SWP Threatened With Violence By SIU Officials

NEW YORK — Paul Hall, secretary-treasurer of the Seafarers International Union, has responded to The Militant's exposure of his gangster-ridden regime in the SIU

by gangster threats against the? on the SWP. These calls followed hreats. a meeting of the New York We demonstrated that Lundebranch of the SIU where a lynch berg, Hall and Co. have followed atmosphere against Trotskyism the practice of cannibal unionism was worked up by the officials as a means of "solving" the unand a motion was jammed through employment problem in their declaring the SWP "dual and ranks, They've classified as "dual hostile" to the SIU.

practices "democracy" inside and men and Warehousemen's Union, outside their union. Out of a clear Marine Engineers Benefic al Assoblue sky, the SIU membership ciation, Marine Firemen's Union was presented with a six-page tirade against Trotskyism in the Union. Nov. 4 Seafarer's Log. The following issue of the union paper continued with some drivel about Trotsky and Kronstadt and viciously lumped together the that union was engaged in a Trotskyists and the fascists. But world - wide battle with the no sooner had The Militant picked | Canadian shipowners. up these attacks, exposing the reasons behind them, than the methods they feel more at home struck by the Marine Engineers with - threats, violence and Union. police methods.

RED HERRING

This sequence of events proves "red herring" drawn across the unionism, and extortionate methods against the rank and file as exists in any union in the

We demonstrated that John Mahoney, a veteran of the 1934 Sailors Union of the Pacific, West Coast division of the SIU sponsored social reform. for merely questioning the strikebreaking actions of Lundeberg and Hall in the Canadian Seamen's Strike. In addition to



GEN. EISENHOWER

ment and take their orders from

"Labor and Civil Rights" deliver-

Tobin and Green take their orders

from the boss-controlled State

take their orders from the un-

sents the interests of the work-

not long enough.

He also lashed the Stalinists

the labor movement is part of a

Stalinists.

Dunne on Civil Rights Tour

civil rights from vicious government attack, the greatest

danger of all comes from those who lead the labor move-

the State Department." This was schools." Stressing the need for

a central point in the lecture on a counter-offensive, he declared:

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 12 - "In the struggle to retain

Socialist Workers Party. Phone Mahoney, the members of a decalls by Hall's agents, and one fense committee organized in his suspected to have been by Hall behalf in Seattle were also thrown himself, have been made threaten- out of the union. These facts have ing raids and physical violence not been answered - except by

and hostile" not only the SWP but These threats are typical of also the CIO National Maritime the way the SIU officialdom Union, International Longshoreand Marine Cooks and Stewards

WHAT WE HAVE SHOWN

The SIU shipped strikebreakers aboard the struck ships of the Canadian Seamen's Union when

The SIU officials sent replacements aboard the SS John SIU officials left the plane of Franklin of the Isbrandtsen Line "discussion" and went over to last October when the ship was

> The SIU officials ran the only (Continued on page 4)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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PRICE: FIVE CENTS

"Loyalty" Purge Menaces Workers in Private Industry

Clark Broke Law --Will He Go to Jail?

At the Coplon - Gubitchev trial in New York, the presiding judge has ruled out as illegal all evidence obtained by the FBI through wiretapping and intercepting mail. The FBI admitted wiretapping and furthermore that it had been authorized by Attorney General Tom Clark, now sitting on the Supreme Court. Wiretapping is a federal offense punishable by two years in prison and a fine of \$10,000. The question is: Will wiretapper Clark be prosecuted?

Whose "Welfare State"?



trail of as sordid a reign of dictatorship, strikebreaking, cannibal SECURITY--FOR WORKERS

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, professional militarist who doubles as an "educator" in his \$25,000-a-year presidency of Columbia University, has emerged as the likely

Republican candidate for United 3of opposition to government- they can go to prison," proclaimed the General. "They'll have

The "academic" general, who enough to eat, a bed and a roof has lived off the government most over their heads." of his life and rates a \$15,000 annual pension from the Army, is carrying the banner against what

the support of the States Righters by assailing a "paternalism" that trailized government or centralizhe claims threatens to turn this country "into a nation of kept men

"Don't deceive the workers into

to the hilt that the attack on Trotskyism was nothing but a EISENHOWER AGAIN HITS

strike, was expelled from the States President on the program that Americans want is security

THREATENS "REVOLUTION"

He crowned his reactionary athe calls "an illusory thing called tack on welfare measures for security" - meaning old-age pen- workers' families with the threat sions, unemployment compensa- of forcible overthrow of any govtion, health insurance and similar ernment that genuinely protects benefits demanded by the workers.

Last week Eisenhower took his Last week Eisenhower too tion, health insurance and similar ernment that genuinely protects Last week Eisenhower took his expressed the "hope" that "we campaign down South, to Galves- may never come to a point where ton, Texas, where he appealed for we must rise up and by revolution

Eisenhower's threat of "revolu- nothing more than a carbon copy to the military caste, capitalist tion — against any government which had been staged without a A high-point of his speech was the monopolists to despoil the minor changes in the script, in final remarks were drowned out trials make it clear that it is an invitation to the wage-earners people, repeats the threat made the location and leading personnel in hisses and catcalls; his own now a capital crime to favor, let and farmers to "go to prison" if by banker John Foster Dulles in - with high Bulgarian party and they are seeking security. "If all his tirades against the "welfare government officials taking the state" during the Republican lead- place of their Hungarian preer's recent unsuccessful campaign | decessors in the defendants' dock Large L. A. Audience Hears for election as Senator from New - everything else was to remain

The kind of "revolution" Eisennower was propagating down in the main identical with the South isn't proscribed as "subver- Hungarian; the routine of "consive" by the Attorney General fessions" was pre-arranged and and FBI. It's the kind Hitler, the main defendants were once Mussolini and Franco made - or again the dissident Yugoslav the slave-holding Confederacy leaders, absent from the court whose spiritual heirs Eisenhower room. But something unexpected wants to join with his banker- happened. This time the frame-up industrialist sponsors in backing machinery blew up in the faces his presidential candidacy.

This is the "great leader" who The chief defendant at the

By John G. Wright
The Sofia "Treason" Trial was intended by its behind-the-scenes organizers in the Kremlin to be or "conspiring" with Tito that is or "conspiring" with Tito th or "conspiring" with Tito, that is, Dimitrov himself a few years ago and women." He was not referring tion" — that is, counter-revolu- of the Budapest "Treason" Trial he denied the gist of all the and just as publicly vetoed at the charges against him. He persisted time by Stalin's Pravda. politicians and coupon-clippers. that restricts the "freedom" of hitch in September. Except for to the end in his denials. His

Kostov "Treason" Trial

to the Moscow frame-up artists | Kostov admitted, on the other The Bulgarian indictment was play his rehearsed role.

IRONICAL TOUCH

"defense" attorney denounced him alone work for, the establishment and sought to admit his client's of a Balkan Federation, which guilt for him. This hysterical was one of the traditional Socialprocedure illustrates what an ist slogans even in the days of irreparable blow has been dealt the old Second International.

by Kostov's stubborn refusal to hand, that he had a "hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union. What this "hostility" boils down to was Kostov's reluctance to sign Ironically enough, it was this trade agreements with Moscow same Kostov, now accused of on the Kremlin's terms. These "Titoism," who delivered the main agreements are highly unfavorreport at the Cominform meet- able to Bulgaria (and to other ing 18 months ago when Tito satellite countries) and serve as and his colleagues were expelled, one of the major vehicles where-One denial and one admission by the Moscow bureaucracy pilby Kostov cast a glaring spot- lages and exploits the economies light on the economic and poli- of these countries. To oppose this

> The extent to which the Mos-(Continued on page 3)

Bosses Demand Contractual Right to Fire "Subversives"

By Art Preis

The "loyalty" purge and "subversive" blacklist have become a major threat to the job security of workers in private industry. This menace has reached the point where

employers have begun to demand 5clauses in union contracts per- | tary security. Any worker on any mitting them to fire unionists on political grounds.

An ominous example of this development came to light last week when a meeting of CIO United Auto Workers Local 669, representing some 5,000 workers at the Wright Aeronautical Corporation plant near Paterson, N. J., indignantly and unanimously rejected a contract in which the company had inserted a clause giving management the right to fire any worker it accused of belonging to a "subversive" organization whose alleged aim is violent overthrow of the govern-

The 2,800 workers at the meeting denounced the clause as an invasion of their civil liberties. International UAW representative Gabriel de Angelis declared he would not sign such a contract and claimed that the UAW would make a national issue of the clause and attempt to bring additional pressure to bear on the company to remove it." The demand of the Wright cor-

dustry + aims at a far-reaching already instituted by the military in Buffalo as "subversive." brass hats in so-called "sensitive" corporations direct power to kick the unions directly - are being out workers on political pretexts cooked up in Washington. Frank without reference to whether these Tavenner, counsel for the House Both the Budapest and the Sofia workers are engaged in allegedly Committee on Un-American Ac-"sensitive" work involving mili-

kind of work could be fired.

PART OF WIDE DRIVE

This is but one phase of a Big Business-Big Brass scheme whose ultimate aim is to undermine the unions and impose virtual military rule over the workers in preparation for the war which American imperialism is planning. Just two weeks ago the De-

fense Department announced new regulations to strengthen and extend its purge of "bad security risks" from the plants. These regulations provide for the firing of workers not only having "membership in or sympathetic association with" organizations on Truman's "subversive" blacklist, but who even do "not possess the integrity, discretion and responsibility essential to the security of classified military information." Any unionist a company wants to get rid of could be placed under the latter broad classification.

Even before these new regulations were announced, numerous poration — a prelude to similar union militants had been fired as employer demands throughout in- | "poor security risks." The most recent case was the dismissal of extension of the "loyalty" purge six strike leaders at Bell Aircraft

(Continued on page 4)

ILGWU FACES REPRISAL FOR OPPOSING O'DWYER

The Militant has repeatedly pointed out that the campaign inside the unions to suppress those accused of holding "communist" views has a logical development of its

own. If union bureaucrats can die- ?not be held, it is but a step to accept this resignation. dictating what wews must be held. The CIO — in which Dubinsky's That last step is being taken in political co-thinker Walter Reuthe AFL Central Trades and La- ther plays a leading role — has

Martin T. Lacey, president of the condition for enjoying full rights. AFL central body, had demanded At its last convention, the Murthe resignation from its executive ray machine put over a constituboard of two leading members for tional amendment to deny the refusal to support Tammany right of any member of the Com-Hall's candidate, Mayor O'Dwyer, munist Party or "other totalitarin the recent city elections. They ian organization" to hold CIO ofare Joseph Tuvim, representative fice and to remove those accused of the International Ladies Gar- of such association from the Nament Workers Union, and Wil- tional Executive Board. liam Wolpart, executive secretary LOGICAL EXTENSION of the United Hebrew Trades. Tuvim complied on Nov. 28, but Wolpart's resignation has not yet been submitted.

The demand for their resigna-

DUBINSKY'S HOPE

Dubinsky, who was in London when the reprisal against the IL-GWU and its representative took to suppressing anyone whose po-The clamor of the American able that the Central Trades and from that of the leadership; from

tate what political opinions may political decisions by refusing to

bor Council in New York City. gone the farthest in making the It was revealed last week that "right kind" of political views a

This policy finds its logical ex-

tension now in the New York City AFL, where leaders like Martin T. Lacey dare to deprive a powerful union like the ILGWU of its rights because it refused to support strikebreaker O'Dwyer, candidate of the notorious Tammany Hall and the Catholic hierarchy.

David Dubinsky is by no stretch But he decided to act a little "independent" and back a "reform" candidate in the last municipal elections. That was enough to evoke repressive action.

From supressing "communists,"

ed here yesterday by Vincent R. believing that the whole reacmight be president of the United Sofia trial, former Vice-Premier tical reasons behind Stalin's new in any way whatever, is likewise Dunne, now on tour for the tionary drive will somehow pass States today if the union leaders, Kostov, who was also former series of judicial frameups. Kostov a capital crime. away. A difficult fight faces us, particularly the CIO, had been secretary of the Bulgarian Com-Socialist Workers Party. flatly denied working with the Before a large and attentive the enemy is cruel and strong, but successful in their campaign last munist Party, second in pro- Yugoslavs to form a Balkan cow bureaucracy is despoiling audience Dunne pointed out that the workers are stronger. Our year to have him named as the minence only to the late Dimitrov, federation. On the other hand, Bulgaria economically is of course the current purge in the unions is duty is to speak the truth now, at Budapest Rajk readily ad-Democratic presidential candidate. retracted his "confession." directed not only against the to encourage and weld together

for their foul record in the civil say of Dunne's visit, here: "The rights struggle. In contrast to SWP Local in Los Angeles has the SWP's defense of all the been given a real boost by Comvictims of the witch-hunt, in- rade Dunne's visit. Following the cluding the CP, he reviewed the very successful tour of Comrade contemptible actions of the Stal- Stein, it has served to continue inists who gave the government and accelerate the Party Build-"critical support" in its persecu- ing Drive. Comrade Dunne's warm tion of the 18 Trotsky:st leaders personality, his boundless energy in Minneapolis and whose only and devotion, his long experience lars. criticism was that the sentences and Marxist training, have been imposed on the Trotskyists were | very inspiring to our whole movement here and especially to the Plan, in so far as it is designed "close to the inside workings of market." Thus, "before any "WORKERS ARE STRONGER" group of young workers and to stabilize Western Europe's the Marshall Plan feel that it significant improvement in living

"The attack on civil liberties in the first" time." (See Page 2 for another story

many-pronged drive in prepara- on the Dunne tour.) tion for another world war," Dunne warned. "It goes into all Have you sent in your conthe educational institutions of the tribution to the Socialist Workers 12. The headline on his first success" in terms of more produccountry, down even into the high Party Building Fund?

since 1942.

Stalinists but the militant op- every center of opposition, position as well. He was just as within the unions, on the campus, The Crisis of the Marshall Plan unsparing in his analysis of the and among all those who want to fight for every democratic and "Murray, Reuther, Lundberg, civil right." Dunne was interviewed by the By Joseph Keller Sunday Times, and both a story Department while the Stalinists and picture were printed. A welcoming social the same evening speakable betrayer and traitor in attracted a large audience to celethe Kremlin. Neither group repre- brate his first visit to this city Murry Weiss, organizer of the Los Angeles Local, had this to

The Marshall Plan is in a grave Paradox of Failure." crisis. This is reflected in the Congressmen returning from wonder out loud if it wouldn't be good thing to ditch this costly scheme to salvage European capitalism with American dol- THE "CHRONIC PROBLEMS"

have predicted that the Marshall U. S. officials and statesmen downs in the machinery of the students who have met him for economy, must founder on the stands at the point of peril and standards could be achieved for This is now affirmed by foreign ing." He cites a recent statement man, writing from Geneva, in the N. Y. Times of Dec. 10 and Hoffman that even the "brilliant article summarizes the situation: tion will leave Europe "in only groups feeling themselves en-

"Marshall Plan, a Success, Faces | precarious balance" by 1952, when | titled to permanent protection in

virtually unchanged.

of its operators.

The writer points out that the strator, that the Marshall Plan Plan is "more or less obsolete," countries "integrate" their eco- if by "recovery" is meant a countries are becoming.

"Without exception," says

the present ERP ends. For, the Times correspondent

mere restoration of production to foreign. Expansion of production for the Republican mayoralty some obsolete pre-war standard," means sharpening competition. candidate, Newbold Morris. The nomies on pain of withdrawal of restoration of production to the but to make Europe "independent And where production comes up ILGWU, which is headed by D. American finances. Senators and pre-war levels. On this basis, he of extraordinary outside assist- against the narrow bounds of the Dubinsky, an AFL national vice shows, the "job had been com- ance" — that is, independent of market, it must be cut off or president, is the main union base of the imagination a radical. He is European junkets speak bitterly pleted in two years instead of huge handouts from America. But result in a glut — "overproduc- of the Liberal Party, a split-off a hard-boiled representative of about the perspectives of the four." But the higher the product at the peak of "brilliant suction." This is a classic contradiction." This is a classic contradiction. European Recovery Program and tion figures, the more alarmed cess," the Marshall Planners must tion of capitalism as described by The AFL Central Trades and Lathe leaders of the participating now "look squarely at the Karl Marx himself. It operates bor Council had joined with the a Social Democratic coloration. chronic problems of European economy.'

'overproduction' was being disadamant resistance from economic groups feeling themselves en
(Continued on page 3)

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their own small markets." In short, the European capital-

demand by Paul G. Hoffman, title "European Recovery Pro- points out, the underlying aim of ists cannot escape restriction of tions resulted from their support Economic Cooperation Admini- gram" as applied to the Marshall the Marshall Plan was not "a the markets, both internal and of the Liberal Party's campaign as an iron law even in an im- CIO Council in New York to back poverished Europe and world cry- O'Dwyer. The significant fact is, that ing for the necessities of life -"production was showing signs of but unable to buy because of the From the start, we Marxists Michael Hoffman, European and slackening off because of break- limitations of a profit-motivated

economy. NOT SOLVED IN U. S. EITHER place, stated that it is "unthink- litical views and actions differ rocks of capitalist contradictions. is in imminent danger of fail- the masses of Italy and France, officials for "free markets" and Labor Council would try to im- removing non-complying leaders the "integration" of European pose its political views upon its to expelling non-complying memcorrespondent Michael L. Hoff- of ECA Administrator Paul G. cussed in the steel industry of economies meets only a cynical affiliates through the acceptance bers; from what you can't believe the North of Europe. Efforts to response from the seasoned and of Mr. Tuvim's enforced resigna- to what you must believe - this liberalize trade were meeting wily European statesmen, Michael tion. I am hopeful that the coun- is the road to totalitarianism, in-

(Continued on page 3)

What Attitude Ought We Take on Pension Issue?

[ED. NOTE: The following article is a contribution toward the discussion of the issues raised by the recent struggles over pensions and other welfare demands. Readers of The Militant are invited to participate in the discussion by submitting their suggestions and proposals.]

By Milton Alvin

The issue of retirement pensions for workers is having a profound impact and influence upon labor - management struggles at the present time. Aside from our criticism of the shortcomings of the steel and Ford settlements and acceptance of Truman's "Fact-Finding" Board's proposals by the labor leaders, criticisms that were entirely valid, I feel that The Militant has taken a largely negative attitude towards the pension issue itself.

The idea of retirement pensions for workers has deep-going implications. It poses the question of a re-division of the national income on a wide basis. Whereas heretofore this income was divided between exploiters and exploited to a large extent we now have the probability that a sizable section of the working class will but being directly involved in the process of production.

This factor was recognized by Murray made a stab at getting Senator Taft recently and he was non-contributory pensions but in quick to propose that pensions be the end gave in part way. But

financed out of earnings, that is, the idea that pensions should be N. Y. Times of Nov. 30 was quick Times characterizes the steel meagerness of the demands. settlements as having "opened a Pandora's box."

President Wilson of the General Motors Co. has proposed that the government take over this problem. His idea, of course, is also to increase the payroll contributions of the workers to finance the proposition. There is this will be the line of the capitalist class in, order to get out from under.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES

The question that faces the vorkers is who is going to carry the burden of financing the pension payments whether they are receive part of this income with- in their present form or eventually are taken over entirely or nearly so by the federal government.

Join Rights Struggle, Dunne **Urges Workers in Bay Area**

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 8 - Vincent R. Dunne, veteran leader of the Socialist Workers Party, has just completed a series of meetings in the Bay Area on the burning

national tour for the SWP, this this country. pioneer Trotskyist is playing a powerful role in broadening the fight to maintain the civil and democratic rights of the American

Dunne analyzed the causes of the growing witch-hunt and redbaiting drive. "In the first World they utilize it to conduct raids on ed. While these measures will War," he pointed out, "workers enlisted with enthusiasm. A young dividing the whole labor move-cost upon the employers, who man could not walk down the street without being stopped by the patriotic women who demanded to see his draft card. Things were different in the second war. The man who could delay his induction was considered a 'smart guy,' and before the echoes of the atomic bomb had died away the soldiers were demanding to be sent home. They practically demobilized themselves.

"The Wall Street rulers of this

the same Smith Act and we call lackeys of imperialism." for their defense. We stand for the civil rights of all, regardless of meetings, Dunne found time to of any difference we may have hold fruitful discussions before with them."

University of California, Dunne The benefit of his rich experience, gave full credit to those pro- gained in over 40 years of socialfessors and students who opposed ist and labor activity, provided the "loyalty" oath now being im- the comrades with inspiration to posed by the University ad- step up their work in the fight ministration. He showed how the for civil and democratic rights demand for "loyalty" oaths was so necessary to the continued a part of the whole drive to make existence of a vigorous and fightthe very names "Socialism" and ing American working class.

The Militant

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question of civil rights. Now on "Communism" hated words in

The vicious activities by the labor bureaucrats who, on orders of democracy in the unions was contract with the employers. Full | character. credit must be given to the workers who are resisting this raid." GROWING RESISTANCE

the ranks of labor, liberals, in- thereby widening their base. Will Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria; and tellectuals and professional peo- the retired worker retain his Great Britain got Greece. country," he concluded, "learned a ple," Dunne concluded. As ex- membership in the union? This YALTA DEAL ACCEPTED lesson from this. They know they amples, he cited the Harper's question has already arisen in article by Bernard DeVoto en- Detroit. I believe we must take a the Communist Party of Greece War of world conquest without titled "Due Notice to the FBI," position that once a worker has first trying to bring the labor and the case of John Maltoney of retired he cannot retain his union movement and the working class the Seattle Branch of the Sailors membership and have an equal Union of the Pacific. "John In his radio interview on Mahoney got up on the floor and KPFA. Dunne was able to com- asked a question about un'on pare the role of the Trotskyists policy. Lundeberg expelled him temptation to give up conditions plenum of the Greek CP Central in the Minneapolis Trial with that for it. Mahoney organized a deof the Stalinists at Foley Square, fense committee and put out a "In the Minneapolis Trial the paper called The Defender ap-Stalinists urged the government pealing to the union members for on. They demanded that we be support. Lundeberg then expelled given life sentences or even the defense committee. But the hanged. Now these same Stal-fight is continuing. It is fights inist leaders who called for our like this that will turn the tide prosecution are convicted under against the bureaucrats and

In addition to his busy schedule party branches and with mem-Speaking off the campus of the bers on party and union problems.

that their cost be placed on that financed out of profits and not section of the workers that out of wages is a popular one remains in employment. The among the workers and was the sole basis for their solidarity in to agree. At the same time the the steel strike despite the Other questions arise as a result

of the present struggles. We see the workers' organizations approaching this problem in different ways. The miners have an 'ndustry - wide plan. The steel workers are settling with the corporations on a separate basis. This is likely to be done in auto plenty of evidence to indicate that too. In Toledo, however, the auto union is attempting to get an area-wide plan to include about 125 companies, most of them small ones and many of them not even remotely conencted with the auto industry. There is no uniform program. The position of the union leaders appears to be to get a pension plan in any old way they can.

> Yet all these plans - industrywide, company-wide or area-wide - are worked out in such a way that the eventual cost to the corporations will be passed on to the consumer and the workers will pay for it themselves in the ong run. It seems to me that we can advocate a program to give concrete effect to the workers' desires to see these plans financed out of profits.

WHAT WE SHOULD PROPOSF Our program should call for an increase in the present payments by the federal government to be financed entirely out of increased payments by employers only. No increase in payroll deductions We should advocate increased from the State Department, are coverage so that all workers betrying to stamp out every vestige come eligible for pensions upon reaching retirement age. Similar In his San Francisco meeting fully analyzed by Dunne in his proposals should be made for a meeting in Oakland. "Instead of health program. Union control fighting the Taft - Hartley Act, of the program should be demandother unions, thus weakening and not necessarily place the entire ment. Here in Oakland we see a will still be able to pass it on, typical example of that. Dave the struggle to defray the expense Beck has moved in on a strike out of profits rather than wages of the retail clerks and signed a will have a highly progressive

> those recently negotiated in steel perialism. and at Ford's bring up other "This drive against civil and questions. The unions are now democratic rights is bound to responsible for maintaining the divided the Balkans into spheres standards of the retired workers. voice with those workers still in highest aim was a few cabinet the plant in making of policy. posts. The adoption of this policy in the shop in favor of concessions to the retired workers.

UNION OBJECTIONS

A prominent AFL official in Toledo told me recently that his union does not look favorably upon the present pension demands because (1) They tend to tie the workers to their jobs; (2) the older worker will not fight to defend job conditions when he nows he only has a comparatively short time to retirement. I have heard similar objections from other AFL people. However, all of these are turning to the idea of demanding higher federal payments as a solution to the

Finally, I think if we take positive position on the questions of pensions and health programs resistance movement against the back the British and their Greek along the above lines, we can bring some clarity into the the Stalinist-led EAM. The workpresent confusion. (I omitted to ers, peasants and impoverished mention above a reduction of the middle classes deserted the capietirement age, which we should talist political parties en masse. also advocate.)

Schedule of Dunne's Tour on Civil Rights

Chicago - Dec. 18-25 Toledo - Dec. 27. Detroit - Dec. 28-31. Fl'nt - Dec. 29-30. Detroit - Dec. 31-Jan. 2. Cleveland - Jan. 3-4. Akron - Jan. 5. Youngstown - Jan. 6-7. Pittsburgh - Jan. 8. Morgantown - Jan. 9. Buffalo - Jan. 12. Rochester - Jan. 13. Buffalo - Jan. 14. Boston - Jan. 15-16. Lynn - Jan. 17. Worcester - Jan. 18. New Britain - Jan. 19. New Haven - Jan. 20. New York - Jan. 21. Philadelphia - Jan. 22-23. Allentown - Jan. 24. Reading - Jan. 25. New York - Jan. 26. Newark - Jan. 27.

"Militant" Display in Minneapolis Headquarters



When the Minneapolis Branch of the Socialist Workers Party organizes a campaign, the comrades set out to do it right. The picture shows the large bulletin board in the Minneapolis headquarters at 10 South 4th Street decorated during the recently concluded national subscription drive for The Militant. The campaign was a success. Minneapolis scoring 227% of its quota and together with the live-wire St. Paul branch accounting for 264 points, the highest in the country.

The Perfidious Record

and the small Greek people . . .

another. The great exploited

masses of our country have noth-

ing to expect of the Anglo-Ameri-

cans. Nothing except new calami-

The Stalinist answer to the

sober warnings of the Trotskyists

was a merciless campaign of ex-

termination. Hundreds of Trot-

skyists were murdered by GPU-

Even with the open attack of

the British army on the EAM

in their hands save for three

square miles in central Athens.

Then the Stalinist leadership,

faithful to their master's secret

agreement at Yalta, disarmed the

Greek people. An agreement was

reached at Varkiza by which the

EAM turned over its arms to the

This was accompanied with

promises of honest elections. The

result is known to all. The period

of "truce" preceding the "honest

election" was a period of white

terror. Executions, murders and

imprisonments of suspected EAM

supporters took place wholesale.

of the "free" election for which

they had disarmed the masses;

the reactionaries rode into office.

THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENT

The guerrilla movement which

started up after this terrible

defeat of the working class was

a defensive rather than offensive

movement. EAM supporters fled

to the hills to escape assassina-

tion. The Stalinists, abandoning

the workers' movement in the

great cities, oriented themselves

on these guerrilla bands and

formed them into the Democratic

Liberation Army headed by Gen-

The Stalinists declared a boycott

ties and new chains."

led bands.

the United States."

Even before the Nazi

Greek" radio announced that the set foot in Greece" had it not been Greece. 'Liberation Army" had laid down for the compliance of the EAM. its arms. This was the culminating sellout of Stalinism in Greece. ccupation the Stalinists have had complete control of the Greek mass movement and they have led it to complete and ignominious was stronger but because Stalin's plans never included victory for the exploited masses of Greece. The socialist aspirations and boundless heroism of the Greek workers and peasants were so much small change to Stalin to be used in his diplomatic poker Pension agreements such as game with Anglo-American im-

It is now known that at Yalta, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill of influence. The Kremlin got

dutifully accepted the assignment of that unhappy country to the British sphere of influence. Their was indicated at the July 1945 Committee. Its secretary, Zachariades, said, "We are on one of the most important and sensitive strategic points, on one of the most vital arteries of communication of the British Empire. As long as the British Empire exists this artery must exist and England will do everything in its power to hold it. The liberation movement has engaged from the very beginning in sincere efforts aimed at agreement and collaboration with England and to aid her in overcoming the great difficulties, the crisis which she 's encountering in the Mediterranean.

This supplies the key to Stalinist strategy through all the the situation was far from lost. phases of the fighting in Greece. The masses were so aroused that During the war a powerful with a mighty surge they drove Nazi occupiers grew up around puppets until all of Greece was Instead of developing this great mass movement the Stalinist leadership encouraged nationalism, spread illusions about the Atlantic Charter and the desirability of a "popular and socialist' regime in coalition with the

discredited capitalist parties. When the German army withdrew, the whole country was in the hands of the EAM. As Leland Stowe and other correspondents testified, the EAM could easily have taken power. And British

LEON TROTSKY FASCISM - What it is -How to Fight It. 48 pages, price 15c. A compilation of articles by Leon Trotsky on fascism, in-

1. The Tragedy of the German Proletariat 2. The Collapse of Bour-

geois Democracy 3. The Perspective Ahead in the United States. Order from PIONEER PUBLISHERS

officers admitted the British army eral Markos. This movement soon On October 16 the "Free would "never have been able to declared itself the government of

For Stalin, however, this "Free Greece" government and the Even after the British commanders had shown their open guerrilla army were simply an-Since the days of the Nazi intention to smash the popular other pawn in his diplomatic game. When Tito broke with the movement and install reactionaries and former quislings in Kremlin, the leadership of the power, Rizospastis, official Greek guerrilla army was ruthlessly Stalinist paper, continued lulling purged. General Markos, disapfailure. Not because the enemy the masses with phrases about peared, as did many members "our great British allies," "the of the top committees. The army historic Atlantic Charter," and ranks were decimated. Teheran and Yalta. When un-Stalin's plans now were to armed Greeks including women liquidate the struggle of the and children had been shot down Greek Liberation army against

in the streets and when British Athens and, perhaps, deploy these battleships were shelling the forces against Yugoslavia. Diploworkers districts of Piraeus and Athens, Rizospastis wrote on Dec. matic trial balloons were sent up from Moscow hinting that the civil war in Greece could be 7, 1944: "It has happened . . . this astonishing fact, this un- ended - for a price. It was done believable fact, that an un- gratis. The Stalinist press throughout declared, but actual, war exists

between the great British Empire the world is now blaming Yugoslavia for the inglorious liquidaat our side, however, we have tion of the Free Greek army. This that great Anglo - Saxon nation, lie is undoubtedly being spread through the ranks of the former ith- Greek partisans in the hope that drawal, the Greek Marxists were warning the EAM what the kindle their hatred against Tito. Allied landing would bring. Here The unfortunate members of this s what The Proletarian, Greek army, betrayed by Stalin, are on Trotskyist paper, said in its Jan. the way to becoming his mercenaries. They cannot return to 1943 issue: "The Anglo-Ameri-Greece where monarchist firing cans will come not to liberate us, squads await them. They are in they will come to aid their ally, exile in the Cominform countries the Greek bourgeoisie, to regain where refusal to follow Stalinist power, to put us back again under orders also means the firing King] George of Glucksburg. squad. When they arrive they will replace our present yoke with

TWIN CITIES, ST. LOUIS JOIN LIST OF 100% ERS IN SWP FUND CAMPAIGN

By Reba Aubrey Fund Campaign Manager

Flint Branch still holds top place with 102% of its quota in the Socialist Workers Party campaign for a \$12,000 Party Building Fund. When the Flint comrades rang the gong, they challenged one and all to try to meet that mark. St. Paul-Minneapolis. and St. Louis moved right in, fulfilled their quota 100%, and now share the spotlight with

In addition to these top-bracket scorers, 16 other branches upped their percentages this week, raising the national total to \$8,-493 as of Dec. 13, which is 71% of the national quota.

The race is getting hot among Toledo, Cleveland, the Bay Area and New Haven. Toledo is ahead of schedule with 87%; but New Haven only needs to reach way down deep in the old sock for that five spot needed to put them

Boston and Philadelphia both came through this week with payrob Santa Claus and take the lead her request. in the home stretch? A special delivery from Buffalo

and a well-timed payment from of The Militant and my ex-Seattle pushed these branches up to 75% and another tie.

Chicago, running in a heavy Marvel, "which begins to make our goal appear realizable."

social will be, of course, "It is carry on."

Detroit Branch boosted its per-

entage considerably with \$126. Last week Los Angeles sounded the alarm. They were uncomfortably far behind schedule. This week a \$200 payment came from the Los Angeles Local. The alarm bell is starting to get results!

Another weekly check from Youngstown - this one for \$45. The Youngstown comrades, hard hit by the strike, are doing their best to get their quota filled IN FULL AND ON TIME.

Contributions from friends of the party increased the "General" quota to 75%. During the week W.B.C. of New York sent in \$2; Mrs. K.W., Minneapolis, donated \$1; W.L.M., Michigan, \$1, in addition to renewing his Militant subscription; C.G., Detroit, \$1.70; J.R., Canada, contributed \$.37, saying: "Sorry it isn't more but this is all the American money we had;" C.H., Oregon, \$10.

An anonymous contribution came from San Mateo, Calif., with a request that it be credited to ments that boosted their totals San Francisco - Oakland. Boston to 78% and a tie between the two Branch has likewise been credited branches. Which one is going to with \$5 sent in by Mrs. D.T.H., at

H.A. of Chicago sent in \$1.30, commenting: "Yes, as a reader perience of life's struggle, I know that if it were not for the courage of people like the Socialfield, shook off some of the mud ist Workers Party, we all would this week and forged ahead with live in the dark ages. Therefore, a \$17 payment. "This brings our I appreciate very much, your total up to \$287," writes Comrade courage and patience to fight and

educate the workers midst all the bureaucratic leaders in the AFL Comrade Carl reports that and CIO and the capitalistic Pittsburgh will "have a social to propaganda on the radio and in raise the balance before Dec. 31." the press. But the facts of our Another \$44 is needed. Coming at bitter struggle prove we are Christmas time, the motto of the right and give us courage to

Branch ,	Quota	Paid	Percer
Flint	\$ 200	\$ 204	102
St. Louis	75	75	100
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	900	100
Toledo	75	66	87
Cleveland	250	207	83
San Francisco-Oakland	800	666	83
New Haven	25	20	80
Boston	200	155	. 78
Philadelphia	600	467	78
Buffalo	500	376	75
Seattle	200	150	75
New York	3,000	2,176	73
Chicago	400	287	72
Pittsburgh	150	106	71
New Britain	30	21	70
Morgantown,	25	17	68
Detroit	1,100	732	67
Akron	100	65	65
Newark	350	189	54
Los Angeles	. 1,500	775	52
Allentown	50	25	50
Milwaukee	250	119	48
Worcester	40	19	48
Lynn	75	26	35
Youngstown /	400	121	30
General	705	529	75
TOTAL through Dec. 13	\$12,000	\$8,493	71
	4 100		

Purge of Soviet Culture

Fourth International, monthly theoretical magazine of Amer-ican Trotsky sm:

1. The Purge of Soviet Culture. Who flew the first plane, the Wright brothers or Alexander Mojaisky of Czarist Russia? Who invented the telephone, Alexander Graham Bell or Gregory Ignatev of Czarist Russia? Is it necessary to revise the encyclopedias from end to end? Why is the Kremlin making such ludicrous claims to Russian priority, in human culture? Why is the Kremlin glorifying the barbarous regimes of the Russian Czars? Why are they now rewriting the history of backward, benighted, autocratic Russia of the feudalistic Czars after re-writing the history of

the October 1917 revolution? Read the answers in this informative article. Ernest Germain, prominent European Trotskyist, probes the political motives for the witch-hunt in the USSR since the end of World War II against musicians, poets, artists, writers and scientists and contrasts Stalin's attitude toward the intellectuals with that of Lenin and Trotsky.

2. Mao Tse-tung's "Revolution." A report from Hong Kong by Hsieh Yueh, one of the Trotskyist leaders of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Chinese section of the Fourth International. Facts about Stalinist policies disscussed and evaluated in the light of Marxism.



tortions. As in the USSR, so in America the Stalinists distort and falsify the record of the past. J. Meyer shows how race prejudice and Stalinist politics guide the hand of Aptheker in his presentation of the role the Negro people played in winning their emancipation from slavery. The true story of their struggle is quite different from the Stalinist version, as Meyer proves in the most convincing way. If you are an active participant in the struggle for full equality, put this article on your must list.

4. Bureaucracy and Stalinism in the CIO. The editors draw the balance sheet on the role of Stalinism in the CIO and point out how the agents of the Kremlin paved the way for the triumph of the Murray bureaucracy.

5. Money Utopias of the "Welfare State." Will the money theory of John Maynard Keynes work? John G. Wright gives them the Marxist test. Keynes did not originate them, he shows; but picked them up from Proudhon without acknowledging Proudhon's priority. Wright then demonstrates why Proudhon's nostrums won't work any better when formulated by the modern economic astrologer of capitalism . than they did a century ago.

6. Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads. Leon Trotsky's answer to ultra-left objections to fighting for an independent Soviet Ukraine sheds considerable light on the present - day relationship between the Great-Russian Soviet bureaucracy and the countries of Eastern Europe. Trotsky explains why peoples dominated by Moscow seek their independence and why it is the duty of Marxists to help them in their struggle. This rare article, written on the eve of World War II. makes timely reading today.

4th INTERNATIONAL 116 University Place New York 3, N. Y. Send me a copy of the December Fourth Interna-

tional. Enclosed is 25 cents. City State.....Zone...

bscriptions: \$2 per year; \$3.50 per yr; \$2 for 6 mos. matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York. N. Y., under the act of Mar

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talist regimes.

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ers behind the military alliance of Wall

Street and the Western European capi-

In 1944, the international politics of

the Allied powers required the pro-impe-

rialist and pro-Stalinist union chiefs to

collaborate. Most of the unions in the

new ICFTU, including the CIO, compli-

antly formed the WFTU with the Stalin-

ists. Today the international politics of

the imperialist countries requires a cold

war against the Soviet Union. So the pro-

imperialist union leaders obligingly find

that the Stalinist-dominated unions are

not free and that a new anti-"communist"

of the workers come in? If these were

the prime concern of the union leaders

everywhere, then the international uni-

fication of organized labor would have

been accomplished long ago. But the AFL

and CIO leaders have failed to join forces

in their own country to fight for the com-

mon needs of the American workers. Is

it believable that they have combined on

the international field for no other pur-

pose than to defend the workers of the

whole world? No, the only thing that

brought the AFL and CIO officials to-

gether in London was their common sub-

mission to Washington's foreign policy

and dictates. The correct name for the

Where do the needs and the interests

international is needed.



"Technical science liberated man from the tyranny of the old elements - earth, water, fire and air - only to subject him to its own tyranny. Man ceased to be a slave to nature, to become a slave to the machine, and still worse, a slave to supply and demand. The present world crisis testifies in especially tragic fashion how man, who dives to the bottom of the ocean, who rises up to the stratosphere, who converses on invisible waves with the Antipodes, how this proud and daring ruler of nature remains a slave to the blind forces of his own economy. The historical task of our epoch consists in replacing the uncontrolled play of the market by reasonable planning, in disciplining the forces of production, compelling them to work together in harmony and obediently serve the Needs of mankind." -Leon Trotsky-Copenhagen Speech, '32.



LENIN

Labor Unity--Imperialist Style

The 260 hand-picked union bureaucrats at the so-called Free World Labor Conference last week concluded their London sessions by forming the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions around the resounding slogans of "Bread" and "Freedom" and "Peace." These indeed are the aspirations of the 48,000,-000 workers the new ICFTU claims to represent. But slogans are all they will get from the ICFTU.

This international confederation is a conglomeration, so far as the avowed individual programs of the different national organizations are concerned. The American union officials are blatantly pro-capitalist (AFL and CIO); most of the British and French claim to be "socialists" (Trade Union Congress and Workers Force); even pro-clericalists of the Roman Catholic Church (Belgian Christian Union) have joined up. What is the tie that binds them?

They are all pro-imperialist. They are all anti-"communist." They are all supporters of their respective capitalist governments. Not a single delegate to this conference of "Free Trade Unions" was a free agent.

The chief inspirer and sponsor of this conference was Wall Street's State Department. The single objective of the new organization is to combat and split the Stalinist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions and to line up the work-

ICFTU is the International Confederation of Labor Lieutenants of Imperialism.

The Elections in After a reign of 14 years the Australian Laborites have been turned out of office by a coalition of avowed capitalist parties, the Liberals and the Country Party. There are so few countries in the world today where capitalists are able to rule in their own name that this shift to the right in Australia and previously in New Zealand has provided a source of unbounded gratification to capitalists reaction everywhere. The editors of the N. Y. Times deliriously hail the Australian results as "an event of major world

importance." The program of the Australian Laborites was not a Socialist program at all but simply one of mild capitalist reforms, milder even than in Britain. Their conservative capitalist opponents were able to offer the voters virtually the same program, pledging to retain all the "social services" and promising to do everything the Laborites have done but much more "efficiently" and "cheaper."

This demagogy plus the fact that a sufficient number of people had become demoralized or disgusted with the 14-year rule of the Laborites sufficed to swing the parliamentary scales in favor of the conservatives.

The Australian episode underscores once again the role played by reformist

Australia politicians. When it becomes impossible for the capitalists to rule in their own name, the reformists step in and carry out policies that the mass of the people never would have accepted at the time from capitalist politicians.

They never go beyond a few minor reforms including "nationalizations" of branches of industry which the capitalprofitably. They run the country for the benefit of the capitalists; they repress the struggle of the workers, up to and including breaking strikes as they recently did in the strike of the Australian coal miners. Meanwhile the capitalists use the breathing spell to reorganize their forces and to blame "socialism" for the continued evils of their own system.

Reformist policies solve nothing precisely because they never go beyond the framework of capitalist relations. And for this same reason they invariably play into the hands of capitalist politicians, paving the way for their return to power. The Australian reactionaries owe their current triumph exclusively to the Laborites; and they have repaid them for all their past services in the traditional capitalist way, namely, by booting them out of office.

The November subscription campaign conducted by the branches of the Socialist Workers Party for The Militant was a full success. To our hundreds of new readers, we extend a cordial welcome.

Many of you found it difficult to subscribe. When you're unemployed even a fifty-cent piece looks mighty big. But we think you will find The Militant the best investment you ever made.

Our aim is to make America a land of plenty. This can be done by ousting the big bankers, the profiteers and their political hatchet men. American industry can then be run at top capacity and expanded to pour out a flood of goods enough for everybody to live a life of ease and comfort. A change-over like that from capitalism to socialism will end the danger of another world war too, because socialism operates for peace, not war. In a Socialist America we can root out the evil prejudices that make life miserable for minority groups. End fear of poverty and insecurity - and jealousy, envy and hatred will wither away. All this and much more can be accomplished if we

make America socialist. The Militant aims to help accomplish this. Our big job at present is to spread the truth about capitalism and its defenders, to show how practical socialism is and to help the working people get organized to make the change-over. You can rely on The Militant for the truth because there are no powerful financial interests behind us to order us to cover up the crimes of capitalism. We depend on the nickels, dimes and dollars of people like you to keep going.

Some of you may find it hard to understand everything in every article at first. Because we don't have much space, facts and ideas are often condensed. Besides, we don't look at things the same way the capitalist newspapers do. But it will not take you long to grasp the Marxist outlook. Big happenings that used to puzzle you will become crystal clear. A new way of life can open up for you, filled with rich understanding of our times and the possibility of making your own weight felt in deciding the great issues

When you have read a few issues and become better acquainted with The Militant, let us know your impression. Letters from readers are published in a column called the "Workers Forum." We shall be glad to hear from you.

facing the world.

Why Stalin Bestowed A Marshal on Poland By Pierre Frank The Poles clamored desperately It was the era of the grand picture of the Stalinist heresyfriendship with Roosevelt and hunt is clearest of all in Bulgaria.

for a Marshal who could give them an army capable of guardship between the Polish and the than ever: Delegations are pour been appointed Poland's Minister Socialism marching from of Defense.

Actually this measure was not at all designed to provide the Polish army with competent instruction in the art of war; such services are rendered as a rule without any loud publicity and without such counsellors entering

he government. The measure itself is so extrahesitated to take it, if he had a the Soviet Union" in the evolution of the "buffer" zone since 1945. A brief survey will make this clear enough.

THE POLICY IN 1945

At the time of the "liberation" the Kremlin, in order not to remnants of the native ruling classes and ordered the Com- of exploitation and spoliation. munist parties to collaborate with them. The Yugoslavs were told: There must, above all, be no revolutionary struggle for power. In Rumania King Michael was kept on the throne and even decorated with the Order of Lenin. In Bulgaria an agreement was reached with the pro-fascist officers' organization. In Poland a government was formed not alone with Mikolajczyk, Washington's tool, but also with the Semites in prewar Poland).

(Cont. from page 1)

Washington is demanding the

solution of European problems

Thus, while the U.S. urges the

Marshall Plan countries to lower

their trade barriers "even if,

temporarily, it hurts protected

domestic interests," the U. S. De-

partment of Agriculture, "despite

solemn international agreements,

says no butter can be imported so

long as butter is 'surplus' at home.

European economists and busi-

ness men are not so naive as to

believe that all' Americans eat

And "there are too many in-

all the butter they want."

solved 'itself."

Churchill. But the imperialists wished to have fallen by the wayside, ining the Oder - Neisse frontier regain their toehold in these cluding Koniov, a Soviet Marshal against the revenge - seeking countries and the Kremlin could of Bulgarian origin and according Western Germans; with his habi- not permit economic sectors of to Yugoslav reports (which have tual generosity, Stalin the Great these countries to serve as props generally proved accurate) the has made the Poles a gift of one for the property-owning classes power in this country has acof his Marshals and the friend- oriented toward the U. S. There tuelly been wielded for many ensued an era of purges. King Russian peoples is now greater Michael had to leave Rumania; the politicians of capitalist and ing into the Soviet Embassy at Social Democratic parties had to Warsaw to express the gratitude keep their mouths shut or be of the Polish people! Such is the eliminated. After the destruction Stalinist explanation of why of the capitalists and the land-that of President of the Republic Soviet Marshal Rokossovsky has lords, it was only a question of victory to the next.

EXTRAORDINARY EVENTS

And then the most extraordinary things began to happen. At a time when "Socialism" was recording one triumph after another, it was discovered that Yugoslavia was dominated by a clique of "spies" and that pro- Stalin found himself obliged to ordinary that Stalin would have minent CP leaders in the "buffer" zone - Kostov of the Bulgarian choice. Why then is he obliged to Politbureau; Gomulka, secretary SENT TO RULE impose upon Poland, which in of the Polish CP; Rajk, secreprewar days has known the rule tary of the Hungarian CP; Xoxe, of colonels, the regime of a secretary of the Albanian CP; Marshal? The explanation is to Patrascanu, secretary of the parently doesn't speak Polish and be found in "the leading role of Rumanian CP - were likewise "agents of imperialism," "spies"

and the like. It is superfluous to ask why, when occupying such high posts, they were utterly unable to carry out any of their sinister plots and why these maladroit criminals now admit everything before the alienate its imperialist Allies and "Pcople's Courts," Everybody in order to extort the maximum knows that these trials are inbooty from these countries, reach- tended to terrorize all those who least of all the Poles - all of ed an agreement with the try to resist in any way whatever the Kremlin-dictated policy The Moscow bureaucracy is not interested in Socialism but in its

Eastern European countries. NO ONE TO TRUST

to apply the Kremlin's policy Stalin can appoint as many must fall subject to mass pressure Marshals as he wishes to mainmembers of the "National Demo- and even the worst of bureau- tain "law and order" in Warsaw cratic Party" (the worst anti- crats finds it difficult not to try and elsewhere. But the hour of to conciliate the masses. The his successes has passed.

The Marshall Plan billions,

point, the United States has not which restore to a certain extent see in the Marshall Plan only a

means for compelling these coun-

plus" goods. Western Europe has

become a forced market where

the underpaid workers in this

NO CAPITALIST SOLUTION

And this is what makes all talk

tries to buy up America's "sur-

eign labor or any one of a dozen | social order. American imperial-

American capitalism can dump again being prepared as cannon

products that it cannot sell to fodder through a program of

country. But to buy, Europe must of the coin of the Marshall Plan.

sell - and it cannot sell to the And they see Europe, in the end,

United States. This is the permanently tied with economic

colossus.

Here more than a dozen Ministers weeks by Soviet Marshal Bul-

As a consequence of the purge there is a dearth of personnel, For the last 15 months in Poland Bierut has been filling two posts, and that of Secretary of the Workers Party. Thus in a country with a population as large as that of France, Stalin has not been able to find two men trustworthy enough to fill each of these functions since the day when Gomulka was eliminated and the crisis was precipitated. The situation has deteriorated to such an extent in 15 months that send in a ranking Soviet officer.

Hastily naturalized as a Polish citizen, this Marshal who apwho has, in any case, gained the dubious glory of halting the advance of Soviet troops before Warsaw and giving Hitler time enough to crush the Warsaw commune - this Marshal will be nothing more than a simple Gauleiter. It is not to set the Polish army in order but to rule Poland that Stalin has assigned Rokossovsky to Warsaw. No one, them, if they had the opportunity to express themselves freely would have asked for this goldlaced "son of Poland."

This odious measure of the own privileges and in order to Kremlin bureaucracy is not a sign reinforce these privileges it is of strength, but just the conconcerned only with draining the trary. The revolt of the Yugoslavs is a signal for the workers and peasants throughout Eastern Europe. Military victories gave It is therefore not possible to the Stalin regime a breathing see the end of purges: Whoever spell. Now-the signs of the crisis finds himself in power and seeks of Stalinism are multiplying.

ism with all its billions cannot

ready brought two World Wars,

economic depression or ruinous

inflation, and intolerable re-

pressions. They see themselves

militarism that is the other side

fetters to the great Wall Street

The nations of Europe can

thrive once more only on the

foundations of socialism. Their

national boundaries which throttle

economic revival can be broken

down, their productivity can be

permanently raised only if the

workers take power and estab-

lish a Socialist United States of

Freed of capitalist restraints.

distribute goods without limita-

fuse for new explosions.

WALLACE SPEECH SHOWS WHY HIS PARTY FAILED

By George Breitman

Many militant workers and youth who supported the Progressive Party in preference to the Socialist Workers Party last year did so on the ground that, whatever shortcomings the Progressive Party program suffered from, at least it was a "mass movement" and therefore able to decisively affect the course of political events and perhaps even elect its candidates.

But the Wallace movement's influence declined sharply between the time it was organized and election day in 1948 and, as every member knows, it has declined even more disastrously in the year since then. It is time for serious members of the Progressive Party and the Young Progressives of America to discard illusions about the mass character of their movement and to study the reasons for its debacle — that is, to critically re-examine its program, ideology and philosophy.

Why the Wallace Movement Failed

The basic reasons for the failure of the Wallace movement were pointed out long ago by the Trotskyists. There is need and room and a successful future in this country for a third party that is based on the union movement and embraces the mass organizations of poor farmers, Negroes, youth, etc. — in other words, an independent Labor Party. But the Progressive Party is not, was not and did not want to be that kind of organization. Instead, it deliberately sought to be and was a third capitalist party, created in isolation from the organized labor movement and dedicated to a program which called for the reforming (that is, preserving) of capitalism and was hardly distinguishable from the demagogy of the Truman

The leaders of the Wallace movement owed their followers an explanation for the debacle, but all they ever gave - the non-Stalinsts as well as the Stalinists — was cheap and worthless boasts about the "victory" they had won in compelling Truman to adopt more radical-sounding promises. To this day Wallace himself continues to express all of the false ideas that guaranteed the bankruptcy of his movement. A typical example was the speech he delivered on 'The True Meaning of Religion in the Modern World" at the Comnunity Church Forum in New York on Dec. 4.

Wallace contends that the trouble today is that "a false religious attitude grips the hearts of millions of our people." He says that there is no basis for economic or political understanding until there s more of an understanding in the religious field." He calls for an 'old-fashioned, common-sense American religion" which will concern tself not only with the lot of mankind on earth but will also reach out "toward the unknowable and inexpressible." Here we intend to examine only the political aspects of his speech (although it would be profitable for Progressives and YPA members who regard themselves as materialists to consider the implications of his views on religion and to ask themselves whose interests they serve).

Sees "Great Possibilities" in Capitalism

Capitalism is the root cause of the social, political and economic evils which Wallace deplores, but over and over again he makes the point that he is not opposed to capitalism. "Each of the three [communism, Catholicism and capitalism has its good points and no true, well-informed American would want to see any of the three eliminated from the world picture," he says, adapting himself, perhaps unconsciously, to the charge of the witch-hunters that there s something un-American about desiring the abolition of capitalism.

Continuing on this theme, he says: "I have faith in the possibility of capitalism and Christianity serving the common man in the United States and the world better and better." Furthermore: "In the United States, capitalism still has great possibilities for human service provided only that it will plan with government to eliminate imports a threat to the American restore it; it can only light the the alternating cycles of boom and bust and provided it will underpin the economic structure with wage policies which will continually The peoples of Europe correctly enlarge the market and prevent depression."

That is like saying a man-eating tiger would make a nice bet the productive capacities of the measure to reestablish the old "provided only" that it will change its ways and stop being a manean countries, are also a reactionary order that has alits diet but the concept of capitalism without boom and bust truly belongs in the realm of "the unknowable and inexpressible.")

But Wallace is not talking with tongue in cheek; he really befieves that capitalism will reform itself. For as he says in his peroration: "We in the U. S. will continue with our capitalism but we shall gradually modify it to make it serve the welfare state."

Fayors "Welfare State" Too

On the fundamental issue, therefore, Wallace takes the same stand as Truman. And it should be noted that although Wallace's speeches contain more radical phraseology about the evils of capitalism than Truman's, Wallace does not hesitate to borrow from Truman such catchwords as "the welfare state" any more than Truman hesitated to borrow popular slogans from Wallace in the 1948 cam-

Of course Wallace is critical of "the welfare state as proclaimed in Washington" because it depends on appropriations obtained by intensification of the cold war. What Wallace wants, he says, is a "genuine welfare state," which "must be administered through the United Nations" and "can be ushered in for the world only when capitalism in the United States is modified. Communism in Russia is modified and Christianity abandons its medievalism," etc. But federation of socialist countries the difference between "a welfare state" and "a genuine welfare in Europe could plan production state" is so narrow that it is no wonder the Wallace movement conand distribution on a continental tinues to dwindle in numbers and influence until even its staunchest scale. They could organize pro- advocates today are beginning to recognize that it has no independduction on the basis of need and ent function or future.

[Another article in next week's Militant will discuss other aspects of Wallace's program, including his views on Marxism and on the class nature of the party he is trying to build.]

"TREASON" TRIAL IN SOFIA BACKFIRES ON THE KREMLIN

article. They correctly argue that other things supposed to make

way of life."

paradox."

dustries like the Swiss watch in- of "integrating" European eco-

dustry, that know by experience nomy on its present capitalist

that any real increase in exports foundations plain nonsense. Euro-

to the United States results in pean capitalism is utterly shat-

loud howls about low-paid for-tered as a viable economic and

(Continued from Page 1)

one of the Kremlin's deepest gallows. "state secrets." That the opposition to this predatory policy must be widespread is indicated, among other things, by the large number of Bulgarian officials connected with the top economic bodies who figured at the Sofia

Among them were: the former Minister of Finance, the former Vice President of the State Economic and Financial Commission, the former director of Foreign Trade, the former Governor of the National Bank and the former director of the tobacco monopoly (tobacco is one of Bulgaria's chief exports).

Seen in this light, a new and exceptionally important aspect of the Budapest and Sofia "treason" trials comes to the fore. They are designed not only to promote Stalin's attack on Yugoslavia but also to ensure that the satellite countries remain economically onfined within their respective national borders and subjected to ruthless exploitation for the exlusive benefit of the Soviet bureaucracy. Whoever opposes or even doubts this counter-revolu-

If you have not yet sent your contribution to the Socialist Workers Party Building Fund, do

It is becoming clearer with every passing day that the scope tions of frontiers. The strong of the purges in Eastern Europe sectors could aid the weak, and is matched only by the monstrous all together could build a truly blood purges that accompanied integrated economic and social the original Moscow frame - ups in 1936±38. In Czechoslovakia among the

latest to be lopped off are the editor-in-chief of Prague's daily Rude Prave and the deputy Minister of Foreign Trade. A recent attack by Premier Gottwald on the trade union leadership signals a purge among these functionaries The repercussions in Western

Europe continue to increase in intensity. The Norwegian CP has now been split in two. In France the long-rumored purge was officially launched last week by a Central Committee resolution.

> Detroit V. R. DUNNE will speak on

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By George Clarke

You have to go back into the blood-stained annals of despotic governments — from Byzantium to the Romanoff dynasty - to find a parallel for the preparations now being made for Stalin's 70th birthday. Even then it is doubtful that the records will show the staging of so vast and elaborate a spectacle of leader worship, mass humiliation and obeisance before the head of a state.

From Korea in the Orient to the Russian zone in Berlin, the Charlie McCarthys' of the new Russian autocrats have dropped to their knees in an orgy of praise for the master-butcher in the Kremlin: He is being hailed in superlatives hitherto reserved by the priests for supernatural idols, for Jesus, Buddha, Mohamet. It is a measure of the bottomless degradation of Stalinism that it dares append the terms "socialism" and "communism" to this revolting spectacle.

Three million portraits and colored posters of Stalin will soon be plastered throughout the Soviet Union carrying such slogans as "Stalin is the people's happiness," "Stalin brought us up - for the loyalty of the people and inspired us to labor and deeds." The Russian State Musical Publishing House is issuing 45 song collections with titles like "Thanks to Comrade Stalin" and

Needless to say, not one iota of this adulation springs from sentiments of respect or admiration or gratitude. Fear - and fear alone - is the motive that sends this campaign to its piercingly shrill pitch. Heads are rolling in Albania, Hungary, Bulgaria. The frame-up machinery of the GPU is working at top-speed in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Eastern Germany. Fear grips the scientist, the writer, the artist, the composer fettered by the medieval codes of the Kremlin. They must join in the chorus to Stalin, "The Coryphaeus of World Science" - "The theoretician and initiator of the transformation of nature in the USSR." Fear grips the worker in the satellite states groaning under the heel of the Russian overlord. He must join the chant to Stalin, "theoretician and leader of the fight for peace and brotherhood among peoples." There is no abstaining from this birthday party; the punishment is too swift, too ruthless.

In the history of earlier despotisms, the anni-

versaries of the monarchs - birthdays, marriage, birth of an heir - were often the occasion for a show of liberalism and leniency. Sometimes for an amnesty for political prisoners, sometimes for a lightening of the tax tribute to the state, sometimes for a relaxation of harsh government de-

VOLUME XIII

Small Community

indirectly assailed the super-

and actions before his congrega

The school board's original

The Olivet struggle eventually

the Vatican forces against Rev.

publicity to the community. This,

(Continued from page 1)

tivities, indicated on Dec. 6 that

This would be a device to in-

timidate union leaders and pro-

vide grounds for the corporations

to refuse to deal with unions

whose officials are declared "dis-

The precedent has already been

established, even without benefit

of law, for declaring unions "dis-

loyal" and "subversive." The

World), which holds a number

of contracts with employers and

is opposed to all political action

has been arbitrarily put on Tru-

man's "subversive" list. Truman

personally emphasized the distinc-

tion between "loyal" and "dis-

loyal" unions in his message to

the recent convention of the

newly-formed CIO International

Union of Electrical, Radio and

Machine Workers. He designated

In the eyes of the employers,

reactionary capitalist politicians

expelled last month.

loyal" by FBI snoopers.

hysterical red-hunt.

Just the opposite is the case under Stalin today. The whip cracks harder. New production quotas are set for Russian factories. Czech, German, Polish workers are pushed at an ever faster pace. The starving peasant and home-worker in Rumania and Bulgaria toils far into the night to fill boxcars with gifts for the creator of "happiness" and "light" in the Kremlin.

There is no joy over Stalin's birthday in the concentration camps and forced labor battalions farming community refused to of Russia. Not in the factories of Prague where union conditions have been eliminated. Not in the bigotry of the local American uranium mines of Silesia where the life of miners Legion and the hysterical rantis expendable for the Stalinist overseer. Not ings of the capitalist press of among the people of Rumania - men, women and Detroit. children who are forced like feudal serfs to labor on the roads. Not among the survivors of Belsen and Dachau in Eastern Germany who see Hitler's little fuehrers and storm troopers locked in the loving embrace of Stalin's disciples.

Or go beyond the borders among the Greek partisans who were traded like small change in patriotism of legionnaires, silver Stalin's diplomatic maneuvers. Or among the shirts and the Vatican. The Yugoslav masses fighting against the imposition Legion charged that his letter inof a Russian yoke. Or among the workers any- dicated "bigotry and intolerance." where else. Their birthday greetings are written The Rev. Kauffman, who is also in curses, in anger, in hate. The synthetic cam- pastor of the Vernon Congregapaign of love and gratitude organized by the tional Church, defended his ideas Kremlin cannot blot them out.

Lenin's last words - Remove Stalin! - are now the secret program of millions. When that program is realized, when the Kremlin gang is overthrown by its million-headed proletarian and revolutionary opponents, when Soviet democracy is restored — then and only then will there be a genuine celebration. Stalin himself will occupy the stage of that celebration as he stands before the bar of working class justice to answer for his innumerable bloody crimes against the working people of Russia and of the whole world. That will really be the occasion for a party.

The Water Shortage

By Joseph Hansen

You can't turn on the radio in New York the past few weeks without hearing about water. The reservoirs are drying up and there's no relief in

The capitalist system is really going to hell in a jet plane when it reaches the point it can't even guarantee you a drink of water in the largest and richest city in the world.

However, the capitalist politicians have swung into action. You get singing commercials about stopping that bathroom drip. Newsreels show you how to wash dishes in a pan instead of under a running faucet. Take a shower instead of a bath and watch that tap when you clean your razor.

The city officials are considering installing meters and instituting water "vacations." The pressure will be cut down. Maybe we'll be rationed.

Finally, the clergy are out in full force invoking the aid of Heaven and mobilizing the faithful to

All this will help, I am sure. With practice, New Yorkers long accustomed to taking water for granted will be surprised at what they can

In Nevada I have seen a 210-pound hard-rock miner brush his teeth, shave, wash his face and keep a geranium thriving in the bunkhouse win-

dow on a cup of water a day. In Mexico in outlying districts, the water comes on about 7 A.M. and lasts until 8, if the supply is up. You fill a bucket for drinking, the pots

and pans for cooking and the bath tub for flushing purposes. Mayor O'Dwyer could profitably investigate the efficiency of water systems at these backward

levels of capitalism and maybe surprise even the

hardened Manhattan sophisticates with something As to the New York clergy, I recommend they study Mormon methods of praying. In San Pete County, Utah, I have seen praying bring on thunder, lightning, a hail storm and a cloudburst

fervent. Praying like that is dynamite. The Zuni Indians, still a few thousand years behind capitalism, have got it down to an even surer thing. They go for weeks on end, winding

within three Sundays after the town really got

everything up so tight that finally the sky doesn' have any choice but to let loose; and then they go slithering on their bellies in the mud, yelling for joy at what prayer can bring about when you get

But when I go back to visit the folks in the dry running mate of Norman Thomas, country, how am I going to explain about New York's crisis? We used to look at New York as the world's model for water systems. There wasn't and resulted in the forced resignaa desert rat in the drought-stricken west wouldn't tions and ouster of Smith and a trade all his finesse at taking a bath with a number of faculty members plus number of those who have sponge in a one-gallon wash basin and all his the disciplining of the student power and skill at bringing on chain lightning leavers. The present revengeful benefits has doubled since last and floods through prayer for the myriad reser-drive of the American Legion and year. voirs, far-reaching aqueducts and incredible water mains of the fabulous New York system.

Now New York is going backward - back even hint as to the initiators of the dispatch, "have risen rapidly this to rain-praying, Indian style!

Luckily, the Dec. 11 New York Times gives an authoritative explanation which I can quote so they won't think I have fallen for red propaganda: school board's original effort to they jumped to 369,000 for the "Today's critical water emergency would have fire Rev. Kauffman, it was stated January-March quarter, 423,000 been avoided if the Delaware Project had been that he had brought unfavorable for April-June and now to 500,ther delays after the war waiting for scarce materials to become available again. The result is reverse itself. This small farming provement in production in many that a great facility which might have gone into operation about 1945 has been delayed until 1956

"The constantly increasing number of New Yorkers will have to get along for another six years or so on a basic water supply which has been far outstripped by the demands upon it."

That's capitalism. It was more important for Big Business to get into the slaughter than to keep the water system of America's mightiest city up to needs.

Face "Loyalty" Purge

And now they're looking ahead to another war! If we don't succeed in getting socialism, the economic system that eliminates wars and gives top the committee would seek a law priority to planning for human needs, we'll see to institute an FBI "loyalty" incapitalist witch-doctors yet, rattling their gourds vestigation of all officers of and finger bones in the ruins of Radio Center to unions whose members are embring on bigger and better storms from the god | ployed on government contracts. of the dollar sign that led them into turning loose

'Nineteen Eighty-Four'

By Paul Schapiro

During the period when capitalism was renewing its vitality through the super-exploitation of its colonies, many novels were written showing the bright and shining world of the future. Today, when capitalism is in its death throes, George Orwell has written a novel portraying a future world which is bleak indeed. (Nineteen Eightyfour, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949, 314 pp., \$3.)

Nineteen Eighty-four is a vision of a society in which a totalitarian regime resembling Stalinism has succeeded in stopping the course of history so that the Inner Party, consisting of about two per cent of the population, may retain its absolute and unlimited power.

Orwell ingeniously describes the mechanism through which the Inner Party imposes its will: the two-way television screens which transmit one's very facial expressions, to say nothing of suspicious words or behavior, to central stations; the complete and continuous re-writing of history through the systematic obliteration of all newspapers and other records which show that the Inner Party has not been at all times omniscient and the substitution of forgeries in the files, making it impossible to prove that any falsification had taken place: the systematic destruction of all of the links which unite individuals, whether they be parents and children, men and women, or men

However, not all of Orwell's ingeniousness can disguise the weakness of the book as an analysis of political trends. To present Stalinism, a transient historical phenomenon - the monstrous degeneration of a workers' state under the exceptional circumstances of its isolation and the pressure of its encirclement by capitalist states - as a precursor of a world-wide system of "oligarchical collectivism," Orwell has to make use of some postulates which it is impossible to grant.

flected towards the enemy, etc., etc.

Nineteen Eighty-four has been hailed as a pene-

He assumes revolutions everywhere in which the workers obediently stay within the limits carefully assigned to them in advance by their prospective new masters; the rise of three militarily impregnable superstates; the tacit agreement of the rulers of these three superstates to wage a continuous but limited and not too damaging war against each other in order that each may have the IUE as a "loyal" union in the excuse for keeping living standards at a low distinction from the United Eleclevel, thus preventing the growth of political trical Workers which the CIO consciousness, and that any resentment be de-

trating analysis of the nature of Stalinism. It is and militarists, a "loyal" union, not this at all. However, if Orwell's lack of un- of course, is one that is docile, derstanding of the inner crises of Stalinism and doesn't fight for its members, of the pressures to which the seemingly all-pow- collaborates with the bosses and erful bureaucracy is subject has prevented him supports the politics of Wall from writing such an analysis, he has succeeded Street and its State Department. in conveying the oppressiveness of the totalitarian They deem "subversive" any union atmosphere and the feeling of hopelessness of the that defends its membership and isolated individual struggling against suffocation doesn't vote "ja" for American in it. And there are moments when the fantasy imperialism's foreign policy and attains a nightmare intensity, as it depicts the war preparations. controlled insanity of a regime which denies the reality of anything it interdicts and exults in its Business are preparing to go in manding corps. The Militant has fight the witch-hunt against the power to establish or deny reality. their conspiracy to undermine reported on the specific plans for unions!

Congressman Becomes Jailbird

THE MILITANT

MONDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1949



In the custody of two deputy marshals, Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R, N.J.) leaves court in Washington, D. C., where he was sentenced to a 6-to-18 month term for padding his payroll and accepting kickbacks from employees. He will spend less time in jail than many of the victims of the House Un-American Committee he headed. His wife immediately announced her candidacy for the Congress seat he resigned, promising she would continue "the same struggle against subversive influences" who had "maligned and persecuted" her husband.

decision to dismiss Mr. Kauff-500,000 JOBLESS GO man by a 3 to 2 vote on Dec. 8 was reversed two days later by the same body with a statement from the board president that he "couldn't prove anything aga nst CII don't lim Worldman and CII don't him [Kauffman] and [I] don't

want to stick my neck out." Two new significant developments have recently taken Credit for this reversal belongs to the citizens of Sunfield who place in the situation among the unemployed. On the report contains voluminous evi- not have occurred except for the refused to be party to an one hand, there has been a rapid increase in the number of workers who have exhausted

Olivet College, when he was a dropped from the official unemto clean out the liberals and faces approximately one million dissident elements in the college and a quarter youth who will be faculty. One of the latter was period.

> the third quarter of this year, the exhausted their unemployment

"The exhaustion figures," states Kauffman supply more than a the Dec. 8 Associated Press purges at Olivet College a year year. In 1948 they were 200,000 to 250,000 each quarter for the At the time of the Sunfield country as a whole. This year The July - September quarter

however, was soon repudiated by the people in forcing the board to was marked by a noticeable imcommunity has set an inspiring with the earlier months. But as show, there was no correspond- training programs.

Workers in Industry

sands of IAM members have been

employed are being dispersed to

low-wage, poorly-organized areas.

This is an obvious move to get

areas on the pretext of military

Thus, IAM officials pointed out,

some 4,000 IAM members at the

Boeing Aircraft plant in Seattle

have already lost their jobs as a

result of a B-47 plane contract

IWW (Industrial Workers of the Boeing, on the condition that the over the workers — all these are

instead of Seattle, where the com-

pany has long been trying to

break the union. The Chance

Vought Aircraft Co., on its own

initiative, recently moved from

Bridgeport, Conn., to Texas be-

cause, as one government official

indicated, the company thinks

labor in Texas "would be easier

All of these developments form

part of the calculated program

for putting the workers under an

iron heel whenever the Wall

Street-Washington gang give the

signal for M-Day - Mobilization

Day - and the unleashing of U.S.

imperialism's open military drive

The plan for the industrial

phase of the mobilization have

been worked out in detail. As the

Scripps - Howard newspapers re-

cently disclosed in several arti-

cles, the scheme provides for mili-

tary supervision of production

life, with corporation executives

to conquer the world.

How far the Big Brass and Big in officers uniforms as the com-

security and necessity.

last week in public charges made areas and has published the names

by the International Association of some of the corporation ex-

away from the better-unionized trol over its workers; the ex-

which the Air Force granted to of plans for wartime dictatorship

work be done in Wichita, Kansas, alarm signals that organized

dictatorship.

mortal peril.

command.

and military control of civilian to cripple the unions through the

The present campaign against unemployment compensations to ing improvement in the existing Rev. Kauffman can be traced to which they are legally entitled unemployment situation. The acthe upheaval last year at nearby and who are therefore being tual number of jobless who have been thrown on relief unquestionmember of its board of trustees. ployment rolls. On the other ably exceeds the official number He resigned that post at the time hand, there is the increasing of half a million because in many in protest against the campaign prospect of joblessness which instances not individuals but entire families are involved.

California and Massachusetts leaving schools and colleges and lead the states where this situa-Tucker P. Smith, vice-presidential seeking employment in the next tion among the unemployed prevails. Among the other states The Labor Department's Bureau are: Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, of Employment Security released | West Virginia, Virginia, Maryfigures last week showing that by land and the New England states generally.

Alongside this growing army of pauperized unemployed workers; there is now beginning to take shape another army of jobless youth, reminiscent of those in the Thirties who sought but never found employment.

Especially hard hit will be "inexperienced college graduates." 9, indicates that "the postwar boom has busted in jobs for inexperienced graduates." Among the graduates next June who will face this "busted" prospect for branches of industry as compared jobs are several hundred thou- berg sent his sailors through the sand former GI's who will have example for the rest of the the above "exhaustion figures" completed their educational and

will hold under the planned war

The move of the Wright Cor-

poration to exercise political con-

tension of the War Department's

preparation of new laws to put

dispersal of plants to open shop,

low-wage areas; the elaboration

labor can ignore only at its

STOP ALL WITCH-HUNTS!

Each and every one of the anti-

labor moves which the capitalist-

militarist conspirators are mak-

ing today in preparation for their

must be combatted now by the

whole labor movement with all

the vigor and militancy it can

But the prerequisite for any

serious and effective fight against

the totalitarian offensive of

of "loyalty" purges and political

blacklisting inside the unions

themselves. It is such politically-

discriminatory "anti-Communist"

measures as the Murray-Reuther

machine pushed through the

recent CIO convention that has

emboldened the employers and

brass hats in their latest moves

"subversive" procedure. Stop the

witch - hunt inside the unions -

'loyalty" purge in industry; the

under "loyalty" surveillance; the permits entirely.

ACLU Brands Peekskill Cops In Mob Attacks

An independent investigation by the American Civi Liberties Union has confirmed the criminal complicity of police, public officials and the local press in the mob

violence against the Paul Robeson? concerts near Peekskill, N. Y., last respond with any but token police

The findings and conclusions of the en-the-scene investigations by violence. At the second on are contained in a 42-page report | Sept. 4th, which its sponsors said presented by Dr. Henry Atkinson, was held to vindicate their right co-chairman, Council Against In- of assembly on private property, tolerance; Roger N. Baldwin, the authorities, though present director, American Civil Liberties with large police forces, per-Union; Jonathan Bingham, state mitted a provocative parade of chairman, N. Y. Americans for veterans at the time and place of Democratic Action; Rabbi Irving the concert, thus massing op-Miller, president, American Jewish ponents of all sorts, numbering Congress; Michael Straight, an estimated 10,000, which rehairman, American Veteran Committee; and Roy Wilkins, acting certgoers, numbering an estimatsecretary, National Association ed 15,000, as they left in small for the Advancement of Colored groups."

COPS PERMITTED ATTACK

The report declares that "the and Jews were identified by the Westchester County police per- local community as the major mitted the assault upon the participants in the concerts." The Robeson supporters." It calls outbreaks embodied "the combined police preparations to protect the expressions of the most explosive second concert, when more than prejudices in American life -200 persons were injured by rock- against Communists, Negroes and hurling hooligans, a "sham." The Jews." But "the explosion would dence that the police knew of the provocations of the local press' preparations to stone the concert- and complicity of the authorities. goers as they departed in small Of especial significance is the groups and that the cops had finding that the hoodlums "be-"fraternized" with the hoodlums. lieved that in denying freedom

protection at the first concert on Aug. 27th which was broken up sulted in an assault on the con-

NUMBER 51

Behind the anti-Communist sentiment "lay prejudice against Negroes and Jews. Both Negroes

"The authorities, too, share the responsibility for the outbreak," they were following the lead of says the report. "They did not federal authorities."

SIU-AFL Officials Threaten **Violent Assault Against SWP**

ship, the Steel Flyer under con- cut down by that number and not tract to the Isthmian Line, replaced by others. The effect of through the blockade of the this method is to eliminate the Hawaiian longshoremen's strike. Negroes from the union. Those who refused to scab were expelled from the union.

jurisdiction of the legitimate Marine Cooks and Stewards Union union. The SIU hall was closed A recent survey, according to an by filing charges based on "the up ir Puerto R'co, and a union Associated Press dispatch of Dec. right to work" clause of the ruling adopted to prevent memnotorious Taft-Hartley law.

When NMII walked off Union Oil Company ships in sympathy with the oil workers strike last year, Lundepicket lines to man the ships loaded with hot oil.

None of these facts has been inswered - except by threats. Within the SIU a vicious system threats. of discrimination prevails. Onethird of the union consists of permitmen. These permitmen are obliged to pay all dues, assessments and contribution of a full book member but have no right whatever. They are limited to 60 Lundeberg gang. days on a ship and then must get off. They can only get into the union on the "recommendation of of Machinists. IAM officials dis- ecutives designated for military the Organizers." They are forced closed that plants in which thou- posts and the military rank they to do all the dirty work of the bureaucrats, such as serving as "voluntary organizers" (read scaos) on struck ships as in the Union Oil strike, serving as goons against opponents of the officialdom in the union, etc. These permitmen are favored with full books, others remain on the the unions and their officials permit list for years or lose their

The SIU officials maintain the only Jim Crow hiring hall in the Port of New York. Negroes cannot ship in any of the unlicensed departments on ship except the stewards department. the great socialist goal during the But that is not all. Ships which carry Negroes in this department | Chicago audience enthusiastically carry Negroes only. When, for joined in the roar of applause some reason, it is replaced by a

over all dictatorship tomorrow Offered Wage Cut, Clerks Union Strikes

CHICAGO, Dec. 12 - 200 members of the CIO Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union at the Lane Bryant Stores have hit the picket line for the second labor's enemies is the cessation week. Almost every employee from the store spends time on the picket line every day. Management has had to bring in wives, daughters and sons to wait on the few customers that cross

the line. The basic issue is the union's demand for a wage increase. The Lane Bryant management countered with a demand for a \$5 wage cut. After months of futile negotiations, the workers voted overwhelmingly to strike the Lane Bryant Store.

| white crew, jobs for Negroes are

This applies not only to Negroes but to Puerto Ricans. Al-The dummy stewards union though the Puerto Ricans are not organized by Lundeberg on the Jim Crowed into a separate Pacific Coast has challenged the hiring hall a drive has been under way to drive them out of the bers from paying off in that inflicting a great hardship on members whose homes and families are in Puerto Rico. Twentynine Puerto Ricans had their permits taken away recently for no reason whatever.

And these facts have never been answered - except by

But gangsters and threats cannot hide the truth. They cannot silence the Trotskyists. Nor will these methods indefinitely stifle the bitter opposition of the rank and file seamen to the Hall-

Cannon Recording Heard in Chicago

CHICAGO, Dec. 9 - A capacity audience packed the party headquarters here tonight to hear a tape recording of a speech on "The 20th Century" by James P. Cannon, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, delivered at the recent Russian Revolution anniversary meeting in New York.

After listening intently to Comrade Cannon's instructive analysis of the great historic trends during the first half of the twentieth century and his inspiring prediction that mankind will achieve second half of our century, the and the singing of the Internationale recorded at the New York

The recording gave an excellent, reproduction of Comrade Cannon's voice and the simplicity of the machine's operation made it possible to run off the speech without a single hitch.

Tape recording is here to stay and it should be used as often as possible by the party - that is the general opinion here after tonight's performance.

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