

THE STALINIST POLICY IN PROGRESSIVE PARTY

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THE MILITANT

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ADA Calls for Repeal Of the Smith "Gag" Law

By John G. Wright

Americans for Democratic Action, the influential liberal organization, has attacked the Smith Act as a seditious statute which "proposes to prosecute people for what they think or say rather than what they do."

The ADA statement condemns the Communist Party as hypocritical because the CP supported these previous prosecutions under the Smith Act and because it has failed to this day to disavow its "support of these prosecutions."

Act is "not a good law for the United States." Does that mean that he and the ADA agree that the 18 SWP leaders are entitled to a full presidential pardon and a restoration of their civil rights, and that the Stalinists should be released from prison and the menace of further prosecution under the Smith Act?

The ADA statement, issued on Dec. 18 in a leaflet entitled "Let's Get Back in Balance," is another sign of the growing resistance to the witch hunt in the U.S.

James Kutcher Denounces Dismissal of John Service

By James Kutcher

John Stewart Service, the latest victim of the government "loyalty" purge, says that he is going to fight to clear himself of the charges that led to his dismissal from the State Department.

Service, who was ousted after working for the State Department for 16 years, was not found to be "subversive" or even affiliated with any of the organizations on the Justice Department's "subversive" blacklist.

procedure that even worse injustices are possible.

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

A NEW STAGE

This marks a new stage in the witch hunt. Previously, the Loyalty Board was supposed to find "reasonable grounds" on the basis of "all the evidence" before classifying anyone as disloyal.

This case proves that it is not enough to be cleared of charges when the witch hunters are after you, because there is nothing to prevent them from calling you up again and again on the same charges.

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

SUPPORTS FIGHT

I don't know how much use Service has been to this country during the 16 years he worked for the State Department, or how much use he would be if he had managed to keep his job.

A FORWARD STEP

The ADA stand marks a forward step in the struggle to mobilize the American people in defense of their civil liberties.

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

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

PROF. STRUIK VICTIM OF MASS. WITCH-HUNT

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

Struik has become a central figure in the witch hunt following his indictment last September under the Massachusetts "Anti-Anarchy" law for conspiring to overthrow the government.

a member of the Communist Party, they get you under the Smith Act; if you deny you are a member, they try you for perjury; if you refuse to testify, they get you for contempt.

Aside from the charge in the indictment that Struik and the other two "conspired" to overthrow the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the U.S. nothing is known of the charges against them.

FIRST TIME USED

The "Anti-Anarchy" law was passed in 1919 as an "emergency" measure to cope with the situation which the legislators, looking through the spectacles of the Palmer Red Raid hysteria, professed to see.

Struik, an internationally famous mathematician and professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has frequently stated that though he is a Marxist he has never been a member of the Communist Party.

ONLY ALTERNATIVE

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

"No Contract, No Work," Steel Workers Declare

Strike Jan. 1; Call Special Convention

Two government reports which show that the steel workers could be given pay increases of from 34 to 40 cents an hour without any increase in the price of steel have been suppressed by the Truman administration.

Under the Defense Production Act, price ceilings are considered to be "generally fair and equitable" if, under these ceilings, the companies make profits equal to at least 85% of average annual profits for three best years in the high-profit period of 1946 to 1949.

While officials of the CIO and United Steelworkers of America have never seen these reports, it is charged they have been made available to officers of the U.S. Steel Company.

Government opposition to a wage increase in steel has been justified by Administration officials on the ground that they are trying to prevent a "wage-price" spiral.

433 More

Despite the lull in the undeclared war in Korea there were 433 more U.S. battle casualties announced by the Defense Department since last week.



Big Brass Want Troops To Remain in Korea

A second Christmas has come around since MacArthur promised to have the GIs "home by Christmas." But MacArthur's successor, Ridgway, is making no promises for this or any other Dec. 25th.

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

DIVISION OF OPINION

Among the Allied command in Korea, writes Bartholomew, a division of opinion even exists as to whether the cease-fire negotiations have been in any sense "worthwhile."

conclusion and "the sooner we get about the inevitable job ahead, the sooner the troops can come home."

This "aggressive opinion stems principally from the Americans and South Koreans," concedes Bartholomew. Not only will a garrison force equal to the present U.S. army in Korea be needed "to defend a new dividing line," but, "in addition, there will be danger of fifth column political eruptions in the rear."

NUB OF MATTER

Here we get down to the nub of the matter. There can be no peace in Korea because U.S. imperialism is determined to keep its puppet Syngman, Rhee, the brutal dictator, in power in Korea.

The Chinese and North Koreans have proposed the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea to permit the Korean people to determine their own fate.

free election. There is considerable evidence that Rhee welcomed U.S. intervention in June 1950 because his party had just been overwhelmingly defeated in elections for the South Korean Assembly.

If Rhee refused to submit to the will of the Korean people, he would be driven out by civil war. The Militant of Dec. 10 reported the latest terror campaign of Rhee against the South Korean people under guise of an anti-guerrilla drive.

The aim of the generals is to keep the U.S. troops in Korea to put down "fifth column political eruptions"—that is, the resistance of the South Koreans to the Rhee regime.

Government Hides Two Reports on High Steel Profits

The United Steelworkers of America (CIO) has called a nationwide strike for midnight, Dec. 31, stating in a declaration of its 170-man International Policy Committee that the steel workers will not work "in the absence of mutually satisfactory contracts."

SPECIAL CONVENTION

The militant strike challenge which has been flung in the teeth of the wealthy and arrogant steel corporations has been backed up by a call for a special International Steelworkers Convention, set for Jan. 3, three days after the opening of the scheduled strike.

In another unprecedented move, the Policy Committee called a strike by its own vote, instead of following its usual course of authorizing International President Philip Murray to make the decision.

LIST OF DEMANDS

The steel union has presented a program of 22 demands which are intended to restore the buying power of the steelworker, to improve his working conditions, and to enable him to participate in the benefits of the greatly increased productivity of the steel industry.

The union has asked for an "across the board" pay increase of 15 cents an hour for every steelworker, and for further pay concessions designed to correct inequities between the pay of steelworkers and workers in other industries.

TOUGH TALK

"Tough" statements by top administration officials before and during the steel negotiations have helped to stiffen the companies in their stand.

When asked about the possibility of a steel strike, he said: "as calamitous as a steel strike might be, ruining our stabilization program would be even worse."

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

CIO Political Policy and the Steel Strike

By Cy Thomas

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

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

HARD BOILED

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

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

What you do is either lie down or fight! According to traditional trade union practice, disputes which can't be settled by negotiations are fought out on the picket line. The strike is labor's most effective weapon for extracting concessions from unyielding employers.

THEIR GOVERNMENT

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

of opposing forces. Such engagements are part of the unending war between capital and labor.

A strike, especially one of major proportions, is intolerant of equivocation or ambiguity. Both sides mobilize their maximum power. And so long as the capitalists control government they will use that power on the side of the employers.

WHOSE HAND?

Even Philip Murray is compelled to recognize the role of government in labor disputes. Discussing the possibility of a steel strike at the CIO convention Murray said: "The heavy hand of government lurks forever around the corner. It may have a bludgeon in its hands ready to bash our brains in with."

"The heavy hand of government" is a figure of speech. Government is composed of men. Men represent political parties. Political parties represent definite class interests. Whose is the "hand" that will wield the bludgeon on the steel workers? The same "hand" that clubbed the coal miners and railroad workers.

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

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

Democratic party he actually represents the interests of big business. And it is Truman the Democrat that the labor leaders ask the workers to support and elect as their representative. It's a gross swindle.

"I hope," said Emil Mazey in the discussion at the convention, "that in this coming year we will do a better job on the political action front than we have done in the past, because if we could mobilize this great potential of organized workers in this country we can, in our time, build an America and help build a world in which we will have abundance and security and in which we will have peace."

That great hope can never be realized by supporting capitalist candidates be they Democrats or Republicans. Labor can advance along that road only by building its own political party and running its own candidates for public office. The experience of the steel wage dispute will hammer that lesson home.

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# Notebook of an Agitator

## JUSTICE IN THE U.S.A.

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

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

### Mistaken Identity

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

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

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

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

### Police Frameup

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

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

Hankins was a made-to-order victim for the frameup. He was a professional card dealer and thus subject to a pinch at any time; he had a previous police record of several arrests. Worse than that, he was broke when arrested and couldn't even hire a lawyer. The court had to appoint defense counsel. He didn't have a chance. But after 19 years of imprisonment, accumulated evidence of his innocence, gathered by a number of people who had been induced by his sister, Mrs. Della Lowery, to take an interest in the case, got him a hearing before the pardon board; and there, for some incomprehensible reason, a couple of former cops calmly admitted the frameup. Under the circumstances there was no much for the pardon board to do, but to free Leonard Hankins for whatever may be left of his life.

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

### License To Shoot

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

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

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

— J. P. C.

## Open Shop NAM Prexy



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

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

By Reba Aubrey

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

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

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

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

Comrade Hildegarde rushed in this S.O.S. from the Windy City. "Because of the big storm I couldn't get down to the meeting last night, so no chance to get the money off to you in time for Monday's scoreboard. However, we have \$53.60 collected and will get it off to you Monday. If you can credit us with this amount — on credit — we'll appreciate it no end." This \$53.60 credit gives Chicago 71% of its \$1,000 quota.

Connecticut hit it right on the button this week with \$10, and 69% of its quota.

The above are the on-schedule branches, but others gained ground during the week. Seattle sent in two payments totaling \$85 for a big gain — 34 to 56%. "We've had a little too much unemployment in the branch of late," says Comrade Powers, "and are a little behind in the fund campaign. But we'll get it all in on time."

"We're headed in the right direction!" writes Comrade Marietta. Proof is a check for \$255 that pushed Detroit from 38 to 55%.

Buffalo branch gained considerable ground. This note from Comrade Young accompanied a \$68 payment: "This is late because we had our meeting a day later this week and I knew it could not

make the scoreboard deadline. I will send another payment tomorrow for tonight's meeting." This morning we received "another payment" for \$50. Then Jeff Thorne, a New York comrade who spends some time in Buffalo, contributed \$25 to help Buffalo with its large quota. (Incidentally his pledge to New York Local has been paid in full.) All these payments pile up a total of \$520 for Buffalo, 52% of their quota.

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

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

The group of staunch Socialist Workers Party supporters in the South writes: "Enclosed is another \$100 for the fund campaign. Another \$40 is still due in pledges but will not be forthcoming until the first of the year. And I have had contributions promised me from several of my friends." To date this group has sent in \$400 to help reach 58% of "General's" quota.

# Trade Journal Exposes Radio-TV Witch Hunters

By George Lavan

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

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

### ON THE MAKE

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

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

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

### A PROMINENT VICTIM

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

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

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

and 3,300 against firing her. Furthermore the General Foods public relations analyst came to the conclusion that 80% of the letters against Jean Muir were the result of an editorial campaign by two Catholic newspapers — one of which, the Brooklyn Tablet, was infamous before the war as the organ of Father Coughlin and the Christian Front.

### PROFITABLE RACKET

After its victory in the Jean Muir case business began to boom for Counterattack. No radio advertiser, booking agency, radio or TV station felt safe unless its entertainers had been screened through Red Channels. Heads of entertainers began to roll before that judge, jury, prosecutor and executioner rolled into one — Red Channels. A few victims of the purge were: Bill Sweets, director of "Gangbusters" and "Counter Spy"; Philip Loeb, of "The Goldbergs"; Irene Wicker, "The Singing Lady"; Abe Burrows, driven out of TV, is working on Broadway where, as yet, Red Channels doesn't rule supreme. The Weavers, purged from "John Conte Little Show," are still hounded by red-baiters when they get night club or theatre jobs.

In addition there are many entertainers who have gone to considerable expense in bringing libel suits, or who have submitted to the humiliation of visiting their inquisitors at Counterattack to plead their innocence.

### BLACKMAIL

But while the purge meant hard times for the victimized entertainers it meant big dough for the purgers. Counterattack increased its office space to a suite of seven handsomely furnished

rooms (one with a big portrait of J. Edgar Hoover) and now employs a staff of 17. Red Channels sold like hotcakes, some companies buying them in lots of fifty. But it would appear that this outfit makes its real money not from its publications but from its detective or "research" business in the radio and TV field. This part of their business is sometimes plain, unadulterated blackmail.

Like most blackmail it is very hush-hush — the victim usually paying — but at least one case has become known. Last year the Hutchins Agency, which handles the Philco Radio publicity, was visited by Thomas Brady, a representative of Counterattack. He said he had come to protest the employment of a "Commie" actress on the Philco show. After depicting the mass protests and possible boycott that would result Brady suggested that for \$1,000 his outfit would service the agency and prevent such dangers from arising. The Hutchins Agency refused. Shortly afterwards Counterattack carried on a campaign with such headlines as "Philco Does It Again," branded the actress as a "fellow traveller" (not as a "commie"), and called for mass protest.

Sponsor, after a thoroughgoing analysis of Counterattack and Red Channels, urges agencies and sponsors to drop their subservience to these self-appointed, blackmailing witch hunters. It bases its conclusions on the facts that Counterattack represents only a "corporal's guard of letter writers" and could not therefore organize a boycott of any product; indeed, public reaction was mostly in sympathy with purged entertainers.

# "NO CONTRACT" STRIKE IN STEEL CALLED JAN. 1

(Continued from page 1)

fight. Thus the impending New Year's Day strike, promising to be the largest steel strike on record, comes as the showdown in a long-indicated battle over the question: "Will the workers permit their standard of living to be driven downward while profits mount to unprecedented heights?"

### OTHER ISSUES

While the pay issue has been the chief subject of public dispute by the union on one side against the companies and government on the other, there has been no public indication that this is the sole issue over which negotiations have deadlocked. Rather, it appears from the statements made by the steel union, U.S. Steel and other companies have absolutely refused to bargain on anything whatever, cold-shouldering the union completely on all of its 22 demands. If this is what has taken place, it is likely that disputes over other issues besides the pay issue have played a big role in the deadlock in the talks in Pittsburgh.

It would seem that the fight over "incentives" point number 11 in the union's 22 point program, has had great importance in this deadlock. The steel companies have been attempting, for the past two years or more, to establish incentive, or sliding pay plans, based upon the standard of a "fair day's work." The union has fought this, demanding pay

scales which move upwards with the productivity of the steel mills, so that the workers would share in the greatly increased output. This output has risen sharply, especially during the past year or two, because of extensive modernization projects undertaken by most steel companies, which enable the mills to put out far more steel without more work or more men, and in some cases, even with less work and fewer men.

### BASIS FOR SPEEDUP

The companies have made this the basis for a speed-up and wage cutting drive, while the union has intensified its demands for higher pay where more steel is put out. This has resulted in a bitter guerrilla warfare that has raged for over two years in the steel mills of the country. Literally thousands of strikes, stoppages, lockouts, slowdowns, grievance and arbitration cases have taken place over this issue. The present contract is vague on this matter, and has been the battleground for this fight. It is likely that both sides want to win a decisive victory in the present contract talks. For the union, long established standards and gains are involved, while for the company, this issue presents itself in the form of the unlimited right to the management of its industries. Thus the battle on this issue will be fierce, and the issue itself extremely important for the whole future of the steel union.

## \$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$ 500	\$ 398	80
Cleveland	300	231	77
Akron	150	114	76
St. Louis	100	75	75
Chicago	1,000	711	71
Connecticut	75	52	69
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	646	65
Flint	350	219	63
Pittsburgh	50	30	60
Milwaukee	250	147	59
Seattle	400	222	56
Detroit	1,500	827	55
Buffalo	1,000	520	52
Los Angeles	2,600	1,238	47
Philadelphia	400	182	46
Youngstown	350	156	45
Boston	550	241	44
New York	5,000	2,103	42
Toledo	50	20	40
San Francisco	1,000	195	20
Oakland	150	21	14
Allentown	75	0	0
General	1,150	655	58
<b>Total through Dec. 17</b>	<b>\$18,000</b>	<b>\$9,003</b>	<b>50</b>

## THE MILITANT ARMY

"Anyone who doesn't think rebaiting has worn thin should try selling Militants at union conferences or meetings," writes Jean Simon from Cleveland. "Last Saturday in about 45 minutes I sold 45 copies of the paper at the Ohio State CIO convention. There were all sorts of positive and negative reactions, but no real hostility. Instead

there were remarks like: 'I'll take one. They tell us we're all socialists anyway.' Let's see what's in it for us.' 'Well, I'll read it.' And then one fellow: 'Yes, I'll take one. The socialists have given us a lot.' One of those who refused to buy a Militant turned back before entering the hall and said, 'You people never give up, do you?' I told him, 'No, we don't.'"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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# Letters from Readers

## Too Small 'American Way' Does Not Pay

Editor: Last spring the news broke across the headlines of the Boston newspapers about a tremendous payroll swindle of \$4,000,000 by post office employees at Boston's South Station Post Office. Stories were scribbled by the press prostitutes demanding speedy action in the prosecution of such ungrateful, crooked, blah, blah, workers as were involved. It was explained the "swindle" consisted of the fact that workers had some one punch their time cards for them without staying on the job to perform their tasks.

As the days went by and turned into weeks, the \$4,000,000 swindle kept melting away. Soon it had plunged to \$1,000,000 but as the

weeks passed into months the great swindle had dwindled into 'chicken feed' proportions of about \$40,000. Now, over the past three or four weeks, batches of about 20 workers are being brought into Federal court at regular weekly intervals. All admitted "chiseling" some of their taxes back into their own pockets; most sums being in the lower hundred dollar class. All have made restitution. All are placed on probation; the length of time depending on the size of their "enormous" loot. Some get six months; others two years. All, of course, lose their post office jobs and are blacklisted from federal employment — except the younger ones who may soon be drafted as cannon fodder in the coming war.

Tens of these workers are civil service employees in various other fields; cops, firemen, school employees, municipal clerks, etc. Driven by the cost-of-living race they were forced to work two

jobs regularly or as extras during the Xmas rush in order to live the "American Way" — they acted in the "American Way"; namely, "get yours while the getting is good." Now the watch dogs of Law and Order, the Protectors of Everything Decent and Sacred to our hearts have caught up with the victims and are howling for their blood.

These workers have shown that they haven't absorbed a complete understanding of the "American Way." They didn't get their hands in the right grab bag; therefore they couldn't steal enough to hire slick lawyers, buy up a juror or two, have court postponements until the case becomes only a memory, arrange the court calendar to see that the case comes up before a "friendly and sympathetic" judge, etc., etc.

There really is no excuse for these workers getting into this kind of a chicken-feed mess. They have had opportunities to read and study all kinds of case histories of the noble art of looting the public treasury in the last 10 years. Such great heroes as War Contractors, the Truman Gang, the O'Dwyer Gang, the Internal Revenue Gang, etc., etc., have all made great contributions to the "American Way."

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

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# THE MILITANT

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## Policy in the Steel Strike

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## "Never Forget!"

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

"My advice to workingmen is this:

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

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

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

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

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

## Profits Are 'Ethical'



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

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

By Art Preis

Walter Reuther has canceled his dream-trip to Nizhni-Novgorod in 1960. He now claims he was taken for a ride when he was persuaded to contribute the only article by

a labor leader to Collier's sensational Oct. 27 issue, which was entirely devoted to an imaginary account of an atomic war waged by the U.S. against the Soviet Union, of the defeat of the USSR and its long occupation by foreign armies.

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

### AROUSING HORROR

In spite of the editor's real intentions, the effect of the issue was to arouse increased horror of war among many people here and provoked a storm of criticism abroad from millions who correctly saw in this provocative issue the brutal war aims of U.S. imperialism.

The Nation, liberal weekly, carried an article strongly attacking Collier's and invited the Collier's contributors to comment on its criticism. The replies, including Reuther's, appeared in the Dec. 8 Nation.

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

### FORCED TO AGREE

The CIO United Auto Workers president claims that he believed the Collier's aim was to emphasize "that war is not inevitable and its firm opposition to a preventive war." But, "I must say in all honesty that the issue did not do what I expected it to, and I am forced to agree with many of the criticisms brought against it." The "failure" of Collier's to achieve its alleged "worthy purpose," according to Reuther, was due "in part to the tone and content of some of the articles and in great measure to the terrifying and horrible scenes depicted in the art work accompanying the articles."

### THE SPEEDUP

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

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

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

quences of atomic war," as Stuart Chase writes in his reply to The Nation, then why should Reuther talk about the "failure" of Collier's to carry out its purpose by virtue of the tone of the articles and the "terrifying and horrible scenes" its pictures presented?

These articles and pictures did terrify and horrify millions, both here and abroad, and intensify anti-war sentiment. That's what Reuther really objects to.

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

### REUTHER'S ROLE

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

## PP LEADERS URGE TIEUP WITH BOSS CANDIDATES

By Gene Morgan

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 15 — A gathering of some 435 California Independent Progressive Party supporters met here this week to listen

to their leaders outline a publican corruption in Philadelphia. A reform Democrat was elected Mayor, with Progressive Party support. Another victory for "peace and equality!"

### TWO TENDENCIES

Bill Elconin, West Coast representative of the United Electrical Workers Union and chairman of the Los Angeles IPP, spoke of two tendencies in the Progressive Party. On the one hand, "some sections" have wanted to "liquidate the Party" and re-enter the Democratic Party. "But," he added with apparent regret, "nobody considers that possible with Harry Truman and his machine in the way."

On the other hand, "some have said, 'We'll go it alone.' But this is not our program either. We want to win, with the broadest possible unity, to win for the people as a whole, not for any special group."

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

The aim of such a policy is to pressure the American State Department into making a deal with Stalin, in order to ensure the "peaceful co-existence" of American imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy. If the workers at home and abroad must again be betrayed in order to achieve this end, it is considered a small price to pay in the minds of the Stalinist leadership of the Progressive Party.

# Opposition In Progressive Party Hits Stalinist "Coalition" Policy

By R. Bell

According to accounts in the Daily Worker, the policy adopted by the leadership of the Progressive Party for its "52 Peace Campaign" is meeting considerable opposition. The keystone of that policy is "flexibility" based on cementing the "broadest coalition" for the election of a "pro-labor, pro-civil rights, pro-peace bloc in Congress." This goal is to be achieved by what the Daily Worker, Nov. 19, calls "a flexible 'four-pronged' congressional election policy." The two main "prongs" are:

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

### POLICY ADOPTED

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

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

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

### ILLINOIS RESOLUTION

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

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

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

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

More and more workers are

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

### STALINIST JARGON

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

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

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

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

## Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 7

### THE OCCUPATION AND THE RESISTANCE

By Harry Frankel

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

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

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

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

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

### Ruses and Stratagems

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

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

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

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

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

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

### The Massachusetts Convention of 1768

When the convention opened in September of 1768 it was well attended, but Adams and the radicals found themselves isolated. Governor Bernard, again speaking from information which his spies brought him, reported to his home office: "Hence it was that Otis, when he joined them (the convention) was perfectly tame, and Adams, when he attempted to launch out in the language used in the House of Representatives, was presently silenced."

Adams saw his hopes for a great stand against the British dashed to the ground. It was on this occasion that he allowed his feelings to overcome the iron self-control with which he usually restrained himself. Standing up in the convention he shouted:

"I am in fashion and out of fashion, as the whim goes. I will stand alone! I will oppose this tyranny at the threshold, though the fabric of liberty fall, and I perish in its ruins!"

However, Adams was no such fool as to really wish to stand alone. He was out to win, and he

knew he couldn't win all by himself. He learned his lesson from the convention of 1768. He learned that he had to wait longer, and work harder, until the mass of the people, and particularly the farmers of the back-country, were ready for a final stand against the Crown and the Tories. And so he quieted himself, and bowed to the will of the convention.

Of course, in spite of the conservative majority at the convention, Adams could have gotten a strong force to challenge the British troops at the water's edge. But he sensed that a premature uprising would only exhaust the people's energies and sacrifice the best fighters. It would give the British the chance they were looking for to drown the movement in blood.

Adams' work after 1768 was directed by the lessons he learned in this crisis. He wanted a mass movement that would be irresistible when the showdown came. And in line with this, he was to be careful to prevent a showdown until he was sure of an overwhelming mass following. Thus Adams, who, as we have seen, hated opportunism, learned to shun adventurism as well.

### Boston Occupied by Redcoats

For almost two years, Boston was occupied by two British regiments. These troops found that it is no joke to garrison a foreign territory inhabited by a hostile population. They were harassed from all sides by the working people of Boston. Even the children pelted them with snowballs.

American boys, who are being used as imperialist occupation troops in many foreign lands today, are learning the same lesson that the British troops learned in Boston during those two years. But the people did not take a one-sided attitude towards the troops. They often helped them against their officers, shielded them from punishment, and helped deserters to escape. Sam Adams himself once intervened to save a soldier from punishment. Thus the people made friends among the British soldiers, and these were to be helpful later.

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

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

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

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

### "Both or None"

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

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

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

British troops had come to Boston despite the efforts of Sam Adams, but he knew how to wait his opportunity, and he had driven them out again. However, in the meanwhile, worse trouble was brewing for the oppositionists within their own ranks. The merchants, long uneasy in a movement for which Sam Adams and the radical masses were setting the tone, began to back out.

(Next Week: The Merchants Desert.)



# Truman's Fake FEPC

By Jean Blake

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# A Hero of Our Times

By Jerry Warren

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Notes from the News

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

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

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

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

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

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

mits Big Business to deduct from taxes the cost of new or expanded plants in five years instead of the customary 20 or 25. Another 1,200 certificates have been approved. It is expected that they will cost taxpayers another billion.

Seven officials and employees of the Township of Cicero, Ill., have been indicted by a special federal grand jury for their part in the Jim-Crow campaign against Harvey Clark and his family which culminated in officially backed rioting when the Clarks tried to move into their apartment.

At the National Association of Manufacturer's Convention J. J. Evans, Jr., bewailing the failure of management to educate the workers in the plant, cited the following case: "This is the story of Joseph Zipotas, but it is not fiction. A few evenings ago, Joseph Zipotas (name fictional) received his 25-year service pin. Because a 25-year employe ought to know his company well, Joe was interviewed to find out how well he knew it."

"This is what Joseph Zipotas does not know: The year his company was founded; the number of plants in the company; more than two of the company's products, which exceed 200; the name of his company's president (he has been president three years); the location of his company's headquarters; the source of a single raw material; either the operation which preceded his own or which followed it (except in very general terms); what free enterprise is. (He did not even recognize the phrase.)"

"But this is what Joseph Zipotas does know: The name of his union and the number of his local; names of two columnists on his union paper; names of three out of five of his union officers; four direct benefits which the union has secured for him (actually the union had secured only two of them, and a third was a compromise); a reasonably acceptable definition of collective bargaining. (His definition: 'It's what the union uses to get things for the working man.')

# THE MILITANT

## Michigan Unemployment Spreads; Auto Union Grapples With Problem

By Everett Kennedy

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

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

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

The situation is so grave that the United Automobile Workers (UAW) executive board has been forced to stop making their program on unemployment a one-man grandstand play by President Walter Reuther and get down to more serious measures. Last Wednesday, the board called a national conference on the unemployment problem to be held in Washington after the opening of the 1952 session of Congress. Reuther estimates that approximately 800 will attend the conference, which is limited to local union presidents.

### SOME RESULTS

This announcement has already produced some results, where all of Reuther's previous trips, plans and speeches had produced none. Saturday, Michigan Senator Moody stated he will seek government jobless pay for workers laid off in the change over to military production. He says he will introduce an emergency amendment to the social security law, supplementing state benefits for unemployed workers with extra jobless pay.

Present maximum unemployment benefits in Michigan are \$27 a week, plus \$2 for each dependent up to a maximum of four. The benefit period extends for only 20 weeks. Thousands of unemployed workers have already exhausted their state benefits.

However, Moody's proposal will limit total jobless pay to a maximum of three-fourths of the laid-off worker's weekly wage. This undercuts the Reuther demand, made on behalf of the UAW, that workers get full 40 hours pay during their period of unemployment.

### PAPER PLANS

Many paper plans on the unemployment issue have been laid down by the top officials of the UAW. What has been lacking is a long-range campaign of militant mass pressure to convince Washington that the union will not be denied. To date, the best work in this field has been done by Ford Local 600, the first local to feel the effects of mass unemployment. Local 600 has demand-

ed the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay, and a minimum \$60 weekly unemployment benefit. The Ford Local has organized its unemployed members, together with its members that are still working, behind this program.

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

### BOLD ACTION

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

The union's responsibility is to its members, and not to the Democratic politicians who are interested only in advancing their own careers. This responsibility must be taken seriously. That this is beginning to be recognized was shown by a statement by Art Grudden, President of Dodge Local 3, printed in the Dec. 8 issue of Dodge Main News. Speaking of the problem of unemployment, he says:

### WELFARE AT STAKE

"There must be a solution to our problem somewhere. The point is trying to get someone to do something about it. ... Some drastic action will have to be taken very shortly, and, if necessary, we will have to be the ones to take this action. Perhaps a regular membership caravan to Lansing, Washington, or wherever is necessary to bring about a solution to this very grave problem, would show the officials of government and the companies that the welfare of our membership is at stake."

The unemployed conference, backed up by such a "membership caravan" could really start the ball rolling toward a solution. The veterans and the unemployed got some results in this way during the '30s. It is long past due for Reuther and his union administration to get in step with the temper of the ranks of the union.

## HALL FACES NEW SENTENCE IN UNPRECEDENTED DECISION

Gus Hall, Communist Party National Secretary, has been found guilty of criminal contempt of court by a Federal Judge despite the fact that this ruling is un-

precedented in 900 years of English and American law. The contempt charge stems from Hall's action in failing to report for imprisonment after his conviction for "teaching and advocating" "seditious" ideas under the Smith "Gag" Law.

Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan, in delivering the punitive decision, admitted that the courts have "rarely if ever punished fugitive defendants for contempt." During the court hear-

ings, he had stated that he knew of no case where such action had been taken.

Hall, one of the 11 Stalinist leaders railroaded by the government in its civil-liberties smashing drive in preparation for the Third World War, escaped to Mexico, forfeiting \$20,000 bail posted for him by the Civil Rights Congress. He was seized in Mexico in October by American agents, who, illegally and in defiance of all regular extradition procedure, kidnapped him and took him to Laredo, Texas, where he was placed under arrest by agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

This brutal invasion of the rights of Mexico, supposedly a sovereign nation, and of the rights of political prisoners to seek a haven outside the country which is persecuting them for dissenting opinions, caused a wave of indignation throughout Latin America that has not as yet subsided.

Hall, who has been sentenced to five years imprisonment under his Smith Act conviction, faces an additional 5 to 7 years under the new conviction. Sentence, which will be passed Dec. 27, is discretionary with the court, but the U.S. Attorney has recommended 5 to 7 years.

## "Road to Peace" Sales Reported By SWP Branches

New orders from the branches of the Socialist Workers Party for the recently published pamphlet by James P. Cannon, "The Road to Peace," bring the total ordered by the branches to over 1650. Public sales are under way in an effort to sell this total of pamphlets by Feb. 15, the last day of a three month sales campaign.

Los Angeles has ordered an additional 200 pamphlets, bringing its total to 300. Philadelphia, which ordered 50 more copies, reports that one worker sold 8 copies to fellow-workers in his plant. "We are planning to sell 'Road to Peace' at as many union meetings as we can," Philadelphia reports. This branch also has been selling the pamphlet to all friends and sympathizers.

Detroit reports the sale of six copies of the pamphlet at one local U.A.W. meeting, together with a quantity of other literature, and reports also successful sale of this pamphlet at Socialist Workers Party public meetings. Detroit has already sold over 50 copies.

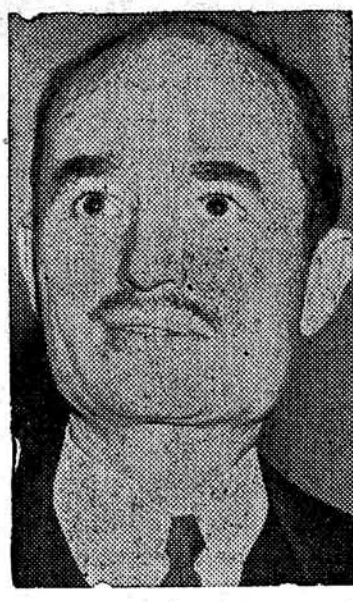
### "REFORM OR REVOLUTION"

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## Ex-Att'y Gen. Biddle And the Smith 'Gag' Act

Francis Biddle is today the outstanding hero of American liberals. He is national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, which functions as a left wing of the Democratic Party and champions a generally liberal policy on civil liberties, Negro rights and other domestic issues. Biddle has also just published a book, The Fear of Freedom, a protest against the witch hunt which expresses the fears and hopes of the supporters of democratic capitalism.

Biddle's defense of civil liberties is welcomed by everyone who recognizes the need for united labor and liberal action against the drive to turn the U.S. into a police state. But that is no reason for idealizing and whitewashing the past record of Biddle, as Publisher Ted O. Trackery did in the Dec. 16 Daily Compass, where he hailed Biddle as "Roosevelt's (and the people's) Attorney General."

### SET PRECEDENTS

Far from being "the people's Attorney General," Biddle, as head of the Department of Justice, was a witch hunter himself. As Attorney General he set a number of precedents which his successors, Clark and McGrath, used for the violations of civil liberties which Biddle opposes today.

Biddle has joined the movement for the repeal of the Smith Act of 1940, noting that the ADA national board feels it "is not a good law for the United States" because it "is aimed at the advocacy of ideas rather than the commission of overt acts."

This is true. It was also true in 1941, however, when Biddle initiated the first prosecution under this reactionary law in the Minneapolis trial and secured the conviction of 18 Socialist Workers Party and CIO members. The defendants in that trial pointed out that they were being per-

secuted solely because of their "advocacy of ideas" but Biddle refused to recognize the truth that he admits today.

When the Minneapolis defendants appealed to the Supreme Court to declare the Smith Act unconstitutional, Biddle ordered his lawyers to defend the law that he now charges is "not good."

Under his pressure, the Supreme Court three times declined to rule on the Smith Act and the 18 defendants were sent to prison. Three years ago when the Department of Justice began its persecution of the Communist Party leaders under the Smith Act, its lawyers cited the Minneapolis convictions as "justification" for the legality of their proceedings.

Today Biddle warns the American people to resist all infringements on freedom of the press and all attempts to revive the kind of witch-hunt hysteria that was so widespread in World War I. But in 1942 he was the man who suggested that the Post Office Department launch an attack on The Militant and suppress it by cancelling its second-class mailing privilege.

He voluntarily supplied the Post Office Department with allegedly "seditious" excerpts from The Militant in the year following Dec. 7, 1941, and with "precedents" from the witch hunt in World War I which he claimed would justify the attack on this paper. Acting on his counsel, the Postmaster General banned some issues of The Militant from the mails, but failed in his attempts to suppress this paper. Its failure was in no way due to lack of help from Biddle.

Biddle is today critical of the "loyalty" purge. He thinks it goes too far and suggests a number of modifications in the way the Attorney General's "subversive" blacklist should be used. But the "subversive" list, although not made public until 1947, when Attorney General Clark an-

## New Clues May Shed Light On Murder of Carlo Tresca

NEW YORK — New evidence which may throw light on the identity of the slayers of Carlo Tresca, anti-fascist editor, is being weighed by the District Attorney's office,

the Tresca Memorial Committee disclosed this week in announcing plans for commemorating Tresca's death.

"We happen to know," said Norman Thomas, the committee's chairman, "that a newly found witness has lately been questioned by one of District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's staff in connection with that crime. And we know something of the kind of information he gave. Our hope is that it will fit in with the other accumulated pieces in the jigsaw puzzle of the Tresca case. We continue to believe that the killers of our comrade and friend eventually will be ferreted out, perhaps soon."

"Though nearly nine years have passed since Carlo was shot down on January 11, 1943, other murder mysteries have been solved after much longer periods. Individuals with knowledge of crimes who have long remained silent, find occasion or freedom to talk about them with the passage of time.

"Another reason for our being hopeful now is the recent appointment of Conrad H. Rothen-gast as Chief Inspector of Police. We remember that he was actively interested in the Tresca case in the months following that crime — and notably in days of conflict between the Police Department and the District Attorney's office over the premature arrest of Carmine Galante, the first suspect, ordered by someone outside the Department." High police officials had wanted Galante left free, but trailed to discover his associates.

"In the effort now headed by the new Chief Inspector to re-

deem the reputation of the Police Department, it is logical to expect that an intensive recheck will be made of the evidence in outstanding unsolved murder mysteries, and that any still pending leads in them will be explored."

Friends of Tresca will pay tribute to him at a flower-laying ceremony at the scene of his murder, northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and 15th Street, on Saturday, January 12, at 1 p.m. Speakers will include Rose Pesotta, author and for ten years a vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Jacob Baker, business consultant; Samuel H. Friedman, member of the Socialist Party's national executive committee; and one Italian speaker. If the weather is unfavorable, the speaking will be held in Rand School Auditorium, 7 East 15th Street.

The murder scene is in the shadow of the office at 96 Fifth Avenue, where Tresca edited his Italian fortnightly journal, Il Martello (The Hammer). He was shot in the war-time dim-out, the gunman escaping in a Ford sedan, which was found that night at 18th Street and Seventh Avenue. A year ago the suspect Galante, whom two parole officers declared they saw enter that same automobile (identified by its number) an hour and an half before the crime, was questioned at length by the District Attorney's office in connection with a basement dice-game raid in 18th Street, a few doors west of the spot where the escape-car was found.

The resolution enables Jansen to purge not only present members of groups Jansen chooses to put on his blacklist, but former members as well, unless they prove that "such membership has been terminated in good faith." Such "proof" will be accepted by Jansen only if it is accompanied by a willingness of former members to act as stool-pigeons and informers against other members.

Jansen also was given the power to fire any teacher who refuses to "cooperate" by making "full and fair disclosure of the facts." This opens the way for dismissal of teachers who have no political associations whatever, but who refuse to humiliate and degrade themselves by becoming informers against their fellow teachers.

### STUDENTS ALSO

The tendency is for repression of "dangerous thoughts" to spread wider and wider. If teachers must be terrorized into conformist "thinking," so must students, especially if they are being educated to become teachers. This was illustrated last week by an incident at the New York City College's School of Education.

A student, Marvin Sandler, challenged some statements of a teacher in a philosophy of education class, Professor Isaac B. Berkson, regarding the existence of slave labor camps in the Soviet Union. In the discussion that followed, when Sandler said he did not believe there were such slave labor camps, the professor told him that anyone holding his opinions "has no right to teach in a public educational system of elementary or secondary rank."

Sandler retorted in kind — that Berkson has "no right to teach in a public institution." Berkson ordered the student to leave the class, accused him of unbecoming conduct and subversive beliefs, and asked that he be prevented from getting a public teaching job after graduation.