

Labor, Liberal Leaders Honor Kutcher in N. Y.

By Ruth Johnson

NEW YORK, Dec. 15 — One of the most important and representative civil rights rallies in many years gathered here tonight to honor James Kutcher on the 158th anniversary of the Bill of Rights.

Prominent spokesmen of both wings of organized labor joined with outstanding figures in the Progressive Party, Liberal Party, Americans for Democratic Action and Socialist Party in denouncing Truman's "loyalty" purge and demanding reinstatement of the legless veteran fired from his Veterans Administration post because of membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

On his return from his six-month national tour, Kutcher received a standing ovation and ringing applause from the audience of 500 men and women who filled the Oak Room of the Capitol Hotel. With him on the platform were Arthur Chapin, Civil Rights Director of the New Jersey State CIO; Benjamin J. McLaurin, International Organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL; Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Professor Thomas I. Emerson of Yale University Law School; Socialist Party leader Norman Thomas; I. F. Stone, noted author and columnist; and George Novack, secretary of the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee, who chaired the meeting.

IMPORTANCE FOR LABOR

The mood of the rally was well stated by Arthur Chapin, whose opening speech stressed the importance of the Kutcher case for labor. The same courts and the same people engaged in the witch-hunt today, he said, are those who 14 years ago tried to prevent the CIO from organizing. He warned that "the CIO itself could well have been put on that 'subversive' list if it were not six million strong today."

Because the freedom of labor itself is at stake, "We in the New Jersey CIO came to the support of James Kutcher. The CIO in New Jersey and nationally will always be in the forefront fighting for civil rights of all people regardless of their political views."

Carl Holderman, president of the New Jersey State CIO, unable to be present, sent a telegram underlining the organization's support. "The New Jersey State CIO was among the first to recognize the dangers implicit in the government decision that

deprived James Kutcher of the opportunity to earn a living," the wire said in part. "Even though we disagree with his political views, we shall continue to do all we can to support and fight for his reinstatement."

The next stage in that fight, George Novack informed the audience, is the filing of Kutcher's appeal in the Federal District Court at Washington, D. C., within the next two weeks.

Meanwhile, support for the case mounts daily. Applause greeted the announcement by Benjamin J. McLaurin that the International Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters at its quarterly executive meeting in Chicago last week had endorsed the Kutcher case.

"I am proud to be here tonight," McLaurin said, "both as an individual and as a representative

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DISSIDENTS IN GERMANY FORM PRO-TITO PARTY

The first pro-Tito party outside Yugoslavia was formally launched in Berlin on Dec. 18 by dissident German Stalinists, most of them from the Western zone and with a sprinkling of representatives from the Soviet zone. Of the 23 delegates attending the founding convention of the "Independent Workers Party of Germany," four were reportedly former officials of the West German CP.

Karl-Heinz Scholz, 41 year old Berlin engineer, was elected party chairman. The new party openly sided with Yugoslavia and called for the reunification of Germany on the basis of 1933 frontiers and for the withdrawal of all occupying powers. The Associated Press reports that Scholz also declared that the new party "would fight both East and West in the event of war."

This organization is the same that applied for a license four months ago as the "Free Communist Party" and whose application was rejected at the time by the Allied commandants.

The split among the German Stalinists is paralleled by a similar development in Austria.

High Output, But More Unemployed

Even if production continues at high levels, more and more persons are going to be without jobs. That is the prediction of Louis Levine, chief of reports and analysis of the Bureau of Employment Security.

Levine told a meeting of the Federal Advisory Council in Washington on Dec. 15 that the economic outlook for the next years can be viewed only with "relative optimism" which must be "even more restrained" so far as job conditions are concerned.

He pointed out that 600,000 more workers enter the labor market each year. Also, fewer workers will produce the same amount of goods.

U. S. Relieves "Embarrassment" Of France on Use of Arms Aid

Secretary of State Acheson reported on Dec. 21 that "substantially complete agreement" has been reached between American imperialism and its junior partners in Western Europe as to the "general conditions" under which the U. S. will supply them arms.

The American authorities had asked certain limitations on the use of arms provided under the North Atlantic military alliance. The French objected.

However, the United Press happily reported on Dec. 17 from Paris, agreement has been reached. A French Foreign Office spokesman said:

"We have obtained the withdrawal of all conditions which might embarrass us."

What was the source of this "embarrassment"? "Informed sources" said that the French government had asked "for elimination of a clause prohibiting use of United States war materials outside the Atlantic area."

The dispatch adds the simple observation: "France is engaged in a military struggle against native elements in Indo-China."

To put it plainly, Washington has agreed to defend "democracy" by arming the French imperialist butchers for their slaughter of the Indo-Chinese fighters for national independence.

Here is demonstrated the first aim of the Atlantic Pact: To crush every liberating struggle of oppressed peoples.

The growth of dissident elements here was clearly revealed last week at a meeting of the Austro-Yugoslav Society, the majority of whose members are Austrian CP's.

The Society refused to pass a resolution condemning Tito and to dissolve itself, as ordered by the Central Committee of the party. The headquarters of the society were then occupied by Soviet troops, its archives confiscated, and the occupants evicted.

The crisis in the Italian CP is also extending. In his Dec. 14 speech to the Central Committee, Togliatti openly acknowledged that there is some "bewilderment" and "ideological disorientation" in the ranks and called for a struggle against Titoist "infiltration."

EXPULSION IN ITALY

Four days later the Stalinist daily *Unità* for the first time officially launched the purge by announcing the expulsion of a party member for "going over to the Titoist traitors." The very attempt of the Italian bureaucrats to minimize the scope of "disorientation" in the ranks is an infallible sign of the severity of the crisis.

Allied intelligence services report from Rome that Albania is now seething with discontent. The number of Albanians joining the guerrilla bands opposed to the Hoxha regime are said to be "increasing daily." The Yugoslavs have reportedly organized Albanian units along the 300-mile border who are only awaiting the signal to cross the frontier "to support insurrectional movements from inside Albania." A sweeping purge of government and party ranks has been taking place for months.

In Czechoslovakia trade union officials have been subjected to a sweeping attack for "laxity" by Premier Zapotocky. In an opening address before a recently held Trade Union Congress, Zapotocky accused union officials of being so "inefficient" as to be incapable of even collecting union dues (which are deducted by employers from wages). Under Stalin, charges of "laxity" and "inefficiency" have traditionally accompanied the severest of purges among union officials.

Framed "Trenton Six" Denied Own Lawyers



Judge Bars Counsel; Takes Cue from Witch-Hunt Trials

Three defense attorneys in the retrial of the six framed-up Trenton Negroes have been barred from further participation in the case by the very judge who illegally sentenced the six to death

in their first trial almost two years ago for the alleged murder of a second-hand furniture dealer.

Mercer County Judge Charles P. Hutcheson on Dec. 16 in Trenton, N. J., accused O. John Rogge and two other attorneys "among other things, of stirring up unfavorable public opinion against this court." He withdrew their out-of-state permits to practice in the New Jersey court.

This vindictive misuse of judicial power deprives the defendants of their constitutional right to counsel of their own choice. The particular counsel are the very ones who successfully appealed before the New Jersey Supreme Court against the verdict and sentence of the previous trial.

ILLEGAL SENTENCE

The Supreme Court had ruled that the six had been convicted on the basis of extorted confessions and that vital evidence tending to show the innocence of the accused had been suppressed by the prosecution. The Supreme Court also ruled that the trial judge — Charles P. Hutcheson — had illegally sentenced the accused for first-degree murder, although the jury had failed to specify the degree of guilt.

The six accused are victims of Jim-Crow terrorism unleashed by the Trenton police, who had been under fire for their laxity against crime. When witnesses claimed they saw two "light-complexioned Negroes" fleeing the scene of the murder of a furniture dealer, the police used this as the pretext for a wholesale raid in the Negro area. They picked up at random six Negroes — all dark but one — and tortured them for four days until five of them "confessed." All six were tried, however. Although unshakable alibis were

produced in court, a white jury whipped up by vicious prejudice found them "guilty."

But the judge is evidently determined to vindicate his own prestige and cover up the sordid police frame-up even if it means that six innocent men must die. He is using the increasingly-popular weapon in frame-up cases against political witch-hunt victims and persecuted members of minority groups — denial of full and free defense.

Judge Hutcheson undoubtedly has taken his cue from the recent trial of the 11 Communist Party leaders and the perjury trial of Harry Bridges now going on in San Francisco. Judge Medina, in the Foley Square case, sought to intimidate the defense attorneys by threatening them with "contempt" action and, after the trial, sentencing five of them to jail. Judge Harris, in the Bridges trial, accused the chief defense attorney of "contempt" and sentenced him for six months, but permitted him to continue in the case and serve sentence after the trial.

RECALLS KOSTOV CASE

Judge Hutcheson has gone one better. He has not only sought to intimidate the defense lawyers with harassing contempt citations — he has barred them completely.

The press has heaped scorn on the Stalinist court in Bulgaria where the defendants Kostov's own attorney "confessed" for him. But the frame-up system in the U. S. is working toward a similar goal. If the judges here can get away with intimidation of the lawyers, defendants in this country will also be denied protection of legal counsel who will honestly fight for their rights.

Steel Monopolists Hike Prices in Profits-Grab

By Art Preis

U. S. Steel Corporation — whose admitted profits for the first nine months of this year are 50% greater than for the same period in 1948 — announced on Dec. 15 that it is putting the bite on the American people for another \$80,000,000 annually through immediate price boosts "averaging" \$4 a ton. The rest of the industry is expected to follow suit, for a total steal of not less than \$250,000,000 a year.

Benjamin F. Fairless, Big Steel's president, claimed that the price boosts "reflect actual and approaching changes" in production costs, particularly the meager insurance and pension program recently wrested from the corporation by a 42-day strike.

RECORD PROFITS

Nobody — not even the capitalist press — can swallow that gag, since U. S. Steel has admitted first nine months' profits of \$133,223,000 compared to the corresponding 1948 take of \$88,042,000. Moreover, Truman's Steel "Fact-Finding" Board, which denied any wage boost, nevertheless said the major steel companies could afford to pay insurance and pensions and "still

put into effect" price reductions. The decline in raw materials costs over a year ago is more than enough to compensate for any additional costs due to pensions. Scrap steel, which represents 25% of materials costs in the industry, sold at \$27.25 a ton last week compared to \$43 a year ago. Also, increased production has meant lowered unit costs. The industry is now running at near-record 94% capacity, compared to 85% and less in the period of highest profits before the strike.

THE REAL ROBBERY

And, as N. Y. Times business commentator C. F. Hughes noted, the corporation disclosed its greedy motive when "it decided to raise prices before costs had actually been increased. The pension and insurance plan does not become operative until next March."

Even the claimed "average" \$4-a-ton price boost is a propaganda figure to conceal the real robbery. Increases on the most important items range from \$5 to \$8, or more. Sheet steel and galvanized products, used mainly in the auto and appliance industries, are up \$6; pipes and

tubing, \$5 to \$8, plus "extras"; hot-rolled strip, \$8.50, etc. This means that autos, new housing, electrical appliances, everything that uses steel, will cost more.

U. S. Steel's "unilateral" action has proved most embarrassing to the Big Business press. They have been ranting about union "monopolies" and demanding laws to legalize industry-wide collective bargaining. Now the steel industry comes along and vividly demonstrates who the real monopolists are.

The steel barons put into effect a price rise without a by-your-leave to anyone — the rest of industry, the government, the steel union or the consumers. The monopolists didn't wait for any fact-finding board. They ignore the inflationary effects of their action on the general economy. They didn't consult the union. They just said, "Pay our price — or else!" Or else they'll cut off the steel supply.

This brazen flaunting of its monopoly power and open disregard for the public welfare has even the N. Y. Times disturbed. The Times doesn't oppose the price boost as such, but does complain of its "unfortunate timing" and "psychological impact" — that is, the effect on public opinion.

MUCH TALK, NO ACTION

Capitalist politicians are expressing "surprise" and "shock." Some, like Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Representative Celler of New York, are threatening "investigations." But no one expects these to alter the steel industry's decision. What have scores of such "investigations" yielded in the past? O'Mahoney's Joint Economic Committee "probed" the steel industry's \$5 price boost in March 1948, and in July 1948, when the industry posted another general increase of \$11 a ton, there was still more Congressional squawking. But no action.

To force the steel industry into line, Congress and the Truman (Continued on Page 2)

Next Week:
Special articles analyzing the major developments of 1949 and the prospects for 1950.

Socialism to Be Debated in 1950 Elections

By Albert Parker

If the Democrats don't make big gains in the 1950 congressional elections, it won't be the fault of the Republican leadership.

At a meeting of their strategy committee in Chicago on Dec. 13, the GOP leaders decided to move sharply to the right and to stop agreeing with Democratic-sponsored social reforms in principle while claiming "we can do it better."

The 1950 campaign "will be a fight between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party to prevent the socialization of the country," promised Arthur E. Summerfield, the GOP strategy chairman.

The difference between the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, he said, is that "with Roosevelt we were drifting toward socialism, but with Truman

(there is no drift — it's a headlong rush.)"

No final decisions on the GOP platform were made at the Chicago meeting; that will be done in February. But it appears certain that the Republicans will center their main attack on the "welfare state" reforms proposed by the Trumanites.

Nothing will please Truman and his labor lieutenants more than such an attack; nothing will help more to drive toward the Democratic candidates the support of the great majority of the workers and poor farmers, who want more and not less social reforms.

In fact, the GOP line fits right in with Truman's own strategy — which is to make big promises about security while achieving little or nothing. Demunciations of his program as a "rush to socialism" will help divert attention from his failure to fulfill his promises and enable him to

blame the Republicans for his failures.

The GOP condemnations of the Fair Deal program as "socialism" will help strengthen belief in the saying that "there's no gratitude in politics." For the truth is that in recent years Truman and his labor and liberal cohorts, not the conservative Republicans, have been the chief obstacle to the development of socialist consciousness and independent political action by the mass of the American people.

The Republicans and their openly anti-security program cannot claim the credit for checking the growth of anti-capitalist, pro-Labor Party sentiment among the workers. The accomplishment is Truman's, even though it will last only until the workers get wise to his demagoguery.

Instead of denouncing Truman as an enemy of their beloved "free enterprise" system, the

capitalists by all rights should be down on their knees, thanking Truman for helping them to rake in profits surpassing even those of wartime and expressing their appreciation for his hitherto-successful defense of the two-party system. If they did that, however, Truman's usefulness in deceiving the masses would immediately be destroyed.

THE SOCIALIST LABEL

Despite the label of "socialism" that will be pinned on them (falsely and against their wishes), the Trumanites should be able to win next year's elections easily, judging on the basis of present trends and barring unforeseen developments.

Although the Republicans are not aware of it, the socialist label is no longer the handicap in American politics that it used to be once upon a time. The depression and the war, the social

ferment produced by each, the fear of a new depression and a new war, have all had their impact on the thinking of the American workers.

They are no longer satisfied with praises of the capitalist system that has produced so much misery before their very eyes. They are willing to listen to candidates today, even if those candidates are accused of being socialist.

And that's all to the good. Any public discussion of socialism, even if initiated on a false basis, offers the genuine socialists an opportunity to intervene and present the truth.

The 1950 elections will provide us with such an opportunity and it's our duty to seize hold of it with both hands and use it to show the American workers the socialist path to the security, liberty and peace that are denied them by the capitalist system.

Workers of the World, Unite!

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My Rights Are More Precious Than My Legs

Text of Speech by James Kutcher At New York Bill of Rights Meeting

I am going to assume that you already know about the main facts in my case, and so I am not going to go into that. Instead I want to discuss some of the impressions

and ideas I have brought back with me from my tour, which was highly successful thanks to the support given by people and groups such as are represented here tonight.

The first thing that struck me was that there is a rising resistance to witch-hunts and thought-control and purges throughout the country. I can testify to this from my own experiences. In fact, it was this which encouraged and inspired me to go through a schedule that was sometimes grueling, five or six speeches a day.

I can testify to this, I say, although if you confine your observations to the daily newspapers, you will find little direct evidence of it. It is not only the Supreme Court that follows the elections; sometimes it is also the lower courts that are impressed and persuaded by mass sentiment. I believe this mass sentiment is at the bottom of such recent decisions as the ones that threw out the Feinberg Act in this state and the Ober Law in Maryland and the law requiring a "loyalty" oath from all candidates for public office in my own state.

SOURCE OF MY SUPPORT

The greatest source of my support has come from the organized labor movement. That began with the New Jersey CIO a day or two after I received notice of my pending discharge and has since extended all over the country to include AFL and independent unions. If I did not know, it before, I would know it now — that the labor movement is the greatest bulwark of our democratic liberties and that it has the ability as well as the duty to assume the leadership of the entire nation.

Of course it wasn't only the unions that helped me, although they took the lead. In addition there were scores, hundreds, of liberal, civil liberties, veterans, civic, religious, student, old age, Negro, Jewish, Japanese-American, Mexican-American, Slav, fraternal, academic, political and social groups and organizations who came to my aid morally and financially, although the overwhelming majority of their members disagree — and sometimes violently — with the social and political views for which I was purged from my job.

Some people are not only alarmed but discouraged and demoralized by the trends in Washington and the advances that have been made toward transforming this country into a police state. Alarm is certainly in order; in fact, there ought to be more of it. But there is no good reason for discouragement or demoralization: the overwhelming majority of the people are on our side. And if we double our efforts and reach them with the truth, they will come to our aid and guarantee that the liberties won in the Bill of Rights



JAMES KUTCHER

will never be destroyed in this country.

That was demonstrated to me beyond question by the way in which all tendencies in the labor and liberal movements responded to my plea for support. Not only Democrats but even workers who vote Republican showed that they want to defend the civil rights of all victims of the witch-hunt. Negroes and other minorities showed that they understand no one's rights can be won or preserved so long as the rights of any are in danger. Protestants, Jews and Catholics, including members of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and atheists as well, showed that they are ready to join in common defense of their own liberties which they realize are threatened by the precedent set in the "loyalty" purge.

ROLE OF STALINISTS

I just said "all tendencies" — but strictly speaking that is not true. There was one group whose official line was hostility to me everywhere I went. Of course I refer to the Stalinists. At the beginning of my tour last spring, I was greeted in Seattle by a vicious editorial in the West Coast paper of the Communist Party, warning the workers not to support my case because it was a booby trap, having no relation whatever to the fight for civil rights. And for several months in any organization I spoke to where they had any influence, they did everything they could to sabotage my case, openly or behind the scenes. That is because the Socialist Workers Party is on Stalin's blacklist as well as Truman's.

Their shabby behavior had effects they had not expected how-

ever. Instead of hurting me, it boomeranged and hurt them. I have seen meetings of two and three thousand workers get up and boo them angrily. You see, wherever I went I always spoke not only about my own case but about the need to defend the civil and constitutional rights of the Stalinists as well. And when workers heard this, and then saw the Stalinists get up to oppose me, their wrath was something to behold.

After a while, the Stalinists were so badly discredited by their attitude toward my case that they began to keep quiet about it; their position was too unpopular to be presented in public at a time when they are appealing

for defense of their own victims. Besides, their position was so untenable that their own members and sympathizers began to balk and even to get up and express support for me in spite of the party line.

DEFEND THEIR RIGHTS TOO

I want to say one more thing about the Stalinists. In one or two cases I was asked by officers at meetings where I spoke to omit all remarks about their defense. "Don't mention them," I was told, "because they are so discredited that the members are liable to react unfavorably against your own appeal for support." Perhaps that was the reason; perhaps they just didn't want to defend the Stalinists' civil rights themselves.

But in all cases I said that I would prefer to let the members know exactly what I stood for, even if it might be a little unpopular. Of course I was not demanding that the various meetings must express support for the Communist Party's civil rights if they wanted to defend mine; but I wanted to make it clear to everyone I spoke to that it would be inconsistent for them to take the position that everyone's civil rights needed defense except the Stalinists'.

And that's a point I want to make here too. As you know, the Stalinists hailed the conviction of the 18 Trotskyists in Minneapolis under the Smith Act, and continue to sabotage all efforts to get a presidential pardon to restore their civil rights. Today they are the victims of the same repressive law whose enforcement they applauded eight years ago. I think there is a big lesson to be learned from that.

And so I say to you tonight, and especially to the leaders of the great labor movement, don't make the mistake the Stalinists made in 1941. Don't be blinded by your political differences with the victims of the witch-hunt, as the Stalinists were in 1941. Don't make the error of thinking that it's not your neck in the noose,

as the Stalinists did in 1941. For if you permit the precedent to be set against the Stalinists, as the Stalinists did against the Trotskyists in 1941, then it will be your own turn next.

And your fight against repression will be all the harder to win then if it can be shown that you stood aside and refused to uphold civil-rights for the Stalinists because these scoundrels refuse to support the civil rights of their political opponents. What I say about the need to defend the rights of minorities applies not only to racial and political minorities but also to moral and religious dissidents, such as the conscientious objectors and the Jehovah's witnesses.

I would like to conclude with a few remarks about the significance of my case. One of the younger leaders of the liberal movement, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., recently published a book in which he condemned my discharge by the government as "fatuous." That word means "silly" or "stupid." Now of course I am grateful for his support, but I am sure that he will not demand that I must accept his line of reasoning any more than he must accept mine.

WAS IT A "BLUNDER"?

I want to express the opinion here that what was done to me may seem fatuous from the viewpoint of the liberals, that it just does not seem to make sense to them and they would not act in this way if they were in office. But from the viewpoint of the government itself there was nothing fatuous or foolish about the way they treated me; it made sense and it served a real purpose for them. The government did not "blunder" in my case, it did not include me in the purge by accident or miscalculation. The whole procedure was carefully thought out in advance, it was premeditated, and it was consistent with the entire operation of the purge.

Some people thought that the government would voluntarily back down and reinstate me because of the bad publicity it was getting in my case. I also hoped this would happen, but I doubted it. I doubted it because I knew that the purpose of the purge is to terrorize and intimidate dissident political opinion, especially revolutionary socialist opinion. The special circumstances in my case, instead of deterring the government in this aim, only made it a more dramatic demonstration of what they wanted to achieve.

They had plenty of chances, all during my appeal to the various echelons of the Loyalty Board, to retreat and give me back my job. The fact that they didn't take these opportunities is proof, in my mind, that the government had an objective which was logical and consistent from its own point of view.

We have called my case a test case. The government and the civil forces behind this inquisition regard it in the same light. If they can get away with my discharge, then they have really made the purge stick. This may seem fatuous from the point of view of those who don't want thought-control in this country; but it's not at all fatuous from the viewpoint of those who do want thought-control. And I want to emphasize this point because we gain nothing — and weaken our fight — by kidding ourselves about the aims of our enemies.

THE SIGNIFICANT THING There are some people who have offered me their aid primarily because of the fact that a mortar shell and my legs happened to meet in the same place in Italy in 1943. I have said it before and I will say it again: I don't want any special sympathy or pity because I lost my legs; all I want are the rights that belong to any man or woman. The significant thing about my case is not that I lost my legs but that I lost my rights, which are infinitely dearer and more precious to me.

Please remember that there are thousands of men and women who don't lose their legs whose plight is just as bad as mine because like me they have been stigmatized and blacklisted for daring to hold or to express ideas different from those of the ruling class. And never forget, it's not just my rights or their rights you are fighting for, but your own as well. What happened to me can happen to you too — unless we all fight now to prevent it.

In conclusion, I want to thank all of you again for your sympathy and support. If we go forward in our efforts to arouse the American people to the terrible dangers facing them, if we maintain confidence in our cause and show boldness in fighting for it, we can sweep all the obstacles out of our path and establish a new reign of liberty such as the world has never seen.

Extra Push Needed to Fill Fund Quota on Time

By Reba Aubrey Fund Campaign Manager

The campaign is really getting warm as the branches push toward the 100% mark. New Haven, accepting the challenge to do as good or better than Flint's 102%, came through with 112%, enough to give them top place this week. New Britain and Buffalo likewise fulfilled their quotas, making a total of six branches that have already completed their goals in the \$12,000 Party Building Fund campaign.

Comrade Grace Carlson exploded when she sent in the payment that put St. Paul-Minneapolis over the top: "Now that we have done our Christmas duty by the campaign, we can turn to working out the final details of the Children's Christmas Party. We are bringing up a new — and large — group of Trotskyists in Minnesota, who will aid materially in future Party Building Fund campaigns, as well as in other essential work."

Toledo Branch is so near 100% that a \$4 line buck will take them over for the touchdown.

A payment of \$100 took Milwaukee way up the scoreboard — from 48% to 88%. Another push half that good and Milwaukee will reach the 100%ers.

The 83% tie still stands between Cleveland and the Bay Area. Next week will probably tell the tale, not only for these branches but for the campaign nationally. One more week, and it should be an exciting one! Some of us will have to do some real "jumping" to get over the finish line by Dec. 31. Remember the campaign slogan — IN FULL AND ON TIME!

Not a week goes by without contributions from friends of the party. With their excellent help in this campaign 78% of the "General" quota has been fulfilled to date.

A Friend in Madison, Wis. wrote: "Please accept this \$10 to your fund-raising drive. Yours is the only authentic voice speaking for socialism, peace and a workers' world today."

I.H. of Roxbury, Mass. and N.S. of Baldwin Park, Calif. both sent in \$1. S.A.M. of Portland, Oregon, renewed his sub. to The Militant and Fourth International and enclosed \$1 for the fund. He wrote: "Jobs are at a premium and well do, you folks know, there are billions for bullets and battle-ships, but nothing for bread and butter. Thus, here's a gigantic success for the Socialist Workers Party this coming year and may the unfortunate laboring class awaken by obtaining The Militant, a paper which tells the truth. After all, the truth shall prevail against all enemies."

STEEL BARONS BOOST PRICES IN 250-MILLION PROFITS-GRAB

(Continued from Page 1)

administration would have to fix prices, kick out the steel owners, seize and nationalize the steel plants. The government of the capitalists will smash strikes and dictate a wage freeze for steel and other industrial workers. But it is ridiculous to expect it to touch the profits and property interests of the giant monopolies.

But what of the unions — what will the powerful CIO and its United Steel Workers do? The steel workers accepted a wage freeze under pressure of Truman's Steel Board. But this same board said that if the industry's present high levels of profits "do not result in benefit to the consumer in the form of lower prices, there would be justification for the union to renew its demand for increase of wages."

MURRAY'S POSITION

When H. Charles Ford, CIO United Steelworkers District 7 director in Philadelphia, on Dec. 15 expressed the view that if steel prices are increased the union would seek corresponding wage increases, Philip Murray's office publicly slapped him down. An unidentified "spokesman" for Murray promptly told the press that "that director should have been listening instead of talking," and that under the contract recently signed "the union cannot ask for a wage increase until November of next year" and "cannot strike for an increase until Dec. 31, 1950."

In short, Murray takes the position that the steel workers' hands are to remain tied, the wage freeze is to continue, while the corporations are free to grab with both hands.

First, the steel monopolists robbed the steel workers of 42 days' pay by forcing them to strike for the meager insurance and pension program recommended by the Steel Board. Now

SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
New Haven	\$ 25	\$ 28	112
Flint	200	204	102
Buffalo	500	500	100
New Britain	30	30	100
St. Louis	75	75	100
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	900	100
Toledo	75	71	94
Milwaukee	250	219	88
Cleveland	250	207	83
San Francisco-Oakland	800	666	83
Pittsburgh	150	122	81
Boston	200	155	78
Philadelphia	600	467	78
New York	3,000	2,311	77
Seattle	200	150	75
Chicago	400	295	74
Morgantown	25	17	68
Detroit	1,100	732	67
Los Angeles	1,500	1,000	67
Akron	100	65	65
Newark	350	228	65
Worcester	40	26	65
Allentown	50	25	50
Youngstown	400	173	43
Lynn	75	26	35
General	705	547	78
TOTAL through Dec. 20			77
			\$12,000 \$9,239

THE MILITANT ARMY

After the Saturday football victory comes the Monday morning quarterback session. In this case it's the discussion among subscribers and literature agents of The Militant on the recently-concluded national subscription campaign.

A substantial success was registered. This is recognized by all. Some comrades feel, however, that had they known at the beginning of the campaign what they discovered during the month's intensive activity, they could have done an even better job.

For instance, Literature Agent Bert Deck of the Los Angeles Local of the Socialist Workers Party, which had the heaviest quota, writes: "The sub campaign was tough. After getting very little results through neighborhood visiting we set to work among our friends and contacts and former subscribers who had failed to renew for one reason or another. The bulk of our subs came from there. Unemployment and the general political situation seemed to be big obstacles. Inexperience weighed a bit heavy in the campaign but the cooperation of the leading comrades pulled us out. All four branches

went over their quotas. It seems to me that if we had to do it over again, we could have done it better."

The St. Paul branch, which did a bang-up job in the campaign, likewise found friends and contacts to be the best source for subscriptions. "We are especially pleased over the fact that the comrades in the shops and factories have really given us some brand new readers for our paper," reports Literature Agent Winifred Nelson. "This campaign was different from previous ones too when we went door-to-door and picked up new subs. This year we found the door-to-door method didn't seem to work — mostly because people don't even have 50c to spare in these days of unemployment and high prices. They were friendly but there it ended. Our new readers this time have come in a larger percentage than ever before from personal contact in the shops and factories. The policy some of our comrades have followed of taking a few Militants each week to give to their fellow-workers has paid off. And that is very encouraging."

In New Haven on the other hand, the comrades achieved a real success in neighborhood visiting. They uncovered a place or two where the general political mood seems to have changed. As a result they took top honors. "We never expected to lead the country," Literature Agent N. S. acknowledges; "but don't think it didn't give our morale a shot in the arm."

Literature Agent C. E. S. of Minneapolis passes on part of the secret of the resounding score rung up by that branch: "Our success in the sub campaign was due largely to the number of comrades involved. Harry DeBoer pointed out that the system we had followed previously of each person calling on his own contacts had made the more active comrades responsible for less and more visiting and the less active ones responsible for less and less. His advice was to divide the town up into districts, making a different comrade responsible for each and so spreading the responsibility. People were called on according to where they lived rather than according to who knew them. We emphasized calling on friends and former subscribers."

Milwaukee's experience pretty much mirrored that of the other branches. Biggest obstacles were "the effects of red-baiting and an underlying fear of the future," according to Militant Manager Fred Martin. The Milwaukee comrades nevertheless ran up a score of 196% which helped "pep up morale." Now "we are going to try to continue getting subs through mailings and visiting preferential prospects."

San Francisco, comparing sub-getting today with what it was at the close of the war, feels that while the difficulties are considerably greater, much more can be done to widen the circulation of The Militant. After the first of the year, writes Literature Agent D. Woods, plans call for a mobilization regularly once a month to get subs.

We wish one and all the warmest season's greetings; and after you've brushed the New Year's confetti off your shoulders, here's a resolution we hope can really be kept during 1950: to make sure we have more readers at the end of each month than at the beginning.

YOUNGSTOWN

Hear VINCENT R. DUNNE Speak on LABOR AND CIVIL RIGHTS Sat., Jan. 7 8 PM 234 E. Federal Street Donation 25c

Labor, Liberal Leaders Honor Kutcher in N.Y.

(Cont. from page 1)

of several organizations. All my life I have been on the side of those individuals attempting to make democracy work."

He pointed out that the Negro people have been constant victims of hysteria in the past, and fully understand the need to defend all minorities against racial or political oppression. "The constitutional rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness become empty words if thought-control exists."

Professor Emerson whose study of "Loyalty Among Government Employees" contains a sharp indictment of Truman's thought-control system, hailed tonight's meeting as "the finest tradition of American democracy." He traced the long history of the American people's fight for civil rights.

"In part we have been victorious," he said. "The past oppressions, the Alien and Sedition Laws and the Palmer Raids, are today considered a disgrace. I am confident that the time will come when we will consider the Kutcher case equally disgraceful."

"But we cannot rest upon past victories," he warned. "We are living in a period of profound change and it is fear of change that induces this wave of hysteria. . . The inevitable outcome of the Loyalty Board Program is the establishment of a professional political police," which can destroy all constitutional freedoms.

Roger Baldwin paid special tribute to the Kutcher Committee for its defense of all victims of the witch-hunt. "The American Civil Liberties Union will always be delighted to join in such a genuine fight for civil rights," he said. Like Emerson, he greeted the rally as a major action to defend the historic Bill of Rights.

"Protest meetings DO do good," Baldwin stated. "In this business when you and all of us stick to the fundamentals and make common cause in doing so, we are building on a sound basis for the future of civil rights in America."

Most of Norman Thomas' speech, striking a note different

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War and the Negro People



"The most indubitable feature of a revolution is the direct interference of the masses in historic events. In ordinary times the state, be it monarchical or democratic, elevates itself above the nation, and history is made by specialists in that line of business — kings, ministers, bureaucrats, parliamentarians, journalists. But at those crucial moments when the old order becomes no longer endurable to the masses, they break over the barriers excluding them from the political arena, sweep aside their traditional representatives, and create by their own interference the initial groundwork for a new regime."

—Leon Trotsky, History of the Russian Revolution, Vol. I.



By J. Blake

Paul Robeson's statement that Negroes would not support the United States in a war against the Soviet Union set off a noisy counter-offensive by the propagandists for American imperialism and opened an important controversy among Negro leaders.

In most cases injection of the cold war into the Negro community has been a deliberate diversion aimed at preventing a united, independent struggle for complete equality in American economic, political and social life. Both Trumanites and Stalinists are trying to use the controversy to promote their own reactionary interests and cover up their rotten records on the Negro struggle.

But regardless of their motives, the issue is there, and responsible Negro leaders must answer the questions being posed about the relation of the cold war to the Negroes.

RANDOLPH'S POSITION

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, formulates the question this way: "Should Negroes fight for the U.S.A. in a war with Soviet Russia?" His own answer is that they should and will.

By this answer he gives a go-ahead signal to the very same ruling class that is responsible for the oppression and segregation of the Negro people at home — for a war that will be a projection on the international field of the same reactionary policies that they are pursuing in the United States.

How supporting an imperialist war will benefit the Negro people, how it will aid them in battering down the walls of Jim Crow — Randolph does not say. And the reason he does not say is because he cannot. Instead, he concentrates on describing the evils of Stalinist despotism and tries to persuade the Negroes that they are limited to a choice between Stalinism and capitalism, when the truth is that they can and should reject both these evils.

In support of his position Randolph falsely identifies communism (Marxism) with Stalinist totalitarianism. In a Kansas City

speech early this month he even went to the length of implying there never was any democracy in the Soviet Union, saying, "Not even the old line Bolsheviks like Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev could challenge the gospel of the Kremlin on any question."

THE STALINIST LINE

But genuine workers democracy existed in the Soviet Union in Lenin's day; it wasn't destroyed until Stalin rose to power. Randolph has to resort to such falsifications in order to sell Negroes the idea that there is no difference between Marxism, which instituted fundamental progressive reforms after the 1917 revolution, and Stalinism, which has destroyed most of those progressive changes.

Robeson and the Stalinists (who also pretend that Marxism and Stalinism are identical) have a different axe to grind, but it is not the Negro people's axe. At present it is their policy to exploit the Negroes' very real grievances in order to embarrass U. S. imperialism at home and abroad.

But, as they proved during the last war, they do so only as long as it serves Stalin's interests, and they drop the issue and sabotage the Negro struggle as soon as Stalin finds it timely for his diplomatic maneuvers.

Randolph's main concern is the protection of the interests of U. S. imperialism; that is why he is willing to subordinate the interests of the masses in this country. The Stalinists are no better. They are not concerned with defending the interests of the masses either in this country or the Soviet Union; their main objective is the defense of the interests of the reactionary, privileged caste of bureaucrats who oppress the Soviet masses and whose overthrow is required for the liberation of the masses.

THE SOVIET UNION

American workers and Negroes have nothing in common with the Soviet bureaucracy (or their agents) just as they have nothing in common with U. S. capitalism (or its agents). But they do have common interests with the masses of the Soviet Union, and should act in solidarity with them in

wartime as well as in peacetime.

This is true even though the Soviet Union has changed for the worse in most respects since the days of Lenin and Trotsky. For one thing, the equality of the masses that existed in those days has been destroyed and replaced under Stalinism with the "equality of slaves," none of whom has rights that the Stalinist bureaucracy feels bound to recognize.

Nevertheless, there is one great achievement of the Russian revolution which still survives — the system of government ownership of industry instituted when the capitalist system was abolished. Not only the Soviet masses but American workers and Negroes have a stake in preserving this system, for its destruction in a war by U. S. imperialism would mean a new lease on life for dying world capitalism. The strengthening of capitalism in turn would mean the strengthening of all its institutions, including the institution of Jim Crow which Negroes are fighting to end.

Stalinism must be overthrown, but if it is overthrown by U. S. capitalism the results will be harmful for the American as well as the Soviet masses. Only the overthrow of Stalinism by the Soviet masses can have progressive consequences for the world working class, and the way for American workers and Negroes to assist them in this necessary task is by opposing the war aims of the American ruling class as well as the policies of the Stalinists.

THE CORRECT POLICY

This, then, is the policy to guide the American workers, black and white: No political support, no moral support to any imperialist war, whether against the Soviet Union or any other country. Don't be deceived or bought off by the picaresque concessions and hypocritical gestures being made by the American capitalists so that they can have a free hand for the cold war abroad. Carry on the fight for full economic, political and social equality at home, where the main struggle for emancipation must be waged. Carry it on to a successful conclusion — not merely when it suits Stalin's diplomacy.

WALLACE PAINTS FALSE PICTURE OF MARXISM

By George Breitman

Like Truman, Henry Wallace believes not only in the preservation of capitalism but also in the rejection of the class struggle and independent labor politics. These beliefs were strongly reaffirmed in Wallace's Dec. 4 speech on "The True Meaning of Religion in the Modern World," parts of which were discussed here last week.

Wallace knows that the interests of workers and capitalists are different, but he hopes to reconcile them through his brand of "progressive capitalism." His primary appeal is not to the oppressed masses but to the "forces of good will," among whom he includes not only the masses but also their exploiters, the "progressive capitalists." It naturally follows, then, that he does not favor the formation of an independent class party — a Labor Party — and that he advocates only an all-class party, a party of class collaboration, a party essentially like that of Truman and his labor lieutenants.

Thus in his speech he urges the creation of a political (and religious) leadership which understands "by personal experience the problems of small business as well as labor and farming" and he says that the philosophy and program he offers "can never find satisfactory expression either through great corporations, LARGE UNIONS, or associations of wealthy farmers." (Our emphasis.)

A Middle Class Party Can Solve Nothing

This juxtaposition of large unions and great corporations, which by the way is reminiscent of Hitler's demagoguery, reflects a genuine fear on Wallace's part. In the past, when he was a leader of the Democratic Party, and now, when he leads the Progressive Party, he has always been an opponent of independent political action by the labor movement because he knows that such action will inevitably be a prelude to revolutionary political action directed toward the abolition of his beloved capitalist system and the establishment of a Workers and Farmers Government leading to socialism.

Wallace is a man of many political contradictions and inconsistencies, but you've got to give him credit for being consistent on this. His opposition to independent labor political action meant the certain defeat of his hopes for the Progressive Party in 1948, but he stood firm on this question then and he's still standing firm on it today.

The non-Stalinist chairman of the Progressive Party in New Jersey described it, during the recent election campaign, as a "middle class party," and that's just what it is if you add the clause, "which accepts the capitalist system while seeking to reform it in this or that way." The question that serious Progressive Party and YPA members must answer is: Can such a party solve any of the problems created by the decay and death agony of the capitalist system?

The answer — in the negative — is conclusively attested to by the experiences of reformists of all stripes in all the countries of the world, including the experience of outright capitalist reformers like Roosevelt in the U. S. and that of the reformist labor leadership now in power in England. The great need of militant workers and youth today is a Marxist party, a Marxist program and a Marxist leadership.

"Marxism Is Dated," Says Wallace

Wallace's supporters will get none of these from him; in fact, as the above-mentioned speech will prove to anyone who reads it, they won't even get an accurate or honest description of these things from him.

"Marxism is dated," says Wallace, the defender of the outlived and dying capitalist system. Why? How? "It is based fundamentally on 19th Century science, which I oversimplified the world in purely mechanistic terms. Personally I believe that all men are just as truly sons of God as Jesus was son of God." That's what Wallace would call 20th Century science, and of course no "19th Century science" could possibly find an answer to it.

Wallace has other, more specific objections to Marxism. For him it is "the secular authoritarianism of the left" and just as much to be rejected as "the religious authoritarianism of the right." In fact, he constructs the following amalgam between Marxism and Catholicism: "Both demand complete dominance in that ultimate, all-important field where man gives an allegiance outside of himself. Both operate through a self-perpetuating hierarchy. Both maintain an Index Expurgatorius. Both use excommunication. Both operate from a holy city to influence devout followers in their political activities in many countries." And so: "We do not want the Marxist single party state in the United States with its insistence on absolute, undeviating adherence..."

Marxism Is a Democratic Movement

Wallace's description here certainly fits Stalinism, which practices all the dictatorial methods listed by him — and more besides. But it does not fit Marxism, which is a democratic movement, responsive to and controlled by its members, and in a state of permanent war against all forms of authoritarianism. (Not the least of Wallace's political crimes is his constant equation of these two opposites — a lie that the Stalinists also assiduously propagate.)

Marxism does not believe in the "single party state," does not advocate it in the United States or anywhere else, and never did — not even in Russia. What happened there was that all the other parties refused to participate in the new Soviet state and took up arms against it. What began as a temporary necessity forced on the Marxists led by Lenin and Trotsky was transformed into a program and a norm when Stalin destroyed democracy within the party and the state and took over dictatorial control of both.

It's not Marxism that is dated but the kind of ignorant and malicious criticisms of it made by Wallace. Progressive Party and YPA members who are beginning to re-examine the entire course of their movement are invited to study Marxism — not as portrayed by Wallace or the Stalinists or the adherents of Washington's cold war — but as elaborated in the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and the documents and program of the Socialist Workers Party.

Aid the Victims of Makronissos!

On the front page of this issue our readers will find an eye-witness account of the bestialities which have been taking place for the last three years on the Greek island of Makronissos in the Aegean Sea. This ten-mile strip of sand and rock has been converted by the Athens government into a huge torture and death chamber for tens of thousands of its political opponents. The Greek Trotskyists have appealed, in the name of international solidarity, for help.

The Greek executioners of revolutionary workers and peasants are repeating, with minor variations, what was done by the Hitlerites in the infamous concentration camps of Dachau, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen. And Makronissos is only one of a network of death camps they now operate.

For American workers the horrors and crimes in Greece have a special meaning. The responsibility goes beyond the Athens government. It is the Truman administration in Washington that also bears direct responsibility here. Without the intervention of the American imperialists, without American arms, equipment and money under the Marshall Plan, the despots and sadists of Athens could have never imposed their rule on the Greek people. The label "made in USA" is indelibly affixed to Makronissos.

It is not accidental that the Greek beneficiaries of the "democratic" Marshall Plan aid conduct themselves in a manner indistinguishable from the fascists. Brute force, unbridled reaction, a descent to the depths of savagery — that is the only way in which decaying capitalism can be preserved in present-day Europe.

It is not accidental that the promoters of the Marshall Plan cover up and wink at the bloody handiwork of their Greek and other capitalist partners among the Western "democracies." They are themselves preparing for the biggest blood-bath in history. When the time comes, they will not hesitate to move at home in the same direction as their junior clerks in Greece.

If for no other considerations than those of sheer self-interest and self-preservation the American workers must raise their voices in protest against what is now being perpetrated in Greece. They must come to the aid of the martyred Greek soldiers, peasants and workers.

All the victims at Makronissos merit our support and aid. And the most worthy among them are the heroic Greek Trotskyists, who are suffering from double persecution — from the hirelings of the Kremlin as well as those of Athens.

The "Morals" of SIU Leaders

The complete text of the resolution branding the Socialist Workers Party as "dual and hostile" which officials of the Seafarers International Union jammed through the New York branch meeting on Dec. 7 has been made public in the Dec. 16 issue of the union's newspaper, Seafarers Log. The resolution makes it clear that the slander, threats and red-baiting hysteria against the SWP are aimed in the first instance to stifle discontent among the seamen and to crush any opposition, actual or potential, against the union leadership.

The resolution declares "that any man who is a member of, contributes to, or as a fellow-traveller, knowingly follows the policies of any of these organizations [Trotskyists and others], be declared an enemy of the SIU and be made to stand charges and, if found guilty, be expelled from the union."

Thus, for instance, a member of the SIU could be hauled on charges, expelled from the union and thereby driven out of the industry not only for membership in the SWP but for the following six reasons which could be, and are, classified as "policies" of the SWP:

1. Opposition to strikebreaking.
2. Opposition to raiding other waterfront unions during strikes.
3. Opposition to using Taft-Hartley Law as a weapon in inter-union struggle.
4. Opposition to

Jim Crow ships and Jim Crow hiring halls. 5. Opposition to discrimination against Puerto Ricans and the policy of driving them out of the union. 6. Opposition to extortionate and blackmail methods against permit men, comprising over one-third of the SIU.

Only a pack of hypocrites like those running the SIU could justify a strong-arm regime by references to Trotsky's *Their Morals and Ours*. They cite Lenin's famous advice to revolutionists on how to "carry on communist [not Stalinist] work in them [the trade unions] at all costs" but deliberately omit Trotsky's comment which follows:

"The necessity for evasions and maneuvers, according to Lenin's explanation, is called forth by the fact that the reformist bureaucracy, betraying the workers to capital, baits revolutionists, persecutes them, and even resorts to turning the bourgeois police upon them. 'Maneuvers' and 'subterfuges' are in this case only methods of valid self-defense against the perfidious reformist bureaucracy."

Lenin and Trotsky knew about the Paul Halls long before he ever heard their names. The "methods of valid self-defense" he speaks of apply not only to revolutionists but to every worker who favors honest, democratic unionism and wants to keep from starving.

Stalinists and Jerusalem

The Kremlin's shady maneuvers have embarrassed the American Stalinists more than once. Now they are trying to "explain" how Stalin's delegates in the UN General Assembly lined up with the delegates from Vatican-dominated and Arab countries to push through a resolution for "internationalization" of Jerusalem under UN control.

There are few Arabs in this country, but in several cities the Jewish people form an important part of the population. Hence, Stalin's support of the Vatican-inspired UN resolution has the American Stalinists squirming. The Daily Worker and the Jewish-language Morning Freiheit have been running big articles and editorials trying to appease their Jewish readers and, at the same time, defend the Kremlin's action.

Kremlin support of "internationalization," says a Daily Worker report on a Freiheit editorial, has warned off the danger of "phony internationalization" on an imperialist pattern. Presumably the "internationalization" wanted by the Vatican is not "phony."

Unlike the Worker and Freiheit, which are official Stalinist organs and are forced to defend Stalin's policy publicly, the American Labor Party which is run by the Stalinists pretends to take a different position. The ALP state executive committee, at a meeting chaired by Vito Marcantonio, loudly asserted, "Jerusalem belongs to Israel. That is now and always has been the ALP position."

Thus, the Stalinists' electoral machine in New York State represents itself to Jewish voters as a defender of the Jewish state while the Communist Party as such upholds the Kremlin policy which has aroused ire among the Jewish people. Neither tells the truth — namely, that Stalin is using the Jerusalem issue solely to extend his influence in the overwhelming Arab-populated Middle East.

The Kremlin — like the Vatican, the American and British imperialists, the Arab leaders and the Jewish national leaders — is against settling the issue in the only just and progressive way: By letting the people in the disputed territory decide their own fate through a democratic vote.

SP Leaders Attempt to 'Clarify' Their Position

The Socialist Party National Executive Committee's proposal to discontinue independent electoral activity has aroused so much dissatisfaction among the members of the party that two members of the NEC have been compelled to issue a "clarification" denying that certain parts of their resolution mean what they actually say.

The NEC majority resolution states: "Democratic socialism requires a mass electoral party consciously devoted to it. Conceivably such a party might be achieved by the basic conversion of one of the major parties. We believe it far more likely — and definitely preferable — that it will be achieved by the establishment in the electoral field of a party like the British Labor Party or the Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth Federation..."

Aaron Levenstein and Harry Fleischman, NEC members, have attempted to answer the criticisms of this resolution by writing in the Dec. 16 Call:

LAME "CLARIFICATION"

"As supporters of that resolution we want to make it clear that neither we, nor, we are sure, any other NEC member, believes that the Democratic Party can be the medium for the establishment of Socialism in America."

Nevertheless, Levenstein and Fleischman speak only for themselves. The other NEC majority members, including Norman Thomas, haven't issued a similar denial. But if they do, it will be difficult for them to come up with a weaker or lazier explanation than the one furnished by Levenstein and Fleischman:

"When we said 'conceivably such a party might be achieved by the conversion of one of the major parties,' we were referring to the conceptions of some people in the labor movement and liberal organizations."

The "clarification" is so patently thin that it is not likely to deceive many. The resolution said more than the NEC majority members had intended; it gave away their real intention and motivation — namely, to become a left-wing of the Democratic Party, which is indicated in other sections of the resolution anyway. Now they are trying to explain away their real aims, lest the members reject their resolution. But because their "clarification"

does not alter the essence of their proposal, it is certain that opposition in the ranks will continue.

READING UNANIMOUS

The opposition has already received important support in Reading, one of the strongest centers of the SP. There the annual membership meeting of Local Berks met on Dec. 11 and voted unanimously to endorse the NEC minority resolution, advocating a continuation of the present electoral policy, and to send a full delegation to the next national convention where the issue will be voted on.

The same issue of the Call prints discussion articles by Seymour Steinsapir and Irving Barshop criticizing the majority resolution. Steinsapir finds it "shocking" not so much for its conclusions as for its analysis and its implied reasoning, and claims that it indicates "a complete change in Socialist orientation." He makes the point that the NEC does not propose to merely "limit but to eliminate independent electoral activity because such work has already been limited 'of necessity' (the weakness of the party) to a few areas."

"POLITICAL DEBASEMENT"

Both Barshop and Steinsapir condemn the section of the resolution which says: "Candidates should not be nominated where a campaign would contribute, or seem to contribute, to the triumph of reactionary candidates and policies opposed by labor and liberal forces." They note that in Bridgeport, Reading and Norwalk, where the SP has in the past received sufficient support to elect its candidates, this policy would mean the abandonment of all electoral work because in all these cases the labor leaders and liberals' campaign against the SP.

Barshop calls it "a rather abject statement of political debasement, and further appears to remove power to make decisions from our own hands to strange hands... it seems to us that the majority wants to create a formal working alliance with liberal Democrats."

While Steinsapir appears to be a supporter of the NEC minority resolution, Barshop is critical of both majority and minority. Of the latter, he says that "it is fantastic in its assumption that

electoral activity can be conducted in an organizational vacuum," because it fails to take into account the growing weakness of the SP.

Barshop makes another big concession to the NEC majority when he urges "in local electoral situations where we are unable to run candidates that we pursue an ad hoc policy depending on the factors in the given situation, regarding endorsements, and/or other actions." This would lay the ground for just that "working alliance with liberal Democrats" which Barshop had condemned.

Finally Barshop's proposal for work of SP members in organizations like Americans for Democratic Action is that they should not publicly support any ADA — endorsed candidates running in opposition to SP candidates but that they "may go along" with capitalist candidates in campaigns where no SP candidate is running and if they have previously gone on record for independent political action.

3RD POSITION LACKING

Barshop calls this a "third position" but it is a position that the NEC majority will gladly accept if their own cannot be passed. A real third position — showing that the Thomas leadership's new proposal is an inevitable consequence of their pro-capitalist policies on the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Pact and the coming war — apparently has not yet been advanced in the SP discussion.

Rejecting both NEC resolutions, Barshop advocates a "third position," which, however, turns out on examination to be much closer to the NEC majority than to the minority. For one thing, he too wants to limit electoral activity "to those localities where we can be effective in terms of votes polled." This would mean giving it up in most areas for it would change the criterion for deciding on campaigns from the number of people who might be reached by election propaganda to the number of people who might be convinced by it.

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

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- TOLEDO — Address inquiries to Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 1022, Toledo 3.
- WORCESTER (Mass.) — For information write P.O. Box 564, Worcester. Phone WORWORTH 2-24 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1325. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p.m.

By Ben Stone

This is the slave market of New York City. 80 Warren St. is where wage slaves offer their labor power for sale and the employers buy it through the intermediary of employment agencies who collect their 10% before the transaction is completed.

Under the system of chattel slavery the slaves were herded together at the slave markets under the lash of whips. Under capitalism the workers are herded into the labor market by the whip of starvation.

There are five stories of employment agencies at 80 Warren St. From early in the morning until late in the evening a constant stream of unemployed walk through the halls and from floor to floor in search of a job. Men and women. Boys and girls. They stream through the building by the thousands. The men far outnumber the women. The signs on the agency boards listing the jobs show a ratio of about 10 to 1 favoring the women. Many of the jobs call for attractive young women. Paradoxically, many of the men stare fixedly at the jobs for women.

How many unemployed are there in New York? The official figures say about 500,000 but these figures do not tell half the story. How many more work only part time? How many days and weeks are lost through sickness and injury? And of course the figures do not tell the story of human heartbreak. They do not tell of the anxiety, the gnawing fear, the desperation of the permanently unemployed.

One week spent at 80 Warren St. soon develops the knowing eye; you learn to recognize familiar faces by the scores. Two weeks of this brings home the fact that new thousands are shuffling through the building. Three weeks may start sprouting the seeds of personal demoralization.

What do the unemployed talk about? One says he failed to get a job because he hasn't got the fee. But he keeps looking, hoping that one of the agencies will give him a break. Another says the agencies are all fakes, they work in cahoots with the employers. But he also keeps looking. Another says wistfully that he's just trying to get back on his feet; another temporary job and

he'll have the money to buy a steady job. Then he'll save up some dough for a rainy day. The lines are starting to form on his young face. His jaw is set and grim. He never smiles. He keeps looking.

What do the agencies say? No fee, no job! But you'll pay the fee from your wages. No good. Scram, bum. You got the fee? Sit down. How much experience you got? Ten years? O.K. Business is lousy. Stinks. No business. Supposed to be the season now. Hell, there ain't no season no more.

So goes the cry of the agencies. No jobs, no fees, no profits. The cry of the unemployed is deep and muted. It is the cry of degradation. Hopelessness. Starvation.

80 Warren St. is only a segment of the vast employment machinery of New York. But it is symbolic of the whole. A day spent there leaves an indelible impression. One walks out of the building a little groggy; it is like the after-effect of a morbid movie, only this happens to be gruesomely real. Going out into the cold fresh air is an escape. But you'll be back tomorrow. You and the other thousands.

The thousands streaming through 80 Warren St. have already swelled into millions all over the country. The country's economy is backing and filling while the capitalist demagogues who boast that they have surely learned how to make their system work are denying that there is even a threat of depression. The crash and the panic will again overtake them by surprise as it did in 1929 and then maybe they'll start jumping out of windows in droves again. For they can't take it.

It may perhaps be a salutary lesson for capitalist economists — yes, and the "labor statesmen," too — who are so sure they can tinker with the capitalist system, to pay a visit to 80 Warren St.

P. S. The U. S. Army has detailed a Recruiting Sergeant to 80 Warren St. But business is not so good here either. Somehow the unemployed have a singular lack of enthusiasm for the army barracks.

MAYOR TAKES A WIFE AND HANDSOME PAY RISE

By Fred Hart

New York, "where eight million people live at peace and enjoy the benefits of democracy" is all agog at the glad tidings that its mayor has taken pretty young Sloan

for wife. It is like a story out of Horatio Alger. A poor Irish immigrant boy had risen from a cop to the head of the biggest city in the world and now before it is too late his busy successful life is again being crowned with the joys of conjugal bliss.

But the City Council in its infinite wisdom and foresight had forgotten nothing. It had acted promptly while the less practical people were just speculating why O'D was whistling "Some Enchanted Evening." It knew that "Bill" was going to set up house-keeping, and had to support his new wife in the style to which she was accustomed. Except for a few vindictive political opponents, the motion was heartily approved to give the mayor the decent salary of \$40,000 and in the same generous spirit the other top officials got a little boost too — ranging from \$2,000 to \$10,000 annually.

The City Council forgot nothing. Not even where the money for the salary increase would come from. It was all set. Beginning with the New Year, New York's relief clients will have to learn to make up their monthly housekeeping budgets on from two to six dollars less. That's the least they can do for their loving mayor. Besides they're a lazy, shiftless lot anyway. Probably hiding bankrolls and fur coats in their lower East Side and Harlem haunts.

William Reid, Deputy Mayor, also got into the mood of the day. The transport workers could have their wage increase and reduction of hours. Sure, but somebody would have to pay. Subway fares would have to go up to thirteen cents and bus fares to a dime. He too was thinking of O'Dwyer who had blazed a trail by putting an end to that cheap, degrading "nickel" tradition.

It wasn't reported but it is rumored that Joe Curran was sending a little token of his esteem and appreciation to Florida. O'Dwyer hadn't forgotten him when his need was great. Bill's cops had saved "democracy" in the National Maritime Union when it was in its greatest danger — that is, when the majority was lined up against Curran on the side of its elected officials in the Port of New York.

But there wasn't even a rumor that David Dubinsky had taken any official notice of the wedding. Not that he had forgotten about the mayor. The Central Trades and Labor Council was reminding him of his fatal dereliction from "AFL policy." There has to be discipline (not conformity) in the ranks of labor. What business has Dubinsky to be represented in the top union body in New York when he can't even recognize a "friend?"

UCLA Students Organize Marxist Forum, Hear Speech by Murry Weiss

By Cyrus Berne

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 14 — A group of UCLA students have organized themselves as a Marxist Student Forum. The first meeting, held across the street from the UCLA

campus, which bars "partisan" speakers and groups, was addressed by Murry Weiss, organizer of the Los Angeles local of the Socialist Workers Party.

Speaking on "Civil Rights" and the growing attacks on them, Weiss drew home the point that the real target for these attacks was the working class and that other abrogations were designed with this ultimate end in sight.

During the question period, Weiss gave his opinion on the possibilities of the united front, declaring that the biggest obstacle to its formation was the Stalinist attitude towards united action, exemplified by their role in the Minneapolis "sedition" trial.

Answering a question concerning civil rights for fascists, he explained that it was foolish to regard the government as a disinterested umpire on the political scene and that therefore the working class would have to rely on its own organized strength for defense against attacks by the fascists.

One of the members of the Forum gave a talk explaining how the group had come to be organized. Several of the students, informally exchanging their views on current problems, had come to the conclusion that the Marxist

method of analyzing these problems was the most rewarding in terms of the broader understanding it gave them.

The group, he said, was concerned with the growth of American militarism and its intrusion into their lives. It was disturbed by the violations of civil rights and the demand for "loyalty" oaths from government employees and on the university campus itself, because here "loyalty" was defined as conformity. It was impressed with the significance of the rise of revolutionary movements throughout Asia, political crises in Western Europe, resistance by the Yugoslavs to the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The purpose of the Forum, he said, is to further analyze these problems by means of free and open discussion. Participants would have the chance to fairly test the value and contributions of the Marxist method.

In practice, the Marxist Student Forum will function primarily through lectures, forums and open discussion. It plans to have outside speakers address the group and to contribute, in the light of their particular experiences, to the students' consciousness of social reality.

Toronto Candidate



ROSS DOWSON, Trotskyist candidate for Mayor of Toronto in the Jan. 1 election, who is waging an active campaign on a militant labor program. Dowson is the only working class candidate for the post.

Youngstown Plays Active Part in NAACP Campaign

YOUNGSTOWN, Dec. 16 — About 150 people attended a mass meeting called by the Youngstown branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on Dec. 15, as part of the national civil rights mobilization of the NAACP.

Chairman of the meeting, and in charge of arrangements, was Nathaniel C. Lee, treasurer of Local Union 1330, CIO United Steelworkers, and member of the executive board of the local NAACP. The featured speaker was Clarence G. Smith, Toledo attorney and newly-elected president of the Ohio State NAACP. Mr. Smith has been touring the Ohio branches, and reported on some of the conditions which he found on this tour. He urged that the branches not sit back with fat treasuries, but use their funds in pressing the civil rights fight.

John Thornton, PAC Director of District 25, United Steelworkers, flayed the police for their vicious role in the swimming pool controversy in Youngstown last summer, when the Negro population attempted to assert its rights and use the city-owned swimming pool facilities. The police stood by, while Negro youngsters were being beat up by white hoodlums. The security police are very active in arresting Communists, he pointed out, but do nothing against the fascists.

Harry Green, representing Local 1330, said that his local does not believe in, just lip-service when it comes to civil rights. He urged that everyone get behind the civil rights program. He announced that his local union was contributing \$50 to the local NAACP work, and would send one, and maybe two, representatives to the Washington civil rights conference on Jan. 15 to 17.

A donation of \$25 from the Mahoning County CIO Council was announced, and a collection of \$35 was taken among the audience.

Have you sent in your contribution to the Socialist Workers Party Building Fund?

Stewart-Warner Orders 'Loyalty' Oaths in Plant

Five workers who refused to sign non-Communist "loyalty" affidavits demanded by the Stewart-Warner Corporation, holder of a number of government contracts, were ordered to leave the Chicago plant on Dec. 20. They were given "10 days to think it over" or lose their jobs for good.

This followed an announcement in the company's paper that the firm will enforce its own ban on "Communists." Henceforth, Stewart-Warner will bar from employment in its main Chicago plant all "suspected" members, ex-members and sympathizers of the Communist Party.

"The only persons who might be asked to sign" an affidavit, the company statement assures, "would be those suspected of Communist leanings." The company, of course, decides who is "suspect."

William W. Miller, company director of industrial relations, emphasized the coercive nature of the affidavit: "Refusal to sign will result in immediate dismissal."

Stewart-Warner's policy goes far beyond the methods of the "loyalty" purge so far used in private industry. Workers have been fired as "poor security risks" in a number of plants on orders of the Defense Department. The Wright Aeronautical Corporation, near Paterson, N. J., has demanded that United Auto Workers Local 669 sign a contract granting the company the right to fire workers alleged to be "subversive," but the union rejected this as an invasion of the workers' political rights and freedom. Stewart-Warner, however, is proceeding to put into effect its own political ban without asking anybody's leave.

What worker's job, what active unionist's job will be safe if Stewart-Warner gets away with this and other companies take up the practice?

The Stewart-Warner policy follows the pattern of Truman's "loyalty" purge and the infamous Taft-Hartley Law. Truman's purge, based on the blacklist of "subversive" organizations issued by former Attorney General Tom Clark, is being extended from government employees to all workers, even in private industry, engaged on government contracts. Stewart-Warner officials, in announcing their own version of the "loyalty" purge, cited a Department of Defense directive on those "ineligible for access" to military information.

The "non-Communist" affidavit of the Taft-Hartley Law model for the Stewart-Warner affidavit, applies only to top leaders of unions which seek to use the procedure of the National Labor Relations Board. Both Philip Murray and John L. Lewis have refused to sign such affidavits. Stewart-Warner is now putting its own "Taft-Hartley" measure into effect against all its workers.

Stewart-Warner's new policy, is directed, in part, against the United Electrical Workers, the former bargaining agency. The company cancelled its contract with UE last June prior to a company-petitioned NLRB election in which the AFL International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was the only union on the ballot. The IBEW failed to get the necessary outright majority of votes cast and the UE has been demanding a new election. The purge is designed to eliminate UE supporters from the plant and thus enable the company to dictate the choice of unions.

MEETINGS IN CHICAGO, CALUMET HEAR V. DUNNE

CHICAGO, Dec. 18 — "We live in the epoch of the fantastic falsehood," Vincent R. Dunne, veteran leader of the Socialist Workers Party, told an audience of workers and students here at Altgeld Hall tonight.

"We are bombarded with the monstrous twin lies that there is true democracy in the United States and true socialism in the Stalinized Soviet Union," he said.

"Our job is to fight the American imperialist and the Stalinist liars with the weapons of truth," Dunne declared, "and to encourage others who believe in truth and justice to join in that fight."

Arne Swaback, pioneer revolutionary socialist and a well-known Marxist writer, presided at the meeting. He told how former Governor Altgeld of Illinois, after whom the meeting hall is named, pardoned the few Haymarket martyrs who had not been executed before he took office.

"The Socialist Workers Party fights to defend civil rights today in the tradition of John Peter Alt-

geld who denounced the legal lynchings of the 1880's," he said. "Vincent Dunne, the speaker of the evening, stands among those who will long be remembered as defenders of the rights of all the exploited and the oppressed. He will also be honored as a builder of the labor movement and a life-long fighter for revolutionary socialism," Swaback predicted. Comrade Dunne's visit here will be rounded out with an open-house social at the party headquarters where all the members and friends of the party will have a chance to meet him.

CALUMET, Dec. 19 — Vincent R. Dunne today addressed a group of steel and railroad workers and their wives here in this teeming industrial area next door to Chicago.

He told about the victimization of militant workers by the union bureaucrats who are helping the American imperialists extend their witch-hunt into the unions.

Comrade Dunne described how John Mahoney, a militant seaman, has been victimized by the bureaucrats of the Sailors Union of the Pacific because he dared to ask who gave the order for the SUP to break strikes of other unions. "The only thing wrong with Comrade Dunne's visits," said a steel worker comrade, "is that they don't happen often enough."

Schedule of Dunne's Tour on Civil Rights

- Toledo — Dec. 27. Detroit — Dec. 28-31. Flint — 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.

Who Wants Germany Armed?

By Charles Hanley

There is much talk nowadays about the need to rearm Germany and possibly create a Western German Army to be integrated into the Western European "defense system."

After World War I, militarism was still popular with many German petty bourgeois. After World War II, after the total defeat of the Wehrmacht, its lost battles on German soil, its complete breakdown and the appalling misery and degradation which followed the deadly Anglo-American air offensive — after all these horrors, the Germans had their fill of militarism. They did not want to spend one more mark on armaments. They thought only of rebuilding their towns, feeding their starving children.

With the introduction of currency reform the food situation greatly improved in 1948, the stores were filled again, although money remained scarce and the buying power of the population remained insufficient on the whole. German capitalism was unquestionably strengthened by the policy of the U. S. State Department. The Western German Federal Republic, created in 1949, spelled a greater share of profits and power for the German capitalists.

Yet they never dared openly to discuss the question of German rearmaments in all these years. They know very well how extremely unpopular the idea really is among the German masses. Even neo-fascist organizations and groups which have sprouted in recent months do not appear by and large to have openly asked for a new Wehrmacht as yet.

The German bourgeoisie has shied away from militarism not alone because of fear of mass hatred for it. For the moment they do not depend on armament profits because they are drawing rather lush profits from reconstruction and are the major beneficiaries of the currency reform. In brief, no one in Germany originated the propaganda for the "need" of rearming Germany to complete "the defense system of the democracies."

The origin is in the United States. It is here that leading weeklies like Life and other periodicals including the dailies have come out in favor of German rearmament. The origin is also in

Britain where General Fuller, a leading military authority was plumping for it in 1948 and where Field Marshal Montgomery is intriguing for it with American Brass Hats behind the scenes. The origin is in the Kremlin which is now working might and main to build up a "People's Army" in Eastern Germany.

When Chancellor Adenauer refers to the topic in a speech, he is merely responding to a cue by his imperialist protectors and senior partners who want him to probe public opinion in Germany (and Western Europe). Since reactions are still very far from enthusiastic, the American and British imperialists then step in to point out that they think the moment is not well chosen for Adenauer's remarks, that he had better abstain from making them, etc., etc.

These calculated denials also have the effect of unloading the responsibility for their unpopular project on Adenauer, their useful friend. Meanwhile they have succeeded in having the discussion publicly opened by a German, thus creating the impression that it is the Germans themselves who are asking for an armed force and who want a share in military preparations against Soviet Russia.

European workers understand far better than do the American workers that the German masses actually are hostile to remilitarization, but that Wall Street is anxious to recruit German soldiers for World War III. The international and particularly, the American working class alone can stop imperialist war preparations. It is however, impossible to stop these preparations without putting an end to imperialist control over Germany, without calling for the immediate withdrawal of all occupation troops. Failing this, the imperialists on the one side and the Kremlin on the other will increasingly favor German neo-fascists and the former Nazi generals. Both sides will collaborate with them in building up new auxiliary forces. The resurgence of militarism in both the Soviet and Allied zones will make the Big Brass and all the reactionaries so much the bolder everywhere. It is equally certain that once Germany is rearmed, mankind will be pushed to the very threshold of World War III.

Notes from the News

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY in New Jersey is discussing whether to enter its own candidates or support candidates of the capitalist parties in the 1950 congressional elections.

JAMES P. THOMPSON, well-known IWW leader, died in Seattle this month at the age of 76. Big Jim was active in the Lawrence textile strike and the Bisbee mine fight and was one of the IWW members indicted and sent to Leavenworth in the mass trials during World War I. A talented orator, he is credited with the expression that a scissorbill is a man "who is a worker from his ears down and a capitalist from his ears up."

THE NAACP has asked for "immediate clarification" of the new amendments on Federal Housing Administration regulations regarding race discrimination in federal government-aided housing. The NAACP maintains no finances should be given to applicants unless they sign a written guarantee not to practice discrimination, which FHA rules do not do.

LARRY GARA, youthful Bluffton (Ohio) College dean of men, has been released from jail on parole after serving seven months of an 18-month sentence for allegedly counselling a conscientious objector to stick by his beliefs in resisting the draft.

THE UAW NEWSPAPER discloses in its December issue that a General Motors executive and a General Motors lawyer are actively involved in the "American Guard," a mysterious "new secret bipartisan organization specializing in midnight meetings" and having a strong anti-labor, pro-fascist tinge.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN was asked, to grant in a letter by 70 prominent educators, scientists, writers and clergymen last week, a Christmas amnesty restoring the civil rights of conscientious

objectors "who have already paid heavily for their beliefs with long prison terms." Truman did not answer the letter, but his Justice Department announced that he "had no plans" to issue any Christmas pardons.

NEW YORK'S AFL Central Trades and Labor Council last week voted to accept the resignation of Joseph Tuvin, ILGWU representative on the council's executive board. Tuvin was "requested" to resign by council president Martin T. Lacey because the ILGWU refused to support the reelection of Tammany's Mayor O'Dwyer, who had the backing of the AFL and CIO. ILGWU President David Dubinsky had previously said that it was "unthinkable" that the council would try to dictate the political views of its affiliates.

HARVARD STUDENT COUNCIL last week adopted a resolution banning discrimination for race, color or nationality in all college organizations. Affiliated groups were given until October 1952 to remove all discriminatory clauses from their constitutions.

DAVID McDONALD, secretary-treasurer of the CIO United Steelworkers, announced on his return from the conference of the new International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, that he doesn't want it "to be a branch of the world socialist movement" and that U. S. unions must teach "our idea of trade unionism" to European labor. McDonald just can't understand why they don't support capitalist parties, as the CIO and AFL leaders do here.

THE PEACETIME DRAFT is "essential," Defense Secretary Louis Johnson has told President Truman. This means that one of the planks in next year's "welfare state" program will be the continuation of the draft, which is scheduled to expire next June and which Johnson wants extended for another three years.

THE DEATH CAMP OF MAKRONISSOS IN GREECE

(Continued from page 1)

apparel are immediately sent to "the Syrma," a special department of the camp for incorrigibles.

To this day, after three years of the existence of the Makronissos camp, not a single person has come back from this Syrma to relate exactly what transpires there. It is certain that the soldiers disappear quickly there, and none talks about it. Many have been killed on the pretext that they sought to escape. No one is permitted to come near "the Syrma." But soldiers, who during their forced labor chores have been brought in the proximity of this sinister place, have told of catching glimpses of veritable human specters wandering around, often atrociously mutilated, with legs and arms broken, eyes gouged out, noses and ears cut off.

To crown their cynicism, the Greek bourgeoisie from time to time sends notable visitors to the model "re-education" camp at Makronissos. The soldiers are forced to appear gay, singing and shouting glory to the King and the paternalistic government. Those who do not extort themselves in displaying their joy and enthusiasm are quickly

ferreted out by informers planted among the deportees and sent off to "the Syrma."

SOLDIERS RESIST

One would think that after all this, the morale of the soldiers would be quickly broken, but this is not at all the case. The soldiers continue to resist in their own way.

Last year, when a battalion was selected among the deportees and brought to the front to fight the partisans, before the battle started most of the soldiers deserted to the partisans. The bloody hangmen were thus obliged to bring the others back again to Makronissos. This is by no means an isolated example. On the whole, the soldiers prefer a hundred times to remain in exile rather than go free to fight under the orders of the bourgeoisie and for its interests.

At the other extremity of Makronissos is located the camp of the politicals. They number many thousands; together with the soldiers, according to official statements of the Athens government, they total some 30,000.

The politicals are better organized. They have their groups and their labor gangs. They are naturally subjected to the same

harsh treatment as the soldiers so far as food, water and tortures are concerned. But they are spared the "re-educational" meetings and speeches.

The revolutionary struggle, as always is exacting a toll from our party. Our comrades continue their heroic struggle on the crags of Makronissos. Young comrades side by side with veteran Trotskyist revolutionists continue their fight against the horrible capitalist oppression. Our party has always had worthy militants and has never taken fright in the face of the waves of reaction. Unwavering fighters in the revolutionary struggle, dozen of our comrades deported to Makronissos are there to remind the working class, every hour, every moment, of its duty.

The militants who have spent more than 30 years in the workers' movement and ordinary members and sympathizers are subjected to a double oppression: not only that of capitalist reaction but also that originating from the Stalinist bureaucrats and their henchmen in the camp, who are under orders to make life impossible for our comrades, to break their nerves and their will to resist.