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Vincent Dunne-- Life of a True Revolutionist

"More responsible than any other single individual for making Minneapolis a union town." This is the considered judgment of Vincent R. Dunne made by John Wickland, staff writer of the Minneapolis Tribune, in an objective account of the life of the National Labor Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party featured in the Sunday, Dec. 4, edition of the Minneapolis paper as Dunne departed on a coast-to-coast speaking tour in defense of civil rights.

It was Vincent R. Dunne and his brothers, Grant and Miles, who "brought mass organization of workers to this city," Wickland acknowledges. "They provided the leadership — the hard, tactical knowledge and the developed, practical philosophy — which smashed the open shop tradition."

He Believes Workers Should Rule

"Vince... believes that the workers and farmers should run government and industry," continues Wickland, "that there should be no private ownership of resources or of the tools of production and that there should be no capitalism. He is a disciple of Marx, Lenin — and Leon Trotsky."

"He is not a member of the Communist Party as developed by Stalin after Trotsky was expelled from Russia. He belongs to the Socialist Workers Party. That is the dissident group which split from the Communist Party and followed Trotsky's doctrine that the socialist revolution cannot be confined to one country, Russia, but must spread throughout the world."

Wickland describes Dunne as a "coldly logical speaker who can light the fire of rebellion within his comrades." In Wickland's opinion "most radicals" don't have a sense of humor but he admits that it is not lacking in Dunne and that he "can converse without orating."

The absorbing story of Dunne's life is told by Wickland. "Vince Dunne — he was christened Vincent Raymond and is either Vince or Ray to his comrades — was born April 17, 1889, in Kansas City, Kan. His father was an Irish immigrant, a common laborer. His mother was French Canadian."

"Soon after his birth, his father was injured and the family moved to Little Falls, Minn., to live with grandparents."

"As the eight Dunne children were old enough, they went to work. Vince started when he was 11, first on the farm, then on threshing crews, then into the woods as 'cookee' — cook's helper — in a lumber camp."

The Basis of His Philosophy

"School had ended for him after six short winter terms. Before he started classes he had learned to read from the newspapers with which his grandparents' cabin was papered."

"When he was 15, Vince went west to the Montana lumber camps. There he first met the trade union movement, the Western Federation of Miners which had just merged with the IWW. Impressed with the better working conditions which existed because of the union, he immediately joined and was immediately exposed to the revolutionary-minded people who led the union. He began to read the revolutionary literature of the Wobblies and the federation."

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AID TO KUTCHER PLEDGED BY N. J. CIO CONVENTION

Dec. 5 — The New Jersey CIO Convention gave a rousing welcome home to James Kutcher when he addressed the first afternoon session of its three-day gathering at Convention Hall in Asbury Park Friday, Dec. 2. Introduced by Arthur Chapin, head of the State CIO Civil Rights Committee, Kutcher gave the delegates a brief report of his national tour and brought them up-to-date on the status of his fight.

"If it had not been for the initiative of your organization and officers who helped me from the start," Kutcher said, "my case might now be forgotten. Without their help, I might not have obtained the kind of backing from the labor movement all over the country that proved so gratifying throughout my tour."

The convention unanimously approved a vigorous resolution calling upon all its affiliates to see the veteran's fight through to a successful conclusion. Many delegates afterwards came to the back of the hall to discuss the case personally with Kutcher and arrange to have him appear before their locals throughout the state. The New Jersey Kutcher Committee is already busy selling tickets and program ads for its banquet honoring the legless veteran to be held Sunday evening, Jan. 29, at the Cadillac Restaurant in Newark.

EDUCATORS ENDORSE

A group of well-known educators of varying political views at New York University have protested the denial of freedom of thought and association in Kutcher's case. Among the faculty members endorsing the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee are Sidney Hook, chairman of the Philosophy Department; Henry Pratt Fairchild, Professor Emeritus of Sociology; George E. Axtelle, chairman of the Department of History of Education; and Edwin B. Burgum, Associate Professor of English at Washington Square College.

Kutcher is scheduled to speak at a number of places in New York City during the next week.



VINCENT R. DUNNE

Episode Exposing Stalinist Methods Related by Silone

Important testimony, on the methods by which Stalin corrupted the world communist movement has come to light in an article by Ignazio Silone, "Farewell to Moscow," printed in the November issue of Harper's Magazine. Silone, the famous novelist, is a reformist Socialist Democrat today, but in the Twenties he was a revolutionist and one of the leaders of the underground Communist Party in Italy. The Harper's article explains the circumstances which led to his break with the Communist International after it came under the complete control of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The main incident in the article deals with a session of the enlarged Executive of the Comintern held in Moscow in May, 1927. Ostensibly called to discuss the struggle against war, it "was actually designed to begin the liquidation of Trotsky and Zinoviev, who were still members of the International Executive," says Silone. Palmiro Togliatti took Silone to a meeting of the heads of the most important delegations which preceded the formal session of the Executive and was in effect a Stalinist caucus meeting.

When the two Italians arrived at the meeting (which was attended by Stalin, Rykov, Bukharin and Manuilsky for the Russian party) the German Ernst Thaelmann began to read a resolution, proposed for adoption by the full session, violently condemning a document Trotsky had written to the Russian CP leadership. After reading the resolution, Thaelmann asked if there was agreement.

The Finn Ottomar Kuusinen said that it was not strong enough, that it should add that Trotsky's document was "of an entirely counter-revolutionary character and constitutes clear proof that the man who wrote it no longer has anything in common with the working class."

TROTSKY'S DOCUMENT

Silone, after consulting with Togliatti, apologized for having arrived late and so not having been able to see the document which was to be condemned. Thaelmann's answer was: "To tell the truth, we haven't seen the document either." Preferring not to believe his ears, Silone said: "It may very well be true that Trotsky's document should be condemned, but obviously I cannot condemn it before I've read it." It then came out that none of the delegates present had read it except for the Russians.

Stalin, the only one who was undisturbed by this development, then took the floor and said: "The political office of the party has considered that it would not be expedient to translate and distribute Trotsky's document to the delegates of the International Executive, because there are allusions in it to the policy of the Soviet state."

(But, as Silone notes, Trotsky himself later published this document abroad in his book, Problems of the Chinese Revolution, "and as anyone can still see for himself today, it contains no...")

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Supreme Court Ducks Issue of 'Loyalty' Oaths

Last Refuge of a Scoundrel



BUT I'M A LOYAL AMERICAN!

Mass Action by the People Needed to Preserve Rights

The U. S. Supreme Court last week ducked the issue of the constitutionality of "loyalty" oaths — the most widespread form of civil rights violations in the witch-hunt now sweeping the country. On Dec. 5 in Washington, the august high tribunal refused to rule whether the Los Angeles County "employee-loyalty" test is a violation of the Bill of Rights.

Through a statement by Justice Felix Frankfurter, the court claimed that the constitutional questions involved in the appeal brought by 26 Los Angeles County employees are "not ripe for decision."

The "Nine Old Men" seized on a technicality in order to evade a decision on a case which has direct bearing on "loyalty" procedures in scores of state and local governments, on the "non-Communist" union affidavit imposed by the Taft-Hartley Act and on the "loyalty" purge of federal employees by the Truman administration.

FLIMSIFY EVASION

Frankfurter, expressing the unanimous opinion of the court, said that appeals of 16 appellants were still pending before California courts on a Los Angeles Board of Supervisors order that "expressly threatens sanctions" or "discharge" for refusal to sign county "loyalty" oaths. Therefore, said Frankfurter, "it would be 'time enough' for the highest U. S. court to act if the state courts eventually rule against the appellants on 'penalties.'"

Of course, these appeals could be held up for years in the state courts and workers would be intimidated and fired all the while. Moreover, the issue is not merely some particular penalty applied under a "loyalty" oath procedure; it is the principle of such oaths themselves. It is this national issue which the Supreme Court obviously seeks to evade responsibility for.

Significantly, the Supreme Court, on the very day it failed to act on the Los Angeles case, also postponed a ruling on two appeals against the constitutionality of the "non-Communist" oath of the Taft-Hartley Law. These appeals by CIO unions, the United Steel Workers and American Communications Association, have been pending many months.

THE MINNEAPOLIS CASE

This is by no means the first time the Supreme Court has resorted to technical evasion on issues of civil rights. On three different occasions in 1943 the court refused, without comment, even to review the convictions under the Smith Act of 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Drivers Local 544.

At that time, many liberals expressed the naive opinion that the Supreme Court would never let a conviction stand under such an unconstitutional law in violation of free speech, press and assembly. But the Supreme Court let the 18 serve their full terms in federal prison and never acted on their appeals. This year 11 Stalinist leaders of the Communist Party have been convicted under the same Smith Act.

The Supreme Court's action in the Los Angeles case again demonstrates that this highest capitalist judicial body cannot be relied on to enforce constitutional liberties. Not the courts of the American Big Business ruling class which fosters the witch-hunt, but the mass organization and action of the people can effectively defend democratic rights.

Truman's Hoax On Housing Bias

By Albert Parker

A lot of smoke and no fire — that is the way to sum up the overnight sensation about the Truman administration's announcement that the government will refuse to give financial aid for the construction of private housing where occupancy or use is restricted on the basis of race, creed or color. When the smoke had cleared away a few hours after the announcement, it was plain that race discrimination in government-financed housing will continue virtually as before.

The new policy was disclosed on behalf of the administration by U. S. Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman on Dec. 2 at a meeting of the New York State Committee on Discrimination. Perlman added, "President Truman has been working on this matter for some time, and is most happy over the result of his efforts."

The real meaning of the new policy was not understood at first by the press and a large part of the public. The next day's N. Y. Times ran a misleading front page headline: "Truman Puts Ban On All Housing Aid Where Bias Exists." Private building association officials, who

rely heavily on government loans and insurance, deplored the new policy in both the North and South, wailing that it would mean drastic curtailment in home construction.

Rep. Rankin of Mississippi called it "one of the most dangerous communistic movements ever known." The Social Democratic Liberal Party rushed in to hail it as "a historic gain in the struggle for full civic rights to all our people" because it meant "the withholding of federal aid to housing projects that practice discrimination in occupancy..."

But that was just what it did not mean, as Franklin D. Richards, commissioner of the Federal Housing Administration, hastened to explain the next day. All that is involved, he said, is bringing government policies in housing in line with last year's Supreme Court decision that while restrictive

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ACLU Says Cops Aided Mob Attack

Westchester County police "permitted the assault" of the fascist-like hoodlum mob that injured more than 200 persons leaving the Paul Robeson concert near Peekskill, N. Y., on Sept. 4, states an independent survey released by the American Civil Liberties Union on Dec. 7. The survey, based on a five-week on-the-spot investigation, charges that police knew in advance about the preparations for violence but did nothing to prevent it.

Curran Packs Meeting To Oust Port Officials

By R. Bell

NEW YORK, Dec. 2 — A New York membership meeting packed with over 1,000 supporters brought in from other ports, engulfed CIO National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran to jam through a picked trial committee decision to remove from office on trumped up charges 15 opposition port officials including the Port Agent and 14 patrolmen.

For the second successive meeting, the Curran machine brought in bus loads of men from Atlantic and Gulf coast ports ranging from Maine to Texas, to overwhelm the New York membership who supported the opposition.

A WEEK OF TERROR

The membership meeting last night was preceded by a week of police and goon terror against oppositionists after the Curran faction had taken over the port by physical force. Members were beaten up, many had their union books taken away by imported strong-arm men, others were intimidated into signing loyalty "pledge" cards. Hundreds stayed away from the meeting in fear of reprisals.

Although the meeting was scheduled to begin at 7:30 P.M. the men from the outports were instructed to be in the hall no later than 6:00 and occupy all the front seats. A number of busloads disembarked as early as 5:00 and by the time the New York membership began to arrive the entire front of the hall was occupied by Curran supporters from the outports.

Some 400 cops and an undisclosed number of detectives

swarmed all over the auditorium. The cops stood shoulder to shoulder in a cordon that stretched across the front of the hall and up and down every aisle. In addition, several hundred Curran men, deputized as "master-at-arms," were dispersed throughout the

hall so that every member there felt himself under close scrutiny. With the stage thus set for a lynching bee, Curran had himself elected chairman and the charges against the opposition officials were read. It was obvious that

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"EDUCATING" MONOPOLISTS

Mad King Canute who tried to roll back the ocean with a wave of his hand had nothing on the Truman administration which now proposes to curb the capitalist monopolies by mere appeal to their good will. Secretary of Commerce Charles Sawyer announced on Dec. 4 that at Truman's request, plans have been made to establish an interagency committee to prepare a program of "education" for the monopolists.

U. S. Steel, Aluminum Corporation of America, General Motors and the other of the 250 largest corporations that control two-thirds of the country's manufacturing assets will be persuaded to "voluntarily" cease and desist from their super-profitable monopoly practices. "Educating" these wolves to grind down their own fangs is put forth by Sawyer as a "positive approach" to the question of monopoly, the all-dominating factor in American economic, social and political life.

This "positive approach" is offered in contrast to that being stressed by Representative Emanuel Celler of New York as chairman of the House Judiciary subcommittee which is making another study of monopoly power. Mr. Celler appears to be taking his task more seriously than the Truman administration intended and has actually been talking about more effective laws and enforcement. Evidently, Truman and his advisers feel that you can carry this "trust-busting" business too far. So they've come through with this counter-idea for spreading sweetness and light in the dark jungle of monopoly.

For 60 years anti-trust laws have been on the statute books. Federal agencies have been set up to investigate violations and empowered to get court orders to halt them. Every president since Grover Cleveland has inveighed against the monopolies.

But they have upheld the system of capitalism in which private monopoly thrives. They have not dared or wanted to take measures that could really end monopoly power. For that means taking the ownership away from private capitalists, nationalizing monopoly industries and operating them under the cooperative, democratic control of the workers.

How Not to Win Workers: IUE-CIO

How not to win workers for the CIO has been demonstrated in the inner-union struggle during the recent election of officers of United Electrical Workers Local 431, at the Monroe Calculating Machine Co., Orange, N. J.

The underlying issue in the contest was whether the local should join the newly-formed CIO international Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers or remain in the old Stalinist-dominated UE, which was expelled from the CIO.

Instead of offering the workers a better program of action to improve their conditions, the self-styled "right wing," which opposed the incumbent pro-UE officers, welcomed the aid of Roman Catholic priests to put pressure on the workers in the local.

On Sunday, Nov. 27, the day before the Local 431 elections, Msgr. Michael A. Mechler, pastor of Our Lady of the Valley Church, and the Very Rev. Andrew E. Petralia, pastor at Our Lady of

Mount Carmel Church, both in Orange, delivered public sermons on the subject of the elections.

According to the Nov. 28 Newark Evening News, Msgr. Mechler told parishioners to vote against the "Communist" union officers "under pain of mortal sin." The priest assailed "two members of this parish on the left-wing ticket" as "weak-kneed Catholics" who by backing the old UE were supporting an "atheistic doctrine." He ordered his parishioners in the plant to vote for the pro-CIO candidates "not as a matter of politics, but as a moral obligation."

"GRIEVOUS SIN"

The same kind of religious coercion was used by the Very Rev. Petralia, who flatly told his parishioners that they were obliged to vote against the incumbent Local 431 officers "under pain of grievous sin."

In the elections the next day, the incumbents' slate, opposed by the outside, alien and reactionary

Catholic hierarchy, swept 15 of the 18 contested posts, including all top offices, by a vote of nearly two to one. The highest vote went to the incumbent president, Raymond Shattuck, the only non-Catholic of the seven top officers elected.

The chief target of the Catholic attack, Shattuck, is not a Stalinist and his opponents did not even accuse him of being one. In fact, it is well known that the Communist Party as such wields little influence in this local, as in most others. Thus it was not Stalinist influence or control, but the methods of the opposition which were decisive in the election results. The workers just couldn't stomach such methods.

And they will regard as sheer hypocrisy the claim of any "anti-communist" faction that it is fighting "outside interference," when at the same time it tries to bring into the union the interference of the authoritarian Roman Catholic hierarchy.

The events in Orange provide further proof of the reactionary, anti-labor role of the Catholic hierarchy in its campaign to bore from within the American labor movement. Its attempt to advance its political aims by using religious authority to impede the democratic processes inside Local 431 mirrors its methods generally. The workers in the electrical equipment industry should remain in the CIO so as to be with the mainstream of industrial workers and to fight there for a program of militant and democratic unionism. But methods of sheer red-baiting and religious blackmail, such as the CIO leaders and their allies are resorting to in many places, will only disgust and alienate union militants.

V.R. Dunne—True Revolutionist Only Three Weeks Left To Collect Party Fund

(Continued from page 1)
"That training was the basis of Dunne's philosophy — a revolutionary movement in which the workers would take charge of the country."

"When the panic of 1907-1908 hit the Montana camps, Dunne and thousands of others wandered west to Seattle, Wash., capital of radicalism. There, while still a boy with no clear idea of the doctrines he had embraced, he made his first radical speech."

EARLY EXPERIENCES
"In Los Angeles, Calif., he was arrested and put to work building streets. He wore a ball and chain on his leg until he became a trusty. One of his duties was to keep the water bucket full. One day when he went for water he just kept on going — east toward home."

"Dunne came to Minneapolis about 1910 — his parents had moved here while he was gone — and has lived here ever since."

Wickland tells how Vince Dunne worked in the years that followed as a teamster, truckdriver, ice company clerk, and weighmaster in a coal yard where he was employed for 14 years.

"Through all those years Dunne was an active radical. He joined the Communist Party in 1920 and about the same time organized his first union, a local of the AFL Office Workers. In 1924 he was one of some 20 delegates expelled from the Central Labor union as Communists. Four years later he was expelled from the Farmer-Labor Party after the Communist faction picked him to oppose Henrik Shipstead for senator. Then the Office Workers union expelled him."

EXPULSION FROM CP
"And in 1928, he was expelled from the Communist Party because he followed Trotsky in the split with Stalin. This division also split the Dunne family. Of the four brothers, all prominent in the labor movement, only William refused to break with Stalinism. He was finally expelled from the Communist Party about three years ago, but remains an adherent of the Stalinist program."

Wickland tells how in 1934, the Dunnes called a strike of coal workers. "They won a quick and complete victory." Teamsters Local 574 accepted them into membership. The successful strike led by the Dunne brothers inspired

Schedule of Dunne's Tour on Civil Rights

- St. Louis — Dec. 17.
- Chicago — Dec. 18-25
- Toledo — Dec. 27.
- Detroit — Dec. 28-31.
- Flint — Dec. 29-30.
- Detroit — Dec. 31-Jan. 2.
- Cleveland — Jan. 3-4.
- Akron — Jan. 5.
- Youngstown — Jan. 6-7.
- Pittsburgh — Jan. 8.
- Morgantown — Jan. 9.
- Buffalo — Jan. 12.
- Rochester — Jan. 13.
- Buffalo — Jan. 14.
- Boston — Jan. 15-16.
- Lincoln — Jan. 17.
- Worcester — Jan. 18.
- New Britain — Jan. 19.
- New Haven — Jan. 20.
- New York — Jan. 21.
- Philadelphia — Jan. 22-23.
- Allentown — Jan. 24.
- Reno — Jan. 25.
- New York — Jan. 26.
- Newark — Jan. 27.

Minneapolis workers and members "flooded into 574."

"The union began to demand contracts but got only refusals. 'The new power of organized labor and the old power of organized employers, the Citizens Alliance, were heading for the inevitable conflict that was to change worker-employer relations in this city.'

"The story of the 1934 truck strikes, master-minded by the Dunnes and their lieutenants, has been told often. There were pitched battles in the streets in May and again in July as the strikers clashed with the 'citizens' army' of special deputies."

Despite bloodshed resulting from police violence and despite martial law proclaimed by Gov. Floyd B. Olson, the strikers won. "To more conservative citizens, those weeks were a taste of pure revolution, led by self-proclaimed radicals. Among the Dunnes' aids in those days were tough old Karl Skoglund, now facing deportation; Farrell Dobbs, a northside boy who was the Socialist Workers' candidate for president last year, and Bill Brown, long-time president of 574."

The success of these strikes was followed by the swift unionization of Minneapolis. Now a new sinister figure moved into the scene, Daniel Tobin, international president of the Teamsters.

"Tobin had revoked 574's charter during the 1934 strikes. His first move to fight the Dunnes was to send in his organizers and try to raid 574. He set up a new rival union, local 500, led by Patrick Corcoran. Local 574 fought back successfully."

Finally a compromise was reached. "Tobin agreed to take the Dunnes and their union back into the Teamsters. . . . The two factions agreed that the new local would be number 544."

CONFLICT WITH TOBIN
The compromise lasted until "war loomed in Europe." Roosevelt was already preparing to take America into the bloody conflict. The Socialist Workers Party opposed the war. Tobin ordered the Dunne leadership to surrender the union to a receiver.

"They refused and Tobin said he would enforce his order in spite of their refusal. The Dunnes knew that would be the end. They asked for and got a charter from the CIO." The struggle was on.

Left only to his own resources, Tobin might have lost. But he was backed by both the state and federal government. He filled the city with imported goons.

"The state conciliator refused the Dunnes' request for an election among union members." The reason was clear. The membership were solid behind the leaders who had showed them how to make Minneapolis a union town.

THE 1941 TRIAL
"Then the federal government moved in. It charged Vince, Miles and Grant Dunne and 26 other Trotskyist leaders with conspiracy to overthrow the United States government. The case was the first ever brought under the Smith act, which was used recently in the conviction of 11 Communist leaders in New York."

This action was calculated to aid Tobin, "a close friend of President Roosevelt," and to stifle criticism of Roosevelt's preparations to plunge America into World War II despite all his promises to keep out of the slaughter.

Grant Dunne, a veteran still suffering from his experiences in World War I, never came to trial. Before it began, he shot himself.

Eighteen of the Trotskyists were convicted, including Dunne. "The day after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor they were sentenced. Appeals took three

years but eventually the United States supreme court refused to review the case and on New Year's day, 1944, Vince Dunne went to Sandstone prison for 16 months.

REVOLUTIONARY OPTIMIST
"Since his release he has devoted his life to the party. He has been its candidate for senator and for mayor of Minneapolis on several occasions. Through a party member here and there he keeps in contact with most unions in the city. Now and then he takes off on a speaking trip in behalf of the party."

"Dunne is a realist. He knows that at present the party has little influence."

"But to the true revolutionist, the present is important only in relation to the future. He builds patiently today for what may come tomorrow. He is convinced that the world cannot just stand still, that it either must go backward to totalitarianism or forward to what he believes is something better — socialism."

"And Vince Dunne, old revolutionist that he is, is certain that sooner or later it will be the latter."



U. S. Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman chats with woman who attended New York meeting at which Perlman announced "new" government policy on housing which will have no effect at all in eliminating Jim Crow. (See story Page 1.)

Renazification of Germany Proceeds at a Rapid Pace

By Charles Hanley
The renazification of Germany has progressed so swiftly that some of the American officials in Germany and some of the foreign correspondents are becoming seriously worried. Drew Middleton has written a series of articles in the N. Y. Times on the situation in Bavaria, one of the most reactionary German "Laender" (states). The process of renazification is by no means limited to Bavaria, as Middleton carefully points out. What he omits to say is that all this comes as the logical consequence of supporting and strengthening German capitalism and of transforming Western Germany into an anti-Soviet stronghold.

Middleton cites figures compiled by U. S. military government officials and advisers. These show that Bavarian ministries are riddled with Nazis. They comprise 60% of the personnel in the Ministry of Finance; 77% in Food, Agriculture and Forestry; and 81% in the Ministry of Justice. For all Bavarian departments, more than two-fifths of all officials are "former" Nazis.

In schools where a new generation is being indoctrinated, the situation is even worse. Of the 12,000 teachers dismissed in 1945 for their affiliation with the Nazis, 11,000 are back in their posts.

Former prominent Nazi journalists, propagandists and officials are as busy as ever, especially in Bavaria. Middleton mentions such notables as Dr. Kurtz, erstwhile staff member of Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda; Felix Rufenbach, who served on Goebbels' propaganda machine in Poland during the German occupation, editing two Nazi newspapers in Cracow and Warsaw; Rudolph Richter, Nazi press chief for Gau Mainfranken under Hitler. And there are plenty of others.

Nazi politicians are coming back just as strong, with many neo-fascist parties sprouting throughout Western Germany.

Former Nazi dignitaries, officials and henchmen are back in circulation in Western Germany and also in the Eastern Zone where the Stalinists have imprisoned many Socialists (who were political prisoners in the same concentration camps in Hitler's days) while "repentant" Nazis are looked upon with favor and "denazification" has been completely suspended. Both rival blocs — the imperialists and the Stalinists — are opposed to the socialist revolution and each seeks to play off "their own" Nazis against the other. Both fear the German workers; both mobilize the deadly enemies of labor.

From the very beginning, the Allied occupation was aimed at preventing the socialist transformation of Germany. But only socialism — only the transfer of power to the German working class, the complete destruction of the capitalist state and its entire apparatus, a radical change of the system of administration and education — could really have denazified Germany. The process of renazification will go on unless all the occupation troops are withdrawn and the German workers, with the support of the international working class, are given a serious chance to move against their native oppressors.

Middleton and other correspondents along with U. S. officials and politicians are now painfully surprised that the German capitalists are growing more arrogant by the day and are trying to blackmail the American occupation authorities to whom they owe so much. This is hardly astonishing.

The German bourgeoisie has been fed by Wall Street; their appetite has quite naturally increased with the eating and they now want a larger share of profits and power. First they were given the little finger and they wanted the hand. Now that they have got the hand, they are reaching for the arm. In other words, the German bourgeoisie defend their own class interests with the same vigor, greed and lack of moral scruples as does their great ally, the American bourgeoisie.

The good friends of the U. S. State Department, the leaders of the Western German Republic, are not to be expected to stem the tide of resurgent reaction. Why should they? Chancellor Adenauer has always been a Catholic right-wing politician, a faithful servant of German capitalism closely connected with the powerful banker Pfordmenges, of Cologne (a Nazi sympathizer from 1933 to 1944). And "liberal" President Heuss is a strange liberal indeed. In 1933 he voted in the Reichstag for the "Ermachtigungsgesetz," the law which bestowed dictatorial powers on Chancellor Hitler. The State Department is worthy of its German friends, and they are worthy of their American masters, notwithstanding the amazement of Middleton and others like him.

By Reba Aubrey
Fund Campaign Manager

The campaign for a \$12,000 Socialist Workers Party Building Fund reached \$7,457 — 62% of the national quota — this week. With only three weeks left to go, we'll really have to plug to get in the balance IN FULL AND ON TIME.

Flint still holds first place with 102%.
St. Paul - Minneapolis moved into second place with a payment of \$198.50. "While it hasn't been child's play to collect this money," reports Grace Carlson "we have met with real sympathy. Some of the money collected meant genuine financial sacrifices."

A jump from 57% to 87% placed Toledo third. Comrade Dalton says, "We hope to reach 100% next week."
A payment of \$186 boosted New York Local to 69%.
Chicago is moving right along. Last week, Comrade Marvel forwarded \$26.50.

D. V. sent in \$2 for E. B. to be credited to Chicago. He adds: "I hope to send my own donation at a later time."

A \$24 payment from Buffalo makes 63% for these comrades.
Cleveland gained 11%. "We're going to have a tight squeak in fulfilling our quota," reports Comrade Maggie. "However, we are planning a money-raising social IN FULL AND ON TIME is our aim in Cleveland."

A 40% jump was made by Akron.
Philadelphia's payment of \$153 sent them zooming up.

Comrade Baker wired that Detroit is sending "\$93 airmail on National Fund." This gives Detroit a total of \$606.

Milwaukee doubled its percentage to 48%.
Myra Tanner Weiss reports for Los Angeles: "Enclosed is an-

SCOREBOARD FOR SWP FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Flint	\$ 200	\$ 204	102
St. Paul-Minneapolis	900	870	97
Toledo	75	66	87
New Haven	25	20	80
St. Louis	75	54	72
Boston	200	140	70
New Britain	30	21	70
New York	3,000	2,066	69
Chicago	400	270	68
Cleveland	250	170	68
Morgantown	25	17	68
Akron	100	65	65
Philadelphia	600	383	64
Buffalo	500	316	63
San Francisco-Oakland	800	465	58
Detroit	1,100	606	55
Newark	350	189	54
Pittsburgh	150	80	53
Allentown	50	25	50
Seattle	200	100	50
Milwaukee	250	119	48
Worcester	40	19	48
Los Angeles	1,500	575	38
Lynn	75	26	35
Youngstown	400	76	19
General	705	515	73
TOTAL through Dec. 6	\$12,000	\$7,457	62

other \$100. We are still behind. We shall sound the alarm and try to overcome this situation in December."

"We find it very difficult to keep up the pace set by the party," says Comrade Franklin, enclosing Lynn's payment, "but we still hope to finish in the 100% column by Dec. 31."

Now that the steel strike is settled, Youngstown is moving ahead. Comrade O'Brien sent in \$20.

A number of contributions came in from friends of the party, bringing the "General" quota up to 73%.

R. F., Michigan, mailed in \$1. He asks: "There is a favor you

can do for me. Can you send me a copy of the Communist Manifesto?" We are very pleased to send R. F. the pamphlet he requests.

F. N., New York, contributed \$1 to help in the campaign; D. J. of Chicago sent \$5; W. R., Minneapolis, \$1.70; Mrs. M., Minneapolis, \$1.32; P. S., California, \$1; T. B., New York, \$1.20; W. C., New York, \$2.

J. S., Canada, sent in \$10. "I am only too glad to be able to help you," he says, "in the good work you are doing by a donation to your campaign for building and maintaining the party, for without a party not much can be accomplished."

they to as well in a subscription campaign? The question mark is now changed to an exclamation point! Take a look at that score of 260 points, most of them obtained in the final stretch. That's 4% better than in time and in full.

The hard-hitting Flint comrades organized their campaign in model style. They called their shot and sank it in the corner pocket, turning in the necessary number of subs each week to keep right on schedule. Well done, comrades!

Philadelphia found sub-getting quite difficult but nevertheless managed to put the arrow square in the bull's eye with the point sticking through for an extra 1%.

Like Flint, the Worcester branch realistically sized up the possibilities and their capacities and came through in time and in full.

Finally San Francisco flashed under the wire for a score of 100% and word from Literature Agent Dixon Woods that they're "well pleased to have made the quota."

The reliable Milwaukee comrades also have a record of consistent work in circulation. They expected to get 25 points, but pushed it up to 49 and achieved 196% of their goal.
New Britain got off to a late start but came through with flying colors.
Pittsburgh, having scored a shining 152%, plans to "continue visiting our old subscribers and where possible get a new sub" during December, according to Literature Agent Freddie Forrest.

Chicago was stuck at the post for the first two weeks of the campaign, but when they started moving they sure moved fast. A score of 147% put them right up among the pace-setters.

Lynn took the wreath for the dark horse contenders. Up until the deadline we had not even heard what quota they had decided on. Then came the following letter: "Enclosed you will find \$14 for Militant subs. The cards are enclosed. Our aim was for 20 points in the campaign."

Like Seattle, Detroit had just finished a successful local campaign when the November drive opened. They decided to participate, however, and rolled up a most respectable score of 65 points and 180%.

Toledo found "widespread unemployment to be our greatest handicap" but got good results among union members "who find themselves in a blind alley because they do not agree with the labor leadership."

The Allentown comrades did all right as can be seen from their score of 120%, but have not yet written us about their experiences.
Los Angeles was long in the dark-horse category. The comrades there have been leading the country in sales of single copies of The Militant. Could

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On the Class Nature of Yugoslavia

A discussion article by M. Pablo in the December issue of the SWP's International Information Bulletin, 27 pp., 25c.
Also still available: the June issue, containing the Fourth International IEC resolutions on the war danger, the evolution of the buffer countries, and China, 35 pp., 25c.

Latin-American Notes

By J. Gomez

The "Election" in Colombia

For once the Associated Press hit the nail on the head when its dispatch on the presidential elections in Colombia said that the "Conservatives named Laureano Gomez President."

The "election" of Gomez was truly a one-party affair, run from beginning to end by the ruling Conservative Party. After the Liberal Party once again got a majority in both Congress and Senate in last June's congressional election, the Conservatives realized they had no chance to win the presidency in a free election.

They therefore prepared for last month's election by launching a campaign of terror, murder, burning and destruction of whole villages and small communities where the Liberals had a strong following. Then, without consulting Congress, the Conservatives, through the President, declared martial law a few weeks before election day under the pretext that there was a state of "undeclared civil war." This move abolished all constitutional guarantees, imposed a drastic censorship on the opposition press and prohibited political gatherings.

Under such conditions the Liberal Party had no alternative but withdraw its candidate, Daric Echandia. This insured the "election" of Gomez, who belongs to the most reactionary wing of the semi-feudal, clerical Conservative Party and who ran on a promise to "cure Colombia of its political sickness."

It is not easy at present to foresee the precise form of the next developments in Colombia. Although the Liberal Party contains petty-bourgeois nationalist and labor elements in its ranks, it is a strictly capitalist force, led by some of the most outstanding figures in the ruling

class. Although the Conservatives have beaten them in the election, they have not taken away their following.

But one thing is sure: Gomez will not be able to "cure Colombia of its political sickness" because his election does not eliminate any of the political problems and sharp class antagonisms which produced the explosive sparks in the bloody pre-election period this year and the insurrectionary Bogota riots of 1948. In fact, Gomez' "election" and the methods he used to get it will only add fuel to the fire of mass discontent, which will eventually find expression outside of the Liberal Party and in the labor movement.

Toledano-Rivera Rift in Mexico

The Mexican counterpart of Henry Wallace's Progressive Party — the Partido Popular (Popular Party) of Lombardo Toledano, which was formed with the help and blessing of Stalinism — is having its share of troubles. It seems that serious friction has developed between Toledano and such Stalinist stooges as Diego Rivera, Bassols, Manuel Villaseñor, etc., culminating in their resignation from the PP.

The differences are not of a fundamental nature. Both sides agree that the PP should function as a political center for all "good" and "patriotic" Mexicans without regard to class. The conflict seems to center, rather, around what attitude the PP should take toward the present government. Toledano, a traditional petty-bourgeois politician, wants the PP to act as a loyal opposition to the government. Rivera and the others wanted it to adopt a more critical attitude.

Although this struggle assumed a heated character — with Toledano calling Rivera "crazy" and Rivera calling Toledano "crack-brained" — it doesn't necessarily mean that here will be an open break between Stalinism and Toledano. They still need each other too much to break lightly. The Stalinists need him as their figurehead, and Toledano realizes that his position as head of the Latin-American Labor Confederation depends on the Stalinists, who control it.

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The New SP Proposal--End of a Sham



"Marx taught that no social system departs from the arena of history before exhausting its creative potentialities. The Communist Manifesto excoriates capitalism for retarding the development of the productive forces. During that period, however, as well as in the following decades, this retardation was only relative in nature. . . Only in the last twenty years, despite the most modern conquests of science and technology, has the epoch begun of out-and-out stagnation and even decline of world economy. Mankind is beginning to expend its accumulated capital, while the next war threatens to destroy the very foundations of civilization for many years to come."

—L. Trotsky, Ninety Years of the Communist Manifesto, 1938



By George Clarke

The leaders of the Socialist Party are tired. Tired of playing the socialist. Tired of maintaining the pretence of independence. Their proposal to quit running independent candidates and to back "progressives" supported by PAC and ADA was long overdue. For at least a dozen years electoral activity was the only shred of its own identity that made the SP recognizable. The Norman Thomas leadership made its peace with capitalist-minded leaders of the unions like Reuther, Dubinsky and Co. It ditched the liberating ideas of socialism for the role of "socialist" advisers of American imperialism.

Superficially there appear to be some facts to substantiate this argument. The SP vote dropped from almost 900,000 in 1932 to less than 150,000 in 1948 — and last year's vote was received in opposition to Harry Truman and not the popular Roosevelt. This year, without Thomas as the candidate, the SP vote in the New York City mayoralty elections declined almost sevenfold. Meanwhile the party has been dwindling to the size of a small sect, with fewer members today than at the time of its foundation almost fifty years ago.

and-death matter. Civilization cannot survive without it.

There is no substitute for the independent and revolutionary socialist organization of the American workers. The trade union bureaucrats, despite their huge treasuries and great organizations, cannot wage an effective struggle against America's ruling oligarchy. They can only emulate its methods, introducing the same police-type regime in the unions that the government is foisting on the population as a whole. They can only compromise with the reigning oligarchy, trading support for the program of world conquest and war in return for a few trifling concessions. Like their predecessors in the pre-Hitler German unions, they are demoralizing the workers, breaking their fighting spirit — they are preparing the road for an American fascism, not a welfare state.

THE 26-MONTH RECORD OF THE COMINFORM

By John G. Wright

The Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) has been in existence now for some 26 months. What has it done in all this time? What has been the central object of its activity?

The Cominform came into being in September 1947 when 18 delegates from nine countries — the USSR, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary — met secretly "somewhere in Poland" and issued a manifesto. The formal explanation for the setting up of this "international" body was that it would organize "an exchange of experience between parties and . . . coordination of their activity."

The political platform was summed up in the name chosen for its official organ: For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy. To all outward appearances the Cominform came on the scene as Moscow's countermove in the "cold war" against Washington and its Marshall Plan, its projected organization of the Western bloc, which was later to take shape under the Atlantic Pact, and so on.

The 1947 manifesto of the Cominform bristled with calls for a "struggle" for peace, with denunciations of Anglo-American imperialism and attacks on "right-wing Socialists" as "faithful toadies of the imperialists." To the imperialist war drive, the Cominform counterposed a nebulous program of "national independence and sovereignty, independence and self-determination."

At the beginning the American bourgeoisie pretended to take all this seriously. Prominent dailies saw in the Cominform the "reestablishment of the Communist International" and labeled its manifesto as a "declaration of political war." But the Cominform quickly showed that world capitalism, in the first instance the American monopolists, had little to fear from its activities. Apart from issuing calls for "peace congresses" to be organized in various countries and on a "world scale," and regularly publishing its central organ, the Cominform did nothing else of any consequence for the next nine months.

Its Major Public Action

Then in July 1948 the Cominform took its first major public action. Meeting secretly "somewhere in Rumania," 16 delegates from eight countries announced the formal expulsion of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Party from "the family of brotherly Communist parties." The avowed aim of the Cominform was to "peacefully" purge the Yugoslav CP of the Tito leadership.

As it turned out, they had been forestalled. A month before this second Cominform meeting and decision the Titoists had completed their own "preventive purge" with the dismissal, demotion and jailing of 15 prominent government and army officials, among them Finance Minister Zujovich and Hebrang, Chairman of the Yugoslav State Planning Commission.

The Cominform campaign against the Yugoslav CP proved a complete dud. The regime remained more strongly entrenched in the country than was the case before the attack, and gained sympathies in other Stalinist parties.

For the next 17 months the Cominform paper continued to print summons for "intensifying" the struggle for peace plus denunciations of Anglo-American imperialism and the "right wing Socialists." But the main attack all the while remained centered on Yugoslavia. The Kremlin clamped an economic blockade on Yugoslavia. Early this year came the liquidation of Gen. Markos, leader of the Greek guerrillas, and then of the guerrilla movement itself. The Cominform organ covered all this up, not forgetting to accuse the Yugoslavs of having "betrayed the Greek struggle," and having become "hirelings of imperialism."

In August of this year Moscow denounced its treaty of friendship and mutual aid with Yugoslavia, and identical actions followed by Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania and Czechoslovakia.

In September, the first of the "treason trials" — in which the Yugoslav leaders figured as the main, though absent, defendants — was staged in Budapest. It was the Cominform organ that provided the main, and most vicious, coverage of this trial for the Stalinist press throughout the world.

Finally, toward the end of November, the Cominform met for the third time "somewhere in Rumania." It met solely in order to issue a formal declaration of war against the Yugoslav dissidents. And again we find the original "anti-imperialist," "peace" program of the Cominform, this time appended to the call for the overthrow of the Tito regime.

Why Was It Organized?

The entire history of the Cominform naturally poses the question: Was it organized in the first place in order to serve as a weapon in Stalin's struggle against the Yugoslavs? Prominent Yugoslav leaders have hinted publicly that this was precisely the case. But none of them has criticized in public the gist of the original program which is now serving as a cover for the attacks against them.

To all intents and purposes Tito and his colleagues remain committed to the "principles" enunciated in the original Cominform manifesto. Almost simultaneously with its issuance, Tito, in September 1947, called for the establishment of "People's Fronts on a world scale to struggle for peace," and publicly attacked those who thought that People's Fronts had become "outdated."

Like their self-proclaimed mortal enemies in the Cominform, the Yugoslav leaders also continue to paint up the United Nations as one of the instruments for assuring peace. Neither peace nor the integrity and independence of Yugoslavia and other small nations can be safeguarded in this way.

The "peace" program of the Cominform was a fraud and a deception to begin with. By not exposing it for what it really is, Tito and his colleagues are playing into the hands of the Cominform. It is poles apart from a genuine struggle against the imperialist warmongers which is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism.

What James Kutcher Has Achieved

When the Truman administration fired James Kutcher from his clerk's job in the Newark VA over a year ago, he volunteered for a different job. He shouldered the tough task of challenging the persecution of government workers for their political beliefs and leading the fight against the entire system of thought-control.

Since then the case of the legless veteran has become nationally known as the most flagrant example of the injustice inflicted by the "loyalty" purge. It has provided a rallying center for one of the broadest united front defense movements in recent years.

158th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, when his supporters in New York City headed by a distinguished list of civil liberties leaders will meet to pay him tribute.

Kutcher has not yet been restored to his former job. However, the protest movement built around his discharge has left a powerful mark on public opinion which in turn has influenced recent judicial decisions upsetting thought-control laws in several states. The issues in the Feinberg Law, now declared unconstitutional, are substantially the same as those in Kutcher's case; the opinions expressed by New York Supreme Court Justice Schirick repeat and confirm many contentions of the opponents of the witch-hunters.

This is due in great measure to Kutcher's energetic activity as well as to his honest, bold and principled stand against all forms of thought-control and in defense of all its victims. For the past six months he has been traveling from coast to coast, speaking to hundreds of labor, liberal, civic, religious and minority groups and enlightening them on the vital issues involved in the "loyalty" purge. It is estimated that he has enrolled the support of almost a thousand different organizations, representing well over five million members. His tour will reach a fitting climax on Thursday, Dec. 15, the

The federal judges who will hear Kutcher's appeal in Washington are not elected but appointed by the President. We cannot say whether they will follow Schirick's precedent. But at least one thing is sure. The greater the forces mobilized behind the veteran's case, the more likely are the courts to heed the mass sentiment against the "loyalty" purge.

Eisenhower on Social Security

General Dwight D. Eisenhower's speech on Nov. 30 was widely quoted, as he intended it to be. For it was a calculated speech, an obvious trial balloon for his bid for the presidency in 1952. In a "statement of principles" that will warm the cockles of the National Association of Manufacturers, Eisenhower centered his attack on "an illusory thing called security" now being sought by "too many."

and outspoken champions that the utterly anti-social nature of the outlived capitalist system becomes most strikingly revealed. Eisenhower sees a dire threat to "individual liberty" in such pitifully meager concessions as old age pensions for those who have toiled their lives away — pensions which will at best enable them to eke out their remaining years at below subsistence levels. The General, himself entitled to a whopping pension on retirement, labels old-age pensions as insane luxuries, as "champagne and caviar."

His keynote was a clarion call for "personal independence" and a return to "simple principles" of the past when men had not yet lost their "respect for mere thrift and independence." In an obvious reference to current struggles for pensions and other welfare benefits, he warned against the idea that "security, in the sense that we may live in slothful indolence and ease, can ever be achieved." In a word, the program of "rugged individualism" all over again.

There is indeed a threat abroad today not alone to the individual but also the collective liberties of the American people. It lies in the growth of militarism, in the rising power and influence of military-minded martinets like Eisenhower, in the stranglehold of billionaire supermonopolists over the country's economy and government.

The student paper of the university over which the General now presides, the Columbia Daily Spectator, made the following apt comment: "The American people want continued security against the type of economic liberty which frustrated so long minimum wage and hour legislation, the formation of labor-unions, collective bargaining and which still denies the Federal Government the means for regulating child labor."

It lies in the terrible reality that the need and search for security is in the last analysis hopeless within the framework of capitalist relations. Perpetual insecurity — unemployment and dictatorial rule, crises and wars — that is the sum and substance of what decaying capitalism has to offer to all peoples, including the United States. That is why banner-bearers of reaction such as Eisenhower must begin by denying the most modest aspirations for any security whatever.

Bolstering the "Loyalty" Purge

Prodded by mounting criticism, the Department of Defense has taken a step to quiet the increasing protests against the procedure of firing workers in industry, without charges, a fair hearing or appeal, as "poor security risks."

partment announced the grounds on which it would act to remove workers from plants as "poor security risks." These include not only giving military information to foreign governments — that's only an incidental phase of the order — but primarily political views. Especially "membership in or sympathetic association with" any organization on the Attorney General's arbitrary list of "subversive" groups. The organizations on this list, of course, have never had the opportunity of a fair hearing or even a specification of the charges against them. The Review Board will have no power to review the "subversive" listings themselves.

An Industrial Employment Review Board of four members has been created to act as a "court of appeals" for persons arbitrarily victimized under present procedures of the Joint Personnel Security Board, which is in charge of ferreting out "disloyal" and "unreliable" workers engaged in private industry on government contracts.

Just what kind of "justice" a fired worker will be able to get from this new "court of appeals" is indicated by the very composition of the Review Board. Its chairman will be an industrial consultant, John T. Mason, appointed by the Munitions Board of the Defense Department. Its other three members are to be hand-picked by the Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

Besides this, the Board will have power to deny employment to any person who is "mentally or emotionally unstable" or who, in its opinion, "does not possess the integrity, discretion and responsibility essential to the security of classified military information." That's broad enough to include strikers, militant union leaders or anybody else a corporation, in cahoots with military officials, wants to fire.

The department which lays down and enforces the "loyalty" procedure also designates the appeals body and determines the powers it will have to hear complaints against this same procedure. The Defense Department will continue to be prosecutor, judge and jury.

Thus, this new "appeals board" will merely give a "legal" cover to the "loyalty" procedure which has already claimed a number of active and militant unionists as victims.

At the same time as this phony "appeals" board was set up, the Defense De-

There were signs from time to time — even as there is today in the resolution of the minority of the National Executive Committee — that some of the members were uneasy about the steady drift away from socialist ideas and socialist politics. But the expulsion of the Trotskyists and the revolutionary youth had drained the opposition of all revolutionary juice. It didn't have the stuff to stand up to Norman Thomas who had become the "indispensable man" and was winning applause and approval from the capitalist press for his "constructive" version of socialism.

STRUGGLE STILL NEEDED

The facts are undeniable. They prove that the SP had reason aplenty to give up a costly and tiring sham. But they do not prove that the struggle for socialism is no longer necessary. They do not invalidate the need for an independent and revolutionary socialist party. Nor do they prove that the struggle for socialism ceases or ought to cease in "unfavorable" times any more than it ceases in time of war or under fascism.

The need for a socialist reorganization of the United States is greater, not less, than it was when the SP came into being at the turn of the century. Despite all the New Deal - Fair Deal - Welfare-State "reforming," control of the nation's wealth and resources has narrowed down to a tiny oligarchy of giant monopolies. Despite certain improvements gained by the struggles of the unions, the share of the workers in the national income has become smaller, not larger. One-third of the nation still lives in the shadow of the poorhouse.

These conditions are the storm warnings of a gathering social and economic crisis. The steady moves toward a police state regime and World War III on the part of the very administration which boasts of its "liberalism" and "friendship to labor" demonstrates that the inherent trend of capitalism is towards reaction and fascism and not towards the "general welfare." The program of revolutionary socialism has become a burning necessity, a life-

nothing remained. Many years ago it had become an anomaly for the SP to run candidates against the "New Deal" party when the only differences in their programs were some vague allusions to "planning" and "public ownership of the commanding heights of the economy." Thomas himself boasted in the midst of the 1948 presidential campaign that the Democrats and Republicans had "borrowed" or "stolen" most of his socialist program and that America was "progressing" steadily forward and upward. With the acceptance of the catchwords "Welfare State" by the Democratic Party, Thomas' triumph was complete. Nothing remained to be done but to liquidate the victorious but disintegrating SP into the mainstream of the forward-looking progressives.

We know that among those who agree that the SP abandoned the content of independence long before the proposal to give up the form — that they had abandoned the ideas of socialism even when they were campaigning independently in elections — there will be some who will argue that the times are unfavorable for an independent socialist movement. Some will probably go further and say that it is a measure of Thomas' wisdom that he decided to close up shop and give up a futile struggle.

Silone Relates Incident of Comintern Corruption

(Continued from Page 1)

Documents don't come into it. It's not a question of finding the historic truth about an unsuccessful Chinese revolution. It's a question of a struggle for power between two hostile, irreconcilable groups. I, for my part, have already chosen. I'm for the majority group. Whatever the minority says or does, whatever document it draws up against the majority, I repeat to you that I'm for the majority. . . Have I persuaded you?"

They answered that he had not. Togliatti said, "One can't just declare oneself for the majority or the minority in advance. One can't ignore the political basis of the question." Kolarov answered, "You're still too young. You haven't yet understood what politics are all about."

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THE NEXT DAY

At the next day's meeting, Stalin repeated that the resolution against Trotsky would have to be unanimous or would not be presented. He asked if the Italians were favorable. Silone consulted Togliatti and said: "Before taking the resolution into consideration, we must see the document concerned." Albert Treint of France and Jules Humbert-Droz of Switzerland made similar statements.

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THE "INTERNAL SITUATION"

Stalin intervened again, saying the resolution should not be presented if a single delegate was against it. At his suggestion the meeting was suspended until the next day and the Bulgarian Vasil Kolarov was given the task of explaining the "internal situation" to the Italians.

Afterwards, in a private talk, Kolarov told he hadn't read the document either, wasn't interested in it and wouldn't read it even if Trotsky would send him a copy. "Here we are in the thick of a struggle for power between two rival groups of the Russian central directorate. Which of the two groups do we want to line up with? That's the point.

Presidency, in case of urgency, to adopt resolutions in the name of the Executive.

During the next few days in Berlin Silone also read in the papers that the American, Hungarian and Czechoslovakian CP's had denounced Trotsky's letter. He asked Thaelmann if the document had finally been produced. Thaelmann answered, "No. But I hope, the example set by the American, Hungarian and Czechoslovakian Communists has shown you what Communist discipline means."

For reasons of health Silone had to go straight to a Swiss sanatorium. Near there he later had a meeting with Togliatti, who told him why he had decided to capitulate to the Stalinist policy. ("And besides, what alternative remained? Other Communists who had broken with the Party, how had they ended up?" etc.)

Instead of answering these arguments politically, instead of reminding Togliatti what he himself had said previously about the need to examine "the political basis of the question," instead of undertaking to study the fundamental questions at issue in the struggle between the Stalinists who were revising Marxism and the Trotskyists who were defending it, Silone, sick and disillusioned, could find only "moral" objections to Togliatti's line of reasoning. He left the CP in 1920, and even now writes he is glad he did not join any of the communist opposition groups to Stalinism.

While Silone has nothing to offer today but "socialist values" as opposed to scientific socialist theory, the story he tells is valuable as an example of the reactionary methods of Stalinism, which did so much to corrupt (Fogliatti) and demoralize (Silone) virtually an entire generation of revolutionists throughout the world.

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Red-Baiter and Thief

By Ruth Johnson

J. Parnell Thomas, Republican representative from New Jersey who stole several thousand dollars from the public treasury, has thrown himself on the mercy of the court in Washington, D. C. The mercy will probably be forthcoming; we can be sure the congressional crook will not get the statutory limit of 32 years in prison for pilfering our tax money.

His fellow-politicians of Big Business in the House of Representatives will no doubt be equally charitable. As one reporter pointed out last week, "If the House follows recent precedents," Thomas "is likely to continue as a Congressman until his term runs out, Jan. 3, 1951, and to receive his pay checks even if in jail, unless he voluntarily resigns." Whether he resigns or not, whether he goes to jail or not, he will be eligible to receive a \$290 a month government pension when he reaches the age of 62.

There's a double lesson in Americanism, Congressional style, in the case of the taking Thomas. He is the man who headed the House Committee on Un-American Affairs, hounding and persecuting every radical and liberal he could smear in a drive to keep the country safe for plutocracy. "I am very proud of the Committee and the job we are doing to educate the American people on the nature of communism," he boasted.

In a typical free-enterprise, grab-all-you-can manner, he padded the Committee payroll with names of people whose only job was to hand over their salaries to Thomas. When he was caught, he pierced the heavens with his cries about "Communist plots to discredit his work," and shrieked that it was "Un-American" to pry into his graft. Publicly or privately, most of his fellow Congressmen agreed.

The government waited over a year for the stench to waft away, before it opened the trial. The prosecutor treated him gently, and of course never mentioned his far greater crime — the one shared by all of them in Washington — from

Truman down. That is his theft of the civil liberties of hundreds of men and women "investigated" by the Thomas Committee, and robbed of their reputations and livelihoods in flagrant disregard of their elementary civil liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The latter crime is the purest "Americanism" of Democrats and Republicans alike, endorsed by every "subversive list" and witch-hunting law.

Congress may hope wistfully for a resignation by Thomas, but only to save itself from embarrassment. If he doesn't quit, he will be treated like the other privileged crooks who preceded him. There was Democratic Representative James M. Curley of Massachusetts, who was convicted on a mail fraud charge. He finished his term without a murmur of dissent. Before that, there was John M. Hoepfel of California, another Democrat, convicted of taking a bribe for a West Point appointment. He went to jail and served there as an Honorable Member of the House. In 1931, a Republican, Harry E. Rowbottom of Indiana, had the misfortune to be caught in a post-office graft deal; he too, kept his seat and his government salary. The House had the power to expel them all, but it recognized in each and every one, a fellow-fighter for capitalist "Americanism," dedicated to the high principle of private profit.

Once, however, they rose to a man to shut the doors in the face of an office-holder. They leaped to their feet the moment the indictment was read, and found him guilty before he was tried.

The "outlaw" was Victor Berger, Socialist Representative from Wisconsin, barred in 1919 on the ground that he had refused to support the First World War. Charged with the crime of crimes against capitalism, he could expect no mercy. He was labeled "disloyal" and deemed unfit to sit beside thieves, grafters and dictatorial enemies of the masses.

Macdonald in Toryland

By Paul Shapiro

Dwight Macdonald, the would-be revolutionist who used to conduct his soul-searching in public, presenting a new political philosophy with each issue of his magazine Politics, recently informed his subscribers that he was ceasing its publication. One reason, he explained, was that his "values and interests are changing even more rapidly than usual." He did not bother to say what was the nature of this change which was proceeding at a velocity hitherto unknown even to him. However, Macdonald is not one to keep a secret long.

In the course of a book review in the Nov. 14 New Republic he disemburden himself, announcing his newly found admiration for Hoover and Taft, whom he acclaims as "cautious, moderate, realistic," the stabilizing forces in a society moving toward destruction. Those who have not read the review may suspect at this point that I have misread it and that Macdonald is being ironical. Macdonald is, however, often most funny when he means to be most serious, and this review is one such occasion.

The book reviewed by Macdonald is Conservatism Revisited by Peter Viereck, a professor of history and a poet, who finds a hero in Prince Metternich, the founder of the Holy Alliance, which sought to repress revolution everywhere in Europe after the fall of Napoleon. Viereck extols Metternich as a guardian of order in the unstable world of his time who may well serve as a model for statesmen today. Macdonald joins in Viereck's praises of Metternich, finding in him "a principled believer in Law and Order, who chose for his coat of arms the motto: 'Kraft im Recht' ('Strength through Law') and whose instrument of policy was diplomacy rather than force." Macdonald does not bother asking such elementary questions as who formulated the law, who imposed the order and who benefited from this law and order that Metternich was such a principled believer in. He does not stop to consider whether Metternich's liking for the conference-table was not related to Austria's position as a second-rate power in Central Europe which had to maneuver first between France and Russia and then between Prussia and Russia, and it does not seem at all incongruous to him that Metternich, that lover of peace and moderation, instigated the most savagely repressive measures against revolutionary movements.

Macdonald does have an adverse criticism to make of the book. It is that Viereck has not carried his ideas out to their logical conclusion — unlike Macdonald, whom, once he gets going, there's no stopping — and that Viereck is not sufficiently conservative! "In his main contention — his preference for Metternichian conservatism to the revolutionary messianism of our age — Viereck is both correct and acute. . . . The defect of Viereck's book, curiously enough, is that it is not deeply conservative enough. Its author is so angry at the Nazis and the Communists — that his anger is justified is another point — that he forgets his general conservative principles and tries to conciliate, as allies, the liberals. Yet clearly modern liberalism has something in common with messianic totalitarianism. . . . Thus the new apostle of conservatism is rebuked for temporizing by the zealous convert.

The cream of the jest, however, is Macdonald's analysis of Viereck's prose style, which he finds, in its lack of self-restraint and classical balance, to be indicative of the fact that Viereck's conservatism does not go sufficiently deep. "Often inspired in witticism and brief insight," Macdonald adds, "he seems incapable of any sustained development of his ideas. As for the book's general structure, let us say that it resembles less the Parthenon than a handful of marbles." To this Viereck might well retort that self-restraint is not Macdonald's own long suit (one would, indeed, hardly expect to find the classical virtues of eighteenth-century aristocratic literature in the writings of either of these two twentieth-century petty bourgeois intellectuals anxiously seeking for something they can hold on to for more than a week) and that it is ill-becoming one who casually un-decks a brand-new philosophy while reviewing a book to refer to some one else as "incapable of any sustained development of his ideas."

Macdonald's comment, though he is serenely unaware of it, is, in fact, applicable to himself. "Often inspired in witticism and brief insight" — yes, this is Macdonald, who has always played with ideas as a child plays with marbles. When he used the ideas of the great revolutionary thinkers, he could, at his best, do a good job of knocking other marbles out of the ring, but since he has given them up, he can't get himself unscrambled.

Notes from the News

WESTBROOK PEGLER is dubious about the effects of asking the people to conserve water in the areas where it is running short because "for every pint saved by a good citizen, a Communist will waste a dozen bathtubfuls and there are hordes of Communists."

CATHOLIC WAR VETERANS, Essex County (N. J.) Chapter, held a convention last week and adopted a resolution "against the United States offering any further aid to Yugoslavia until it is established that it has severed all connections with Russia."

ANOTHER UNION LEADER said goodbye to the Stalinists as Morris Pizer, president of the CIO United Furniture Workers, expressed support of CIO policies and called on the members to remain in the CIO. The Stalinists pet Pizer in the office of president a few years ago to replace Morris Muster, who quit after charging the executive board was Stalinist-dominated.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT, denying charges that the U. S. Minister to Bulgaria plotted with Kostov to overthrow the government in that country, denounces "the now familiar tune of 'confession' which appears to have been made by Kostov" and "the pattern of the Rajk trial in Hungary and similar travesties of the judicial process held elsewhere in Communist countries." It neglects to mention that during the war the State Department helped to glorify the Stalinist "travesties of the judicial process" by promoting the film, Mission to Moscow.

TOTAL CONSUMER INCOME is 3% lower today than a year ago, when it was at an all-time high, according to the Federal Reserve Board.

THE SOCIALIST CALL'S name has been changed to The Call and is no longer the official paper of the Socialist Party. The Dec. 2 issue reprints, without comment, an article from a

Social Democratic publication advocating unity of the SP and the SDF because, among other reasons, it is wrong to think that the SP "is the same as it was at the time of the split" between the two groups in 1936.

JIM CROW IN COLLEGE FRATERNITIES was struck a blow when the National Interfraternity Conference voted 36 to 3, with 19 abstaining, to recommend that affiliated groups eliminate restrictive membership provisions. However a motion to make such action mandatory was defeated by the conference, representing 58 organizations with about 2,700 chapters.

THE NEW YORK POLITICAL SCENE: Newly re-elected Mayor O'Dwyer is pushing through a 60% wage increase for himself (from \$25,000 to \$40,000 a year) and a 50% increase for City Councilmen. Stalinist Councilman Ben Davis was demonstratively expelled from the Council with only one more month of his term to serve, while the Liberal Party is calling on Tammany and the GOP to pick a tri-partisan candidate to defeat Marcantonio in the 1950 congressional race. And police officials complain they don't have enough patrolmen pounding a beat in residential and park areas because so many (up to 700 daily) are diverted to "preserve order in labor disputes," meaning such things as the National Maritime Union struggle where cops were used on a mass scale to help Curran take the union away from its members.

DR. VANNEVAR BUSH, atomic authority and president of Carnegie Institution, has joined Gen. Eisenhower's attack on pensions and other social security demands. Bush is worried about a trend to federally-supported "soft security" in which "every man's hand is out for pabulum" and the people are bent on "voting themselves into Eden from a supposedly inexhaustible public purse, supporting everyone by soaking a fast disappearing rich, scrambling for subsidy," etc., etc.

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THE MILITANT

Curran-Packed Meeting Ousts N.Y. Port Officials

(Cont. from page 1)

The so-called charges had little to do with the proceedings. They were drawn up by a lawyer who merely cited those provisions of the constitution relating to "duties of officials" which had allegedly been violated.

THE CHARGES

Several officials, for example, were charged with violating "duties" which were outside their province and which they had no duty to perform. One, in fact, had been on a leave of absence for several months and had been excused from all official duty, yet he also was included in the list.

Only four of the fifteen officials on charges were permitted to speak and they were constantly heckled by the chairman. Vice-President Warner, appointed administrator of the port, was chosen by Curran as the wind-up speaker to do a hatchet job on the accused before the vote was taken. His tirade had little to do with the charges. He spun a hair-raising fantasy of a Moscow-inspired revolution to capture the NMU in order to scuttle the American Merchant Marine in the coming war with Russia, etc., etc.

The climax of Warner's speech was a fervent prayer: "God bless the Police Department!" And well he might call down the blessing of the Almighty on O'Dwyer's cops who played a decisive role in beating back the rank and file movement in the Port of New York which threatened to engulf the Curran machine.

Discussion was closed and the vote taken in the atmosphere of a witch-hunt created by Warner's hysterical red-baiting speech. With approximately 4,000 members present at the meeting, 1,714 voted to uphold the trial committee's decision, 566 voted against and 1,700 abstained from voting. The bus-loads from the outposts, the police, the shipowners, the terror, had done the job. Curran had "taken over" the Port of New York!

GRIEVANCES REMAIN

But the grievances which gave rise to the opposition still exist and will become more acute. All of the 15 officials removed from office were elected, along with Curran, on the Rank & File Caucus slate that ousted the Stalinists in the last election. The entire slate was pledged to preserve and extend the democratic rights of the membership and convert the NMU into a militant, fighting organization.

The opposition broke with the Curran faction when he violated the pledges and cynically disregarded the promises made to the membership. Instead of extending the democratic rights of the membership he proposed to stifle the voice of every critic and gag every dissenter. Instead of a militant policy, conditions on the ships are worsening, the shipowners grow more arrogant, the blacklist against union militants flourishes, with little or no resistance from the leadership.

CURRAN'S METHODS

The opposition was formed under the pressure of accumulated grievances. The membership in the Port of New York were in the vanguard of the struggle. The Curran faction realized that so long as internal democracy prevailed the members in the outposts and on the ships would begin to rally behind the rank and file movement. The opposition was cut off from access to the union paper and Curran launched his blitzkrieg to take over the Port.

The campaign against the Port of New York was conducted under an unbridled red-baiting barrage. In this, Curran was aided and abetted by the boss press, radio, Tammany politicians, shipowners and police. Many, many members brought in from the outposts really believed they were here to save the union from a "communist putsch." But the truth must and will prevail.

The course that the Curran faction has taken can only lead to a piling up of grievances and a greater awareness of the real issues in dispute. With the awakening will come the day of reckoning.

HAVE YOU?

If you have not yet sent your contribution to the Socialist Workers Party Building Fund, do it now!

Thomas Admits Guilt



Rep. J. Parnell Thomas (R, N. J.) and his wife don't look very happy outside of courtroom where the professional witch-hunter changed his plea from one of not guilty to no contest and put himself at the mercy of the judge. The no contest plea means Thomas is guilty of payroll padding as charged. He faces as high as 32 years in jail.

CONFESSIONS OFFERED AT SARAJEVO TRIAL OF FORMER WHITE GUARDS

Ten Russian citizens are now on trial before a Yugoslav court in Sarejevo. They are charged with having worked with the Nazis and the Gestapo during the German

occupation of Yugoslavia and with having carried on espionage activities for Soviet secret police and thereby aided in Stalin's attempt to overthrow the Tito regime. The second is the more important of the charges and is the reason for the trial.

Like the Rajk trial in Hungary and the other Stalinist court actions in Eastern Europe, the government's case rests entirely on confessions extracted from the prisoners by police interrogators prior to the opening of the trial. The prosecution aims merely at substantiating the confessions. On this basis too the court renders its verdict.

In another respect as well, the Sarajevo trial follows the familiar Stalinist pattern. No witnesses are produced by the prosecution to substantiate its charges and except for letters intercepted from one of the defendants to the GPU, Russian intelligence service, there is a total lack of prima facie evidence.

DIFFERENCES TOO

But there are dissimilarities as well. The Yugoslav trial, like the Mindszenty trial and unlike the Rajk trial, contains the germ of truth. The defendants were part of the Russian emigre colony in Yugoslavia, most of them former White Guard opponents of Bolshevism who had emigrated to Yugoslavia after the October Revolution and the Civil War. They were granted — or rather forced to take — Soviet citizenship after World War II.

This "citizenship" did not entitle them to return to the Soviet Union. It merely placed them completely at the mercy of the Soviet embassy and the Russian GPU in Yugoslavia. Under such circumstances, there is no doubt some of them were pressed into the GPU espionage service. Others perhaps entered more voluntarily not because of sympathy with Stalin but out of reactionary hostility to the Yugoslav regime.

Another difference is the absence of abject, breast-beating confessions which are the general practice at Kremlin-directed trials. Some of the defendants have denied parts of the charges. Others have given extenuating circumstances as the reason for their actions. None of them has been converted to Titoism or to love for his regime. This perhaps is to be explained in part by the fact that the "conversion" of such elements would not particularly redound to the advantage of the Yugoslav government.

The trial at Sarejevo can only be interpreted as Tito's reply to the trial in Hungary and to the others now being prepared in Bulgaria, Poland and other Eastern European countries. It aims to demonstrate that if those trials, purporting to show an attempt by the Yugoslavs in cooperation with American imperialism to overthrow the "peoples' democracies," were frameups, Stalin was and is actually engaging in an attempt to destroy the Tito regime.

Of course there is little need of a trial to demonstrate this purpose on Stalin's part. The Cominform and the Russian press

Parley Protests Victimization of UAW Members

By Al Miller

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 5 — A conference of UAW locals in the Los Angeles area last Monday night sharply condemned the failure of the UAW International Office

to support members who have been victimized for union activity. Called by General Motors Local 216, the conference was attended by approximately 70 officers and executive board members of neighboring auto locals.

In the last few months a number of union officers have been fired or disciplined for militant action taken in the performance of their union duties, and the Reuther administration has made no attempt to protect or defend them.

The most shameful case is the one involving Bill Lewis, president of Chevrolet Local 645. As related to the conference by Sid Cohen, chairman of that local's shop committee, the facts are that Lewis was fired allegedly for threatening a foreman in the course of an argument over a grievance and for promoting a work stoppage. According to the evidence submitted by the company, the "work stoppage" consisted of workers leaving the line to witness the heated argument. However, it was admitted by the company that no jobs were skipped as a result.

In spite of these facts, the Review Board, an agency of the International Office of the UAW, declared that Lewis had no case and refused to permit his grievance to be appealed to the GM Empire. In effect, Lewis stands fired with the agreement of the International leaders.

Subsequently the Lewis case was presented to the GM economic conference held in Detroit on Nov. 17-18. This was a meeting of all GM locals for the purpose of formulating contract demands. At the insistence of the delegates from Local 645 the Lewis case was placed on the agenda. By an overwhelming vote the delegates instructed the International to re-open the Lewis case with a view to securing his reinstatement.

Despite this mandate from a conference representing nearly a quarter-million auto workers, the Reuther administration has advised the Regional Office in Los Angeles that the Lewis case has been closed. In his letter to the Regional Office, E. S. Patterson, assistant director of the GM Department of the UAW, states that it was a mistake to raise the issue of the Lewis case at the Detroit conference. He adds that if all the locals were permitted to raise their "pet cases" at these conferences there would be such a flood that the conference would never accomplish its business.

It will be quite a shock for many UAW members to learn that the firing of a union president for arguing a grievance aggressively is now classified as a "pet case." It will be equally disturbing for the members to hear a confession from the International officers that there is a "flood" of such cases.

Full support of the Lewis case was voted unanimously by the L.A. meeting and a continuations committee of local union presidents was set up to publicize the facts of the case throughout the

UAW in Region 6 and in all the locals of the GM system.

The meeting then heard a report from Clarence Johnson, president of the National Automotive Fibres unit of Local 509. Johnson and George Herbert, chief steward, together with six other stewards, were fired for distributing picket cards on company property in preparation for a strike voted by the members.

In protest against this action the men walked out of the plant. The men were induced to return to work on the promise that the company would rescind the firing of the union's officers. Subsequently, Johnson and Herbert were given 75-day disciplinary lay-offs.

Previously they had been assured by International Vice-President Richard Gosser, who was in the city at the time, that the International would not permit anything more than a token penalty of a two-day lay-off.

Both of the officers were excluded from the negotiations which arrived at this disposition of their case. Further, they were advised that they had been reinstated only as a favor to C. V. O'Halloran, Regional Director, and Norman Matthews, Director of the Chrysler Department of the UAW, and were warned to behave themselves.

At Lincoln-Mercury Local 923 a similar situation was reported to the conference. A "wildcat" strike had taken place as a result of intolerable speed-up conditions in the body shop. Upon the advice of the Regional Office and assurances that there would be no penalties, the men went back to work.

Several days later, two rank and file officers, "Red" Johnson and Gene Farrell, were fired upon the charge that they had instigated the walkout.

Although this case has been appealed to the Ford Empire, the complaint of the members of Local 923 is that top officers of the UAW have used their positions to send the men back to work without securing an improvement in their working conditions and without guarantees. The L.A. conference voted to condemn the International for failing to support and protect union officers and members who are being fired or disciplined for union activity. It was also voted to convene similar meetings at any time in the future that such victimization is threatened.

At the beginning of the meeting several delegates declared that they did not view it as an anti-Reuther or anti-O'Halloran meeting. However, as the discussion progressed the mood of the delegates changed. They were forced to draw the only logical conclusion: that as a result of the flagrant disregard of elementary union principles by the Reuther administration and the outrageous actions that had taken place, they had been precipitated into a battle. When union officers can be fired for union activity with the acquiescence of the International and Regional offices, then the UAW is truly in bad shape.

Truman Perpetrates Hoax on Housing Bias

(Continued from Page 1)

or to whom he shall sell his property."

To qualify for federal aid, therefore, builders will have to refrain from filing restrictive covenants; but they won't have to cease discrimination.

The new policy will cover only private housing. It will not in any way affect public housing policy, which permits local authorities to segregate Negroes. An amendment to eliminate segregation in government housing projects was defeated in Congress earlier this year by a united front of the Dixiecrats and the liberal Democrats like Humphrey and Douglas.

TRUMAN'S POLICY

Truman's housing reform hoax is similar to the one he has practiced for so long with regard to the armed forces. In both cases, since federal employees and federal finances are concerned, he has the power, without further authorization from Congress, to end segregation and discrimination. In both cases, however, he refuses to use this power and tries instead to entice Negro and

labor support by making gestures whose over-all effect is meaningless.

It is well known that he intends to have his followers stage another sham battle in Congress next month over his civil rights promises, just as he did earlier this year. His latest piece of trickery indicates that nothing will come out of Congress in 1950, however, if it is left up to him.

Defeat of his civil rights program next year won't make Truman shed any tears. His only interest in this program arises from the fact that he can use it demagogically to seek the votes of Negroes and other minorities in the 1950 and 1952 elections.

Truman is "most happy over the result of his efforts." But the Negro people and other minorities have nothing to be happy about. For them, so far as civil rights under Truman are concerned, "the more things change, the more they are the same." The way to really change conditions is by mass action, directed as much against the Trumanites as against the Dixiecrats and Republicans.