

## Anti-Trucks Law Committee Gets Good Response

DETROIT, Dec. 21 — A favorable response in labor and liberal circles has greeted the announcement of the formation of the Citizens' Committee Against the Trucks Law, a group of more than 190 prominent labor, civic, educational and religious leaders joined to challenge the police-state law passed last year by the reactionary Michigan legislature.

At a press conference last Thursday, temporary officers of the new committee, whose chairman is the Rev. I. Paul Taylor of the St. Matthews Methodist Church here, stated that the committee plans to "conduct a vigorous educational campaign to acquaint the people of the community with the threats to the rights of all our citizens contained in this measure (Trucks Law)."

Considerable publicity has been given to the formation and aims of the committee, which is regarded by many unionists and other progressive elements as the most significant development in years in the defense of civil liberties against the witch-hunt that has been sweeping across America.

The committee's officers have also announced that the group is lending support to the court case of the Socialist Workers Party, the first victim of the "unconstitutional and undemocratic" Trucks Act. The party's suit is designed to have the law voided by the courts. It was initiated after the SWP was barred from the state ballot, without hearing, by the state at-

## Oakland Auto Local Urges Labor Party

Two-Party System  
Hit as Anti-Labor  
By Lillian Russell

OAKLAND, Dec. 19 — A strong Labor Party resolution was unanimously passed here last night by Chevrolet Local 1031, CIO United Auto Workers. The resolution, presented by rank and file militant Gene Hendrick, called for a unified effort by all sections of the labor movement to form an independent political party based on the labor movement. Local 1031 represents about 1,200 auto workers in the GM setup here.

The resolution says that "the history of the American labor movement has shown that under any political party which takes office, organized labor is slighted, by not having sufficient representation in that government, and as a result is denied equal participation in formulating either domestic or foreign policy, yet it is asked to, and indeed forced to accept the often sad consequences of our policies, both domestic and foreign, which have been formulated by a government whose cabinet officers, department heads and advisers have been chosen from the ranks of heads of large corporations, corporation lawyers and representatives of Big Business."

After this indictment, the resolution goes on to reject collaboration with either the Republican or Democratic Party. The resolution draws this conclusion after pointing to the recent elections, in which "Labor, although numerically superior, was neither consulted nor considered in the selection of the candidates of either party nor were the wishes of labor shown consideration in the writing of the party platforms."

Because of these facts, the resolution resolves for a Labor Party, "controlled by no one faction, but embracing and being responsible to all organized labor, CIO, AFL, RR and Independent. It asks 'that we at once cut off all ties with any and all Political Parties, that we may thereby be able to fight for the rights of all the people with the two weapons in our possession: economic and political.'"

The local union then calls upon the International officers of the UAW "to at once lay plans to sound out the membership on the idea" of the formation of a Labor Party in America.

The resolution was amended before passage to include the following: "That a copy of this resolution be sent to the CIO Alameda County Council and CIO (California) State Council; to the UAW International Executive Board and to the UAW Convention."

Silas Rogers, a young shoeshiner who was convicted on false testimony and spent nine years in the Virginia state penitentiary on a murder charge, was unconditionally freed on Dec. 23 by an unconditional pardon from Gov. Battle.

## Eisenhower Offers No Hope for Korean Peace



## SOUTHERN NAACP WOMAN LEADER TELLS OF FIGHT AGAINST JIM CROW

FLINT, Mich. — The militancy of the Negro people of the South in their struggle against Jim Crow was graphically described to the Flint branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People by a woman who is herself a personification of that struggle.

Mrs. Juanita Craft of Texas, is a woman in her sixties, a key organizer of the 182 NAACP branches in her state and a member of the NAACP National Board.

Referring to the tendency to complacency of some Negroes in the North, who, because of the relatively better economic and social conditions above the Mason-Dixon line, wash their hands of the South or write it off as hopeless, Mrs. Craft said: "Let me warn you that when McCarthyism gets a hold in this land some of you will wish you could get back down South where we have fighting NAACP branches. Whether by law or by custom Old Jim Crow is still to be found everywhere you turn up North, too — so don't think you've escaped and can afford to become complacent."

Speaking of the book *The Walls Came Tumbling Down*, the guest speaker emphasized that "Some of our people get the impression that the walls are tumbling automatically. This is not true. They come tumbling down only when we give them a good push... and we've got a lot more pushing to do yet!"

WHERE IT ISN'T EASY  
This dedicated crusader for human rights described the militancy of the NAACP members in the South, "where it isn't so easy or safe to be a member," and related with pride how Negroes had become stewards and committeemen in the Texas CIO. She also reported the formation and growth of inter-racial groups throughout the South, encouraged and participated in by NAACP members.

The audience listened intently as she enumerated the daily heroic acts of individual Southern Negroes — refusal to transfer to Jim Crow sections on trains, enrollment in colleges and schools, remaining in the front sections of buses. With enthusiasm she described the glorious day when

she ate with the six Negro students in the cafeteria of the University in Dallas. As a little girl she had been warned constantly that no Negro must even step on the lawn of that lily-white institution.

PRaises FLINT NAACP

The speaker paid tribute to the newly organized Women's Auxiliary of the Flint NAACP, pointing out that "women can do a great deal in the fight for civil rights because they know so well how to sacrifice." She added that though the NAACP constitution has provided for some time for the formation of women's auxiliaries, unfortunately women have not sufficiently availed themselves of the right.

Elections were held at the December 14th meeting. Dr. J. L. Leach, a member of the NAACP National Board, was re-elected president of the Flint branch at this meeting. He introduced the founder and officers of the new Women's Auxiliary and declared its formation was the branch's outstanding accomplishment of the year.

## Impatience of People Is Reported Mounting At Continuation of War

By Joseph Keller

Far from holding out any hope of peace in Korea, Gen. Eisenhower is raising fear of an intensified and expanded war. His recent statements and activities give no evidence that he had peace in mind when he went to Korea or when he returned.

While still in Korea, he said he had "no panaceas, no trick solutions" for the slaughter. Back in this country, he has made ominous reference to "an enemy whom we cannot hope to impress by words... but only by deeds" and to "positive programs" to "induce" the Chinese and North Koreans to sue for peace on Washington's terms.

Added to these indications that Eisenhower is thinking of a Korean solution primarily in military terms, is his demonstrative and highly publicized secret session with Gen. MacArthur. This meeting of "two old comrades in arms," as the daily papers touchingly described it, was significant chiefly as a friendly gesture by Eisenhower toward the man who most symbolizes the policy of all-out aggressive warfare in the Far East.

WOULD STARVE 50,000,000  
MacArthur drove to the Manchurian border and threatened the Yalu River power plants, thereby forcing the Chinese to enter the war. He was first to call for seizure of Formosa, bombing of Manchuria and blockade of China. At the Senate hearings in May 1951, MacArthur proposed a blockade which he assured would starve to death 50,000,000 Chinese civilians and force China's surrender.

We do not know how much interest or sympathy Eisenhower showed for MacArthur's proposed "solution" on Korea. But the press is full of reports that Eisenhower is seriously considering every possible military move for intensifying and spreading the war, including blockade.

Joseph P. Lash reported in the Dec. 15 N. Y. Post that "Gen. Eisenhower's belief that 'deeds' rather than words are needed... found less dissent in the United Nations today than at any time since the first few weeks of the Korean war. Not only were our closest Allies ready to go along with Unified Command recommendations for a large-scale spring offensive, but judging by unofficial talk, there is no longer violent objection to bombing Red air bases in Manchuria."

Another Post correspondent, Doris Fleeson, told of Eisenhower's meeting with Pacific Fleet Commander Adm. Arthur W. Radford and reported that "almost certainly a blockade of the Chinese coast was described to Eisenhower as within the Navy's immediate capabilities."

WHAT GIVES THEM PAUSE  
If none of these more aggressive war steps are taken it will not be because Eisenhower is "peace-minded" or determined to live up to his pre-election promise to "concentrate on the job of ending the Korean war."

What gives Eisenhower and the Washington warmakers pause, first of all, is fear of the ferocious resistance of the Chinese and North Korean revolutionary armies, whose fighting power compelled the U.S. military to seek a breathing spell in the form of prolonged truce negotiations. In addition, the tremendous expenditure of men, money and equipment in Korea has seriously affected U.S. imperialism's major strategic plans, which are based on Europe as the major springboard for war against the Soviet Union.

"SIGNS OF IMPATIENCE"  
Of decisive importance is the attitude of the people here at home. Millions voted for Eisenhower in the belief he intended to end the war without further bloodshed. Before his Korea trip, he was receiving thousands of letters asking him to end the war and withdraw the U.S. troops from Korea. Washington correspondent Marquis Childs reported on Dec. 16 that regarding Korea "the unknown may be the patience of the American people... President-elect Eisenhower will feel the hot breath of that impatience on his neck in the weeks immediately after Jan. 20 (inauguration day)."

The "signs of impatience" with the continuing bloodletting in Korea, affirms Childs, "are mounting." This sentiment, organized and activated, is the only sure means to force an end of the war and the recall of the troops from Korea.

## ANGRY CANADA WORKERS VOTE GENERAL STRIKE

By Peter Farnsworth

TORONTO, Canada, Dec. 23 — Almost 100,000 workers may strike 60 Quebec communities before the week is out should negotiations to reach a settlement of the nine-months-old Louisville textile strike be broken off.

Louisville is a community of 3,500 dominated by the sprawling plant of Associated Textiles of Canada, a subsidiary wholly owned by an American company, United Merchants and Manufacturers, Inc. The 750 employees struck last March for improved wages and conditions and the company brought in some 500 scabs.

Besides violence against picket lines, the strike-breaking effort included reading of the riot act by authorities early in December. This sets a curfew and makes assembly of more than two persons a criminal offense in Louisville.

The decision to sanction a general strike was taken Dec. 21 at Quebec City by 200 delegates

from unions affiliated with the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor in protest against the police terror. More than a score of strikers have been shot, beaten, or arrested by provincial police.

Feeling is running high among workers throughout the province. The Syndicate councils in the key industrial towns of Sorel and Sherbrooke had already taken a strong stand in support of general strike action.

At Shawinigan Falls some 2,000 workers at a packed meeting instructed their executive to vote for a general strike at the Quebec City meeting. Voicing the determination of the gathering, Jean Marchand, Secretary of the CIOCL, said: "We don't believe in violence, for if we did we would have wiped out all the police from Louisville long ago... all the combined forces of capitalism, their government and their police will not destroy our determination to obtain justice for the working class."

(Continued on page 3)

## The Pongam Island Massacre of Korean POWs

By Art Preis

The story of the latest massacre of Korean prisoners of war has scarcely a parallel in the history of warfare. Hundreds of prisoners, locked arm in arm three ranks deep, stood up in the face of withering machine gun and automatic rifle fire from some 300 U.S. and South Korean guards and fought back with their only weapons, a handful of rocks and — revolutionary songs.

Lt. Col. George P. Miller, Pongam Island prison camp commander who ordered the volleys that killed 84 unarmed prisoners and wounded 118 others, spoke almost incredulously and fearfully about the prisoners being "hypnotized" by their own mass singing. That is the only way the Army-caste mind could explain the incredible courage of these captive Koreans, trapped on a tiny island or rock off Korea's south coast and at the mercy of their trigger-happy captors.

We cannot know precisely what happened on Dec. 14 at isolated Pongam Island. The only reports come from the U.S. Army command headquarters in Pusan and the U.S. officer who directed the massacre. Reporters who were permitted on the island several days after the killings talked

only to Col. Miller and U.S. guards. They saw, but could not speak to, some of the surviving prisoners.

But the Army-censored stories and press hand-outs give enough away to enable us to piece together the broad details of what actually happened. It is a story of ruthless mass murder that should make every decent American bow his head in shame. It is a story, as well, of revolutionary heroism that will inspire opponents of imperialism everywhere.

### FIRST ACCOUNTS

According to the first accounts from the Allied Prisoner of War Command at the mainland port of Pusan, South Korea, this was the "bloodiest Red riot of the Korean war" (Associated Press, Dec. 15) and a "desperate struggle of 300 Korean and American military prison guards to control the 3,600 rioting prisoners..." (Robert Alden, N. Y. Times, Dec. 17.)

But, outside of "two American and two South Korean soldiers injured by rock-throwing Reds," (AP, Dec. 15), the only loss of blood was that of more than 200 prisoners. "So swift and violent was Col. Miller's reaction that the uprising was crushed in

fifty-five minutes. Security troops suffered only slight casualties," reported Homer Bigart to the Dec. 17 N. Y. Herald-Tribune.

The Army headquarters press hand-out on Dec. 15 spoke of a "mutiny" of "die-hard Communist civilian internees" involving "an estimated 3,600 of the camp's population of 9,000 inmates" in an "abortive uprising" which "probably" was "part of recently interpreted Communist plans indicating preparations for a mass breakout." The same report claimed that "waves of fanatical Communists advanced on the guards" who brought their weapons to bear only when it "became necessary to prevent the entire mass from breaking out."

The picture thus presented was of a tiny band of U.S. and South Korean guards confronting ten times their number in "fanatic," "hypnotized," "die-hard Communist" rushing in an armed, "organized mob" to break out and destroy their guards.

According to the account given by Col. Miller himself, "he was ready for trouble when at 12:30 P.M. Sunday (Dec. 14) the Communists in F Compound suddenly poured out of their quarters, lined up on the terrace (on the hillside where the prison compounds are

located) and began singing 'The Song of the Red Soldier.' They were on the second verse of 'The Song of the Declaration of Independence' of the Republic of Korea about five minutes later when Col. Miller reached the scene... Col. Miller shouted a command to cease singing. From the high terrace the voices came louder than ever. He sent the Americans and one platoon of South Koreans into the compound." (N. Y. Herald-Tribune, Dec. 17.)

Since, as Robert Alden reported in the Dec. 21 N. Y. Times, "each compound contains about 600 men," the total number of prisoners who could possibly have massed on the terrace to sing were not more than 500 to 600. "Advancing" on them inside the compound were "one hundred and seventy extra Korean troops and forty American..." They stood with fixed bayonets and loaded rifles just below the singing prisoners. Col. Miller was at their head." (N. Y. Times, Dec. 17.)

After ordering the prisoners on the terrace "perched 15 feet higher than my troops with their backs against a barracks wall" to cease singing the "forbidden" songs, Col. Miller related, "pur-

suant to my orders one or two soldiers fired riot guns..." These proved "ineffective."

### KEEP ON SINGING

"They were standing four ranks deep with their arms linked. They were singing and swaying back and forth. After our first volley, the wounded were held upright and kept on singing. The ones that were down were pulled up by their arms," said Col. Miller. He complained that the prisoners were so "hypnotized" that "one wounded man was trying to sing as he was carried to a hospital at Koje Island, 10 miles away."

After his first volley, Col. Miller then "ordered his men to open fire with carbines and M-1 rifles upward into the mass of prisoners from a range of less than 50 yards from inside the compound," wrote the United Press on Dec. 16 from Pongam Island. "All this took place in compound F. Meanwhile in nearby compound B, the massed prisoners were moving, arms locked, in an attempt to crash the gate." It was then Col. Miller ordered machine gun fire on Compound B from a central guard tower. The prisoners were not actually crashing the gate at the moment, but "I knew if I didn't take immediate action one

half of the prisoners would break out in the next three or four minutes."

As for the several hundred prisoners on the terrace facing more than 200 fully-armed guards, "it was a tactical situation entirely in their favor. The only way my troops could reach them was by a flight of steps so narrow that only two could go up at a time. That was suicidal," said the Colonel. He forgot to explain that the allegedly onrushing prisoners could come down the terrace only by the same narrow stairs, two at a time, right into the muzzles of automatic rifles and machine guns.

"Four other compounds" in the enclosure, each with about 600 men, "had rebelled, but made no overt attempt to crash out," reported Frederick C. Painter of the United Press on Dec. 16.

What kind of lethal weapons could the 1,200 prisoners in Compounds F and B have had for so desperate a venture as an alleged mass breakout against 300 firing soldiers, plus 500 other, fully-armed troops, the number Robert Alden reports? The only mention is of rocks — rocks against steel-helmeted soldiers at

(Continued on page 4)



# America Under Eisenhower -- A New Era Begins

By James P. Cannon

(The following lecture was given at the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum, December 5, 1952.)

I would like to begin by expressing my gratitude to the Los Angeles Friday Night Forum for providing this arena for a free discussion of important social questions through the winter season. The "open forum" is an old and respected American institution, not seen much any more in these days of conformity enforced by witch hunts and hysteria. All the more should we appreciate the one you have provided.

As far as I know it is the only place in Los Angeles, and one of the few places in the whole country today, where people are free to ask questions and speak their minds without signing a loyalty oath. I thank you for your invitation to speak here, and will try to observe all the rules of polite debate, even if I break some of the current rules of conformity.

The 1952 presidential election is now under discussion in all political circles, including our own, and there is no reason to hurry to a conclusion. We are going to have Eisenhower and Nixon for the next four years, whether we like it or not, and we might as well take time to figure out and discuss what happened and why. My remarks tonight can be taken as a contribution to the general discussion, a personal opinion with which you may or may not agree.

There is pretty general agreement, at home and abroad, that reaction gained the day in the election. European public opinion has unanimously characterized the victory of Eisenhower as the sign of a swing to the right in American politics.

## Can Rule Through Different Forms

The government at Washington, whether administered by Truman or Eisenhower, the Democrats or the Republicans, is a capitalist government assuring the rule of Big Capital in this country. But international experience has clearly demonstrated that bourgeois class rule can be exercised in a number of different ways, and through a number of different political forms, depending on the degree of stability of the social system and the tension of class relations at a given time.

When it feels strong and sure of itself, Big Capital can rule in its own name, through its own preferred party, under the forms of parliamentary democracy. This was the traditional form of government in this country prior to the Roosevelt Era.

Again, under certain conditions of deep social crisis, Big Capital has no choice but to rule through the dictatorship of a fascist party, as in Germany under Hitler, in Italy under Mussolini and today in Spain.

And in between these extremes there are other forms such as were employed in France in 1936, in Spain after the overthrow of the monarchy and prior to the victory of the fascists, and again in France and Italy in the early post-war period.

This governmental form of capitalist rule is effected through a coalition of the capitalist class, or a section of it, with socialist and labor and even Stalinist parties. This coalition of capitalist

## Trend Away from Reforms

The Peoples Front form of coalition in politics and government is usually associated with social reforms which are given, or more often promised, in payment for labor's participation in the coalition. Social reforms, however, are not the determining feature.

For example, there have been virtually no important social reform measures enacted in this country since 1938. In fact, the trend has been the other way. There has only been talk about reforms and promises of concessions by the Peoples Front government since 1938. But this did not change the character of the regime itself. In the essence of the matter it was a coalition regime with the labor movement supporting the administration, taking responsibility for it and supplying the predominating share of popular support.

Prior to Roosevelt, when American capitalism was prospering, developing and expanding in all directions and the workers in the basic industries were unorganized, weak and helpless, the big capitalists saw no need of any coalition with the labor movement. As a rule the conventions of both the big parties even disregarded the moderate pleas of Gompers for the promise of a few piddling reforms and concessions in their election platforms. The open shop and the labor injunction were the official American gospel, preached by the National Association of Manufacturers and supported by all the power of the government.

This is the general opinion in this country, too, although some qualify even this limited characterization by defining the Republican victory as the continuation of a reactionary trend set in motion by the outgoing Democrats.

All this is true, as far as it goes, but the characterizations remain inadequate. They do not tell the whole story.

The election cannot be fully understood unless we account for the deliberate policy of Big Capital — its all-out campaign and the motivation for it.

In my opinion, the election of Eisenhower signifies the end of one era in American politics and government and the beginning of another. It means more than the continuation of a trend and a shift of personalities in office. It is not just a change of parties, each standing for substantially the same thing.

Eisenhower's election signifies, rather, a change in the form and method of governmental rule in the United States by Big Capital.

It is indisputable, of course, that both the Democratic and Republican parties are bourgeois parties, which serve the capitalist system of exploitation at home and imperialist aggression abroad. That is their unchanging and unchangeable function, their reason for being, as the French would say. In this fundamental respect both parties are the same. But in recent times their base of support and their forms and methods of fulfilling this role have been different.

From that standpoint the results of the elections represent an important change which should be carefully noted and studied, especially by people who are interested in making a far more important change.

From that standpoint the results of the elections represent an important change which should be carefully noted and studied, especially by people who are interested in making a far more important change.

In substance the Roosevelt-Truman Era in politics and government was an American version of the Peoples Front. To be sure, there was no formal coalition of labor and capitalist parties, and couldn't be, since our wise labor leaders, who are no doubt busy with a "worldful" of wonderful things, haven't yet had time to organize an independent Labor Party. The best they have been able to do so far has been to constitute a faction in the Democratic Party.

It is with this faction of labor leaders and also with the reformist leaders of the Negro movement, that Roosevelt, the best political representative and leader of American capitalism, formed the coalition upon which the government was based for 20 years. It was an informal coalition, in which labor and Negro representation was unofficial and rather meager, but it worked and served its purpose.

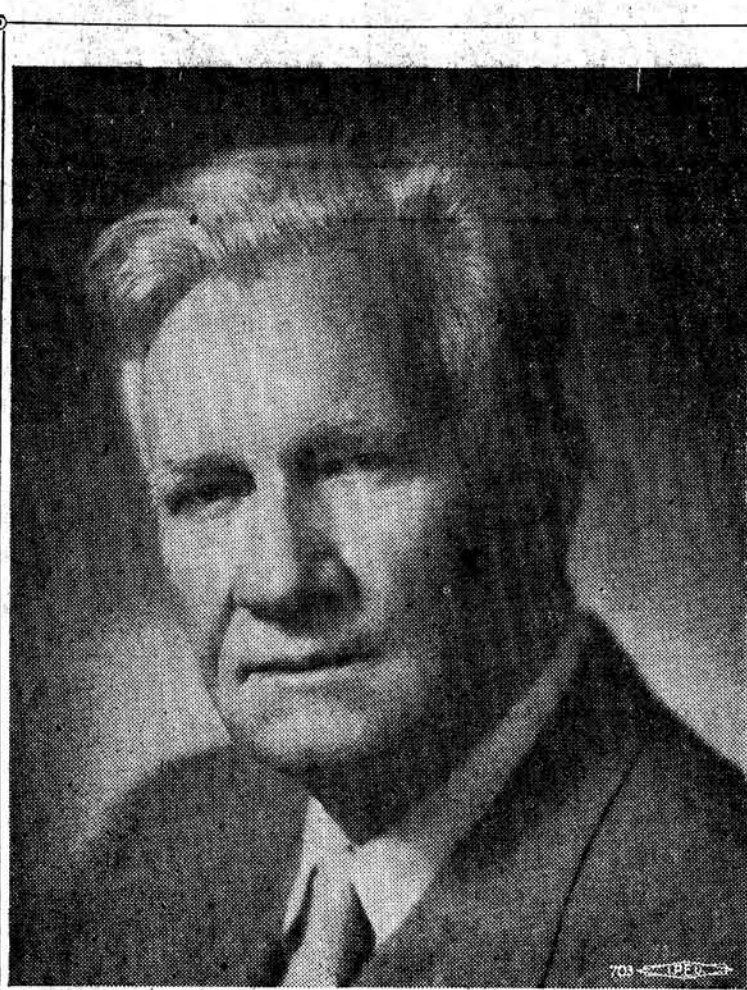
In time of crisis and difficulty this coalition form of government serves the interests of the capitalist class very well. It gives the appearance of labor representation and makes labor responsible for the government without changing the essence of the matter, which is the support of the capitalist system of production for profit by the power of government.

This delightful era was interrupted by a little incident known to history as the "Hoover Depression." The devastating crisis which shook American economy in the first year of the Hoover administration, and was still deepening and worsening three and a half years later when Roosevelt was inaugurated, changed the situation radically.

With 20 million unemployed, business paralyzed, banks closing on every side and no end in sight, the outright rule of Big Capital in its own name was badly discredited. The new times required new measures and new men. It became necessary to get a broader basis of popular support in order to prop up the shaken regime of capitalism and ward off the danger of a popular revolt, which at that time was by no means an imaginary danger.

These were the big, social imperatives which brought about the Roosevelt-labor coalition, brought the organized labor movement into the administration as a supporting partner and cleared the way for the social reforms of the New Deal. The reforms and concessions granted to the labor movement, especially in the early period of the Roosevelt Era, were quite substantial. Only a country as rich as America could have afforded them.

By a huge program of government spending for relief, public works, make-work and boondoggling, some of the edge was taken off the worst sufferings of the unemployed workers. The Negro people, who were hardest hit by



JAMES P. CANNON  
National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party

the crisis, as by every other social evil, were won over by the Roosevelt reforms and concessions and moved over en masse into the Peoples Front coalition.

Legislation favorable to organized labor and a generally benevolent attitude of the administration, undoubtedly facilitated the growth and development of the organized labor movement. The militant strike movement in the Thirties was the decisive factor in strengthening the position of the workers and improving their living standards. But at the same time the workers felt, and not without some reason, that the government helped the unions.

But the workers, and to a certain extent the Negro people, were not the only beneficiaries of the honeymoon period of class collaboration in the Rooseveltian Peoples Front. Compared to what the big monopolists got out of the deal, labor's share was very meager indeed. The Roosevelt program of reforms and concessions was just what American capitalism needed in its hour of mortal crisis.

The big capitalists recognized this, and while they were still reeling under the shock of the crisis, they generally supported the New Deal. It was only later when they had regained their

## Roosevelt Heads Toward War

The Rooseveltian New Deal, however, never solved the economic crisis, as the Democratic Party politicians and the labor leaders claimed in the last election. It took the armaments boom and the war expenditures to do that.

By 1937, four years after the beginning of the Rooseveltian New Deal, the economic nostrums of the "Brain Trust" had run their course and failed to cure the sick economy. Production again plummeted downward at an ominous rate. The bankruptcy of the palliative measures of the Roosevelt administration, as a means of overcoming the fundamental crisis of American economy, was becoming manifest.

It was then that Roosevelt turned toward the armaments and war program, partly as a cure for the depression. It was the stepped-up expenditures for armaments in the preparation for the war, and later in the war itself, which restored full production and full employment in this country as in Germany under the Nazis. Roosevelt's economic remedies turned out in the end to be the same as Hitler's. It was the political method that was different.

The Roosevelt-Truman coalition with the organized labor movement was extended through World War II and rendered its greatest services to American capitalism in the war.

The workers were allowed to share moderately in the prosperity engendered by the war and armaments economy. The unions were permitted even to expand during the war under the "maintenance of membership" device sponsored by the government. In return for this the labor leaders took full responsibility for the war, became missionaries for its moral justification, policed the union against any opposition and, except in the case of the Miners, ensured uninterrupted production to feed the war machine.

Official labor backing for the predatory foreign policy, with virtually no criticism of any kind, has likewise been provided by the

self-confidence, that they began to complain about the cost.

As a result of the Roosevelt program, the great trend toward labor radicalism, which rose up so promisingly in the Thirties, was diverted into reformist channels. The Communist Party became an advertising agency for the administration. The Socialist Party, which had begun to grow again in the first years of the crisis, was virtually wiped out by mass desertions to the Roosevelt camp. The movement for an independent Labor Party was beheaded and dismembered. The organized labor movement became a faction in the Democratic Party, with Roosevelt himself becoming the most influential labor leader.

The net result of the whole New Deal experiment, on the one side, was the restoration of public confidence in the capitalist regime, a tremendous increase in the profits of Big Business, and an acceleration of the trend toward capitalist concentration and monopoly.

On the other side, labor gained some concessions and reforms, but in return for that, surrendered its independence and became subservient to the government. It is easy to see who got the best of the bargain and why Big Capital found it expedient to support the Rooseveltian Peoples Front in its vernal season.

continuation of the coalition in the post-war and cold-war period.

There is no possible doubt about it. The so-called New Deal Fair Deal Era was a very good deal for American capitalism — in all the larger aspects.

Despite all that, the big financial interests most ungratefully decided to dispense with the services of the Peoples Front coalition for the next period. The election of Eisenhower was not a fluke or, an accident. It was brought about by the deliberate and determined decision and all-out efforts of finance capital for definite reasons.

It represents a deliberate break by the real rulers of America with the Peoples Front coalition policy of the Roosevelt-Truman Era. It signifies a decision on the part of Big Capital to rule directly in its own name in the coming period.

Was this decision of the ruling capitalists in this instance a wise one from the standpoint of their long-range interests as an exploiting class? That, in my opinion, remains to be demonstrated. In any case, they think they had good reasons for their decision to make a shift in governmental forms, despite the risks it may entail in alienating labor's enthusiastic and unreserved support of the government which had been assured by the Roosevelt-Truman coalition.

The decision grew out of the terrible exigencies of the position of American capitalism in the present-day world. What is American capitalism to do? What can it do? If it is to survive, — and remain capitalism — it must find an outlet for its huge surpluses of goods and capital in foreign lands.

But the road to this needed market is closed in the Soviet Union, in revolutionary China and in Eastern Europe. It is further threatened by the rising revolutionary movements in all parts of the world.

American capitalism has no alternative but to embark on an unlimited program of imperialist conquest and counter-revolution.

This is not a matter of choice. It is compulsory.

The financial cost of this worldwide imperialist counter-revolutionary adventure, to say nothing of the social and military risks, is beyond computation. And that is what sets the Wall Street boys jumping. They exist for the sake of profit, and money is their operative word. Their social reflexes may be slow and dull, their moral reflexes may be arrested by paralysis of the ethical nerve, but their financial reflexes are quick and sharp and kept in shape by constant exercise.

The capitalist world has fallen into their hands like a bankrupt corporation on the auction block, and the first question they ask is: "What's it going to cost, and how can we reduce the overhead?" It is going to cost plenty. They know that, and are reconciled to it. But they would dearly love to get it cheaper. They want somebody to "get it for them wholesale."

And while splurging on foreign affairs, they are beginning to think parsimoniously of cutting all possible expenses in domestic affairs. Completely unaware of the comic figure they will cut in history, they freely agree to the expenditure of astronomical sums for war and conquest abroad, and then haggle over every dollar to be spent at home to secure their base of operations.

## Big Business Puts on the Heat

The monopolists went about this preliminary stage of their campaign very deliberately and systematically. The support of Eisenhower in the top circles of American capitalism was almost unanimous, and every form of pressure was brought to bear to force smaller elements and dependent capitalists, salaried employees and business men into line. It was disclosed, for example, that every auto dealer handling General Motors cars was required to contribute to the Eisenhower campaign fund. This kind of pressure was put on dependent elements all up and down the line.

The daily press, which is not only a mouthpiece of Big Business, but is part of Big Business itself, was heavily biased in favor of Eisenhower and used all the well-known tricks of editorializing, twisting, juggling and slanting the news in his favor. The surveys showed that 993 dailies with a circulation of 40 million supported Eisenhower, as against only 201 dailies with a circulation of only 4.4 million supporting Stevenson.

Thus 90% of the newspaper circulation was mobilized to carry out the will of the financial cabal who made the decision in New York. The Hearst chain of dailies, the Scripps-Howard chain, the New York Times, the New York Herald-Tribune, the Chicago Tribune and the New York News and even Marshall Field's Chicago Sun and the liberal Washington Post — all supported Eisenhower.

This imposing mobilization also included Readers Digest, Time, Life, News Week, and the Saturday Evening Post, the slick magazines which blanket the country with a total circulation of tens of millions of readers.

## Danger of Fascism in America

The unbridled demagoguery, with which the Republicans exploited popular discontent for reactionary ends, had many of the overtones of fascist agitation. Those who profit most from war and inflation howled the loudest against it. The build-up of Eisenhower as a leader who could fix everything was right out of Hitler's book.

The astounding effectiveness of this screaming campaign scared the daylight out of the bewildered liberals — and the labor leaders too. Some have even said or implied that the election of Eisenhower, by unscrupulous campaign methods that Goebbels could hardly improve, marks the beginning of fascism in America. But such a conclusion owes more to panic than to present-day political reality.

The Republican Party as at present constituted, is by no means a fascist party, and it would be quite false to characterize the incoming Eisenhower administration as a fascist regime. The Republican Party,

## Where Union Leaders Went Wrong

The monopolists waged a conscious consistent, all-out campaign in the presidential election. In contrast, the campaign conducted by organized labor, although outwardly imposing, was a weak and stumbling affair. They had far more machinery than drive.

The union organization for their campaign was better than ever before and the official character of their participation was far more complete at this time. A close examination of the vote in industrial localities shows that they got out a bigger vote from the organized workers — and from the Negro people — than in 1948.

But that wasn't enough. What

They want lower taxes. They want economy in government. They want to cut out all items of graft and corruption in government, which, measured by the total expenditures, are mere chicken feed.

And above all, they have begun to look with jaundiced eyes at the proportion of the national income taken by the workers in the form of wages. They want to cut wages and social benefits with the help of the government. That was the chief motivation of their election policy.

The barrier in the way of this program is the organized labor movement. That's quite a barrier; its removal will take a bit of doing, as our English cousins would say. In order to cut wages drastically and reduce the living standards of the workers, the trade unions must be beaten and smashed. That's the long and short of it.

Such a drastic program can't be carried out all at once. There first must be preparations and a plan for a drawn-out campaign, then preliminary operations. If one were to describe the projected campaign of the monopolists against American labor in military terms, the recent elections could be considered as a tremendous artillery barrage clearing the ground for later advancement against the entrenched position of the unions.

Life, News Week, and the Saturday Evening Post, the slick magazines which blanket the country with a total circulation of tens of millions of readers.

This virtual unanimity of the big-moneyed press spells only one thing. The decision to support Eisenhower and therewith a change in the form of capitalist rule in government, was a decision made in the highest circles of American capitalism.

Besides this press support, which was given for nothing, the amount of money spent to ensure the election of Eisenhower runs into incalculable sums. An authority on radio and television, writing in the Nation magazine, estimates that at least \$20 million was spent on this item alone — to bombard the public with every form of appeal from canned speeches and soap operas to spot announcements in television commercial style. Political experts traveling around reported that the Eisenhower committees in all parts of the country, North, South, East and West, were loaded with money (the N. Y. Times says over a million dollars was spent to swing Texas alone), while the Democrats were having a hard time and were dependent in large measure on the contributions of the trade unions.

On the evidence, there is absolutely no question about it. The big capitalists were not neutral in this election, and were not fooling. They put their money where their hearts were — in the election of Eisenhower and the break-up of the coalition in government with labor and the Negro movement.

however, has already organized many of the reserve forces of a future fascist movement. If such demagogues as Nixon and McCarthy are not the prototypes of American fascist demagogues, they will do till the real thing comes along.

In the recent election campaign the Republicans gave a good tryout to fascist propaganda methods and techniques, and they have the financial backing which will be the backing for an American fascist movement when the time comes for it. It is quite possible that some of the financial overlords are pleasantly impressed by their sweeping success in stampeding the people with the most brazen fakery, and that this may put ideas in their heads. America will see a powerful, well-financed fascist movement in the future. There can be no doubt whatever on this score. But the time for it has not yet come. American fascism will make its appearance in full bloom, simultaneously with a social crisis and a radicalized labor movement.

Part of the preparations which the big monopolists have in mind, and which they expect the Eisenhower administration to implement, is the reduction of the living standards of the American workers in order to make them pay for the war preparations and the planned war.

They may not move immediately against the unions, but they intend to get ready to move. In prospect is legislation to put more teeth in the Taft-Hartley Law to permit employers to get injunctions against strikers, to outlaw company-wide bargaining and strikes which create a so-called national emergency. That can mean any strike they want to outlaw. These prospective amendments will strengthen the hands of the employers in the coming showdown with the trade unions.

Emboldened by the election, the employers will offer stiffer resistance to wage demands. And if there is the beginning of a depression with consequent unemployment, which is certain unless military expenditures are kept up and even increased, we may see deliberate attempts on the part of the monopolists to provoke strikes and break the

status quo. They have grown sluggish and comfortable and fat — especially around the ears — and didn't seem to know that other people were discontented. The popular appeals were all exploited by the reactionaries.

The issues which concerned the people most were the Korean War and high prices. The Democrats — and the labor leaders — tried to laugh them off. Organized labor appeared in this election campaign not as an independent class force challenging the monopolists for control of the government, but as a mere appendage of the Truman administration, as an apologist for all its failures and crimes.

Instead of denouncing the crime of the Korean War, and demanding an immediate end of it, the labor leaders defended the war and repeated all the lying propaganda about it being a war for humanity. They outraged the mothers who have sons in Korea, and the housewives harried by mounting grocery bills, with their famous slogan: "You never had it so good." The labor leaders, who imagine themselves to be statesmen of a sort, paid heavily for this kind of statesmanship.

The labor bureaucrats also sadly underestimated the intelligence of great masses of people when they gave Roosevelt and Truman credit for overcoming the depression and also gave them credit for the present prosperity. Great masses of people feel different about this matter. The Republican argument, that the current prosperity is artificially based upon war and war production — which is the literal truth — struck home to millions who feel the same way about it.

Compared to some past times

## "Troubles" for Eisenhower

American capitalism has fallen heir to the domination of the entire capitalist world in the period of its decline and decay, when it is racked by crisis and revolutions everywhere. In inheriting world domination, America inherits all these crises too. The Republicans will not find their solution as easy as it was to fool the American people and win an election.

The magazine U.S. News and World Report lists a page of little international matters which will be at the top of Eisenhower's agenda on the day of his inauguration. It lists them under the intriguing title, "Troubles for Eisenhower Around the World." Each "trouble" is given only one line of type — but the list fills a whole page. If you think you are the only one got troubles, just listen to Eisenhower's troubles:

Britain: Still going broke, British ask help.

Germany: Socialists, anti-American, may take over.

France: Touchy French could upset European defense plan.

Italy: Communists and Fascists threaten pro-U.S. Government.

North Africa: Natives demand home rule where U.S. has air bases.

Egypt: No agreement yet on Middle East defenses.

Iran: Break with Britain is unhealed; Communists stronger.

India: U.S. aid sought; quarrel with Pakistan goes on.

Burma-War: Guerrillas keep new Government wobbly.

Malaya-War: British troops fight guerrilla bands.

What They Plan Against Labor

The war is implicit in the total world situation. Neither we nor anyone else can predict the day of its outbreak, nor how long it may be postponed. But we can say positively that the American people, and the working class of America in the first place, will be included among the victims of this war and of the preparations for it.

Part of the preparations which the big monopolists have in mind, and which they expect the Eisenhower administration to implement, is the reduction of the living standards of the American workers in order to make them pay for the war preparations and the planned war.

They may not move immediately against the unions, but they intend to get ready to move. In prospect is legislation to put more teeth in the Taft-Hartley Law to permit employers to get injunctions against strikers, to outlaw company-wide bargaining and strikes which create a so-called national emergency. That can mean any strike they want to outlaw. These prospective amendments will strengthen the hands of the employers in the coming showdown with the trade unions.

Emboldened by the election, the employers will offer stiffer resistance to wage demands. And if there is the beginning of a depression with consequent unemployment, which is certain unless military expenditures are kept up and even increased, we may see deliberate attempts on the part of the monopolists to provoke strikes and break the

status quo. They have grown sluggish and comfortable and fat — especially around the ears — and didn't seem to know that other people were discontented. The popular appeals were all exploited by the reactionaries.

The issues which concerned the people most were the Korean War and high prices. The Democrats — and the labor leaders — tried to laugh them off. Organized labor appeared in this election campaign not as an independent class force challenging the monopolists for control of the government, but as a mere appendage of the Truman administration, as an apologist for all its failures and crimes.

Instead of denouncing the crime of the Korean War, and demanding an immediate end of it, the labor leaders defended the war and repeated all the lying propaganda about it being a war for humanity. They outraged the mothers who have sons in Korea, and the housewives harried by mounting grocery bills, with their famous slogan: "You never had it so good." The labor leaders, who imagine themselves to be statesmen of a sort, paid heavily for this kind of statesmanship.

The labor bureaucrats also sadly underestimated the intelligence of great masses of people when they gave Roosevelt and Truman credit for overcoming the depression and also gave them credit for the present prosperity. Great masses of people feel different about this matter. The Republican argument, that the current prosperity is artificially based upon war and war production — which is the literal truth — struck home to millions who feel the same way about it.

## "Troubles" for Eisenhower

American capitalism has fallen heir to the domination of the entire capitalist world in the period of its decline and decay, when it is racked by crisis and revolutions everywhere. In inheriting world domination, America inherits all these crises too. The Republicans will not find their solution as easy as it was to fool the American people and win an election.

The magazine U.S. News and World Report lists a page of little international matters which will be at the top of Eisenhower's agenda on the day of his inauguration. It lists them under the intriguing title, "Troubles for Eisenhower Around the World." Each "trouble" is given only one line of type — but the list fills a whole page. If you think you are the only one got troubles, just listen to Eisenhower's troubles:

Britain: Still going broke, British ask help.

Germany: Socialists, anti-American, may take over.

France: Touchy French could upset European defense plan.

Italy: Communists and Fascists threaten pro-U.S. Government.

North Africa: Natives demand home rule where U.S. has air bases.

Egypt: No agreement yet on Middle East defenses.

Iran: Break with Britain is unhealed; Communists stronger.

India: U.S. aid sought; quarrel with Pakistan goes on.

Burma-War: Guerrillas keep new Government wobbly.

Malaya-War: British troops fight guerrilla bands.

What They Plan Against Labor

The war is implicit in the total world situation. Neither we nor anyone else can predict the day of its outbreak, nor how long it may be postponed. But we can say positively that the American people, and the working class of America in the first place, will be included among the victims of this war and of the preparations for it.

Part of the preparations which the big monopolists have in mind, and which they expect the Eisenhower administration to implement, is the reduction of the living standards of the American workers in order to make them pay for the war preparations and the planned war.

They may not move immediately against the unions, but they intend to get ready to move. In prospect is legislation to put more teeth in the Taft-Hartley Law to permit employers to get injunctions against strikers, to outlaw company-wide bargaining and strikes which create a so-called national emergency. That can mean any strike they want to outlaw. These prospective amendments will strengthen the hands of the employers in the coming showdown with the trade unions.

Emboldened by the election, the employers will offer stiffer resistance to wage demands. And if there is the beginning of a depression with consequent unemployment, which is certain unless military expenditures are kept up and even increased, we may see deliberate attempts on the part of the monopolists to provoke strikes and break the

status quo. They have grown sluggish and comfortable and fat — especially around the ears — and didn't seem to know that other people were discontented. The popular appeals were all exploited by the reactionaries.

The issues which concerned the people most were the Korean War and high prices. The Democrats — and the labor leaders — tried to laugh them off. Organized labor appeared in this election campaign not as an independent class force challenging the monopolists for control of the government, but as a mere appendage of the Truman administration, as an apologist for all its failures and crimes.

Instead of denouncing the crime of the Korean War, and demanding an immediate end of it, the labor leaders defended the war and repeated all the lying propaganda about it being a war for humanity. They outraged the mothers who have sons in Korea, and the housewives harried by mounting grocery bills, with their famous slogan: "You never had it so good." The labor leaders, who imagine themselves to be statesmen of a sort, paid heavily for this kind of statesmanship.

The labor bureaucrats also sadly underestimated the intelligence of great masses of people when they gave Roosevelt and Truman credit for overcoming the depression and also gave them credit for the present prosperity. Great masses of people feel different about this matter. The Republican argument, that the current prosperity is artificially based upon war and war production — which is the literal truth — struck home to millions who feel the same way about it.

Compared to some past times

"Troubles" for Eisenhower

American capitalism has fallen heir to the domination of the entire capitalist world in the period of its decline and decay, when it is racked by crisis and revolutions everywhere. In inheriting world domination, America inherits all these crises too. The Republicans will not find their solution as easy as it was to fool the American people and win an election.

The magazine U.S. News and World Report lists a page of little international matters which will be at the top of Eisenhower's agenda on the day of his inauguration. It lists them under the intriguing title, "Troubles for Eisenhower Around the World." Each "trouble" is given only one line of type — but the list fills a whole page. If you think you are the only one got troubles, just listen to Eisenhower's troubles:

Britain: Still going broke, British ask help.

Germany: Socialists, anti-American, may take over.

France: Touchy French could upset European defense plan.

Italy: Communists and Fascists threaten pro-U.S. Government.

North Africa: Natives demand home rule where U.S. has air bases.

Egypt: No agreement yet on Middle East defenses.

Iran: Break with Britain is unhealed; Communists stronger.

India: U



Subscriptions: \$3 per year;  
\$1.50 for 6 months. Foreign:  
\$4.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6  
months. Canadian: \$3.50 per  
year; \$1.75 for 6 months.  
(Single Orders: 5 or more  
copies 6c each in U.S., 7c  
each in foreign countries.)

## 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 5-7400  
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN  
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Signed articles by contribu-  
tors do not necessarily rep-  
resent 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. XVI - No. 52

Monday, December 29, 1952

### The ACLU Washes Its Hands

The American Civil Liberties Union has washed its hands of the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg who have been sentenced to death, in peacetime, on the charge of violating the Espionage Act by supplying top-secret information to the Kremlin.

To believe the ACLU, there is no issue of civil liberties involved in their case at all. According to the ACLU there has been "no denial of due process of law." It has been unable to find a shred of evidence that the death sentences were motivated by "political or religious considerations." Therefore, imposition of the death penalty does not involve civil liberties, in the strict sense of the term.

If the matter was as cut and dried as the ACLU claims it is, why should anyone feel qualms about it? Yet there are quite a few honest and consistent defenders of civil liberties who feel uneasy about the Rosenberg case. Among them is Arthur Garfield Hays, a veteran attorney and defender of civil rights, who also happens to be the general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. Hays is by no means so certain that the Rosenbergs received the fullest measure of constitutional safeguards in their trial. He casts considerable doubt on the fairness of the sentence meted out to them. "So far as I know, there is no precedent for a death penalty in a case like this," he said in the weekly Nation, Nov. 8. What precedent can the ACLU cite?

The Rosenberg case came up in a civil

court. They were not tried on the charge of treason. And it is a fact that no civil court has ever imposed a death penalty in an espionage case.

The legal code in England and Canada and their civil court procedures do not differ basically from the American "due process of law," of which the verdict is surely no small part. Yet the Canadian and English courts confined themselves to prison sentences in similar espionage cases.

The judge in the Rosenberg case, in imposing the death sentence declared, "I consider your crime worse than murder." If that was really so, why did this stern judge depart from his own dictum in sentencing the accomplices of the Rosenbergs? Accomplices in murder are by law held as guilty as the actual murderer. Why then was David Greenglass, chief witness against the Rosenbergs, given a relatively light sentence? And why was his wife Ruth Greenglass not prosecuted at all?

This leniency toward "co-conspirators" in "crime worse than murder" does not at all square with the harshness of the extreme penalty meted out to the Rosenbergs.

By washing its hands of the Rosenberg case the ACLU has capitulated shamefully. The enemies of civil rights are out for blood. The ACLU has announced itself willing to permit the witch-hunters to obtain their first blood-lettings — through the civil courts, no more no less!

### One Vote Against

On Dec. 11, the UN's Economic and Financial Committee approved a resolution affirming the right of any nation to nationalize its resources and develop them under government ownership. The resolution, pushed by Bolivia and Iran, two colonial nations that have expropriated foreign capital in their principal resources, is intended to encourage other nations to follow this example.

Thirty-one nations voted for the resolution. This group was made up mainly of the colonial countries and the Soviet bloc plus Yugoslavia. Nineteen countries, including Britain and the Commonwealth bloc, abstained. One nation voted against the resolution. That nation was the United States.

The whole development, an important sign of the times, shows two things quite clearly. First of all, it indicates the enormous force behind the movement for nationalization of industry and towards the destruction of the capitalist system in this epoch. So great is this force that it even pushes into the closely-guarded sanctuary of imperialism, the United Nations, and defeats the U.S. in a test vote.

Secondly, it shows quite clearly just where the U.S. government stands in the world constellation of forces. It used to be the fond belief of liberals that this country was the home of liberalism, the foe of British-French-Dutch-Belgian-etc. imperialism. The U.S., the story went, was anti-imperialist, and tried to intervene on behalf of the colonial people when their European masters got too brutal.

### "Labor's Daily"

The political backwardness of the American labor movement in comparison to that of other countries is graphically indicated by the weakness of its press. Even the AFL and CIO have only anemic weekly publications facing up to the powerful daily newspapers of Big Business that relentlessly pound and hammer against labor's interests.

The appearance of a daily union-sponsored newspaper is therefore an event to be welcomed by militant union members. Labor's Daily, launched last September "to help offset" the "one-sided news reporting from the 'Big Business' controlled existing press," looks like a serious venture.

As union papers go, we rate it among the better ones although we think that the editors, like the rest of labor officialdom, were wrong in supporting Stevenson in the recent election instead of urging formation of a Labor Party.

Its editorial policy is liberal. For example, it hailed the Supreme Court decision declaring the Oklahoma "Loyalty Oath" unconstitutional, hoping that this "may have some weight in lightening the increasingly fear-soaked, suspicion-soaked atmosphere which is characteristic of the United States today." And it noted that one reason for the Court's decision may have been the serious "teacher-shortage problem" resulting in part from "political

harassment" of teachers and their resentment at having their opinions "dictated by an ignorant, corrupt gang of two-bit politicians."

Labor's Daily thinks that "the people of the United States face a serious danger of falling into the same deathtrap which engulfed Germany under Hitler, that in condoning one repressive measure we pave the way for another and yet another."

Besides following national and world events, it offers comics, cartoons and family features. In addition, in its three months it has printed a thumbnail history of Mother Jones, a famous figure in the early history of the union movement, and is currently running a series on the history of the United Mine Workers in West Virginia. It reprints interesting items from the union press and publishes letters from readers.

Sponsored and financed by the International Typographical Union, Labor's Daily is an eight-page, five column tabloid published five days a week. It has been endorsed by the AFL and United Mine Workers conventions and by many locals of the CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions. Carrying no paid advertisements at present, it is seeking nation-wide circulation. Subscriptions are \$8 for one year, \$5 for six months and \$1 for one month. The address is Labor's Daily, 720 Crescent Road, Charleston 2, W. Virginia.

# Issues in the British Labor Party Dispute

By Arthur Mason

(Continued from last week.)

In the Dec. 6 New Statesman & Nation, the Labor historian G. D. H. Cole described the contrast between Bevan and his antagonists in the following terms:

"Mr. Bevan is in effect saying that, the greater the economic difficulties are, the tougher the labor movement ought to be with the capitalists and the wealthier classes in general. Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison, on the other hand, are both disinclined by temperament to be tough with those whom they helped to win the war, and very doubtful whether the electorate would vote for a tough policy, which would be bound to hit a good many marginal electors. They are also nervous at the prospect of disturbing the capitalists now that business is facing greater difficulties in selling its products in the world market, and are reluctant to impose controls which would be unpopular with many industries not ripe for socialization, and with small business entrepreneurs even more than with the big combines."

These different approaches to the economic problems posed by the decay of British capitalism express the demands and interests of opposing class forces. The Right Wing is more fearful of offending the middle classes and challenging the big capitalists than of cheating and disappointing their own rank and file.

Meanwhile economic conditions are deteriorating and the Tory economic policies are creating more and more discontent. British production dropped 10% over the past year. Food prices are rising unrelentingly as government subsidies are cut. There are now nearly half a million out of work and more on short time.

#### THE WAY OUT

This slump in economic activity, with its growing insecurity and unemployment, has deterred the workers from industrial struggle, and induced a number of unions, such as the Engineers, to accept only small increases in their wage negotiations. The hold of the bureaucracy upon the trade union apparatus is the chief source of strength for the Right Wing. This cannot be loosened or broken without big struggles and upheavals which will change the relation of forces within the major unions and bring them more into line with the political section of the movement. The way out of this situation to bring down the Tories and return Labor to power on a program based, in Bevan's words, on "the greatest possible injection of Socialist policy." But the Right Wing general prefers to remain in opposition for an indefinite period without any direct responsibility, waiting for some miracle to turn up. They have no program essentially different from that of the Conservatives to cope with the economic difficulties. If Churchill is copying Stanley Baldwin who presided over the decline of British capitalism in the pre-war years, the Laborite Old Guard is

modelling itself after Ramsay MacDonald.

Will the Labor Party succeed in maintaining its unity in the coming year? There is no guarantee of that. Both the ruling class and its American patrons would like to see the Bevanites suppressed, and the Right Wing is not averse to smashing the Left even at the cost of breaking up the party. Relations between them are tense and strained, and there is no evidence of a conciliatory spirit on either side.

In fact, both have been, each in its own way, preparing their forces for another round of conflict. The Right Wing has superior organization and considerable resources and can count on the support of bourgeois public opinion. The Left Wing has to rely on mobilizing the ranks around its more progressive program. The swing to the left has gained momentum in the party since Morecambe, and a sizable section holds more radical views than many of the Bevanite leaders.

Since the Left Wing is anxious to avert a split, only further aggressions by the Right Wing could provoke it. This might happen if Attlee and Morrison should follow up their moves in Parliament with attempts to ban the Tribune and other Left Wing party publications, such as the Socialist Outlook. The Bevanites have already announced that they will combat any such suppressions and they can rely on solid support from the ranks in such a fight. Possibly some unforeseeable external event may serve to bring the conflict simmering inside the party to a boil.

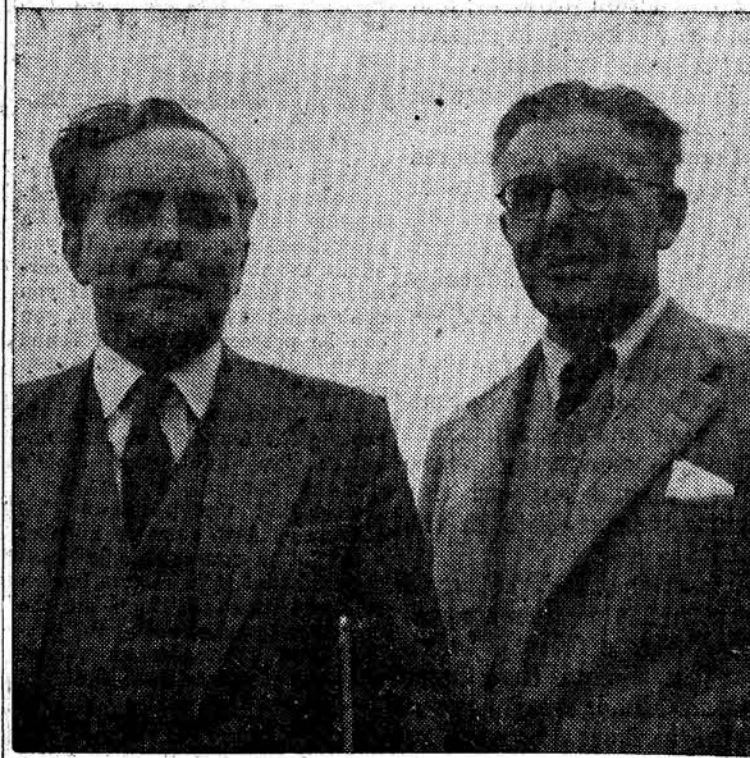
As a result of these developments, Bevanism has acquired some well-defined characteristics and a special political physiognomy. This is a new phenomenon of exceptional importance not only within British Labor but in the post-war history of international Social Democracy. Bevanism is not a superficial or eccentric tendency but the product of profound and powerful conditions rooted in the decadence of British imperialism and the pre-war crisis of world capitalism. It expresses the first forms of mass resistance by the British working class to the Atlantic Alliance and the consequences of the arms program. The movement is marked by growing sympathy with the colonial revolutions, China and the Soviet Union, coupled with hostility to U.S. imperialism and any bi-partisan policies with the Conservatives.

At the same time this radicalized movement with its anti-war and anti-imperialist sentiments is untainted with Stalinism and unaffected by the British Communist Party. As Bevan himself remarked: "If British Labor does the job as it should be done, there will be no need for the Communist Party."

#### PARALLELS TITOISM

These progressive tendencies are still in a formative stage and strong vestiges of the old habits and ideas remain imbedded within them. Bevanism is a wide and heterogeneous grouping with all the confusions and contradictions native to a centrist tendency breaking with its reformist past and seeking a new road amidst complex circumstances.

### British Left-Wing Leaders



Harold Wilson (L) and Richard Crossman, Bevan supporters elected to the British Labor Party national executive committee at the recent convention. Their choice was a victory for the powerful left wing, which advocates slowing down Britain's arms drive and neutrality in the U.S.-Soviet conflict.

Bevanism must be understood as the parallel in Social Democracy to the Titoism and Maoism which have emerged out of the post-war Stalinist movements. It has no less significant implications for the development of fresh revolutionary currents than these. In fact, the evolution of Bevanism can have considerably more impact upon Western Europe and certainly within Social Democracy.

The Bevanite movement is receptive to genuine Marxist ideas and is being propelled forward by the force of circumstances. Aided by events, the Marxists within the Labor Party now have the task of clarifying the broad Left Wing in the next stages of its struggle against the Old Guard and thereby preparing the way for the definitive triumph of its ideas and its program.

## U.S. "BEATS DOWN" PLAN TO END WAR

By Harry Frankel

A Dec. 9 letter to the Detroit Free Press from a woman named Margaret Rasch said the following:

"Recently in the Detroit Free Press in a box entitled KOREA TODAY, I read, 'West defeats Russian drive in United Nations for immediate cease-fire in Korea, page 20.'"

"And on page 20 the lead paragraph is, 'The Western Bloc Tuesday soundly beat down Russia's stubborn drive in the United Nations Political Committee for an immediate cease-fire with negotiations to come later.'"

"As a Westerner I bow my head in shame over that one! Cease-fire is exactly what I want! Is there any logic in increasing the number of casualties? Why should men go on fighting, when in the end it will all be settled over a table?"

"If the Russians are willing to have an immediate Korean cease-fire with negotiations to come later it seems to me that is exactly what we Americans want too, and that we should jump at the chance to have no more bloodshed."

"Just what are we fighting for — to wipe out a generation of young Americans?"

#### CATCHING ON

This woman's letter shows that some Americans have caught on to the most significant aspect of the recent Korea negotiations. The prisoner issue, it will be recalled, boils down to a demand that the Korean-Chinese bloc admit to such extreme depravity that they have to allow the other side to take exceptional measures to "protect" their prisoners. Naturally, the Chinese and Koreans are reluctant to make any such admission, particularly since they have good reason to claim that if there is any brutality towards these prisoners, it is solely on the part of the U.S. forces. For this reason the two sides were unable to agree on the Indian plan which was passed by the UN three weeks ago.

The Chinese-Korean-Soviet bloc says the following: Your demand on the prisoner issue is contrary to international law and without reasonable foundation. Since we can't agree on this point, let's end the fighting on the basis of

the truce agreement already arrived at, leaving the prisoner issue for later negotiations.

The Soviet proposal, made by Vishinsky in the UN, said just that in the following words: "To recommend to the belligerents in Korea an immediate and complete cease-fire, i.e., the cessation of military operations by both sides on land, by sea and in the air, on the basis of the draft armistice already approved by the belligerents, the question of the complete repatriation of prisoners of war to be referred for its solution to the Commission for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question provided for in the USSR draft resolution, in which Commission questions shall be decided by two-thirds majority vote of its members."

The proposed commission would contain four U.S.-bloc members, four Soviet-bloc members, and Burma, India and Switzerland. With this composition, it would be almost impossible for the Soviet group to win its point, and far more likely that the U.S. would win in the commission. The three "neutrals" have already backed the U.S. on the repatriation issue by giving their support to the Indian plan.

It was this proposal that the U.S. rejected, or as the Detroit Free Press put it in the article that made Margaret Rasch so angry, "beat down."

There are only two objections that have been raised against the proposal to stop fighting and continue negotiations on the prisoner issue, as follows:

(1) If the U.S. quits fighting now, the pressure on the Koreans and Chinese is eased, and thus they will not be compelled to agree to the U.S. prisoner stand. This objection can make sense only in cases where an antagonist possesses something that you are trying to take away from him. For example, strikers are reluctant to return to work and "negotiate later" because the boss can hold onto concessions which he has in his hands.

But this case is altogether different. The U.S. Army holds the disputed prisoners, and can quit fighting any time it wants without surrendering a single prisoner or a single so-called "principle." Furthermore, the issue would then go to a commission in which the U.S. has a clear edge.

(2) If we stop fighting now, we don't get our own prisoners back, Washington claims. This argument is even more senseless than the other. The Korean-Chinese forces are perfectly willing to return all U.S. prisoners unconditionally, as soon as a truce is concluded. It is the Pentagon that is making exceptional demands to hold onto prisoners, not the other way around.

#### DOESN'T FREE AMERICANS

Are American parents and wives getting their sons and husbands back any faster under Washington's present course? Not at all. The U.S. doesn't get any prisoners back so long as the fighting continues, and in addition, thousands of soldiers and civilians are being killed every month.

There is no rational excuse whatever for turning down the repeated Chinese-Korean-Soviet offers to end the fighting at once, and the fact that Wall Street refuses to accept that offer is final proof that it has been faking issues and keeping the war going. Most newspapers have aided Washington's dirty campaign by suppressing or hiding news of the offers from the other side. We are glad to see from the letter to the Free Press that some Americans have caught the true picture and understand who is keeping the Korean war going.

#### FIRST VICTIM

269 members of the crew of the French liner Liberté were barred by U.S. immigration officials on Dec. 24 from shore leave in New York City under the reactionary McCarran immigration law that went into effect midnight Dec. 23. The 269 had refused to answer questions as to their political affiliations. France, Britain, The Netherlands and other maritime countries are protesting this treatment of their seamen.

## Angry Canada Workers Vote General Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

Steel workers and mine workers in Val d'Or and Rouyn-Noranda have declared their solidarity with the Louisville strikers. C. H. Millard, Canadian director of the steel workers, pledged "full support," both financial and moral to the beleaguered workers.

The company can well afford to grant the strikers' demands. In 1951 it reported a net profit of more than \$16 million, an increase of 49% over the previous year. Instead of conceding, the company went out of the community for scabs. In July a large police detachment was brought in and subsequently placed under command of Special Officer Paul Benoit of Duplessis' anti-subversive squad.

On December 9, an empty bus, in no way connected with the strike, was dynamited — this was the signal for scores of provincial police to move in and supplement the detachment. Two mornings later, a peaceful picket line, reinforced with sympathizers from Granby and other nearby points, was ferociously attacked by the police — black-jacks came down and tear gas bombs were hurled and shots fired to break up and terrorize the picketers. The assault on the picket line was followed up with a raid on the union hall where police badly beat up five workers, sending them to the hospital and shooting one of them, Adrien Dumas, through the cheek. 25 workers were arrested.

Office Benoit then proceeded to clamp police rule on Louisville. Louisville's Mayor, who had previously asked Duplessis to remove the police, was urged to read the Riot Act. He refused. Omar Rinfret, justice of the

peace, proved to be too nervous. So Benoit overstepped the local authorities to read the act himself.

With this, assembly of more than two persons, became a criminal offense; a curfew went into effect; the trigger-happy police became the unchallengeable authority in the community; no criminal proceedings can be instituted against them. Police squads blocked off all exits and entrances to the town. The picket line was dissolved. The union office was rendered useless; no one was allowed to approach within 50 feet of it. The arrested workers were held incommunicado and refused bail.

The Riot Act was last read in Quebec on May 5, 1949 from the steps of the Asbestos town hall when 5,000 striking miners cut off the town from a police invasion with a road block.

Since the fateful morning of December 11 Louisville's atmosphere has been a charged one — even, following widespread protests, with the lifting a week later of the provisions of the Riot Act. The town is solidly in support of the harassed strikers. All five doctors have appealed to the police to "stop all brutality" — one of them, whose office was invaded by the police following the December 11 pitched battle, turned the police out and himself attended wounded strikers so that they would not, as hospital charges, fall into the hands of the police.

After occupying the union headquarters for five days the police announced the discovery there of a cache of dynamite caps and fuses. One union official quipped "they could have planted margarine as well as the dynamite fuses and we would have lost our hall." (It is illegal

to possess margarine in Quebec.) The police, who have set up their office in the plant, have been refused service by the waitresses in the town's hotels.

#### IF IT TAKES "10 YEARS"

The parish priest, Msgr. Donat Baril, has suggested that there can be no peace in the town until the company dismisses the scabs and rehires the union workers. He had previously revealed to the press that one of the U.S. owners of Associated Textile had told a Quebec business man: "Even if he had to spend one million dollars and take ten years he would bring the people of the town to take orders."

While the resolution unanimously adopted by the Quebec OGCIL conference called for a general strike should negotiations be broken off, OGCIL leaders suggested propositions that would cripple its effectiveness or in definitely postpone it. President Gerard Picard is reported to have said that should Premier Duplessis, who is also attorney general, declare such a strike to be illegal then the Syndicate would transfer the struggle into the courts, challenging the constitutionality of the provincial act. It was also indicated that any employer openly dissociating himself from Duplessis' anti-union policies would not be struck.

## AMERICA UNDER EISENHOWER -- BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA

(Continued from page 2)

The monopoly capitalists deliberately overthrew the Peoples Front coalition of the Roosevelt-Truman regime, to replace it by their own direct rule in the government. But was it the part of wisdom for them to take such a drastic decision? Was it not premature? Did greed blunt their judgment?

That remains to be seen. The big money sharks who own and rule this country are rich and powerful and no doubt, very wise too, but still they are not infallible. If even Homer himself could not, it is possible that our own lords and masters might fumble and stumble.

After all, they represent a class which is long past its heyday, and can produce no more great men. Its social and economic

system on a world scale has entered into the period of its death agony.

Throughout history such periods have shown a great deal of demoralization in the highest circles of the ruling class. They have never been able to avoid mistakes which fed the revolutionary struggle against them. Indeed, the time comes for every outlived social system when everything its leaders do turns out to be the wrong thing.

The monopoly capitalist rulers of America will be no exception to the historic rule. They too will make mistakes. And it may well turn out, in the final account, that the course they followed in the 1952 election campaign was one of these important decisions which looked good, but turned out bad.

Bad for them, that is.



## Durkin and FEPC

By Jean Blake

Racial discrimination hurts just as much whether it is practiced by a Southern governor like Millard Caldwell of Florida, or a union president like Martin P. Durkin. That's something a lot of labor and liberal leaders don't appreciate, apparently. If they did, they wouldn't be so quick to hail Eisenhower's appointment of Durkin as Secretary of Labor.

What is Durkin's record on fair employment practices? As one conservative writer for the Negro press (Louis R. Lautier) has pointed out:

"There is no evidence that Mr. Durkin, at any time during the thirty-one years he was an officer in the plumbers union — while business manager of Local 597, Chicago, or as secretary treasurer of the international, or as president of the international — ever exercised his influence to have the plumbers union drop its color bar, to have colored men accepted for apprenticeship training, to have them admitted to union membership, or to have them granted plumbers' licenses."

The notoriously discriminatory practices of that union are a matter of record in one of the earliest hearings of the wartime President's Fair Employment Practices Committee. In a case involving Chicago

Journeymen Plumbers Union Local 130, evidence was submitted to prove the union barred colored workers from membership by "practice, custom, tradition or other devices; refused to permit colored workers to work on war construction projects; and tried to limit them to work only in colored communities on 'colored' buildings."

As a responsible official of a union with such a record, Mr. Durkin cannot be trusted to favor equal opportunities for colored workers in any field that will come under his jurisdiction as Secretary of Labor. One such division is the Bureau of Apprenticeship, which can influence considerably which workers will be included in apprenticeship training programs.

If there is a Senate hearing on Durkin's appointment, as is customary before Senate confirmation, labor and liberal leaders will have a tough job convincing Negro workers that they should support this agent of the white supremacists in the labor officialdom.

Even the argument that it is better to have a "labor man" in the post than someone else won't be very effective. There were "labor men" in the position under Wilson, Harding and Coolidge, and none of them did the Negro workers any good,

## Sex, Too?

By Jack Bustelo

John B. Keenan, Director of Public Safety of Newark, N. J., has made what may turn out to be one of the most fruitful suggestions yet offered to Congress in its drive to stamp out the influence of communism in America.

Appearing before the House committee investigating pornography, the Newark Public Safety head, who has been "carrying on a war in Newark against pornographic movies and still pictures, sexy magazines and objectionable pocket-size books," according to the Dec. 18 United Press, said that "If the Communists are not behind this drive to flood the nation with obscenity, to weaken the moral fibre of our youth and debauch our adults, then it is only because greedy business men are carrying the ball for them."

It can't be American business men. Everybody knows their loyalty and high moral standards. By a process of elimination, we're left with the communists. And if the communists have succeeded in stirring up sex in Newark, then I say it can lift its ugly head anywhere.

If Keenan is right about the import of those scantily clad women on the covers of sexy magazines and objectionable pocket-books, then the communists have won a beach-head in every corner-drugstore and cigar stand in America where these items are on display. Perhaps we should consider proclaiming a National Clean-up and Bonfire week.

How long has it been since right-thinking Americans have uncovered a lead as hot as this one? The field is wide open for the broadest and most sensational investigation yet launched by Congress.

Let them start with a junket — the tax payers, I'm sure, will wholeheartedly approve — a junket to India to look into the real influence behind those lewd statues and murals that scandalized early Christian missionaries. Let the committee stop off at Pompey and bone up on those wall scenes in the houses and baths where rich Romans spent week ends. And then let them take note of the Paris stage shows that some American tourists, obviously un-

der communist influence, can't keep quiet about. Finally let's see what Dr. Kinsey's real aim was when he held all those interviews behind closed doors. We've got to get the full facts on the ramifications of this international conspiracy!

The communists may even have tampered with the Bible. The last time I was in a hotel, I skimmed through a copy some subversive organization had left in the top dresser drawer and I can quote Chapter and Verse to show the suspected infiltration. In the opening pages, for example, there's a story, obviously touched up by a red Hollywood script-writer, about a scantily clad beauty named Eve and a snake, a symbol of special significance in communist circles. And the snake is in a garden — which also is not without its insidious meaning in the Aesopian language of the red underground.

During the Middle Ages, certain people celebrated what were known as Satanic masses. In return for lewd pleasures, they made pacts with the devil, according to the court records, and were therefore burned at the stake as witches. In the light of the evidence turned up by the Newark official, it now looks like a mistake was made. The pact very likely was made with the communists.

The law no longer provides for burning at the stake, a weakening of our legal safeguards for which we can thank the pinkos and liberals, who helped cover up the real role of the communists by pooh-poohing witches and devils and convincing a lot of people there was nothing to them — as obviously there wasn't. However, this loophole can be plugged up by the next session of Congress.

Meanwhile the situation brooks no delay. Civilization is at stake. The obligations of world leadership are on our shoulders. Without waiting for passage of the tough legislation obviously called for, let the Pornographic Committee speed its investigation — with all due regard for the rights of those on whom the shadow of suspicion falls — and get sex stopped before the reds take over the country.

## Notes from the News

**THAT PROMISE.** The editor of the Times of New Bedford, Mass., has printed quotations from a letter written him by Eisenhower during the campaign in which the General says he could see no easy or early solution to the Korean war. The letter was written on Oct. 20. Only a few days later Eisenhower made his electrifying and vote-winning promises to go to Korea to bring the war to an end.

**ASSOCIATION OF CATHOLIC Trade Unionists'** New York newspaper, The Labor Leader, gives prominence to a story about the endorsement of the nationalization of Bolivia's tin mines by that country's leading Roman Catholic prelate, the Archbishop of La Paz.

**CUT NATIONAL FORESTS?** With Eisenhower pledged to give \$53 billion worth of federally owned tidelands to three states to sell to the monopolies, other sections of Big Business are hungrily eyeing the national domain. U.S. Chamber of Commerce president, L. F. Lee advised the National Lumber Manufacturers Association recently to start a campaign rolling for the transfer of federally owned land — mostly national parks and forests — to private owners so they could develop it "profitably." Involved is over 455 million acres, mostly timber.

**TEXAS CIO council** at its 16th annual convention voted unanimously to go "on record as supporting the immediate elimination of all forms of segregation in the public schools of Texas."

**FIVE NEGRO DOCTORS** have been admitted to the South Carolina Medical Association in Charleston County. This is the first time this affiliate of the American Medical Association has permitted Negro members.

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY**, whose national presidential vote declined 86%, held a meeting of its National Executive Committee Dec. 5-6. It decided eight to three that "the campaign has exposed such weakness in the organization that it can no longer cope effectively with problems of getting on the ballot, financing campaign work, and creating a pressure from the left that can have national political influence." And thus it reluctantly concludes that in this total situation, Socialist electoral action does not appear to be a fruitful activity for the Party. The Executive Committee has also decided to recommend publication of a monthly magazine to replace the bi-weekly newspaper, Socialist Call.

**EISENHOWER'S SECRETARY** of Labor, Martin P. Durkin was Illinois Director of Labor until September 29, 1941. He left office one week after the Illinois CIO Convention passed a resolution calling for his removal because "he was not in sympathy with those people of the state who depend on unemployment compensation for relief."

**JACKIE ROBINSON**, Negro star ballplayer for the Brooklyn Dodgers, was called on the carpet recently by Baseball Commissioner Ford Frick. Shortly before, Robinson had said on television that the front office of the New York Yankees believed in Jim Crow. This was an answer to a specific question on the program "Youth Wants to Know." On this program celebrities are interviewed by a panel of youngsters. Before Commissioner Frick, Robinson apparently refused to back down, saying: "Baseball has been good to me. It's a wonderful game. I love it, but I have obligations to a lot of other people as well. If I didn't answer the way I did I would be letting them down."

## Committee Gets Good Response

(Continued from page 1)

Kelsey, "is the registration requirement, which compels admission of membership in a proscribed organization. If you admit membership you lose certain rights and privileges. If you don't admit it by registration, you can be prosecuted, and if found guilty you are subject to heavy penalty."

The Michigan CIO News, reporting the founding of the committee "to fight the state's thought control Trucks Act," recalls that the Michigan CIO convention last summer adopted a resolution against the law and declared that it "uses totalitarian methods which infringe on the freedoms guaranteed by the constitution." It reminds its readers that the law was used first not against the Communist Party, at which it was presumably aimed, but the Socialist Workers Party which has always been a political opponent of the Stalinists.

Charles E. Lockwood in his column in the Dec. 18 East Side Shopper, Michigan's largest ABC weekly newspaper, calls the Trucks Act part of "a well organized and well financed campaign in this country to restrict free discussion and to intimidate and make cowards of our people. . . I sincerely hope that the citizens of Michigan will show that they have not been intimidated and that they will join in large numbers in the fight to void this law. The newly established committee needs your support."

When the Citizens Committee was being initiated, the Oct. 30 Michigan Christian Advocate, organ of the Michigan and Detroit Annual Conferences of the Methodist Church, said the Trucks Law follows "an old pattern that has been a threat to freedom" since 1798 when the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed. Reporting that "a test case" against the law is being prepared by the Socialist Workers Party, the Advocate stated "Many interested in the cause of freedom who hate Communism and do not wish to be identified with Socialist Workers Party are joining a Citizens Committee Against the Trucks Law."

Those interested in aiding the work of the Committee should write to it at 1709 Ford Bldg., Detroit 26, Michigan.

## The Massacre Of Korean POWs On Pongam Island

(Continued from page 1)

ranges of up to 30 yards! Moreover, as Marguerite Higgins explained in a Kojie Island dispatch to the N. Y. Herald-Tribune last Oct. 1, "Today every compound is entered and searched thoroughly at least once a week. So it is no longer possible for prisoners to stockpile and manufacture weapons."

On Pongam Island itself, writes Robert Alden (N. Y. Times, Dec. 21), "at unexpected intervals — usually about once a week — prisoners are moved out of the compounds and into the zones between the double barbed-wire fences. Then barracks and kitchens inside the compound are thoroughly searched for any evidence of conspiracy and impending uprising." As for acting on "orders from outside," the "command here is skeptical . . . that there can be a regular system of communications with the Communist leaders in North Korea or China," Alden reports.

No matter what the U.S. military may claim in extenuation of the mass murder at Pongam Island, the facts that emerge from their own accounts expose their guilt. Those facts sum up like this:

Several hundred North Korean prisoners of war, re-designated as "civilian internees" by their captors, stood trapped on a terrace with their backs against a barracks wall. They were unarmed except for a few stones. They had no means of escape save two narrow staircases. They faced hundreds of troops with machine guns. The prisoners defiantly sang revolutionary songs against orders. More than 200 fell dead and wounded under a murderous hail of bullets. Several hundred other prisoners in an adjoining compound demonstrated in solidarity and were fired on. Those who were struck were held up by their comrades and continued to sing so long as they were conscious and had breath in their bodies.

These are the men the Washington propagandists try to tell us are mere slaves and pawns and conscripts in the Chinese and North Korean armies who are just asking to "escape to freedom" and be "liberated" by the Americans.

## THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVI

MONDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1952

NUMBER 52

## N.Y. Longshoremens Need Labor's Help to Break Gangsters' Control

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Dec. 21 — Two-thirds of the dock workers in this area earn less than \$3,000 a year. They are at the mercy of a gang of murderous thugs who have taken over their union, the AFL International Longshoremen's Ass'n, and dominate it by means of knives, brass knuckles and guns. These same thugs are also the company hiring bosses. Under a vicious and degrading shape-up system, the men get their irregular work on the basis of how well they keep their mouths shut and how well they kick back for a day's work. Union officials receive regular, substantial "gratuities" from the companies. In return, they sign contracts that are a disgrace to unionism.

These and other ugly facts have been established by the sworn testimony of a score of witnesses and by documented evidence at the hearings of the New York State Crime Commission, which concluded its probe of waterfront crime this week.

The evidence shows that the gangsters remain a power on the waterfront through collusion with the shipping interests and local politicians. These three allied



JOSEPH RYAN

forces have thus far beaten back each movement of the union's rank and file to clean out the goons and to scrap their sell-out contracts. During the last days of the hearing, fresh substance was given to the widely circulated charge that evidence was deliberately pigeon-holed during

William O'Dwyer's reign as District Attorney, which could have convicted the notorious Albert Anastasia and two of his Murder, Inc., associates as killers of Peter Panto.

Panto, a Brooklyn longshoreman, began the organization of a movement to clean house in the union in 1939. In July of that year, six days after he sponsored a rank and file meeting of over a thousand union members, he disappeared. His body was found two years later in a New Jersey lime pit.

## "CIVIC" PROPOSALS

The sensational disclosures of the hearings have provoked wide editorial comment; and numerous proposals to "remedy" the situation have been made by "civic" bodies and local politicians. These proposals aim at curbing the "excesses" of the racketeers in their relations with their allies, the companies. Not a single serious idea for improving the lot of the real victims of the mobsters — the longshoremen — has been advanced. They look to the AFL National Council and to various city, state and federal bodies as the ones to clean house in the ILA. None of them propose action by the union's rank and file.

In calling upon the AFL Executive Council to put the ILA leadership on the carpet, the N. Y. Times observes: "The excuse of autonomy was not invoked when the AFL decided to invade the jurisdiction of unions which had been infiltrated by Communists. There it acted with commendable zeal to purge its affiliates." In taking this slap at the AFL officialdom, who are wide open on the point, the Times is not suggesting a rank and file administration of the union. This mouth-piece of Big Business associates itself with the proposals of the influential City Club to license longshoremen and to substitute a city-operated hiring hall for the shape up. These proposals are incorporated in a four-point plan drawn up by City Council President Rudolph Halley for adoption by the Council.

## HALLEY'S PLAN

Halley proposes a local law requiring the licensing of dock workers by the City Police Department. The considerable evidence gathered by the Crime Commission demonstrates that the gangsters wield substantial influence at City Hall. Thus there is little chance their boys would fail to secure the necessary licenses. A much greater likelihood is that militant rank and filers interested in improving wages and conditions would find themselves officially blacklisted.

## A second law would eliminate public loaders from the piers. The stevedore companies would then load and unload the trucks as well as the ships. The Crime Commission's detailed picture of the unscrupulous and illegal activities of the stevedore companies strongly indicates that this extension of their operations would hardly have the desired effect of eliminating exorbitant rates to the truckers for often unnecessary loading service.

## Halley also recommends abolition of the shape up and creation of a hiring hall operated by the City Port Authority or some newly created authority. Again the evidence at the recent hearings as to the strong ties between the city fathers and waterfront thugs indicates that their

control of hiring would do little to eliminate the rampant favoritism and other evils of the shape up. It would simply transfer a much-abused power to different, unclean hands.

## WEST COAST EXPERIENCE

The only effective way to clean up the piers is clearly indicated by the experience of the longshoremen on the West Coast. During the Thirties they organized a rank and file movement that smashed "King" Ryan's dictatorial control of their union. They drove out the racketeers, established internal democracy and organized a rotary union hiring hall.

The rotary hiring hall, in contrast to various types of "hiring" halls operated simply as employment agencies by companies, union bureaucrats or city agencies, provides for equalized distribution of available work. The rules are determined by the men themselves. Regular estimates are made of the number of work hours available for the coming week. These hours of work are then divided equally among the unemployed members registered at the hall. Rotary selection is made on the basis of the longest period of unemployment.

With this system, favoritism is eliminated. A tiny minority are prevented from putting in all the overtime they can handle while the majority get in only a few days a week, provided they are ready to "kick back" to the hiring boss.

The most striking proof of the superiority of the conditions won by West Coast longshoremen is the simple fact that their average annual income is over \$5,000 a year. On the East Coast, the figure is less than \$3,000.

The attitude of the shipping interests and the government to the West Coast union is in sharp contrast to their attitude towards the East Coast set-up. The shipping interests have not found it difficult to co-operate with the gangster officials of the ILA, but they have never given up warfare with the West Coast union. Crooked ILA officials appear to enjoy immunity from government prosecution, while Pres. Harry Bridges, and other ILWU officials, have been subjected year after year to government persecution.

These facts demonstrate that only the most carefully organized, militant movement of the rank and file can convert the ILA into a decent, democratic union. All of the previously aborted efforts of the membership to accomplish this show that they know what is required. To do the job they need the active support of the entire labor movement. It must be clearly understood that involved here is not simply the task of voting an inadequate or company-minded union leadership out of office. The struggle is not against legitimate union officials, but against a gang of murderers, armed thugs who have moved in on an important section of the labor movement. Only a powerful, fighting force can drive them out.

## LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum

"America's Road to Socialism"

A Series of 6 Lectures

Speaker:

James P. Cannon

National Secretary of the SWP

(4) "The Coming Struggle for Power" — How the impending social crisis will cause the break-up of the two-party system. The decline and decay of traditional American democracy. The prospective parallel development of American fascism and a radicalized labor movement. The conditions and prospects for the workers' victory and the inauguration of a workers' government.

Fri., Jan. 9, 8 P.M.

FORUM HALL

1702 E. 4th St. Tel.: AN 9-4953

Questions — Discussion

Refreshments

Tuition: 35 cents.

## Report Final Vote For Pittsburgh

Official figures for the Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) Pa. vote in the Nov. 4 election show that the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president scored 747 votes. Dobbs and Weiss, running under the ballot name of Militant Workers Party, got more votes than any other radical party candidates. The totals for the others: Progressive Party, 515; Socialist Party, 297; Socialist Labor Party, 488. Anne Chester, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, got 902 votes.

## CHICAGO Socialist Forum

"World in Crisis 1953"

A Series of 6 Lectures

(3) "Wall Street Changes the Guard" — The meaning of Eisenhower's victory.

Speaker:

Irving Berlin

Sun., Jan. 11, 7 P.M.

734 So. Wabash

C. L. Pittsburgh

New York

(This letter represents the personal opinion of the author, as does the one from H. Robins with which he disagrees. The Militant welcomes expressions of opinions from its readers even though they do not necessarily coincide with ours. In view of the interest in the developments in and around the Progressive Party since the election, we are preparing an article on the subject which will appear in an early issue. Editor.)

## A 'New Sport' Or an Old Game?

Editor:

I am a boy of 15; and last year I entered gym class prepared for basketball, football or whatever the gym teacher had plans for us to play.

"What do you think we'll play?" I asked one of the other fellows.

"Too cold for football. I guess basketball."

When we entered the gym, we discovered to our dismay that we're going to do a little marching. Marching? We marched for two hours. We learned how to stand at attention, march in form, keep in step, turn on our heels, etc. This continued for three weeks.

We didn't like this, so we intentionally fell out of line, whispered, "Hell, Hitler!" as a joke to one another pertaining to the Prussianized marching. And so the "new sport" was given up.

One of the students asked the gym teacher to tell us why we were doing this marching.

"We just want to keep you fellows in rhythm."

Why couldn't we learn rhythm at music time for us teen-agers by listening to the latest records at home?

We know the real reason for learning how to march. American Capitalists, do you? I think you do. That's just one of the reasons why I've joined our great party, the SWP.

J. B. Boston, Mass.

Mothers and Sisters Voted in Hope of Ending Korean War

Editor:

The general opinion here about the election, or at least what I heard expressed, was: The war in Korea made the mothers and sisters vote for Eisenhower. Thus there is little chance their boys would fail to secure the necessary licenses. A much greater likelihood is that militant rank and filers interested in improving wages and conditions would find themselves officially blacklisted.

A second law would eliminate public loaders from the piers. The stevedore companies would then load and unload the trucks as well as the ships. The Crime Commission's detailed picture of the unscrupulous and illegal activities of the stevedore companies strongly indicates that this extension of their operations would hardly have the desired effect of eliminating exorbitant rates to the truckers for often unnecessary loading service.

Halley also recommends abolition of the shape up and creation of a hiring hall operated by the City Port Authority or some newly created authority. Again the evidence at the recent hearings as to the strong ties between the city fathers and waterfront thugs indicates that their

control of hiring would do little to eliminate the rampant favoritism and other evils of the shape up. It would simply transfer a much-abused power to different, unclean hands.

WEST COAST EXPERIENCE

The only effective way to clean up the piers is clearly indicated by the experience of the longshoremen on the West Coast. During the Thirties they organized a rank and file movement that smashed "King" Ryan's dictatorial control of their union. They drove out the racketeers, established internal democracy and organized a rotary union hiring hall.

The rotary hiring hall, in contrast to various types of "hiring" halls operated simply as employment agencies by companies, union bureaucrats or city agencies, provides for equalized distribution of available work. The rules are determined by the men themselves. Regular estimates are made of the number of work hours available for the coming week. These hours of work are then divided equally among the unemployed members registered at the hall. Rotary selection is made on the basis of the longest period of unemployment.

With this system, favoritism is eliminated. A tiny minority are prevented from putting in all the overtime they can handle while the majority get in only a few days a week, provided they are ready to "kick back" to the hiring boss.

The most striking proof of the superiority of the conditions won by West Coast longshoremen is the simple fact that their average annual income is over \$5,000 a year. On the East Coast, the figure is less than \$3,000.

The attitude of the shipping interests and the government to the West Coast union is in sharp contrast to their attitude towards the East Coast set-up. The shipping interests have not found it difficult to co-operate with the gangster officials of the ILA, but they have never given up warfare with the West Coast union. Crooked ILA officials appear to enjoy immunity from government prosecution, while Pres. Harry Bridges, and other ILWU officials, have been subjected year after year to government persecution.

These facts demonstrate that only the most carefully organized, militant movement of the rank and file can convert the ILA into a decent, democratic union. All of the previously aborted efforts of the membership to accomplish this show that they know what is required. To do the job they need the active support of the entire labor movement. It must be clearly understood that involved here is not simply the task of voting an inadequate or company-minded union leadership out of office. The struggle is not against legitimate union officials, but against a gang of murderers, armed thugs who have moved in on an important section of the labor movement. Only a powerful, fighting force can drive them out.

LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum

"America's Road to Socialism"

A Series of 6 Lectures

Speaker:

James P. Cannon

National Secretary of the SWP

(4) "The Coming Struggle for Power" — How the impending social crisis will cause the break-up of the two-party system. The decline and decay of traditional American democracy. The prospective parallel development of American fascism and a radicalized labor movement. The conditions and prospects for the workers' victory and the inauguration of a workers' government.

Fri., Jan. 9, 8 P.M.

FORUM HALL

1702 E. 4th St. Tel.: AN 9-4953

Questions — Discussion

Refreshments

Tuition: 35 cents.

Report Final Vote For Pittsburgh

Official figures for the Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) Pa. vote in the Nov. 4 election show that the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president scored 747 votes. Dobbs and Weiss, running under the ballot name of Militant Workers Party, got more votes than any other radical party candidates. The totals for the others: Progressive Party, 515; Socialist Party, 297; Socialist Labor Party, 488. Anne Chester, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, got 902 votes.

CHICAGO Socialist Forum

"World in Crisis 1953"

A Series of 6 Lectures

(3) "Wall Street Changes the Guard" — The meaning of Eisenhower's victory.

Speaker:

Irving Berlin

Sun., Jan. 11, 7 P.M.

734 So. Wabash

C. L. Pittsburgh

New York

(This letter represents the personal opinion of the author, as does the one from H. Robins with which he disagrees. The Militant welcomes expressions of opinions from its readers even though they do not necessarily coincide with ours. In view of the interest in the developments in and around the Progressive Party since the election, we are preparing an article on the subject which will appear in an early issue. Editor.)

## A 'New Sport' Or an Old Game?

Editor:

I am a boy of 15; and last year I entered gym class prepared for basketball, football or whatever the gym teacher had plans for us to play.

"What do you think we'll play?" I asked one of the other fellows.

"Too cold for football. I guess basketball."

When we entered the gym, we discovered to our dismay that we're going to do a little marching. Marching? We marched for two hours. We learned how to stand at attention, march in form, keep in step, turn on our heels, etc. This continued for three weeks.

We didn't like this, so we intentionally fell out of line, whispered, "Hell, Hitler!" as a joke to one another pertaining to the Prussianized marching. And so the "new sport" was given up.

One of the students asked the gym teacher to tell us why we were doing this marching.

"We just want to keep you fellows in rhythm."

Why couldn't we learn rhythm at music time for us teen-agers by listening to the latest records at home?

We know the real reason for learning how to march. American Capitalists, do you? I think you do. That's just one of the reasons why I've joined our great party, the SWP.

J. B. Boston, Mass.

Mothers and Sisters Voted in Hope of Ending Korean War

Editor:

The general opinion here about the election, or at least what I heard expressed, was: The war in Korea made the mothers and sisters vote for Eisenhower. Thus there is little chance their boys would fail to secure the necessary licenses. A much greater likelihood is that militant rank and filers interested in improving wages and conditions would