

A PROGRAM TO FIGHT McCarthyism

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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48 Miners Face Murder Frameup In Widen Strike

By Art Preis

Forty-eight union coal miners in the company town of Widen, West Virginia, face murder charges as the outgrowth of an armed clash between strikers and company thugs. The arrested men were released on the huge bond of \$118,000 after a preliminary hearing on May 7. On May 22 after two weeks recess from picketing, strikers resumed their eight-month vigil on the highway bordering the Elk River Coal & Lumber Company's non-union citadel in Clay County. These are the bare major facts

General Motors Agrees to Wage Revision in Pact

General Motors Corporation has agreed to the demand of the CIO United Automobile Workers to incorporate cost-of-living wage increases gained under the escalator clause into the permanent basic wages.

The demand was granted despite the fact that the five-year contract signed in 1950 had two more years to run. Since the changes in the wage contract will cost the company a mere \$15 million a year more in wages, compared to net profits running to nearly a half-billion yearly, it did not insist on a strict adherence to the long-term contract.

By agreeing to UAW President Walter Reuther's formula that a long-term contract must be a "living document" subject to change in the event of sudden drastic shifts in economic conditions, the company has obtained the assurance of the UAW top leaders that they will continue the policy of making such agreements. The five-year contracts have previously raised much resentment in the auto union's ranks.

The contract as originally drafted is still in force with respect to shop conditions, production quotas and all matters not relating to wages. This important part of the long-term contract has (Continued on page 2)

(Continued on page 2)

Petrovski Case Seen Blow to Stalin Myth

By John G. Wright

Early in May, the Moscow press announced the award of the Red Banner of Labor to G. I. Petrovski, in connection with his 75th birthday and for his "services to the state." Such matters are as a rule routine. Not so in the case of Petrovski, an Old Bolshevik and one-time Ukrainian figurehead in the Stalinist hierarchy.

This celebration came several months late for him, inasmuch as his 75th birthday fell on Feb. 4. But it did happen that toward the end of May 1938 Petrovski was purged, along with most of the other prominent party and government functionaries in the Ukraine, then headed by S. V. Kostov, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party and member of the Political Bureau of the Russian CP. So that Petrovski's sudden rehabilitation may be said to coincide not so much with his birthday (when Stalin was still alive) as with the 15th anniversary of his fall from favor with Stalin.

The individual who carried out the purge of Petrovski (and other Ukrainian leaders at the time) was none other than Nikita Khrushchev, present General Secretary of the Russian CP, whom Stalin appointed first secretary for the Ukraine and purger-in-chief in January 1938. Stalin later awarded Khrushchev the Order of the Red Banner for these "services to the state" — in the Ukraine.

Petrovski's rehabilitation, the timing plus the choice of the award, are not mere coincidences. They place importance on such things in the Kremlin. What is indicated here, among other items, is a slap at Stalin which is at the same time a slap at

Gagged



Legless Vet's Appeal to Get New Hearing

NEWARK, May 27 — James Kutcher, legless veteran, today reported that the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission has agreed to hear his appeal for reinstatement to the Veterans Administration clerical job from which he was purged in 1948. The hearing will be held in Washington on June 4.

Kutcher was fired under Truman's "loyalty" order because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party and because the SWP was arbitrarily placed on the Attorney General's "subversive" list without a hearing or an opportunity to defend itself against the false designation.

Last October the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington ruled that mere membership in the SWP was insufficient cause for his discharge. But instead of reinstating him, the court returned him to a suspended status, pending a new decision by Carl Gray, VA Administrator. When Gray discharged the veteran for a second time last month, Kutcher announced that he would appeal to the Loyalty Review Board. His latest appeal is the tenth he has made in the protracted run-around he has received from administrative agencies and the courts.

NEW PROCEDURE

Today is also the effective date of Eisenhower's recent "security" order, which revoked Truman's "loyalty" program but replaced it with an even more repressive system for government employees.

One feature of Eisenhower's order is the abolition of the Loyalty Review Board, which has a period of 120 days in which to clean up pending business.

Even if the Loyalty Review Board should rule in Kutcher's favor, he would still not be sure of regaining his job. The Eisenhower program provides that everyone cleared under the Truman procedure will have to start all over again and be cleared under the much more rigorous requirements of the new procedure.

Two observations can be made about this prediction: (1) It has been made thousands of times over since strikes first began, yet the class struggle continues. (2) When a captain of industry begins talking about "peace" it can be taken as a certain indication labor had better begin preparing for a bitter conflict.

Fairless concluded his remarks with an angry denunciation of "strikes, slow-downs and featherbedding rules."

Kutcher's attorney at the June 4 hearing will be Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., former chairman of the national executive board of Americans for Democratic Action, and a noted civil liberties lawyer in Washington.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered



High Court Brushes Off Third Plea

By Murry Weiss

"Turn stool pigeon or die!" This is the meaning of the Supreme Court decision of May 25 refusing a new hearing to the Rosenbergs. The Court decision was timed to coincide with reports of Department of Justice offers of clemency to the Rosenbergs, if they turn stool pigeon for the FBI.

The brutally obvious intent of this double-barreled move is to attempt to create the impression that the Rosenbergs can save their own lives.

All they have to do is become the pliant tools of the witch hunters, finger all their friends and associates and anyone the FBI marks for victimization and they might save themselves from the electric chair. Then the new victims would be put to the same torture rack with the same choice.

In making its infamous decision, the Supreme Court ignored for the third time the most imposing and overwhelming considerations for a new hearing. In an atmosphere free from lynch incitement a new hearing would be granted as a matter of course.

First, there is new evidence which demands careful judicial examination. Second, there is additional evidence which in an honest court of appeal puts the stigma of perjury on the testimony of prosecution witnesses. And third, there is the wide protest, including the most prominent representatives of world public opinion who have voiced the horror and revulsion of millions of people at the unprecedented peace-time death sentence in an atmosphere incompatible with either a fair trial or a just sentence.

WHY THE HASTE?

Why there was a new hearing refused? Why this obscene haste to get on with the lynching? Why the criminal torture of the couple — who have sat in the death house for two years — with these offers of clemency in return for becoming creatures of the FBI's witch hunt?

The real decision for the government course in the Rosenberg case comes from the highest ruling circles of American imperialism. Through the mechanism of a McCarthyized judicial apparatus these top capitalist rulers wish to advance the witch hunt to a higher stage at one master stroke.

Death for the Rosenbergs, they hope, will terrorize and silence the critics of their project to embroil the whole world in a war on the model of "Operation Killer" in Korea. They hope it will intimidate and scatter the movement of opposition to the witch hunt itself. They want to serve notice that henceforth it is not merely a job that can be lost by running afoul of McCarthy but your very life.

WORLD PROTEST

The most eloquent proof that this is the real issue involved in the Rosenberg case is the tremendous movement of protest and indignation that has come from every section of the population, every political and religious current, and from thousands of scientists, religious leaders and educators who cannot be accused (even by the McCarthyites) of the slightest sympathy for the Stalinists or the Soviet Union.

It is clear that widespread apprehension exists that the issue of life or death for the Rosenbergs is the issue of life or death for the democratic rights of all the American people.

UNION OFFICIALS SILENT

There remains one glaring, shameful and inexcusable absence from the assemblage of voices of protest — the officials

(Continued on page 4)

Eisenhower Backer Victim of Witch Hunt

By George Breitman

The witch hunt, spreading like a plague into every corner of American life, is aimed at everyone to the left of Senator McCarthy. No one is safe from attack and smear — not even Eisenhower Republicans, not even rabidly "anti-communist" labor leaders of the Walter Reuther stripe. This was shown in the cases of Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton and John Edelman.

Mrs. Horton served as wartime head of the Waves and as president of Wellesley College. Last year she was one of the early backers of Eisenhower for the Republican nomination. She learned from Bertha Adkins, assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, "that it was too bad about the delay, but I apparently had joined a great many organizations."

That was truly the rub. Mrs. Horton had committed the "crime" of joining organizations which McCarthy doesn't like and of freely expressing her opinions. One of these opinions that made her "unfit" was her denunciation in 1949 of the House Un-American Activities Committee's demand to examine Wellesley's social science textbooks.

WHAT MADE HER "UNFIT" One of the organizations she joined was the National Council of the Churches of Christ, in which she is now vice-president. (Continued on page 2)

April. The State Department delayed action, and her name never reached the Senate for confirmation.

Mrs. Horton thought it was "a curious way to do business," but did not do anything about it until the press leaked the story of her "unreliability." Then she determined to find out "what it is all about."

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THE GOVERNMENT HAS NEVER CITED IT AS "SUBVERSIVE" but it is on the private "subversive" list of one Rev. Dr. Carl McIntire, president of an obscure rival organization, the International Council of Christian Churches, and editor of the reactionary Christian Beacon.

The Beacon "exposed" Mrs. Horton by printing material from the House Un-American Committee's files, showing that she had been critical of the committee's methods, the purge in the schools, and the treatment of aliens. McIntire said he was not questioning Mrs. Horton's "loyalty" but insisted that "her views should bar her from representing the capitalist United States" on UNESCO.

The State Department evidently agreed. And so an Eisenhower Republican was bounced out of her two-week job before she was hired, in the bargain she was smeared as somehow "un-American." She can go back to her lecture appointments, but one thing is sure — she won't have as many of them as she did before. "The American way of life" has been preserved, but Mrs. Horton's way of life will never

be the same. She doesn't stand any more chance of being appointed commander of the Waves than the author of this article.

THE EDELMAN CASE

John Edelman's case is equally revealing. Edelman, Washington representative of the CIO Textile Workers Union, was picked several months ago by CIO President Walter Reuther as the CIO's choice for one of the three vacancies as assistant secretary of labor to Secretary Martin Durkin.

Edelman underwent a "full field investigation" by the FBI on his newspaper work, politics and active sponsorship of such things as public housing. Results of the investigation were sent to the White House, where they were studied by Eisenhower and his assistant, Sherman Adams. It is reported that they were not enthusiastic about the choice of Edelman but favored sending his appointment to the Senate anyway. After all, Eisenhower wants some CIO window-dressing along with Durkin of the AFL in the Labor Department, and had personally asked Reuther to pick someone for the job.

REUTHER A TARGET

Reuther has good reason to be upset, and not only because of what the rejection means to Edelman personally or to the CIO as a whole. Reuther used to be a member of the Socialist Party himself in his youth. If Edelman can be barred for such a reason from a relatively unimportant government post, then what will prevent Reuther from being barred for the same reason from the much bigger government job that he hopes to get some day?

The truth is that red-baiting is no safe guard against red-baiting. Reuther did as much as any man

(Continued on Page 2)

"GRASS IN THE STREETS OF NEW YORK"

By Duncan Conway

A rather startling headline in one of the New York newspapers caught my attention a couple of weeks ago. "Grass in the Streets of New York in 25 Years" was how it read. My first thought was a natural one in these days when the U.S. government and army are trying out their new and more devastating atomic bombs every week or so out in Nevada. I thought that here was another of those fearful prophecies of what New York would look like after a few bombs had been dropped.

But it turned out not to be that kind of story at all. "Grass in the Streets of New York" was simply the prediction of a gentle-looking old man of 84 years, an architect by the name of Frank Lloyd Wright, who doesn't like the character of New York as a city, who wants to see it "decentralized," with "grass growing where least expected and flowers blooming in the concrete."

Well, Mr. Wright has a point there. Most people who live and work in New York, with all its grimness and bleakness, its dirt and noise and crowdedness and mad rush, would agree with Mr. Wright in wanting a little more clean air and quiet and "greenery."

Particularly the millions who have no choice but to live in the filthy slums of Harlem and the lower East Side and other slum areas, in fire-trap tenements over-run with rats and vermin, and on streets filled with garbage and refuse. Yes, they too would like to see grass instead of refuse-strewn concrete. They too would prefer to smell flowers instead of stinking garbage. They would entirely agree with Mr. Wright on that.

But the reason Frank Lloyd Wright's predictions rated a page-one headline is not that they were particularly realistic or far-seeing, or that he offered any plan as to how they could be accomplished. It was simply because he is now a world-famous architect. And it is ironical that Wright, who for years in the earlier part of his career was given virtually no recognition whatever in this country, now finds, at the end of his life, that even his off-the-cuff pronouncements have become newsworthy.

I don't mean by that to detract for a moment from the genuine achievements of Frank Lloyd Wright or his tremendously important contributions to the field of modern architecture. In his long and honorable career, Wright has been a truly revolutionary architect. He rejected all the sterile, academic concepts which saw architecture as nothing more than a slightly modified imitation of styles out of the past. And he tried to make architecture once more an honest and creative art, using the new materials and new techniques of the twentieth century to create an imaginative new style.

So, because I happen to be acquainted with some of Frank Lloyd Wright's architectural contributions and have a great respect for them, I read through the interview to see what else he might have to say. It occurred to me that Wright's home is in Wisconsin, which happens to be Senator McCarthy's state, and I wondered if just possibly he might have a few words to say on a subject which right now touches us all a little more closely than flowers on the sidewalks of New York in 25 years.

I wasn't unrewarded. Toward the end of his rambling comments, Wright finally got around to it. "My home state," he said, "has sunk below par, educationally, politically and, I fear, morally." Senator McCarthy, he said, is "the chief mobocrat of the state. . . . the only consolation is that McCarthy ran 40,000 votes behind the Republican national ticket in the last national election."

Wright went on to bemoan the Republican support of McCarthy's candidacy and said: "That was a case where politics made not only strange bedfellows, but was an ardent case of prostitution."

The tendency of artists and writers, intellectuals and liberals, is to remain silent in face of McCarthyism. Or if they don't cringe in silence, they open their mouths only to announce their shameful surrender, to ignominiously confess their "sins" and turn stool-pigeon on others.

It is probably true that one of the reasons why Frank Lloyd Wright speaks out against McCarthyism is that he knows instinctively what would happen if McCarthy ever happened to see one of his buildings, with its revolutionary architectural style. McCarthy would promptly label it "subversive," "degenerate architecture" — just as Hitler labeled "degenerate," and banned, the work of every progressive and forward-looking artist in Germany. So Wright naturally has a personal stake in the matter.

But it is to his credit that he understands he does have a personal stake. That is more than can be said of the sniveling array — the "intellectuals" and writers and Hollywood "names" — who have paraded before the Congressional committees and obediently made their "confessions."

Frank Lloyd Wright is to be commended for speaking out, even if he does it in his confused and not very clear-cut way. It is good to know that there is a little courage left in the world of the artists and intellectuals.

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A Program to Fight McCarthyism

By George Breitman

Everybody is beginning to take McCarthyism seriously now, and expressions of fear and concern can be heard in conservative as well as liberal circles.

The Horton case (see Page 1) drew cries of indignation and anguish from even pro-Eisenhower papers like the *N. Y. Times* and *N. Y. Herald-Tribune*.

The latter also printed on its editorial page May 20 excerpts from an attack on the McCarthyite spirit by George F. Kennan, former ambassador to the Soviet Union, in an address at the University of Notre Dame. Kennan called for resistance to the forces of conformity because: "They claim the right to define a certain area of our national life and cultural output as beyond the bounds of righteous approval. This definition is never effected by law or by constituted authority; it is effected by vague insinuation and suggestion. And the circle, as I say, tends to grow constantly narrower. One has the impression that if unencountered, these people would eventually narrow the area of political and cultural respectability to a point where it included only themselves, the excited accusers, and excluded everybody not embraced in the profession of denunciation."

"I recall reading recently, twice in one day, the words of individuals who proclaimed that if certain other people did not get up and join actively in the denunciation of Communists or Communism, they would thereby themselves be suspect. What sort of arrogance is this?"

"I have lived more than ten years of my life in totalitarian countries. I know where this sort of thing leads. . . ."

DOUGLAS STATEMENT

On the same day Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, one of the few remaining outspoken liberals, urged the American Law Institute to start a crusade to put an end in administrative government and in the courts to "practices and procedures that impinge heavily upon the liberties of the citizens" and "deprive men of jobs and destroy their reputations."

Douglas singled out for special criticism prosecutors who use the courtroom "as a place to unleash the fury of public passion" and the press, which "has pumped into the jury room, hearsay, confessions, theories and influence which if done in the courtroom would result in miscarriages." He denounced the creation in this

But everything that has hap-

EISENHOWER'S ROLE

The trouble with this super-strategy (aside from the fact that Long's power kept growing until the day of his death) is that Eisenhower shows no desire to fight McCarthy. The White House

may become irritated from time to time when McCarthy steps on the administration's toes, and the possibility of a future conflict between the two cannot be ruled out of the question altogether.

But everything that has hap-

top of Widen Hill. On April 21, the Clay Messenger, a paper run by company stooges, published a letter addressed to Clay County Circuit Judge Charles A. Duffield, demanding that he issue an order to clear out the pickets or "the Clay Citizens League for Law and Order fears that within the near future the citizens will take action to clear out such mobs by force. . . ."

Two weeks later, the "Clay Citizens League" — the company's vigilantes — made good their threat. First, on May 5 they used a bulldozer to clear off the picketing area on Widen Hill.

Then, the next night, about nine p.m., a big gang of strikebreakers and company guards gathered in force against a handful of pickets and drove them from their picketing station with rocks, rotten eggs and clubs. State police stood by and did not lift a finger to stop the violence against the legally picketing strikers.

The head of Bradley's own guards was formerly state police boss. Several of the pickets were beaten and injured.

PEOPLE HELP

The entire amount was posted

by citizens of Clay County. One of the defendants said that "we were lying around in jail wondering how we could raise that much bond," but before they knew what was happening "people were streaming in from everywhere wanting to post it for us."

The latest word from Widen

is that the workers are grimly

determined to fight on. They

deserve the immediate support of

every decent union man and

woman in the country. It would

be a fine thing if your union

would write at once to Labor's

Daily, 720 Crescent Rd., Charles

Ton, W. Va., and inquire in what

way you can help these brave

men.

VIGILANT ATTACK

The following night, a number

of the pickets met near Dille, in

Clay County, in a cook-shack

headquarters. They had been

warned that the vigilantes would

attack them again, but they were

on private property belonging to

a striker and had a perfect right

to defend themselves. At four

a.m. carloads of armed company

men drove up in the dark. Firing

broke out from the company men,

according to the accounts given

labor's Daily. The strikers

defended themselves. When the

shooting ended one company man,

wearing a gun holster, lay dead;

three were wounded. One striker

was shot in the arm.

WANTED

Soviet youth periodicals, especially those of Leningrad and Moscow, for the years 1928-1929.

Write John G. Wright, care

of The Militant.

country of "a vast network of wiretappers and informers" and the practice of condemning persons in administrative proceedings on the basis of testimony by witnesses whose identity and prejudices are not known to the accused.

All this is true, and it is good to see more and more people calling attention to the danger of McCarthyism. But indignation and denunciation, while justified and necessary, are not enough. A practical program of action to defeat McCarthyism and save the Bill of Rights for all is urgently required today. And that is just what is lacking among conservatives like Kennan and even among organized liberal groups like Americans for Democratic Action.

country of "a vast network of wiretappers and informers" and the practice of condemning persons in administrative proceedings on the basis of testimony by witnesses whose identity and prejudices are not known to the accused.

The reasons are two: Eisenhower feels he need McCarthy's aid in the 1954 elections, in which the Republicans might lose control of one or both houses of Congress. And even more important, Eisenhower sees eye to eye with McCarthy on the objective of using the witch hunt to stamp out any American opposition to the preparations for World War III.

Schlesinger seems to assume that a fight between Eisenhower and McCarthy would necessarily mean a halt or at least a slowing down of the witch hunt. But recent political experience showed that the result could be just the opposite. Truman fought McCarthy too, it must be recalled. But he fought him by building an independent Labor Party that can defeat both capitalist parties responsible for McCarthyism.

Nothing else will prevent the U.S. from being turned into a police state.

NEED FIGHTING PROGRAM

The liberals had better quit kidding themselves. This witch hunt is not going to be stopped primarily by a split in the Republican leadership, although such a split might provide propaganda to enlist new recruits in the fight against McCarthyism. What is needed is a mass movement uniting all the labor and liberal forces around the three-point program offered by The Militant last week:

1. Carry on a militant and consistent campaign to educate the American people to the pro-war, pro-police state, pro-profiteering aims of the anti-communist crusade.

2. Defend and protect all the victims of the witch hunt, including the Stalinists, on the ground that each successful victimization strengthens McCarthyism.

3. Begin political resistance to the witch hunt by building an independent Labor Party that can defeat both capitalist parties responsible for McCarthyism.

Nothing else will prevent the U.S. from being turned into a police state.

Favor Huge War Spending



Gen. Omar N. Bradley (l.), retiring chairman of Joint Chiefs of Staff, with Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson, former General Motors president. Bradley spoke against any cuts in war spending and claimed American people must shell out at least \$36 billion a year for war purposes "far into the future."

Miners Face Murder Frameup

(Continued from page 1)

day. Here's how Labor's Daily describes it:

The houses packed in rows like palings in a picket fence, appear as sordid reflections of each other, alike in size and dull color. They belong to the Elk River Coal and Lumber Company, which is headed by J. G. Bradley and bossed by H. C. Handy. The company owns the town, controls every phase of the lives of its citizens, all of whom depend on the arbitrary whims of Bradley and Handy for a livelihood.

"They buy at the company store, send their children to company-dominated schools, live in company-houses, breathe company air. The company thinks Widen is the ideal American community." This slave community is located in Clay County, two-thirds of which is owned outright by Bradley enterprises.

MINERS REVOLT

Last September the Widen miners revolted against company domination of their whole lives. They struck against Bradley's company union, the League of Widen Miners. The United Mine Workers union, hearing of the walkout, sent in its representative. It has fed and supported the strikers, who have indicated their desire to belong to this genuine union. They have held their lines since Sept. 21, 1952.

The company and its armed agents have been trying to drive the pickets from their station on

top of Widen Hill. On April 21, the Clay Messenger, a paper run by company stooges, published a letter addressed to Clay County Circuit Judge Charles A. Duffield, demanding that he issue an order to clear out the pickets or "the Clay Citizens League for Law and Order fears that within the near future the citizens will take action to clear out such mobs by force. . . ."

Witch Hunters Victimize Backer Of Eisenhower

(Continued from Page 1)

in this country to purge the CIO of "communists" and "communist-led" unions, and he is one of the chief figures responsible for the labor movement's shameful failure to mobilize the American people for an all-out fight against McCarthyism. But gratitude is not among the characteristics of the witch hunters. They are now out to get Reuther too.

The signal was given in the May issue of American Mercury, which was recently completely reorganized and taken over by professional McCarthyites. The lead article is an unrestrained hatchet job on Reuther by Ralph De Toledano. Its purpose is to show that Reuther cannot be trusted because although he is anti-communist today, this was not always the case.

And so Reuther's cast in the

socialist party (highly colored)

is brought in again; he is credited

with "borrowing" from the "Com-

munists" the "Leninist theory of

the strategic minority" in organ-

izing auto workers and with em-

ploying organizational means dur-

ing the sit-down strikes that

"cannot be justified except in

terms of totalitarian logic"; he

is charged with seeking to "bring

the dictatorship of a corporate

state to America"; his youthful

trip to the Soviet Union is

"documented" with a letter that

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A Timely Political Lesson

Labor's Daily, which deserves commendation for uncovering the true facts about the heroic Widen miners (see story, Page 1), uses the Widen struggle to illustrate some important and timely political lessons.

In its "Labor Today" column, the labor newspaper observes how the political machinery in Clay County, where Widen is located, and in the state of West Virginia is really controlled by the coal companies and other capitalist interests. The 48 Widen miners who have been falsely charged with murder are now "faced with a prosecuting attorney who is friendly toward the Elk River Coal and Lumber Company. He must therefore be an enemy of the strikers."

The column observes further that Charles W. Ray, the head of the company's guards, is the former head of the state police. This is "one minor end-result of the political weakness of Labor in West Virginia" where a man like the former state police head "is performing a function for J. G. Bradley (company president) not greatly different from his customary strike-time function while employed by the Department of Public Safety."

These political factors in the Widen battle demonstrate that "in order to win economic benefits Labor must organize politically. That is fundamental," says Labor's Daily. "The workingman must see that his men are nominated for public office — and that goes for every important office in the United States."

Of course, that's very good advice. But

And Now a Federal Sales Tax

Eisenhower, who hypocritically promised tax relief in the 1952 presidential campaign, is preparing to soak the poor harder than they've yet been soaked. He has publicly attacked "the wide variety" of existing excise taxes. That means he wants something more "uniform." Excise taxes now bring in roughly one dollar out of every five in federal receipts. Eisenhower with his high-deficit budget obviously expects more from this source. Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey said as much when he admitted that a federal sales tax is now "being considered." The big push for it is on.

For years the National Association of Manufacturers has been pressing for such a tax, which hits hardest those least able to pay. They want it to yield as much as \$20 billion a year. They are sure they will get this "bold, constructive new solution" from Eisenhower. And they will, unless American labor leads the struggle against it. Workers do not fully understand how much they already pay out in taxes. By 1952 not less than 38 cents out of every wage dollar went for direct and indirect taxes, federal, state and local. To illustrate this pyramiding tax structure, there are 201 direct and hidden taxes on a gallon of gasoline; 189 taxes on a suit of clothes; 154 on a bar of soap; 53 on a loaf of bread, and so on.

In many states the bulk of tax revenues comes from sales and excise taxes. For example, more than three-quarters of all

Labor's Daily goes one decisive step further. It gives a clear intimation of what kind of labor political action is necessary for the future:

"In previous columns we have stated our belief that in the future Labor must realize the close relationship of the political and economic struggle. And not only realize it, but do something about it, even to the extent of Labor forming its own Labor party."

Here, something new and vital is added to the old idea that labor must get into politics. It must get into its own kind of politics, class politics, based on the unions and with its own party and program. If a union man were sheriff down in Clay County and a Labor Party man were county prosecutor, there would never have been a frame-up murder charge against 48 strikers. There would never have been a strikebreaking attack by "special deputies" on the pickets in the first place.

What applies to Clay County also applies, as Labor's Daily correctly says, to the whole country. If the tremendous army of 17,000,000 union men and women were mobilized politically in their own party, with their allies among the Negro people and poor farmers, they could sweep a Workers and Farmers government to power in Washington. They would not have to be fighting a holding action against a Taft-Hartley law and begging capitalist politicians not to club them so hard. They'd be in position to determine the laws themselves and could put into action any program the people want.

Ohio tax revenues come from this source. Corporations do not really pay excise taxes but shift them to consumers. Don't take our word for it. An authoritative mouthpiece of the financiers, long ago declared editorially that corporate "tax will be passed on to the public, perhaps not in all cases immediately but certainly sooner or later" (Wall Street Journal, Jan. 17, 1951). They do it "sooner" rather than "later."

Now on top of these intolerable taxes, Big Business proposes and Eisenhower aims to impose the heaviest indirect tax of all — a national sales tax. This will go a long way toward Europeanizing the price and tax structure in this country. In Europe the mass of the people have little hope of prices coming down because taxes constitute so large and permanent a part of the price of necessities.

A national sales tax will be in effect a wage cut, especially for the millions of unorganized workers. It will feed inflation.

It is not enough for organized labor merely to protest the imposition of such a "bold" load on the poor. An effective counter-program is needed. We endorse the tax program of the Socialist Workers Party which advocates the following:

No taxes on incomes below \$7,500. Taxes to be included in determining the cost of living index to which escalator clauses in union contracts are tied.

100% tax on profits of all war industries. Soak the rich, not the poor.

A Reminder

It is refreshing to read in an official union paper some good honest words about the contributions of the pioneer Socialists in founding the American labor movement.

The May 14 issue of *The Brewery Worker* pays high tribute to these early Marxists in an article telling about the historical background of the forthcoming annual Summer Institute of the International Brewery Workers Union at the School of Workers, University of Wisconsin.

First crediting the labor movement for the "persistency with which the means for education of the working class was sought," *The Brewery Worker* declares that the "early socialist trend in the philosophy of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor explains, at least in part, the emphasis upon workers' education."

This "Socialist trend" had its roots in the European working class. The Wisconsin labor movement, particularly in Milwaukee, was shaped by German immigrants who came in two waves. "The first wave," says *The Brewery Worker*, "... was the result of the debacle of the mid-nineteenth century revolutionary movements of Central Europe. A second wave was the one beginning in the seventies, the result partly of the impetus given by the first wave and partly of the Bismarckian policy of persecution of the Social Democrats which drove many Germans into political exile."

We might add that we are to-day wit-

nessing a "Bismarckian policy of persecution" on American soil.

"These exiles and the liberal revolutionaries of the first wave of immigrants," continues *The Brewery Worker*, constituted a sizeable nucleus around which there eventually developed in Milwaukee a healthy socialist movement. . . . The State's organized labor movement came to include a sizeable block of rank-and-file old German liberals, predominantly Socialist. . . . This rank-and-file adherence to socialist principles must have been of considerable strength." It voted "into the preamble to its constitution government ownership of public utilities" and each year placed "into high office a leadership frankly espousing socialist principles. . . ."

Such was the early history of the American labor movement not only in Wisconsin but in most parts of the country. It is a timely reminder. The Socialist impress has left its mark not only in old preambles to union constitutions. It still lives, even if dormant for the present, in the minds and hearts of many descendants of the early worker Socialists. Its militant spirit and tradition has been revived by new generations of Marxists in every big crisis the country has experienced.

In the approaching final crisis of capitalism, the American labor movement will again turn to Socialism for inspiration and guidance. But the fusion of Marxist thought and mass power will occur this time on a higher and richer level than the world has ever seen.

Maryland Civil Liberties Group Fight Ober Law

Repeal of Maryland's Ober police-state law and the prevention of police brutalities are the "two major problems" of civil liberties facing the people of the state, it was announced on March 25 at a meeting of the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee, an affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Ober law is the model for similar repressive laws passed by state legislatures throughout the

country to deny political rights to "Communists" or "subversives."

Ralph E. Edwards, chairman of the committee, said the Ober law is "a blind attack" upon "the spirit of freedom and toleration itself."

Commenting on police brutality, Mr. Edwards said: "The Maryland Civil Liberties Committee calls on the citizens of this State to protect the personal rights of those who are the victims of

police brutality, and to see that this vicious practice is ended."

Other organizations represented at the meeting were invited to a special meeting on June 8 "to discuss program of working for repeal" of the Ober law.

BOAS HONORED

The committee presented its 1953 Civil Liberties Award to Dr. George Boas, Johns Hopkins University professor of the history of philosophy, who started the Owen Lattimore Defense Fund. In accepting the award, Dr. Boas said:

"My own conviction is that the majority is sick and disgusted with the un-American activities of self-styled defenders of Americanism."

"If they have not received the publicity which the other side has received, it is because what they stand for is tradition, not innovation."

"They have only to speak up to find that they are far from being solitary voices singing ineffectual solos. They form a chorus singing in unison from sea to sea."

"They are, of course, vilified and ridiculed by the patriots. But if my own experience proves anything, it is that the embarrassment comes not from the abuse one receives but from the praise. For one discovers to one's surprise that the best way to be a hero these days is to support the Constitution and the Bill of Rights."

ORGANIZATION NEEDED

Dr. Boas is, of course, quite right when he speaks of the many people all over the country who detest the witch hunters and red-baiters and would like to oppose them effectively. However, wide-scale organization and action of all labor and liberal forces are needed.

An example of the form such organization might take is the Michigan Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law, a body of more than 200 prominent citizens from labor, religious, educational and civic groups, who are undertaking to mobilize a united movement for repeal of the Trucks Law, Michigan's limitation of the Ober Act.

FEARS OF DULLES

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles does not support Egypt in this move. He knows that a new anti-British upsurge in Egypt is bound to set in motion

forces that can pass beyond control and become a mortal danger to imperialist interests in Egypt and even any form of native bourgeois rule.

He therefore opposes Naguib's tactics. On his visit to Cairo he advocated an understanding with Britain. The State Department's line appears to envisage joint British - American - Egypt and another for whites.

Under the Group Areas Act passed by Malan's dictatorial government, at least 100,000 persons will be forced to move in Johannesburg alone. Most of them are Africans. If Malan succeeds, all South Africa's cities will be divided into three racial zones, one for Africans, one for Asians and one for whites.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

THE PURGE

THE PURGE is continuing among East German Stalinists. Hans Lauter, member of the Central Committee, was accused May 20 of conspiring with Franz Dahlem, one of the most influential figures of the party, who again, been noting "shortcomings" in the Ukraine, as in the other national Soviet Republics.

DISCONTENT, OPPOSITION

The first two witnesses at this trial were prominent Ukrainians. Grinko, former Soviet Commissar of Finance, confessed to the anti-Soviet activities of the Ukrainian national-fascist organization of which he (Grinko) was one of the leaders. . . . The next witness Chernov, a former Menshevik who became Commissar of Trade for the Ukraine and later Soviet Commissar of Agriculture, made a similar confession.

Throughout the year 1937, the Ukraine was singled out in the Moscow press as a breeding place of "bourgeois nationalists" (read: peasant discontent) coupled with the snarls against "anti-Leninist drags" (read: working class opposition) while muffled is nevertheless likewise quite apparent in the official press.

How are these "shortcomings" resolved? How is the Ukrainian working class discontent and that of the peasants being met? The Malenkov regime has promised concessions.

Petrovski's rehabilitation is undoubtedly one such "concession." But the favorite method in the past has been

the purge.

Purges have been dispensed with, or, on the contrary, are Ukrainian local "executives" again being made scapegoats for the consequences of the Kremlin's own policies and method of administration?

In our judgment Petrovski's

rehabilitation could readily serve as a cover for such a purge.

It is the rehabilitation not of a former oppositionist, but simply of a case-hardened dignitary who overstepped his place and prerogatives.

This is the same pattern as in the rehabilitation of the Kremlin physicians which was accompanied by a purge of the former Ministry of State Security. Beria's "rehabilitation" in Georgia was likewise accompanied by a large-scale overhauling of the party and government apparatus there. In addition it is reported that purges have been taking place in many of the national Soviet Republics, as well as in the various provinces and districts.

The Ukraine, in our opinion,

has either been or is about to be added to this growing list.

SOVIET STORES have made another concession in prices. Outmoded goods remaining on the shelves will be sold during the next week at an average markdown of 25%, the Ministry of Internal and Foreign Trade announced May 22. *

THE GREEK SECTION of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, has doubled its membership since its last convention two years ago. According to Quatrième Internationale, 63% of the members are workers, 25% intellectuals and 12% poor artisans. In the recent dock strikes at Piraeus, Trotskyists played a leading role. They were also in the leadership of strikes of shoe workers and telephone employees. In a Macedonian town, a Trotskyist was elected City Councilor by 7,000 votes.

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT was the target May 26 of Japanese demonstrators in Tokyo demonstrating against war. They shouted, "Go home! We women who have gone through a war don't want another war!"

MALAN'S VICTORY was due to South Africa's reactionary electoral law, for the opposition obtained about 125,000 more votes than Malan's racist-minded Nationalists, reports the New York weekly *Aufbau* of May 15.

39 MAU-MAUS were hanged in Kenya, a government spokesman said May 22. Almost 400 others face the death penalty for alleged terrorist activities.

HALF of the world's population is illiterate, according to a UNESCO report published in London. In Uganda 70% can neither read nor write; in Mozambique 99%. In Mozambique there is only one teacher to every 115 children; in Spanish Guinea, one to 85; in French Equatorial Africa, one to 73; in the Dominican Republic, one to 86; in Yugoslavia, one to 59. Great Britain is the biggest producer of books, followed by the U.S. and France. Britain also has the biggest circulation of periodicals — 600 for every 1,000 inhabitants while in the U.S. the figure is 356 for every 1,000, and in Afghanistan, one for every 1,000.

As for radio receivers, Africa has only 1% of the world's sets, Asia 6%, the Soviet Union 7%, Europe 27%, the U.S. 52%.



U.S. troops are shown silhouetted against a Nevada sky as the mushroom from an atomic bomb blast looms high above. This explosion was the eighth in the current series by the Atomic Energy Commission. Army command is trying to prepare soldiers for atomic war. In these tests, the GIs are kept well out of range and protected. In real warfare, they won't face such ideal conditions.

REHABILITATION OF PURGE VICTIM SEEN SLAP AIMED AT STALIN MYTH

(Continued from page 1) retained until his fall from grace 13 years later.

AN OLD BOLSHEVIK

Petrovski owed his eminence to the fact that he was an Old Bolshevik, of whom only 42 retained any prominent party or Soviet posts by early 1938, and among whom he was undeniably a prominent survivor. A turner by trade, he joined the revolutionary Ukrainian movement in 1899; was arrested several times and exiled. In 1912 he was elected a deputy to the Fourth State Duma, where he served as chairman of the Bolshevik fraction of five, under Kamenev's direction.

Lenin at one time thought highly of Petrovski. In Jan. 1913 letter to the famous Russian writer Gorki, Lenin estimated Petrovski as one of those "fine lads" with whom "it is possible to build a workers' party, in the face of inordinate difficulties."

MET STALIN IN 1912

Petrovski came to know Stalin personally in 1912 in connection with the legal Petersburg newspaper *Pravda*. During this same period, the foremost Bolshevik organizer Sverdlov was arrested in Petrovski's apartment. With the outbreak of World War I, Petrovski was exiled to Turkestan, near the Arctic Circle. There is a rare photograph showing a group of Siberian exiles, with Petrovski standing between Stalin and Sverdlov. Petrovski was thus intimately acquainted with that pre-October period in Stalin's life which all of Stalin's official biographies skip over in haste.

The February 1917 Revolution found Petrovski alongside of Yaroslavsky, the notorious falsifier of Bolshevik Party history, publishing jointly with the Mensheviks at Yekaterinburg a paper called the *Social Democrat* in which, as Leon Trotsky correctly said, "they expounded the most vulgar and provincial sort of opportunism."

Petrovski played no notable role either in the 1917 Revolution or in the Civil War. For a while, after October, he headed the secret police in RSFSR (Russia proper). In short, he had the best credentials of a Stalinist dignitary. After Lenin's death, as the record shows, Petrovski remained in Stalin's favor, surviving purge after purge, particularly the 1938 purge of "bourgeois nationalists" in the Ukrainian

purge it was to clean out the local "executives" from top to bottom. Such an "opposition" was intolerable for Stalin's regime. Stalin was all the more agreeable to the elimination of Petrovski, because this Old Bolshevik knew the real history of Lenin's party, of the Russian October, and of Stalin's obscure and secondary role in both, and Stalin's subsequent falsifications and crimes.

The 1938 purge in the Ukraine coincided, as did the one in 1933, with a calamitous drought and a

Recommended Reading

By Fred Hart

Civil Rights in the United States in 1952, the fifth annual report published jointly by the American Jewish Congress and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 151 pages, 40 cents, is a useful publication containing much factual ammunition for the fight for equality.

This report does not explain the cause of discrimination against minority groups, nor does it offer a program of action to end it. But it does not pretend to do so, and it serves a valid function just the same. We recommend it to everyone who is active in the fight against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism.

Although it leaves much unsaid, it draws attention to some important facts in the foreword signed by NAACP executive secretary Walter White and AJC executive director David W. Petegorsky. They are more inclined than we are to exaggerate the scope of recent gains, but at the same time they wisely avoid presenting a Pollyanna picture.

As a result of such gains, they say, "few persons in public life today will openly advocate or defend discrimination." But they immediately add: "To some degree that has led the opposition to equality to adopt more subtle and devious methods, far more difficult to combat than avowed hostility."

Noting that Negro voting has increased considerably in the South and Jim-Crow segregation has been reduced in the armed forces, White and Petegorsky continue: "There have been important areas of our national life, however, that have remained untouched and that are still disfigured by the blight of segregation and inequality. The basic patterns of living, in the country at large, have not been greatly altered. In particular, the deeply entrenched ghetto

patterns in housing have hardly been touched. Many discriminatory practices in employment, education and other areas have been abolished. There have been enough changes to show what can be done. But measured against the total amount of discrimination existing even in the least prejudiced communities, the gains have not been substantial.

"Progress was seriously thwarted, and in many cases prevented, by die-hard racists, hypocritical politicians and others who have used archaic legislative rules, discriminated judicial precedents and similar weapons with great skill and effectiveness... In far too many instances, there was recourse to violence, often with impunity, in order to intimidate those who dared claim their democratic prerogatives."

"Above all, the continued abuse of the powers of Congressional investigation and the excesses committed in the name of security and loyalty have had a pervasive and intimidatory effect. To a considerable degree, these abuses have succeeded in identifying dissatisfaction with the status quo — whether in politics, economics or human rights — with subversion or disloyalty. The rigid climate of fear and suspicion has chilled the enthusiasm of many without whose dedicated services no victories can be won."

Our enemies are using more subtle methods to prevent equality; the basic patterns of living are unchanged; the gains have not been substantial; violence still threatens those who demand their rights; and the witch hunt has been used to discourage people from joining the fight for progress. There, in a few words, is a 1000% more truthful picture of the present situation than the recent highly-touted report on the U.S. Negro in Time magazine.

TV and Comic Books?

By Joyce Cowley

During the first six months of 1952 more serious crimes were committed by boys and girls 18 years old than by persons of any other age bracket!

I found this startling information in a new pamphlet issued by the Children's Bureau, *Some Facts on Juvenile Delinquency*. 1,000,000 boys and girls under eighteen years of age are arrested every year. According to Judge Charles E. Moyal of Baltimore: "In the past 25 years, the population of state and federal prisons has increased seven times as fast as the national population. Convicted adolescents make up a substantial share of our prison population. Crime is a habit generally acquired in early youth and strengthened by prison."

When it comes to analyzing the cause of this extraordinary increase in juvenile crime, the explanation of the experts sounds strangely inadequate. Dr. Frederic Wertham, psychiatrist and leading consultant on crimes of violence, was called in on a recent murder case. A 16-year-old boy had killed two school girls. "Children weren't committing crimes like this 15 years ago," declared Wertham. "I know. I've studied thousands of cases. Children are being educated to being sadistically inclined and the education is coming from television and comic books."

I don't have a particularly high opinion of television or comic books — either as entertainment or education — but it does seem extreme to condemn them as the cause of juvenile crime. You might as well say that the increase in the use of nar-

cotics is due to the fact that drugs are available, which obviously fails to explain why. Dr. Wertham's theory also ignores the fact that the rise of juvenile delinquency and crime is a world-wide phenomenon. The evil influence of American television and comic books certainly can't extend to the children of Europe and Asia.

The sadistic violence of television shows and comic books reflects the violence of everyday life. These youngsters of 18 can't remember a time "before the war." As soon as they learned to walk and talk, they learned about wholesale killing and destruction. Newspaper accounts of napalm bombs which make a giant torch of Korean cities may be even more dangerous reading than the Adventures of Dick Tracy, and create greater callousness toward the life of the individual.

An adolescent today knows that war is the one sure thing ahead of him. He can't complete his studies, he can't plan, he has no future and sees no way out of the trap. The result — muggings, dope addiction, teen-age gang wars and sex clubs, youngsters gambling their lives in "games" with souped-up cars. The vigorous spirit of today's youth has turned to self-destruction and meaningless violence.

There is a way out. These young people have the vitality and courage to fight if they see any point in it. We've got to explain socialism in terms that make sense to them, convince them they can build a society free from violence and war. If we show them the possibility of a happy, constructive future, they'll take it from there.

Notes from the News

SALUTES MASTERS. At a luncheon of the United Negro College Fund given in honor of the Rockefeller family for its charitable interest in Negro education, Gen. Eisenhower declared: "I join with you in bringing my own deep sense of obligation to the Rockefeller family — a family that has seen this type of need and has done something within the terms of private enterprise, private initiative and co-operative spontaneous co-operation and did not wait on some kind of law to get done a thing they saw needed to be done." The Rockefeller family has been one of the most influential in the inner ruling circle of the capitalist class in naming Presidential candidates.

A DEPRESSION is being courted by the Eisenhower administration, says Alex Rose, President of the AFL Hatters Union. Addressing the AFL Ladies Garment Workers Convention May 21, Rose charged: "We are faced with the threat of government-planned deflation — playing with human welfare to create a depression in the face of the greatest productivity the world has ever known — to create a cheap labor market and beat back the unions."

THE WORLD'S RICHEST UNION is the AFL International Ladies Garment Workers. Officials of the union reported May 24 that its assets in general and welfare funds now stand at \$166,100,40, an increase of some \$56,000,000 since the last convention three years ago. This powerful organization by-passed proposals of delegates at its convention to organize a Labor Party and even rejected a proposal to establish a daily labor newspaper. Julius Hochman, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, told delegates a daily paper is "full of perils and pitfalls." Since 1944 members have made voluntary contributions of \$1,063,024 to political campaigns. This includes contributions for Adlai Stevenson, the Liberal Party, Americans for Democratic Action and

Labor's League for Political Education. Among the recipients of the union's slush fund was the Social-Democratic weekly *New Leader* which was given \$40,000. David Dubinsky, union president, reported that the organization lost about \$10,000,000 because of the decrease in value of government bonds in which its funds are invested.

VIOLENCE in the seven-week-old strike of the CIO Electrical Workers at Syracuse, N. Y., was incited by General Electric Corporation May 25 when company officials called on white-collar workers to crash through picket lines and return to work. The scabs in closed cars rammed into pickets parading before the gates, injuring at least four.

MERGER of the CIO Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union and the unaffiliated Distributive, Processing & Office Workers (DPO) has been approved by Walter Reuther, President of the CIO. At its May 8 meeting the DPO National Executive Board, formerly Stalinist-dominated, repudiated the Communist Party. Reuther noted that "a major change in the union's structure and ideology has been developing" for the past two years and that, no longer supporting the Communist Party line, it is sufficiently purged to enter the CIO.

A QUAKER CLERIC, 63-year-old Stuart Morris, former honorary canon of Birmingham Cathedral, who arrived in the U.S. May 15 for an eight-week nation-wide speaking tour, was detained by immigration authorities on Ellis Island. The reasons were not disclosed. But the clergyman is General Secretary of Great Britain's Peace Pledge Union and his visit was sponsored by the War Resisters League all of which associates him so much with the desire for peace that he is naturally suspect as a "subversive" in the eyes of the war-mongering Eisenhower administration.

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When it comes to analyzing the cause of this extraordinary increase in juvenile crime, the explanation of the experts sounds strangely inadequate. Dr. Frederic Wertham, psychiatrist and leading consultant on crimes of violence, was called in on a recent murder case. A 16-year-old boy had killed two school girls. "Children weren't committing crimes like this 15 years ago," declared Wertham. "I know. I've studied thousands of cases. Children are being educated to being sadistically inclined and the education is coming from television and comic books."

I don't have a particularly high opinion of television or comic books — either as entertainment or education — but it does seem extreme to condemn them as the cause of juvenile crime. You might as well say that the increase in the use of nar-

cotics is due to the fact that drugs are available, which obviously fails to explain why. Dr. Wertham's theory also ignores the fact that the rise of juvenile delinquency and crime is a world-wide phenomenon. The evil influence of American television and comic books certainly can't extend to the children of Europe and Asia.

The sadistic violence of television shows and comic books reflects the violence of everyday life. These youngsters of 18 can't remember a time "before the war." As soon as they learned to walk and talk, they learned about wholesale killing and destruction. Newspaper accounts of napalm bombs which make a giant torch of Korean cities may be even more dangerous reading than the Adventures of Dick Tracy, and create greater callousness toward the life of the individual.

An adolescent today knows that war is the one sure thing ahead of him. He can't complete his studies, he can't plan, he has no future and sees no way out of the trap. The result — muggings, dope addiction, teen-age gang wars and sex clubs, youngsters gambling their lives in "games" with souped-up cars. The vigorous spirit of today's youth has turned to self-destruction and meaningless violence.

There is a way out. These young people have the vitality and courage to fight if they see any point in it. We've got to explain socialism in terms that make sense to them, convince them they can build a society free from violence and war. If we show them the possibility of a happy, constructive future, they'll take it from there.

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