

THE STALINIST POLICY IN PROGRESSIVE PARTY

(See Page 3)

Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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ADA Calls for Repeal Of the Smith "Gag" Law

By John G. Wright

Americans for Democratic Action, the influential liberal organization, has attacked the Smith Act as a sedition statute which "proposes to prosecute people for what they think or say rather than what they do." It promises to "fight for its repeal and for the reaffirmation by Congress of our basic freedoms," and says it will join in this fight "together with the American Civil Liberties Union, the CIO and other non-Communist organizations which have condemned the Smith Act."

The ADA statement, issued on Dec. 18 in a leaflet entitled "Let's Get Back in Balance," is another sign of the growing resistance to the witch hunt in the U.S. More and more people are beginning to realize that the attacks on the Communist Party are a front for attacks on the civil rights of all groups and on the democratic traditions that are indispensable for the progress and existence of the labor and liberal movements.

A FORWARD STEP

The ADA stand marks a forward step in the struggle to mobilize the American people in defense of their civil liberties. But to be effective and consistent, the ADA must go further: It must take a clear position toward all of those who have been victimized by the Smith Act.

This includes the Stalinists who have been jailed and those who are now being hounded. But it also includes the earlier, in fact the first, victims of the Smith Act — the 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO members who were prosecuted under the Smith Act in the Minneapolis trial and sentenced to prison on Dec. 8, 1941.

The 18 defendants of the Minneapolis case, prosecuted for what they thought or said rather than what they did, are still deprived of their civil rights.

PROF. STRUIK VICTIM OF MASS. WITCH-HUNT

BOSTON — "I have probably been the most outspoken professor with full tenure in the Greater Boston area, and if I am convicted of these false charges it will be a great threat and intimidation to the university world," Prof. Dirk J. Struik told *The Militant* in an interview.

Struik has become a central figure in the witch hunt following his indictment last September under the Massachusetts "Anti-Anarchy" law for conspiring to overthrow the government. In addition to this charge he is also being prosecuted under the same law along with a Malden, Mass., business man, Harry E. Winner, and Mrs. Margaret Gilbert for "conspiring to teach . . . the overthrow of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the United States of America."

FIRST TIME USED

The "Anti-Anarchy" law was passed in 1919 as an "emergency" measure to cope with the situation which the legislators, looking through the spectacles of the Palmer Red Raid hysteria, professed to see. However, the political stooges of Big Business in Massachusetts never used the law. They found it more to their liking to deal with anarchists by frame-up and legalized murder as in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The present indictments under the "Anti-Anarchist" law are the first in the 33 years this legislation has been on the books.

Struik, an internationally famous mathematician and professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has frequently stated that though he is a Marxist he has never been a member of the Communist Party. He also told this interviewer that he agrees with many of the policies of the Communist Party and at one time even considered joining but decided against it.

ONLY ALTERNATIVE

He explained his refusal, on grounds of self-incrimination, to testify before the House "Un-American Activities" Committee, as follows: "If you admit to the Committee you are defendants."

The ADA statement condemns the Communist Party as hypocritical because the CP supported these previous prosecutions under the Smith Act and because it has failed to this day to disavow its "support of these prosecutions." But the Stalinists are not the only ones who have acted in this way.

Francis Biddle, who is now the national chairman of ADA, was U.S. Attorney General at the time of the Minneapolis case. He was the man in charge of the prosecution of the SWP members.

Biddle now says that the Smith

Act is "not a good law for the United States." Does that mean that he and the ADA agree that the 18 SWP leaders are entitled to a full presidential pardon and a restoration of their civil rights, and that the Stalinists should be released from prison and the menace of further prosecution under the Smith Act? The ADA statement evades this issue. But the people of this country have the right to know where the ADA and Biddle stand on this.

(See Page 4 for article on the record of Francis Biddle.)

James Kutter Denounces Dismissal of John Service

By James Kutter

John Stewart Service, the latest victim of the government "loyalty" purge, says that he is going to fight to clear himself of the charges that led to his dismissal from the State Department. I am glad to see this because there is only

procedure that even worse injustices are possible.

Service, who was ousted after working for the State Department for 16 years, was not found to be "subversive" or even affiliated with any of the organizations on the Justice Department's "subversive" blacklist. He was purged simply because the Loyalty Review Board said that "reasonable doubt" existed as to his loyalty.

A NEW STAGE

This marks a new stage in the witch hunt. Previously, the Loyalty Board was supposed to find "reasonable grounds" on the basis of "all the evidence" before classifying anyone as disloyal. Now, under Truman's amendment to his executive order, all it has to do is to allege "reasonable doubt." This is so much vaguer than the previous

charge against Service was that in 1945 he disclosed certain information to a magazine that is now defunct, which is, or then was, a common practice among government officials.

Six times the State Department's Loyalty Security Board investigated, and six times it cleared him on his "loyalty," finding that he had done nothing worse than act "indiscreetly."

FAREWELL WITCH-HUNTERS

This marks a new stage in the witch hunt. Previously, the Loyalty Board was supposed to find "reasonable grounds" on the basis of "all the evidence" before classifying anyone as disloyal. It all depends on how the witch hunters feel, and on how badly they want to get you. All they have to do is to get one unfavorable decision on a man, and then he is out. The "rules" of the hunt are all in favor of people like Senator McCarthy.

Service will be doing the right thing by fighting back. His discharge is now being used as a precedent for renewed attack on 1,139 government employees who had, like him, been cleared after one or more "loyalty" probes but who are being re-probed under the "reasonable doubt" amendment.

SUPPORTS FIGHT

I don't know how much use Service has been to this country during the 16 years he worked for the State Department, or how much use he would be if he had managed to keep his job. But I am sure that by fighting back for his own benefit, by exposing the unjust nature of the purge, by taking his case not only to the courts but also to the American people and especially the labor movement, he can do great good and be of great service to the struggle to preserve the Bill of Rights. I will support his fight for vindication, and I hope all other Americans will too.

433 More

Despite the lull in the undeclared war in Korea there were 433 more U.S. battle casualties announced by the Defense Department since last week. This brings the total announced U.S. casualties to 103,000.

"No Contract, No Work," Steel Workers Declare

Strike Jan. 1; Call Special Convention

Two government reports which show that the steel workers could be given pay increases of from 34 to 40 cents an hour without any increase in the price of steel have been suppressed by the Truman administration. These reports, one of which was made by Eric Johnson, former Economic Stabilization Administrator, and the other by Michael V. DiSalle, so-called "Price Stabilizer," have been kept secret by the government because they would help the Steelworkers Union in its present pay fight.

Under the Defense Production Act, price ceilings are considered to be "generally fair and equitable" if, under these ceilings, the companies make profits equal to at least 85% of average annual profits for three best years in the high-profit period of 1946 to 1949. Johnson has calculated that wages could go up 40 cents an hour, and DiSalle 34 cents an hour, before steel profits would be affected enough to justify a price increase under the Defense Production Act.

While officials of the CIO and United Steelworkers of America have never seen these reports, it is charged they have been made available to officers of the U.S. Steel Company. It is very likely that suppression of the reports is due to the pressure of the steel trusts, who fear the damage such information would do to their fight against a steel wage increase if it were publicly known.

Government opposition to a wage increase in steel has been justified by Administration officials on the ground that they are trying to prevent a "wage-price" spiral. These government officials, who have been granting and even encouraging thousands of price increases to industrialists during the past months have taken an entirely different attitude now that a wage increase is requested. The hypocrisy of the government is fully revealed in the fact that Truman's aides have in their possession two reports which show that this wage increase need not be accompanied by a rise in the price of steel.

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DIVISION OF OPINION

Among the Allied command in Korea, writes Bartholomew, a division of opinion even exists as to whether the cease-fire negotiations have been in any sense "worthwhile." "One substantial school" holds that the war will eventually have to be fought to

A Test of Strength



Big Brass Want Troops To Remain in Korea

A second Christmas has come

around since MacArthur promised to have the GIs "home by Christmas."

But MacArthur's successor Ridgway is making no promises for this or any other Dec. 25th.

In fact, the U.S. Big Brass have no intentions of ever withdrawing the GIs from Korea. Whatever the outcome of the cease-fire negotiations, if the generals have their way, the full complement of U.S. forces now in Korea will

remain there indefinitely.

A feature article on Dec. 6 by Frank Bartholomew, United Press vice president for the Pacific area, discloses that every American general in command of a front-line division in Korea with whom Bartholomew talked "expressed doubt that a workable cease-fire can be attained . . . by negotiations."

NUB OF MATTER

Here we get down to the nub of the matter. There can be no

peace in Korea because U.S. imperialism is determined to keep its puppet Syngman Rhee, the brutal dictator, in power in Korea. The Rhee regime would

speedily be overthrown by the

Koreans if the American troops were withdrawn.

The Chinese and North Koreans

have proposed the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea to

permit the Korean people to

determine their own fate. U.N.

observers have admitted that the

Syngman Rhee regime would

almost certainly be voted out in a

free election. There is considerable evidence that Rhee welcomed U.S. intervention in June 1950 because his party had just been overwhelmingly defeated in elections for the South Korean Assembly. He is kept in power now only by martial law, firing squads, concentration camps and U.S. troops.

If Rhee refused to submit to the will of the Korean people, he would be driven out by civil war. The Militant of Dec. 10 reported the latest terror campaign of Rhee against the South Korean people under guise of an anti-guerrilla drive. This drive was called off within two weeks with the announcement that most of the guerrillas had "evaded the trap."

TOUGH TALK

The aim of the generals is to keep the U.S. troops in Korea to put down "fifth column political eruptions"—that is, the resistance of the South Koreans to the Rhee regime. This totalitarian aim can be frustrated only if the American people demand loudly and strongly enough that all U.S. troops be brought home from Korea right now.

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TOUGH TALK

"Tough" statements by top administration officials before and during the steel negotiations have helped to stiffen the companies in their stand. Charles E. Wilson, big-shot industrialist who is now head of the Office of Defense Mobilization, in a speech on Thurs., Dec. 13, declared that the whole wage-freeze program hangs

upon the outcome of the steel fight, and said that "we must and we will maintain wage control!" The next day, Roger L. Putnam, Economic Stabilization Administrator, stated flatly that the steel companies would not be

given any price increase to compensate for a wage increase. When asked about the possibility of a steel strike, he said: "as calamitous as a steel strike might be, ruining our stabilization program would be even worse."

In other words, Washington has told the steelworkers, in effect: "Go ahead and strike, we aren't going to give you anything even if you do. We are not going to lift the wage-freeze no matter how high prices have gone."

Philip Murray, President of both the steel union and the CIO, emphasized at the recent CIO Convention in New York that the CIO is out to break the wage freeze and that the Steelworkers Union will take the lead in that

lesson home.

(Continued on page 2)

CIO Political Policy and the Steel Strike

By Cy Thomas

With a nation-wide steel strike expected as an almost certain result of the refusal by the profit-bloated steel corporations to bargain in good faith, the American workers are getting another object lesson in politics.

The steel barons have summarily rejected the moderate demands of the union. They refuse to disgorge one penny of their swollen profits for a wage increase. Instead of granting concessions they insist on the union surrendering conditions already won. They are insolent, rude and insulting.

HARD BOILED

Steelworkers president Philip Murray summed up their attitude in a speech at the recent CIO convention. "What do you do," he asked, "when you meet an employer and he says to you at the beginning of the conference: 'Here it is, take it or leave it. If you don't like it, go on over to the Wage Stabilization Board. If

they give you a couple of pennies, we will seek a price increase. Go on; get out of here!"

What you do is either lie down or fight! According to traditional steel union practice, disputes which can't be settled by negotiations are fought out on the picket line. The strike is labor's most effective weapon for extracting concessions from unyielding employers. But at this point the steel moguls slyly pass the ball to their government.

THEIR GOVERNMENT

And it is their government from top to bottom. It is their representatives who sit in Congress; it is their agents who occupy all important executive positions. It is their police, courts, legislature and administration. "Government" is their heavy artillery, and in all major engagements, they demand that it be wheeled into position and trained on the troops comprising the army of labor.

Steelworkers president Philip Murray explained, "happened to be president of all the people, therefore not necessarily the president of any particular group." There is just a small grain of truth in this dubious formulation. As president, Truman is, theoretically, supposed to represent "all the people." But as head of the ruling

geon on the steel workers? The same "hand" that clubbed the coal miners and railroad workers. The name is Harry S. Truman.

DEFENDS TRUMAN

Murray knows it. The entire CIO convention was aware of it. In the event of a strike it will be Truman who will spearhead the attack on the steel workers. Yet, in his concluding speech at the convention, Murray made a special point of defending Truman against the reproach of UAW representative Emil Mazey who criticized the president for "placing the entire defense mobilization program in the hands of big business."

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Notebook of an Agitator

JUSTICE IN THE U.S.A.

A man named Leonard Hankins was freed from the Minnesota State Penitentiary at Stillwater Nov. 28 by order of the state pardon board, and his name and picture got a big play in the Minneapolis papers. The mere release of a convict, in itself, is not news. Prison traffic in the United States is quite brisk and on the increase; some are going in and others are coming out all the time, and nobody pays any particular attention. But Leonard Hankins got his name in the papers because of special circumstances in his case which impressed the news-minded editors as somewhat out of the ordinary and therefore of public interest. Three points, added together, made story.

First, Mr. Hankins had been buried alive in prison for nearly 19 years. Second, it was acknowledged that he was not guilty of the crime of which he was convicted on Feb. 6, 1933 and sentenced to a life-term. Third — this was the real twist — it was publicly admitted by police men involved in the case that he had been deliberately framed.

Mistaken Identity

On Dec. 3, said an AP dispatch, another man named Vance Hardy stepped out of Recorders Court at Detroit, a free man after a directed verdict of acquittal in a new trial. He had been convicted of murder in 1924 and served 27 years in prison. New evidence and a new trial revealed his innocence and finally secured his freedom. His original conviction, it was reported, had been a case of mistaken identity.

In New York, the Times of Nov. 15 reported the case of Nathan Kaplan, a 49-year-old salesman. "He was convicted," said the Times, "and served seven and a half years for a crime committed by another." Federal Judge Edward R. Weinfeld, after a new hearing, said that the salesman was innocent and that a "grave miscarriage of justice had taken place." This also was "a case of mistaken identity."

But in the case of Leonard Hankins there had been no mistake whatever. He was convicted of murder after the Third Northwestern Bank robbery in 1932, staged by the Barker-Karpis gang, in which \$112,000 was stolen and three people were killed.

The Minneapolis Star quotes Sig Couch, a retired Minneapolis detective, as explaining to the state pardon board that "the Police Department was 'getting a lot of heat' then because of unsolved crimes. We needed a goat and Hankins was it." Couch also said that Hankins was beaten by the police after his arrest and that a police showup was "rigged" so that witnesses would point out Hankins from the line-up of men. He added: "Hankins was known as a card sharp, but not as a bank robber."

Police Frameup

John Albrecht, former Minneapolis police sergeant, who arrested Hankins two days after the holdup, collected \$1,000 reward, but told the

— J. P. C.

pardon board he never did believe Hankins was guilty. Hankins' arrest, Albrecht said, was intended only "to get somebody convicted" in order to quiet public indignation over the holdup and slayings. Albrecht said the persecution refused to call him as a witness during Hankins' trial "because of my belief that he was innocent." So he just kept the \$1,000 reward and kept his mouth shut, and Hankins was railroaded to prison under a life sentence.

Hankins was a made-to-order victim for the frameup. He was a professional card dealer and thus subject to a pinch at any time; he had a previous police record of several arrests. Worse than that, he was broke when arrested and couldn't even hire a lawyer. The court had to appoint defense counsel. He didn't have a chance.

But after 19 years of imprisonment, accumulated evidence of his innocence, gathered by a number of people who had been induced by his sister, Mrs. Della Lowery, to take an interest in the case, got him a hearing before the pardon board; and there, for some incomprehensible reason, a couple of former cops calmly admitted the frameup. Under the circumstances there was not much for the pardon board to do but to free Leonard Hankins for whatever may be left of his life.

"I have died ten thousand deaths since I've been here," the former prisoner told a reporter at the prison gate. "A man can't help feeling bitter. But I'm not figuring to get even with anybody." He said he just wanted to get back to his kinfolk in Kentucky. "Right now, I'd just like to sit myself under a big oak tree alongside the Treadwater river down at Dawson Springs, and just laze away."

License To Shoot

That seems like a reasonable ambition, all things considered. But just the same, he would probably be well advised to check the situation carefully even after he gets back to Dawson Springs, and make sure he isn't found loafing under any oak tree in the neighborhood of an "unsolved crime." The cops might figure he is just the man they need for a conviction to clear up the case.

There is an interesting footnote to the story of the framing of Leonard Hankins. Sergeant John Albrecht, the police officer who arrested Hankins and got the \$1,000 reward, was the same sergeant who organized the police ambush of pickets on Third Street North in the July truck-drivers' strike of 1934. The cops opened fire on the unarmed strikers at close range. Henry Ness and John Belor were killed in the ambush and 48 other pickets were wounded, including Harry De Boer, who served time with us in Sandstone Prison after our conviction in the Minneapolis Trial of 1941.

Naturally, nobody was punished for these atrocious crimes. Police in this country have a license to shoot strikers as well as to frame victims when need convictions.

— J. P. C.

Open Shop NAM Prexy



Mrs. William J. Grede looks pleased as she pins new badge of office on her husband following his election as president of the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers. Not so pleased with it all are Grede's 1,100 workers in his open-shop Milwaukee foundry.

Trade Journal Exposes Radio-TV Witch Hunters

By George Lavan

The rising opposition to the witch hunt was demonstrated by the trade magazine of the buyers of radio advertising, Sponsor, which recently carried a series of three articles devoted to Counterattack, the self-appointed hunter of heretics in the radio and television industries.

Sponsor, which considers everything from the point of view of the interests of radio and TV advertisers, lifts the curtain on the widespread terrorization of radio and TV entertainers and advertisers unleashed by the witch hunters.

ON THE MAKE

The labor-hating, red-baiting peacock of Counterattack was the brain child of ex-FBI agents Theodore Kirkpatrick and John G. Keenan, who were on the lookout for some profitable racket. At first they apparently had the labor spy racket in mind, for the incorporation papers of their detective agency listed investigation of union activities as one branch of their future activity. They first emerged into public view in May 1947 with the publication of their weekly, Counterattack, at \$24 for a year's subscription.

The reactionary views of this journal can be gauged by its attacks on such people as Trygve Lie, Eleanor Roosevelt, Albert Einstein, John L. Lewis, Drew Pearson and Walter Lippman, as communist "sympathizers" or "abettors."

Two things soon distinguished Counterattack from similar semi-fascist sheets: First, it published a blacklist of entertainers and started to drive them from the radio and television industry. Second, it had a firm alliance with sections of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and ultra-reactary Catholic organizations in the New York area.

A PROMINENT VICTIM

The power of Counterattack first came to national attention in August 1950 with the firing of Jean Muir who was under contract to General Foods (manufacturers of Jell-O) to play "Ma" in the NBC television show, "The Aldrich Family." A campaign of telephone calls and letters organized by Catholic and Veterans organizations promptly brought General Foods to its knees and Jean Muir was deprived of her job. She has not had any acting roles since. It will be a bold sponsor, indeed, who will dare to employ Jean Muir.

The one mark to their credit is that with their conviction they now should be able to get a hearing on the political stage in and around Boston. Here it is quite the style for politicians to serve a rest period in the hoosier and then be re-elected to public office. So far, none have as yet announced any intentions of "campaigning for vindication" through the ballot.

The charge against Miss Muir was that she was cited by Counterattack's book, Red Channels. This book purports to be a listing of all entertainers who were communists, communist sympathizers, etc. It claims to be a directory of every person in the entertainment field who was ever listed by the Daily Worker as signing statements for any of the myriad front groups and committees of the Popular Front days, or who ever appeared at a benefit for any of the many front organizations. Of course the editors of Counterattack decide what was a front organization and as previously indicated it is fortunate for Eleanor Roosevelt, John L. Lewis, etc., that they aren't professional entertainers, for Counterattack would surely try to prevent them from making a living.

The magazine Sponsor reveals that the final tally on the letters to General Foods on the Jean Muir case was 2,065 for firing her.

SWP Fund at 50% Mark; Only One Month To Go

By Reba Aubrey

Fund Campaign Manager

The campaign of the Socialist Workers Party for an \$18,000 Organization and Press fund reached the two-thirds mark this week. Payments from the branches for the week totaled \$1,267 — an increase of \$537 over the previous week. The scoreboard through Dec. 17 shows \$9,003 paid, or 50% of the national goal. With only four weeks to go the campaign continues to lag 19% behind schedule.

Newark branch still leads with 80% of its \$500 quota, but there was considerable scoreboard jockeying this week. Cleveland hit 77% and bolted into second place with two payments totaling \$54. "I hope," says comrade Almeda, "these payments will get there in time, because it will put us on schedule for a change."

Akron is running in third place on its Dec. 3 payment, but St. Louis is moving in at a fast clip. A \$25 payment shot St. Louis

from tenth to fourth place, and Comrade Oscar promises that "more will follow."

Comrade Hildegarde rushed in this S.O.S. from the Windy City. "Because of the big storm I couldn't get down to the meeting last night, so no chance to get the money off to you in time for Monday's scoreboard. However, we have \$53.60 collected and will get it off to you Monday. If you can credit us with this amount — on credit — we'll appreciate it no end." This \$53.60 credit makes the scoreboard deadline. I will send another payment tomorrow for tonight's meeting."

This morning we received "another payment" for \$50. Then Jeff Thorne, a New York comrade who spends some time in Buffalo, contributed \$25 to help Buffalo with its large quota.

(Incidentally his pledge to New York Local has been paid in full.) All these payments pile up a total of \$520 for Buffalo, 52%

make the scoreboard deadline. I will send another payment tomorrow for tonight's meeting."

Youngstown scored a \$36 gain. Boston's \$94 check pushed them from 27 to 44%. New York's payments this week of \$401 raised its total paid to \$2,103 — 42% of its \$5,000 quota.

Ruth J. and A. of Evansville, Ind., sent this note: "Here's \$5 for the campaign fund, and we'll send another \$5 in a couple of weeks. Wish we could make this a bigger contribution, but in addition to everyone's problems with living costs, we have an 'extra'."

The group of staunch Socialist Workers Party supporters in the South writes: "Enclosed is another \$100 for the fund campaign. Another \$40 is still due in pledges but will not be forthcoming until the first of the year. And I have had contributions promised me from several of my friends." To date this group has sent in \$400 to help reach 55% of "General's" quota.

\$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

| Branch | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|-----------------------|--------|----------|---------|
| Newark | \$ 500 | \$ 398 | 80 |
| Cleveland | 300 | 231 | 77 |
| Akron | 150 | 114 | 76 |
| St. Louis | 100 | 75 | 75 |
| Chicago | 1,000 | 711 | 71 |
| Connecticut | 75 | 52 | 69 |
| St. Paul-Minneapolis | 1,000 | 646 | 65 |
| Flint | 350 | 219 | 63 |
| Pittsburgh | 50 | 30 | 60 |
| Milwaukee | 250 | 147 | 59 |
| Seattle | 400 | 222 | 56 |
| Buffalo | 1,500 | 827 | 55 |
| Los Angeles | 1,000 | 1,238 | 47 |
| Philadelphia | 400 | 182 | 46 |
| Youngstown | 350 | 156 | 45 |
| Boston | 550 | 241 | 44 |
| New York | 5,000 | 2,103 | 42 |
| Toledo | 50 | 20 | 40 |
| San Francisco | 1,000 | 195 | 20 |
| Albany | 150 | 21 | 14 |
| Allentown | 75 | 0 | 0 |
| General | 1,150 | 655 | 58 |
| Total through Dec. 17 | | \$18,000 | \$9,003 |
| | | | 50 |

THE MILITANT ARMY

"Anyone who doesn't think the redbaiting has worn thin should try selling Militants at union conferences or meetings," writes Jean Simon from Cleveland. "Last Saturday in about 45 minutes I sold 50 copies of the paper at the Ohio State CIO convention. There were all sorts of positive and negative reactions, but no real hostility. Instead there were remarks like: 'I'll take one. They tell us we're all socialists anyway.' Let's see what's in it for us.' Well, I'll read it.' And then one fellow: 'Yes, I'll take one. The socialists have given us a lot.' One of those who refused to buy a Militant turned back before entering the hall and said, 'You people never give up, do you?' I told him, 'No, we don't.'"

Literature Agent Janet Rock reports a good sale of Militants and pamphlets at a union meeting in Detroit. She writes, "Yesterday Barney and Eleanor went to a meeting of a UAW local and though they were run off the union property twice they managed to talk to many of the workers there and sold a total of 24 copies of The Militant, seven copies of The Struggle for Negro Equality, and six of the new pamphlet The Road to Peace."

"They felt they would have done even better if they had not lost the time in being run off the property. Many of the workers there expressed interest, and voiced their sentiments that they had the democratic right to sell there. Barney also sold eight copies of The Struggle for Negro Equality in a housing project where we did a lot of work during the sub campaign, and found that it really is a pamphlet that is in demand and can easily be sold. We feel that this sort of follow-up to our subscribers will increase our renewals in the future."

St. Paul Literature Agent Winifred Nelson sends in more renewals this week and writes, "These are the results of our continued call-back work for the past week. Also enclosed is a sub-

scription obtained from a six weeks local delivery reader and a new sub obtained from a student who has bought single copies from us for a long period of time. We had a good sale of literature in the campus bookstore last month. In addition to sales of The Militant and Fourth International we sold copies of 'The Suppressed Testament of Lenin,' 'Death Agony of Capitalism,' 'American Stalinism,' and 'Their Morals and Ours.'

Akron Literature Agent Katherine Cooper sold nine Militants at a forum in the Jewish Center last week. She and Lou have also been visiting subscribers for renewals, and Lou writes, "It's a pleasure to talk to these readers and after breaking the ice in a few homes today, we feel certain our percentage will be high."

Literature Agent George Rock reports a good sale in New York this week by Jeff who took a bundle of 20 papers to a Community Church forum and sold out his entire bundle. Brooklyn turned in four more renewals this week.

Dorothy reports that one Brooklyn subscriber renewed very eagerly and told her that his Militants never go to waste. As soon as he finishes reading them he takes them into his shop and gives them to friends to read. New York's renewals now total 36.

Los Angeles

Spend New Year's Eve with your friends and comrades

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- Class Forces and Permanent Revolution
- Effects on Imperialist America

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Monday, December 24, 1951

Policy in the Steel Strike

With the announcement by the United Steelworkers of America that the steelworkers will refuse to work "in the absence of a contract" after midnight, Dec. 31, a steel strike appears certain. The battle is joined, and the long-awaited challenge to the government wage freeze is now being made by the labor movement, spearheaded by the men and women who produce the nation's steel.

What will be the outcome of this struggle? There are two possible courses open to the steel union. Either it will permit itself to be trapped in the government "stabilization machinery," hamstrung by the Wage Stabilization Board, or it will fight the issue out in the mill towns and steel cities. If the Steelworkers Union takes the first course, it will permit the government and the employers to set the pattern for a serious decline in the living standards of all American workers. If it takes the second course it can defeat the industrialists and hold the standard-of-living-line of the American people.

The Federal Government has entered into the fray flying a big banner: "Stop Inflation." Actually, this is a fraud. The government wants inflation, of a certain sort. Washington wants a limited inflation, in which prices of the necessities of life are permitted and even encouraged to rise, while wages remain strictly controlled. With this sort of inflation, workers will be unable to purchase goods that they previously bought, and a greater portion of the national output will be made available for the war machine. This program of Washington is forced by the fact that the war drive of American imperialism is approaching the point where "both guns and butter" can no longer be provided. At least, some of the butter will have to be taken away from the people if Wall Street is to continue its military preparations for a push to dominate the whole world.

Thus the Wage Stabilization Board, and all the other government agencies that may be called into the steel fight, will try to hold the wages of workers to a minimum, while permitting further price rises.

Can the steel workers defeat this government scheme? Certainly, but there is only one way to do it. That is by mobilizing the ranks of the Steelworkers Union for a showdown fight, and by mobilizing the CIO and the whole labor movement to back the steel workers.

The actions of the steel union Policy Committee in calling a strike for Jan. 1, and in calling a full-dress special convention of the union for Jan. 3 are the best possible beginning for such a showdown battle.

If the steel union holds firmly to its demands, and if it refuses to be deceived by any Wage Stabilization Board "postponements" or other trickery, and if it "shuts down" the steel industry with a solid and militant strike, then the steel barons will be forced to capitulate. They will have no other choice, and none of their governmental lackeys in Washington will be able to save them.

"Never Forget!"

About seventy-five years ago Wendell Phillips, the great Abolitionist leader, had the following to say:

"My advice to workingmen is this:

"If you want power in this country; if you want to make yourself felt; if you do not want your children to wait long years before they have the bread on the table they ought to have, the leisure in their lives they ought to have, the opportunities in life they ought to have; if you don't want to wait yourselves — write on your banner, so that every political trimmer can read it, so that every politician, 'no matter how short-sighted he may be, can read it, 'We never forget! If you launch the arrow of sarcasm at labor, we never forget; if there is a division in Congress, and you throw your vote in the wrong scale, we never forget! You may go down on your knees and say, I am sorry I did the act; and we will say, It will avail you in heaven, but on this side of the grave, never.' So that a man, in taking up the labor question, will know that he is dealing with a hair-trigger pistol, and will say, 'I am to be true to justice and to man; otherwise I am a dead duck.'"

If today's labor movement were to use Phillips' yardstick, there would not be a single Democrat or Republican candidate getting labor endorsement in the coming elections. Instead of inscribing "We never forget!" on the banners of the CIO's Political Action Committee and the AFL's Labor League for Political Education the union bureaucrats slink around Washington, D. C. with the kind of signs kids pin on one another's backs on April Fool's Day: "Kick me again!"

Instead of never forgetting an act or a vote against the labor union leaders today are notorious for never remembering. Truman breaks strikes regularly. Yet Truman and his party are endorsed by the labor leaders just as regularly. And it is the same with practically every capitalist candidate endorsed as a "friend of labor" from the president on down to the local dogcatcher.

The union bureaucrats no longer ask, "Which candidates are friendliest to labor?" The criterion they use for political endorsements today is: "Which are least openly anti-labor?"

If by some miracle the CIO and AFL leaders, experiencing a sudden rush of militancy to their collective backbone, decided to apply Phillips' "We never forget" policy, they would immediately discover that no Democratic or Republican politicians could qualify for labor endorsement and that a new party — an independent party of labor — and genuine labor candidates were necessary.

Profits Are 'Ethical'



At Washington press conference, Democratic party chairman Frank E. McKinney holds up copy of story that revealed how he made \$68,000 profit on \$1,000 investment in Empire Tractor Co., which later went bankrupt. McKinney admitted making the profit but said it was "all ethical and honest."

REUTHER CANCELS HIS DREAM-TRIP IN 1960 TO NIZHNI-NOVGOROD

By Art Preis

Walter Reuther has cancelled his dream-trip to Nizhni-Novgorod in 1960. He now claims he was taken for a ride when he was persuaded to contribute the only article by a labor leader to Collier's sensational Oct. 27 issue, which was entirely devoted to an imaginary account of an atomic war waged by the U.S. against the Soviet Union, of the defeat of the USSR and its long occupation by foreign armies.

This preview of the war Collier's and its contributors would like to see was intended to whip up war sentiment in this country and convince the American people that the U.S. could win a war against the Soviet Union in three years. In an editorial footnote to the issue, however, the editors lyingly claimed the issue was intended to help "prevent war."

AROUSED HORROR

In spite of the editor's real intentions, the effect of the issue was to arouse increased horror of war among many people here and abroad, and intensify anti-war sentiment. That's what Reuther really objects to.

His complaint boils down to the fact that everybody saw through Collier's smokescreen and recognized its real warlike aims. This war propaganda was recognized as war propaganda.

REUTHER'S ROLE

Reuther, of course, cannot afford to be tied up with the open warmongers. His role is to give a "peace-loving" and "progressive" cover to the aims of American imperialism. No doubt, too, his own union membership has reacted adversely to Reuther's contributing to an issue of Collier's which describes how Detroit is the first U.S. city atom-bombed and how Reuther plans to help fight the speed-up in Russia in 1960 while he does nothing against the speed-up in America's auto plants today.

Reuther first pleads "innocence" and "ignorance." He claims that he wrote his article after a conversation with the Collier's editor and after reading an outline of the editorial setting forth the alleged purposes of the issue. "I did not," he says, "read any of the other contributions except Stuart Chase's article until the magazine was published."

FORCED TO AGREE

The CIO United Auto Workers president claims that he believed the Collier's aim was to emphasize "war is not inevitable and its firm opposition to a preventive war." But, "I must say in all honesty that the issue did not do what I expected it to, and I am forced to agree with many of the criticisms brought against it."

The "failure" of Collier's to achieve its alleged "worthy purpose," according to Reuther, was due "in part to the tone and content of some of the articles and in great measure to the terrifying and horrible scenes depicted in the art work accompanying the articles."

THE SPEEDUP

Anyone who has read Collier's issue on "Russia's Defeat and Occupation, 1952-1960" and Reuther's contribution to it, will see at once that Reuther is lying when he implies he did not correctly understand what the nature of the issue would be. He certainly knew it would be an imaginary account of an atomic war against the Soviet Union in which the latter would be a B-atom-bombed into defeat. His own article is a fictional account of how he goes to Nizhni-Novgorod, in occupied Russia, in 1960, to tell the Russian workers how to organize unions and fight "inhuman speedup."

Even if Reuther had read only Stuart Chase's article, the whole intent of the Collier's issue must have been clear. Chase's article "predicted" how U.S. atom bombs would lead to a counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, to the restoration of capitalism, with the Russian factories and resources "leased or sold" to American capitalists.

If Collier's intended to "show graphically the awful conse-

Opposition In Progressive Party Hits Stalinist "Coalition" Policy

By R. Bell

According to accounts in the Daily Worker, the policy adopted by the leadership of the Progressive Party for its "52 Peace Campaign" is meeting considerable opposition. The keystone of that policy is "flexibility" based on cementing the "broadest coalition" for the election of a "pro-labor, pro-civil rights, pro-peace bloc in Congress." This goal is to be achieved by what the Daily Worker, Nov. 19, calls "a flexible 'four-pronged' congressional election policy." The Daily Worker doesn't say who the two main "prongs" are:

1. "Support to Negro, labor and peace candidates either in the Republican or Democratic parties"; and
2. Entering Republican and Democratic "primary contests to get such candidates nominated."

POLICY ADOPTED

Why an "independent third party" is necessary to carry through such a policy must puzzle many Progressive Party members. Nevertheless, the Daily Worker, Nov. 19, reports that the policy was adopted without opposition at a conference in Philadelphia attended by delegates from the five Mideastern states.

On Nov. 27 the Daily Worker announced that 150 delegates "from 11 Midwestern states" met in Chicago and endorsed the "flexible approach" of the PP national leadership. But two weeks later, on Dec. 13, the same paper carried a report of a "special membership meeting" of the Progressive Party of Illinois called to "clarify" that policy.

"The meeting was called," says the Daily Worker, "to reconsider the recent convention action and subsequent developments on the question of Progressive Party entry into the primaries of the Republican and Democratic parties."

ILLINOIS RESOLUTION

State Director William Miller released the resolution on election policy adopted by the membership meeting. "Our tactical approach," it asserted, "must deliberately exclude activity which tends to deepen the illusion that somehow progressive parties are or can become a substitute for independent political action."

The resolution bluntly stigmatized "the electoral tactic previously adopted," as "incorrect." "The Progressive Party," it added, "must convince the American people that there is no difference between the two major parties and assist in the development of a movement which will result in the creation of a mass

third party truly representative of the needs of the people."

The line of the resolution, it would appear, is in direct opposition to that of the PP national leadership. However, the Daily Worker comments, "it was stated," that "this does not rule out attempts to develop the broadest coalition on behalf of candidates in the two old parties based on a minimum program such as suggested at the PP national committee meeting which was held in Minneapolis." The Daily Worker doesn't say who "it" was stated by. But it is evident the Stalinists are determined to have their "coalition" come hell or high water, as the report of the subsequent PP conference on the Pacific Coast (published on this page) would indicate.

More and more workers are refusing to stomach the unsavory policy of supporting Democratic and Republican "friends." The policy is no more palatable when fished up by the Progressive Party than it is when served by the CIO Political Action Committee or the AFL Labor's League for Political Education. The Stalinist numbo-jumbo about "broad coalitions" is merely designed to sugar-coat the bitter pill. But they are apparently having difficulty getting their own people to swallow it.

STALINIST JARGON

Writing in the Daily Worker, Dec. 17, Stalinist "labor expert" George Morris laments: "That the top labor leaders should continue to cling to their bankrupt 'two-party' line, doesn't surprise me. But the slowness of the progressive forces in labor to

move for an independent peace and clean government ticket in 1952, does. This slowness is a reflection of a sort of aloofness from political action that seems to prevail among even some progressive-led unions."

"Progressive-led unions" is Stalinist jargon for CP union leaders. Even they are shying away, Morris complains. They got burned in the Wallace campaign of '48 and things are a lot tougher now. If the policy is to support "friends" why involve trouble by becoming identified with the Stalinized Progressive Party?

Under the circumstances, to remain "aloof" appears to the CP union leaders, as the better part of wisdom.

(In our next article we will discuss wherein the Stalinist PP line differs from that of the labor leaders.)

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 7

THE OCCUPATION AND THE RESISTANCE

By Harry Frankel

In 1768, the crisis in the American colonies appeared to be coming to a head. The British ministry announced its intention of garrisoning Boston with two regiments of redcoats. At the same time, affidavits were secretly drawn up, charging Sam Adams with treason and proposing his removal to Britain for trial.

Adams prepared to meet the challenge at the threshold. Together with his closest associates, he organized a town meeting to consider what was to be done.

The meeting was held in an insurrectionary atmosphere. Four hundred muskets were stacked on the floor of Faneuil Hall, the meeting place. The gathering was told by James Otis, who was then in one of his radical moods: "These are the arms. When an attempt is made upon your liberties, they will be delivered. Our declaration wants no explanation."

A resolution was passed which called upon every citizen to provide himself with a musket and ammunition. In justifying this warlike act, the excuse was used that there were rumors of war with France! This was not a fact, but purely a cover.

This ruse, or "defensive formula" as it is called, has caused many historians to reproach Sam Adams and the radicals with "deceitfulness" and "hypocrisy." In modern times, the Russian revolutionists organized their insurrection against the reactionary capitalists and landlords under similar defensive formulas, and like the American radicals, were reproached with being "liars" and "Jesuits."

Ruses and Stratagems

As a matter of fact, every revolutionary movement, endangered from all sides by the armed might of reaction, is forced to take cover in order to survive until strong enough to fight. Even in union strikes and organization drives, workers use all kinds of ruses and stratagems to mislead the company agents.

The coiled serpent of reaction lies always ready to strike. Only muddle-headed liberals demand that the people show perfect frankness towards it. And Sam Adams was anything but a muddle-headed liberal. He was a revolutionist, and did what the revolution demanded, without equivocation or self-reproach.

The governor of Massachusetts had his spies in the town meeting called to discuss the landing of British troops, and he reported to the British ministry as follows: "An old man protested against everything but rising immediately, and taking all power into their own hands. One man, very profligate and abandoned, argued for massacring their enemies. . . and he carried these arguments so far, that his own party were obliged to silence him."

The prevailing revolutionary mood of the people of Boston, as exemplified in this meeting, had a strong effect upon Sam Adams, and he determined upon a bold move. He called for a convention of the towns of Massachusetts, to discuss measures to be taken against a British troop landing.

This convention had no legal basis within the then existing governmental set-up. It was a revolutionary move, and signified a challenge to the old state power by what Adams hoped would be a new, revolutionary state power in embryo.

However, as it turned out, the people of the region as a whole, outside of Boston, were not ready for such a move. Even in Boston itself, although the populace was probably ready, the leaders were not. Adams had not yet assembled a group of like-minded people around his program, and many of the Boston leaders were uneasy about the Adams strategy. The merchants, as we have seen, were dragging their feet. They wanted to get out of the movement altogether, and many had already reneged, some even going over to the Tories.

Speakers at the meeting called to discuss the Korean war, calling for a 5-power Peace Conference, and the immediate end of hostilities. Every programmatic proposal was given the "peace" cure. Baldwin, discussing government corruption, said, "The only answer to corruption is peace. The fight for peace is primary to solving all other problems."

At the high point of his speech Baldwin proclaimed, with all the audacity at his command, "No candidate will receive our support if he in any way tries to repudiate that support!" That is to say, the Progressive Party will no longer allow itself to be spat upon. We shall wait and see. Even this small display of courage may be beyond their capacity.

Nothing new has been added to the pacifism of these bourgeois liberals. They continue to rely on maneuvers with the Democrats and Republicans. Their role in Philadelphia is an excellent example of this policy.

According to Baldwin, the Philadelphia PP agreed that "The first job of all decent-minded people was to end the reign of the Stalinist leadership of the Progressive Party."

However, the tension between the people and the occupying troops was great, and an explosion was bound to come. Finally, on March 5, 1770, it happened. A soldier went to one of the ropewalks in town looking for work, and, as history records it, a ropemaker named Sam Gray told him: "Go and clean my outhouse." The fight was on.

When it had ended, six Boston workers lay dead on the snow. Among them was the ropemaker Sam Gray, who backed up his defiant remark with his life. Another of the victims was Crispus Attucks, escaped Negro slave, who was a Boston sailor and a leading radical fighter in the street demonstrations. The murder of these unarmed men has since borne the name: the Boston Massacre.

Sam Adams seized the occasion. Like all great revolutionary leaders, he never let opportunity knock unheeded. "Our business," he often told friends, "is not to make events, but wisely to improve them."

A great town meeting was called, and this meeting sent a committee to see Lieut. Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, a native New Englander and a mortal foe of Sam Adams. In a dramatic moment, the two confronted each other, and Adams demanded that the troops be withdrawn. Hutchinson disclaimed the power to withdraw them, but finally offered to withdraw one of the two regiments. Adams pounced upon this offer like a tiger: "If you have the power to withdraw one, you have the power to remove both." Hutchinson insisted that the committee take his offer back to the town meeting.

Both or None?

Back went Adams and his committee, and as Adams passed down the hall, he greeted his friends, of whom there were many, whispering: "Both or none, both or none." When the committee reached the platform, and reported Hutchinson's offer to remove one regiment, the whole meeting shouted as one man: "Both or none!"

The "old man," as Adams was often called, had made his wish known, and there were thousands ready to follow his lead.

This response of the town meeting was backed by such a fierce and widespread resentment, that a slaughter of the two British regiments was clearly possible if they were not removed. Since the British forces were too small to resist, they were

By Jean Blake

Truman's new Committee on Government Contract Compliance was not greeted with much enthusiasm by the groups that had asked him to issue an executive order for a Fair Employment Practices Commission that would have the power (unlike the CGCC) to take effective action against employers practicing discrimination.

"An examination of the text of the President's order reveals its inadequacy," said Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. "... we are of the opinion that a more effective order could have been issued. The present order is disappointing in that it makes the minimum provision for enforcement of fair employment practices and is restricted to companies holding government contracts."

Actually, Truman's order setting up the CGCC makes no provision whatever for enforcement of fair employment practices. The only power the CGCC has is to make recommendations to five government agencies handling contracts with employers, which the agencies can accept or disregard. And even its recommendations are subject to the approval of the Director of Defense Mobilization, who would never allow it to recommend that a contract be cancelled because the company involved was guilty of Jim Crow practices.

White also commented: "Whatever good may come out of this order depends almost entirely upon the quality of personnel appointed by the President as the six public members of the proposed committee."

But how any good could come out of a toothless order, no matter who is put on the committee, White did not explain. It is true that a good FEPC order or law can be meaningless when it is administered by people who are afraid to really

A Hero of

By Jerry Warren

Societies and periods of history can be judged by the type of men they honor as heroes. Later periods or later societies may, and often do, overrule the decisions of previous epochs and decide the heroes weren't heroic at all. Then statues are pulled down and history books and biographies are re-written.

Nonetheless it is a very important aid to understanding the ideals and interests of the ruling classes of any society, past or present, to learn to whom the statues were put up, who were given great banquets and public honors — in other words, who were the official heroes.

Heroes of the past have been of many types. All too frequently they were great conquerors like Alexander the Great, Caesar, Napoleon, etc. Many ages have chosen religious seers as their heroes like Jesus, Mohammed, Confucius, etc. Others took statesmen. Some enlightened epochs made heroes of artists, poets and scientists.

Heroes are being made today and right here in the U.S.A. It behoves all who are interested in the world we live in to examine each new hero presented to the public. Therein lie not only clues to a better understanding of our culture but perhaps a worthy example for the youth of this Republic. For heroes are not feted and honored for their own gratification, pleasant though that is, but to demonstrate to the masses a superior type of man, to enoble each and every one by contemplation of the hero's great deeds and kindle a spark of emulation in each and every person of no matter how humble a station in society.

Moved, no doubt, by such considerations, the State of Massachusetts has just presented the world with a new hero. This great state has given birth to heroes in the past: Sam Adams, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Sacco and Vanzetti, to name but a few. Massachusetts did not always recognize its heroes. Or it did so tardily. Garrison was nearly lynched there and was persecuted for years. So was Wendell Phillips who finished up his anti-slavery agitation by becoming a labor agitator. Moreover, the world knows that official Massachusetts burnt the heretics Sacco and Vanzetti at the stake.

Could it be that the sad fate of its heroes in the past led Massachusetts officialdom to remorse? At any rate the newly proclaimed Bay State hero has never suffered persecution. Perhaps it marks the dawn of a happier day when a hero can get his reward without persecution or suffering.

Notes from the News

A Newark grand jury has refused to indict two members of the Communist Party who were arrested last January for distributing leaflets. They were charged with subversion under a New Jersey law passed during the Palmer Raids.

Fleets of yachts are becoming conspicuous along the North Sea coast of Germany. They represent the latest investment of German capitalists against the threat of World War III and atomic bombings. One wealthy woman told an AP reporter: "Within two hours our boat would be ready to sail. Over there (the U.S.) we could sell it for \$50,000... One thing is certain, D-day will not find us unprepared."

Taking a leaf from Truman's book a French court ruled that the war in Viet Nam (Indochina) is not a war at all but a "police action." The cost of this "police action," that is bankrupting France, is a billion dollars a year.

The NAACP reports a "gratifying" response to the call it sent out for a Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington, D. C., early in 1952.

The Gallup poll asked: "Do you think there would be more government graft and corruption if a Republican president were elected in 1952 or do you think there would be less?" 45 per cent answered "there would be about the same." 10 per cent thought there would be "more corruption," and 31 per cent thought there would be less. Independent voters were even more cynical about the honesty of the two Big Business parties: 53 per cent thought the Democrats and Republicans were equally corrupt.

Another \$310,192,000 has been given to the corporations in the name of national defense. This brings the total as of the first week in December to over \$10 billion. The method of this racket is a "certificate of necessity" which per-

tackles the question and conduct a fight against the Jim Crow forces. But when an FEPC law or order is limited to "recommending," it does not make any difference who administers it, it still will accomplish nothing.

Furthermore, it is inadequate to dismiss the CGCC order as merely "disappointing" — it is also harmful, downright harmful.

For one thing, it will now become the pattern for cynical capitalist politicians in states and cities where the fight for an effective FEPC is being waged. It will strengthen the resistance of these politicians to local FEPC laws that include real enforcement powers and will provide them with the alibi for insisting on "educational" and "recommending" substitutes. "If it's good enough for the federal government, it's good enough for us," they will say.

White concluded: "The NAACP will renew its efforts for a change of the Senate rules to permit passage of FEPC and other civil rights legislation."

That is a correct thing to do, but it is not the only thing to be done. In addition to fighting for FEPC legislation in Congress, the Negro and labor movements should continue to insist that Truman issue an executive order establishing an adequate FEPC.

If they drop that demand, they will be permitting Truman to get away from the pressure that rightly should continue to be exerted on him. He promised an FEPC in his 1948 platform, and he can set one up any time of the day he feels like it. The CGCC was just a stall for getting out from under. NAACP and union officials will stand guilty of aiding and abetting his stall unless they continue to demand executive as well as legislative FEPC action.

Our Times

By Jerry Warren

The State of Massachusetts by official proclamation set November 27 as Herbert Philbrick day. Instead of the usual newspaper fare about the graft and corruption involving, it seemed, almost every official of the state, the public read that day of the honors heaped upon Herbert Philbrick, of the official welcomes, banquets, eulogies and presentations.

For those unenlightened who as yet don't pronounce the name "Philbrick" in accents of awe and respect, a brief account of his deeds, known to every school child in Massachusetts within earshot of the official proclamation, is in order.

Philbrick, a new type of hero, is an informer and a police spy or, as the common people say, a stool-pigeon. He was the career spy in the ranks of the Massachusetts Communist Party that the government unveiled as its chief witness in the Foley Square trial. B.P. (Before Philbrick) police spies were not fully appreciated and certainly not honored. An example of the backwardness of benighted days B.P. is the words of a federal judge who said:

"I cannot adopt the contention that Government spies are any more trustworthy or less disposed to make trouble in order to profit thereby than are spies in private industry... Spies are almost necessarily drawn from the unwholesome and untrustworthy classes. A right-minded man refuses such a job."

The officials of Massachusetts have changed that old-fashioned conception. Even the large Irish population of the state with its old ingrained prejudice against informers could not prevent these dauntless statesmen from rendering honor where they saw due. Statues and plaques to Philbrick will serve to remind future generations of the ideals and representative heroes of our time. Inscriptions will relate how Philbrick solicited funds for various causes sponsored by "front" organizations and then, no matter how reluctant the donors had been, unflinchingly turned in all their names to the FBI.

Massachusetts may feel proud at having given the world a new type of hero. Others will come and be honored too. Louis Budenz led the way. Religious and academic honors have been his. But he has not as yet had a day consecrated to him. Some observers think him greater than Philbrick and insufficiently rewarded. Others say that time will vindicate him and that though Philbrick has his place on the calendar there will yet be shrines to St. Louis Budenz.

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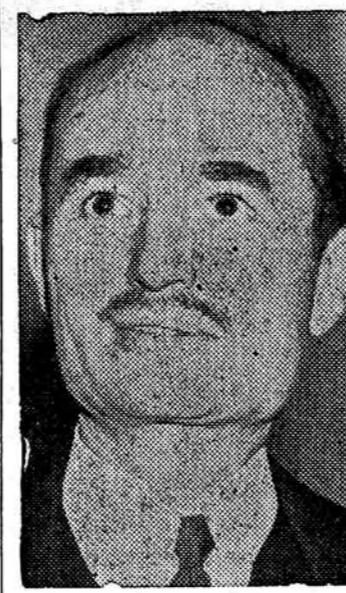
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By Everett Kennedy

DETROIT, Dec. 17 — Mass unemployment is zooming in Michigan, particularly in Detroit, Flint and Grand Rapids. Over 103,000 are already idle in Detroit.

The joblessness has resulted from the economic dislocation caused by the government's armament program. Reductions that have been made in production of civilian goods are far

from being compensated by new jobs opening up in war production. The situation has become so bad that Michigan Unemployment Compensation officials estimate that over 190,000 will be idle in the state by May 1952. This means that almost one-fifth of all workers employed in manufacturing industries will be without jobs by that date.

Already the squeeze has become very marked. Jobs are al-

most impossible to find throughout the area, and it is reported that possibly 10,000 workers have left the auto city of Flint to go South. It has further been estimated that sufficient war jobs to take up the slack in unemployment are at least a year behind this program.

Typical of the attitude of right-wingers in the UAW is the statement of President Morris of Briggs Local 212. Recommending a public works project, he says: "We are sure that as public minded citizens... manufacturers will gladly help finance such a proposed public works program." The union must reject such an attitude if it is to win. The manufacturers are not public-minded, but profit-minded.

BOLD ACTION

The situation calls for a bold program of action, aimed at mobilizing thousands of employed and unemployed together on a local, state and national level. The conference called by the UAW Executive Board for Washington next month can serve as the rallying point for such a grass-roots movement.

SOME RESULTS

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