was it that needed the consultation of neither me nor the Haskins? Where did he get the figure of \$43.20? I was able to figure out that \$43.20 represents an 8% increase over \$40. But where did he get the 8% figure from? On what basis did he decide that if my landlord may not merit a 20% increase, he certainly does merit at least an 8% increase. What will happen if the director finally decides that my rent really should be \$43.20 and I proceed to appeal that too? For all I know, he might "stabilize" it back to \$48 again.

The CIO paper, after reporting that Kutcher's appeal has been taken to the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, quotes the victim of the government's "loyalty" purge as saying:

"I have persevered in my case because I believe it is a test case vital for democracy, which cannot survive long after citizens are deprived of their jobs merely because of their ideas and associations. I believe I will be vindicated in the end."

COURT RULING

"Only last month the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled unanimously on the Remington case that the subversive list is a 'purely hearsay declaration by the Attorney General . . . and has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed organization.'

"This strengthens my conviction that the present witch hunt hysteria will yet be overcome and the Bill of Rights preserved for all."

The CIO News also quoted Kutcher's expression of gratitude to the many organizations and labor leaders who have rallied to his defense, which is being conducted by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, 19 West 10th St., New York.

"This committee," Kutcher explained, "is non-partisan; it does not agree with my political ideas but thinks I have a right to hold them and my government job at the same time. Members include Dr. John Dewey, Carl Holderman, Arthur Garfield Hays and other leaders, including many in the labor, civic, educational and veterans' fields."

FIRST TO JOIN

The New Jersey CIO was one of the first labor organizations to join in the defense of the legless veteran. Its president, Carl Holderman, helped to initiate the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, and recently praised "its excellent work."

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the Tuesday before the date of publication.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1951

NUMBER 46

Longshore Strike Scenes



Frank Nawrocki (left) business agent of International Longshoremen's Brooklyn Local 808, stands beside his damaged car, which was the target of a stone barrage in the New York strike. Right, an assistant district attorney holds two bricks that were tossed at car as he questions waterfront strikebreaker Gerry Anastasia in connection with incident.

Flint GM Stooges Kill Union FEPC Proposal

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Nov. 3—After a stormy meeting, the Flint City Commission rejected the Fair Employment Practices proposal by a vote of six to three. The FEPC measure was introduced by the Flint CIO council and was supported by a host of organizations.

The final vote came after three months of deceit and delay by a business-minded commission majority. In a furious attack on the majority members, Bob Carter, regional director of the UAW-CIO and Ninth Ward commissioner, promised that the fight for an FEPC law would continue.

The maze of hearings on the ordinance Labor Commissioner Howard Carpenter, Buick Local member, openly accused the General Motors Corporation of blocking FEPC. He charged that GM intended to continue its discriminatory hiring policies in the new plant the company is building in Flint.

This fact was clearly understood by all participants. In the final hearing, Bob Arnold, chairman of the Veterans Committee of the Buick Local, directed a blast at Kirk which pointed up the issue. "We know," he said, "what we can expect from A. C. management. That is why we had to build a union against such people as him."

COMMISSION RENEGES

Before the Commission meeting Kirk had let it be publicly known that he favored the Minneapolis FEPC law rather than the Flint union-sponsored ordinance. In order to put the Commission majority to a test, joint meeting of union representatives, leaders of the NAACP and the Socialist Workers Party decided to accept the Minneapolis law in spite of some of its inadequate provisions.

The Commission rejection of the latter proposal, after they had openly declared themselves in favor of it during the legislative Committee hearings, exposed

against the proposal, not one had the courage to voice a single argument against the CIO's proposed ordinance in the three months since it was submitted.

GM STOOGES

Leading the six pawns of General Motors and the Flint Journal, was R. Dean Kirk, a high-salaried official of A. C. Spark plug division of GM.

Early in the hearings on the ordinance Labor Commissioner Howard Carpenter, Buick Local member, openly accused the General Motors Corporation of blocking FEPC.

It is reliably reported that with mounting union pressure the corporate interests began to exert more direct counter-pressure on the Commission. Economic threats were made against some of the commissioners who own small business concerns. They were ordered to line up against FEPC or be driven out of business.

INCITE RACE HATE

At the City Commission, Genora Dollinger, chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, delivered a sharp attack on the Flint Journal. "The Flint Journal," she charged, "has not printed one single thing favorable to an FEPC ordinance and everything against it."

Both Genora Dollinger and Bob Carter warned that the pressure exerted against the FEPC ordinance by the corporate interests was stirring up reactionaries, fascist-minded race baiters, religious and nationalist bigots who did not yet dare to openly raise their filthy heads and appear publicly before the Commission.

In a stirring speech Carter asserted: "The Klan did not get out of Flint 20 years ago. They merely took their sheets off and today are still around patting commissioners on the back and telling them not to pass this legislation."

UAW BOARD UNDERMINES BORG-WARNER BATTLE

By Bob Kingsley

CLEVELAND, Nov. 4 — Top officials of the CIO United Automobile Workers today ordered a "recess" in the 25-day strike of 10 Borg Warner locals fighting for an industry-wide contract. The

board expressed the sentiment that the immediate struggle for an industry-wide contract with Borg-Warner, has been badly impaired.

THE TRAINED SEALS

As one member said, "The threat of injunctions and govern-

ment interference in the legitimate and justified demands of workers out on strike is nothing new. It has been used for many years. If Reuther and Gosser did not know this there is something wrong with these master minds...

We have been asked over and over again not to question the judgment of our great leaders. That record is wearing pretty thin. Meanwhile we continue to lose strikes and our real wages are scraping the bottom of the barrel.

In this case the Borg-Warner strike, however, was ruled an exception, because, according to the United Automobile Worker, "total production in the aircraft plants is defense production while only a 'negligible portion' of Borg-Warner production consists of defense items."

Confronted by the WSB's threat of an injunction the international board on Nov. 1 completely reversed its previous resolution and capitulated.

In spite of all assurances and appeals for "confidence in our international leadership" by the international representatives present at the meeting of the Peso plant local here, the mem-

Florida Sheriff Kills Negro On Eve of Retrial

One Negro youth is dead and another near death after being shot by a Florida sheriff who was transporting them to the site of a retrial ordered by the Supreme Court.

Samuel Shepherd, 24, and Walter Lee Irvin, 24, railroaded in 1949 in the famous "Little Scottsboro case," were being taken to Tavares, Fla., when the sheriff shot them down. He claimed that the handcuffed pair had "attacked him." It is reported, however, by defense attorney for the two youths, that they were both confident of acquittal, and had no reason to try to escape.

The two Negroes, whose death sentence was lifted by Supreme Court decision, were shot while being transported for their retrial, scheduled to open the next day. They were shot by Sheriff Willis V. McCall, who, it was shown at the first trial, had severely beaten the three prisoners while they were in his charge.

DEMAND INVESTIGATION

"Thurgood Marshall, special NAACP attorney, has flown to the site of the murders to press for an investigation, as Negro and labor anger mounted throughout the country this week. The CIO Convention, meeting in New York, heard a report on the events, which took place during the convention, and passed a strong resolution backing the investigation demands of the NAACP. In a wire to President Truman, Philip Murray called the shootings "either murder or inexcusable bad police work."

Earlier, NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White had demanded a federal investigation of the outrage. In response to the widespread pressure, the Justice Department has ordered federal agencies to look into the matter.

Reuther Policy Demoralizes Workers, Dodge Vote Shows

By Everett Kennedy

DETROIT, Nov. 22 — For the first time in its history, the membership of Dodge Local 3, second largest local in the CIO United Automobile Workers, has rejected

timed unabated, penalties mounted and no strike vote was taken. So scandalous was the top leadership's failure to defend the discharged committee chairman, that it became an issue in UAW conferences. At the recent Chrysler conference, the Chrysler delegates demanded that Reuther discuss the speedup and the Solomon discharge and refused to permit him to proceed with a factional tirade against Ford Local 600 and John L. Lewis.

MOOD OF WORKERS

Finally, when it became clear that the Reuther International board did not intend to fulfill its promise, the Dodge Local 3 membership meeting voted unanimously to take a strike vote on the speedup and discharge questions. Before the vote, it was announced by Local 3 President Art Grudson, a Reutherite, that the vote would involve only the issue of speedup and not the firing of Solomon, because of failure to file a grievance in Solomon's case in 48 hours "in accordance with procedure." Widespread layoffs, with more just around the corner, also had an important effect on the mood of the workers.

When Chrysler launched its speedup drive, there were spontaneous walkouts in Chrysler plants throughout the city. In every instance, the International Union officials refused to back up the rank and file. The International Board even placed an administrator-dictator over De Soto Local 227 because of the frequent strikes of Local 227 members.

The Dodge Main plant was the chief target of the speedup because of its relatively superior working conditions established from the early days of the union. The Trim Shop workers, who felt the first blow, walked off the job. When the International failed to support them, they had to return. Resistance continued, and penalties were heaped on by the company, until finally Jimmie Solomon, Shop Committee Chairman, was fired for calling a mass meeting of Trim Shop workers to discuss speedup.

REJECT STRIKE

News of rejection of strike authorization has been taken as a signal for a new crack-down by the company. The foremen are vying with each other to tighten the screws on the workers. The auto workers, and the Dodge workers first of all, are getting another lesson in what the policies of the Reuther leadership are costing them and of the need to get a new fighting leadership and return to militant, democratic unionism in the UAW-CIO.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a lecture on Frederick Douglass, The Man and His Work

Speaker:

George Lavan
Fri., Nov. 16, 8:30 P.M.
at 423 Springfield Avenue

"The Bending Cross"

Ray Ginger's popular biography of Eugene Victor Debs

Was \$5

Now Only \$1.50

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.