

CIO Convention Pledges Fight On Wage Freeze

NEW YORK, Nov. 8 — After listening politely to speeches by the top mobilization officials the Thirteenth Constitutional Convention of the CIO bitterly assailed the mobilization set-up and resolved that "we shall never submit to discriminatory wage freezes or unfair policies of any other kind which will threaten the standard of living and the hard-won collective bargaining advances of free American labor."

The outspoken attacks of all the CIO leaders on the policies of the Wage Stabilization Board were the opening barrage in the campaign of the CIO Steelworkers union for "substantial wage increases" in the coming negotiations with the steel magnates.

WSB RUN-AROUND

Speaker after speaker gave glimpses of the run-around and general trimming the labor movement is getting on wages, prices and taxes. Emil Rieve, President of the Textile Workers Union and a labor member of the Wage Stabilization Board, described the reconstituted 18 member WSB as functioning "in a sort of way now." He told how he and the other labor members "often times must vote — when we don't want to — to cut down wage increases won by unions in negotiations, like in the case of the NMU. But we voted for it because they would have got less otherwise."

In an attempt to justify participation in the Big Business dominated mobilization set-up, Rieve continued, "A lot of people say maybe we ought to take another walk out of the WSB. I don't know if that is such a good idea. Even if we go out of the WSB the law doesn't go out of existence." His alternative was staying in since "there is nothing we can do except protest."

Joseph Beirne, President of the CIO Telephone Workers referred to graveyards of grievances that the WSB and its regional offices are becoming. Said he, "We have today over 10,000 cases tied up, 10,000 cases where we know and we feel . . . the keen desires of the workers whose wages are held up, and wanting those wages, wanting some relief . . . we have found a desire on the part of others connected with the wage stabilization program who have a keen delight in dragging their feet so that months and months go by and no relief is given to those workers whose cases are before us."

Indicating the heat that angry union members have been putting on the labor representatives of the WSB, Beirne continued: "But don't stop your pressure at our office. We are with you before you even begin to pressure us. But level your pressure against the public members on the regional boards and the National Board. Don't hesitate to send them telegrams, don't hesitate to send them the rather direct letters you send to us . . ."

Nathan Feinsinger, Wage Stabilization Chairman, closed his speech, (which delegates described privately as an attempt to do a "snob job" on the convention), with the hollow promise that his pal, "Phil" (Murray) could go into negotiations with the steel corporations with the knowledge that the WSB would in no way

CIO Convention Hits Smith Act

The 13th CIO Convention unanimously condemned the Smith and McCarran Acts in a resolution on Civil Liberties and Internal Security. The Resolution stated: "The Supreme Court's decision upholding the conviction of the Communist leaders was a grave blow to America's precious heritage of freedom of speech." The resolution asked that Congress review and revise all "security" legislation with the objective of giving "full protection to the civil rights of all persons, recognizing that freedom of speech is the foundation stone of democracy. Revisions of existing law which permit prosecution on the basis of speech or advocacy alone should be stricken out."

interfere with the collective bargaining process. Since the role of the WSB is to chop down gains won by unions in strikes or negotiations this "guarantee" was meaningless.

Every protest by CIO leaders against the mobilization set-up was prefaced by breast-beating declarations of support to the government's program for war. The speeches of the many government officials addressing the convention started from the same premise and drew the logical conclusion, namely, if you support the war program you must sacrifice wage demands, you must use "self-restraint and self-control." The tone of the whole convention was as flag-waving as an American Legion conclave. (See editorial on page 3.)

ASKS DEEDS NOT WORDS

A strong Civil Rights Resolution was passed. It called for a Federal FEPC, an anti-lynch law, an end of poll taxes and federal and state Civil Rights Laws. In discussing the resolution Willard Townsend, head of the Transport Service Workers, said the labor movement had frequently "given a nod to a resolution that says that the black brother should be treated on an equal basis." But how were these courageous words translated into actions when concrete discrimination situations arose, Townsend asked. He said that his investigation of the Cicero riot showed that union members were among the rioters and that local CIO leaders did not speak out against the Jim Crow mob. The Negro trade union leader concluded: "And so today, my friends, let's not support this resolution because we think it is a charitable thing to do. Let's support this resolution because to us it means the salvation of America and the salvation of a democratic world."

A separate resolution was passed condemning racial discrimination in the Panama Canal Zone which is based on the federal government's pay differentials for white and colored workers doing the same jobs.

Vol. XV - No. 46

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER, 12, 1951

PRICE: FIVE CENTS

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Workers of the World, Unite!

Strikebreakers Inc.



Strike Breakers Gang Up On N.Y. Dock Workers

By Frank Faber

NEW YORK, Nov. 7 — The name of Anastasia has loomed large in the longshore strike which has kept the port of New York tied up for almost one month. The name has become a symbol of the forces involved in this struggle. Anthony and Gerry Anastasia, brothers of Albert, trigger-man for Murder Incorporated, typify the waterfront hoodlums pushed forward by King Joe Ryan to spearhead his back-to-work strikebreaking activities.

The name of Anastasia, and others of like kidney who comprise the core of the Ryan machine, once had an intimidating effect upon the dock workers. But no more. The rebel longshoremen have taken the offensive against Ryan's hoodlums and carried the fight into their strongholds. Neither the hoodlums, nor the yellow press, nor Truman and his shotgun mediators, have been able to intimidate the strikers into returning to work without a settlement of their grievances.

Each day has seen another demonstration of the strikers' ingenuity in devising and utilizing new means of struggle. Yesterday, for example, the strikers chartered the motor launch Helen, equipped it with a loud speaker and used it as a picket boat to cover the waterside sections of struck piers. The N. Y. World Telegram reports: "A police launch, the Lt. Ronaghan, followed in the Helen's wake to see that the public address systems were not used." Depend on the cops to come to the support of the Anastasias!

Meanwhile, Edward Corsi, N. Y.

State Industrial Commissioner has appointed a fact-finding board to investigate and settle the dispute. In testimony before the panel, Ryan was forced to admit that no signed agreement existed between the union and employers. The rebels are demanding that a new agreement be negotiated, charging that the vote to accept the Ryan agreement was fraudulent. Dr. Martin C. Gathewald, chairman of the fact-finding panel, echoed Ryan and his gangsters by "stressing that the element of first importance in the board's function was getting the men back to work."

Supreme Court Rules Bail in Smith Act Case Is Excessive

The U.S. Supreme Court tipped its hat last week in recognition of the growing popular dissatisfaction with the witch hunt and the Court's own endorsement of the Smith Act.

In a unanimous decision written by Chief Justice Vinson, the Court ruled on Nov. 5 that the federal district court in Southern California should reconsider motions for a reduction in bail of 12 persons arrested under the Smith Act and held in the exorbitant bail of \$50,000 each.

COURT SKIRTS ISSUE

Vinson's decision skirted around the issue of whether the bail in this case was exorbitant. All it ruled was that the government had not proved the need for such high bail. Under this ruling the government can either agree to have the bail reduced, or it can still try to concoct "proof" of the need for high bail.

The Court's ruling in this case only touches the fringes of the issues in the witch hunt. It does not seriously affect the main trend toward thought control which was reinforced by the Court's own decision last spring when it declared the Smith Act constitutional. This act enables the government to hound and terrorize everyone who "advocates" minority political views.

In another decision on Nov. 5, the Court refused to override a lower court ruling that informers who "maliciously" give false information to the FBI may be sued for libel.

Cecil E. Foltz Jr. had sued the Moore-McCormack Lines for \$350,000 damages because he had been fired from the Economic Cooperation Administration in 1949 after the steamship company gave the FBI a "false, misleading and defamatory" report about his activities during the time he had worked for it. The Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that he might sue if he could prove "malice."

The Department of Justice and

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover both appealed to the Supreme Court to reverse the Circuit Court. Otherwise, they claimed, the whole "loyalty" purge might be disrupted and other federal law enforcement activities might be "seriously hampered." Hoover even said "the public" would be "frightened" and stop bringing "information" to the FBI for fear of prosecution.

But while Hoover may have to move a little more cautiously, the Court has refused so far to interfere with the "loyalty" purge itself.

People Oppose War in Korea, Poll Shows

OLD PARTIES SLIPPING, HALLEY VICTORY PROVES

NEW YORK, Nov. 7 — The notion that a third party "doesn't have a chance" was given a stunning blow in yesterday's election when Rudolph Halley, running on the Liberal, Independent and Fusion

tickets, was elected President of the New York City Council with a margin of more than 160,000 votes.

Halley is a Democrat himself, and shares the outlook of other capitalist politicians. But because he could not get the Republican or Democratic nominations, he made the most out of masquerading as an "independent." This pretense, together with the "gang-buster" reputation he acquired as Kefauver Committee counsel, was enough for him to beat the candidates of the major parties.

Michael Bartell, Socialist Workers Party candidate, summed up the results in a short statement over Station WNYC last night, shortly after Halley's victory was announced. Bartell said:

A PROTEST VOTE

"Rudolph Halley's victory demonstrates that the voters of New York are fed up with the two old parties and want a change. They voted for Halley, just as they did for Impellitteri a year ago, as a protest against the triple alliance of the politicians, the underworld and the monied interests. That is the significance of the outcome of this election.

"Unfortunately, experience will soon demonstrate that Halley's victory will result in no change whatever, for Halley is a Democrat, essentially no different from any other Democrat. I predict that crime and corruption will remain; the anti-labor policies of the city administration — as demonstrated in the sanitation workers' fight and the longshore strike — will continue; the 3% sales tax will continue, and the subway fare will go up; police brutality against the Negro and Puerto Rican people will continue.

"I want to congratulate the thousands of voters who saw through the demagoguery of Halley's 'Fearless Fosdick' routine, and voted against ALL employer-dominated politicians for a real change, a fundamental social change, for a labor administration and a socialist society. You

56% Agree War 'Useless,' Gallup Finds

Ever since Truman launched his unauthorized war in Korea sixteen months ago, The Militant has insisted the decisive majority of the American people are opposed to this war and, if afforded a national referendum, would vote overwhelmingly against it. Every public poll since Korea has confirmed how unpopular this war has been. New confirmation comes from the Gallup Poll survey released on Nov. 4 which discloses that a decisive majority regards the war in Korea as an "utterly useless war."

The question asked was: "A U.S. Senator says that the Korean war is an 'utterly useless war.' Do you agree or disagree with this?" (The unnamed Senator was Taft, Ohio Republican. See article on Page 2.)

Of those questioned, 56% agreed as against 33% who disagreed, a majority of almost two to one, and 11% expressed no opinion. The meaning of these answers is beyond dispute. Most Americans see no purpose whatever in this war; they are against it and they want it ended.

Gallup himself notes that his "surveys have for many months found the Korean war unpopular with the American people." Unquestionably, this is the most unpopular war in U.S. history. The propaganda barrage designed to fool the people into believing that it is somehow necessary and advantageous has failed.

Truman knows this, so does the Pentagon, so do all the other Big Business politicians. They all know that the continuation of this war is directly contrary to the wishes of the people.

This war which is opposed by the majority of the people can be stopped. It must be stopped. The way to do it is by demanding that the will of the people shall prevail. This means to demand a nationwide referendum which would permit the people to decide.

What better way is there of showing what the American people really want done about Korea? Those who oppose this demand for a referendum flout the will and wishes of the majority who want THE U.S. TROOPS BROUGHT HOME FROM KOREA!

1,922 More

Despite repeated reports of "slowed-down" fighting in Korea, U.S. casualties went up 1,922 last week, bringing the overall total to 97,514, the Defense Department has announced.

This total includes almost 15,000 killed, more than 12,000 missing, and 70,000 wounded. It does not include about 75,000 serious "non-battle" casualties, such as frostbite amputations, etc.

Stop the slaughter! Bring the troops home now!

are the far-sighted voters, for you represent the socialist future.

"I urge you not to limit yourself to voting for socialism. Follow through! The fight for socialism does not end on election day, it goes on 365 days a year. Those who want to join with us in the fight for socialism or learn more about our program are cordially invited to come to our headquarters at 116 University Place. I should be very happy to speak with you about our ideas and activities."

BREAKDOWN OF VOTE

Halley got 657,000 votes. He was supported by the Social Democratic leaders of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and elements like Democratic wardheeler Robert Blaikie and Republican Newbold Morris. He was endorsed by the N. Y. Times and Daily News.

Tammany candidate Joseph T. Sharkey got 494,000 votes. He had the formal support of most of the AFL and CIO leaders, and the endorsement of Sen. Lehman and Rep. F. D. Roosevelt Jr., both of whom were elected with Liberal Party support.

Henry Latham of the GOP got 436,000 votes.

Clifford T. McAvoy of the American Labor Party got 104,000 votes. (Last year, when the total vote was higher, the ALP candidate for mayor got 149,000.)

Bartell's vote will not be tabulated until next week.

SAM ADAMS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION



By Harry Frankel

1. The Army of the People

On the night of April 18, 1775, a small detachment of British troops moved out of Boston up towards Lexington, where they hoped to capture the radical leader Samuel Adams. He was reported to be nearby, preparing, together with John Hancock, another prominent rebel, to set out for the second meeting of the Continental Congress, in Philadelphia.

Within hours, the giant blaze of a revolutionary mobilization swept through the cities and countryside of New England. Adams and Hancock went on to the Congress. The detachment of British troops was driven back into Boston, and the British army encamped there found itself besieged by a people's militia of 20,000 armed workmen and farmers.

This powerful body of troops was something new under the sun. It was neither hired nor conscripted, but entirely volunteer. It was not raised by law; it was organized in defiance of all existing laws. It was staffed and officered, not by royalty, nor by professional militarists, but by farmers, printers, blacksmiths, doctors, tailors, barbers and others elected to their commissions by the ranks.

This New England army of the people was soon joined by other plebeian armies throughout the nation. The common people of America organized themselves into military units, armed themselves, and challenged the military might of Imperial Britain.

The revolutionary army of 1775-1781, with all of its imperfections, discontent in the ranks,

desertions, etc., still presents a remarkable picture. Today, when the militarists have to drag the reluctant draftees practically one by one to the slaughter, it is well to recall that at one time in our past, a large percentage of the population mobilized itself for war, not because the law said so, but in spite of the law and in defiance of the law.

The Revolutionary Process

When people defy the law in order to fight, society is being turned inside out. It is a sure sign that a revolutionary process is capsizing the ship of state, overturning all the old social and political relations, and bringing a new order of things into being.

The Revolutionary War of 1775-1781 was the result of just such a revolutionary process. It is the purpose of these articles to describe the revolution in America of a century and three quarters ago, and to attempt to draw lessons which will be helpful in the present period of social change.

That which historians generally call the "American Revolution" (or sometimes "The War of Independence") was really the last stage of the revolution: a revolutionary war against reactionary ruling classes and foreign oppression. The decisive stages of the revolution came before this war. Why historians make this confusion is a very interesting matter.

A revolution is the process whereby the mass of the people transfer their allegiance to a new social and political order, which they have built within the shell of the old. This is very often

(Continued on Page 3)

UMT Plan Would Regiment Youth

By Thomas Raymond

The latest step in the campaign to turn this country into an armed camp along Prussian militarist lines is the plan for Universal Military Training submitted to Congress by the National Security Training Commission. This Commission was created by Congress last June when it approved UMT in principle and turned the job of working out details to a committee composed mainly of brass hats. The report will be acted on in the next session of Congress.

The plan provides for the registration of all youths at the age of 18, and for their induction into the armed forces for training at the age of 18½. Following training, youths become members of the Ready Reserve for 7½ years, after which they go into the Retired Reserve. They remain subject to call for battle service at all times.

Thus, as U.S. News and World Report summarizes, "Unlike their

fathers, who had a chance to cut all ties with the armed forces when discharged from active duty, the UMT graduates of the future will always remain part of the country's military reserve, if Congress passes the plan now presented."

In other words, young men in the coming period will lose control of their personal lives and be unable to plan for the future without the constant fear of having their plans interrupted by a call back to the Army. This typical feature of Prussian-type militarism is to become part of the daily life of Americans.

SUBJECT TO CALL

The Ready Reserve, into which all youths must go after training, is subject to call at all times, not only in event of war. This means that even if there is no declared war, but only a series of Korea-style "police action," young men who are trying to establish families or job-

standing may be called up to fight, not just once, but several times, during the 7½ years after training.

College students may defer their Reserve obligation until after completing their college courses only if they are in some field which will be useful to the war machine, such as pre-medical or some science courses. But a college student who does this has his military service hanging over his head from the age of 18 until he is at least 30.

WILL COST BILLIONS

UMT will cost \$4 billions for the first year and \$2 billions for every year after that, calculated on the basis of 800,000 trainees a year, according to Pentagon figures. This means that a sum ranging from \$5,000 to \$2,500 will be spent on each youth. The young men, however, will see very little of this money: \$180 in pay for the six months, to be exact. The bulk of it will go,

as usual, to enrich arms magnates, clothing and building contractors, food monopolies, and an array of sundry grafters.

Meanwhile, as the war-like ardor of the Pentagon and Congress increases, that of the youth decreases. Time magazine, in a recent survey of the "Younger Generation," found this response to questions about the army: "Hardly anyone wants to go into the Army; there is little enthusiasm for military life, no enthusiasm for war. Youngsters do not talk like heroes; they admit freely that they will try to stay out of the draft as long as they can."

Time reports the words of a Korea battle veteran: "For 15 months, the guys have been running up and down these mountains getting their fannies full of lead. And what have we proved? I got news for you, Mister; the next time this boy fights to defend anybody's country, it'll damn well be his own."

Notebook of an Agitator

FROM HOLLYWOOD TO ROME

Taking advantage of what is left of my rights, I hereby serve notice of intention to join in the public discussions stirred up by President Truman's decision to send a United States ambassador to the Vatican. And if you expect me to be calm and politely restrained in my utterances, you're in for a disappointment. I was burned up about the encroachments of authoritarian clericalism long before the President's decision was announced. His latest stroke of statesmanship just added a little fuel to the flames which have been searing my tender flesh.

This is not a debate, properly speaking. From the looks of things, it is turning into a free-for-all fight. I am glad to see that, and I want a hand in it. My intellectual convictions on this issue, which are quite firm and definite, are reinforced by personal grievances which cry for redress. Grover Cleveland once remarked: "It is a condition which confronts us — not a theory." In this case there is a theory, too, and a very simple one. But the thing that hurts right now is a condition which is already infringing on my right to live as a free man in a free society.

Clerical Thought Control

The Roman Catholic hierarchy in this country is getting pretty bold and taking in a lot of territory. They not only want to regulate the morals of their communicants; they also want to regulate mine and yours according to their own perverted conceptions of morality. That's where my grievance begins. It may seem like a long way from a couple of movies to the highest affairs of state. But there is a direct connection as I see it; and they merge together, along with a lot of other related questions, into a menacing shadow of clerical thought-control over America.

Experience has made me leery of Hollywood and taught me to be choosy about what movies I see. This caution and discrimination pays off. When something good comes along on the screen, some artistic creation which holds the mirror up to human nature, I appreciate it all the more. And I treasure my right to see and admire and pay for the privilege, like any other free-born citizen. I saw "Open City" and "The Bicycle Thief," and bowed in reverence before the uncontaminated art of the Italians. When I read the reviews and heard the comments of friends about Rossellini's picture called, "The Miracle," I decided to see that, too, at the first opportunity.

But before I got around to it, the right to see this picture was brutally taken away from me and others who wanted to see it. Cardinal Spellman, the ecclesiastical hoodlum who broke the strike of the cemetery workers and splattered Mrs. Roosevelt with mud in a gutter brawl, denounced "The Miracle" as immoral. And forthwith the subservient public officials in New York banned the picture and took it off the screen.

The question of rights I won't stop here to argue the worth or worthlessness of Spellman's moral standards. I am concerned with more important questions. What about the right of Rossellini and his company to produce their work of art according to their own lights and insights? And what about my right and the right of other citizens to see the production and judge it for ourselves?

When I read the announcement that the movie version of "A Streetcar Named Desire" would be shown in New York, I said right away, without waiting for reviews or recommendations from anybody: This is a picture I must see. The reason for my recklessness in this case was that I had seen the original play on the stage, as played by a good company of actors on the summer theater circuit. I don't care much for decay and degeneration as themes of art. But that, it seems, is all you can get in a serious novel or play about people in the land lost in darkness south of the Mason-Dixon line. The artists paint what they see, and will not lie. It's terrible, but it's true and therefore beautiful.

That is the profound impression I took away from the theater when the final curtain fell on Tennessee Williams' powerful, mercilessly real-

istic, and yet compassionate play. I wondered what Hollywood would do with it, and made arrangements of my time in advance to go and see for myself.

I am happy to report that Hollywood didn't foul up this job. The picture faithfully follows the stage play and brings all its characters to life as the author conceived them. For this we owe our thanks to Elia Kazan, who produced the original play on Broadway, and then went along to Hollywood to direct the picture. Warner Brothers had sense enough to provide him with the best possible cast, headed by the incomparable Vivien Leigh, and let him alone.

Good Picture Mutilated

But then, after the picture was finished to the satisfaction of all concerned, some mutilating cuts were made without the director's knowledge or consent. Elia Kazan told about it with cold fury in the New York Times a couple of weeks ago. Between the time the picture was finished and its release in New York, the Legion of Decency went to work. This is a special organization set up by the Catholic hierarchy to police and censor works of art, and to decide what can't be shown under threat of boycott.

They preach Christian charity, but they rely on brute force. They let Warner know that they were going to give the picture a "C" or "Condemned" rating. "This," says the angry director, "would mean that people of the Roman Catholic faith would be instructed not to see it."

You might think that this doesn't concern you, since you pay no attention to such "instructions." But you are mistaken. Warner Brothers didn't doubt for a minute that it concerned them in the center of their most vital and sensitive interest — the box office.

Says Elia Kazan: "The studio's reaction was one of panic. They had a sizable investment in the picture, and they at once assumed that no Catholic would buy a ticket. They feared further that theatres showing the picture would be picketed, might be threatened with boycotts of as long as a year's duration if they dared to show it, that priests would be stationed in the lobbies to take down the names of parishioners who attended. I was told that all these things had happened in Philadelphia when a picture with a 'C' rating was shown there, and further, that the rating was an invitation for every local censor board in the country to snipe at a picture, to require cuts or to ban it altogether."

So, without consulting or even informing the distinguished director of the picture, they made twelve cuts in the finished film to satisfy the demand of the clerical censors, and delayed the planned showing of the picture until the mutilated version finally secured their "B" rating.

Threat to Freedom

It is just the good luck of the moviegoing public that the cuts were minor and do not seriously affect the flow and tremendous drive of the picture. That may be because Tennessee Williams' play, directed by Elia Kazan, is too powerful and subtle a thing for the ignorant Legion of Decency really to understand. We can't hope for such good luck every time. If this gang gets a little more power in this country, it will tell the people what they can see, and hear, and read, and what their children shall be taught in schools, and back up their regulations with force, as they do everywhere they can get away with it.

I, for my part, can get along without the movies, if necessary, but I can't get along without freedom. One of the greatest threats to our freedom in America comes precisely from the totalitarian enemy of enlightenment and freedom known as the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which President Truman has greatly strengthened and encouraged by his monstrous decision to send an official ambassador to the Vatican.

I am looking for allies in this fight, and it begins to look now as though we're going to have plenty of them. Some of them are good allies, and fighting mad, which is just exactly the mood this great discussion needs.

A Report From London on British Election

By T. Burns

LONDON, Nov. 11 — The election is over and "the rats are back." That just about sums up the attitude of rank and file Labor people to the Tory victory. It is full of bitterness, but not pessimism. This great labor movement with almost fourteen million supporters is in a fighting mood. It rallied to the election fight not on the basis of the articles and speeches of the "Labor statesmen" but out of instinctive class hatred of the Tories. Right to the last minute when the polls closed, campaign workers fought in a desperate attempt to get every single Labor supporter to vote, and the results in some marginal constituencies



ANEURIN BEVAN

were truly magnificent — backward workers mustered in their thousands, some who could neither read nor write, explaining to Labor supporters at the polling booth that they wanted to vote for "the Labor."

Nevertheless, in spite of this wonderful demonstration, the unpleasant fact remains that the "old men of Toryland" are back, and war is nearer. The election result has placed Big Business in a better strategic position than it occupied previously, and since this means greater servility to the American masters, it is in consequence a defeat for the working class. But this must be judged in its proper context. The defeat is by no means definitive. Labor is a great force based on powerful organizations; a factor which calms even the wildest capitalist newspaper. The Tories came back on a minority vote while Labor remains the biggest single party in the country.

RIGHT WING TO BLAME

Labor lost the election because the middle class swung to the Tories. While the Liberals by withdrawing candidates, in many cases gave the Tory candidates the narrow majority which ensured victory, it was the middle-class swing which did most damage.

This experience is not, of

course, new to the history of international social democracy. In 1945 Labor was given a huge Parliamentary majority because the middle class joined with the workers and voted the Tory down. But the reformist program of the Labor Party was totally inadequate to hold them, and by the early part of 1949 large numbers of small business and professional people in the suburban areas had moved back to the Tories. With a bold socialist policy this could have been avoided, but in line with its counterparts elsewhere, the right wing of the British Labor Party sought to serve two masters, the capitalists and the workers. It succeeded in neither, and through its indecision paved the way for defeat at the polls.

The responsibility for the setback therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of Attlee and Morrison, who rejected all suggestions from the ranks about the need for a bold socialist policy. The Bevanite results prove this to the hilt. Driberg, Mikardo and Harold Davis had the shakiest seats in the country, but succeeded in holding them and increasing their vote because they openly associated themselves with the need for cuts in the arms program. In the case of Driberg and Mikardo, the Liberals ganged up with the Tories. Both Driberg and Davis contested rural seats. A

left policy would have won the election.

WHAT NEXT FOR TORIES?

Big Business is not yet in a position to begin a frontal attack on the working class. Its most important job at the moment is to find ways and means to disrupt the labor movement and demoralize the fourteen millions who support it. Churchill has already made overtures for a coalition directly to the Liberals and indirectly to Labor. Speaking immediately after the election he urged his followers to "see the best sides of our opponents" and that "after all we had a common outlook on world affairs." Sir Hartley Shawcross and Morrison have both emphasized that Labor will support "law and order" and accept Tory rule.

The coalition weapon is, therefore, the most serious threat at the moment. It can easily have as its background the worsening situation in the Middle East. Both sides have identical foreign policies and a threat of war and "save the empire movement" could provide a plausible excuse. The Bevanites who supported the Labor Government on Egypt would be placed in an embarrassing position, and the resulting confusion could be serious. Consequently the main fight of the Socialist left today is against coalition, which in turn must be linked to the fight against war and for the freedom of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Asia and the Middle East. In this situation confusion on principles will quickly reveal itself and Bevan must either travel further to the left or expose himself in the period ahead.

The course of the Tory Party therefore is almost certain to be an all-out attempt to break up Labor's huge support. The longer this force remains intact, the greater the danger for the Tories.

THE FASCISTS

It is absolutely true that Churchill has the full support of the big bourgeoisie at the present moment, but the Tory Party should not be confused with the ruling class. It is not the class. Millions of middle-class clerks, housewives, small business and professional people gave the Tories a vote of over thirteen millions. These misguided people, who are not big bourgeoisie, believe that Churchill will reduce the cost of living, and when the grim truth once again confronts them they will react in the most violent fashion.

At the moment they are anti-

Labor. When the workers through their unions are forced to defend themselves against Tory attack, we can expect Big Business to do everything possible to inflame the middle class against the workers, by blaming organized labor for their plight. That is where the fascists come in, and it was no accident that election activity in some London districts resulted in clashes each night between Labor supporters and the fascists. Big Business will readily push some resources towards the fascists when the situation gets worse.

With the empire crumbling and the terrible impoverishment which is increasing in Britain, a polarization to the extreme right as well as to the left is on the order of the day.

THE NEXT STEP

Labor's rank and file were prevented from discussing policy at Scarborough, by the declaration of a general election. During the private meeting of delegates Bevan declared that he favored an early emergency conference. This is now absolutely necessary and will receive overwhelming support. To defeat any move to coalition and re-arm itself with a socialist program, Labor must have a conference as soon as possible. That is the first task.

Labor's Left did splendid work in the elections. Even right wing organizers from Transport House grudgingly stated this. The Left fought hard because it had a policy. Far from being frustrated or complacent, it must now prepare to take over the Labor Party.

LABOR ANTI-WAR

During the campaign, candidate after candidate was forced to declare against a war at any price. Labor's vote was in essence an anti-war vote, just as the removal of Shinwell from the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party at Scarborough was an anti-war gesture. Because of this the Bevan movement must clarify itself on the war question. The power toward retaining the masses which Labor at present enjoys, as well as regaining middle class support, is through the adoption of a socialist anti-war policy. That is the main lesson and task for the future.

Labor lost the election, but increased its support among the workers. It will decisively defeat the Tories when the Left Wing takes over and applies a full socialist policy. Now more than ever before this is the only road for British Labor.

Taft Uses Anti-War Talk To Gain GOP Nomination

By John F. Petrone

Senator Taft's strength in the race for the Republican presidential nomination has given rise to the speculation that in 1952 foreign policy may be a major issue between the capitalist parties for the first time since 1920.

Taft is now touring the country and lining up important sections of the Republican machine. As in the past, he is appealing to the middle classes by denouncing the Truman administration for leading the country into a "slide down the path of socialism and military government and the totalitarian state."

But he is shrewd enough to know that this is not enough to win the GOP nomination in a contest with the Eisenhower wing of the party. And so he has begun to sound the theme of opposition to the Korean war, which sharply differentiates him from both Eisenhower and Truman and has an appeal to broad sections of the population, including the working class.

"A TRUMAN WAR"

Taft is attacking Truman for having started the Korean war "on his own initiative." He gets the biggest applause in his speeches when he says "this

Korean war is a Truman war." He says that "if there is one unforgivable result of any foreign policy, it is an unnecessary war. Such a war we are fighting today in Korea." At times, he almost sounds like a pacifist: "There was a time perhaps when war might be justified as a matter of national policy. Today war is only an engine of complete destruction. It kills five civilians for one soldier."

But of course Taft is not a pacifist. He criticizes the United Nations not because it attempted to crush Korea but because it is "an utter failure as a means of preventing aggression" — that is, it did not succeed in its attempt because it failed to "go into China to punish the Chinese Reds for their aggression." He criticizes a Korean truce on the ground that this would mean "we have lost the war in Korea. . . . We are back here where we were three years ago except that we have lost 90,000 men in combat."

In this way, he plays both sides of the street like a true demagogue — appealing in one breath to the MacArthur "all-out" wing of the party and in the next to those who are against the war in any form and would like to see U.S. troops withdrawn from Korea altogether.

The significant thing about Taft's criticisms on Korea is that they are very popular, as the Nov. 4 Gallup Poll indicated. This is evidently one reason why Taft professes such confidence that he will win the Republican nomination even if Eisenhower contests it.

The 1952 campaign promises to be exciting and fruitful for revolutionary socialists. With a new discussion coming up on foreign policy, and with things heading toward an explosion against the wage-freeze, there will be a great opportunity for the opponents of Big Business and its war preparations to participate in this discussion.

MYRA WEISS SPEAKS AT 2 BAY AREA MEETINGS

By Bill Morgan

BERKELEY, Calif., Nov. 2 — More than three hundred University of California students listened attentively today at Sather Gate — nationally known free speech forum — to hear Myra Tanner Weiss and other Socialist Workers Party speakers present a militant program for socialism and peace, denounce the role of U.S. imperialism in Asia and call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea.

Graphically describing the reactionary aims of American imperialism, Mrs. Weiss, veteran campaigner for socialism and well known to thousands of West Coast workers and students, also denounced the betrayals of the Stalinists who offer to abandon the class struggle for a deal with Truman to maintain the status quo. Pointing out that it was the status quo which produced the very conditions which led to World War II and are leading to still another World War, Mrs. Weiss said: "Neither the Wall Street profiteers who hope to conquer the world nor the Stalinist betrayers can halt the revolutionary upsurge of the masses of Asia and Europe."

FREE SPEECH FORUM

Frank Barbara, SWP candidate for Mayor of San Francisco, took the platform to answer questions and explain further the program of the Socialist Workers Party. He dealt with the problem of the coming war and the inevitable upsurge of the American workers.

Barbara hailed the great awakening of thousands of American students and workers to the police-state aims of the capitalist government in America. He congratulated the students of the University of California for their militant and successful struggle to maintain Sather Gate as a free-speech forum and explained that every fight for free speech is vitally important in the struggle to maintain civil liberties in this country.

hearing the SWP program and answers to questions from the audience many students remained around the platform to ask more questions and shake hands with Mrs. Weiss and Frank Barbara.

This was one of the finest outdoor meetings ever held at Sather Gate and indicates a new turn in the campaign for socialism in this area. Some hostile heckling from a group of Shachtmanites who indulged in a bit of red-baiting was well answered by the SWP speakers and received a cool attitude from the serious crowd of students. It was a good meeting.

By Ed Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 5 — An overflow audience of workers and students crowded the Socialist Workers Party hall last Saturday night to hear Myra Tanner Weiss speak on the Korean War. Many had to stand. But nobody complained. As one said, "I would stand uncomplainingly in the rain to hear such a fine speech."

The audience was the most serious and at the same time the liveliest that has attended a San Francisco SWP meeting for many months. Questions flew thick and fast during the discussion period. "What is the difference between the SWP and the Stalinists? Don't you think Fascism will come in the U.S.?" Several members of the audience took the floor to express their points of view.

ELECTION WIND-UP

The meeting was combined with the wind-up of the San Francisco election campaign. Frank Barbara and Harry Press, candidates in the city elections, both spoke.

After the meeting a social was scheduled. However, there was little dancing. Everyone wanted to discuss further the ideas presented in Myra Weiss' talk, to look over the literature rack and to make arrangements to be informed of future meetings.

Friday morning Comrade Weiss was interviewed by Katherine Kerry over Station KYA. At noon she spoke to 300 students at the Sather Gate of the University of California in Berkeley. On Sunday night a house social in her honor was held in Oakland. Today, just prior to her departure, she was interviewed for 45 minutes by Bob Shutz, over Station KPFA in Berkeley.

Weiss Debates Seattle Professor on Korea

By Clara Kaye

SEATTLE, Oct. 29 — A courageous, dynamic fighter for socialism — that is the overwhelming opinion expressed by scores of workers and students about Myra Tanner Weiss, on tour for the Socialist Workers Party, who has just concluded a highly successful, action-packed, five day visit in Seattle. Her local activities were dramatically climaxed this afternoon by a debate on Korea with a University of Washington professor before an audience of almost 100 students.

Dr. V. Ehrlich, Assistant Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature, Far Eastern Department of the University, attempted to justify U.S. intervention in Korea on the grounds that North Korean forces had attacked first, but Mrs. Weiss forcefully proved that the U.S. State Department has been provoking the Asian masses for years, and that this

political assault by the American capitalists against the Asian revolution brands U.S. imperialism as the aggressor, not the Asian workers and peasants fighting for freedom, bread and land.

"Capitalism must expand or die — that is its essential nature," Mrs. Weiss said. "That explains Wall Street's economic drive for world conquest and its frenzied intervention into the Korean civil war. If the American government really believed in self-determination for nations, in land reform, or in helping backward countries, Korea would not be laid waste today by napalm bombs."

Mrs. Weiss ended the debate with a stirring denunciation of Roosevelt and Stalin for dividing the country of Korea and thereby laying the basis for inevitable conflict. She showed how only socialism could stop Wall Street's crusade for world empire and

bring real peace and freedom to Korea and Asia and the world.

The debate was moderated by Frank Wright, Executive Secretary of the University YMCA, and held at the Church of the People, right off the campus. "Students for Socialism" sponsored the meeting.

Afterwards, dozen of students flocked around Mrs. Weiss to continue the discussion. Dinner at the Church of the People followed with some of the students and friends who were tremendously impressed by Mrs. Weiss' socialist program and wanted to speak further with her.

On Friday evening, at a public meeting sponsored by the Seattle branch of the SWP, Mrs. Weiss spoke before a widely representative, jam-packed audience at Washington Hall on "Lessons of the Korean War," and here again her penetrating examination of the Korean War and the significance of the coming American revolution enthused and interested her audience to such a degree that the discussion period lasted an hour and had to be cut short for lack of time. Scores of new party friends were made and old friends brought closer.

At a reception held for Mrs. Weiss on Saturday evening, she met and spoke to still more workers who had not been able to attend her public meeting, and many who had heard her the previous evening came to meet her personally. Throughout her stay here, Mrs. Weiss spent as much time as possible in informal discussions with workers and students and housewives who were earnestly seeking clarity on the major political issues confronting them, and the Seattle branch will benefit enormously from her activities along this line in the very near future.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Literature Agent George Rock reports good sales of The Militant in the last few weeks of New York's election campaign for Michael Bartell.

In addition to sales at street meetings a number of papers were sold by Youth Branch campaigners who went doorbell ringing last Sunday to distribute copies of the election platform and invite people to the election rally.

"Leo and Steve met an old I.W.W. organizer who promised to vote for Mike Bartell," George says, "and to ask his family and friends to vote for him also. Donald sold a subscription to The Militant and a ticket to the election rally while doorbell ringing."

New York's plans for future Militant sales include selling in neighborhoods where election literature was distributed, as well as subscription work for campaign renewals.

Literature Agent Ken Saunders writes that everything is in order for Boston's local renewal campaign. He reports, "The next two Sundays will be spent in visiting subscribers and we expect a very productive campaign."

Ken asks us to send a bundle of 50 Militants weekly to Comrade Bebe Patch so that she will be sure to get them in time for delivery to her regular customers. The following is part of a letter from Comrade Patch telling of a recent experience she had while selling The Militant: "Here is a little adventure I had while selling papers last week. I found myself at a religious meeting; they prayed, sang hymns, then asked me to make a speech. They asked me to tell them something

about the devil. I told them the story of the devil and Daniel Webster and tied it up with the atrocities of today. I sold 25 Militants at that gathering of only 30 people."

Newark reports plans to go out for renewals this Sunday. Margaret and Bob went out last Sunday and secured a year's renewal from a subscriber on their October list. He was very enthusiastic about the paper and told them that a large group of his friends come to his house to read The Militant.

Katherine Cooper, Akron Literature Agent, reports 100% renewal of their October Militant expirations. She and Lou also went out one day last week and sold three new six-weekers for local delivery and two single copies. Akron finds that the six weeks delivery of The Militant is still one of the best ways to introduce new readers to the paper.

Helen S., acting Literature Agent for Minneapolis, writes to increase their Militant bundle. She reports very good sales of the paper to students. "Doris and Larry sold 43 copies on the campus. Judging from the questions asked and the enthusiastic reception of the paper, we think we will be able to do well on the campus this year," she writes.

J.J., a friend in Ontario, Canada, has been reading The Militant for several months and writes to say that he enjoys it very much. "It certainly is a worthy publication, and I look forward to seeing it every week."

J.J., of New York, also likes The Militant. "I have found the news in The Militant of great interest in its revelations of the corruptness of our society," he writes.

MOVIE AND BAZAAR
Jean Renoir's
"The Southerner"
with Zachary Scott and Betty Field
Followed by BAZAAR
Refreshments :: Dancing Donation \$1.00
Saturday, November 17, 8 PM
116 University Place
Proceeds for Packages to Europe

Just Published

THE ROAD TO PEACE

by **James P. Cannon**

Single Copy 25c 5 Copies \$1.00.
(Postage included)

Order from
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.

ROBERT A. TAFT

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN
Subscription: \$2 per year; \$1 for 6 months. Foreign: \$5.50 per year;
\$3 for 6 months.
Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.
Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.
Vol. XV - No. 46 Monday, November 12, 1951

Labor's Only Alternative

The AFL Building Trades Department, numbering some three million members, devotes its entire current monthly bulletin to the key question facing the whole organized labor movement, namely: "the alternative course of labor political action."

This bulletin starts from a correct premise, which is, that the Truman administration has "a terrible labor record," especially on such key issues as the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and civil rights legislation. The Democrats do not merit labor's support.

What then is the road for labor to follow? Four "possible alternatives" are listed. They are: 1 — form an independent labor party; 2 — elect our friends and defeat our enemies; 3 — vote Democratic; 4 — vote Republican.

The alternatives here posed are not at all four in number. The last three simply amount to one and the same proposition of voting for this or the other capitalist party and capitalist politician as against the real alternative of putting forward labor's own party and candidates.

There is a difference only in labels but not in substance between labor's voting a "split ticket" for its alleged "friends" among Democrats or Republicans and labor's voting a straight Democratic or Republican ticket. In each case the workers are duped into voting for capitalist politicians.

The AFL Building Trades "statesmen" pull another fraud in pretending that the formation of an independent labor party lies on the same level as the policy of "elect our friends and defeat our enemies." They dismiss both as "impractical."

What is there "impractical" about a labor party? In every major country where labor has organized its own political movement it has rallied millions of supporters. One need take only the example of Britain where the Labor Party is the biggest single party in the country. But the AFL officials, along with the rest of the official labor leadership, have long bitterly resisted making the test in practice of the power of labor's independent action on the political field.

They now admit that voting a capitalist split ticket, the traditional AFL policy since the days of Gompers, is "impractical." But what do they propose instead?

The bulletin does not say it openly, but does find a "very meritorious" argument in favor of labor's bolting the Democrats to vote for the Republicans in 1952. This "argument" reads as follows: "It would force the Democrats to respect us and after four years we would then be in a very advantageous position to obtain our demands."

In other words, these "practical" people are proposing to blackmail the Democrats into "respecting" labor and granting "us our demands" by putting the avowed enemies of labor, the Republicans, into the seats of power!

The CIO leaders' "alternative" is to hang on to the Truman administration at all costs. Their AFL opposite numbers have nothing to offer but a sell-out to the Republicans. Such "practical" politics has led labor up a dead-end street. So far as the millions of workers are concerned, they will find no way out of this blind-alley until they break completely from both the Democrats and the Republicans and build their own independent labor party.

CIO Foreign Policy

Delegates to the 13th annual CIO convention last week were given a lesson in political economy which pointed up the intimate connection between domestic and foreign policy. War and preparations for war, explained Economic Stabilization Administrator, Eric Johnston, are the main causes of inflationary pressures which have boosted prices and increased the cost-of-living. "Is there anyone in this room," he asked, listing the foreign policy measures of the Truman administration, who would not support these measures?

Johnston, knowing full well that the CIO leaders are militant supporters of the American State Department's foreign policy, needed no reply to his rhetorical question. Then, he insisted, the price you have to pay is the exercise of "self-discipline and self-restraint" in your wage demands.

Every Truman stabilizer who addressed the convention, and it seemed they all were there, played variations on the same theme — "self-discipline and self-restraint." For labor to exercise "self-discipline" it must refrain from fighting for pay increases higher than the wage-freezing formula of the WSB allows. If so, "self-restraint" can only mean — tighten your belts and get along on less. The British have a word for it — austerity!

The preachers of austerity — for the workers — buttressed their sermons with facts and figures. War preparations meant inflationary pressures on the economy; to ward off inflation requires sacrifices; if CIO supports Washington's foreign policy, austerity is the price that must be paid.

But what about profits and dividends, what of the rent hogs and price-gougers, what of the rich who are getting richer, the corporations who are coining fabulous wealth out of war production, the stock-jobbers and coupon-clippers? That, the CIO leaders were told, was something the stabilizers could do little about.

"Price stabilization," explained Michael DiSalle, Director of the Office of Price Stabilization, "is not a means of reforming the American economy." It is not, he said, "a method of correcting social and economic maladjustments rooted in our society through the years." No, it is not that at all! On the contrary, the war preparations and the war program are designed to prevent such reforms here and destroy them wherever they exist in other parts of the world.

The American labor leaders find themselves in an insoluble contradiction. So long as they support the reactionary war aims of American capitalism they cannot effectively defend the living standards of the workers at home.

Thirty-fourth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

By George Clarke

November 7 marks the 34th anniversary of the great Russian Revolution. On that historic day, workingmen, soldiers and peasants tired of war, sick of poverty and hating the tyranny of the Czar, the landed nobility and the bankers, took their fate in their hands to form a government of their own.

It was the first time in history that a workers' government had been built on so vast a scale, on one-sixth of the surface of the earth. The Soviet Republic, as they called it, was clearly a class government. Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolshevik leaders who spoke in the name of Russian labor, frankly acknowledged it to be that.

But unlike all other governments then known by mankind, the Soviet government represented the class — workers and poor farmers — which constituted the bulk, the overwhelming majority of the population. It openly proclaimed its intention to serve these people, to use the wealth, the labor and the means of production within the nation for the common good, to put an end to the exploitation of a parasitic minority. In short, their aim was to build the foundations for a socialist society.

In the 34 years that have elapsed since then, the Russian Revolution has more than justified its reason for existence.

GREAT ACHIEVEMENT

Its outstanding achievement is the fact that it has proved the superiority of the system of planned economy over the anarchy and waste of capitalism. Within this brief span of time, Russia has been transformed from a backward farming nation into one of the leading industrial powers of the world. It has eliminated the crises of over-production and the scourge of unemployment. It has eliminated mass illiteracy, the curse of Czarism, and trained an entire generation of young scientists, engineers and technicians.

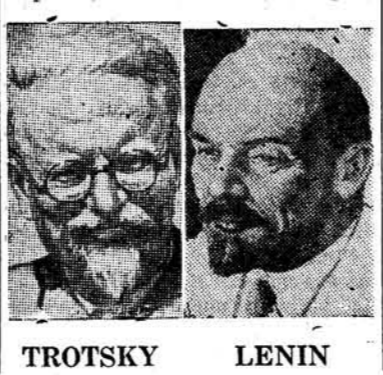
All of this has been done without any outside help, an unprecedented accomplishment in the building of a modern industrial society. On the contrary, the capitalists of the world and

their political representatives realized that the Russian Revolution was the signal of doom for them and their system. For thirty-four years they have been planning and plotting to smash the Soviet Union, to reopen its vast areas to the pirates of Big Business, to the banking houses and coupon clippers.

France, England, Japan and even the government of our own country under Woodrow Wilson tried to kill the Russian Revolution by military force in the wars of intervention from 1918-21. Beaten back by a revolutionary workers' army under the command of Leon Trotsky, the Soviet Union survived but the revolution which had spread into Eastern and Central Europe was driven back within Russia's borders and the first workers' government was isolated from the main support on which it had counted, industrial Germany which had been on the verge of following the Bolshevik example.

Then, as happened so often in strikes, the capitalist governments turned from direct force to economic pressure — to an attempt to starve the Russian people to their knees. They erected a trade blockade around the country, refused it loans, capital and machinery except on terms which would have spelled the end for the new system.

Here again their plans hurled against the indomitable determination of a people to build a socialist world. But if the Soviet Union survived it was not without the most terrible suffering. Everything that was built, every tractor, every power plant, every steel mill literally came out of the sweat and agony of the people. Few of the fruits of all this heroic effort could be used to improve the standard of living.



TROTSKY LENIN

Filipino Huk Movement: Its Origins and Growth

By John Black

Throughout the history of the Philippines the fight for social liberation has been closely linked with the struggle for independence. The great Filipino uprising at the turn of the century against Spanish rule culminated in the setting up of an independent, democratic republic at Malolos and also brought about a re-division of large estates. But with the U.S. conquest of the islands the movement for independence and agrarian reforms suffered a severe setback.

On May 1, 1913, the first labor congress met in Manila. Since that day, the First of May has been a national holiday in the Philippine islands.

Socialist ideas began to permeate working class and student circles following the First World War and this period saw the organization of the Socialist party under Pedro Abad Santos.

THE CP ZIG-SAGS

The Communist Party, which is being credited as the main inspirer and organizer of the current struggles, was not founded officially until 1930 and made little progress at the time not so much because of the harsh repressions as because of its sectarian line, which included, among other things, an attempt to set up dual "red" unions.

On the eve of World War II, the CP, like its counterparts in so many other countries in Asia, had become legal, dropped its original demand for independence and hastened to demonstrate its usefulness to the native ruling class and to the "democratic" imperialists. The period of the "People's Fronts" saw the Filipino Stalinists toeing the line. Meeting in full legality on October 1938, the CP held its third national convention, the so-called Unity Convention, at which the CP tried to swallow up the Socialist Party. Among the resolutions adopted by this gathering was one which stated:

"The right to separate from the U.S. does not place upon us the obligation to separate. . . . The resolution then went on to plead that 'separation does not assure the best means towards the attainment of fuller democracy for the people and complete independence,' and added the following fraudulent warning:

"Immediate severance of all relations with the U.S. would mean cutting ourselves loose from one of the most democratic powers in the Pacific, and would be a fatal blow to our independence, peace and security."

On the eve of World War II the labor movement was much stronger than before. Unions were divided into registered and un-registered groups. By far stronger were those not registered, that is, not officially recognized by the government. The General Workers Union under Socialist influence with a membership of about 50,000, the Philippine Peasants Confederation with some 60,000 members and the Sons of Sweat numbering 80,000 were better organized and wielded greater influence than the small government-backed outfits.

Such was the general situation in the islands when World War II saw them occupied by the Japanese Imperial Army. Resistance to this new foreign rule flared almost immediately.

The Japanese were harassed by two main types of guerrilla fighting. One group of guerrillas, the smaller of the two, operated with the guidance and aid of the U.S. army command in the Pacific and appears to have limited itself to minor military actions.

Totally different was the other movement which reached major proportions. In March 1942 Luis Taruc organized the Huks. Who was Luis Taruc? Born on June 21, 1912 in the province of Panganga, he had worked his way through two years of law courses at the National University of the Philippines. There he became interested in the discussions led by the "League for the Defense of Democracy."

He returned to his home province in 1937 where he joined the Socialist Party and helped organize the General Workers Union, becoming its General Secretary. He led the first strike of government workers in the quarters. When the war came he went into the country and organized the Huks. Without military experience himself, he became the Commander in Chief, taking charge of organizing large scale guerrilla warfare. His Vice Commander, Casto Alejandrino, took charge of the military operations. Also active in the Huk organization were two Chinese Stalinists, Ong Kiet and Lee Ying-hao.

It was this situation of poverty, of shortages, of general want, for which the "democratic" capitalist powers of the West are primarily responsible, that created the conditions for Stalin's rise to power. The Russian workers did not want the privileged and tyrannical caste of bureaucrats that finally came to rule over them. The mass purges of the Thirties and the concentration camps showed how great their opposition was. The Kremlin won out only because the Russian

masses feared to go the limit, feared that in the showdown struggle which would ensue, Western capitalism would step in and destroy their revolution. None but liars and hypocrites can deny that Stalin is the product of capitalist reaction and not of revolution and socialism.

But despite Stalin, despite his innumerable crimes against the working people of Russia and of the whole world, the Soviet Union still stands and it is stronger than ever. Its property forms and

system of planned economy have now spread over one-third of Europe and are reaching into the vast areas of China. That explains why the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union begun in 1917 and continued by Hitler in the last war is once again moving to a showdown. The capitalist world cannot live with 800 million people, one-third of the human race, outside its area of exploitation and profit.

And yet it cannot destroy the system which was born out of

the Russian Revolution and which survived war and blockade even in its infancy. Imperialism may atom-bomb cities, lay waste to great areas as it has done in Korea, bankrupt the United States in the attempt but it cannot destroy a revolution that is anchored in the minds and hearts of millions of people.

That is the lesson of 34 years of the Russian Revolution. It is also the warning to those who want to make war against it.

Tito Regime Adjusts Its Policies To Suit Aims of U.S. Imperialism

By Michel Pablo

PARIS, Nov. 1 — From week to week the policy of the Yugoslav leaders brings actions and commitments binding Yugoslavia to the chariot of imperialism and preparing the liquidation of the anti-capitalist conquests achieved by the revolutionary struggle of the Yugoslav masses.

This is an example of the debacle to which the opportunism of the leadership of a revolutionary movement fatally leads under the present conditions of sharpening of the world class struggle. It is an example of how a leadership abandons a policy based on revolutionary Marxism and reliance upon the revolutionary masses and becomes addicted to the worst eclecticism and empiricism for the sake of safeguarding its own rule at any cost.

Because the basis of proletarian power in Yugoslavia was, from the beginning, infinitely narrower than that in Russia after the October revolution; and because the class struggle has never before known such acuteness as now with the approach of the Third World War, this power in Yugoslavia is now degenerating and disintegrating on all fronts: economic, political and ideological.

We have here a new confirmation of the absurdity of "socialism in one country" and of the enormous role which the leadership of a revolutionary movement

can play in one of two ways: Either to utilize the power conquered in a country in order to impel the international working class movement forward, subordinating the former to the vital interests of the latter; or, to consider this power as an end in itself and try to safeguard it by resorting to a policy of extreme opportunism.

But in the second case, what is safeguarded is no longer exactly the power of the proletariat, but more and more the power of the leadership hardened into a bureaucratic caste which undermines and exhausts the social content of the proletarian power and in reality prepares the way for its total collapse.

After a brief left-centrist period which followed their break with the Kremlin, the Yugoslav leadership in their attempt to safeguard the regime 'with the money, the military and diplomatic guarantees of Western 'democratic imperialism,' has been liquidating the proletarian power in Yugoslavia bit by bit and preparing its total demise.

Let us grant, as the Yugoslav leaders are now hoping, that at least part of this proletarian power remains, up to the time of the imperialist war against the USSR, and let us even grant that 'this war is won by America. It really requires the most extraordinary naivete to believe that in such an eventually Washington would content itself with punishing the evil Stalin and would leave Tito at the head of his 'humanist socialist' republic.

In reality, the Yugoslav leaders cannot be credited with such naivete and thus somehow entitled to the benefit of "extenuating circumstances." Either their opportunist and adventurist policy lacks any perspective whatever, or they are consciously proceeding to an adaptation of the present regime in Yugoslavia to the capitalist system.

No other explanation is possible on the basis of the facts which have been rapidly multiplying for some time.

Under cover of a struggle against the danger of bureaucratism and against centralization, the Yugoslav leaders have recently adopted a series of measures which tend in the general direction of a gradual abolition of the system of statified and planned economy and of the real

power of the people's committees. The regime is being "liberalized" — but in the capitalist sense. And one must have the brazen cynicism of bureaucrats who exploit the confusion that they themselves sow among the rank and file in order to present all these liquidationist operations as comprising a greater "democratization" of the regime and a speeded-up "withering away" of the state into "socialism."

In reality the bureaucratic regime has never been as virulent in Yugoslavia as it is today; and never — at least not since the break with Moscow — have the police been more active than they are now against critics, dissidents, and opponents of the new treacherous course of the Yugoslav leaders.

Things are no better on the diplomatic plane and in foreign policy. At the conclusion of the Zagreb peace conference, for which the Yugoslav agencies abroad succeeded in recruiting less than 100 "delegates," who for the most part represented nobody but themselves, Tito held one of his "sensational" press conferences at the White Palace attended by 150 foreign and Yugoslav journalists. (The Zagreb correspondent of the N. Y. Herald Tribune compared the "peace conference" from which the real revolutionary representatives were excluded, to an incoherent hodgepodge of all possible opinions and described it as a defeat to the ambition of the Yugoslav leaders to constitute a "third ideological tendency.")

This time, under the pressure

of circumstances which allow less and less room for ambiguity and which wipe out intermediate positions, Marshal Tito had to show his hand in such a way that he succeeded in shocking even a paper like Le Monde which by no stretch of the imagination can be considered as "socialist." Tito found it necessary to bury the myth of "neutrality" and of a possible "third bloc" and openly took a position in favor of America in the event of a war with the USSR. In addition, the Marshal made a declaration in favor of rearming Germany and for "normalizing and improving" relations with the Vatican, as well as with Greece and Turkey to whose aid Yugoslavia would immediately go in case of "aggression."

A few days earlier, a ranking member of the Yugoslav General Staff created a sensation by another no less shameful and provocative declaration in which he begged Washington for some of its atom bombs. Because of its geographical position, he said, Yugoslavia would provide the "right place" for them.

THE LOGICAL OUTCOME

All this is the logical conclusion of a policy which has abandoned its revolutionary Marxist basis and which then rapidly degenerated under pressure of an international situation developing toward war.

Everywhere the social forces are being polarized and are taking their battle positions. Everywhere the protagonists of the "third bloc" are either unmasking themselves as agents of the imperialist bloc or because of the logic of their policy and the necessities of the struggle are being led to make a definitive choice in favor of this bloc.

The attitude of the Yugoslav leaders confirms this in a manner most painful to all revolutionists friendly to proletarian Yugoslavia and to its revolutionary masses. It is now more necessary than ever that the revolutionary Marxist Party organize into a Leninist tendency and align themselves against the treacherous policies of their leaders.

Proletarian Yugoslavia is on the verge of being struck down by a leadership which has shamefully capitulated even before the actual outbreak of World War III.



MARSHAL TITO

SAM ADAMS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

(Continued from Page 1)

followed by a revolutionary war. The dispossessed reactionary classes, sometimes with foreign help, throw the weight of their remaining strength against the new regime.

In the American Revolution, the masses and their radical leaders started on the road to revolution some years before Concord and Lexington. By the time the war began, the framework of a new regime had already been elaborated.

Since the historians would like to hide, or disregard as much as possible, the revolutionary past, they prefer to ignore the actual overthrow of the outlived regimes. They prefer to treat the revolution as a war between two sovereign states. In contrast to these historians, we will not be primarily concerned with the military stage of the revolution. We will be concerned with the process by which the new regime arose within the shell of the old. We will be concerned with the way in which the people sifted programs and parties, and found their way to the radical party, which they then built into the foremost political force.

We have already seen that the open warfare between the old regime and the new was touched off by a British military foray, one of the objects of which was the capture of Sam Adams. We shall see that this was no accident. The British and the American Tories had good reasons for hating Sam Adams, and for attempting to lay their hands on him.

Sam Adams was the leader of the seething revolutionary masses of New England. He was able, by skillful use of this powerful force, to determine the fundamental course of the revolution throughout the colonies, despite the widespread suspicion of the New England radicals that existed among the opposition elements elsewhere.

There were very important reasons why Boston was the center of the revolutionary movement.

In the first place, Boston contained a large working class, mechanic, and independent artisan-shopkeeper population. It was the center of the shipping/boating region, as well as the most important port. As we shall see, this type of population was the spearhead of the revolution everywhere.

The Boston sailors, shipyard and ropewalk workers, brewery workers, fishermen, sawmill workers, together with the small merchants, shopkeepers and artisans, were the shock troops of the revolution. Boston was the chief base of operations of a certain section of the merchant class: the so-called free-trade merchants, who imported goods without paying duty on them, or, in a word, smugglers.

The whole economy of the New England region did not fit well into the mercantile system, by which the British merchants exploited the colonies. This led to serious frictions. And so Boston early became a center of resistance to British colonial rule.

Boston developed the best of the radical leaders. At the head of the Boston mass movement was Sam Adams, the most capable, intransigent, and far-sighted leader of the American Revolution. He was the greatest revolutionary leader ever developed on this continent, and one of the greatest the world has ever known.

Samuel Adams was not a Johnny-come-lately. He was one of the first, perhaps even the first, of the real radicals in the Revolution. He had been a fully conscious revolutionist for at least eight years before Concord and Lexington, and a revolutionist in deeds, if not yet fully in his consciousness, for a dozen years prior to that.

Thus, when we write about Sam Adams and the American Revolution, we are writing about a great historic event, and about the man who gave that event its most conscious expression and guidance.

(Next Week: The Young Sam Adams)

Jim Crow in Stork Club

By George Lavan

Josephine Baker left St. Louis at an early age and went to France where she became one of the most famous entertainers in Europe. She became a French citizen, and recently returned for a tour of the U.S., winning acclaim for her great talents. She is admired by the Negro public for her uncompromising refusal to submit to the Jim Crow pattern of race discrimination so prevalent in this country.

On Oct. 16 in the late evening she was taken by the French singer, Roger Rico, male lead of South Pacific, and his wife to the Stork Club.

The Stork Club is New York's most famous night club. It is run by Sherman Billingsley, a prohibition-time speakeasy operator. It thrives on the fact that it is frequented by "celebrities" and uses this snob appeal to attract people who want to go where the "celebrities" go. It receives reams of free advertising from columnists, like Walter Winchell, who detail who was seen there with whom, etc.

The Rico-Baker party was ushered in, seated, and served a round of drinks. They then ordered food. Suddenly service became unobtainable. Though Billingsley and Walter Winchell were in the room the Rico-Baker party couldn't get service. After an hour when a waiter finally came over he told them there was no steak, etc. Instead of meekly submitting to the humiliation Josephine Baker went to a phone and called her manager. Upon returning they found that Winchell had gone and that food had been brought. Too upset by the incident to eat, the party asked for their check. The reply was that "celebrities" weren't charged at the Stork Club. Rico refused this "hospitality" and threw \$30 on the table to cover their bill as the party left.

Miss Baker immediately went to Walter White of the NAACP. Attempts to get Billingsley to issue a statement were unavailing. But White was immediately contacted by Walter Winchell's lawyer who asked Mr. White for a statement to be read by Winchell over the radio to the effect that since Winchell had not been present for the duration of the "incident" he bore no responsibility. Given to understand that Winchell would preface this statement by a condemnation of dis-

crimination at the Stork Club, White glibly wrote such a statement.

"That great champion of minorities," Winchell, now pulled a double-cross. He failed to denounce Jim Crow at the Stork Club but attacked those who were trying "to involve" him. Then he read Walter White's statement giving him a clean bill of health as a fighter against discrimination. Since then Winchell has tried to take the heat off the Stork Club by carrying on a cowardly campaign against Josephine Baker and others protesting the Jim Crow policy of his bosom buddy Billingsley.

He has discovered that one of the protesters was involved in the Paul Robeson-Peekskill riot — where anti-Negro and anti-Semitic vigilantes broke up a rally — and is therefore a "communist." He has charged that Josephine Baker deliberately provoked the incident, thereby implying that the victim is not Miss Baker but the poor Stork Club. To undermine the Negro people's support of Miss Baker, he has accused her of not supporting the struggle of Ethiopia against Mussolini.

All this shows how superficial and fraudulent is the type of "tolerance" preached by Winchell and others like him. It is merely a cheap device, similar to flag-waving, by which publicity-seekers coax support from minority peoples. When it is put to any kind of a test it proves to be the same old prejudice under a little make-up.

More than that, the Winchells bring terrific pressure to bear on Negro figures in the entertainment world. Sugar Ray Robinson is a case in point. He, like Josephine Baker, has been a big money raiser for Winchell's publicity-dodge charity, the Damon Runyon Cancer Fund. Under pressure from the Negro people Robinson announced he would withdraw from the organization unless Winchell spoke out against the Stork Club's Jim Crow policy. Later, under pressure from Winchell, he denied the statement though he had made it over the radio and it had been recorded.

The NAACP has run a small picket line of celebrities in front of the Stork Club and has appealed to the Mayor's Committee on Unity. Incidentally Mayor Impellitteri is a frequenter of the Stork Club.

Docket No. 1-3-2649

By George Breitman

This is a report about one case involving the so-called 1951 rent control law, which is known in the government's records as Docket No. 1-3-2649. I can vouch for it because it is my own case.

When I hear about a rent control law, I think of rents being controlled or kept controlled. That just goes to show how old-fashioned I am. Because the new rent control law, which went into effect on Aug. 1, does nothing of the kind. Its main feature is a provision that permits landlords to get "relief from increased costs and prices" — up to 20% more than they got on June 30, 1947.

On Aug. 22 I got a letter from my landlord, who is three men named Haskin, giving me notice that he, or they, had applied for a rent increase. On Aug. 29 I am sitting and thinking about this when I get another letter from my landlord. It is in two parts; in the first I am curtly informed that I am "hereby required to vacate and quit the premises" by Oct. 1; in the second part, I am graciously advised that if I will increase my rent from \$40 to \$48 a month then I can "re-let" my apartment — otherwise "please arrange to move by the date set in the notice previously served upon you." In the same mail I get a copy of an order from the Office of Rent Stabilization, Northeastern New Jersey Rent Office, authorizing an increase of 20%. I wonder how my landlord got word so quickly that he could write me the same day the ORS director approved the increase.

I could only marvel at the speed with which everyone acted. What a fast-moving landlord! He had never shown such rapidity in acting when oil ran out in the furnace, or when the water pipes went out of order. And what a marvelous "rent stabilization" director! He didn't even have to consult me — all he needed was an application from the landlord and he knew exactly how to rule. Who says the bureaucrats appointed in Washington are bumbling, snarled in red tape, etc?

In small type, the rent increase order (D-140) said I could appeal within 15 days if the land-

lord had decreased living space, or failed to provide any item of service, or "failed to make ordinary repairs, replacements or maintenance." Not being a lawyer myself, I was not sure what that meant, but I decided what the heck. So I appealed on the ground that "ordinary maintenance" includes painting, which the landlord had not done since mid-1947, and which I had to do twice myself. I also asked for the right to be present at any hearing on my appeal.

For a whole month I heard nothing. It seems that during that time the Office of Rent Stabilization was busy raising the rents on some 170,000 dwelling units in North Jersey, and had no time for anything else. The papers reported that about 10%, or 17,000, of the tenants had appealed. Then I got from the ORS a carbon copy of a new form (D-18) addressed to the Messrs. Haskin.

It informed me that "a preliminary investigation by the Rent Director indicates that the maximum rent (for my apartment) should be decreased on the grounds stated in Section 5(c)3 of the Rent Regulation. Therefore, the Rent Director proposes to decrease the maximum rent from \$48 to \$43.20 per month." My landlord was given five days to file a reply to this proposed action, together with "written evidence." A footnote told me that "the LANDLORD only" should answer.

That is the way things stand now, three weeks later. I don't know if my landlord filed, or what to expect from the "rent stabilization" director. All I can say is that that man is liable to do anything. What kind of "preliminary investigation" was it that needed the consultation of neither me nor the Haskins? Where did he get the figure of \$43.20? I was able to figure out that \$43.20 represents an 8% increase over \$40. But where did he get the 8% figure from? On what basis did he decide that if my landlord may not merit a 20% increase, he certainly does merit at least an 8% increase. What will happen if the director finally decides that my rent really should be \$43.20 and I proceed to appeal that too? For all I know, he might "stabilize" it back to \$48 again.

Crisis in French Morocco

By John G. Wright

Outside of Korea, the most critical area in the world today is the Near East. First Iran, then Egypt, followed by Iraq and Lebanon and now Morocco. The entire Arab world is seething with revolt against the imperialist powers of the west. The day of reckoning has indeed arrived throughout the Middle East. A settling of accounts, not only with the British but also with the French colonial masters and the entire colonial system, is now on the order of the day.

The French colonial possessions in North Africa, in the first instance, Morocco and Tunisia, are so many powder kegs ready to explode. Only the other day the French used Senegalese troops to quell a mass demonstration in Casablanca, where six Moroccan civilians were killed and scores injured.

Behind the angry millions in Egypt and Sudan, in Morocco and Tunisia, are scores of millions of other Arabs, likewise age-long victims of the colonial system, among whom tensions are multiplying and who are being drawn by the Iranian, Egyptian and Moroccan events into this vast liberationist struggle.

The days when Washington was able to pose as the "friend" of the Middle Eastern and North African peoples are being abruptly brought to a close. The American imperialists have already

unmasked themselves by their complete support of the British aggression against Egypt. The French are openly demanding the same type of support for their rule in Morocco and Tunisia.

A recent dispatch from Paris cites French Foreign Office spokesmen as demanding that the U.S. cease "lending encouragement" to the independence aspirations of "the colonial and semi-colonial nations of the Middle East and North Africa."

The American imperialists have paid lip-service to these aspirations as the best cover for moving into these areas, elbowing the old colonial masters aside, and grabbing up the rich markets and sources of raw materials for themselves.

American Big Business has moved into the French colonial possessions on a large scale. French Morocco is already the site of several naval bases and six "superbases" for the U.S. airforce. More than half a billion dollars has already been expended on these bases whose construction is being rushed years ahead of the original schedule.

In addition to these military establishments, American capital, with ECA backing, has poured into diverse fields. Among the biggest investments are those in a mixed Franco-American corporation formed last year to exploit the lead and zinc mines at Zeldija in Morocco. These mines are scheduled to become the third largest lead producers in the world.

American oil investments in the Middle East have been huge and so have been the profits. In 1950 alone the bulk of the increase of \$338 million in profits from foreign investments has come from "petroleum investments in Latin America and the Middle East," reported the Department of Commerce in October.

Rather than give up these profits and the prospect of even bigger hauls ahead, the American imperialists are rushing into a head-on collision with the insurgent peoples of the Near East just as they have already collided with the hundreds of millions in the Far East.

Longshore Strike Scenes



Frank Nawrocki (left) business agent of International Longshoremen's Brooklyn Local 508, stands beside his damaged car, which was the target of a stone barrage in the New York strike. Right, an assistant district attorney holds two bricks that were tossed at car as he questions waterfront strikebreaker Gerry Anastasia in connection with incident.

Flint GM Stooges Kill Union FEPC Proposal

By Emmett Moore

FLINT, Nov. 3.—After a stormy meeting, the Flint City Commission rejected the Fair Employment Practices proposal by a vote of six to three. The FEPC measure was introduced by the Flint CIO council and was supported by a host of organizations. The final vote came after three months of deceit and delay by a business-minded commission majority. In a furious attack on the majority members, Bob Carter, regional director of the UAW-CIO and Ninth Ward commissioner, promised that the fight for an FEPC law would continue.

The maze of hearings in the commission and its legislative committee revealed that the real opponent of FEPC was the powerful General Motors Corporation. The open spokesman for GM was the sole daily newspaper in the city, the Flint Journal. This paper is notorious for its crude policy of fabricating deliberate falsehoods. The Journal campaign centered around the slogan "education not legislation." Of the six city commissioners who voted

against the proposal, not one had the courage to voice a single argument against the CIO's proposed ordinance in the three months since it was submitted.

GM STOOGES

Leading the six pawns of General Motors and the Flint Journal, was R. Dean Kirk, a high-salaried official of A. C. Sparkplug division of GM.

Early in the hearings on the ordinance Labor Commissioner Howard Carpenter, Buick Local member, openly accused the General Motors Corporation of blocking FEPC. He charged that GM intended to continue its discriminatory hiring policies in the new plant the company is building in Flint.

This fact was clearly understood by all participants. In the final hearing, Bob Arnold, chairman of the Veterans Committee of the Buick Local, directed a blast at Kirk which pointed up the issue. "We know," he said, "what we can expect from A. C. management. That is why we had to build a union against such people as him."

COMMISSION RENEGES

Before the Commission meeting Kirk had let it be publicly known that he favored the Minneapolis FEPC law rather than the Flint union-sponsored ordinance. In order to put the Commission majority to a test, a joint meeting of union representatives, leaders of the NAACP and the Socialist Workers Party decided to accept the Minneapolis law in spite of some of its inadequate provisions.

The Commission rejection of the latter proposal, after they had openly declared themselves in favor of it during the legislative Committee hearings, exposed

their hypocritical pretence of support to FEPC of any kind.

In the final weeks pressure on the City Commission mounted steadily. Several union FEPC committees were considering broader appeals to the public to break through the lies of the Flint Journal. They were contemplating a series of radio broadcasts in addition to articles in the labor press and the distribution of hand bills in the plant.

It is reliably reported that with mounting union pressure the corporate interests began to exert more direct counter-pressure on the Commission. Economic threats were made against some of the commissioners who own small business concerns. They were ordered to line up against FEPC or be driven out of business.

INCITE RACE HATE

At the City Commission, Genora Dollinger, chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, delivered a sharp attack on the Flint Journal. "The Flint Journal," she charged, "has not printed one single thing favorable to an FEPC ordinance and everything against it."

Both Genora Dollinger and Bob Carter warned that the pressure exerted against the FEPC ordinance by the corporate interests was stirring up reactionaries, fascist-minded race baiters, religious and nationalist bigots who did not yet dare to openly raise their filthy heads and appear publicly before the Commission.

In a stirring speech Carter asserted: "The Klan did not get out of Flint 20 years ago. They merely took their sheets off and today are still around patting commissioners on the back and telling them not to pass this legislation!"

UAW BOARD UNDERMINES BORG-WARNER BATTLE

By Bob Kingsley

CLEVELAND, Nov. 4 — Top officials of the CIO United Automobile Workers today ordered a "recess" in the 25-day strike of 10 Borg Warner locals fighting for

an industry-wide contract. The Reuther leadership made it clear that if any local refused to return to work the international union would stop all strike benefits and withdraw authorization. This was a choice, as one unionist expressed it here, of "either jumping off the High Level Bridge or the Terminal Tower."

The International Executive Board's decision, ordering a "recess" in the strike "pending a ruling by the Wage Stabilization Board," came as a shock to the union membership, as the international had promised 100 per cent support to this strike of 7,000 workers until industry-wide bargaining was won. The union had twice defied WSB demands to return to work.

RULED AN EXCEPTION

On Oct. 16, the international board voted to end the strikes at Douglas Aircraft in California and Wright Aeronautical plant in Paterson, N. J., because of the alleged effect of these walkouts on the Korean war. The Borg-Warner strike, however, was ruled an exception, because, according to the United Automobile Worker, "total production in the aircraft plants is defense production while only a 'negligible portion' of Borg-Warner production consists of defense items."

Confronted by the WSB's threat of an injunction the international board on Nov. 1 completely reversed its previous resolution and capitulated. In spite of all assurances and appeals for "confidence in our international leadership" by the international representatives present at the meeting of the Pisco plant local here, the mem-

bership expressed the sentiment that the immediate struggle for an industry-wide contract with Borg-Warner, has been badly impaired.

THE TRAINED SEALS

As one member said, "The threat of injunctions and government interference in the legitimate and justified demands of workers out on strike is nothing new. It has been used for many years. If Reuther and Gosser did not know this there is something wrong with these master minds. We have been asked over and over again not to question the judgment of our great leaders. That record is wearing pretty thin. Meanwhile we continue to lose strikes and our real wages are scraping the bottom of the barrel. In this case the Borg-Warner Corp. cracked the whip and Truman and the WSB jumped to its command like trained seals."

NO MORE CONFIDENCE

Another worker, a charter member of the union and a steward, said that "three years ago I was asked to have confidence in the Reuther leadership on its decision to re-elect Truman because he promised to repeal the Taft-Hartley law. It was stupid enough at that time to collect dollars for the PAC. I need more than confidence to feed my wife and kids."

Faced with the ultimatum that they either return to work or get no international support and have the Taft-Hartley injunction thrown at them the membership voted reluctantly to end the strike.

Florida Sheriff Kills Negro On Eve of Retrial

One Negro youth is dead and another near death after being shot by a Florida sheriff who was transporting them to the site of a retrial ordered by the Supreme Court.

Samuel Shepherd, 24, and Walter Lee Irvin, 24, railroaded in 1949 in the famous "Little Scottsboro case," were being taken to Taveres, Fla., when the sheriff shot them down. He claimed that the handcuffed pair had "attacked him." It is reported, however, by defense attorney for the two youths, that they were both confident of acquittal, and had no reason to try to escape.

LYNCH ATMOSPHERE

This latest outrage came as the climax to a frame-up attempt that has become known as the "Little Scottsboro case." On July 16, 1949, a 17-year-old farm wife in Groveland, Fla., claimed that she had been raped by four Negroes. This charge was made in a lynch atmosphere that had been developing for some time in the town, which consists of 400 Negroes and 600 whites. The local big shots were frothing at the mouth because of growing resentment among the local paper mill employees, mostly Negroes, at employment conditions and pay scales.

The rape charge became the excuse for a bloody anti-Negro terror, with mobs burning houses, shooting and beating in the Jim Crow sections of the town. So violent did the situation become, that National Guardsmen, called after a few days, removed the whole Negro population.

DECLARE MISTRIAL

In the course of this terror, one Negro youth was shot to death,

and three others were arrested, charged with the "rape." Of these, one was sentenced to life imprisonment, and two to death, after a mock trial in which the most elementary standards of justice were disregarded. The Supreme Court declared this travesty a mistrial and reversed the decision of the lower court.

The two Negroes, whose death sentence was lifted by Supreme Court decision, were shot while being transported for their retrial, scheduled to open the next day. They were shot by Sheriff Willis V. McCall, who, it was shown at the first trial, had severely beaten the three prisoners while they were in his charge.

DEMAND INVESTIGATION

Thurgood Marshall, special NAACP attorney, has flown to the site of the murders to press for an investigation, as Negro and labor anger mounted throughout the country this week. The CIO Convention, meeting in New York, heard a report on the events, which took place during the convention, and passed a strong resolution backing the investigation demands of the NAACP. In a wire to President Truman, Philip Murray called the shootings "either murder or inexcusable bad police work."

Earlier, NAACP Executive Secretary Walter White had demanded a federal investigation of the outrage. In response to the widespread pressure, the Justice Department has ordered federal agencies to look into the matter.

Reuther Policy Demoralizes Workers, Dodge Vote Shows

By Everett Kennedy

DETROIT, Nov. 22 — For the first time in its history, the membership of Dodge Local 3, second largest local in the CIO United Automobile Workers, has rejected

a strike authorization. More than 11,000 members turned out last week in pouring rain to ballot. Although a majority favored strike, they fell short of the two-thirds majority required under the UAW constitution.

The failure to muster sufficient votes for strike authorization is unprecedented in this local union with a long record of militancy, especially in view of the serious issues involved: First, the growing speedup effort by the company; then, the discharge of several workers, including Jimmie Solomon, Chairman of the Trim Shop Committee.

This vote reflects the demoralizing effect of the policies and actions of President Walter Reuther and his International Executive Board in curbing the fighting actions of the workers in their attempts to combat the speedup over the past several months in Chrysler Corporation.

When Chrysler launched its speedup drive, there were spontaneous walkouts in Chrysler plants throughout the city. In every instance, the International Union officials refused to back up the rank and file. The International Board even placed an administrator-dictator over De Soto Local 227 because of the frequent strikes of Local 227 members.

The Dodge Main plant was the chief target of the speedup because of its relatively superior working conditions established from the early days of the union. The Trim Shop workers, who felt the first blow, walked off the job. When the International failed to support them, they had to return. Resistance continued, and penalties were heaped on by the company, until finally Jimmie Solomon, Shop Committee Chairman, was fired for calling a mass meeting of Trim Shop workers to discuss speedup.

PROMISE STRIKE VOTE

So great was the membership's resentment that the local's Executive Board issued a leaflet calling for a plant shutdown. Representatives of the International swarmed down on the mass meeting held that day and with threats and pressure, as well as lies about the strike being fostered by "scheming politicians," pushed through a return-to-work motion. Nevertheless, the International spokesmen claimed that speedup would not be tolerated, etc., and that a strike vote would soon be taken.

Weeks went by as speedup con-

tinued unabated, penalties mounted and no strike vote was taken. So scandalous was the top leadership's failure to defend the discharged committee chairman, that it became an issue in UAW conferences. At the recent Chrysler conference, the Chrysler delegates demanded that Reuther discuss the speedup and the Solomon discharge and refused to permit him to proceed with a factional tirade against Ford Local 600 and John L. Lewis.

MOOD OF WORKERS

Finally, when it became clear that the Reutherite International board did not intend to fulfill its promise, the Dodge Local 3 membership meeting voted unanimously to take a strike vote on the speedup and discharge questions. Before the vote, it was announced by Local 3 President Art Grudson, a Reutherite, that the vote would involve only the issue of speedup and not the firing of Solomon, because of failure to file a grievance in Solomon's case in 48 hours "in accordance with procedure." Widespread layoffs, with more just around the corner, also had an important effect on the mood of the workers.

REJECT STRIKE

News of rejection of strike authorization has been taken as a signal for a new crack-down by the company. The foremen are vying with each other to tighten the screws on the workers. The auto workers, and the Dodge workers first of all, are getting another lesson in what the policies of the Reuther leadership are costing them and of the need to get a new fighting leadership and return to militant, democratic unionism in the UAW-CIO.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a lecture on Frederick Douglass, The Man and His Work

Speaker: George Lavan
Fri., Nov. 16, 8:30 PM
at 423 Springfield Avenue

"The Bending Cross"

Ray Ginger's popular biography of Eugene Victor Debs

Was \$5

Now Only \$1.50

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place New York 3, N. Y.