### WHAT WAR MEMOIRS OF CHURCHILL REVEAL

(See Page 2)

# MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVII - No. 48

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1953

PRICE: 10 CENTS

America's largest and most dynamic union local - Force Local 600 of the CIO United Automobile Workers-has launched an all-out, hard-hitting campaign for a far-reaching program to meet the menace of unemployment and depression. It goes far beyond anything the top union leader., ClO or AFL, have put forward to meet the challenge of layoffs, wage cuts and speed-up. This program is being presented for consideration at the UAW-CIO Unemployment Conference in Washington Dec. 6 and 7.

The Nov. 21 Ford Facts, Local 600's fighting newspaper, devotes its entire issue - six full-size pages - to presenting and explaining the local's program. We must state at the outset that this is one of the greatest jobs of union journalism we have ever had the pleasure to read and we urge local union leaders and members to secure copies as quickly as possible from Ford Facts, 2932 Caniff, Hamtramck, Mich.

### Forward-Looking Proposals

Local 600's program ofters not only some of the most advanced and progressive proposals on what workers need as protection from the worst consequences of economic crisis. It also sets forth "A CONCRETE PROGRAM OF ACTION" that spells out the steps organized labor must take to win these proposals, Congressional leaders of both and expresses absolute confidence that they can be won.

Among the major demands of the five-point program are such forward-looking proposals as the 30-hour week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay; the expansion of trade with ALL nations; and measures to protect minority groups, both racial and foreign-born.

In order to make sure that this program is translated into action, a National Conference of All Labor is urged. At the same time it is proposed that every union local set up a Local Union Unemployment Committee to take immediate action on behali of laid-off members.

### **Three Main Points**

The introductory statement to the Ford 600 program stresses three main points: (1) the danger of unemployment and depression; (2) the rejection of war and war preparations one of the most dangerous inas the means to maintain jobs and economic security; (3) the vasions of the privacy and rights gram of action against the Me- than worthless at this time. It role of labor and its allies as the only source of leadership capable of averting the disaster facing the country as the result of Big powers when employed by a police Business control.

Unemployment is rapidly growing and our country face the danger of serious economic troubles," says the program's preamble. "The newspaper headlines of Nov. 3 telling of a 25 and made the intercepting of a per cent cut in auto production means two things. The first is telephone conversation and the that there will be immediate large layoffs. The second is that divulging of it to another person there will be less work for those who remain on the job. All this a felony, subject to \$10,000 fine creates more prospects for an accelerated development toward or up to two years in prison, or both. depression and economic disaster."

It cites the causes of unemployment as "over-production, lack of buying power and the reactionary economic policies of the Big Business Corporations whose only concern is for profits profits and more profits. This is made worse as a result o automation, technological improvements, and speed-up." Whil Local 600 stands for technological progress, "we insist that i must not result in unemployment and depression. . ."

The statement declares: "We vigorously reject the concep that war or preparations for war offer any permanent solution to unemployment or any other economic problems. We affirm that a peaceful U.S. in a world at peace can provide jobs and security to all Americans. A most important step in this direction would that the many unfavorable facbe to take the billions upon billions being spent for war and use them for constructive public works projects that would benefit

### **Only Labor Can Give Leadership**

But there can be no reliance on the Big Business administration in power "to voluntarily work for any program that would advance the well-being of labor and the nation.

"Only Labor, in firm alliance with the farmers, professionals and small businessmen, can give leadership to our country to combat the Big Business program of economic disaster," the statement emphasizes.

Point one of the program is to "MAINTAIN AND RAISE THE LIVING STANDARDS OF ALL WORKERS AND ALL PEOPLE" through "substantial wage increases, not only to offset the high cost of living but to raise living standards;" exemption from taxation of incomes under \$3,000 a year and lowered taxes on those making under \$5,000; an improved pension plan with a \$200-a-month minimum; and other measures benefiting farmers, the aged, the sick and disabled.

Point two calls for resisting "ALL EFFORTS TO ELIMI-NATE WORKERS THROUGH AUTOMATION AND SPEED-UP." Of especial interest is the demand for "competent union time-study men to challenge every new standard" of productivity set up by the company. This also states Ford duction in 1954 will be down to Local's position on the highly-touted guaranteed annual wage 4,600,000 - nearly a 20% drop program pushed by Reuther. ,

### For Shorter Work-Week

We will support every effort for a guaranteed annual wage,' says the Local 600 program, but oppose the use of this demand to sacrifice other demands which can be fought for and won NOW. The fact is that the fight for substantial wage increases. against speed-up and for the shorter work week is the best guarantee of an effective fight for the guaranteed annual wage.

(Continued on page 4)

# Ford 600 Offers Growing Secret Police Power Fighting Program Arouses Nation-Wide Alarm

# Seek Legal Wiretaps

Attorney General Brownell committee on Nov. 17 that he was motivated in raising a "spy" smear against Truman partly by a desire to push through a bill empowering the FBI to tap private telephone lines and making wiretap evidence legal in federal courts.

This "dirty business" of wiretapping, as the late Supreme Court Justice Holmes called it has been urged by Brownell and parties. Representative John W. McCormack, the House Democratic Whip, on Nov. 18 agreed with Brownell's proposal.

Brownell complained about the inadmissability of wiretap evidence when asked to produce proof that Harry Dexter White was a "spy." Neither he nor FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover could or did produce a shred of evidence. "There are cases of espionage presently in the Department of Justice, but since some of the important evidence was obtained by wiretapping, the cases cannot be proved in court," Brownell

Wiretapping has been regarded since its first use in 1916 as of the American people and a agency. In 1934, Congress in-Communications Act that specifically outlawed all wiretapping

(Continued on page 3)

### **Purchasing Power** Is Dropping Fast, **Figures Disclose**

Dr. Gordon W. McKinley, head of the Prudential Insurance Company's economic staff, made the and build an independent Labor rosy-tinted prediction Nov. 21 Party. that the many unfavorable factors pointing toward a slump Carthy forces, "This is our prowill be offset in a large measure gram - what's yours?" by a sharp increase in consumer buying." But the statistics disclose an accelerating decline in purchasing power. Demand, production and employment - all

three - are on the downgrade. One of the most sensitive barometers - railroad car load-12.3% below the like 1952 period. The N. Y. Times Weekly Index of Business Activity for the week ending Nov. 21 fell to 157.8 compared to 172.8 for the correspondng 1952 week.

Layoffs are spreading in the steel industry. The operating rate for the week of Nov. 22 was scheduled at only 87.6% of capacity, lowest in the year, compared to a high of 103.1% in

March and 106.1% a year ago. A leading auto industry executive, President M. F. Cotes of the Motor Wheel Gorp., said on Nov. 17 that passenger car profrom this year. He notes cheerfully that this will be "greater than in any year in pre-World War II history," - that is, since the depression 14 years ago.

Dr. McKinley's mystical "increase in consumer buying" is

CIO Convention in Session



A scene of the CIO's recent national convention in Cleveland where about 700 delegates discussed the vital problems facing labor, such as growing unemployment, McCarthyism and political action. The convention endorsed the guaranteed annual wage program and called for Taft-Hartley repeal. (See story on Pg. 4)

## How Will Stalinism Be Overthrown?

By Murry Weiss

There has been no lack of indignation, hand-wringing and denunciation of McCarthyism among labor and liberal figures since the Harry Dexter White affair. What is lacking is a program. Last week 3

the Militant presented its pro- Gideon." Such chatter is worse Carthyite menace. This called for would send us scurrying about grave abuse of law-enforcement a United Labor Congress to or- looking for a Wallace to put up ganize the fight to smash Mc- against McCarthy. Is there no Carthyism around the following limit to the stupidity of these (1) Force Eisenhower off the

fence. (2) Open the FBI files in the White case to public inspection. (3) Refuse to cooperate with the witch - hunting Congressional "investigating" committees. (4) Repea! all witch-hunt laws and free the victims of Smith Act list and stop the witch hunt within the labor witch-hunt pattern launched by Fruman's Democratic administration and now elaborated by the Republican administration. (8) Recognize the witch hunt as an offensive against the workers, break with the capitalist parties,

TIME FOR A GIDEON?

The National Guardian, Pro-Nov. 16 issue, "The time is now for a Gideon's army, led by a

Stellinist dupes? Isn't it clear that all the liberal Gideons have that the workers can rely only on their own independent power to stop the McCarthvites?

But matters are no better in the camp of the non-Stalinist labor bureaucracy. Essentially they frials. (5) Destroy the "sub- have the same answer to the menace of McCarthyism as the loyalty" purge. (6) Halt the Stalinist party. They propose to build their barricade against the movement. (7) Condemn the police state in the Democratic This party started the witch

by the same capitalist class that bred the McCarthyite monster vet the "statesmen" who lead the labor movement can find no better answer to McCarthyism than the very party which nursed it to its present ominous size.

In the camp of liberalism the picture is equally deplorable. The Nation of Nov. 21 published an article by H. H. Wilson on "The gressive Party weekly, says in its Crisis of Democracy." The article family that would upset the is eloquent in its indictment of normal character of living in the edge that in these star-chamber

(Continued on Page 2)

# Aroused by Race Attacks

By Jean Simon CLEVELAND, Nov. 22 - An roused Negro community, recognizing that the recent Nov. 7 sneak attack" on the home of Wendell Stewart and the whole series of similar outbreaks of anti-Negro violence which preceded it have become a political issue, is demanding that the city administration stop acting helpess and jail the culprits.

active part in meetings where the vandalism was planned.

Several Negro councilmen had been prepared to raise the issue at the Council meeting Monday night, but withheld that action when assured by city officials that "We have a new line that should produce positive results in in Government to grant immunity the Cleveland Call and Post, leading Ohio Negro weekly.

In a telephone interview, Mr.

Stewart told the Militant today that he has no idea what the ground that their testimony might "new line" of the city officials incriminate them."

his home by bigots, who defaced proposed law is one of the Ten vandalism that began last July 1789. This Bill of Rights, a basic flown the coop? Isn't it clear when he moved into the area. An part of the country's highest law, organized group, which has taken guarantees those "inalienable siders the area race-restricted.

BURKE'S CRIME

to form private agreements to hunt. It has a lusty McCarthyite or taking any punitive action wing of its own. It is controlled against those threatening force the right of witnesses to refuse and violence against Negro resi-

Burke later compounded his Constitutional grounds that it noral crime by attempting to whitewash statements of his ap- (not "might incriminate" me as pointee, City Urban Development Brownell deliberately falsified the Director Richard V. Hopkins, legal phrase). assuring a meeting in the area of anti-Negro agitation:

move into your neighborhood any (Continued on page 4)

**Brownell Pushes** 

At the end of his smear testi-

mony on Truman and Harry

to witnesses who are suspected of

espionage or Communist activities,

but who refuse to testify under

the Fifth Amendment on the

The Fifth Amendment which

of Rights, added to the Constitu-

tion shortly after its adoption in

against British rule. Among these

rights is the one written into the

shall be compelled in any criminal

This is the sole legal protection

sional witch - hunters have been

U.S. Supreme Court has upheld

to testify in hearings before

federal legislative bodies on the

"might tend to incriminate me'

THE RIGHT TO SILENCE

hearings and the growing knowl-

(Continued on page 2)

Fifth Amendment: "No person.

the

Last Monday, Safety Director John McCormick, newly - elected John McCormick, newly-elected Mayor Anthony Celebrezze and Bill to Nullify several members of the City Council were simultaneously pre-Council were simultaneously presented with the charge that a Fifth Amendment Cleveland police officer not only knew in advance that violence was being planned against the home of Stewart, but took an

is. "It's news to me," he said. The early morning attack on Brownell seeks to nullify by his was a continuation of a camenforcement of its anti-Negro rights" for which the American rules into its own hands, con- people fought a bloody revolution

The mayor at that time, now Senator Burke, negotiated with case to be witness against himthe race-haters and advised them | self.' bar "undesirables" from buying for witnesses that the Congreshomes in the area, instead of condemning the mob demonstrations unable, as yet, to destroy. The

"To calm your fears, we won'

### Clevelanders FBI Director Hoover Called Most Powerful Man in Washington

By Joseph Hansen

The American people are still suffering from shock the shock of seeing an ex-President of the United States pilloried as "disloyal" by the head of the Justice Department. The feeling of being hit in the stomach is heightened by the fact that the victim happened to be America's chief

instigator of the witch hunt until he left office, the author of the "loyalty" oath, the "loyalty" purge, and the "subversive" list. If Truman himself can be smeared, who in this land can consider himself safe?

People are rubbing their eyes and taking another look, a hard searching look at Washington. What kind of government are we living under?

Dexter White before the Senate The witch-hunting charge made Internal Security subcommittee on by Attorney General Brownell Nov. 17. Eisenhower's Attorney that Truman knowingly appoint-General Brownell disclosed that ed to office an alleged spy, Harry one of his primary purposes was Dexter White, had sensational to show "the need for . . . new laws to help the government in repercussions - a nationwide TV and radio reply by Truman, a prosecution of espionage counter-blast by Brownell, and a cases." One such law, he said, fascist-like harangue by Mc-"would allow proper authorities Carthy over the major hook-ups.

But most sensational of all was new development in American politics. The eminous growth in power of the witch hunters and the FEI suddenly became evident to millions in America.

This realization came from the unexpected sight of Truman himself caught in the web of the it with colored paint bombs Nov. Amendments, known as the Bill witch hunt. It was rammed home by the spectacle of J. Edgar oover, head of the FRI ing what vast powers have fallen into his hands.

"KEEPER OF THE FILES"

The "keeper of the files," as the diberals still choose to call him, acted as the final arbiter in the dispute between Brownell and Truman, deciding who was right. His personal opinion was taken as more than an adequate substitute for facts. His views were accepted like decrees of a dictator. Not only the Republicans but the Democrats took his ruling as final and unchallengeable.

The head of the secret political police appeared briefly, almost casually, before a Congressional committee. The nation's most authoritative legislators listened to his words Nov. 17 "as if they were gospel" according to James Reston, Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times

"J. Edgar Hoover emerged from the White case hearings today,' As a result of the publicity said this reporter, "as the decisive given to the various witch-hunt witness and probably the most powerful figure on Capitol Hill.

"In the fight between former President Truman and Herbert Brownell, Jr., the Federal Bureau of Investigation Director alone descended into the town tonight unchallenged.

In brief, the aura of power and sanctity that once belonged to presidents of the United States has shifted to the head of its secret political police. The police state is taking shape before our eyes in America,

### DEMOCRATS STARTED IT

How did the American people become saddled with this sinister development in government? One of the causes was the use of the FBI by the Democratic party, when in power, to shackle freedom of thought under guise of combatting the "communist menace." As a witness to prove this, we are able to cite J. Edgar Hoover himself. In "Confidential - From Washington" a publication of the George Washington University Victory Council, Hoover, almost

four years ago, said he "emphatically" opposed establishing "a national police system to handle the Communist menace." Setting up such a system and

olating freedom of speech for "communists," he said, "would mean the tearing of law enforcement from its democratic matrix and the creation of a 'state within

(Continued on page 2)

### registered a decline over 1952 for all but one of seven weeks. The latest weekly figure stands McCarthy Smears GE Unionists keeping with strict union policy, as witnesses, Nat Mills and Bob!

By Lynn Marcus

BOSTON, Nov. 19 - As a Mc-Carthy "spy" inquisition recessed today, it was clear to thinking workers here that the witch hunt OUT TO DESTROY LABOR has entered a new stage. Under the smokescreen of ferreting out 'spies," Wall Street's Congressional goon squads have begun the process of attacking the

IUE - CIO Chief Steward Pat Walsh of the Everett General ment in America." Henry C. Arch-Electric plant, in an interview deacon, a 14-year man at the reported in several local papers, same plant, expressed similar stated: "McCarthy isn't so much views: interested in Communism as he against labor" is in unions." He warned, "If Mc-Carthy thinks he's going to in- day's TV performance was an Lynn plant. Piekarski declared he terfere with the internal affairs FBI stoolpigeon, William Teto. had not committed sabotage. of the union, he'll have plenty of This unsavory figure, whose rouble.

scheduled mass layoffs because of one objective in mind and that Fitchburg GE plants. 'a shortage of commercial objective is to destroy or under- At McCarthy's request, Teto became a subject of suspected mine any or all unions who, in fingered two GE workers present sabotage.

to fight and work for the people they represent.'

Workers subjected to today's examine Teto. McCarthy declarclusions. Donald H. Morrill, 12-

former IUE steward, charged that McCarthy's committee was trying to "destroy the trade-union move-"This is an onslaught

The headline attraction at topolice record includes "larceny by Welsh's stand was backed by checks," according to the press, R. A. Thomas, recording secretary presented the usual run of "facts" shown in the TV industry. All of the local union. "Pat Walsh's about a "communist conspiracy" companies - including RCA, GE, testimony," he said, "bore out in this area. He told the witch Crosley, Sylvania and Westing- the fact that Senator McCarthy hunters that there were about 45 have instituted or is not interested in spies but has "communists" in the Lynn and

have ambition and courage enough Goodwin. They were the same two Amendment rights and was fingered previously by the notorous stoolpigeon Philbrick. Mills and Goodwin demanded

intimidation came to similar con- ed, "We will not hear you. . . I say we will not hear you unless oath whether or not you are

They were followed by Piekarski, a 12-year draftsman at the

McCanthy ruled that since he sabotage," he had waived Fifth Amendment rights respect to possible association

with members of the Communist Party. He also ruled that anyone who worked in a classified section and associated with Communists

recommended for contempt charges by the chief inquisitor, McCurthy the right to testify and cross-

LABOR MUST ACT

McCarthy's moves in Boston are fresh proof that any militant, year man at the Lynn plant and you are willing to state under regardless of his political beliefs or affiliations, may be smeared, fired from his job and hounded. This was followed by the in- To incriminate the innocent, the uisition of Archdeacon and Mor- witch hunters will stop at nothill, who invoked the Fifth ing. Their real target is the Amendment as protection against genuine militants in the unions McCarthy's slanderous questions, and after them the unions them-

The American working class that has brought the world's most powerful corporations to their knees in part struggles is not so had "opened up the area of weak that it must endure the his abuse and wrecking activities of smear artists.

It is time for labor to take action and start that resistance movement rolling that will not stop until it decisively and finally flattens McCarthy and all that a state,' or a law enforcement

Berne for two weeks, behind the

against Germany, negotiations

representatives of the German

In a telegram to Roosevelt,

Stalin claimed that the negotia-

American troops to advance to

the east, and the Anglo-Amer-

icans have promised in return to

Whatever the true facts may be

in relation to "crossword," it is

quite apparent that such a deal

has been entirely consonant with

the clear desires and intentions

Churchill's Memoirs. Diplomatic

In the closing year of World

War II, people believed that vic-

tory would bring peace, while the

battle lines east against the

Soviet Union, For Churchill, the

"triumph" had become a "trag-

edy." For the people of the world

rulers were already shifting the

sibilities and prizes which lay have been going on between the

But Roosevelt was far more military command on the one

ensitive to the tenuous grounds hand and representatives of the

on which popular support was English and American commands

States troops . . . into the Bal- tions had "ended in an agreement

kans . . . For purely political con- with the Germans, on the basis

siderations over here, I should of which the German commander

never survive even a slight set- on the Western Front, Marshal

back in 'Overlord' (the invasion Kesselving, has agreed to open

of Normandy) if it were known the front and permit the Anglo-

perialists were ready to sacrifice ease for the Germans the peace

with General Wolf, the German of Stalin's allies as revealed in

tions in Switzerland with this secrecy enabled the imperialist

General were given the code governments to deceive the peo-

In his speech to the CIO convention Nov. 18. John Foster Life magazine, supply enough in-Dulles, Secretary of State, said the workers behind the Iron formation on the secret deals Curtain should employ "passive resistance" against the Stalinist made during World War II to Curtain should employ "passive resistance" against the Stalinist rulers. "It is not necessary, nor is it desirable," said Dulles, "that we should try to foment violent revolution. . . Non-violent methods can be more efficacious."

Leaving aside the motives for the timing of this statement it is useful to examine its content from the standpoint of the question: Can the workers of the Soviet countries overthrow Stalinism?

First of all, let us note that Dulles in his Ghandist preachment to the Soviet workers does not say exactly how they can overthrow the Stalinists. This is not an accident. The State Department, for all its enmity to the Stalinist bureaucracy, views an independent workers political revolution against Stalinism with horror.

The State Department represents the class interests of American Big Business. It may propose "violence" or "passive tions and win Stalin's approval resistance," but in each case it aims at softening up the Stalinist in carving up the map of the regime for its eventual overthrowal by the Wall Street method -'violent" intervention of imperialist armies.

Dulles' formula of "passive resistance" means no genuine political revolution against Stalinism. The example of East Germany proves this. The East German workers rose on June 16-17 against the native Stalinist regime. They were prevented from overthrowing the regime by the Kremlin's tanks and firing squads.

Alarm Spreads at FBI's Power

What are the East German workers to conclude from this? Are they to accept the judgment of the oracle of American Big Business, the N. Y. Times, that "no people can rise to overthrow a totalitarian government. Such regimes can only be destroyed by conquest from the outside"? (June 18).

Such a conclusion cannot be accepted by the East German workers. It is false and reactionary. It operates on the premise that the working class is incapable of becoming the ruling class and that the future lies with either capitalism or Stalinism. This empty "theory" may console the dying capitalist rulers. but it is of no use to the workers.

### What Was Lacking

The opening stage of the political revolution against Stal- cratic rights, then the FBI will inism in East Germany showed the future historical path very plainly.

What was lacking for a workers victory in June was a revolutionary party. There is no use engaging in sickly specula- opposed to the kind of system tion as to whether victory was guaranteed, given such a party. That is not the question. Without an organized, highly conscious party the workers always prove unequal to demands of the revolutionary moment. Wonders can be performed with only the bare elements of a party organization (leadership). But for the selection of the right moment, for the mobilization of the maximum workers power at the point of greatest weakness of the enemy, for the decisive assault, there is no substitute for

Where were the German mass workers organizations on June 17? The Social Democrats played their traditionally treacherous role. They failed to summon the West German workers to struggle for the support of their East German brothers. They whined tion. They want to legalize the about the failure of American capitalism to intervene and infamous totalitarian practice of "direct" the uprising. They turned their backs on the life and death struggle that was raging a few miles away. They conducted "business as usual." Within the West German Social Democracy a left-wing faction denounced this policy. Among the Social Democratic workers of East Germany there were active militants. But the party and its leadership as such once more BROWNELL PUSHES BILL proved its bankruptcy.

it remained an instrument of the Stalinist bureaucracy during and after the uprising. It did not, in any major section of its leadership or lower organizations go over to the workers. True, rank-and-file workers broke from the party and participated in ple can be forced and tricked into of the "spy" scare. the struggle. Also there was wavering and demoralization in sections of the leadership. Differences on how to deal with the workers uprising arose. But the party as such remained an instrument of the hated regime. It proved worthless as a vehicle tor workers political revolution.

### **How the Kremlin Will Go Down**

even with the development of a revolutionary party of the undermine the Fifth Amendment Leninist-Trotskvist type?

The same crisis that gave rise to the June workers uprising tive forces of the Soviet countries has come into collision with voided the 5th Amendment in the the Stalinist bureaucracy's tyrannical rule. The East German

The Soviet army, like all armies, is a product of all the social relations and contradictions of the society that created it. The Soviet army will crack and develop revolutionary nuclei as it comes under the hammer of a mass political upsurge of the workers. Just as the East German Stalinist military establishment these inquisitorial bodies rely on proved worthless as a counter-revolutionary weapon in the June days, so the Kremlin's armies will fail as a result of internal

party. The development of overall strategy, the linking of NO LEGAL IMMUNITY struggles in various sectors, the preparation and consummation of the insurrection and finally, the establishment of a new regime of workers democracy based on the armed masses, all imperatively require the construction of the revolutionary party. That is why

The building of a revolutionary party in countries of the Soviet bloc is closely tied to the task of building revolutionary parties in capitalist countries. A victory of the political revolution within the Soviet bloc would strike a death blow at the power of Stalinism over the mass workers movements in Europe and Asia. Conversely, a revolutionary victory in a capitalist payroll.

# How Labor Can What Churchill's Memoirs Reveal By Myra Tanner Weiss Excerpts from the Memoirs of Churchill reports, "The moment was apt for business, so I said, length I said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, army in Italy. Churchill reports, army in Italy. Churchill reports, and its and the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and its and the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and its and the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and its and the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and its and the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and it is and the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and it is and the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and italy. Churchill reports, and italy the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and italy the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and italy the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and italy. Churchill reports, and italy the said, 'Might it not be ander's army in Italy. Churchill reports, and italy the said, 'Might it not be and 'Might it not be and italy the said, 'Might it not

Winston Churchil, Volume VI, "Triumph and Tragedy," published by the N. Y. Times and show that the cold war with Russia began before the hot war with Germany was over. While Allied soldiers were still striving to defeat the Nazis, the heads of the Western powers were secretly dividing the spoils and plotting another world blood bath.

After the war Stalin came under attack from his former allies. But during the war they regarded him as a comrade in arms. The USSR bore the heaviest burden in the war against Germany. In addition the imperialist statesmen were pleased at the freedom with which they could disclose their territorial ambi-

This is clearly seen in the Moscow conversations between Churchill and Stelin in October, 1944, who had by then heard the in the centre of the table. At of troops from General Alex-

(Continued from page 1)

of the majority, and obeying only

"state within a state" has been

created, responsive to the fascist-

working hand in glove with them

As the Jan. 9, 1950, Militant

Justice's infringements on demo-

develop more and more into a

replica of the Gestapo and the

GPU, with Hoover protesting all

That prediction, we are sorry

What does America face now

with a native Gestapo roaming

the land of the free as Hitler's

secret political police once roamed

The immediate aim of the forces

of McCarthyism is to smash the

tenuous legal barriers that still

restrain them to some extent.

They want to knock the Fifth

Amendment out of the Constitu-

steps toward their major goal -1

to say, has been borne out to the

the time that he is 'emphatically'

which he heads.'

to end democracy in America.

the dictates of the governing

a half-sheet of paper:

"Roumania 90% Russia The others Great Britain (in accord with U.S.A.) 50-50% Yugoslavia Hungary Bulgaria Russia The others

system unresponsive to the will tying them hand and foot so ton. Such a war with its frightful

more ominous perspective for

- war on a global scale, war to

conquer all peoples who resist in-

clusion in the empire of the

Coupled with that is the still fodder.

That is what has happened. A behind the McCarthyite menace.

like aims of the McCarthyites and which Wall Street is preparing

predicted, ". . . if the American dollar, war to reduce all con-

working class doesn't awaken to tinents into private holdings of

in the Balkans. Your armies are in Roumania and Bulgaria. We have interests, missions, and agents there. Don't let us get at cross-purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have ninety per cent predominance in Roumania, for us to have ninety per cent of the say in Greece, and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia?' While this was being translated I wrote out on

crushing the unions or at least that have taken over Washing

they can't offer effective resist- sacrifices requires unthinking

ance to a head-on offensive by robots, terrorized minds, cattle

"RATHER CYNICAL"? "I pushed this across to Stalin, silence. The pencilled paper lay

but a slave force and cannon

Revolution, that smashed the

slaveholders of the Bourbon south,

will rise to their feet again.

Above all, it is the duty of the

heads of America's mighty trade-

he will power to break the

say, "No! It cannot be!"

it shall go no further.

smash McCarthyism.

WHAT TO DO

than it takes to set it down.

translation. There was a slight

pause. Then he took his blue

pencil and made a large tick

upon it, and passed it back to us.

issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an offliand chill says regretfully, "We could backs of the Soviet Union, which manner? Let us burn the paper.' have broken into the valley of the is bearing the brunt of the war 'No, you keep it,' said Stalin, So

These arrangements were ostensibly made only for the duration of the war, but Churchill knew that possession is nine-tenths the law in international relations. He makes clear that in the closing year of the war his biggest con- So he replied to Churchill's imern was to cover as much of portunings with: "I cannot agree Europe as possible with Allied to the employment of United troops and to reduce to a minimum the area to be occupied by the Red Army.

As Churchill put it in a communication to Eisenhower: "1 deem it highly important that we should shake hands with the Russians as far to the east as nossible.

It was all settled in no more time Churchill opposed Operation 'Dragoon," the invasion of Southrn France, because of the rapid "... After this there was a long advance of the Russians west. "Dragoon" required the transfer

> **Velde Committee** Victimizes 26

he giant corporations who stand incapable of acting as anything Is this then to be our America? Every lover of freedom will And they are right. The same people that broke the tyranny of the menace of the Department of the monster financial interests imperial Britain in the American

> Two days later the school board That is all that is needed. That, and the courage to say, "I will not wait for the other guy to move first. It's my job. Even if I must That resolution is the begin-

> > HOW LABOR MOVEMENT

The Velde Sub-Committee on Un-American Activities passed and left in its wake 26 more system guilty of the "crime" of invoking their rights under the Fifth Amendment when questioned about alleged "communist" aftiliations.

Three publicity - packed days

# Phila. Teachers

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 21 through Philadelphia this week victims of the witch hunt. They are teachers in the city school

were spent investigating "com munist penetration" in the schools. Those subpoenaed were autounion army to take the lead in matically suspect. School authoriies warned that failure to answer Nothing more is required than any questions would jeopardize their jobs. However, all 17 who sypnosis of fear, to say that Mc- were questioned staunchly stood Carthyism has gone far enough; on their constitutional rights.

suspended them as well' as nine others who were questioned by the board itself. The grounds were "incompetency." Among the vicalone, I'll stand up and tims were leading local figures of the independent Teachers Union including present and past presining of the movement that will lents and executive board mem-

the American labor movement can

free itself from the "befuddle-

The labor movement is the

lions of other minorities would

and challenges the witch hunters.

LABOR MUST ACT

Carthyism.

notly denied they had planned treachery against their war-time ally. Churchill maintained that

### The New York comrades are far in the lead at this point

prevailed for some days. New York Campaign Director Tom Denver writes, "The excellent participation by the New York comrades in the national subscription campaign should serve as a warning to the rest of the country that we aren't the downtown district. going to be satisfied with anything less than first place when the final tally is taken.

In the summer of 1944, Chur-

Pe, with all the gleaming pos-

pearances had to be maintained.

that fairly large forces had been

The extent to which the im-

Germany in the interests of their

struggle against the Soviet Union

is not completely clear. But early

in 1945, contact was made by the

American Intelligence Service

S.S. commander in Italy. Negotia-

first learned of this secret meet-

ing from its own agents. It caused

serious diplomatic rift between

Both Churchill and Roosevelt

name "crossword." The Kremlin ple

the military struggle against terms.

diverted to the Balkans."

given to the war venture. Ap- on the other,'

pen toward Vienna."

"Last weel es sales of copies were followed up this street and to individual friends. week and 36 people bought a To circularize the Militant in second copy with a number every possible way is the objective promising to get subs later on. of the Minneapolis comrades.' Ann and Mike did a fine job. selling 10 Militants out of 23 are a follows:

"Dorothy, Ethel P., Donald, and Edith G. sold 35 single copies to new readers. Dorothy also brought in her second new sub. Ethel B. set the pace with renewals this week with three plus one new sub. We are pushing our sales in the shops and will have more to report on this later.'

Comrade Baker sends in the latest news of the competition between Seattle's - two teams "Eight comrades went out on our Nov. 15 mobilization - five or George's team and three on Dan's. Dan's team sold the most subs and has 214 points. George's team sold the most single copies and three comrades have scores over has 123 points to date. Our pace- 100. They are Ethel B. of New setters are Leon with 67 points; York with 141 points; Jean S. of Frank with 52; Melba, 41; George, Cleveland with 130; and Cathy 39; and Betty, 32."

Dolores Seville reports, "Our York, 81 points; Janet, New York, score last week was 25. Leonard 75: Leon. Seattle, 67: and and I went back to all those to Derothy. Oscar, Ann and Art S., whom we had sold the Militant all of New York with scores of the week before and got 100% 63, 58, 57 and 54 points.

One year of The Militant .....

Twelve issues of Fourth International

Or a combination subscription to both ...

the U.S. and Britain intended - There was no peace. THE MILITANT ARMY The second national mobiliza- on these call-backs. Leonard sold tion to celebrate the 25th an- six and I sold four. In addition

aiversary of the Militant brought two more copies were sold by the total subscrip- Bill, one by Leo, and four by Lil. tions sold so far to This week we will go back to 80. Single copy sales some of the old subscribers for renewals." Helen Sherman writes, "Three subs and 20 single copies of the Militant were sold this week in

but are keeping a Minneapolis. Ralph visited a cautious eye on Los friend whom he hadn't seen for Angeles where what nearly a year and got one of the they consider a subs. Donald and Art brought in strange silence has the other two renewals. "While Harry and Fanny are

still leading on the local scorepoard with 52 points each, Bob A. climbed up to second place with 34 points for individual Militant sales. Last week he sold 10 papers just walking around a block in

"Millie, Larry, Ralph, and Bob W. also contributed points to the Minneapolis score by selling Militants at union meetings, on the

Scores so far in the campaign

are an initions.	
New York	1,143
Los Angeles	576
Twin Cities	440
Cleveland	336
Seattle	337
Philadelphia	187
St. Louis	130
Boston	104
Detroit	104
San Francisco	104
Milwaukee	98
Buffalo	52
Chicago	52
Newark	45
Oakland	42
Canaral	55

of New York with 104. Other Oakland Literature Agent high scorers are Harold R., New

But how will the armed power of the Kremlin be shattered

in East Germany still continues throughout the Stalinist world. almost succeeded in putting The needs of the world revolution and the growth of the produc- through a bill that would have uprising was not an isolated event. It followed on the heels of Pat McCarran, was quietly slipped turbulent strikes and demonstrations in Czechoslovakia and through in the Senate on July 9; Eastern Europe. Signs of deep mass discontent have appeared but was held up later in the within the Soviet Union itself. Conditions for new uprisings are maturing in all parts of the Stalinist controlled non-capitalist 

revolutionary combustion.

Therein lies the historical importance of the revolutionary Trotsky who called for a political revolution against Stalinism said: "We must set down, first of all, as an immutable axiom that this task can be solved only by a revolutionary party."

country hastens the downfall of Stalinism in the Soviet countries. Brownell testified and which the "gangs of adolescent terrorists." organized

# And where was the Communist Party? In East Germany VOIDING 5th AMENDMENT

(Continued from page 1) making answers that appear to

Fifth Amendment. To coerce such witnesses, there is a growing movement, led by fascist-minded senators like Mc-Carthy. McCarran and Jenner, to and to destroy it as an effective means to protect persons under inquisitorial questioning. They last session of Congress. The bill authored by Democratic Senator

This bill was represented as one to grant "immunity" to persons, called before "anti - Comhearings, when they refuse to testify on the grounds it might tend to incriminate them Actually, of course, such "immunity" would be relative, as other than legal reprisals to punish their victims who invoke the Fifth Amendment, such as public slander, loss of employment and embarrassing publicity.

But even this "immunity" bill actually does not grant legal immunity from prosecution. One clause reads: "No person shall be exempt from prosecution or punishment for perjury or contempt committed in so testifying." A witness could be jailed for "contempt" if he insisted he did not know certain information demanded of him or for "perjury" if some fact he states is challenged by a professional

witch hunters hope to push

J. EDGAR HOOVER

Part of the campaign to nullify be "damaging," it is becoming the Fifth Amendment is to inalmost standard practice for terpret a refusal to testify under persons facing Congressional in- the amendment as a tacit ad- usurped the executive power." million Negro people and milquisitions to avail themselves of mission of "guilt." Of course, this their right to silence under the amendment was introduced into the Constitution to protect the innocent who might be induced questions to make statements hoax of Communism." that could be "interpreted" as "tending" to incriminate. It was tection from the type of legal procedure the people had suffered from in the political and

> 18th Century. In a letter to the Dec. 7 N. Y. Times, trial lawyer Harold H. Corbin answered the claim that the sole organized group in refusal to testify is proof of America with sufficient responthat an innocent man cannot might tend to incriminate him, itself heard may have become perience has taught just the contrary. The pitfalls and dangers jection of poison into its own of testifying without immunity blood stream." Wilson ends on a are so obscure and so manifold note of despair with the comment

of his innocence." their Constitutional rights. They tragedy of American politics." are refusing to be hoooked on those "when are you going to stop beating your wife?" questions thrown at them by slick shysters like McCarthy. That's why the McCarthyites want a law article: "the sole organized group to blow up the Fifth Amend-

were arrested by Philadelphia can really "prove to be the police over the weekend of Nov. tragedy of American politics." 21-22. The mass roundup took We think that the organized place because of alleged reports trade union movement in Amer-It is this type of bill for which of hold-ups and robberies by ica, 17,000,000 strong, is the "sold

McCarthyism. In brilliant pas- Democratic Party. We think that sages the author demonstrates the following propositions: "A ment" of reliance on capitalist

devastating corruption of the parties in its life and death strugdemocratic political process" is gle for survival. under way. Brownell's attack on hearings the most innocent peo- through in the present atmosphere White "is a form of lynch law." The FBI has become a "kind of shadow government behind the natural leader of the American government - an agency that is people who hate McCarthyism responsible to no one and that has and all it stands for. Fourteen "Communist menace" in America is the "most fantastic rally to labor once it steps out hoax of our generation" and "tragically, . . . the Democratic That's why we call for a United by means of tricky and selected Party, is still bemused by the

> So far so good. Then Wilson asks, "Can the Democratic Party an amendment designed as pro- which launched the Smith Act prosecutions, which created the 'loyalty' program, which first sponsored Chambers and Bentley religious persecutions under the and Budenz as witnesses summon British kings of the 17th and the will, the intellect, and the courage to fight for its own survival?" Mr. Wilson answers this question: "One fears that guilt by pointing out: "It assumes sibility to be listened to, sufficient independence to take action, and honestly claim that his answers with sufficient resources to make whereas long and bitter ex- too befuddled by anti-Communist propaganda to recognize the inthat experienced lawyers do not that "if" the Democratic Party is permit a client to thus testify, prepared "to fight McCarthyism however certain they might be and all that the term implies" in 1954, the day may be saved. "But More and more people are if the Democrats elect to join refusing to be panicked or ine forces with the Republicans in timidated by McCarthy, Jenner continuing the witch hunt, the and their ilk and are standing on White case could prove to be the

WILSON BEFUDDLED TOO

The clue to the capitulatory pessimism of the Nation lies in one phrase of Mr. Wilson's in America" capable of fighting McCarthyism is the Democratic party. This concept, if persisted One thousand teen - age youth in by the workers' organizations

Labor Congress with representatives from all the locals of the trade union movement and the minority peoples. Whatever its initial actions, such a Congress, once called into being, will signal the beginning of the end for Mc-

Labor is the real target of the McCarthyites. The capitalist war frive is the motive. The passivity and tacit compliance of the labor bureaucracy is a precondition for McCarthvite success. That's why United Labor Congress will turn he political tide in the United States. It will open an era of democratic development never witnessed before in American history. Once the political power of the American workers is released. the McCarthyite rats will not be single day.

Therefore, no time must be lost. Everything possible must be done o bring the Labor Congress into existence. Let the democratic power of labor be exerted in this national crisis. It is the only power that can save the country from the catastrophe of police state rule.

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on McCarthy Reaches For the White House Speaker: Joseph Hansen Friday, Dec. 4, at 8:30 P.M.

at 52 Market Street

### Order from THE MILITANT 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

**Holiday Gifts for Your Friends** 

An attractive card signed with your name

will be sent to each person for whom you buy

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send \$1.50 for six months subscription or \$3 for a full

Jour to The				1014 0, 111 11
Name				
Street				Zone
\$1.50 Six	months   \$	3.00 Full	year   New	Renewal

Bubscriptions: \$3 per year 14.50 per year; \$2.25 for 6 months, Canadian: \$3.50 per Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

Vol. XVII - No. 48

THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION 116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7466 Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN

Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Monday, November 30, 1953

### Nixon's Apologies to the Mikado

Speaking for the American capitalists, Vice President Richard Nixon, in his Nov. 19 Tokyo speech, indulged in some pious self-criticism. He told the gathering of 700 militarists, industrialists and government dignitaries that the United States "made a mistake" in 1946 when it imposed total disarmament on Japan.

Nixon "admitted" that out of motives of purity, good will, high-minded principles and the desire to live in peace, the United States "advised" the Japanese to disarm. But in 1946, Nixon says, "We misjudged the intentions of the Soviet leaders." Now "the threat from Communist nations" makes it impossible to live in peace.

There isn't a word of truth to this. (1) If American Big Business was so bent on living in peace, why did they disarm Japan and Germany and not the United States? Why did their alleged "illusions" about the Soviet leaders prompt them to disarm others but not themselves?

(2) Japan and Germany were given every encouragement to arm, establish fascist-militarist governments, crush with bloody violence all working-class and democratic resistance within their countries and prepare for war against the Soviet Union. Proof? How could Germany, for example, which was totally disarmed after

World War I, have re-militarized without the consent of America and Great Britain?

(3) Only when Germany and Japan, along with Italy, began to use their military power to cut in on the territory of the established imperialist bandits, was it thought necessary to call a halt and dis- picket line. It was a demonstraarm them. American and British capitalism wanted to crush the Soviet Union but not for the benefit of the "have not" imperialist powers. So a war took place. Tens of millions were killed on the battlefields, perished in bombed cities, and died of starvation, disease and mass murder in the concentration camps.

(4) The people of the world became so enraged against the capitalist system that a great world anti-capitalist revolution began. This presents a desperate problem to American capitalism. Big Business now wants Germany and Japan rearmed. This tical complaints are not very contime the stakes are higher - World War vincing, for they are not seeking grievances against the SWP to III will decide the issue of capitalism or

Nixon's speech is a bid to the Japanese capitalists to let bygones be bygones: In effect he is saying, "We are sorry to have disarmed you. But let's all get together in the good cause and launch another bloodier, more devastating war to save our hides from the revolutionary threat that will devour us all if we don't watch out."

### "Closer to the Heart of the Soviet Union"

to radio or TV, you would think that the Soviet Army is at our very doorstep. The opposite is the little publicized truth. It is the United States army, navy and airforce which is encircling the globe and reaching ever closer to the Soviet Union.

The recent move to establish a U.S. military base in Pakistan sheds light upon this step-by-step build-up of American Big Business preparations for World War III. Pakistan would offer "the use of bases closer to the heart of the Soviet Union than any at present available." (N. Y. Times, Nov. 17).

The other bases not so close to the "heart of the Soviet Union" was described by U.S. News and World Report in an article last June 12 that speaks of the "vast gradual expansion of U.S. overseas commitments little realized at home." American troops, according to this article, are serving in "sizable numbers" in more than half the 97 countries in the world. Written before the deal with Franco for air bases in Spain, the article speaks of 89 major air bases built or being built in Europe, Asia, North Africa and the Arctic.

Russia's nearest military base is thousands of miles from the U.S. But the nearest U.S. army base to the Soviet Union

To read the daily capitalist press, listen we is a few hundred miles. All this is of course "proof" of "Communist aggression." No wonder the Wall Street war plotters have to label every anti-capitalist movement of workers and peasants in the world as a "military plot of the Kremlin dictators." By doing this they get the double advantage of slandering the workers who are fighting for freedom from landlord-capitalist tyranny and at the same time creating the bogey of a threat to the military security of the United States.

> The military deal with Pakistan has not yet been consummated. India is alarmed and Nehru has protested. He feels that the move to arm Pakistan is aimed at India as much as it is at the Soviet Union.

> Nehru's objections contain a grain of truth. An important part of Wall Street's objective in establishing its world-wide network of military bases is the creation of a "police" force to crush insurgent people and bludgeon reluctant native statesmen into line.

But it remains to be seen whether Nehru's objections will prove sufficiently disturbing to the Pentagon brass to cause them to postpone setting up bases for American atomic bombers in distant Pakistan "closer to the heart of the Soviet Union than any at present available."

### Iran -- Betrayal and Cover Up

Since last August we have repeatedly shown how the Stalinists in Iran, prompted by their subordination to the Kremlin's foreign policy, betrayed the aspiration of the Iranian masses to take power. The workers and peasants of Iran wanted to clean out the landlords and capitalists who subject them to the worst poverty and exploitation. They were stopped by the Stalinist leaders who preferred diplomatic maneuvers with the Western powers that stand behind the royalists. The counterrevolutionary royalist coup of Aug. 19 was the tragic result of this Stalinist betrayal.

The Iranian masses have paid bitterly. Tens of thousands of their best militants have been imprisoned, clubbed or shot by the Wall Street-backed royalists. Now after three months silent pondering over this new reality comes word from the ex-Trotskyist Pablo group in Paris finally recognizing that something has gone amiss

In the November issue of their magazine, Quatrieme Internationale, they devote a total of eight brief paragraphs to an "analysis" of this setback to the revolutionary colonial movement. They speak of the "criminal inactivity" of the Stalinist-dominated Tudeh party. They admit that the Tudeh has been "held back for a long time by the Kremlin from all inclination to genuinely revolutionary politics." Then they make a statement that is utterly astounding to revolutionists: "The coup essentially profited American imperialism. . . it is not likely that the Kremlin, despite all its desire to compromise and its particular flirtation with London, would intervene at the last hour and prevent the Tudeh from acting.'

Why is it "unlikely" that the Kremlin would sell out a revolution even though this weakens the position of the Soviet Union? Isn't that exactly what the Stalinists have done repeatedly during the entire post-Second World War period? Didn't they sell the Greek revolution down the river because of their "flirtation" with Churchill? Didn't they sell the Italian and

French working class to Churchill and Roosevelt in return for worthless diplomatic promises and territorial concessions? Why is it unlikely now?

The Pabloite squib on Iran is packed with false insinuations and lies. For example it is not a question of the Kremlin's last minute intervention in Iran to stop revolutionary action. According to the Pabloites themselves, for more than two CP between the faction of Lovevears Iran was ripe for the overwhelm- stone (then leader, but likewise had appeared (on credit). ing majority of workers and peasants to soon expelled on orders of Mosput in a new government of their own free cow along with the Right Op- that a man shows his measure, fore McCarthy's inquisitors their party.

Thus the Kremlin and the Iranian Stalinists have been "criminally inactive" for and the faction of James P. Canat least two years. Also, the Pabloites imply that if something works to the disadvantage of the Soviet Union the Kremlin couldn't possibly favor it. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Kremlin in Russia between Trotskyism and does not represent the historic interests Stalinism. of the workers of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the bureaucrats, representing the interests of a privileged caste, more often the Communist International to lowing article on the 25-year recthan not fly in the face of the interests give us help with our national ord of the Socialist Workers Parof both the Soviet Union and the world problems." ("History of Amer- ty in its issue of Nov. 5 under working class.

The Pabloite comment infers that the Tudeh party is to blame for the tragedy of Iran and not the Kremlin. Since the Kremlin made no last minute intervention to stop revolutionary action - so goes their tortured reasoning - the Tudeh party must be made the scapegoat for not

The truth is that the Tudeh party, like all Stalinist parties, has been corrupted by the Kremlin bureaucracy. Under these conditions they are incapable of conducting revolutionary actions unless they break with the Kremlin and Stalinism. The guilt lies with Stalinism in Iran and the center of Stalinism is the Kremlin.

The eight brief paragraphs the Pabloites devote to the tragic turn of events in the Congress . . . but they had Iran thus speak volumes — not about the new betrayal of Stalinism, but about the new apologists for the Kremlin, Pablo and

# A Stalinophile Warms Up to a -- Stalinophobe

Readers of the Militant know that the Socialist Workers Party at its recent National Committee meeting suspended the disloyal leaders of the Cochranite faction for organizing a boycott of the party's 25th Anniversary Celebration and Election Wind-up Rally in New York on Oct. 30.

To class-conscious workers the reasons for an action like this are self-evident. Our anniversary meeting was in effect an SWP tion against the capitalist warmakers of today and the Stalinist traitors who expelled the founding group of Trotskyists from the Communist Party in 1928. By their boycott, the Cochranites crossed this picket line. The party was prepared, and despite the Cochranite sabotage, the meeting was one of the most successful we have held in years.

To anyone who will listen, the Cochranites are now complaining reinstatement or appealing the action to a convention. The reason for that, of course, is that they deliberately organized their split, preparing for it over a con-

ites complained just as bitterly in the house of the hanged. about the rejection of their pro-Stalinist line by the overwhelmlinophobia"; i.e., an opposition it refuses to defend what is prothe Kremlin bureaucracy.

In reality the Cochranites could be correctly accused of "Stalinophilia"; i.e., the strange political disease that sees progressiveness in Stalinism no matter what its the SWP as acolytes of Pablo, seeking under the slogan of countries like France and Italy ... from the expressions of sympathy

ternational. - Ed.)

On Oct. 27, 1928, twenty-five

years ago, the leadership of the

American Communist Party ex-

pelled from the party on charges

of Trctskyism, James P. Cannon,

member of the Political Commit-

tee and one of the best known

as well as two members of the

Within scarcely a week appear-

marking the beginning outside of

Russia in the Communist Inter-

national of a revolutionary Marx-

position), the faction of Willia

Z. Foster (the present leader of

the American Stalinist party),

over secondary questions concern-

ing the orientation of the CP,

remaining independent of the

great ideological battle conducted

Trotsky, Zinoviev, etc. It was in

to Moscow for the Sixth Congress

From his exile in Alma-Ata,

Leon Trotsky had written a piti-

less criticism of this draft, a

criticism that is today considered

one of the classics of Marxism.

This document, as well as Trot-

sky's appeal against his expul-

sion, were, naturally, kept from

translate the work and pass it out

among the delegates. This was had years of active service in the

Cannon, p. 42.)

Stalin-Bukharin.

ist current called "Trotskyist."

Central Executive Committee.

"junk the old Trotskyism," to We don't propose anything of the impose his conciliatory views to- kind for the United States..." the editor of this Stalinophobe surrender to a Stalinophobe late sheet decided to award his new bureaucracy. impose his conciliatory views toward Stalinism on the American Trotskyist movement.

THEIR FIRST PUBLIC ACT But what was the first public political act of the Cochranites

SWP? From the talk of some of their leaders, it might have been supposed they were on their way to Marcantonio's headquarters to join this faction in the American ist Stalinophobes.
Labor Party. But apparently Mar(1) Cochran ra cantonio avoided this fate by resigning from the ALP the day after the election.

after they walked out of the

Nothing daunted, the Cochranites made an adroit tactical adjustment. They turned up at a meeting of genuine Stalinophobes the so-called Independent Socialist League (Shachtmanites) and distributed their mimeographed complaints to this milieu.

This, however, was only preparation for a more ambitious venabout the unnerving experience ture. The principal leader, Cochof being suspended from mem- ran himself, sent a lengthy polibership. However, their hypocri- tical statement to Labor Action, Shachtman's paper. He listed his these Stalinophobes in evident expectation of a sympathetic re-

And just to make sure of eliciting a friendly pat on the back siderable period by sabotaging from Stalinophobe Shachtman, party finances and activities and Cochran assiduously refrained whipping up a frenzied factional from mentioning what had preattitude among their ranks. The viously been one of his main boycott was simply the culmina- grievances; namely, that the SWP tion of a long series of provoca- had allegedly succumbed to Stalinophobia. As the saving goes While in the SWP the Cochran- one does not speak of the rop

With a politeness that undoubt edly pleased and flattered the ediing majority of the party. They tor of Labor Action, Cochran also tried to rationalize their inability delicately refrained from attack to win a majority by accusing ing Shachtman for his refusal the SWP of succumbing to "Sta- to defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, and likewise to Stalinism so unreasoning that refrained from pointing out that Labor Action is part of the Social gressive in the Soviet Union and Democratic press whose chief will not stop at supporting the function is to assist the State war-mongering foreign policy of Department in preparing a mili-Big Business in order to get at tary assault on the Soviet bloc.

This sensitive restraint is evidence, we may assume, of Cochran's real feelings on these issues. He even went out of his' way to explain to the Stalinophobe editor of Labor Action that crimes. They pushed this view in while "We favor an orientation toward the Stalinist movement in

the work of regroupment among

the party ranks around the ideas

This work did not pass unper-

eived by Foster-Lovestone, who

called Cannon before one inquiry

session after another. Cannon

avoided immediate expulsion,

evading direct questions until he

preparatory to his public an-

ed themselves 100% Trotskvists.

He found himself immediately

emoved from his post, alone and

the first number of the Militant

nouncement. Then on Oct. 27,

French Section of the Fourth In- with him from Russia and began

leaders of American communism, had made the necessary contacts

ed No. 1 of the Militant, organ of he read a long declaration in

the Left Opposition, officially which he and his comrades declar-

An internal struggle had taken all his friends of the day before,

place for years in the American without means of expression once

of Trotsky.

turn to this obscure league of

The reason for this political demonstration is apparent in Cochran's choice of issues to submit to the judgment of Shachtman and his sect of pro-imperial-

ial methods" of James P. Cannon. the founder of American Trotskyism, and the SWP's insistence on discipline in action.

now in Cochran language.

skyist conception of the role of the time, James Burnham, made the party in winning a socialist victory: "According to their new revelation, the tiny, unknown SWP has the 'ordained leadership,' the essential cadres of the revolution, and if it only remains true to itself' and keeps blowing its own horn, its revolutionary

for his first public declaration Shachtman was his predecessor in ism. Shachtman was his predecessor also in organizing a split from the SWP. Who in the radical movement would more likely feel a bond of sympathy?

abandoned hopes for sympathy? camaraderie softens his most the basic program of Marxism as critical thrusts. For instance, Cochran's com-

(1) Cochran raises his hands n pious horror at the "dictator- following approving comment. Opposition to the democratic

centralism of the SWP, labelled of view in the magazine." as Cannon's "dictatorial methods," has been Shachtman's stock in trade for 13 years. The editor of Labor Action indicates that it have admitted that he was only is refreshing to see it repeated (2) Cochran attacks the Trot-

triumph is guaranteed."

This is a vulgar burlesque Cochranites for many years in common with us that a revolutionary party must be built to assure the victory of socialism. It is not exactly a fresh contribution to the columns of Labor Action. Shachtman has been peddling it in one variation or Cochran performs a political apparent opposition. service for the Shachtmanites and indicates the underlying identity of his views with theirs. It was fitting and natural for

How accurate Cochran's poli-

propaganda. To the Communist

Twenty-five years have passed.

An entire epoch, extremely dif-

ficult for the Marxist cadres in

many reactionary waves sub-

merge the country without the

program of socialism yet winning

he majority of the proletariat.

But a preparatory epoch, a

selection of men and of organ-

The historic "success" on the

soil of the United States among

the leaders of the old American

But it is in such circumstances renegades who now denounce be- will to construct the revolutionary

low to propose a policy.

work to the work of individual in his path and to forge the

adres and militants he knew Bolshevik party of the vanguard.

the side of the swarm of of thought and action, stubborn

will wage.

French Trotskyists Hail SWP\*

(The following is a translation | James P. Cannon and the revolu- | Cannon showed his: he organized | comrades of twenty years ago; it

1928, in reply to his accusers, decisive epoch which has made a

izations.

Why did Cochran deliberately contributor. True, he was much select the columns of the anti- more careful about indicating his Soviet Labor Action for his first political differences with Cochran licularly in the profound break public declaration? Why did he than Cochran was with him. Nevertheless, the feeling of skyism, and in his revision of

> plaint that his faction wasn't per mitted in the SWP to express its minority views outside of internal party forums and bulletins to the extent it wished drew the "In other words the Cochran minority - bureaucrats demanded exactly the same right that 'the Shachtmanites' demanded in 1940 the right to present their point

Labor Action's editor, course, scored a point there. In all consistency, Cochran should making - 13 years later - the same anti-Leninist demand that Shachtman and his co-leader of in opposition to Leon Trotsky and the SWP in 1940.

But let the editor of Labor Action and his new contributor settle this point of honor and priority between themselves. We stand on the principles of democratic centralism that the majority of a revolutionary party has the right to decide what internal the idea formerly held by the disputes should or should not be made public property.

PROVES OUR CONTENTION

Cochran's letter to Labor Action proves what we contended during the recently concluded faction struggle - that no deep gulf exists between the Shachtmanites mother for 13 years. By offering and the Cochranites. Their posihis own version of this theme, tions on Stalinism are only in

In reality they are symmetrica petty-bourgeois reactions to capitalist pressures. The Shacht manitee rushed away from Stal-Cochran to choose Labor Action inism and eventually landed in the camp of imperialism. The would abuse or allow this authorafter splitting from the SWP. Cochranites today are rushing toward Stalinism. But we doubt breaking from orthodox Trotsky- that the attractiveness to them of the Stalinist milieu will prove and not laws?" enduring. This is only the first form of their capitulation to the pressures emanating from Amercan imperialism in its drive to ward war. In England, the Haston tical instinct was can be judged group likewise demonstrated that

weapon of success - a genuine

Workers Party, is assured beyond

And the SWP has likewise an

other role, profoundly interna-

tionalist, to play. It is a question

for it to aid by its example in the

formation throughout the entire

world of a generation of com-

spirit which gave birth to Amer-

ican Trotskyism: Unshakeable at-

in common with Shachtman, parit touches the most burning questions of our time. His plaintive letter to Shachtman's house

### Seek to Legalize "Dirty Business" Of Wiretapping

organ proves that.

(Continued from page 1)

One of the chief fears regardng wiretapping was the opporunity it afforded for extortion and blackmail. Even J. Edgar the wiretap law on these grounds. In 1938, according to newspaper accounts, he blocked passage of a Treasury-sponsored bill to permit wiretapping, stating that "he had men who were expent in tapping wires, but if he let them practice it to any extent they would turn crooks in no time.'

We can imagine the juicy pickings FBI agents could have if they were permitted to tap telephone wires legally. For purposes of extortion and blackmail, the telephone wires of the rich and publicly prominent hold out the best prospects. Thus the Wall Street Journal finds Brownell's proposition unattractive and wrote editorially:

"The trouble with this notion that you can safely whittle away at Constitutional safeguards is that you don't know where the process is going to stop. If espionage wiretap evidence is made admissible, why not other kinds. . . ? And if it is inconceivable that a given administration or a given head of the FBI ity to be abused, isn't that putting your faith in men, who die or may be replaced with worse men

The FBI, under the direct his superiors in the Department authorization of the White House, has been committing scores and hundreds of criminal acts of wiretapping daily since 1940. In statement in January 1950 after the FBI's wholesale violation of the law had been exposed during the Coplon case, Hoover confessed: "The policy we follow on of an article that appeared in the Nov. 19 La Verite, organ of the The delegate of the American dertook intense correspondence. James P. Cannon, who knew how President Roosevelt on May 21, Internationalist Communist Party, CP took the precious document He knew how to shift from mass to break all the obstacles placed 1940.

But these unlawful acts were earried out in such secrecy that To this party, the Socialist Sylvester Ryan forced FBI agents, testifying in the Coplon trial, to dispute the leading role in the divulge their use of wiretapping great revolutionary struggles that the existence on a wholethe USA, since they have seen which the American proletariat sale scale of law-breaking by what was supposed to be the country's top law-enforcement agency was revealed.

At first, the FRI agents lied on the stand that such practices existed, then admitted them. Finally, forced to bring the munist militants imbued with the recording of wiretaps into court, to be unintelligible, although they tachment to principles, wideness claimed they got tip-offs on without resources, boycotted by CP, was not on the side of Foster, of view and solidarity of inter- Judith Coplon's who today still transmits to an national thought, firmness in the them. Would this also be the case organization in decomposition the face of bureaucratic apparatuses with the wiretap evidence that orders of Moscow; it was not on and fabricated majorities, unity Brownell and Hoover intimated is the basis of their unproved charges against Harry Dexter

> Judge Ryan ruled in the Coplon ease that evidence from the 'tainted source" of wiretapping was illegal and that wiretapping as such is against the law whether or not there was a written authorization" from the then Attorney General Tom Clark, as Justice Dept. attorneys

> It was Roosevelt's and Truman's attorneys general who first sought the legalization of the police-state method of wiretapping. Now the administration that is witch-hunting the previous administration's leaders is pushing for this same law that would give the FBI legal authority to listen in on the private conversations and personal affairs of the American people.

### and the faction of James P. Cannon. This struggle took place only over secondary questions concern-TO SWP ON ITS 25th ANNIVERSARY

(Samasamajist, English weekly On October 27, 1928, James P. | comrades. Our comrades, needless "We were still trying to solve of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Cannon, Max Shachtman and Mar- to say, are even now campaigning things on an American scale: a Ceylonese Section of the Fourth tin Abern were expelled from the against the U.S. government's atcommon error. . . We looked to International, published the folcan Trotskyism" by James P. the title: "Hail SWP of Amer- of the CP. After the tragic beica! Revolutionary Socialism's Cannon, nevertheless, felt Vanguard in Imperialist Citadel." doubts about the correctness of Stalin's line and the expulsion of

A week before the 36th Anniversary of the October Revolu-'his state of mind that he went tion in Russia, our co-thinkers in imperialism's citadel, organizof the Communist International ed in the Socialist Workers Par-(July - September 1928), the agenda of which was mainly con- ty, celebrated the Silver Jubilee of the struggle for formation of cerned with the adoption of a the party. draft program elaborated by

The struggle began on October 27, 1928. The date was a landmark separating two eras of struggle. The second has lasted quarter of a century.

Readers can well imagine the difficulties of working within imperialism's citadel.

The American Trotskyists have consistently struggled on princi-Soviet militants in the bureau of pled lines for the establishment interpreters and stenographers to of Socialist America.

The men who built that party

Communist Party as Trotskyists. Till 1933, the date of the capitulation of the Comintern to Hit-

ler, they struggled for reform trayal of the working class to the Nazis they struggled for a new Together with working class militants thrown up in the strike

struggles, they forged ahead. Other highlights in the pre-war period were the unemployment struggles, the anti-fascist street battles, and their participation in the labor surge that created the CIO.

Our comrades came through these struggles with their banner

In 1941 the Smith "Gag" Act was used to sentence 18 of our comrades to jail for their revolutionary attitude towards the war. Our comrades were the first victims of the anti-worker offensive, It must be said that the Stalinists supported the government ("peoples' war") against the Trotskyists and even attempted the historic encounter between revolutionary ranks behind them. to sabotage labor's aid to our comrades for socialism!

tacks on the Stalinists. The Socialist Workers Party

was the only party to consistently demand the withdrawal of troops from Korea. They fight against each and every attack on civil rights, against color discrimination; they fight with labor against

Theirs is in many ways the most difficult struggle in the world.

A quarter century is a long, grueling period of time. Many in dividuals have left them, some times groups. (They too have had their share of splits and walk outs.) But they have unflinchingly held to the line. They collabor ated with Trotsky in the building of the Fourth International.

To our comrades of the SWP in the USA, and to their leaders James P. Cannon and Vincent R. Dunne, who are also celebrating their Silver Jubilees as Trotskyists, Samasamajist sends revolutionary greetings! It is our great privilege to fight

side by side with such valiant

LOS ANGELES Friday Night Forum

presents Two lectures on the origin of the "race" concept and the program to abolish Jim Crow. By Richard Fraser Writer and fighter against

discrimnation (2) Struggle for Equality Friday, Dec. 4, 8 P.M. FORUM HALL

1792 E. 4th St. Tel. AN 9-4953 Questions - Discussion Refreshments

Subscription 35 cents

By Jean Blake

"The Shame of New York"

By Harry Ring

The CIO has taken some long steps backwards, Negro delegates and observers at the national convention in Cleveland last week told this writer.

Instead of reflecting the concern of the thousands of Negro workers in the CIO for protection against the growing cutbacks in industry and McCarthvite reaction everywhere, the CIO convention expressed in its composition and program a tendency to adapt to the worsening situation without a real struggle.

As one reporter commented in a corridor discussion, the number of Negro members of the CIO has not decreased to any significant extent, but instead of increased representation and recognition at the national gatherings, they had less at this one. He was only able to find about ten colored delegates in a convention of about 700; plus a few Negro staff appointees in non-policy making posts.

A Negro delegate, who must also go unnamed, spoke bitterly of colored officials and staff men. "They're nothing but redbaiters," he said, "and one of these days it's going to catch up with them."

Similar cynicism was voiced regarding the speeches and resolutions on labor unity and no-raiding agreements. "If they were serious about the unity talk," one militant pointed out, "why was the proposal for unity of two CIO unions, the United Transport Service Employees (headed by Townsend) and the Transport Workers (headed by Quill) nipped in the bud?"

"Any of the aforementioned men could

have given aces and spades to the famous

crusading journalist, Lincoln Steffens, who

chronicled corruption exactly fifty years

ago in this country, and left him far be-

hind." This is the opinion held by Ed Reid

of contemporary newsmen, including him-

self, who have in recent years won Pulitzer

awards for their exposures of corruption

York" (Random House, 235 pp., \$3 1953),

this reviewer would say that Reid has a

long way to go just to catch up with the

fifty-year-old work of Steffens, not to

Steffens won an enduring place for him-

self in the annals of journalism not simply

by exposing the already widely understood

fact of corruption in government, but

rather by demonstrating to the hilt that

crime and corruption are an inevitable out-

growth of capitalist politics, that they are

in fact indispensable features of the capi-

Reid first won claim to fame by break-

ing, in the Brooklyn Eagle, the story of

the Harry Gross bookmaking empire which

functioned on the basis of a highly organ-

ized system of weekly "payoffs" to the

top brass of the New York Police Depart-

ment. He then went on in the same paper

to expose the close relationship between

Thomas (Three Fingers Brown) Luchese

Luchese is widely reputed to be the most

powerful single figure in New York's crime

syndicate; and, with equal credence, said

talist system as such.

and Armand Chankalian.

speak of giving him "aces and spades."

After reading "The Shame of New

"The no-raiding talk at the top," he con tinued, "is so full of mutual threats that no one takes it seriously. Actually, it's just meant to stop genuine moves from the ranks toward unity of groups like the CIO and AFL packinghouse workers." (Both of these unions have large Negro member-

The effect of the various plans for guaranteed annual wage agreements on Negro workers was also the subject of considerable concern - not in the convention sessions, but in the unofficial discussions.

Most of the plans are based on seniority provisions, which limit coverage of lasthired Negro workers in many industries, and on principles of unemployment compensation rather than defense of the workers' standard of living, since no one but a McDonald or Reuther-type economist believes capitalist industry can guarantee full employment, based on continuous produc-

"These people," said one observer, "are out of this world. When the crisis hits and the workers start to move they'll be left so far behind they won't know what happened. Yes, sir. The conditions that gave rise to the CIO (depression, unemployment, mortgage foreclosures) are going to destroy the CIO in its present form. A different kind of leadership and program will have to be built."

Too bad the Negro workers are not yet heard in the policy-making bodies of the

iod assistant to Myles Lane, former United

Gross, Luchese, William McCormack, the

and capitalist politicians whose names have

vided what the newspapers have deliber-

public by the recent investigations a very

definite pattern emerges. The fundament-

al feature of that pattern is the unholy al-

vestigations of crime on the waterfront es

This is the feature of organized crime

tablished this beyond dispute.

recently convicted millionaire pimp.

ately ommitted.

In this book, Reid retells the story of

States Attorney in this district.

# THE MILITANT

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1953

Coal Town, U.S. A.

VOLUME XVII



Taylor Reed, miner for 25 years, sits on his porch in rundown coal town of Hardburly, Ky. A volunteer in the United Mine Workers organizing drive in Clay and Leslie counties, where one organizer has been killed and several wounded, Reed and UMW Dist. 30 Rep. Bill Perkins were stopped one night in Clay County on a charge of "impeding traffic." Perkins began to argue, but Reed stopped him with plea that "we'll both get shot." Perkins says, "There's blood on these cards," referring to the more than 1,000 membership applications signed in the two counties.

### FORD LOCAL 600 OFFERS REAL FIGHTING PROGRAM

(Continued from page 1) We further declare that there can action program, it proposes:

to be the power behind the throne in Tam- be no intelligent fight waged for many Hall. Chankalian was for a long per- the guaranteed annual wage unless a concrete plan is put before the entire membership of The demand for the 30-hour

week at 40 hours' pay, also under "Mr. Big" of the New York waterfront, Point Two, is called "THE KEY and many of the crooks, cutthroat artists, TO ENLIGHTENED LABOR UNIONS WELCOMING TECHbecome household words as a result of the MENTS." NOLOGICAL I M P R O V E-This demand is Kefauver and New York State Crime Com- designed "so that workers share mission hearings. The only essentially new the fruits of automation [converinformation in the book deals with some sion machines into autoof the personal habits of "Mickey" Jelke, matons], instead of becoming

Point Three is to "EXTEND A book which summarized and fitted TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS,' into a single picture all the recent sensa- with special stress on the "ALL." tional crimes connected with capitalist It is particularly enlightened in politics would be well worthwhile if it pro- view of the reactionary, warmongering campaign to cut off Eastern Europe and the Soviet Out of the wealth of evidence made Union.

Point Four calls for Congress "ENACT A COMPREHEN-SIVE PUBLIC WORKS PRO-GRAM" immediately with conliance between racketeers and politicians crete plans for public-works proparks, recreation centers and Labor . playgrounds. "And while these function of determining a pro-

under capitalism of greatest concern to employed debtors." labor and the one most urgently in need of further exposure. Yet it is the one thing PROTECTION TO MINORITY stated absolutely correctly: "It GROUPS IN ORDER TO PROthat Reid either fails to see or deliberately ducks. In either case it leaves his "inside ARDS OF ALL WORKERS." story" far short of the mark set by Stef-This calls for the "model UAW anti-discrimination clause in all contracts:" enactment of national and state FEPC legislation; elimination of "all differentials in wages of men and two-party set up." women;" cut down probation all intimidation and discriminatory actions against foreignborn workers." This last proposal again indicates the genuinely enlightened stand of the Ford Local, because foreign-born workers are the most helpless and vulnerable victims of the witch

But it is not enough to have a good program of demands. "We ference does not result merely in good discussions and good resolution on paper. Our responsibility is to make sure that these are translated into action," says

ment. As the first point of its

the CIO, AFL, UMWA, RAIL-ROAD BROTHERHOOD OTHER INDEPENDENT UNIONS to convene a National Conference of ALL labor on the single problem of full peace-time employment.

The Ford Local 600 officers and General Council, which unani-General Council, which unanimously adopted this program, call for the widest discussion of it among the Local 600 members and urge them to make their views known through discussions in building meetings, letters to Ford Facts, resolutions, etc.

One point that needs more elaboration in the program is the question of political action, which is covered in the single sentence, "Prepare now to throw labor's full strength to elect a pro-labor Congress in 1954." This is not specific or clear. Would a return of a Democratic majority mean a pro-labor Congress any more than the present Republican

The program would be greatly strengthened, in our opinion, if it which shall have the projects are pending, enact laws gram and setting in motion declaring a moratorium for un-| mechanics for the establishment of a Farmer-Labor Party in the Point Five demands: "GIVE United States." That resolution has become obvious that neither TECT THE LIVING STAND- of the two major political parties . . . can solve the immediate problems of the American people. . . The basic problems of American society, the problems

> And the resolution answered the has demonstrated that time is go.' running out."

of war and depression have not

been settled within the present

We commend the Local 600 officers and members for their bold and enlightened stand and their initiative and leadership in bringing their program before the They are held back by the trade-American labor movement. We union leadership which "prevents you're afraid." must guarantee that the UAW- urge again that our readers CIO National Unemployment Con- throughout the labor movement moving on to socialism." secure copies of the Nov. 21 Ford Facts and give it widest circula-

in the fight to spread this prothe Local 600 programmatic state-I gram and make it a reality.

# CIO Delegates Renew Demand for T-H Repeal

Two resolutions received special emphasis at the CIO | the whole sorry record of Truman convention in Cleveland Nov. 16-20. One advanced the and the Democrats on T-H. It guaranteed annual wage as the CIO's major economic objective and its main answer

to unemployment. The other renewed the CIO's call for outright tent of money available in a sperepeal of the Taft-Hartley Act. It was known in advance that the guaranteed annual wage program would occupy a central place in the convention's deliberations. It remained to be seen, however, whether CIO President Walter Reuther, who is also head of the auto workers union, and Steelworkers President David J. Mconald would offer an effective program of action to achieve the guaranteed annual wage and clear specifications as to the type of plan sought.

On both counts, CIO members adopted far short of what advanced ballyhoo might have led them to anticipate. There is no program of action spelled out for a concentrated united CIO drive to win the guaranteed annual

INDICATED PLAN

The kind of plan Reuther and emphasis on the need for "flexispecific industries. A plan prewage policy conference, for inof the workers from sharing in T-H. the plan's benefits; would hold

employers liable only to the excial fund; and contains several other gimmicks that would lessen or destroy the plan's value to most workers.

On the other hand, the economic program adopted by the convention had one very serious omission. It failed to put forward the demand for a shorter week with no loss of take-home pay as the most immediately effective measure to maintain employment and incomes despite production cut backs. Even the conservative AFL has gone on record for a 35-hour week "with no loss in take-home are apt to find the resolution pay," while the California CIO and Illinois Federation of Labor conventions have called for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay.

The resolution on the Taft Hartley Law appeared to be designed mainly as a reproach and embarrassment to Eisenhower rather than as a serious proposal to win the repeal of the obnoxious union-busting law. It calls cDonald have in mind is sug- for repeal of the law, but in the gested mainly by the resolution's same breath it complains that Eisenhower has failed in his bility" in adapting the plans to promise to offer amendments to the act. The general impression still be ready to settle for somestance, would exclude a large part thing less than elimination of

What the resolution conceals is pendent party.

would appear, from the resolution, that the question of T-H repeal has come up only since Eisenhower took office. But Truman also made promises on T-H that he never fulfilled and never even tried to fulfill. He promised repeal in the 1948 election campaign. He changed this shortly after his election to proposal for some weak amendments and after a couple of gestures in this direction quietly buried the whole matter. Eisenhower is merely following Truman's example on Taft-Hartley.

NUMBER 48

Yet the effect of the whole discussion on T-H was to make it seem that if only labor sees to it that a Democratic majority is elected to Congress in '54 all the problems of the American workers, including T-H, will be solved. That's what the union leaders claimed before Nov. '48 and Nov.

The atmosphere of inertia, of marking time, of substituting words for action, which was so obvious at this convention, was a reflection especially of the political dead-end to which the CIO, and the unions generally, have come. This atmosphere could have een changed instantaneously into the invigorating one of a great sented to the recent Steelworkers' is left that the CIO leaders would fighting crusade, as in the CIO's early days, by one big new step forward: a CIO proposal to Amer-

## Twin City Forum **AFL-CIO Unity**

By Winifred Nelson

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 22 -The first of a series of Twin City afternoon at Socialist Workers Party headquarters here, with V R. Dunne, state SWP organizer, speaking on "AFL-CIO Unity?"

"We are for the unification of the AFL and CIO unreservedly, Comrade Dunne declared. "We want the trade union movement to go forward to a labor party! Reviewing the CIO convention

just concluded in Cleveland, the speaker criticized the actions of included the proposal adopted by Walter Reuther, national CLO acting in concert as agents of the employ-ers against organized labor. The recent in-hospitals, roads, "new TVA's," January for "a Congress of "attempting to sell the CIO on "attempting to sell the CIO on

knows that there can't be a guartalism. He's intimating that battling discrimination. capitalism can reform itself." With a lifetime of service to

the working class as a trade union organizer and revolutionary periods of new workers to 30 time-worn argument used to avoid leader, Comrade Dunne was well David J. McDonald, president days; give special attention to taking the road to genuine labor qualified to speak on the subject. of the CIO Steelworkers, and the needs of veterans and "fight political action, stating: "Con- He traced the progressive develop- Benjamin F. Fairless, chairman trary to those who have repeated ment of capitalism from feudalthrough the years that 'now is ism, adding that now "capitalism Even after the opening tour not the time,' the last election has served its purpose and must

ers, he said, are for this change refused to make statements. They to a "system where production denied the contention of a is for the use of man and not for reporter that, to the public, "the the profit of a few overlords.' the masses from mobilizing and

A social hour and supper followed the speech and discussion. A number of new friends of the

Workers National Anti-Discrimithree days nearly 500 local lead-Sunday Forums was held this ers discussed ways and means to abolish discrimination and segregation on the job and in the union. During the past year the union has scored more than 100 victories against Jim Crow in the plants, including the elimination of segregated eating and locker facilities in several southern

> The conference agreed to fight for the abolishment of segregated locker rooms, cafeterias, drinking fountains and other facilities and

was pointed out that members may be deprived of the Reuther, he pointed out, had full benefits of the union's newlyput forward the plan to fight in won company-paid hospitalization the future for a guaranteed plan because of the refusal of annual wage, as opposed to most hospitals to admit Negro demanding immediate wage raises. patients. The conference deter-"Actually Reuther is misleading mined to push vigorously to break and miseducating the workers of down these racial barriers. It America," he said, "because he called for close cooperation with the NAACP, Urban League and anteed annual wage under capi- CIO councils and local unions in

Newspaper reporters were excluded from the first of the joint tours of U.S. Steel plants by of the big steel company's board. through the huge National Tube Co. plant in Lorain, O., on Nov. The vast majority of the work- 17, McDonald and Fairless also refusal to take a newsman along will have an implication that

The tour can have no other purpose than to impress on the steel workers how palsy-walsy McDonald is with the U.S. Steel mogul and to give the impression We hope that all labor will join party attended and stayed for that everything is going to be further discussion on the subject peace and hurmony between the steel exploiters and exploited. Hasn't Fairless condescended to appear side by side with a union official and to get within nodding distance of some of the steel workers off whom he makes a fat living? Could the ban on reporters be intended in case some little unforeseen incident in the course of the tour should dispel the class-collaboration atmosphere it is intended to create?

> Senator John M. Butler, the labor-hating author of a bill that

E. 115th St. which also damaged a house next door; another twohouse damage when the home of Ernest Render in the Wade Park department can and must stop bombings of the Towne Casino mixed patronage.

Clevelanders, who have seen the local labor movement take a tical issues, are waiting to see i "Let the vandals be given the broken and a big tree trunk apply its resolutions supporting civil rights and non-discrimina in the same general area where tion in the Stewart case, which

A recent notable labor event | would deprive unions of their was the CIO United Packinghouse right to NLRE recognition whennation Conference in Chicago. For of "communism" against them, has answered the argument of union officials who try to ward off the witch-hunters by claiming the union leaders themselves "cleaning out are munists."

The Maryland Republican says e just wants to give the unions 'the tools to complete the job." He says the unions have made 'great strides" in ousting "reds" and "subversives," but insists they still "need the help of Con-

This is one more demonstration that labor can't fight the witch-hunters by doing a "better job" on "communists" than the latter simply say, "Good, but it could be better. You can't object to us helping you carry out the aim you say we hold in common." The Congressional witch-hunters won't be satisfied that the job is done until they nave the whole union movement and all its leaders smeared.

A "special economic report" to the officers of the AFL Teamsters forecasts: "The estimated employment cutback (4 million more, bringing the total to 5.5 or 6 million), and a wage dip due to competition for available jobs, would release the threat to labor that has lain dormant for six years in the Taft-Hartley Act just waiting for a recession to come along.

### NEW YORK Christmas Bazaar

Bargains in objects of art, clothes for children and adults, toys, perfumes, new and rare books, made-to-order belts and many other articles. Sat., Dec. 5 from noon on Militant Hall

116 University Place (near Union Square) Refreshments

### PHILADELPHIA Friday Night

presents a talk on Truman, Teachers and the Witch Hunt -- Who Is Next?

Friday, Dec. 4, at 8:30 P.M. Militant Labor Hall 1303 West Girard Avenue Questions, Discussion - Admission Free -

### CHICAGO Socialist Workers

Christmas Bazaar Something for everyone! Saturday, Dec. 5, 12 Noon SWP Hall 734 South Wabash Dancing, Entertainment, Refreshments

## Notes from the News

THE UNITED NATIONS has a gift shop which features articles made in the various men'r countries. Iranian delegate F. N. Kia protes. that the shop's "Iranian copper trays" weren't from his country but were probably made in the U.S. Another delegate said the matter should be looked into because, "We don't want the UN to be a faker." Too late to do anything about that now. It was fake from the beginning as far as peace or freedom for colonial peoples was concerned, let alone its "Iranian trays."

TRADE WITH CHINA is being considered by the State Department according to an Associated Press dispatch from Detroit. A Chrysler Corp. executive said that the State Department is sounding out industrialists on the economic advisability of such trade. C. B. Thomas, president of Chrysler's export division, said the export outlook "is on the downgrade," but, he added, "There is one outlook at the present time. If it opens up, it will be a big market. That is Communist China," A reporter asked Thomas, "Will you sell to Communist China?" Thomas replied, "We will sell automobiles to any point that the government will agree to our shipping. . . If you have been reading the press in the last few days, you'll notice the subject came up in Dulles' statement partial recognition of China.

A NERVE GAS, as deadly a killer as the atom bomb, is reported to be in production in the U.S. and Soviet Union. Colliers magazine of Nov. 13 said the gas is colorless, orderless and tasteless and is capable of killing within four minutes anyone exposed to it. One plane load of this gas could drift 50 miles killing everything in its path.

MILO J. RADULOVICH, a lieutenant in the Air Force, who was discharged as a security risk because of alleged "subversive" associations of his sister and father, was reinstated on Nov. 24. by Air Force Secretary Harold E. Talbott. Talbott reversed the decision of an administrative board of three colonels. Lt. Radulovitch had fought his discharge on the contention that he could not pick

THE "BOTTOM LAYER" of the nation's housing was described by Charles B. Shattuck, president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards at the organization's convention in Los Angeles on Nov. 10. Shattuck said, "Not less than 20% of the nation's total housing supply is in such a state of dilapidation that it needs to be rehabilitated to be restored to even minimum living standards." Why not just tear them down and start fresh?

STATE-DEPARTMENT "SOCIALISM" won a victory recently when Norman Thomas got a statement from President Eisenhower that he had "no idea" that Thomas-type "socialists" should be excluded from the government. Previously, security officials had ruled that these pro-war 'socialists' should not be allowed in policymaking levels of the State Department. Thomas scored another victory for house-broken "socialism" when he was feted at Cleveland "Assembly of Famous Ohio personalities." The Cleveland Press reported that "Norman Thomas was tickled pink" at the honor. "Imagine them inviting ME back as 'famous son of Ohio' and letting me ride in the parade!" exclaimed Thomas. Curtis Lee Smith, Ohio Chamber of Commerce president, laughed at him at a luncheon with these words: "There are men in this room who can remember when Norman Thomas was considered a radical."

UNITED FRUIT CO. took another jolt from the Guatemalan government when 200,000 acres of company-held land was expropriated. The neighborhood. Do you all underacreage is on the Atlantic coast line. The ex- stand what I mean?" propriation took place under the agrarian reform decree passed last August 13. Previously about 215,000 acres were expropriated on the Pacific Advancement of Colored People coast, leaving United Fruit with 63,000 acres. The U.S. State Department has been protesting of segregation be removed from bitterly that United Fruit was paid for the land his policy-making post, threatenat its own fraudulent tax evaluation. They say ing defeat of the bond issue for that at that price United Fruit was robbed. The Guatemalans say that United Fruit robbed their Burke agreed to accept his resigcountry by the dollar imperialist practice of nation. undervaluing its holdings when it comes to taxes, and then trying to raise its taxes when the handwriting of expropriation appears on the wall.

FIVE IMPRISONED leaders of the Peoples Progressive Party of British Guiana, started a making it crystal clear that the hunger strike Nov. 19. The leaders of the party whole issue of segregation is a were jailed after the British landed troops last political football, not a question month and deposed the lawfully elected PPP government on charges of "subversion" against the tantly agreed to remove Hopkins British empire. The hunger strike is in protest from the payroll because of "the against their indefinite arrest, food and other con- attendant publicity given his ditions in the detention camp, martial law in retention." British Guiana and Britain's "barbarous use of heavy bombers against the people of Kenya."

## RACE ATTACKS STIR CLEVELANDERS

(Continued from page 1)

When the Cleveland chapter of the National Association for the demanded that this open advocate urban redevelopment if he wasn't,

Four days later, the daily papers exposed the fact that the double-talking mayor had retained Hopkins on the city payroll, merely switching his title. Then of principle for him, Burke reluc-

on the Stewart home, evidence of full view.

complicity of a police officer, exposures in the local Negro press of the organized activities of the that a person watches swimmers restrictive-covenant gang in the in a public pool, (referring to area and confirmation of their public anti-red smearing of a campaign in a recent issue of the Universe Bulletin, powerful organ crimination last summer) do of the Cleveland Catholic diocese, some work on this subversion. the issue has been placed flatly before the new mayor and his administration for action.

latest outrage.

putting police officers in the vandals." vicinity, in full view of everybody, thinking they can 'catch' somebody by this childish tech- referred to include a house on E. stand on a variety of other polinique," he said.

benefit of a thorough investiga- placed on a porch; another house tion like other suspected felons get. Let detectives work in the bricks and bottles were hurled has become the symbol of the Now, with the renewed attack area OUT of sight rather than in through the window; the bombing struggle against racist violence

"Let the 'subversive squad, which can trace back the times fight against swimming pool dis-"The Stewart case is no

'isolated' incident. It is no 'kid's trick' this time. It follows re-Charles P. Lucas, executive peated bombings of Negro homes, secretary of the Cleveland over a period of nearly a year, NAACP voiced the protest of the for which no person has ever entire Negro community over the served a day in jail. The police area was dynamited, and three "We are tired of the farce of this vandalism by jailing the on Euclid Ave. because of its

Other "vandalistic" attacks in Cleveland in the past year 82nd St. where windows were of the home of Rev. S. E. Ware on in this city.