

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 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 one condition — he would appear only at a public hearing.

That interested me very much. The Attorney General, it appears, is strongly in favor of public hearings where his own interests are involved and under investigation. I don't blame him. At a public hearing he can present his own views, hear the accusations against him, examine whatever evidence is offered and make 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 which were included in the list have protested the whole proce-



JAMES KUTCHER

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 crisis in the "cold war," it is a piece of sober, lucid thinking. And as such it is a welcome change from the daily diet of propaganda, bluster and ballyhoo, dished out by the monopoly-controlled 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 events 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 United American Activities Committee. They are clearly at variance with

(Continued on Page 4)

Workers of the World, Unite!

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Fake 'FEPC' Is No Bar to Discrimination

The Negro and labor movements asked President Truman for an FEPC — a Fair Employment Practices Commission with the power to wipe out discrimination in industry. What he gave them on Dec. 3 was a CGCC — a Committee on Government Contract Compliance, which has no power to do anything but to "study" and "confer" and "recommend."

Among the groups that have taken such a stand is the Socialist Workers Party. As an individual, I too made such a request after I was purged out of my clerical job with the Newark Veterans Administration solely because the Socialist Workers Party, to which I belong, was arbitrarily included on the blacklist.

But the Attorney General has remained stone-deaf to all such requests. He seems to figure that an open hearing is a good thing for him, but too good for the 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 persecuting.

JUSTICE CLARK

Another name that has figured in the Caudle scandal is McGrath's predecessor as Attorney General, Mr. Tom C. Clark, now 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 post.

It also turns out that Mr. Clark, while he was Attorney General, had taken 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"

In other words, Mr. Clark is making a plea of ignorance. I don't know how the courts would take such a plea, or how the House subcommittee will react to it. But I strongly suspect that it will not go over very well with the public, especially that portion of the public whose thinking has been most strongly influenced by Mr. Clark himself.

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

(Continued on page 2)

"This Sort of Thing Can Ruin Me!"



One-Fifth of the Nation Gets Only 3% of Income

By Harry Frankel

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

them, while the CGCC has no

powers at all. And the FEPC's

jurisdiction extended to

practically all of U.S. industry, while the CGCC is confined, even in its

studies, to industries holding

government contracts, which

covers about one-fifth of the

economy.

(See editorial on Page 3)

come, in 1918, 6.8%, in 1929, 5.4%, and in 1937, 3.6%.

This has not been the only section of the population to lose ground. The middle fifth, which in 1910 got 15% of the national income, and in 1937 was still getting 15.7%, has dropped sharply to 9% in 1950. The fourth fifth, next to the bottom, has shown an increase in its relative prosperity, rising from about 12% 40 years ago to 17% 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, this group takes almost half the wealth of the country. However, the national income has risen enormously, and, where in 1910 the top fifth got half of \$30 billion, today it takes half of about \$225 billion.

The Associated Press, in releasing the Census Bureau report, tried to discredit the figures by implying that the taxes on in-

comes, not included in the figures, would change the picture if they were taken into account. However, an examination of income figures of a similar type for previous years shows that the tax laws are so rigged that they do not substantially change the distribution of income. In 1947, for example, the top income fifth got 48 percent of the national income before taxes, and after 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 than before.

While the New York Herald Tribune placed the Census Bureau release on Page 1, it did its best to weaken the effect of the startling figures by casting doubt upon their accuracy, citing the tax laws and other trifling factors.

The New York Times printed the same kind of story and then buried it on page 57 of its Sunday edition.

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 pretenses 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"

He cites eight "mistakes" which he says have contributed to the "misunderstandings." Among these are the fact that no British or other Allied representative has been included on the true negotiating team and that "on several occasions we gave the impressions not of sincerity, but of bargaining."

Opposition to the whole U.S. course in Korea reached such a point that Truman and his military aides, contrary to their desires, were forced to coun-

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 so-called "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.

Tenance a de facto cease-fire over most of the bat' front, 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 Press Bureau Chief in Tokyo, testified on Nov. 30 to the scope of popular opposition. He attributed "sudden change" in U.S. policy to "pressure." He reports that "the folks at home were putting pressure on" and quotes a "highly placed officer" in Ridgway's headquarters as saying, "You don't know how much pressure is being put on Ridgway. And it isn't only coming from the folks back home. Britain, France and other United Nations coun-

(Continued on page 4)

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 to arrest and jail anyone caught with hidden weapons."

Anyone who offers resistance will be charged with "rendering aid and comfort to the enemy" and will be shot or imprisoned. Anyone caught with arms "will be assumed to be a guerrilla," reports McGregor.

Most of the guerrillas are not "Communists," McGregor says. "About 90 per cent are probably simple outlaws, not necessarily Communists. The other 10 per cent are Communists." A Dec. 2 UP dispatch from Pusan affirmed that "many guerrillas were 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. 2)

Although UN official in Pusan was reported to have said that the campaign, called "Operation Rat Hole," was being waged without U.S.-UN help, Gen. Van Fleet, 8th Army commander, attended the start of the campaign at Namwon in person. He said it was "coming along beautifully, but I shouldn't look for results too soon." As revealed in the Nov. 13 N. Y. Times, U.S. aircraft, including helicopters, actually had paved the way for the campaign by burning down with gasoline and phosphorous grenades peasant huts where guerrillas allegedly might hide.

Titoism and War: A Reply to Yugoslav CP

By Michel Pablo

Borba, official organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, has found it necessary to devote an article to the recent Congress of the Fourth International although it declares that in reality the Congress "has no importance for the international workers movement because it assembled men who are completely isolated from the revolutionary struggle of the 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

of the CPY attempted to restrain the break with the Kremlin, and June 1950 when the Korean war and pro-imperialist turn of the Yugoslav leaders began), as the first and most active defenders of the Yugoslav revolution among vanguard working class circles in more than 35 countries on all continents where Trotskyist organizations are active.

This enthusiastic activity of the Trotskyists has affected hundreds of Yugoslav revolutionaries, 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 international movement. At that time, the bureaucrats

of the CPY attempted to restrain "forces" as "progressive" and "representative" as the journalists, parliamentarians, trade union bureaucrats, reformists and other direct and indirect agents of imperialism who for the most part do little else but attend this or that "conference" convened in Yugoslavia from time to time.

THEIR REAL MASTER

Moreover, the master these men serve is naturally not in Yugoslavia. They serve their own bourgeoisie and now command the Yugoslav leaders only insofar as the policy of the latter appears to them to be properly moving into the camp of "democratic" imperialism. As a choice between the "revolutionary struggle" of these elements and the revolutionary struggle of the colonial masses now in revolt against imperialism in the Far East, in the Middle East, in Africa and of the international work-

ing class, leaving them with

proletariat against imperialism's war preparation, the Trotskyists have committed the "crime" of supporting, unconditionally, the 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 countries aimed at their defense against an eventual Great-Russian aggression."

These "measures" are the re-armament policy of the "Atlantic" bourgeoisie which, according to the very "Marxist-Leninist" Yugoslav leaders, are designed for "defense against a Great-Russian aggression."

Thus these leaders, who have abandoned all class criteria and

(Continued on page 5)

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 hard-hit 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 week.

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 the Daily Worker, to get the pitch. He refers to the "alarm and bewilderment" of many people over 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 secretary-treasurer 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 demagogic 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 it drew its spirit, program and strength from the left stream of America's labor. This couldn't have been an oversight."

Not An Oversight

No, it was not an oversight. It is obvious that Osman and Livingston are engineering a swing to the right in line with the American labor bureaucracy as a whole. And it doesn't take a prophet 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 show-down. 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 Minneapolis' 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 unions.

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.

"Road To Peace" Drive Opens; To End Feb. 15

The three month campaign to circulate the new pamphlet by James P. Cannon, *The Road to Peace*, which started on Nov. 15, is well under way. Close to 1400 copies of the pamphlet are to be sold under present branch quotas. Not all branches of the Socialist Workers Party have sent in their quotas.

Branches which have begun selling the pamphlet report enthusiastically on their success. For example, the Minneapolis agent, Helen S., writes as follows:

"Our *Road to Peace* pamphlet will surely be a best seller here in Minneapolis. All the comrades are so enthusiastic about it! The *Road to Peace* is a part of every day's conversation — it is so attractive and made to order for the day. We say again and again that Comrade Cannon is our prime journalist."

"Just as we 'talk' the *Road to Peace* so do we have wonderful success with sales. Sunday night at a Stalinist 'Crusade for Peace' rally, Millie, Fannie, Julia, Doris, Otto, Harry and Helen sold the

pamphlet to 1 out of 5 who showed up for their meeting. One man, who first refused to buy, came out of the meeting with money in his hand for a copy."

Akron, in accepting its quota, commented that "We are looking at this as a campaign — therefore not ordering pamphlets which will lay around for a long time." Akron promises to sell out its quota before the campaign starts on Feb. 15, 1952.

San Francisco reports plans to "present the pamphlet" to our Militant subscribers, to our buyers on our few weekly routes, and probably best of all will be sales through mobilizations to do house-to-house work in the areas where the sales of the *Militant* were best."

Letters to the Editor

Voice of Wall Street Spurned by Workers

Editor: The Crusade For Free-dom drive was opened here in Youngstown with considerable fanfare by the management of the local plants of U.S. Steel. Despite steady plugging on pay-day and on several previous occasions it appeared that production workers gave the sign-up booth a cold shoulder. Observation showed that less than one in fifty took the time to endorse the *Voice of Wall Street*.

M. L.

Youngstown, Ohio

Negro Income

The average annual income of the Negro family is 55% below the general average for the country as a whole, and only 40% of the income estimated as necessary to sustain the minimum standards 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

BOOKS MAKE FINE GIFTS

TROTSKY:	Living Thoughts of Karl Marx	1.00
	My Life (Yiddish) two volumes, rare	5.00
	Bolshevik and World Peace, rare	2.50
	Stalin's Frame-Up System and The Moscow Trials — foreword by J. Hansen	1.00
R. GINGER:	The Bending Cross (special price)	1.50
E. V. DEBS:	Writings and Speeches (special price)	1.00
J. P. CANNON:	History American Trotskyism	2.50
A. LEON:	The Jewish Question — A Marxist Interpretation	1.00
J. BELDEN:	China Shakes the World	5.00
E. PINCHON:	Zapata the Unconquerable, rare	2.50

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THE MILITANT

JAPAN LABOR MOVEMENT MILITANTLY OPPOSES WITCH HUNT LEGISLATION

By a Special Correspondent

TOKYO — The Yoshida government, disturbed by the growing opposition to the recent treaties and by a number of militant wage struggles, attempted at the special session of the Japanese Diet

called to ratify the treaties to enact two reactionary laws "for the maintenance of the public peace and regulation of political organizations" that would give the government the power to suppress all opposition movements.

But the laws were not enacted because of the determined resistance 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 and foreign pressures and won a complete victory for its wage demands.

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 governmental departments is likewise preparing a strike. The Nagoya section of the State Railway Workers Union, after long and futile negotiations, has declared a state of emergency, warning that unless their demands are met they will refuse to work.

Strike movements have become

development undoubtedly registered on the consciousness of the General Council, whose members realize they face a similar fate if they ignore the moods of the workers.

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 General Council then cancelled its threatened strike. But the Council, knowing it is quite possible that the bills will be introduced at the regular session of the Diet early next year, is keeping a vigilant watch on developments and maintains the special struggle committee.

In a letter I will send The Militant next week, I will discuss the present policy of the Communist Party and present my estimate of that policy.

Total through Dec. 3

Fund Collections Pick Up; Total Reaches 38 Percent

By Reba Aubrey
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 because 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 airmailed \$34, boosting their percentage 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!" Pittsburgh's 60% holds fourth place and St. Paul-Minneapolis moved into 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 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 people who can be really thankful for having a good program and good strikes to carry it out, we certainly don't want to let the Thanksgiving season go by without paying some form of tribute. Hence, the check."

Those branches holding the first five places on the scoreboard are ahead of schedule with 54% or more.

Los Angeles made the biggest gain during the week. This telegram came from Lil Charles today: "\$500 in mail. Al Lynn memorial meeting contribution to fund. Story follows." Comrade Al, who died Nov. 23, understood well the political importance of funds to assure the smooth functioning of the party and the regular appearance of its press. He would be the first to applaud this magnificent tribute by the Los Angeles comrades to his memory.

G. Holley, Treasurer, sent in \$5 for Milwaukee. "I think you are right," he comments, "in believing that funds will roll in better during the second half of the campaign. We have some big guns here keeping their powder dry for the victory push."

Toledo doubled its score to 40% with a \$10 payment.

Buffalo and Detroit are running neck and neck with 38%. Buffalo sent \$50; Detroit \$34.

Seattle chalked up a big gain during the week — 21 to 34% — with two payments totaling \$55.

Cleveland moved ahead seven points to 31% with a check for \$22.

This note from Sally Conti accompanied 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 to do better."

New York made a \$305 gain and San Francisco pushed ahead four points with a \$45 payment.

The group of Socialist Workers Party supporters down South sent in another \$100, making their total contribution \$300. A New York friend of the party has been following the campaign in *The Militant*, and decided to give "General" a hand — a big hand — \$250.

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.

\$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$ 500	\$ 388	78
Akron	150	114	76
Chicago	1,000	614	61
Pittsburgh	50	30	60
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	582	58
St. Louis	100	50	50
Los Angeles	2,600	1,238	47
Milwaukee	250	112	45
Flint	350	152	43
Connecticut	75	30	40
Toledo	50	20	40
Buffalo	1,000	377	38
Detroit	1,500	572	38
Seattle	400	137	34
Youngstown	350	120	34
Cleveland	300	94	31
Boston	550	147	27
New York	5,000	1,360	27
Philadelphia	400	99	25
San Francisco	1,000	120	12
Allentown	75	0	0
Oakland	150	0	0
General	1,150	550	48

Total through Dec. 3

\$18,000

\$6,906

38

LEGLESS VETERAN URGES RENEWED STRUGGLE ON BILL OF RIGHTS DAY

(Continued from Page 1)

present witch hunt (under orders from the White House, of course). He gave the orders for the 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.

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 subversive character of the listed associations .

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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 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 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 — 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 bricks, they merely smiled as they would at a harmless idiot.

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 American labor leaders. Some say vote Democrat. Some say vote Republican. The majority say vote both! And 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 penetrated their thick skulls that it is just barely possible 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 gate.

That was made evident by the fact that the CGCC has 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 does not need the approval of Congress to issue an executive order creating an FEPC. The CGCC and Humphrey's statement show that Truman is trying to get the heat removed without granting any satisfaction to the anti-discrimination movement.

This shabby maneuver re-emphasizes an important political lesson. Why should any worker or member of a 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 measures must be conducted with the understanding that they can be won only by defeating the capitalist parties.

Titoism and the War: A Reply to the Yugoslav CP

(Continued from Page 1)

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 small country," of violation of 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 imperialism" as the cause of present international tension which can degenerate into war. As far as "democratic" imperialism is concerned, Milovan Djilas, top ranking CPY spokesman, has already "theoretically" explained its "transmutation" into democratic socialism!

The author of the *Borba* article attributes the supposed "futility of the struggle for peace" ostensibly put forward by the Congress of our International, to 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 independence."

Nowhere in the documents of our Congress is there to be found any mention of "the futility of the struggle for peace" but the author of the *Borba* article permits himself to derive this conclusion from our contention of

the inevitability of war "as an inherent consequence of the existence of capitalism." In reality, war is inevitable so long as the capitalist system continues to exist, and the only effective struggle for peace is the struggle for its abolition. This is an elementary axiom of Marxism. Centrists and opportunists who question

lead, declare that the struggle of the Trotskyists against them and their leadership is a struggle against the USSR and the mass movements, the Yugoslav leaders identify the present course of their policy with the Yugoslav revolution and the Yugoslav workers state and make the same reproach against us that the Stalinists do.

"According to the Trotskyists," says Borba, "the (Yugoslav) revolution 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 revolution. In effect this is the Cominformist theory of the spontaneity of the revolution in Yugoslavia."

The resolution on "The Yugoslav Revolution and the Fourth International," adopted by the Third World Congress of our International, begins as follows:

"The victorious proletarian revolution in Yugoslavia is fundamentally the product of two historic factors: the revolutionary upsurge of the toiling masses 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 CPY, in contrast to the policies of the other communist parties of Europe, is explained and emphasized.

The resolution emphasizes the interaction of the revolutionary pressure of the masses and of the subjective role played by the CPY and its leadership, while at the same time insisting on the primary importance of the revolutionary movement of the masses which also influenced the course of the CPY in a progressive direction.

The present conception of the Yugoslav leaders is naturally quite different: Not only do they claim to have consciously led the

mass movement from the beginning (1941) toward the proletarian revolution but in good Stalinist form, they simply substitute for the mass movement of the party, which is then reduced and identified with its "Central Committee."

This exercise in simplification — mass movement equals communist party equals central committee — permits the Yugoslav leaders, just as the classic Stalinist 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 them is supposedly "attacking" the revolution and the state.

It is more than three years now since the Yugoslav leaders have convened a Congress of their party, but in the meantime the "Central Committee," that is, the Yugoslav Communist Party "has arrogated the right to change the line of the Fifth Congress of the CPY from top to bottom on fundamental questions and principles such as the character of the USSR and the Peoples Democracies," the Chinese revolution,

the colonial revolution in general, and the character of imperialism, etc.

The "Central Committee" can allow itself to attack the Trotskyists, as does the author of the article, by deforming the spirit and letter of their texts, making the capitalist press available to the Yugoslav masses but refusing the publication and free circulation of the literature of the revolutionary tendencies of the modern revolutionary workers' movement, the works of Leon Trotsky, etc. After that, they can very easily discourse at their leisure on the accelerated "democratization" of their regime.

The author of the *Borba* article is indignant because we call upon the Yugoslav communists "to organize a Leninist opposition in their party" to "replace the opportunist leadership and establish ties with the revolutionary forces in the world." This appeal, he finds, "unmasks" us as agents of the policy of the Cominform and "our new line which consists in serving the hegemonist policy of the bureaucratic caste of the Soviet Union."

Viewed from Belgrade, the Trotskyists have now become "Cominformist agents," but viewed from Moscow, they are still "Titoist agents." The explanation

of this optical paradox derives from the fact that the Trotskyists, whose position flows from revolutionary Marxism, has never been able to tolerate any bureaucratic leadership of the workers' movement. In their eyes we are "Cominformist agents" who want to deliver the Yugoslav 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 revolutionaries of the country and the CPY to replace them with a genuine Leninist leadership.

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.

As there is no force on earth which can make us abandon our principled line, and as there is no device that can win our sympathy, this rules out the possibility of gaining for us the sympathy of invertebrate opportunists.

They slander us because they fear us, because our ideas, our 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 revenue in the colonies, passed the Stamp Act.

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 to be sold by the British government.

Stamp Act

The passage of the Stamp Act brought a great reaction. 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.

Stamp Act

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."

Stamp Act

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 Tory supporters in America were burned in effigy at great mass meetings in Boston, Salem, 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.

Stamp Act

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 it 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 highway 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."

Stamp Act

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.

Stamp Act

The Sons of Liberty

The following description of the functioning of these revolutionary action organizations is taken from a biography of 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 caucuses 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. . . .

Stamp Act

In this concrete form, the Bevan policy becomes hardly distinguishable from Attlee's. It is not even sharply counter-posed to Churchill's.

Stamp Act

The Bevanites present a wealth of interesting economic statistics to show the background of the social revolution which their plan is meant to serve. The trouble with their program is that it is based on the notion that they can "persuade our Western allies" — that is, Wall Street — to join in carrying it through.

Stamp Act

The British workers turned to Bevan because they feel the need of a new leadership that will resolutely break with the politics of compromising with capitalism and move decisively to a socialist society.

To Bevan, the British workers continue their trend to socialism? That will be the subject of the final article in this series.

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 Loyal 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.

Stamp Act

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.

Stamp Act

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.

Stamp Act

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.

Stamp Act

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.

Stamp Act

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.

Stamp Act

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.

Stamp Act

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.

Stamp Act

The letters and articles for which he became famous poured from Adams' pen. He worked with inexhaustible energy, writing, speaking, organizing, exhorting, cajoling, convincing.

Stamp Act

Emissaries were sent to the Massachusetts farming 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

10 Years of Smith Act

By George Lavan

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 liberty-destroying court precedents have been set and consequently that much more of a fight is necessary.

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 undercover agents, and amid an atmosphere of public passion and fear. No one can doubt that the damage to freedom of political expression in the United States would be overwhelming and 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 decision.

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 coordinated statistics available.

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

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

"Some postmen sell eggs and police hold extra jobs. It has become a distinct part of a worker's life to have two jobs."

"Most people believed almost confiscatory taxes 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 area's history."

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 Christmas rush."

"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 August 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

(The following article is translated from the Aug.-Oct. issue of *Quatrième Internationale* as background information on the present purge in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, highlighted by the arrest of Rudolf Slansky, who had previously been removed as general secretary. — Ed. Note.)

The new wave of purges in the Communist Party of Slovakia has little relation to the preceding purges against Klementis and Novomesky. It was caused by the publication of an article by Doctor O. Kapp on "Socialism and Bureaucracy" published by the Academy of Slovak Sciences. This article defended the view that the ossification of the bureaucratic apparatus, with its special interests, represented an important danger on the road of building socialism.

QUESTION OF BUREAUCRACY

Tvorba, organ of the CP Central Committee, replied with a furious attack against both the author and the entire Academy. The opinions of Doctor Kapp were said to be "purely Trotskyist conceptions." The bureaucracy, as a caste, supposedly exists only in feudal bourgeois states in the form of an alliance of the military caste with the caste of state functionaries. Basing itself on an article by Lenin, Tvorba "demonstrates" that Lenin's struggle against bureaucracy was directed exclusively against the remnants of the Czarist bureaucracy. In the USSR and the countries of the "Peoples Democracies" the bourgeois state apparatus is alleged to have been completely destroyed so that only "crude bureaucratic methods on the part of individuals comprising the state apparatus constitute a danger."

The Academy countered by opening a discussion on the basis of Kapp's article. It was this discussion that provoked Tvorba's attack. In its economic review the Academy recently published an article by Fr. Papánek, "Remarks on the Question of Kapp's Article." This article was also violently attacked by Tvorba as "semi-Trotskyist" since the author, under the cover of a polemic against Kapp, actually defended ideas similar to those of his adversary. It was then that the new wave of repression was unleashed in the Slovak CP.

PROVOKES STRUGGLE

The discussion of the bureaucracy problem assumes special significance in Czechoslovakia because the state apparatus was especially swollen between 1945 and 1948, when all the key positions in the administration and the economy were jointly occupied by representatives of each of the four big parties. None of these parties dared to attack this system before February 1948 for fear of losing their base among the functionaries. But this situation became untenable as a result of the enormous dead weight which burdened the economy. After the CP's domination was established and the principle of individual responsibility was reintroduced in the factories, the Stalinists found themselves obliged to start a big campaign to transfer functionaries to "sectors of productive work." This provokes a fierce clique struggle in the ranks of the administrative apparatus itself, particularly because the former functionaries were incorporated into industry as unskilled workers.

The significance of the controversy for the apparatus was

made clear on Sept. 7, 8 and 9 in Rude Pravo, central daily of the Czech CP. The clique struggle between Gottwald and Slansky, which terminated in the removal of Slansky from his position as CP general secretary, is explained as follows in an editorial in the Sept. 8 Rude Pravo signed by Kopecky, Minister of Information:

"Up to now the question of cadres and organization has been treated in an erroneous and irresponsible manner... the Central Committee has drawn all the necessary conclusions from these experiences which signify a complete turn in the cadre and organization policy of the party... like King Canute they are attempting to hold back the tide. For almost four years they have been promoting the "cold war" with billions of American dollars. Eventually they plan to build a big enough counter-revolutionary force to smash the non-capitalist world at its strongest point, the USSR, making the destruction of the colonial revolutions at the periphery a relatively easy affair.

Reston not only reports dismal failure; he shows that the further the plan proceeds the more unrealizable it becomes.

The attempt to rearm Western Europe is creating a galloping inflation and driving these countries to bankruptcy — and thus to social revolution, which Reston omits to mention. But the failure to rearm them will leave them "weak," a "critical point" — meaning a liability not an asset in a war against the Soviet Union.

American support to the British and French empires in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa means, he says, loss of U.S. prestige in the Philippines and Indonesia. In reality it means failure of American corporations to supplant their commercial rivals in this part of the world, just as they failed to supplant Japan in China. Failure to support the British and French Reston says, "will weaken the confidence of its two most powerful allies in Europe."

Basically, however, it is not a question of "confidence" but of stability. Capitalist Europe cannot survive without the super-profits it derives from the exploitation of the colonial peoples. And — another not unimportant — only direct imperialist rule can assure the U.S. its military bases in Indochina, Morocco and elsewhere. It can never get or

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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, IUE-CIO, has been one of the bitterest on the Niagara Frontier since the Bell Aircraft strike of 1949, which was marked by widespread violence and vigilante terror by the local authorities acting in collusion with the industrial magnates.

The Westinghouse strike arose out of company attempts to abrogate vital seniority rights and job-posting provisions which the Westinghouse workers had gained as a result of several years of struggle. In addition to the above issues, the union has charged the company with violating the grievance procedures of the contract and of having discharged a departmental steward on "trumped up charges of having used abusive language to a foreman." The company later introduced a charge of insubordination against the steward and withdrew the first charge without even apprising the union of the new charge.

COMPANY PROVOCATION

It has been apparent for some time that all these issues are merely the outgrowth of the company's design to provoke a slowdown fight with the local union, which has enjoyed a reputation in the area for militancy and aggressiveness in its labor relations. On two previous occasions, the union deferred strike action; but after it became clear that the company was out "to teach the 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 unleashed 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

Only two weeks ago, after the workers had been out more than

WHO MAKES DECISIONS FOR AMERICAN PEOPLE?

(Continued from page 1)

a global scale and a new system is being born that will eventually take shape as a free, socialist world. This is the march of history which nothing — not dollars, not military force, not atom bombs — can stop. This is the reason for "the stubborn, dangerous dilemmas" faced by the "brain trust" of international capitalism located in the State Department and Pentagon buildings at Washington, D. C.

Their whole strategy, all of their plans, runs counter to this course of history: like King Canute they are attempting to hold back the tide. For almost four years they have been promoting the "cold war" with billions of American dollars. Eventually they plan to build a big enough counter-revolutionary force to smash the non-capitalist world at its strongest point, the USSR, making the destruction of the colonial revolutions at the periphery a relatively easy affair.

"The point of all this," he says, "is not that men are very little — which alas, many of them are — but that the problems are very big." Never were truer words spoken. Like squaring the circle, the problem is not only big but insoluble for the capitalist rulers.

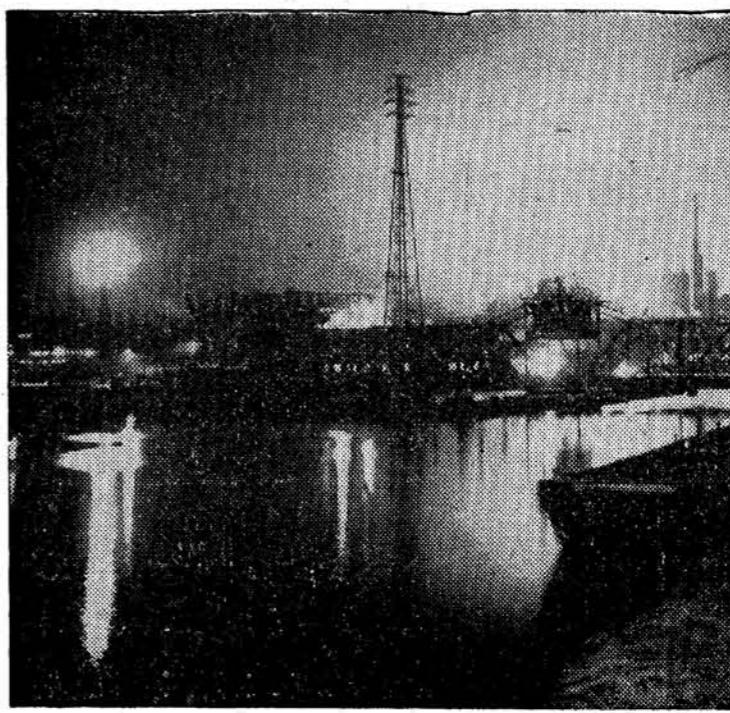
Does this mean, as the liberals are beginning to dream again, that the "cold war" will soon collapse amidst its own contradictions, and that the danger of World War III will disappear? Just the contrary. It means that the blind leaders trying to protect the mountains of wealth and privileges of a tiny decadent class and buffeted by "uncontrollable forces" will plunge into the maelstrom of war to save their dying system.

No ruling class has ever acted differently. That is how the Russian Czar acted, the way Hitler and the Japanese militarists acted. That is how it is happening today. Washington did not recognize the Chinese Revolution, but it is making war against it through Korea. Washington meets the Middle East revolution right now, by supporting British Imperialism and by jamming through its "Middle East Command" despite the wishes of these peoples.

Reston's article should give the American people food for thought. Should we entrust our fate to these "little men" — and that means all of them, Taft, Truman and Eisenhower, all of them according to Reston fit into the category of the victims of "uncontrollable forces?"

It is not time to unleash the "uncontrollable forces" against the "little men" right here at home — that is, the great mass of ordinary Americans, workers, farmers, students, those who want peace, not war, who want a prosperous America for all the people, not a world empire for a few monopolists.

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 increase in current talks with steel industry. A strike would bank fires in huge open-hearth furnaces in Gary, Ind., steel mill (above) and shut down mills across the nation.

Popular Opposition Forces Slow-down in Korea Fighting

(Cont. from page 1)

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 achieved. And even if a cease-fire were signed, that will not mean peace in Korea. Far from it.

The U. S. leaders have made plain that American armed forces will remain in full strength in Korea regardless of any cease-fire.

Civil war, as the reports on guerrilla warfare in South Korea reveal, will undoubtedly continue against the regime of Syngman Rhee and the U.S. occupation troops. At any subsequent time, American imperialism will be in position to renew full-scale warfare 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 Gallup poll, every newspaper questionnaire, a continuous flood of letters to Congress and editors have expressed the overwhelming opposition of the American people to this war and to their desire to withdraw the U.S. troops from Korea.

The administration and the supporters of the U.S. invasion of Korea have had to resort to the most elaborate lies to conceal the true character of the war, its scope and consequences. It was said, for instance, that this is a "United Nations" war. Rep. George H. Bender of Ohio admitted in Congress on Dec. 1 that the "UN" label placed by President Truman on the Korean war forces is a shabby and disgraceful farce, designed to deceive the American people.

"All decisions on fighting, on truce negotiations, on cease-fire announcements come from our government," declared Bender, citing figures to show that more than 93% of all "UN" armed forces in Korea are either from the U.S. or South Korea (which is not part of the UN). The vast majority of UN nations are not participating.

Truman believed 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 suffered over 100,000 battle casualties, while the South Koreans have sustained 212,000 more. The Korean War is second only to

Students Hit U. C. Ban on Shachtman

The growing protest of students against the thought-control drive of university administrations was demonstrated at the University of California. A scheduled debate between Max Shachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist League, and a professor was banned from the U. C. campus by the Dean of Men, because Shachtman's organization is on the Attorney-General's "subversive" list.

The student newspaper, Daily California, took the lead in the protest movement. Students representing all shades of political opinion demanded that the principle of free speech be upheld. When the college administration remained adamant students made an off-campus hall available for the banned debate on the situation in Great Britain. The meeting was chaired by a U. C. professor who spoke in defense of academic freedom.

Another and also a fitting tribute was paid him. The extensive Marxist library which he had collected and studied during his life was turned over to the party as the nucleus of a permanent library in party headquarters, to be known as the Lynn Memorial Library.

Court Blasts Dictatorship in 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-file 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 of getting a fair hearing or constitutional treatment in the police state atmosphere of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, Mahoney went to court.

FLAYS DICTATORSHIP

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 his supporters who did not bow to the ukase of the dictators at headquarters were cut off with such implacable fury as this 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."