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Social Democrats Endorse Witch-Hunt in Colleges

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GREEK GOVT. KILLS JEHOVAH WITNESS

UAW Officials' Collusion With Employers Revealed

Benedict Nathanson, director of the CIO United Auto Workers Aircraft Division, urged a closed meeting of industrial relations and personnel directors of

some of the largest plants in the Los Angeles area to bar "communists" from jobs and invited the corporations to "check with" union officials "as to the political beliefs of employment applicants," according to documentary proof in the possession of The Militant.

Nathanson's offer of collaboration to deny employment to all those the UAW officials and the employers consider politically "undesirable" is reported in the minutes of a meeting of the "Industrial Relations Section of Town Hall," held on Sept. 22, 1948, at the Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles. Nathanson was guest speaker on the subject, "Communism and the Labor Movement."

"CONFIDENTIAL"

The official copy of these minutes in our possession contains the following warning at the top of the first page: "Confidential—For use of members only and not for publication." In addition to Nathanson's speech and his "confidential" replies to questions, the minutes include the names of all those in attendance. Typical of those present were Clayton C. Cole and E. D. Starkweather, respectively of the labor relations and industrial relations departments of North American Aircraft. Although this group uses the label of "Town Hall," it is a private body which meets in closed session. Only invited guests may attend.

Nathanson's advocacy of political discrimination in employment and his offer of aid to the corporations to carry out this policy was stated specifically in his answers to questions from corporation spokesmen at the

conclusion of his main talk. The minutes read:

"Question: Do you advocate that employers not hire known communists in view of the fact that the communist party has never been outlawed?"

"Answer: Yes, they should not hire them. They should realize that there is no obligation on the part of any employer to hire any particular man. Hiring them is not in the interest of national security. Contracts containing 'no discrimination' hiring clauses are intended to protect color, religious and sex minority groups."

"Question: Would you extend this bar to employment to include fellow travellers?"

"Answer: This is a hard question to answer. The employer can do worse than check with local unions as to the political beliefs of employment applicants. Local unions are in a better position to know if applicants are communists, fellow travellers or neither."

ALL MILITANTS MEANT

Although Nathanson claimed that his advocacy of job discrimination applied only to "communists" and "fellow travellers," the employers use these terms to cover the entire area of union militants.

Nathanson indicated, moreover, in answer to another question, that the UAW top leaders have in mind others than members or sympathizers of the Communist (Stalinist) Party. He described how the "forces behind Walter Reuther... have worked hard" to fight "communists... all the way down to the local level" and

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Anna L. Strong Arrested As 'Spy' In Soviet Union

Anna Louise Strong, who was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize by the Feb. 11 Daily Worker, was arrested in Moscow on Feb. 14 and ordered deported to America on charges of "espionage and subversive activity." The issue of the American Communist Party's paper that cited Miss Strong for top honors in American journalism also contained the last installment of her latest pro-Stalinist book, Tomorrow's China. A review of this book signed by Ben Levine began:

"Anna Louise Strong would long ago have received the Pulitzer Prize for foreign news reporting, if the Pulitzer Prize committee were not guided by political considerations. For Miss Strong, wherever she has traveled, in Europe or in Asia, has an amazing faculty for giving American readers the clearest answers to the questions uppermost in their minds."

WITHOUT COMMENT

The Feb. 16 Daily Worker published without comment the facts of a brief United Press dispatch about the arrest of Miss Strong, for more than two decades a well-known apologist for Stalinism and regular visitor to the Soviet Union. The dispatch quoted a Tass news agency report that Moscow newspapers had announced the arrest of "the notorious intelligence agent, Anna Louise Strong, who, through negligence of certain foreign relations officials, made her way into the U.S.S.R."

"Watch the Birdie!"



Answer to Ben Davis' Slander Against SWP

By Farrell Dobbs

FROM THE FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, Feb. 16—Smother the truth under a blanket of lies and drive off seekers of the truth with stink bombs of slander—that is the Stalinist method.

Benjamin J. Davis, one of the 11 Stalinists now on trial, uses the lie-and-slander technique in the Feb. 13 Worker to confuse and discredit the Negro people. Davis spits venom at Henry Lee Moon, public relations director of the NAACP, for his remarks about the trial of the Stalinists in the Feb. 5 N. Y. Age.

Moon branded the Smith Act "violation of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of expression" and upheld the Stalinists' contention that their civil liberties are invaded by the thought-control prosecution. "Civil liberties would be utterly without mean-

ing," he said, "were they extended only to those who agree with us."

Davis brushes these statements aside as "lip-service," calling Moon's article "little more than an eulogy of the Trotskyists." Let us examine the "eulogy."

A TRUTHFUL REPORT

"Ironically," Moon said, "the Communists, who now seek public support on the grounds that all dissident elements are threatened by the Smith Act, lifted not a single finger to aid the Trotskyites whose leaders were tried and convicted under the same act [in 1941]." The Stalinists, he added, "also sought to prevent believers in civil liberties from coming to the defense of the accused anti-Stalin Communists."

Moon's alleged "eulogy" of the Trotskyists turns out to be merely a truthful report that the Stalinists sabotaged the fight to

defend civil rights in the first prosecution under the Smith Act. By Stalinist standards, however, the truth is forbidden, especially where Trotskyists are concerned. Davis therefore tries to smother the truth.

He repeats the big lie of the discredited Moscow Trials that "Trotskyism is not a political trend or political party," that it is "gangsterism, disruption, wrecking, assassination and murder." That lie was invented by Stalin as a gruesome alibi for the brutal assassination of Leon Trotsky and the atrocious lynching of the rest of Lenin's Central Committee.

Davis piles on a second big lie that the Trotskyists "were caught betraying the country to Hitler." That crude lie was concocted by the Stalinists as a pretext for their sabotage of the campaign in defense of the Trotskyists who were imprisoned solely because of their Marxist ideas.

Moon, who is not a Trotskyist, and can best be described as a New Deal Democrat, stated the civil libertarian view that freedom of ideas should extend to all, including fascists and the Ku Klux Klan. Here Davis finds raw material from which to fabricate further monstrous lies.

He maliciously insinuates that Moon defended the "civil rights" of the hated Klan to terrorize and murder Negro people. And he lumps together "Trotskyist wreckers," fascists and the Klan. His sinister aim is to create the false impression that Moon favors freedom of ideas for the Trotskyists only because he holds that fascists and the Klan should have freedom of ideas.

Davis cuts two more lies from (Continued on page 2)

American Press, Politicians And Clergy Silent on Murder

The Greek monarchist government, armed, financed and controlled by Washington, on Feb. 11 executed John Tsoukalis, a devout member of the "Martyrs of Jehovah," a Christian sect known in this country as "Jehovah's Witnesses." Tsoukalis' "crime" was refusing military service in accordance with his religious beliefs. He was tried and sentenced by a military court.

These are all the facts we have been permitted to know about the bestial murder of this religious dissenter by the U.S.-dominated Greek puppet regime. No thundering editorials have appeared in the American capitalist press about this atrocity against freedom of religion in Greece. Most newspapers didn't even report it.

The N. Y. Times, whose motto is "All the News that's Fit to Print," thought the military trial and execution of a humble follower of the Jehovah's Witnesses "fit" for a one-inch story at the very bottom of the last column on Page 4 (Feb. 12). The Times has filled page after page with reports and comment on the trial and imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty in Hungary, with furious editorial outcries about "freedom of religion." The Feb. 11 N. Y. World-Telegram, anti-labor Scripps-Howard sheet, gave the Tsoukalis murder just four lines buried inside another article on Page 2. This paper has been unrestrained in frenzy and hysteria about the Mindszenty case and "freedom of religion" — in Hungary.

They Haven't Found Time

Roman Catholic Cardinal Spellman has not found time, between his exhortations for a veritable lynch campaign against "communism" in the name of "freedom of religion," to mumble a blessed word of "moral indignation" about the fate of John Tsoukalis, a disciple of Christ who took the Sermon on the Mount seriously. Pope Pius XII has not mentioned humble John Tsoukalis while denouncing the Hungarian government for daring to try a "Prince of the Church" in a civil court. With few exceptions, the clergy of all the other rich and powerful churches who joined in the chorus about the Mindszenty case have kept indecent silence about John Tsoukalis.

Truman and Acheson have not called Tsoukalis's court martial a "kangaroo trial," nor threatened diplomatic steps against the Greek government, as they did against the Hungarian regime. No capitalist politician has risen in Congress to enter his protest in the Congressional Record. The United Nations is not implementing its "Universal Declaration of Human Rights," which says that "every one has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion... freedom either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."

Demolishes Hypocritical Claims

"Freedom of religion," it is clear, does not extend to those who do not support the "cold war" against the Soviet Union. Even though John Tsoukalis was not a Stalinist, it was enough that he refused to bear arms against them or anyone else as a matter of religious principle.

It is no secret that the Stalinists are capable of framing up their political opponents, including Cardinals. But the case of John Tsoukalis at one blow demolishes the hypocritical claim of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, the Truman administration and the capitalist press that they are championing "religious freedom" in their propaganda campaign around the Mindszenty case. They are merely using the issue of "freedom of religion" and the Mindszenty affair as one more means to prepare public opinion for a Third World War and to justify and incite the witch-hunt in this country against any who dare to oppose the foreign and domestic policies of U. S. imperialism.

NOTED LEGAL EXPERTS JOIN KUTCHER DEFENSE

Arthur Garfield Hays and Thomas I. Emerson, two of the country's foremost legal authorities in the civil liberties field, have just joined the National Committee of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee which is defending the legless veteran fired from his government job on account of his political opinions.

Protest on Purge By Willard Motley

CHICAGO — Willard Motley, author of the best-selling novel, Knock On Any Door, issued the following protest against the discharge of James Kutcher:

"James Kutcher's loyalty was not questioned when he was sent into battle. Why is it questioned now that he has come home minus his legs? Surely our gratitude is a strange thing indeed!

"The most subversive thinking in this country today is the perverted idea that mass purges (tragically misnamed 'loyalty program') without benefit of judicial procedures are in the spirit of the democratic processes.

"A loyalty program is called for, yes. A loyalty program rooting out those who advocate this subversion of the Bill of Rights, not a 'loyalty program' which persecutes a loyal, legless veteran who has never denied his ideas nor dreamed that he had to deny them.

"When the Bill of Rights is forced underground, this is subversive indeed, and it would seem that subversion is rife among us—not in the James Kutcher, but in the men who are trying to force upon us this vile program—or it pogrom?"

Report Dutch Troop Revolt in Indonesia

According to a Feb. 14 Associated Press dispatch from Singapore, a revolt of Dutch troops was put down in blood recently. Some 213 Dutch soldiers stationed at Fort De Koek (Bukittinggi), Sumatra, were executed "for revolting against their command."

Whether the y rebelled against fighting in a colonial war of conquest was not indicated. The source of the report was the Singapore office of the Republic of Indonesia. The office said that the slain men's bodies were buried in a fish pond.

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PHILA. TRANSIT WORKERS SHOW POWER IN STRIKE

By J. Minuit

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 16 — Now in its sixth day, with no indication of a settlement, the strike by Local 234 of the CIO Transport Workers against the Philadelphia Transporta-

tion Co., finds the workers' ranks solid. Not a street car, bus, subway or elevated train moves as the strikers continue the fight for basic working conditions won by most of organized labor years ago. The taxi drivers have also been on strike for two days.

The solidarity expressed by all other unions toward the 11,000 TWU members is surprising and disheartening to the anti-labor PTC management who had hoped that fear of another fare increase (the third asked in two years) and the inconvenience suffered by other workers would induce hostility toward the strikers.

A sham struggle against a fare increase has been the city administration's pretext for trying to pressure the workers to accept a 3-cent increase instead of the 20 cents they demand. One member of the City Council sought to raise the scare that granting the union demands would require a 33c fare! (The fare is now 10c-13c.) Other councilmen called for the declaration of a "state of emergency" so the Mayor could request troops and the National Guard.

The capitalist press here is filled with anti-union propaganda. Among other things it has printed

the charge that 85% of the PTC workers opposed the strike. The perfect refutation of this charge was provided when the strike vote meeting was broadcast over the local radio. The vote was practically unanimous. The tremendous ovation of the workers shook the foundations of every home with a radio receiver.

It may come as a shock to some people that American workers today should be forced to strike for such elementary demands as the 40-hour week, overtime pay for overtime worked, extra compensation for week-end work, but not to mention decent wages. But it's true.

TRUTH ABOUT WAGES

The company's claim about high wages clashes violently with the facts. From pickets at the Ridge Depot, I got the following information: Maintenance men get an average of \$42 a week; car cleaners earn only \$1.18 an hour, and since they seldom have a full week's work, average about \$30 take-home pay; a fireman and watchman I spoke to averages \$38 take-home; the roadway

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TOWN HALL
Biltmore Hotel Los Angeles 13
MICHIGAN 1245

MINUTES OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SECTION MEETING SEPTEMBER 22, 1948

A meeting of the Industrial Relations Section of Town Hall was held at 12:00 o'clock noon on Wednesday, September 22, 1948 in Conference Room 5 of the Biltmore Hotel, Los Angeles. Those present were:

Atkinson, T. A.	Janofsky, Leonard S.	Rissman, Robert R. *
Blonsky, George B.	Joiner, W. D., Jr.	Ruby, John P. *
Cole, Clayton C. *	Komaroff, Michael I.	Ruby, T. E.
Elliot, Walter E.	Leslie, G. R.	Schenk, Casper
Flagg, J. C.	Mackey, M. P., Jr.	Shellenberger, G. H.
Glatt, Joe	Manson, Edward J. *	Starkweather, E. D. *
Grant, Theodore	Murray, Orval F.	Steven, John
Hailey, Arthur *	Neale, John H. *	Swartz, Herbert
Harbach, Edwin	Okrand, Fred	Webster, Floyd E.
Harkness, Ralph N.	Pace, Ernest M.	Wolf, Louis N.
	Powell, R. B.	

* Guest

J. Stuart Neary - Chairman
Sharp Whitmore - Secretary

SPEAKER: Benedict Nathanson, Director Aircraft Division,
United Auto Workers, C.I.O.

SUBJECT: Communism and the Labor Movement.

The campaign against communism is an old and continuing fight. The campaign was an active one in labor unions before the battle against communists became a national sport.

It takes hard work to rid local unions of communists. You can't beat them except activating the members - sometimes even stealing some of their own tactics and using them against them. You must be as active and interested as they are. You must out-think

QUESTION: Do you advocate that employers not hire known communists in view of the fact that the communist party has never been outlawed?
ANSWER: Yes, they should not hire them. They should realize that there is no obligation on the part of any employer to hire any particular man. Hiring them is not in the interests of national security. Contracts containing "no discrimination" hiring clauses are intended to protect color, religious and sex minority groups.

QUESTION: Would you extend this bar to employment to include fellow travellers?
ANSWER: This is a hard question to answer. The employer can do worse than to check with local unions as to the political beliefs of employment applicants. Local unions are in a better position to know if applicants are communists, fellow travellers or neither. Before advising that this employment bar be

Photostat of portions of minutes of "Industrial Relations Section of Town Hall" meeting where Benedict Nathanson, UAW Aircraft Division Director, urged West Coast employers to bar "communists" from jobs.

Social Democrats Endorse Witch-Hunt in Colleges

By George Breitman

The *New Leader*, rallying center for Social Democrats, Trumanite liberals and assorted Stalinophobes, has now given its formal blessing to the spreading invasion of the witch-hunt into the field of education. In addition, as proof that there is no service for capitalist reaction which the *New Leader* is unwilling to perform, it has offered to the witch-hunters—free of charge—a “non-political” formula which they can use as a “democratic” mask for their academic purges.

Most attacks on democratic rights begin with expressions of devotion to democracy. And the *New Leader* editorial of Feb. 5 is no exception: “Freedom of teaching is an ancient and respected part of the American system. . . . It is well to have among the instructors teachers belonging to all parties and to all opinion groups from the most conservative to the most radical. . . . Americans have always believed in the freedom which provides this sort of intellectual variety.”

BUT— “But in this system of academic freedom, the Communists present a special problem. Can we increase and preserve our freedom of teaching by hiring and retaining as instructors men who are not free? Members of the Communist Party or, often enough, men under the influence of Communism thought have made intellectual commitments. They, themselves, are not free to approach problems openly and critically. What they are bound to teach is sterile and prescribed. Any university or educational system is justified in rejecting such instructors on purely educational grounds. . . .”

And that's the formula. Purge the teachers not on the basis of certain political or theoretical differences—but on the ground that those who have such differences are automatically unable to teach the “objective truth” and are not qualified as teachers on “purely educational grounds.” Don't fire Professor Jones because he tends to accept Marxist ideas—that's too crude. Fire him on the ground that he isn't a good teacher—that sounds more “democratic” and less “discriminatory.”

The formula is not original, of course. It is borrowed, as virtually all Social Democratic ideas are, from one school of reaction or another. Stalin uses it in his purges too; educators ousted from schools in the Soviet Union are not only accused of deviating from the Stalinist political line but also of failing in their duty as teachers. And when James Kutcher was fired in Newark, he was not accused of believing in socialism but of “disloyalty” which disqualified him to work as a file clerk for the VA.

“DANGEROUS THOUGHTS”

What does the *New Leader* mean by “intellectual commitments?” It obviously cannot mean mere beliefs. All teachers, to one degree or another, more or less consciously or firmly, must have some beliefs in theories or systems of ideas. If they don't, they are hardly fitted to teach anything. Take Professor James Burnham, for example. A rabid propagandist for American imperialism,

he is also the country's foremost publicist for the victory of deGaulism in France. Should he be fired from the teaching staff of New York University because of these intellectual commitments? Obviously not, according to the *New Leader*, which has just completed the publication of three articles by Burnham extolling deGaulist authoritarianism. In short, it is not mere belief or advocacy of belief, no matter how reactionary, which disqualifies a man as a teacher in the eyes of the *New Leader*.

“Intellectual commitments,” then, is Social Democratic jargon for “dangerous thoughts”—dangerous, that is, to capitalism. Teachers with pro-capitalist commitments are acceptable to the Social Democrats; advocates of “free enterprise” and agitators for war against the Soviet Union are not “sterile and prescribed” and can be depended on to give their students the objective truth.

But those teachers who question or reject the premises of capitalism—either from the viewpoint of revolutionary Marxism or of Stalinism, which the Social Democrats join the Stalinists in identifying as one and the same thing although they are opposites—such teachers are congenitally incapable of presenting the truth and must be driven from the campus. This is the gospel of democracy, 1949 model, as interpreted by the ideologists of the coming war of “democracy against totalitarianism.”

WHERE DO THEY STAND?

Almost simultaneous with the appearance of this editorial was the passage by the Oklahoma House of Representatives of a bill requiring the signing of an “anti-communist” oath by both faculty and students at the

Zipper Plant Zipped Shut



Scene at soup kitchen of strikers at the zipper manufacturing Conmar plant in Newark, N. J., which was shut down for two weeks until the company met the demands of the strikers, members of the CIO United Electrical Workers. The strike was supported by AFL machinists also employed in the plant.

University of Oklahoma. (These legislators evidently believe that if teachers with “intellectual commitments” have no place in the schools, then neither have students with such commitments.) The bill, now under consideration by the State Senate, would subject violators to a \$500 fine and 10 days in jail.

It has aroused a veritable storm of opposition from the faculty and student body as well as non-academic organizations—none of whom parade as “theoreticians of democratic socialism” like the *New Leader* crowd. The following questions therefore present themselves:

On what logical ground can the

New Leader do anything but support such a measure in principle? If it is in the interests of the Social Democratic concept of academic freedom to purge the school of those with dangerous thoughts, why should they balk at implementing their concepts along the lines followed by the Oklahoma legislators? Will its editors in their next issue have the courage to stand by their own intellectual commitments and applaud the Oklahoma action and demand its extension throughout the country's schools? (There is nothing fantastic about such a possibility when you recall that the Social Democrats favor the retention of the anti-communist

affidavit introduced in the Taft-Hartley Law.)

AN UNEASY PLEA

Throw them out, but give more freedom to those of us who support you in this move—that is the note on which the *New Leader* editorial ends: “As long as teachers are democrats, as long as they are not disloyal, they should be encouraged to follow the truth and to encourage freedom of thought and discussion among their students. The effort to root out Communists—who are against freedom—must logically be accompanied by a conscious effort to increase the boundaries of freedom.”

There is good reason for this uneasy note in the Social Democrats' plea to the ruling class. They know well enough that witch-hunters don't always stop to draw fine distinctions about treating “democratic socialists” or even liberals differently from Marxists or Stalinists (see, for example, the dismissal from Olivet College of Professor Tucker P. Smith, a member of the Socialist Party which is blood-brother to the Social Democratic Federation.) They know from the way Hitler treated the German Social Democrats that reactionaries are not always properly grateful for anti-communist formulas and tend to lump together and destroy every organization associated with the labor movement.

The Social Democrats have good reason for trepidation, but their pleas for special privilege will not suffice to stop the march of reaction. You cannot put out a fire by feeding it fuel. That is just what the Social Democrats are doing, and eventually they are going to get burned too.

It will be interesting to see what reaction to this editorial, if any, will come from John Dewey, a contributing editor of this paper. Or from such recent recruits to its list of contributors as the novelist, James T. Farrell.

UAW Officials' Collusion With Bosses Revealed

(Continued from Page 1)

how “many locals have expelled these undesirables from office” under the UAW constitutional provision barring “communists, Nazis, Fascists, etc.” from union posts.

He cited as an example the attempted expulsion from office of six officers in General Motors Local 216, Southgate, Calif. The majority of these officers were prominent union militants and well-known anti-Stalinists who, at the same time, opposed Reuther's policies. Moreover, they were not charged with being “communists, Nazis, Fascists, etc.,” but with refusing to sign Taft-Hartley affidavits. Nathanson added regretfully that the expulsions were “not achieved in this instance” because the membership would not ratify them.

In his main speech, Nathanson incited the corporation representatives to intensify the witch-hunt and job discrimination by his scare-talk about “the extent to which communists are migrating to California. . . . something that is not realized by most people.” He added: “During the speaker's work at a San Diego office of his union he was made aware of the extent of this migration. Every day applicants for employment would come in asking about employment opportunities in aircraft. Most of these applicants were from the East and many of them could be identified by their use of Communist jargon.”

Nathanson revealed that he and his associates have adopted, in part, the methods of the Stalinists themselves in suppressing the rank and file and victimizing genuine militants who oppose the leadership's policies. It was the Stalinists especially who acted as finger-men for the corporations against union militants during the war. Now, Nathanson boasted to the assembled corporation representatives, he and his colleagues have found that the way to “beat the communists” is by “sometimes even stealing their own tactics.”

Phila. Transit Workers Show Power in Strike

(Continued from page 1)

gangs, mostly Negroes, for labor which is strenuous and often highly skilled, earn the magnificent sum of 98c to \$1.10 an hour for a 40-hour week and must work weekends at straight time pay.

Among the most urgent grievances of the operating employees, motormen and drivers and women cashiers is the existence of “swing” runs and shifts. A “swing run” is a day's work divided into two parts. They either work several hours in the morning, and the balance in the afternoon, with an interval of anywhere up to six hours’ “swing”; or they work the biggest portion in the morning and one or two trips during the evening rush hours. Despite constant protest by the union and proof that these runs could be shortened, the PTC Schedule Department refuses to improve these conditions. For these hours a man receives an average of eight hours pay.

Here is one example: A man reports at 7:29 AM, works to 8:43 AM. He goes off and has to be available again for work at 1:06 PM to work until 7:10 PM. He must leave home at 6:30 AM and can't possibly get home from work until 8 at night. All for eight hours' pay. Although he may be “off” those hours in between, his time is not his own, since he must be available for work at 1:06 PM. He can't do as he pleases. These operating employees all work a six-day week.

I hitch-hiked across the city just in time to catch a demonstration at the Callowhill Depot. The strikers' children, most of them under ten, were on the line with signs reading “We Would Like to See Our Daddy More, PTC Must Adjust His Hours” and “PTC Unfair to My Daddy.”

The Callowhill Depot think only “poor management” would make a fare hike necessary if they won their demands. They pointed out that in Pittsburgh, where the transit workers get an average of \$1.50 an hour as compared to the \$1.35 average of PTC motormen here, the Pittsburgh company manages to make a lush profit on a 13c fare.

It is not the official position of the union, but the consensus of opinion among the strikers at the car barns, garages and depots I visited was that the PTC could grant them the increase they are asking from the extra profit they made from the last fare increase.

World Events

By Joseph Hansen

Scandinavia Looks Down Gun Barrel Of U. S. Imperialism

Scandinavia is looking down the gun barrel of American imperialism. The Danish, Swedish and Norwegian governments have been told to sign up for protection under the North Atlantic Pact or suffer the consequences.

Why is the State Department so set upon forcing these traditionally neutral countries, particularly Norway, to line up now in the projected war against the Soviet Union? Why not let them try to keep out of the slaughter as in past wars?

The answer is that the war of aggression plotted by Wall Street is the most meticulously-planned the world has yet seen. Not one of the small countries in the vast military coalition is to be permitted to drag its feet.

The “good” little countries who agree promptly to take protection can count on Marshall Plan carrots and Atlantic Pact armaments. Those who offer even token resistance will be given a taste of Wall Street's economic and financial persuaders.

STRATEGIC AREA

Scandinavia occupies a strategic place on the military maps of inter-continental warfare. Flanking the narrow Skagerrak and Kattegat straits, Scandinavia controls passage to the Baltic just as Greece and Turkey control passage to the Black Sea. Control over these bottlenecks signifies power to deny Soviet shipping access to the Atlantic. And it must not be forgotten that these are likewise the gateways to key invasion routes. In addition, Norway dominates the lanes to Murmansk.

This is not all. If you place a compass on a spherical map, centering one leg on Oslo, the capital of Norway, and trace a circle with a 2,000-mile radius on the earth's surface, that circle will cover virtually all the main industrial areas of the Soviet Union, most of the main cities and the heaviest population areas. A 2,000-mile flight is well within the range of present-day heavy bombers carrying atomic missiles.

Norway is thus of vital importance in the war plans that contemplate saturating Soviet transportation lines and industrial complexes with atom bombs.

NORTHERN BEACHHEAD

Norway's evident hesitation at signing up with the imperialist gangsters for protection has forced the State Department to avow that Norway will not be compelled to grant bases to the United States under the North Atlantic Pact. This assurance is simply a diplomatic maneuver. The capitalist press has revealed that while bases will not be granted openly, still adherence to the North Atlantic Pact will mean construction of air fields and harbor facilities in Norway designed to meet Washington specifications.

Consequently, U. S. warships and U. S. atom bombers would find the Scandinavian beachhead already fitted out on the day the cold war changed to a shooting war.

KREMLIN ALARM

Moscow's alarm at these open preparations for attack is thus not without justification. We can get an idea of the Kremlin's emotion by imagining the Truman Administration in a comparable situation: Suppose the Soviet Union stockpiling atom bombs, the USA without the secret of tapping atomic energy and Moscow deliberately organizing a Gulf of Mexico Security Pact

that would grant bases in Cuba, Mexico and both sides of the Panama Canal to Russian submarines and atomic bombers while Soviet generals openly discussed plans for pulverizing American industry with a lightning atom bomb war. What would Washington's reaction be?

One military writer, Col. R. Ernest Dupuy, frankly admits in the Feb. 12 *Christian Science Monitor* that “From the Moscow viewpoint, Norway's inclusion in the Atlantic Pact immediately establishes a definite and intolerable danger spot, at the very doorstep of the Soviet Union itself.”

That is why the capitalist press is speculating on the possibility of Moscow moving forward to occupy Finland as a defensive military measure if Norway joins the North Atlantic Pact.

The Kremlin, however, would find such a drastic move highly distasteful, for it would provide fresh grist to Wall Street's war-mongering propaganda mill. The Stalinist bureaucracy is endeavoring to keep Scandinavia out of the North Atlantic Pact through diplomatic and economic pressure. The Norwegian shipping and fishing interests, for instance, plying a profitable trade with the Soviet Union, can be touched where it hurts most, in the pocketbook.

The answer of the Swedish government to the squeeze from Washington and Moscow is a proposal to form a regional Scandinavian Neutrality pact.

Whether Washington will grant the Scandinavian countries a breathing spell by easing its opposition to such a pact or press relentlessly for early adherence to the North Atlantic Pact remains to be seen. A tactical concession would seem in order. But up to now the Truman Administration has steadily stepped up the tempo of its war preparations, and as in the case of the Rio Pact, has displayed little patience with the grumblings, fears, hesitation, procrastination and maneuverings of the small countries it is lining up for the slaughter of another war.

Dissident European Stalinists Meet In Switzerland

The Socialist Leader, newspaper of the British Independent Labor Party, reports in its Jan. 29 issue that dissident Stalinists from Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Sweden and Switzerland recently held a conference in Switzerland to plan a campaign against the Moscow leadership.

The Leader does not report the exact differences between these Stalinists and the official Kremlin leadership and does not make clear their attitude toward the Tito opposition in Yugoslavia; but does declare that “the gathering is not to be confused with the Trotskyists.”

Another interesting report, indicating growing anti-Kremlin sentiments among Stalinist ranks appeared in the Feb. 6 German-language Cincinnati Free Press. “The postal administration of the Soviet Sector of Berlin,” says this paper, “decreed a postal prohibition against the Communist Party Opposition (KPO). The KPO came out with wall posters in the past few days, in which they accuse the SED functionaries (Stalinists) of the Soviet Zone and their bosses in the Soviet Union of betraying the working class. Moreover, the SED leadership was called upon to express themselves on the fate of two leading functionaries of the old Communist Party of Germany who disappeared without a trace in the Soviet Union.”

THE MILITANT ARMY

The New York SWP is taking its Militant and other literature work very seriously these days. Harry Gold, a hard working and politically experienced comrade, has been assigned to the post of city literature director. Already Comrade Gold has organized Militant sales at New York University, New School for Social Research, Brooklyn College and in the needle-trades area. In line with this expanded program New York has increased its bundle order by 100 copies.

While we are writing about New York we have to mention the excellent efforts of John Eager. John has sent in two new six months subscription obtained from workers in his shop in the past week.

Again we hear from Rena Breshi of Boston: “I am sending a money order for \$16 as part payment of our Militant bill. I hope to get this bill cleared up as soon as possible.” Boston must

be complimented. Through prompt payments on bundle orders and clearing up of old debts the branches can help relieve the financial burden produced by the recent fire.

James Connery, one of the hardest-working Militant salesmen we know of, writes from Kewanee, Illinois, enclosing a one year sub. “I had to work three weeks for this subscription before I got it. I will do all I can but I don't get out very much now that the ice is like glass on the sidewalks.” Comrade Connery is an elderly but vigorous man. He certainly is an inspiration and a guide to all socialists, young and old.

John Fredericks of Pittsburgh, sent in two renewal and one new subscriptions last week. Detroit sent in four renewals. Lynn, Massachusetts sent in one new and four renewal subs. Akron sent one six month renewal.

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THE ROLE OF DuBois
Davis is caught suppressing an important fact to create the misleading impression that the “giant,” DuBois, gave no support to the Trotskyist defense. He seeks thereby to bolster his slanderous attack on the “gnat.”

Akron ERNEST DRAKE
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Monday, February 21, 1949



TROTSKY

"The bourgeoisie of a number of civilized countries has already shown and is continuing to show how, in case of internal danger, it changes without much ado the parliamentary form of its rule for an authoritarian, dictatorial, Bonapartist or a fascist form. It will make the change that much faster and more decisively in time of war when both internal and external dangers will threaten its basic class interests with ten-fold force. Under these conditions the support by a workers' party of 'its' national imperialism for the sake of a fragile democratic shell means the renunciation of an independent policy and the chauvinistic demoralization of the workers, that is, the destruction of the only factor which can save humanity from disaster."

—Leon Trotsky, War and the Fourth International, 1934.



LENIN

Why They Can't Answer Taft

At the Senate Labor Committee hearings, the union spokesmen wriggle like worms on a hook when the Republicans ask them how they square their objections to legally-sanctioned use of injunctions with Truman's claim to unconstitutional "inherent powers" to enjoin strikes.

The union leaders reply evasively because they are still trying to keep up the pretense that the debate between the Trumanite Democrats and Taft Republicans is over the principle of government use of injunctions in labor disputes. Truman and Taft, however, are in 100% agreement on this score. Truman has said he "would have no objection" to "spelling out" an injunction clause. He just thinks it "unnecessary" inasmuch as he claims "inherent powers" to invoke court action against strikes.

So vulnerable are the union leaders on this point, that they are trying to avoid all mention of Truman's statement. For instance, the Feb. 14 CIO News, which devotes whole pages to the debate on pending labor legislation, manages to omit even a reference to Truman's momentous declaration of autocratic powers to intervene against unions and strikes.

The weakness of the union leaders on this, as on the whole question of labor laws, is that they agree with the underlying principle. Truman's labor program and Taft's rest on

the same foundation, namely, the right of the capitalist government to intervene in union affairs and to limit the union's freedom of action.

Because union leaders accept this principle, their arguments sound feeble when they object to what the Republicans call "putting teeth" into the labor law. How can they accept the basic principle of government intervention and oppose the power of the government to enforce intervention?

This is the issue on which the Republicans have pounded the union leaders. They have not answered it because to do so means to oppose the principle underlying Truman's program. They would have to declare to Taft: "We are against any interference with the unions or their freedom of action by the government. This is a capitalist government. It is nothing but the executive committee of the employing and propertied class, and to accept its intervention is to accept the intervention of the class it serves."

Union leaders who believed this would be capable of putting up a real fight on the crucial issue of labor legislation, as on all other crucial issues. But the incumbent union leaders believe in capitalism and in the capitalist government. That is why they are incapable of putting up a real fight. That is why they compromise, retreat and, in the end, capitulate.

Take Away Their War-Making Powers!

In both World War I and World War II, Congress plunged America into the slaughter without consulting the people. Today the capitalist ruling class is preparing to take America into a third world conflict, thus once again raising the life and death question, who shall have the power to decide on war or peace?

The Socialist Workers Party has long advocated that the war-making powers be taken away from Congress and placed in the hands of the people where they belong. The record shows that Congress, representing the interests of Big Business, cannot be trusted to keep America out of war. Only the great mass of people, those who do the fighting, the sacrificing and dying, have a vital interest in maintaining peace. Therefore, the Socialist Workers Party advocates that the final decision on war or peace be made through a referendum vote of the people.

The Truman Administration is pushing in the opposite direction. It wants to take the war-making powers away from Congress and lodge them—in the White House.

How to do this without amending the Constitution or appearing to violate it is now being argued in the capitalist press. On the surface, the issue is the wording of a crucial clause of the secretly-negotiated North Atlantic War Pact.

As first formulated, this clause would require the United States to take "military and other action forthwith" if it was decided that

any of the signatories to the war alliance was under "attack." However, the Senate could not approve such an alliance without violating the Constitution, for it clearly commits America in advance to enter the projected new war without action by Congress. The actual decision and time of entry would lie within the discretion of the White House.

It is reported that to get around the obvious violation of the Constitution, the secret gathering of war plotters changed the clause to read, "military or other action." Last week Secretary of State Acheson after consulting with leading Senators indicated that he favors dropping the word "military."

This is merely to facilitate speedy passage of the war-making alliance. As Wall Street's mouthpiece, the N. Y. Times cynically observed in an editorial Feb. 14: "No doubt, whatever the wording, it is the intent that counts, and the present intent of the North Atlantic Pact is self-evident."

That intent is to knit together a world-wide alliance for imperialist war and to commit the United States to that war in advance, by-passing Congress and leaving the fatal decision in the hands of one man—the occupant of the White House.

Against this ominous attempt to give Truman dictatorial war-making powers, the labor movement must respond by organizing to take these dangerous powers completely away from the political representatives of Big Business and restoring them to their rightful possessors, the people.

Silver Lining for Loan Sharks

Here is a grim bit of news from the world's largest city: A survey of New York's 130 licensed pawnbrokers reveals a sudden boom in business since Labor Day.

The parade to the pawn shops has increased cash loans 10 to 25 percent over last year, according to the N. Y. Times, and the trend is still up.

Most of the demand for extra dollars comes from workers unable to get by on wages that have not risen in proportion to the skyrocketing cost of living. How much of the demand is from unemployed workers was not reported.

Some of the loan sharks fear that the boom in their business portends a general business depression. "They say they know the signs from last time. Others hold that nothing is indicated but a return to prewar normalcy."

To this straw in the economic wind should be added a Feb. 13 survey of the Associated Press estimating the total number of jobless railroad workers at 100,000. Most of this unemployment, according to AP, "is related to declines in business."

Other indications of the same type could be cited; yet it is still too early to say that we are already in the first phase of a major economic collapse.

Nevertheless, workers concerned about the welfare of their families and the need for steady work at adequate wages can draw little comfort from news items like these. The most prudent course is to prepare for the eventuality that the capitalist system may be near another depression with its accompanying mass unemployment.

Union militants must start right now to prepare security measures. They must act in advance in order to safeguard their livelihood. For example, in the union contracts that are up for negotiation in the coming months, a clause might well be included providing for a sliding scale of hours. If slashes are made in company work schedules, let the total available hours of work be spread among the total number of employees without any lay-offs or any cuts in weekly take-home pay.

A measure like this will help insure every worker against loss of his job. The 30-hour week can likewise prove effective in cutting down mass unemployment.

On the other hand, nothing at all can be gained by deferring action in hope that the blind forces of capitalist economy will somehow not jell in a depression for a while yet. It is necessary, we repeat, to act in time—before the disaster of unemployment strikes.

Issues in Washington's Time and Ours

THE STRUGGLE TO WIN COLONIAL INDEPENDENCE

By Joseph Hansen

When the peoples of Indonesia and Indo-China struck out on the road to independence at the close of World War II, they expected sympathetic understanding and aid from the United States in their struggle. Weren't the thirteen American colonies the first in modern times to achieve their freedom from imperialist rule?

The Indonesians and Indo-Chinese reminded America of its heroic past. They recalled how the founding fathers had been led to battle by George Washington in defense of the inherent right of the people to overthrow an unjust and oppressive government.

But the pleas of the Indonesians and Indo-Chinese for help against the tyrannical rule of foreign despots were not heeded. America's rulers today are the spiritual descendants of the Tories who upheld ritual services in honor of George Washington, while they violate all the democratic principles for which the first American Revolution was fought.

Those colonial freedom-fighters of our time who think they might receive assistance from capitalist America in view of its own revolutionary past are quickly disillusioned. Today the rulers of America seek to establish a colonial empire of their own. They project conquest of the entire world, even at the cost of atomic war.

In Washington's time, America was the inspiration of the oppressed masses throughout the world. The democratic ideals of the American Revolution were not new or peculiar to the western shores of the Atlantic. They were imported from Europe. They had been worked out long before by revolutionary-minded European thinkers. America's contribution was a practical demonstration of how to put these views into practice.

Derided as "crack-brained," abused as "subversives," the tiny groupings of revolutionaries scattered along the seaboard

fought their way to leadership of the American people and eventual success against the British Empire, at that time the mightiest power in the world.

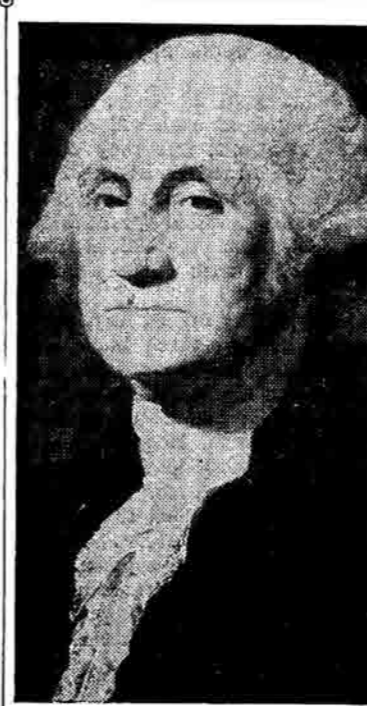
Washington's perseverance against stiff odds expressed on the military field the iron resolution and determination of political leaders such as Sam Adams and the ranks of the rebels headed by the Sons and Daughters of Liberty. Through eight bitter years in their struggle against the "legally-constituted" government, these fighters bucked discouragement and apathy and proved the power of stout-heartedness in a just cause. They showed that revolutions can be won.

INSPIRED OTHERS

The success of the American Revolution gave heart and confidence to resisters against oppression in other lands, playing no little role in the great French Revolution that broke out a few years later. And for decades afterward, the American victory inspired peoples throughout Latin America seeking freedom from the empire of Spain. As these countries won independence they found protection under the shield of America from the imperialist designs of the European powers.

All this has been changed. America herself has become an imperialist power and the shield over Latin America has been changed to a yoke. No power is so hated by the poor people south of the Rio Grande today as Yankee imperialism.

No longer does the American government offer aid and comfort to colonial rebellions anywhere on earth. American capitalism stands on the side of the colonial despots. At this very moment Truman's administration continues to send dollars, goods and arms to imperialist France and the Neth-



GEORGE WASHINGTON

erlands enabling these powers to wage wars of colonial conquest in Indo-China and Indonesia.

In Washington's time, not even Bourbon France followed such a reactionary policy. France helped the American revolutionaries. Had France followed a course like that of Truman today, then it would have helped George III put down the "subversive" movement in the thirteen colonies and the American Revolution might have been drowned in blood.

In the resplendent afterglow of 1776, the victims of persecution and bigotry in other lands turned to America as a haven and these refugees were welcomed.

NO LONGER A HAVEN

That has been changed. Today the victims of barbarism abroad are barred entry by cruel immigration laws. These laws hit hardest at those most in need of refuge, for the age-old right of asylum is denied refugees whose views do not conform to the reactionary specifications of the two parties holding government power.

The Statue of Liberty is no longer a symbol of America, welcoming the oppressed of the world. That figure, expressive of the democratic ideals that gave intellectual fire to the first American revolution, has been replaced by the sinister symbol of the atom bomb, threatening death to tens of millions and the destruction of civilization.

In the eyes of working people in other lands, America is no longer the home of freedom and the champion of independence; it is the home of Wall Street and the main powerhouse of reaction, the prop and support of puppet kings and foul dictators like King Paul of Greece and Chiang Kai-shek.

The profiteering capitalists and their political stooges have succeeded in monopolizing the government so that it no longer genuinely represents the people. America needs to be cleansed. A new generation shaped in the revolutionary tradition of Sam Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Tom Paine, Patrick Henry and George Washington and expressing the needs and desires of the American masses is needed to lead the revolutionary struggle against the Tories of our time and to guide America into the full democracy of socialism.

Workers Forum

Criticizes Article On Negroes and CIO

Editor:

In his article on Negroes and the CIO (Jan. 31 Militant) Joseph Andrews shows that Negroes are not afforded complete equality in the CIO, as we are led to believe. While I can support the validity of his remarks, I feel it necessary to point to the fact that today, amongst the workers in the shop, with the speed-up being the order of the day, it is a common practice to blame the union for an oppressive condition rather than to blame the company.

Although it was quite correct of Andrews to expose Philip Murray on this question, especially in view of his professed intentions, I believe that what should have been more firmly established is that Murray is acting in the interests of capitalism, not the CIO. Otherwise, the article tends to have more of a Victor Rieselian air to it.

The Negro is not receiving full equality in the CIO today not so much because of Murray's particular desire to help bring it about, but rather, it flows from the fact that Murray, in the epoch of imperialist decay, draws closer to the interests of the bosses, and, in order to maintain his position (which he no doubt greatly enjoys) he feels the need of defending the society that is attempting to prolong his power.

In this respect, it is quite correct to attack Murray, but re-

member in the last analysis capitalism is the cause of Jim Crow and that an attack against the boss on this score can best serve to expose Murray's relationship to him.

Paul Williams,
Oakland, Calif.

ED. NOTE: We think Comrade Williams is trying to break through an open door. Andrew's article did not in any sense accuse the labor bureaucrats of originating Jim Crow, which, as virtually all of our readers know, is a product of the capitalist system. Its purpose was to show that on the whole the labor bureaucrats, despite fine words to the contrary, tolerate inequality for the Negro instead of fighting to abolish it. In our opinion Andrews' article was a real contribution to the fight against Jim Crow. Progress in this fight cannot be made unless the workers learn to recognize that words are not enough, and that rank and file pressure is needed to mobilize the unions for consistent struggle against all forms of discrimination wherever they exist.

The Militant has received a number of interesting letters and book reviews from its readers in recent weeks. Lack of space sometimes makes it necessary to hold up the publication of such material for a week or two, but those on hand will soon be printed. Meanwhile, we urge all readers to continue sending their comments and questions.

RESISTANCE TO THE USE OF ARBITRARY POWERS

By Ruth Johnson

With hypocrisy gained in long practice, the capitalist politicians this week will proclaim their devotion to George Washington and the program of the War for Independence. Without a blush, Harry S. Truman will lead their chant of "Americanism" while his arrogant claim of "inherent powers" still rings in the public ear. This is a cynical denial of what the American rebels of the 18th Century fought for.

The American Revolution was a struggle against arbitrary power exercised by the head of the government. The Declaration of Independence, proclaiming the colonists' determination to be free, was a ringing answer to King George III who claimed the "divine right" to rule them by decree.

"The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. . . .

"He has refused to assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. . . . He has made judges dependent on his will alone. . . .

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws . . . depriving us, in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury . . . taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our government."

This was the despotism they organized against and overthrew by force of arms. Their grievances against George III are not so different from many of the workers might well write against Truman today! Truman's decrees, his "subversive" lists denying a fair and open trial for the accused, are as autocratic and as dangerous to the people's liberties as were the English king's.

PAINE'S INDICTMENT

Hatred of such tyranny was the life-blood of the American revolutionists, inspiring the cold and tattered armies of "Continental" to fight on through the bitterest hardships. The burning words of Thomas Paine, great pamphleteer of the colonial cause, are immortal attacks on autocratic rule.

In the Crisis papers which Washington asked him to write during the darkest days of the revolution, Paine constantly lashed the King's "inherent" or "divine" power. Only the whole people, he said, have any "inherent" rights; all rulers by decree are base usurpers.

"Men who look upon themselves born to reign, and others to obey," Paine warned, "soon grow insolent . . . their minds early poisoned by importance." His words apply just as well to the chief executive today, who arrogantly claims the right to decide that men must work regardless of conditions, and to break strikes by injunctions and fines.

NO LEGAL AUTHORITY

"Independency," Paine wrote, "means no more than this, whether we shall make our own laws, or whether the King, the greatest enemy this continent hath or can have, shall tell us there shall be no laws but such as I like." (Emphasis in the original.)

Nor did the colonial revolutionists, having thrown off the

yoke of the despot in England, intend to set the stage for a new despotism on American soil. Despite the fact that the merchants and planters succeeded in putting over a conservative Constitution, the powers which Truman claims for himself today are not granted by the Constitution. Far from it.

Under the provisions of the Constitution, the President is the chief administrator, with strictly limited powers to make recommendations to Congress. As executive he has no right to make laws, and no judicial rights whatsoever.

Moreover, Article 10 of the Bill of Rights, passed by the first Congress under pressure of popular demand, specifically forbids him to usurp other authority. It declares in unmistakable words: "Powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Nowhere will you find in it a hint of "inherent" powers of the President, or the granting of absolute rule to any individual. The young American republic, born in the struggle against British autocracy, was founded on the desire of the colonists for democracy. So long as American capitalism expanded and prospered, the American people were able to preserve most of the democratic rights they had conquered through struggle and even extend them.

CYNICAL PRETENDER

Today, capitalism is senile and confronted with unsolvable problems. Since it cannot go forward, it reverses the pattern and falsifies the traditions of its youth.

Step by step, capitalism now attempts to restrict and wipe out the rights of the people—freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, the right to a fair and public trial. Unable to grant improved living conditions to the masses and thus to hold their support, it turns toward despotism in a vain scheme to halt their demands.

And the chief executive of the capitalist government acts like a cynical pretender to the crown of George III. He deliberately overrides the Constitution and discards the cherished traditions of democracy in a brazen effort to usurp rights belonging to the American people.

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A Late Christmas Story

By Theodore Kovalesky

It's late for a Christmas story, but this isn't like "A Christmas Carol," and it's not about peace on earth and good will toward men. In fact, it's hardly what you'd call a Christmas story at all.

It happened in one of those big, sprawling factories with stained, dirty windows that have been slowly and surely gathering filth year after year until they get so gray and rusted that the workers can't look out into the street. And when they get broken (as factory windows always do, even though you never see anybody break them) the management sends a maintenance man to stick a piece of tin or sheet iron into the frame, and that gets all rusted over too.

This factory made electrical appliances, and hired over a thousand men and women for as little as they could pay them. There was a union there, and a pretty good one, but wages and conditions were still bad.

But when the snow came down and covered the factory roof and the sidewalks and drifted white into the sides of the gray and rusted windows, and when radios began to play Christmas carols and the 25th day of December drew close, the factory began to blossom out with Christmas spirit.

The union negotiating committee went in to try to get a Christmas bonus. Management was full of Christmas spirit but not that full. They couldn't afford to pay it, they told the committee. They just couldn't do it. But they didn't mind if the workers had a little fun.

So around the 20th, the fellows and girls in the shop began putting up red and green streamers over the old, rickety machinery. On the 21st some of them brought in little trees and set them up in the middle of the departments. By the twenty-third most of the aisles were turned into gay red and green tunnels with crepe paper overhead. There were silver stars and red and silver

letters saying "Merry Christmas" fastened to the wire netting around the tool room, and the girls on production lines had already drawn names out of a box to see who would buy gifts for whom.

The company couldn't give a bonus. They couldn't pay decent wages or ease off on the speedup or improve conditions, but they didn't mind if the workers celebrated a little. They didn't even mind if there wasn't much work done on the 24th and the workers paraded around wishing each other Merry Christmas, the fellows kissing the girls and drinking a little whiskey smuggled into the plant.

There was one worker, a guy named Ray, about 40 years old with a wife and three kids. Ray didn't get any bonus, and he didn't have any fun either. He didn't kiss any of the girls, and he didn't have any whiskey, and he didn't even wish anybody Merry Christmas. Because on the 23rd of December he was working at his punch press trying to bang out his quota. He wasn't careless. His machine was supposed to be safe. But you know how punch presses are. The press repeated while Ray was taking out a piece. And Ray's right hand was completely crushed.

They grabbed him and put him on the platform of an electric truck, and one of the other fellows held on to him as they rode through the red and green tunnels, past the wide-eyed girls who were all prepared for their Christmas party the next day, under the hanging silver stars and past the silver words, "Merry Christmas" on the wire screen of the tool room, and down to the first aid room. They tied up his arm to stop the bleeding, and an ambulance took him out past the gray and rusted windows of the plant and on to the hospital.

I never heard about Ray's wife and kids and their Christmas, and I didn't hear any more about Ray, except that he isn't back at work yet.

Spies, Spies, Everywhere!

By Henry Walsh

Don't trust your neighbor. Suspect your friends and relatives. Keep an eagle eye on your brother, sister and wife and especially on your mother-in-law. One of them — the most innocent of the lot, the least open to suspicion — is likely to be a Russian spy. This isn't the jittery squealing of some nervous nelly in the Hearst papers. It's the reasoned judgment of the most safe-and-sound institution in the country — the United States Army. And don't get the unpatriotic idea that the Army is running off at the mouth in a fit of hysteria. The Army speaks from experience — sad experience.

One year ago MacArthur's sleuths tracked down the "most successful and complete" spying operation in Japanese history. On Feb. 11 the N. Y. Times printed the release as a "story of espionage, intrigue, passion and betrayal." A Soviet spy ring, led by one Richard Sorge, who was reputed to be a grandson of a secretary of Karl Marx, worked its way into the inner sanctum of the German legation in Tokyo and the Japanese government, ferreting out highly confidential information which they forwarded to Moscow. Sorge himself was so successful as to be eventually appointed press officer of the Nazi embassy. His collaborators, says the Times, were "a clever, well-informed group of agents of several nationalities and a variety of protective colorations." "Writers, artists, journalists, a soldier, a seamstress... the group worked in the best tradition of fictional spies. Members arranged meetings through code words, established contact by matching serial numbers on currency, and exchanged notes in cigarette packs."

The sinister operations of the ring were as nothing compared to the information they forwarded to the Kremlin. Truly outrageous! Stalin was notified (1) that the Japanese cabinet would not enter an alliance with Hitler against the Soviet Union and Great Britain; (2) that Japan would center its attack on South Asia rather than the Soviet Union; (3) that Hitler was planning to hurl an army against Moscow on June 20, 1941; (4) that Japan would push southward against Indo-China and not north to Siberia.

You can readily see what a heinous, horrible crime was committed and how grateful we should be to the Army for making it public. True, the Soviet Union was the ally of the U. S. in the war, and Hitler and the Mikado its foes. True, Sorge's messages led to a withdrawal of the Red Army's troops from Siberia to the Western front thus engaging the Wehrmacht, weakening their resistance to the Allied offensive, shortening the war and saving American lives, as Roosevelt used to say. True, Moscow notified Washington about Sorge's discovery of the impending attack on Pearl Harbor.

But don't be soft-headed. There's a great principle involved. Spies are spies. And such super-clever spies are positively a menace. Hirohito's government, properly alert, apprehended the ring-leaders, hanged Sorge and a Japanese collaborator by the neck and sentenced a couple of others to life imprisonment. Take a leaf from their book. If you want to safeguard country, God, fireside and family — Be Vigilant! Your daughter's diary may not be so innocent as it appears.

National Heart Week

By Grace Carlson

Starting on Valentine's Day and continuing until Feb. 21, we will observe National Heart Week in the United States. This is the period set aside by the National Heart Association to acquaint the public with heart disease and to raise funds for research in this field.

Heart disease is the nation's number one killer, but, contrary to the popular belief, it takes its victims among the young as well as the old. Heart disease causes more deaths among children between the ages of 10 and 15 than any other disease. In this age range, it is usually rheumatic fever — a disease of poverty — which strikes down young victims.

After the age of 45, one out of every two deaths is caused by diseases of the heart and blood vessels. In fact, heart disease takes a greater toll than the five other leading causes of death combined — three times as many deaths as cancer; six times as many as accidents; seven times as many as pneumonia; ten times as many as tuberculosis.

During the last 50 years, great advances have been made by medical science in the understanding of and treatment of cardiac cases. Electrocardiographic methods, roentgenography and fluoroscopy have been developed as aids in diagnosis and treatment. Surgical techniques have been evolved for the relief of certain congenital malformations of the heart, such as that found in "blue babies."

New drugs such as penicillin, streptomycin, heparin and dicumarol have been found to be great aids in clinical treatment of cardiac patients. Yet much remains to be learned by medical scientists. As yet, the causes of the three most important cardiovascular diseases — hypertension, arteriosclerosis and rheumatic fever — are unknown.

Much remains to be done by social scientists, too! Overwork and overworry are the twin evils, which aggravate cardiac conditions and shorten lives by 10, 15 or 20 years. Physicians, who have a fine understanding of the physical, emotional and social maladjustments of the cardiac cripple cannot tell him how to end overwork and overworry in this cut-throat capitalist society.

I think that the best way to observe National Heart Week is to re-dedicate one's self to the cause of socialism. In a Socialist United States of America, the billions now spent on atomic bombs could be devoted to research into the causes and treatment of heart disease, as well as the many other diseases that disable human beings and drive them to early graves.

And in a Socialist United States, we could do away with overwork and overworry for our cardiac patients. The National Heart Week of today would be expanded to all 52 weeks of the socialist year. Under Socialism, we would put through the finest heart program of them all: "From each according to his abilities: to each according to his needs."

Notes from the News

CLEARED, BUT — The Loyalty Review Board has cleared William W. Remington, Commerce Department official, of the "communist spy" charges made by Elizabeth Bentley. Remington was put on a new job, however, so that his work won't touch the "dramatic issue of national security."

MODEST DEMAND — The editors of the New Republic say they "support in principle a North Atlantic pact," but they don't feel 100% happy about it until they get "a joint declaration from Congress of the ends to which our blood and treasure are to be used."

RESISTANCE MOVEMENT — A group of postal workers from six cities has organized to get an injunction in federal court to test the constitutionality of the "loyalty" purge.

YES, BUT — The Turkish government is reported to have received a questionnaire from the editors of Information Please Almanac, asking "Do you permit workers to strike?" The answer was: "Yes, but not collectively."

INSCRUTABLE JUSTICE — On the same day that a Newark, N. J., judge was sentenced to prison for 10 to 15 years for embezzling \$633,000, a fourth offender in Newburgh, N. Y., was sentenced for 15 years to life because he stole \$35 worth of chickens.

CANDID LIBERAL — Paul A. Porter, former OPA chief and administration supporter charged that the government purge was political in origin, designed to show "in an election year that the executive would do a better job of witch-hunting than Congress." Describing it as "a competition between bureaucrats and politicians as to who can find the most Communists," he advocated the abolition of the whole "loyalty" program.

ALIVE AND THRIVING — The House Un-American Committee, which Truman called a dead duck, has received the largest appropriation in its history — \$200,000.

BLOOD ON COAL — 1,015 miners were killed and 54,100 others were maimed in the production of coal in this country last year.

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Weinstock Uses Lie-and-Run Technique to Dodge Debate

By George Clarke

In recent weeks we have had an exhibition of the slander-and-run technique of Stalinism in the New York District Council 9 of the AFL Painters Union. When the Stalinist trial under

the Smith Act began, Louis Weinstock, former Stalinist secretary of the Council, was reminded by *The Militant* and other papers of the scabby role he had played in the case of the 18 Trotskyists indicted and convicted in Minneapolis under the same law.

Weinstock stormed into the Council not to deny the charges — documentary evidence of his correspondence with the Department of Justice and the prosecutor, approving the Minneapolis convictions, made that impossible. Nor to honestly admit his crime against the principle of labor solidarity and try to explain it — that would be too much to expect from a Stalinist hack. What Weinstock wanted to know was why Martin Rarback, present secretary of the Council, had released the information to the press — that is, why Rarback didn't cooperate in suppressing the truth!

The last thing Weinstock wanted was to be obliged to publicly defend his treachery. That's why he turned down Rarback's challenge for a debate with an SWP representative on the Stalinist and the Trotskyist trials under the Smith Act. Failure to accept the challenge was a plain admission of guilt and for anyone else would have been a cause for silence.

But not for the Stalinist hacks. This was the time for the slander-and-run strategy — for abuse, mud-slinging, vilification, confusion, distortions and half-truths. Morris ("Filthy-Mouth") Davis, Stalinist secretary of painters' Local 848, was given the job of striking from cover without fear of being brought face to face with the accused and substantiating his charges and lies in a public debate.

Two mimeographed leaflets signed by him are now circulating in the painters union. They are a compendium of every Stalinist slander against Trotskyism since 1924, ranging from charges of advocacy of "world revolution" to connections with "international fascism"; from "5th columnists for Franco, Mussolini and Hitler" to spokesman for "revolution" in Palestine. The mimeographed libel of "Filthy-Mouth" Davis follows the same pattern as the Protocols of Zion, which denounces the Jews both as "international financiers" trying to uphold capitalism and as revolutionists trying to overthrow capitalism.

Lack of space prevents us from dealing in this article with all of Davis' falsehoods. We will only pick two examples — one a half-truth and one a downright lie — which are typical of the whole rotten stew.

1. Davis justifies Weinstock's treachery by quoting from wartime resolutions of the Minnesota CIO and AFL conventions, both of which refused to support the struggle against the government's persecution of the Trotskyists.

The aim here is to find partners-in-crime in the labor movement and at the same time to conceal the support to the pardon

campaign given to the 18 Trotskyists by unions comprising 5,000,000 organized workers, non-Trotskyist and non-Stalinist. But who controlled the Minnesota CIO during the war? The Stalinists! And who controlled the Minnesota AFL? Daniel Tobin, chief instigator of the prosecution against the Trotskyists and the Minneapolis teamsters!

But that isn't all that "Filthy-Mouth" Davis omits. On Aug. 16, 1948, the Hennepin County CIO Council, the Minneapolis affiliate of the state CIO body, completely reversed its former position by adopting a resolution protesting the indictment of the 12 Stalinists and demanding the restoration of the civil rights of the 18 Trotskyists. Realizing the enormity of the crime it had committed against labor solidarity during the war, the CIO Council confessed that "such indictments have in the past been prosecuted for lack of a united mass protest of the labor movement as witness the indictments of the 18 Minneapolis CIO-Socialist Workers Party members in 1941."

2. Now take a downright lie. Davis says that "the Trotskyites who advocated in 1934 to play ball with Governor Olson of Minnesota and hailed as a victory the sending in of troops to break the strike..." The facts are just the contrary. The Trotskyist Dunne brothers and other strike leaders not only fought Olson's martial law but they were thrown into a military stockade for violating it. The union leaders wrote as follows in the *Northwest Organizer* on Aug. 4, 1934, in an appeal to the local labor movement to declare a general strike against "military tyranny":

"Never before in our time has such a direct and outright act of strikebreaking by military forces been witnessed. A dastardly blow has been struck at the very heart of the labor movement under the command of Floyd B. Olson, Governor of Minnesota."

"Filthy Mouth" Davis goes back to 1934 because he is counting on short memories. But this is just a reminder that we haven't forgotten the treacherous Stalinist role in the teamsters strike when the Daily Worker condemned the strike leaders as "counter-revolutionists" and "played ball" with Tobin who denounced the Trotskyists as "communists and radicals." The Stalinist leaders continued to "play ball" with Tobin — and with Roosevelt — in obtaining the first conviction under the Smith Act by helping to send Trotskyists to prison.

Davis entitles his second leaflet "I refuse to be gagged." Who is gagging you, "Filthy-Mouth" Davis? It must be Weinstock or Foster because it certainly is not us or even the leaders of the painters union. Get out from behind your smokescreen and let the workers judge your charges and those made against you in fair and open debate! Or stand condemned as liars, scabs, and frame-up artists unfit for honest workmen to associate with!

Oakland City Council Knocks FEPC Ordinance Off Ballot

By William Gorman

OAKLAND — Without any prior announcement, the Oakland City Council has taken the city FEPC ordinance off the ballot, where it had been placed for a decision by the voters in the coming municipal elections.

City Attorney John Collier offered the following legal pretext for this cowardly action: "There is much doubt as to the right of the council to submit to the electorate an ordinance under these circumstances... someone might bring this into court."

The decision to place the FEPC issue on the ballot, made at the Council meeting of Jan. 6, was obviously a sop thrown to the tense, attentive crowd of more than 300 Negroes who jammed the Council chambers. The Council had voted five to four against the ordinance and to soften this blow they agreed, eight to one, to put the question up to the people of the city.

But the financial and political bosses of the city undoubtedly became alarmed at the prospect of a vigorous campaign over this explosive question, which would undoubtedly expose the whole scandal of Jim Crow in Oakland and put the finger on those responsible for it. That was why

Veterans Picket Landlord



Members of the American Veterans' Committee picket a Chicago landlord, William Schmidt, who voices his rage from a second-story window. The ex-soldiers protested the landlord's scheme to convert his apartment building into "just another flop-house."

LONSHOREMEN BLAST BRIDGES LAY-OFF PLAN

By E. Harris

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 13—Four thousand members of CIO International Longshoremen and Warehousemen Local 10 here have rejected by a three to one vote the proposal of ILWU President Harry Bridges to solve the problem of unemployment in the West Coast stevedoring industry by kicking approximately 1000 union members out of the industry.

The stormy three-hour Local 10 meeting was completely dominated by the rank and file. Other than Bridges, only Germain Bulke, ILWU International Executive Board member, and two speakers from the floor supported the plan. Most Stalinist supporters of Bridges kept quiet or tried to straddle the issue, as an enraged rank and file took over the meeting. Late in the meeting when Bridges attempted to defend his plan he was roundly booed and told to sit down.

Member after member took the floor to denounce the plan as "union-busting." One speaker stated that the proposal was absolutely unprecedented in the trade union movement and that if anyone should be kicked out it should be the makers of the proposal.

RANK AND FILE PROTEST

Others pointed out that it would play into the hands of the employers by furnishing them with a large group of trained longshoremen outside the union.

One Negro member said, "The union has just gone through a 95-day strike to preserve itself. To end up by taking orders from the employers and turning our backs on our own union brothers would mean that the strike won nothing."

A leaflet distributed to the

meeting by a group of longshoremen exposed the shipowners' interest in having men laid off from the industry and proposed that the union fight to get unemployment benefits for its members.

The leaflet said: "Brothers: We've got a contract and we've got an unemployment compensation act. We are entitled to the benefits of each. We are being limited to the contract and are being cheated out of our unemployment compensation into which we have paid millions of dollars. The employers are using the present hiring hall set-up as a subterfuge to evade the unemployment compensation act."

A ROTATION PLAN
The leaflet also offered a detailed plan of how work could be rotated among the union members in such a way that each member would be temporarily laid off one week in three or four, in order to obtain unemployment insurance benefits. Under California law, if money paid by the employers into unemployment insurance funds is not used, the employers get a kickback. The employers therefore will oppose a four-week job rotation. As the leaflet put it: "The employers' responsibility for men cut off from the industry ends after 26 weeks. However, if the men are laid off but remain in the industry the employers' responsibility continues until such time as there is adequate employment."

In the West Coast stevedoring industry the union controls hiring. Through its hiring hall, it fills the employers' orders. Through the same hall it rotates all work on a weekly basis equally among all union members.

When work becomes slack, a member's share of the work falls as low as \$25 or \$30 a week. He is partially unemployed, but unable to draw compensation, because he makes more than \$25 a week on the weekly rotation system. This amounts to a "hidden lay-off." Each man gets two or three days a week and is unemployed (laid off) the rest of the time.

If available work is rotated over a four-week period, however, so that one quarter of the union is laid off every week, the "hidden lay-off" comes to light and the workers would become eligible for unemployment compensation.

READ

Fourth International

29th ANNIVERSARY OBSERVED BY LEAGUE FOR MUTUAL AID

NEW YORK — Twenty-nine years of continuous service to men and women in the labor, liberal and progressive movements facing emergencies will be celebrated by the League for Mutual Aid at a dinner in the King Arthur Restaurant, 405 West 23rd St., on Friday, March 4.

National in scope, the League for Mutual Aid is non-political, non-partisan and draws no line of color or creed in rendering service. It grants loans without interest or red tape, finds jobs without a fee, wangles needed overcoats, helps individuals in a great variety of economic troubles.

Steady increase in applications for loans and aid in finding new jobs in recent months is reported by Adelaide Schulkind, the League's executive secretary.

"Our office is in effect a temperature chart of unemployment in the United States," Miss Schulkind said today. "We first began to notice the present trend early last summer. As always, layoffs in industry bring emergencies for workers and their dependents — illness, accidents, and other unforeseen difficulties arise. Unemployment insurance provided by law is not enough to give families food, shelter, and medical and other essential protection."

"The tight pinch of personnel cuts is being felt not only by manual workers, but by many persons who lately have been pushed out of executive jobs. Repeatedly this winter we have had occasion to help war veterans whose allowances have been inordinately held up in Washington. Conscientious objectors coming out of prison are among those we have served. And often we have aided displaced persons from war-torn countries, not yet adjusted to their new life here."

The League's office is at 104 Fifth Avenue.

No appeal for funds will be made at the dinner, which is to begin at 6:45 P.M. Reservations are \$3.75, including gratuities.