

Stool Pigeon Role For Air Wardens Is OCD Scheme

By George Lavan

Plans to convert the Air Raid Wardens of the New York Civilian Defense set-up into thought control police engaged in compiling a political blacklist were discovered this week by the Militant. Under this sinister plan Air Wardens are to engage in political espionage and informing in addition to their other duties. They would form a network of political police covering every block in the city as did the black leaders system of Nazi Germany.

These facts are not based on hearsay but on an official book of instructions for Air Wardens issued by the New York Office of Civilian Defense.

In the section instructing Air Wardens to interview and keep a written record on every family in their block, the official instructions state: "In the course of your personal survey you are bound to learn a great deal about the personal affairs of your neighbors. Let them know that you are not prying, that whatever information you may obtain is in strict confidence, that you are not trafficking in rumors or gossip, that your only interest in the information you are gathering is in its applicability to civil defense preparations."

ONE EXCEPTION

The official instructions then say that "there is only one exception to this rule" of keeping information in "strict confidence." "If, on your rounds, you should observe some activity which you believe to be a threat to the national security, report it to the proper authorities."

What kind of activities believed "to be a threat to the national security" can an Air Warden discover while interviewing people in their living rooms? These can only be of two kinds: 1) clues spotted by the Air Warden, such as liberal or left-wing magazines lying around, "subversive" books in the bookcases, and 2) political expressions of the family about their own views or information about the views or political affiliations of their neighbors, given in the belief that these will be kept in "strict confidence" whereas the Air Wardens are under instruction to report these to "the proper authorities."

Another section of the instructions outlines the procedure with people who "refuse to cooperate" and won't "answer questions." A large number of these would undoubtedly fall into the category of those who think the Air Warden set-up a pitiable and

ridiculous farce as far as protection from Atom Bombings is concerned. These would get a talking to from higher ups in the Civil Defense organization. But what if the questions that individuals refuse to answer are of a prying political nature? The instruction book simply says that cases of people "refusing to cooperate" should be reported to the Squad leader, who will take appropriate action through his Precinct Civil Defense Coordinator.

LOYALTY OATHS

Further proof of the thought-control aspect of the Civil Defense set-up was provided by its bold assault on the freedom of the press. Civilian Defense Director Arthur Wallander decreed that police press cards were no longer sufficient for newspaper reporters covering air raid tests and other "emergencies." Henceforth a loyalty oath would be required of reporters. The N. Y. Daily Compass, one of the few New York papers opposing this infringement on freedom of the press, reveals that it was informed by an Office of Civilian Defense spokesman that eventually the oath will be required of mechanical, commercial, advertising, circulation employees and editorial staff if the paper wants to publish during "emergencies."

Reporters of most New York newspapers have been signed up 100% on the OCD loyalty oath. The CIO Newspaper Guild has remained silent except for a short-lived protest of the Guild unit at the conservative N. Y. Herald-Tribune.

It is noteworthy that the oath, the same one required of all OCD personnel, refers to a class of "domestic enemies" as well as to foreign powers. The oath-swearer promises that he or she will "support and defend the Constitution of the U.S. against all enemies, foreign and domestic."

It is becoming increasingly evident that the Civilian Defense set-up — ineffective as it may be against the disasters that atomic bombings of a new world war would bring — was created not simply for "defense" but as part of the preparation and mechanism for the police state which elements of the capitalist class so eagerly look forward to.

THE "GREAT DEBATE" IS STARTING UP AGAIN

By George Clarke

The difficulties of the European rearmament program have re-awakened the "Great Debate" of the Winter of 1950. The issue was then decided against MacArthur's "war-in-the-Pacific" program and in favor of concentrating on the North Atlantic army. Today there is outspoken criticism in capitalist circles of the Atlantic program itself and even some questioning of the planned war against the Soviet Union.

Sure enough, the muddlehead liberals, who yesterday were cheering the great "moral effort" they saw in rearmament, are today acclaiming its critics. Max Lerner has visions of "a turning point in business attitudes toward the cold war economy." Right off the bat, he has begun lecturing his fellow liberals to drop "their old cliché (!) about businessmen always wanting war."

DOUBTS WILL GROW

As usual, Lerner's imagination is stronger than his power of analysis. There will be no fundamental change in the war program until the American workers bring down their mighty fist into the midst of the "Great Debate." Meanwhile the confusion and differences in capitalist circles will remain. The grumbling will become louder as the arm race jolts American and world economy completely out of shape. Doubts as to the possibility of victory in the anti-Soviet war will reappear and grow with each new political, military and economic crisis engendered by the war program in the world.

In the end, powerful immediate economic compulsions, an expression of the long-range interests of the capitalist system itself, will decide the "Great Debate." The juggernaut of war will silence the critics and grumblers here as abroad. Businessmen may or may not want the war — there will be no other alternative but collapse.

This trend is indicated by two factors making for the present

crisis. The first consists of "resistance" to the war program in capitalist circles centering around small business and the "soft goods" industries supplying consumer goods markets. They have been staggering from the economic cyclone that has been blowing their way since the Korean war. According to the report by the Senate Committee on Small Business, they are being frozen out of government war orders and at the same time denied "scarce basic materials" to run their civilian businesses.

"Ten large manufacturing companies," says the committee, "have been handed 40 percent of the total dollar volume of defense contracts since Korea; fifty companies command almost two-thirds of the dollar volume of defense contracts. This is a considerably higher concentration than during the Second World War, when ten large manufacturing companies controlled 30 percent of the war contract dollar volume and 100 companies two-thirds."

The discontent of the consumer goods interests is further aggravated by the contrast between the depressed conditions in their lines and the boom in the production of heavy factory equipment, railroad cars, engines, machine tools, power generators, boilers, etc. The Federal Reserve Board estimates that while machinery production is 20% over a year ago, output of consumer durable goods, like refrigerators, washers, TV-sets, furniture, etc., is down by 37%.

An illustration of the glut in this market is the 37% drop in department store sales (in September) as against last year's level while the supply of these items in the hands of the same stores was 49% higher (as of October) than a year ago. The

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'Kutcher Merits Support Of All'--New Jersey CIO

ASBURY PARK, Dec. 9 — The New Jersey State CIO, meeting in its 12th constitutional convention here today unanimously adopted a resolution pledging continued support of James Kutcher, Newark legless veteran who was purged from the Veterans Administration because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The New Jersey CIO, which was the first of hundreds of labor organizations to come to Kutcher's defense, urged its affiliates "to extend moral and financial assistance to help him win this test case" and thanked the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee for "its excellent and energetic activities" in Kutcher's behalf. The full text of the resolution follows:

James Kutcher deserves the respect and support of every freedom-loving American. As an infantryman in World War II, he lost both his legs in the battle of San Pietro, Italy. When he returned to Newark, he got a clerical job with the Veterans Administration, but was discharged from it in 1948 because of his political views and associations, although no fault was found with his work or behavior.

Believing that his case involved a fundamental principle of free speech and civil liberties, he decided to challenge his dismissal on the ground that the organization to which he belonged, the Socialist Workers Party, had been placed on the Attorney General's subversive list without a hearing, or the right to defend itself, or even to learn the specific reasons why it had been classified as subversive. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit recently ruled in the Remington case that the Attorney General's list is a purely hearsay declaration by the Attorney General. . . . It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed associations. . . .

In a forthright manner, and at great personal sacrifice and physical strain, James Kutcher has taken his appeal to the American people and the federal courts. He has denied that either he or his party are subversive, and has asked for reinstatement to his job in order to clear his name of the stigma placed on it and to uphold the finest democratic principles and practices. His case is now before the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington, where its disposition may serve to clear up the issue of the constitutionality of the entire loyalty program.

He is being aided by the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, a national non-partisan group which disagrees with his political views but believes he has the right to hold them and federal employment at the same time. This committee includes such distinguished citizens as Dr. John Dewey, Carl Holderman, Irving Abrantson, Mark Starr and

Arthur Garfield Hays, and has been endorsed by hundreds of labor, civic, religious, liberal and civil liberty organizations representing millions of Americans.

"FORTHRIGHT MANNER"

Now, therefore be it resolved: That the New Jersey State CIO Council, which was the first organization to come to the defense of James Kutcher, reaffirms its support of his fight to obtain justice from the federal government, and urges all its affiliates to extend moral and financial assistance to help him with this test case which is so vital for the survival of the democratic guarantees afforded by the Bill of Rights, and

That we thank the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee for its excellent and energetic activities and pledge it our continued aid in the campaign to vindicate the democratic traditions and methods that are indispensable for the well-being and progress of the American people.

U. S. Korea Casualties at 102,576

The latest Defense Department announcement puts the total of U.S. casualties in Korea at 102,576. Meanwhile, estimates of total casualties in Korea for all armies involved in the fighting place the total close to the 2 1/4 million mark.

U.S. casualty figures, which are 888 higher this week than last, now include 17,441 dead and 11,042 missing. Of those reported as missing, it may be expected that approximately half or slightly under half are in Chinese and Korean prisoner-of-war camps, if the percentages in other wars hold for this one. This means that the actual number of U.S. dead in Korea is probably about 23,000.

Estimates of other casualties in Korea place the South Korean total at 150,000, the other "U.N." casualties at 6,000, Chinese and North Korean casualties at 1,505,000, and civilian casualties at 475,000, for a total of 2,236,000.

The U.S. News calls this the "strangest of all strange wars." This war, they say, "has been on a scale that places Korea among the great military operations of history." Yet it is still called a "police action" by the Truman administration which has no sanction from the people for this murderous war.

Daniel Tobin in the Lion's Den

By Cy Thomas

The best brains, the greatest intellects, the most profound thinkers among the labor leaders, are today puzzling over the problem: How to restore the faith of the workers in the American two-party system. And it is not at all surprising that the most unique contributions to a solution of the problem should emanate from that fountainhead of creative intelligence, the AFL Executive Committee circle of political Neanderthals.

First, to state the problem. The political policy of the labor leaders, both AFL and CIO, is to support "friends" of labor in the Democratic and Republican parties. The workers are repelled by this policy and express their disgust by refusing to register and vote for the candidates endorsed by the labor statesmen. They have seen that the so-called "friends," when elected, are hardly distinguishable from enemies. So they don't even bother to vote — and that's driving the labor skates frantic.

While the answer of most labor leaders is to lecture the workers on their duties as American citizens, some are probing for other means to preserve the system. The most "original" contribution this week comes from the doddering brain of Daniel J. Tobin, president of the AFL Teamsters Union and longtime labor spokesman for the Democratic party.

Tobin has been rather critical of the Democrats lately. Not too critical, of course, but just enough to let it be understood that he is not to be taken for granted. In the December issue of the International Teamster, for example, Tobin discourses on the meaning of the recent election. He concludes that on the whole the Republicans came out ahead and if an election were held "today, tomorrow or yesterday," they would win. But, being a cautious man, he concedes that things may change "by the time election comes around in 1952."

However, Tobin asserts, "it is quite doubtful if the machinery

of government can bring back any such thing as the confidence of the working masses of the people, organized and unorganized, in the whole setup of Washington." Well then, it seems the Democrats are out so far as the workers are concerned. Will they vote Republican? The answer, says Tobin, "is that while the masses of workers will not vote for the enemies of labor, many within the Republican party, the masses of the workers have lost confidence in the present Washington machinery." And so we're right back where we started from. Tobin must, therefore, probe a little deeper. Let's go along for the ride!

The workers, says Tobin, ask themselves: "Where are we going?" (That's a legitimate question!) "What's become of the promises made to us by the party in power?" (That shouldn't be hard to answer!) "Have they forsaken the working people of the nation?" (That one should be easy!)

"Those questions," Tobin pro-

duently affirms, "are difficult to answer. As I have repeatedly said before, for some unaccountable reason the toilers have lost confidence." Tobin finds the toilers very difficult to fathom. "It could be," he says, "that the masses of workers are wrong" — but Tobin would be the last man to come right out and say so. On the other hand, he concedes, "it could also be that they are right, and they seemingly demonstrated their feelings by 'not voting.'" Deftly sidestepping any definite conclusion, Tobin heads for firmer ground. "I feel safe," he boldly proclaims, "in saying that large numbers of voters, both organized and unorganized, have a feeling of something like distrust." Could that "something" be just a slight feeling of nausea?

MERELY HUMAN

Tobin agrees that the workers have many legitimate grievances. Because they see no solution in voting for either Democrat or Republican they don't vote at all.

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Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

OPS Pulling Food Cost Up Survey Shows

U. S. Industrialist Debunks Tale That Soviet Seeks War

"I believe the evidence indicates that Russia will not deliberately precipitate another world war within the foreseeable future. . . ."

These are the words of Philip D. Reed, chairman of the board of directors, General Electric Company. They are part of a speech he made to the First International Conference of Manufacturers at New York, sponsored by the National Association of Manufacturers.

Mr. Reed's statement is worthy of notice. Not only because it is true, but because it is made by an economic royalist and an uncompromising foe of communism. Because it was not made to the "sheep" but to his own kind, who want to hear the truth not propaganda.

We agree with Mr. Reed. But his correct statement leads us to ask a few questions. If it is true that "Russia will not deliberately precipitate another world war" —

Why has the U.S. government sacrificed the lives or limbs of over 100,000 American soldiers in Korea?

Why is it spending 60 billion dollars for military purposes?

Why is the school and home-building program being shelved to provide funds for a war program?

Why are the people suffering from high prices and taxes which are a consequence of this program?

Why are 3,000,000 young people dragged from home, school and jobs into the armed forces?

Why is the U.S. government rearming Germany under the command of Hitler's former generals?

Why is it bolstering Dictator Franco as the price of building military bases in Spain?

Why is it reconstituting the Japanese warlords as a military power?

Why is it supporting the British and French Empires in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa?

Is all this meant to restrain and frighten the Russians from the thought of war?

Bunk. The kind of bunk Hitler put out before the last war.

He had to rearm, so he said, in order to "stop Bolshevism." That was also his excuse for invading country after country.

What happened in the end? Hitler attacked the Soviet Union!

Profit-hogs Demand More As Prices Hit Record Peak

Office of Price Stabilization ceilings are being used not to hold food prices down but to increase prices even more. This was revealed by Robert S. Allen, Washington columnist, in an exclusive report.

Of a secret survey made by OPS of food prices throughout the country. This survey showed that high though food prices are they are 5 per cent lower on an average than OPS ceilings. "High OPS ceilings are acting as a magnet in pulling up the cost of food," Allen states. He adds that the secret report is "being closely guarded by OPS officials. Apparently there is no intention of disclosing its significant findings to the press."

When consumer and union representatives, with an inkling of the report and the "magnet-like" effect of present price ceilings on retail food prices, suggested to an OPS official that the ceilings be de-magnetized, he replied: "I should tell you that we are considering raising ceilings on a number of items sold by chain stores."

ANOTHER BOOST COMING

Lest anyone think the Big Business puppets running price control are going to take a breather, it must be reported that at the moment they are considering a recommendation from their Food Industry Advisory Committee that grocers be authorized to increase their margin of profit from the present 20 per cent to 22 per cent. If allowed, this will mean an overall price increase on everything on the grocers' shelves.

It has become obvious that the whole mobilization set-up, run by and for Big Business, has merely talked about a fictional price control while it has enforced the wage freeze. Real wages are falling lower and lower. While the labor bureaucrats bemoan this fact publicly they are parties to the swindle because they remain as window dressing for the mobilization set-up. This fosters the illusion in the public mind that the government is at least making an effort to "control" prices.

As if to underscore their motto — "Onward and Upward!" — the

KOREA: U.S. IMPERIALISM IN A SEA OF TROUBLES

By Harry Frankel

"War is movement in a resistant medium," the German military theorist, von Clausewitz, wrote. The truth of this remark has been confirmed by the experience of American imperialism in Korea — which has dominated them ever since the fact that, increasingly isolated in a hostile world, U.S. imperialism is no longer its own master. It must calculate the effect of its every move, and this limits its moves drastically.

The difficulties have become so great that the Korea war seems to be coming to a stalemate and despite all exertions of the war-dogs to keep it going.

SEA OF TROUBLES

In the one-and-one-half years of war in Korea, Washington has swum in a sea of troubles. The American people have never been convinced of the justification for the war, and the latest public opinion poll shows that 56% of the American people consider it "utterly useless." The many-millioned population of the Far East, suspicious of Washington before the Korea events, have become convinced foes of the Pentagon war-planners. U.S. allies in Europe have faced a growing popular hostility to the Korean intervention, and for this and other reasons, have backed efforts to end the war. And finally, the U.S. soldiers who are called upon to fight and die for Wall Street in Korea, have shown an increasing resistance.

Truce negotiations initiated by the Kremlin have been going on for more than five months. The chief factor which forced U.S. agreement to cease-fire talks and

Despite all difficulties, the U.S. has tried to continue the war. Large-scale battle action, initiated primarily by U.S. brass hats, has been greater since the truce talks started than before. U.S. casualty figures during the first year of the war, averaged about 1350 a week, but in the five months of the Kaesong and Pannumjon talks, they have gone up to almost 1500 per week average.

The U.S. imperialists have clung to the war in Korea, despite the many difficulties involved in carrying it on, because it plays a very important role in U.S. foreign and domestic policy.

At the start of the truce talks last July, Washington flatly refused to discuss any Far Eastern issues, stating that it would talk only after the fighting was brought to a halt. Issues such as a settlement of the Formosa question, the admission of the New China into the U.N., and the arrangement of future affairs in Korea itself were among those ruled out.

It must be recalled that Wash-

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Notebook of an Agitator

THE TRAGIC STORY

For the past two weeks this space has been devoted to report and comment on the continuing misfortunes of the Stalinists in the trade unions. The right-wing bureaucrats haven't been doing so well in the protection of the workers against the twin scourges of speed-up and inflation. But in the internal fight against the remnants of Stalinist influence and control they are still shooting fish in a barrel.

The patriotic labor skates have all the advantages in an unequal struggle. They enjoy the solid backing of the government and are also supported by all the monopolized agencies for the manufacture of public opinion. The general atmosphere of reaction favors them. And they have been aided in no small degree by the witch-hunt and the brutal persecution of the Communist Party leaders, which the CIO convention formally—but only formally—decided. For the moment, at least, the right-wing, pro-government faction of Murray and Reuther are the victors. Moreover, they continue to gain, directly or indirectly, from new betrayals and defections which afflict the Stalinists, even in their "independent" unions. Like active hemiplegia.

Sympathy for Victims

If one can contemplate the trade union troubles of the Stalinist fakers with equanimity it is not because of indifference to the present trend of events. The over-all result is the consolidation of a conservative, pro-government bureaucracy which smother the militancy of the unions created in struggle and harnesses them to the imperialist war machine. Revolutionary militants are bound to struggle against this course. It would be a fatal error, however, to identify this struggle with the Stalinists and to regard them as its banner-bearers. The Stalinists are losing positions they never earned and never used to good purpose. Why shed tears for them? Sympathy should be reserved for their victims.

The chief victim of Stalinism in this country was the magnificent left-wing movement which rose up on the yeast of the economic crisis in the early 30's and eventually took form in the CIO through a series of veritable labor uprisings. Such a movement, instinctively aimed against American capitalism, was bound to find a political leadership. Conditioned by their frightful experiences, the workers in the vanguard of the great mass movement were ready for the most radical solutions. The Stalinists, who appeared to represent the Russian revolution and the Soviet Union, almost automatically gained the dominating position in the movement; while thousands of young militants—not the worst but in many cases the very best—were recruited into the Communist Party.

The story of what happened to these young militants; what was done to them, how their faith was abused and their confidence betrayed by the cynical American agents of the Kremlin gang—that is just about the most tragic story in the long history of the American labor movement. The promising young movement was manipulated, twisted and distorted to serve the current aims of Russian foreign policy. The young militants seeking education from the Communist Party were dosed with demagoguery and double talk. They were taught that bureaucratic tricks and manipulations and horse-trades with careerist labor officials were more important than the politics of the class struggle.

The best young militants with independent minds, who wanted to think and learn and act consistently according to principle, were ruthlessly

ly expelled. Others were cowed into silence and acquiescence, befuddled into the sadly mistaken belief that by all the lies and treachery they were somehow or other serving a good cause.

Demoralized Left Wing

By their whole policy and conduct; by their unprincipled opportunism, their unscrupulous demagoguery, systematic lying and calculated treachery—the Stalinists demoralized the left-wing labor movement. They squandered its militancy and robbed it of the moral resources to resist the reactionary witch-hunt instituted in the unions with the beginning of the "cold war." Murray and Reuther only appear to be the conquerors of the left-wing workers. It was really the Stalinists who beat them.

Losses and defeats can't be avoided in times of reaction, when the relationship of forces is unfavorable. This is true in all stages and phases of the class struggle, from trade union activity to revolution. But there are defeats and defeats. Those which come in battle under honest leadership leave a tradition upon which the movement lives and later rises to victory. Other defeats which derive from cowardice and treachery bring demoralization and yield no moral capital for the future. Such is the defeat engineered by the Stalinists in the present internal struggle in the trade unions.

The great majority of the young militants attracted to the Communist Party in the past 20 years have fallen away in disillusionment and disgust. A very large percentage of those who remained in the party have been hopelessly mis-educated and corrupted. But for all that, some of the present members of the Communist Party no doubt retain their revolutionary aspirations and faith. We encounter such individuals quite often and we sympathize with them, and try to find a basis for cooperation. We don't blame them for all the crimes of the Communist Party leadership. They are the fall guys in a stupendous frame-up and confidence game. Any time they take a single step toward a break with perfidious Stalinism, toward the politics of the class struggle, they will find us ready to help, to discuss the great questions of principle, and to cooperate in the struggle against American capitalism.

Some material for an honest revolutionary party will yet be salvaged out of the mass of people attracted to the Communist Party in the past and mis-educated by it. But on this score one should have no illusions. The main mass of American militant workers poisoned by Stalinism are a used-up generation, morally spent. It is tragic, for they were good material, the kind of material out of which a revolutionary party can be made; but it can't be helped.

The New Generation

American labor radicalism has a great future, and its next upsurge very probably will not be long delayed. We should make no mistake as to where the troops are coming from. The next drive will be spear-headed by the young militants of the new generation who are soon to enter the arena with all the courage and ardor of the generation of the 30's; and very likely in even more imposing numbers. They will avoid the fate of the preceding generation if those who have learned from the tragic experiences do their duty. The first element of that duty is to inoculate the new generation of militants against the deadly virus of Stalinism.

— J.P.C.

Top Trumanites Implicated



CLARK



McGRATH

In addition to attacking civil liberties, preparing for war and figuring out ways of making the people pay for it, top officials in the Truman administration have found time to feather their own nest, as the tax scandal revelations about Supreme Court Justice Clark and Attorney General McGrath have shown. See editorial on Page 3.

The New Stalinist Policy For Japan--An Appraisal

By a Special Correspondent

(This is the last in a series of three letters from a special Japanese correspondent, describing the present political situation in Japan and presenting his criticism of the Stalinist program for Japan. — Ed.)

TOKYO — Last year the Communist Party of Japan was almost split into two factions. The so-called "internationalist faction" under Yoshio Shiga, one of the three top Stalinist leaders, tried to criticize Tokuda and Nosaka, the other two party bosses, who are still underground. At first the Shiga faction showed a tendency to emphasize the leading role of the proletariat in the united struggle with the peasants and middle class masses.

But as a result of pressure from Moscow and Peking, the internationalist faction has been almost completely liquidated. Shiga made a "self-criticism" long ago and stopped his fight.

THE CP PROGRAM

The CP adopted new theses at a secret conference last August. This is the line it took:

1. What now completely dominates Japan is the American occupation system, which has become permanent. The Yoshida government is the political and moral support for this occupation.

2. American imperialist policy is to completely destroy Japanese industries, bankrupt the Japanese industrialists, secure forced labor for its war preparations, and deprive Japan of her last possibility to live by her foreign trade.

3. "Into the national united front which fights for a national liberation democratic government, there is the possibility to mobilize not only workers and peasants, but also petty manufacturers and merchants, and even a broad circle of industrialists." "It is necessary to make the working class understand that they must pull these shokun (a very friendly way of saying these people) boldly into the united front."

4. "The anti-national reactionary forces of Japan are Tenno (Hirohito — Ed.), former reactionary militarists, privileged bureaucrats, parasitic landlords and monopolistic capitalists."

5. "At present the Japanese peasants have only very small lots of lands because the best lands are owned by parasitic landlords and other big landowners. For the peasants to possess sufficient lands, it is enough to confiscate lands from the parasitic landlords and other big landowners and give them to the peasants. This measure alone would make it possible for the peasants to own enough lands; what is more, there would remain reserve lands too."

But the present situation is quite different from the way the Stalinists depict it.

CAPITALIST RULE

What rules Japan today directly is Japanese capitalism, headed by the monopolists. They are subordinated to American capitalism, but are accepted and supported by the latter. Because of their economic dependence on U.S. capitalism and various restrictions created by the Peace Treaty and the Security Pact, the monopoly capitalists of Japan will be forced to intensify their exploitation of workers, peasants and the middle classes. The Yoshida government is not only a tool of U.S. imperialism but also of this increasingly more savage exploitation.

The Stalinists declare that the Japanese workers' political struggle is not a class struggle but a national struggle. According to them, we are not going to have a proletarian revolution but a national liberation revolution. In

accordance with this position, they have dropped from their program all socialistic demands—such as nationalization of the banks, principal industries and land.

U.S. AIMS

It is false to say that U.S. imperialism is determined to destroy the Japanese industries and bankrupt the capitalist property owners. U.S. imperialism wants to exploit and utilize them, but to do so, they must strengthen them, support them and help them to operate. The help they extend will of course mean a further dependence on U.S. imperialism, which will drive the Japanese to intensify exploitation at home, leading to intensification of the class struggle, which must inevitably assume a political and international character.

It is also wrong to place parasitic landlords on the same level as the monopoly capitalists. As a result of the land reform carried out by the U.S. occupation force through the Japanese government, purely parasitic landlords have been liquidated so far as arable lands are concerned. Pure farm tenants also were

Fund Drive Lag Must Be Made Up in Next Month

By Reba Aubrey

Fund Campaign Manager
Payments to the \$18,000 Organization and Press Fund slumped this week. The weekly total was \$730—less than half of last week's payments. The scoreboard, compiled on the basis of receipts through Dec. 10, shows \$7,736 or 43% of the national quota assigned for the 3-month campaign. We are 19% behind schedule, which isn't good.

Only five branches are on schedule with 62%, or better. Those below 62% have only five weeks in which to catch up and complete their quotas 100% by the campaign deadline—Jan. 15.

Newark branch continues in the lead with 79%, followed by Akron with 76%.

Chicago's \$43 payment keeps this determined branch in third place with 66% of its \$1,000 quota fulfilled.

With a \$45.50 payment from St. Paul and a \$19 payment from Minneapolis, the Twin Cities pushed into fourth place with 55% of their \$1,000 quota.

"We were put on the spot," writes Comrade Genora for Flint, "when you published our promise in *The Militant*. It produced results and here's \$51 which should bring us up on schedule." With this payment, plus \$16 received earlier in the week, Flint branch bolted from ninth to fifth place and is ahead of schedule with 63%.

Cleveland branch gained a lot of ground with an \$83 payment. "This should put us a little closer to the 'on time' bracket," writes Comrade Almeda. Another such spurt and Cleveland will be on schedule.

Milwaukee made a \$35 gain, hitting 59% of its quota. G. Holley says, "We'll keep rolling along!"

Connecticut added \$12 to its score.

"Thank goodness," shouts Alma Seton for the Philadelphia comrades, "we're beginning to pull out of the financial hole somewhat this month." In addition to a Sustaining Fund and dues payment, Comrade Seton forwarded \$83 on their fund quota. "We ought to look slightly more respectable on that scoreboard now. I wish, though, that we were right on schedule, or even ahead," she adds.

New York took a \$342 leap closer to its \$5,000 quota.

A check for \$75 increased San Francisco's percentage to 20.

Oakland pulled itself out of the zero column and hit 14% of its \$150 quota.

\$18,000 FUND SCOREBOARD

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$ 500	\$ 393	79
Akron	150	114	76
Chicago	1,000	657	66
St. Paul-Minneapolis	1,000	646	65
Flint	350	219	63
Pittsburgh	50	30	60
Cleveland	300	177	59
Milwaukee	250	147	59
Connecticut	75	42	56
St. Louis	100	50	50
Los Angeles	2,600	1,238	47
Philadelphia	400	182	46
Toledo	50	20	40
Buffalo	1,000	377	38
Detroit	1,500	572	38
New York	5,000	1,702	34
Seattle	400	137	34
Youngstown	350	120	34
Boston	550	147	27
San Francisco	1,000	195	20
Oakland	150	21	14
Allentown	75	0	0
General	1,150	550	48
Total through Dec. 10	\$18,000	\$7,736	43

THE MILITANT ARMY

Renewal work on Militant campaign subscriptions took a step forward this week with 50 renewals coming in from Newark, Seattle, Minneapolis, New York and St. Paul. Scattered subs from Los Angeles, Chicago, Boston and Detroit, indicate the beginning of work in those branches; and a final batch of subs from Flint raises their announced total of 57 to 64.

Flint Literature Agent Fred Perry reports a very good response to *The Militant* among recently visited subscribers and comments on the high percentage of renewals among them. "Our subscribers are much more conscious today," he writes, "and have a good deal more political understanding. I feel that we may well set our goal at doubling our present subscription list in our campaign this spring."

Literature Agent Winifred writes, "We have started our call-back work on the campaign subs here in St. Paul, and our first results are very encouraging. Most of our subscribers so far have renewed their subs. Of course many others who asked us to come back on payday or after Christmas will be visited again. Milt, Eva, Winifred, Paul, Bill K. and Bill B. participated in the work. In addition to the regular renewals we sold four copies of 'The Road to Peace'."

pamphlet, and seven local deliveries on a six-weeks basis. After the holiday we expect to do much better."

Additional subs from New York this week make a total of 32 so far. Literature Agent George Rock reports a good response on the part of those visited. Johnny made a good sale at a World Youth Festival Meeting, of nine Militants and two copies of 'The Road to Peace.' Johnny says, "The attitude of the Stalinists has changed in that they are discussing with us now. They admit that not defending the 18 Trotskyist leaders indicted under the Smith Act was a mistake. The youth especially want to discuss our position that only world socialism will bring peace against the idea of 'peaceful co-existence' of the Soviet Union and world capitalism."

Helen S. sends in the following report for Minneapolis. "New subs are always most gratifying, aren't they? And they are easy to get! While selling *The Militant* on the campus last Friday, Wally simply asked an interested student, 'Why don't you take a sub?' His dollar is enclosed! Again, while out getting renewals, I spoke to a new resident in the neighborhood and by saying a few words about the headlines in *The Militant* got a new sub. Mary, Chester, Prentice and Harry were also out for renewals. In addition to the subs we sold two copies of 'The Road to Peace.'"

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GEORGE CLARKE

Editor, Fourth International

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Tobin in the Lion's Den

(Continued from page 1)

"Of course," Tobin patiently explains, "that's the wrong attitude to take; but after all, the men and women are human. . . ." Now that's a princely concession—even for so greathearted an altruist as Daniel Tobin! And being "human" he adds, "all the

preaching of the politicians does not convince them." So we finally arrive at the following conclusion: The workers won't vote Democrat. They won't vote Republican. In fact, they won't vote at all! What then? What is the answer?

TOBIN'S ANSWER

"My answer," says Tobin, "is this: Large corporations and industrialists should endeavor to see the points of labor and work with labor to defeat Communism, which is increasing in every corner of the world, including our own country." (If anyone got the impression that Tobin was "seemingly" a timid man, just watch him go into action now!) "Secondly, I suggest that corporations should be satisfied with reasonable profits based on original investment. Corporations should set aside reasonable reserve funds, but not billions in reserves for the purpose not only of cheating the laborer but also

cheating the Government of taxes." (He's just warming up!) "Thirdly, corporations must begin to realize that the greatest enemy today to the world and human civilization is Communism and that the first class to be destroyed by Communism is capitalism, whether it is honest or dishonest capitalism." (One can readily see that Tobin is not the man to be pulling any punches.)

"My last suggestion," and here like a demented Daniel run amuck, Tobin beards the capitalist lion: "Wake up," he roars, "to your surrounding as of today. Tomorrow may be too late. Your heads will be the first ones on the block when the time comes. It happened that way in Russia. It happened that way in Germany. It happened that way in Austria. It can happen here. Keep it from happening here by helping labor to fight Communism; don't spend all your time and energy fighting labor." (Curtain.)

I know it isn't cricket, especially after such a sterling performance, but please, Mr. Tobin, what should be done to arouse the workers out of their lethargy before the next election? Oh, yes! The answer is given in the title of Daniel Tobin's editorial: "Employers Must Awaken."

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The Washington Cesspool

Scratch a high official in Washington, and nine times out of ten you'll find either a crook or a man who appointed crooks and shielded them as long as he could, which is not substantially different from being a crook himself. Scratch a crook or his protector in Washington, and ten times out of ten you'll find a witch hunter, a "loyalty" purger, a foe of free speech, a persecutor of people who dare to express independent political opinions.

Theron L. Caudle's claim to fame does not rest solely on his assiduous and successful efforts to feather his own nest and that of rich tax swindlers. It rests also on his record, as a high official in the Department of Justice, in sending to prison a number of victims of the administration's thought control program (Dennis, Marzani, Christoffel).

Witch hunter and pal of swindlers — they are the same man. The taker of bribes turns out to be the one who tries to take away our democratic rights under cover of protecting the country from "subversion." One hand pockets graft while the other shoves people behind bars for the "crime" of voicing criticism of profiteers and warmongers. Could there be a more perfect symbol of present day capitalism, its politics, its administration and its morals?

Caudle had to go — he made the mistake of getting caught, like his Republican counterpart, ex-Congressman J. Parnell Thomas, head of the House Un-American Committee which used to spearhead the witch hunt until the White House stole its thunder. But Caudle's departure changes nothing.

Supreme Court Justice Tom C. Clark and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath are like Caudle in more ways than one. Clark appointed Caudle in the first place and shared with him the favors of tax-evading profiteers while McGrath pretended ignorance about the sink of corruption in the Department of Justice and approved Caudle's acceptance of a "commission" from his crooked friends. Both Clark and McGrath have excelled at initiating, implementing and enforcing the worst deprivations against civil liberties in the history of the U.S. And President Truman rewarded Clark for his diligence in undermining freedom of speech by appointing him to the Supreme Court.

Swindlers and extortioners have always thrived under capitalism. They are bound to increase in numbers and influence in times like these when the government itself has become one big racket — squeezing billions through taxes and high prices out of the hides of the workers for war preparations designed to further enrich the ruling class by bringing the resources of the whole world under its control, and trying to gag and intimidate the American people so that they won't be able to offer any resistance to this program.

CIO and the Witchhunt

The Pennsylvania Senate has passed a bill requiring that every public worker, officeholder or political candidate sign a "loyalty" oath, and the House of Representatives in Pennsylvania is preparing to act on it. This action closely follows the enactment of a witch-hunt measure by the state legislature outlawing the Communist Party.

Pennsylvania is one of the strongholds of CIO unionism. Specifically, it is the area where Philip Murray's own union, the United Steelworkers of America, has its greatest strength and largest districts.

The CIO, at its recent convention in New York, voted a strong resolution condemning just such laws as the one now under consideration in the Pennsylvania legislature. The CIO Convention came out strongly against the Smith Gag Act, and asked for revision of all existing laws which infringe on civil liberties by curbing rights of free opinion and speech.

Presumably, the CIO, in one of its strongholds, should take the lead in arousing the labor movement against such measures. Yet, with its whole great political and propaganda machinery at its disposal, the Pennsylvania CIO did nothing to fight this bill. Not a word, not a syllable, not a whisper. The CIO in Massachusetts acted the same way, when a similar law was passed in that state.

The Pennsylvania gag act hits directly at the civil rights of all Pennsylvania workers, not merely at the Communist Party. The law specifically destroys fair judicial procedures, putting the burden of proof upon the accused person, and shielding the accuser from the need to prove his case, or even from the need to confront the person he is accusing. The innocent must prove his innocence in a biased court, and he must prove it without even knowing the specific charges against him.

The Pennsylvania coal and steel bosses have used such legislation against the labor movement in the past, and they will do it again. It is very significant that the bill is proposed and rushed through on the eve of a possible steel strike and, later on, a possible coal strike.

Thus the silence of the CIO helps the police-state reactionaries. It helps them to pass a law which can, and probably will in the future, be used against the labor movement.

The silence of the CIO is even more criminal in view of the fact that the proposed law is so ominous that a great deal of opposition has been organized against it. The American Civil Liberties Union, the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, the Philadelphia Inquirer have all come out against the measure, and a large delegation has gone to Harrisburg to protest against it.

Where is the CIO in all this? Was its Convention resolution nothing but a paper gesture? The facts seem to indicate that such is the case. Union members who take CIO resolutions seriously and who take the threat to civil liberties seriously, can not remain quiet in the face of these events. They must demand that the CIO, in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, take a strong stand against the witch-hunters and back that stand up with action.

Aneurin Bevan's Program and Britain's Future

By Paul G. Stevens

Aneurin Bevan's program, as outlined in the pamphlet "One Way Only," turns out to be far less radical upon closer examination than his bold break with the British Labor Party leadership last April appeared to indicate. He does not propose that the war alliance with American capitalism be ended. He only wants to "restrain the Americans" in their "unabated" war drive. He does not propose neutrality with regard to the USSR, much less closer relations with the Russians. He merely wants serious joint British-American negotiations for a "settlement with Russia in the next two years." Up to this point, there is little to differentiate this program from that of the old Attlee leadership, or even from Churchill's views. Why, then, to the British workers, who are, as American correspondents have universally observed, dead set against the partnership with American capitalism and less than hostile to the Soviet Union, turn to Bevan for leadership?

FAITH IN BEVAN

The British workers vest their hopes in Aneurin Bevan because, aside from the socialist internationalism of the language in which his program is presented generally, he offers a number of practical measures which are incompatible with continued subservience to American capitalism and its demands. In addition to the two points mentioned, Bevan proposes:

1. The reduction of military rearmament and its subordination to a World Plan for Mutual Aid, by agreement with the Americans if possible, but by Britain alone if necessary. He explains this proposal as more effective than present British and Western policy and designed "to assist those revolutions (in Asia and elsewhere) by economic and technical aid, instead of collaborating with counter-revolutionary forces in order to suppress them and so driving them into the arms of Soviet Russia."

2. "The degree of rearmament necessary to deter the Rus-

sians from military adventures should be financed not by inflation but under a system of Socialist controls designed to steady the cost of living, maintain social services and prevent excessive profits and luxury spending." He showed what he meant by this and that he is not just mouthing phrases, when he resigned from the Attlee government over the annual budget that provided for cuts in the Health Scheme.

3. "It is not only possible, but both desirable and necessary, to embark upon a fresh series of measures designed to carry us forward towards the establishment of a Socialist society in Britain." Among these measures are the nationalization of the sugar, cement and chemicals industries in addition to those nationalized by the Attlee government; "more industrial democracy; more efficiency and social

responsibility in the nationalized industries"; nationalization of food-producing land (which is not fully used, of some "mineral workings," of meat wholesaling, etc.

In short, these practical measures may be summed up as follows: No retreat from the gains made by Labor up to the present on the contrary, an increase in the pace of nationalization with greater workers' control of industry ("industrial democracy"); more than that — an extension of these national advances beyond the borders of Britain within a World Plan of Mutual Aid.

WANTS ACTION

Bevan disavows originality for this line of policy — in fact, "One Way Only" even denies that it is a program counter to that of the leadership and claims to be merely a contribution to the discussion — and points to past conference decisions to show that it has long been on the Labor Party books. He only proposes that the party act on it. That is just what the workers want. That is why "Bevanism" has achieved such popularity among them.

Can such a practical line of action be undertaken within the framework of the present alliance with the USA, as Bevan suggests? Can Bevan persuade the American capitalists that this is the "one way only" which they too must support? The British workers must be highly skeptical about this after noting the treatment given by Washington to the much more moderate Attlee leadership. They may consider "Nye's" views in this regard as a smart or a necessary maneuver — either to prevent a drastic shut-down of the dollar credits which have been necessary to the British economy since World War II, or to prevent a sharp split within the Labor party structure. But it is certain that their class instincts will not dispose them in favor of a partnership with Wall Street when it is put forward by "Nye" Bevan any more than when it was by Clem Attlee. They don't expect capitalists, American

or otherwise, to support a socialist program. They do expect Bevan to carry out the socialist part of his program.

Whatever Bevan's motives may be in the program he has presented, he has thrown down the gauntlet to the Attlee leadership. He is out to win the Labor Party. He knows that he can achieve such high stakes only by a great popular sweep. That means that more than ever he must build his policy on the needs and aspirations of the broad masses of the British working class. He must do this, moreover, at a time of acute social crisis, when compromise and maneuver become extremely limited, when decisive action is demanded of working class leaders. That is why it is doubtful if Bevan's program will remain as presented in "One Way Only." It is bound to be pushed to the left.

Not only will the power-mad ruling class in Washington have no part of Bevan's program. It is sure to increase sharply the squeeze on the British economy in any case. Politically, because its war drive cannot tolerate anywhere within the "Atlantic community" a strong and independent working class. But more than that, the rapacious American capitalists cannot forego the opportunity to push Britain off the world's markets within their control. Not only will British exports increasingly continue to bring an ever smaller return in the West. Because of Wall Street's corner on raw materials

in the stock-piling drive connected with the war preparations, British imports from the West are bound to become increasingly prohibitive. The economic squeeze is on both ways.

Britain's economy is thus facing a major crisis which must inevitably be transformed into a social crisis, a crisis of the class struggle. To subsist as a capitalist economy, her ruling class must in any case beat down the living standards of her workers to low levels never before conceived, and to do that — crush the organized power of labor. To become transformed into a socialist economy, her workers must not only overcome British capitalism but cut loose from the disastrous war alliance with Wall Street.

Within the scope of such a break, a World Mutual Aid Plan such as that propagated by Bevan would make sense. There is a tremendous market for British goods in the East, in the USSR, in China, and there is a vast source of raw materials there. Both this market and this source cannot be exploited by British economy so long as it is tied to the Wall Street war drive. But it can serve as a life-saver to an independent socialist Britain. To be sure, it would mean greater immediate difficulties than would be encountered by a continued flow of dollar credits and gifts. But in the long run, it would serve as nothing else could, the interests not only of the British working class, but of all

the peoples of the world. This kind of a proposal for a World Mutual Aid Plan would first of all be a terrific blow to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, for it would bolster the economic independence from the Kremlin of China, Eastern Europe and all the new workers' states and ease the living standards of the masses within Soviet Russia itself. Moreover, it would undoubtedly arouse, as nothing else could, the class consciousness of the American working class and make fertile an appeal to its solidarity against American capitalism. Such an action could, indeed, be a real alternative to a devastating new world war.

MOST DECISIONS SIMPLE

In the introduction to "One Way Only" Bevan and his friends say with profound truth: "Most great decisions in human history are simple. They demand more of courage than of ability."

Aneurin Bevan has shown a measure of courage in his break from Attlee last April. He has shown as much ability as any of the present labor leaders anywhere. Will he meet the test of the still greater courage required to make the break with American capitalism and go forward to an independent socialist Britain that will lead in planning for a socialist world? The British workers will expect that of him. But with or without Bevan, it is certain that in the crisis to come they will take the road to such a solution.

Sam Adams and the American Revolution: 6

THE RIFT BEGINS

By Harry Frankel

The colonial masses, led by the radical leaders, compelled the British to repeal the Stamp Act shortly after its passage. Mass meetings, tarring and featherings, the destruction of customs buildings and the homes of Tory officials, all played their part in the Stamp Act victory.

The radicalization of the masses is symbolized by the fact that the red flag, already in those days the banner of left-wing radicalism, was raised above the Liberty Tree during the anti-Stamp Act agitation of 1765. Adams aptly described the events of those days, saying: "The people shouted, and their shout was heard to the distant end of the continent!"

With this rapid increase of popular activity, the wealthy colonial leaders, the rich merchants and so-called "aristocrats" began to draw back from the movement. But now that the masses were in motion, they became fearful of the consequences to their own privileged positions.

Gouverneur Morris, leading snobocrat, made a few remarks in those days that typify the attitude of his class towards the common people of their own land. "The mob," he said, "begins to think and reason. Poor reptiles! It is with them a vernal morning; they are struggling to cast off their winter's slough, they bask in the sunshine, and ere noon they will bite."

It was this bite that the colonial ruling classes feared. The rich merchants of the New England-New York-Pennsylvania region had started the protest movement with the restricted object of restoring the commercial system as it had existed before 1763. But now that the people were crowding into politics, they began to shrink from the whole business.

Arthur M. Schlesinger Sr., a conscientious historian (not to be confused with his son, Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.), made a thorough study of this aspect of the revolution. He summarizes as follows: The merchants retreated from their anti-British stand "when it became apparent that their agitation for commercial redress was unloosing social forces more destructive to business interests than the misguided acts of Parliament." In other words, they feared the masses more than they feared the British restrictions, and for that reason, began to leave the opposition movement.

New Colonial Restrictions

Meanwhile, the British rulers, undismayed by their stinging defeat in the Stamp Act fight, were moving ahead to new restrictions upon the colonies. Dying, reactionary governments never seem to learn: They always come back for more. The reason for this is not that they are stupid, but that they have no choice.

If the British mercantilists were to give up America, then this meant the end of rule by the British merchant-capitalists, even in Britain. The rising industrial capitalist class would be able to push them out of power once they lost their monopoly in the American colonies. As a matter of fact, that is what did happen in Britain in the decades immediately following the American Revolution.

Reactionary classes that are making a desperate, last-ditch battle to preserve the old way of life, never have any choice. That is why reformers cut such a foolish figure in revolutionary times. They seek to convince the ruling class to change its ways, when that ruling class is fighting for its very life, and cannot possibly do anything except resist change and become more reactionary.

The liberals today "urge" the capitalist class to give up its imperialist aims in Asia, or to cease persecutions of minority groups. The imperialists pay them no heed.

Nor did the British capitalists of the 18th century pay any attention to the reformers of that day, who urged them to cease arousing the colonies. Even at the very moment of their Stamp Act defeat, when they repealed that law they attached a declaration insisting upon the authority of the British colonists to tax the colonies in all cases whatever. They then renewed their efforts to enforce some of the existing taxes, and imposed a series of new ones. The Townsend

import duties, taxes on lead, paper, painter's colors, tea and other articles of daily use, caused a fresh wave of popular resentment to sweep the country.

Thus, after a brief lull, the popular activity began again. The protest movement was organized, this time, in the form of non-importation, or boycott agreements.

New Role of the Merchants

The revived movement, however, was quite different from the previous protest waves. In 1761, at the time of the search-and-seizure disputes, and in 1765, in the Stamp Act campaign, the merchants led the way. Now they hung back.

At first, the merchants made every effort to organize the protest movement in such a way that the masses would be excluded. They wanted to restrict the movement to petitioning and other "legal" gestures.

When this didn't succeed, they began to drag their feet, to oppose the formation of non-importation agreements, and to refuse to join them. Thus in Massachusetts, Sam Adams found it extremely difficult to get the merchants to agree to any boycott at all. The Caucus Club, the general staff of the radicals in Boston, now enlarged to more than sixty members, sent many emissaries to the Merchants' Club to convince them. Only very reluctantly did the merchants finally go along.

The Boston Evening Post, consistent spokesman for the big Boston merchants, protested bitterly against any boycott, considering this action "too radical." And some of the bigger merchants continued to oppose boycott even after the merchant associations finally, and reluctantly, agreed.

John Hancock, a young merchant who inherited his great wealth from a childless uncle, was one of the supporters of the radicals, and became one of their most prominent, if not consistent, leaders. We have all read how he later wrote his name in large letters as the first signer of the Declaration of Independence.

The prominence of Hancock in the radical movement, has left the false impression that the radical wing contained many large merchants. This is not true at all. As a matter of fact, Hancock was to be virtually the only big merchant of the New England region to join the revolutionists, and even he deserted them for a time, as we shall see.

Many small merchants, retailers, petty traders, were in the radical wing of the opposition movement. Typical of these was William Molineux, a fiery radical who was a mass leader in the streets of Boston during the big struggles. But the very wealthy merchants, the Hutchinsons, the Grays, the Boylsons, the "aristocracy" of New England was never with the Revolution. They were with the Crown and the Tories.

The Wavering Merchants

Between the two major groupings of right and left, there was a group of wavering merchants, who stood now with the right and now with the left. Merchants like John Rowe, and Thomas Cushing (in whose firm the young Sam Adams had once been apprenticed) were the leaders of these in-between men.

They lived in a purgatory from which they could be delivered only by the decisive victory of one side or the other, only they couldn't decide which side they wanted to win. They expressed the dilemma of their class. We have seen that their most typical leader was James Otis, who went mad. But these men didn't all go mad. Some went Tory and others went revolutionary. Such in-betweeners exist in all revolutions, and they are perhaps the most pathetic of all men who live in times of struggle and decision.

Meanwhile, as this rift between conservatives and radicals deepened, the British Ministry decided upon "firm" measures against the rebels. Troops were dispatched to occupy Boston. This entrance of the redcoats into American politics caused the next great crisis.

(Next Week: The Occupation and the Resistance)

How Treason Frame-up Failed 100 Years Ago

By Fred Arens

The bipartisan servants of America's Sixty Families, in their drive to gear this country to a war economy, are attempting to undermine the labor movement, terrorize the Negro people and stifle all opposition to their policies. The Taft-Hartley law, the Smith and McCarran acts and the callousness of the government toward Jim Crow violence are milestones on the road towards a police state.

A hundred years ago, the government was also engaged in a witch-hunt directed against opponents of its pro-slavery policies.

FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

As a result of the compromise of 1850, the North consented to the enactment of a new Fugitive Slave Law. It was calculated to terrorize both Negroes and those who fought with them against slavery.

The law provided for the seizure of any alleged fugitives; their capture was to be enforced by federal-appointed commissioners; in case of escape, the commissioner could be prosecuted; free citizens were compelled to help the slave-catcher; fugitives could not get a trial by jury, testify or summon witnesses; persons aiding them could be fined \$1,000 and jailed for six months; commissioners received \$10 for a conviction and \$5 for an acquittal.

The new law created panic among the fugitive slaves in the North, as well as among the free Negroes who recognized the very real threat of kidnappings and frameups by so-called masters eager to make some easy money.

The organized opposition to slavery centered about the Abolitionist movement. The tremendous influx of escaped Negroes who organized and largely ran the Underground Railroad pushed this movement into vigorous activity and great militancy.

When the new bill was signed, the Northern ruling class stepped up its persecution of the opposition. Its adherents were labelled radicals, traitors and seditionists. Respectable political and religious leaders tried to sell this law to the people.

But many refused to be intimidated. Negroes and whites began to form defense groups. Many whites who previously had been influenced by the anti-Negro agitation now became part of the anti-Fugitive Slave Law movement. The Abolitionists insis-

ted the new law threatened not only Negroes but also white workers and that a genuine struggle for freedom must be principled and indivisible. In fact, the new act did not use the word "Negro." It simply referred to persons who had escaped from their "masters" and could be easily used against white apprentices and contract workers should they rebel against their miserable working conditions. A widespread alliance, led by Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips, William Parker, Thaddeus Stevens and other militants, came into being.

It set up Vigilance Committees in many areas; these committees were extremely well-planned and could start action at a moment's notice. In addition, the movement stimulated and organized mass protest meetings throughout the North. It thus succeeded in arousing considerable sections of the population.

The slave-owners were set on enforcing the law, and their Northern allies were ready to do their share in carrying out the deal. The viciousness of this gang, as well as the militant resistance to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, were demonstrated in September 1851, when the so-called Christiana riot took place.

Here is what happened: A group of Baltimore slave-owners, headed by Edward Gorsuch, set out for Lancaster County, Pa., in order to capture several fugitive slaves. They were armed with warrants issued by a U.S. Commissioner.

The Vigilance Committee was so well organized and had so many sympathizers that it obtained advance information of the posse's arrival and alerted the neighborhood. As a result of this warning a defense guard was formed at the house of William Parker, a free Negro and chief militant in the district.

As soon as the slave-owners attempted to break into the house, a horn was blown from a window. Upon this prearranged signal a large number of people gathered on the spot. The Marshal had threatened to burn the house but retreated when he saw the crowd. Two white Quakers, Castner Hanaway and Elijah Lewis, were then ordered to help the posse. When they flatly refused, Gorsuch fired at a Negro. The defenders promptly returned the fire, attacked the posse and killed Gorsuch. The officials fled when all attempts

to get help from the neighborhood failed. Parker himself extended medical care to Gorsuch's son who had been wounded during the struggle.

Subsequently, the District Attorney arrived with 45 U.S. Marines, 40 policemen and a large number of "special constables." They ransacked homes, made many arbitrary arrests and caused untold distress and terror. A group of wealthy capitalists asked the Governor to take strong measures against the resistance movement. The government finally indicted a large number of prisoners on charges of "treason" and "levying war" against the United States.

That the Northern henchmen of slavery wanted to terrorize all opposition is clear from the judge's charge: "... it is not necessary to prove that the individual accused was a direct, personal actor... nor is even his personal presence indispensable..." The indictment stated that "100 persons armed... unlawfully and traitorously assembled to oppose and prevent by means of intimidation and violence, the execution of the laws of the United States..." They did maliciously and traitorously cause and procure to be prepared and composed, divers books, pamphlets, letters, declarations, resolutions, addresses, papers and writings...

It is clear that a conviction upholding this indictment would endanger any person who said or wrote anything against the Fugitive Slave Law.

In the meantime, the opponents of the slave-holders staged innumerable mass rallies and continued to arouse the people against the real criminals, the slave-owners and their Northern accomplices. They explained the issues and implications of the "catch-slave" law, showing that it threatened both Negro and white, fugitive slaves and free workers. Through this persistent action, a broad front of many differing tendencies was mobilized against the common enemy. In spite of the prosecution's attempt to pack the jury with pro-slavery people, popular pressure proved too strong. The trial itself was brief and the defense, brilliantly headed by Thaddeus Stevens and John Read, won a resounding victory.

Although it occurred a hundred years ago, this case remains a living illustration of the effectiveness of united and militant action in fighting Jim Crow and police-state "gag" laws.

Correction

The Militant of Dec. 10, 1951, carried an article on page 1 entitled "One Fifth of the Nation Gets Only 3% of Income," by Harry Frankel. This article contained an erroneous statement, caused by incorrect reporting of the figures in one of the daily papers. The false statement read: "The middle fifth (of the population) which in 1910 got 15% of the national income and in 1937 was still getting 15.7% has dropped sharply to 9% in 1950. The fourth fifth, next to the bottom, has shown an increase in its relative prosperity, rising from about 12% 40 years ago to 17% today."

Actually, the middle fifth of the population had a slight rise in its share of the national income, from 15.7% in 1937 to 17% in 1950. The fourth fifth has suffered a decline, falling from about 12% 40 years ago to 9% today. Thus the point made by the article, the relative decline of the poorest part of the population, is reinforced by the corrected figures.

Electioneering for 1952

By Jean Blake

The opening guns are being fired in the national election campaign and it's clear from the start that the Negro voters are going to be treated rough this year.

The Democratic and Republican politicians see no sign of independent political action by labor or the Negroes on the horizon, so they are not even bothering to put on velvet gloves for the bout. They're making the rules of their game clear — no hitting below the belt by challenging the fundamentals of American capitalist democracy: the rule of Big Business and the Jim Crow system. And the Republican and Democratic Uncle Toms are out oiling up the machine as usual.

Senator Taft, "Mr. Republican," put his cards on the table with a loyalty oath to segregation. In a speech at North Carolina College in Durham Nov. 29, he specifically upheld the segregation of Negro children in the South and discrimination against Negro workers in industry through out the nation. His full title now is "Mr. Republican, W.S.," since he has earned his degree, White Supremacy.

The Negro Republican Toms knew what harm this would do their machine, and rushed the oil. Writer Zora Neale Hurston's article, "A Negro Voter Sizes Up Taft," was immediately featured in the Dec. 8 Saturday Evening Post to explain why "Taft's the man to regain the backsliding colored vote for the Republicans." Every Negro should read that article for a classic example of just how phony and insulting a Republican hack can be.

But Mrs. Hurston was writing for white folks. The Pittsburgh Courier of the same date front-paged an "explanation" for colored people: "Clarifies His Statement — Misquoted, Taft Says." The "honest Republican" is quoted as saying: "Let me make it clear that I do not approve of segregated schools." That will probably be repeated many times during the campaign by stooges trying to sell Taft. But they should be forced to eat the rest of the statement:

"... someone asked whether I was in favor of the federal government prohibiting segregated primary schools, and I said I was not. ...

"I would vote to abolish them in the District of Columbia or any other place that the federal government has jurisdiction, but the control of education in the states is under the jurisdiction of the state government and not of the federal government. So long as states provide equal edu-

cational facilities for white and colored children in the primary schools, I do not think the federal government has the constitutional power to require a state to change its established system of education."

This should make Mr. Taft's principles very clear. He will maintain the right of the Southern states — or any other states — to enforce Jim Crow.

But lest they be outdone by the Republicans in appealing to reactionary anti-Negro forces, the Democrats have also opened their campaign with a double-barrelled appeal to Dixie: A letter was sent to Southern Democratic leaders by an administration spokesman assuring them that the President's much-touted civil rights program is not really meant to hurt them in any way. Then, to provide concrete proof, Truman announced his "Committee on Government Contract Compliance" which will do nothing to end Jim Crow in hiring.

When Taft issued his statement, Walter White, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that "just about ends the possibility of Mr. Taft receiving the support of any self-respecting Negro or of any white American who believes in democracy." We agree with Mr. White, but we would add that the action of the Democrats must end that possibility for them too.

What can the Negro and white voter do to register their opposition to Jim Crow? If they're serious they will renounce both capitalist parties and vote socialist by marking a ballot for Socialist Workers Party candidates where they'll be on the ballot, or by writing in their names where they are kept off.

The Socialist Workers Party also wears no velvet gloves in this election, or at any other time. The SWP is unalterably opposed to any form of segregation and discrimination before, during and after elections. The fight against Jim Crow is a full-time, year-round job.

The abolition of Jim Crow is a principle for which we fight and will continue to fight, regardless of states' rights, private property rights, legality or illegality. And there's no room for Uncle Tomism in our movement. All who share these views are invited to participate in our campaign to lead the civil rights fight out of the blind alley of Democratic-Republican politics in the coming election.

No Santa Claus for Jobless

By Patricia Stall

Santa Claus rode into Detroit on Thanksgiving Day complete with a huge parade and sack full of toys and good wishes. The auto manufacturers have their sacks all full, too, along about this time every year — only theirs are filled with lay-off notices. Less than a month ago the Michigan Employment Security Commission released figures that showed that between 96,000 to 98,000 people were unemployed in the Detroit area alone. This past week we learn that there are 140,000 unemployed throughout the state of Michigan with the expectation that this figure would climb to 190,000 by Spring!

Everybody is getting quite alarmed about the situation — except the auto manufacturers. The Michigan Employment Security Commission can only predict, however, that there will be no upswing in employment until late in 1952! That prediction not only takes defense production into account but is based solely on defense employment. Where does this leave the workers? Exactly nowhere since experience has proven over and over again that with every cut in the supplies of steel for auto manufacturers there have been huge lay-offs of auto workers. There are going to be more and more cuts in steel supplies and other vital materials with every upsurge of defense production. So, while defense employment may put some workers back on the job it will also deprive many others of their livelihood.

Governor Williams and our new U.S. Senator, Blair Moody, are among those who are getting excited about the situation. They pledged themselves before a UAW-CIO rally in Flint to fight the growing unemployment. What tactics would they use? Moody declared he would demand a congressional hearing. That will make the Congress members very happy since they love to play ring-around-the-committee — but all the worker gets out of that is a hot wind coming out of Washington. Governor Williams wants more defense work. We've already seen what this means — more crises in auto work. This is what Walter Reuther also promises the workers: more defense work, getting rid of bottlenecks in production, hold meetings and talk, talk, talk. ... These errand boys of capitalism are very busy running back and forth between Washington and the workers — doing a lot of talking at the capital and a lot of promising at UAW-CIO rallies.

Well, this is the season of tinsel. A lot of gaunt and sickly-looking Christmas trees are made to look good with enough tinsel covering them; but tinsel, though it might shine very prettily, is insubstantial stuff that the first half-grown wind can blow away. That's just what the promises

and boasts of Williams, Moody, Reuther and Co. are — just so much tinsel. The reality underneath their words repudiates every half-measure they propose.

There have been other solutions forthcoming from the labor movement: more militant ones and, above all, solutions which have more foundation in the wishes and needs of the rank and file workers. Ford Local 600, which has been opposed to Reuther's policy for quite a while now, has proposed that compensation to the unemployed be increased from the present top of \$27 to \$60 a week. They have also called for a thirty-hour work week with forty-hours pay so as to spread employment among more people. Quite a different attitude from Reuther's frantic efforts to guarantee more profits for multi-millionaire corporations!

Briggs Local 212 has come out with a different answer recently. The General Council of this local, which represents 27,000 workers, has called upon Mayor Cobo and the Common Council to institute a program of public works at decent wages for the unemployed. The plan would be financed by issuing bonds and selling them to the owners of industry who, as local president Morris put it, "get multimillion dollar war contracts and generous tax write-offs to pay for new defense plants." The resolution further went on to say that if such a public works program is not set up the mayor and Common Council should declare a moratorium on rent evictions and on repossessions of autos, furniture, etc., while the unemployment emergency lasts.

The demands of these locals enjoy the support of the workers much more than do the fake promises of capitalist politicians and labor bureaucrats who wish to preserve the manufacturer's profit at the expense of the workers. In order that the concessions outlined by Locals 600 and 212 be forced out of the profit-bloated auto czars, the workers must use the traditional tool of the American labor movement — mass action and pressure. It is not enough to depend on the labor officialdom. It is utterly unrealistic to depend on the "Christmas spirit" and big-heartedness of bosses who year after year pass out lay-off notices in place of good wishes for the coming holiday season. Grown-ups don't believe in Santa Claus because they have long since learned that it was their own parents that filled their Christmas stockings and not some mythical well-wisher. The workers are learning in their own day-to-day struggle that it is up to them to secure a better life for themselves and that no one else is going to provide the presents under the tree or the dinner on the table.

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Branch of Negro Labor Council Is Formed in Flint

By Bill Yancey

FLINT, Dec. 6 — The first National Negro Labor Council meeting was held here last week at the Flint Community Center on St. John Street. Over 40 persons welcomed William R. Hood, Recording Secretary of Ford Local 600 and President of the Council.

E. L. Holmes, a Buick committeeman and one of the officers of the Council, introduced Bill Hood after an inspiring talk was given by Davis Moore, also of Local 600, on the aims and purpose of the organization.

"Many of you remember what happened here in '37," declared Moore. "You knew what you wanted — then proceeded to organize against opposing forces to get it. That's what we aim to do and that's what we shall do."

WARNS OF ENEMIES

"William R. Hood, speaking to a responsive audience, drew sharp class distinctions to show just who will stand in the way of an effective National Negro Labor Council. "I warn you against company-minded labor leaders, salaried stooges, stool-pigeons and potential fascists. It's time for the black workers and their white allies to stand up and fight these enemies who are ruining America." He denounced with burning fervor those who would sell out Negro labor's goals and principles for a few extra dollars.

Hood went on to say the kind of fight needed would be both political and social, emphasizing unity, democracy and militancy. Out of the rich, bold pages of Negro history, he told of the many contributions the Negro has made to labor and to the very foundations upon which it rests. Speeches are all right in their place, but "action is mighty," he said. "We are going to move forward and upward, and neither man nor beast will be able to block the way."

REPORTS ON AIMS

He stated the organization will fight for greater Negro representation in the shops, and for Negro representation in the top councils of the union. The meeting elected E. L. Holmes, a Buick foundry committeeman, as executive secretary, and Herod Wilson of Chevrolet 659 president. A score of workers joined the organization after the meeting.

No 'Atrocity' Proof -- Negro Reporter

"There is no positive proof yet that any soldiers have been massacred," writes Ralph Matthews, National Negro Press Association correspondent, from "somewhere in Korea." Matthews says the question being asked is: "Was Col. James M. Hanley... tricked into issuing the unauthorized report about 'atrocities' by South Koreans who want no settlement short of complete unification under their control and Chinese Nationalists who fear an early peace in Korea will release Red armies for a possible assault on Formosa?"

Matthews also writes: "One GI said he was more infuriated by the story of a sheriff killing prisoners in Florida than in the story of atrocities in Korea. In war, men expect to kill or be killed," he said, "but at home one expects justice and fair play."

THE MILITANT

Saved from Life Term



Surrounded by his wife and children in their Albany, N. Y. home, Willie Thomas rejoices at news that he will not have to serve a life sentence in Alabama prison. Arrested in 1934 when he was only 14, Thomas was sentenced to 100 years on robbery charge. He escaped in 1945 and came to Albany where he found work and settled down. Discovered recently, Thomas' return was demanded by Albany, but under pressure the state dropped extradition proceedings.

L. A. HOUSING SCUTTLED BY REAL ESTATE LOBBY

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 9 — Under the influence of the real estate interests, the Los Angeles City Council on Dec. 3 took action halting the \$110,000,000 public housing program on which \$11,000,000 has already been spent by the Federal government.

Present to congratulate the Council on its action in favor of more profits for the landlords, were the president of the Chamber of Commerce, representatives of the California Taxpayers Association, the California Realty Assn.,

Twin City Forum Hears Defense of Colonial Revolts

By Winifred Nelson

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 7 — "The Socialist Workers Party hails the heroic struggle of the Iranian and Egyptian people. The struggle of the colonial masses for freedom is part and parcel of the struggle of the workers for a better life."

These were the words of Grace Carlson, Minnesota SWP organizer and nominee for the vice-presidential candidacy next year, as she addressed a public meeting here tonight on the subject, "The Sun Sets on the British Empire."

"The British Empire was acquired by naked force and violence and wholesale extermination of peoples," she declared, "and disguised by a multitude of high religious phrases!" But, she added, the British Empire today is falling apart.

Branding as fakery and hypocrisy the expressed attitude of the American capitalist leaders that they hate colonialism, Comrade Carlson called this "simply a device on the part of the capitalists to wangle themselves into favor with the native ruling classes in order to bring the colonial countries into the orbit of the United States."

The next meeting in the present series sponsored by the St. Paul and Minneapolis branches of the SWP will be held after the holidays, and announced in the Militant.

Japan pact and the huge American arms budget, has started to talk turkey.

SOMETHING NEW

One of the biggest factors halting the war is the resistance of the soldiers. U.S. soldiers have not revolted openly against the imperialist adventure in Korea, and there are no indications that they are likely to do so. But the army has plainly resisted the will of the generals. The grumbling and suspicion have grown to the point where correspondents report that the soldiers are convinced that "we" don't want peace while the Chinese and Koreans do. Further, the whole army, including many battle commanders, have seized upon protests, "misinterpreted" orders, and stopped fighting. Correspondents have speculated openly whether the U.S. brass could get a large-scale war going in the face of such resistance. Never has such a situation existed in the history of U.S. armed forces.

If a cease-fire does come in Korea, either by formal agreement or by just freezing into a stalemate, it will be the soldiers, the American people, and the working people everywhere that have brought it about, by their resistance. This should encourage the people of America and the rest of the world to press for further objectives: to demand a withdrawal of imperialist troops from Korea and from every part of the colonial world. Such a demand, if support for it is broad enough, can paralyze the war-makers still further.

UAW Walkout Shuts Big Ford Plant in Canada

WINDSOR, Ontario, Dec. 10 — Eight thousand members of Local 200, CIO-United Auto Workers, walked out of the Ford Motor Company's huge Windsor plant last Monday in protest against the firing of 26 union men and against the rotten government Labor Codes.

The patience of the workers became exhausted by prolonged negotiations lasting over two-thirds of a year in which the Ford Motor Company refused to grant the union demands. Company provocation led to 34 work stoppages during the year, 17 of which took place in the month of November. The major issues in dispute involved the questions of speed-up, sanitary conditions, job classifications, poor ventilation and general working conditions.

A few days prior to the plant shut-down, the discontent of the workers erupted over the stalling tactics of the Ford Motor Company and the Ontario Labor Code. The demonstration was held to protest this delay by the company and government.

PLANT SHUT DOWN

The company retaliated by "disciplinary" firing of four union committeemen, nine stewards and a number of rank and file union militants. Within two hours the production lines of the colossal plant came to a dead stop. The huge heating and generating plant, capable of generating enough power to supply the whole city of Windsor, was shut down on request of the pickets.

Within 24 hours, the gigantic offices and workshops employing approximately 12,000 were deprived of heat, light, power and water. Ford office workers, affiliated to Local 240, UAW-CIO, were permitted to go through the picket lines. Upon finding the offices locked they stood by in sympathy with the action of the plant workers.

It was not until the workers hit the picket line that the Conservative Party's Ontario Labor Department hastened to deliver

its conciliation board decision to the union.

The company showed no disposition to grant even the measly crumbs given in the conciliation board report but sought to becloud the real issues in dispute by slandering active union members as troublemakers, goons and hoodlums.

The deliberate provocation of the company, the long-drawn and fruitless "negotiations," the stalling of the conciliation board and their hopelessly inadequate decision, have compelled the strikers to question the soft Reutherite go-slow, no-strike, policy.

The workers are indignant over the action of UAW Regional Director George Burt in withdrawing 12 demands made by the union membership without their sanction. On the day following the strike, Local 200 president Jack Taylor sent letters to the dismissed men requesting them to sign grievance forms, despite a public declaration against arbitration of the firings. The men defied his instructions and declared that grievances would not be necessary as they would arbitrate from the picket line.

DETERMINED TO WIN

One thing is sure. The Ford workers are determined to win. Within three days they established a picket line and strike organization that took six weeks in the big 99 day strike of 1945. Three issues of a picket line bulletin have already appeared in four days of the strike. Kitchens have been established where thousands of sandwiches and gallons of coffee have been provided for the pickets.

The spirit of the strikers is high. The (as yet) "unauthorized" strike is rallying the support of all organized labor for a militant showdown fight against the billion-dollar Ford Motor Company.

Florida Judge Bars NAACP Lawyers in Groveland Case

The wheels of "Southern justice" are grinding again, their object to take the life of Walter Irvin, the last defendant in the infamous Groveland "rape" case.

Irvin, a young Negro, was framed together with Samuel Shepherd and sentenced to death at a so-called trial in 1949 for a crime he never committed. The "legal" proceedings were so outrageous that the U.S. Supreme Court reversed the verdict and ordered a new trial.

On the eve of the new trial, a blood-thirsty white supremacist with a sheriff's badge, Willis McCall, snatched both handcuffed prisoners in cold blood, killing Shepherd on the spot. Irvin, shot three times, escaped death by pretending to be already dead.

McCall justified the murderous assault by claiming the prisoners had "tried to escape." A coroner's jury exonerated him on the ground that he was "doing his duty." Judge Truman J. Futch of Lake County Circuit Court refused to permit any further action against McCall.

MARSHALL BARRED

On Dec. 6, at a hearing in connection with the new trial, the same Judge Futch barred Thurgood Marshall, special counsel of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Jack Greenberg, his assistant, from acting as defense attorneys for Irvin at the new trial. His explanation was that "the NAACP has stirred up trouble in the community."

By this he meant that the NAACP has resisted the lynch atmosphere and perversion of justice in the whole Groveland case. Murdering cops are not "trouble-makers" in the eyes of Southern authorities — but those who oppose legal lynchings are. Futch set the date for trial on Jan. 14 in Ocala, Marion County, which borders Lake County, where the NAACP has protested that such prejudice exists that Irving could never get an unbiased jury or a fair trial. There is no reason to think, however, that Marion County will be any different in this respect. That also is a savagely Jim Crow area.

"CAREFUL CONSIDERATION"

After Sheriff McCall got away with murder in Florida, NAACP counsel Marshall urged the De-

partment of Justice in Washington to take McCall before the U.S. Supreme Court to determine whether he was in contempt of court by his killing of a man the court had ruled should have a new trial.

The Department of Justice last week thanked Marshall and said his suggestion is receiving "careful consideration."

In another case, Marshall asked the Department of Justice for a "thorough investigation" of the unprovoked killing of John Lester Mitchell in Opelousas, La., by white Deputy Sheriff David Lancellos. Mitchell was one of three Negroes who had filed suit through the NAACP for the right to register and vote, which was being denied by local officials.

Here too the Department of Justice replied that the case is under "careful consideration."

Meanwhile, UAW President Walter Reuther, acting on behalf of the UAW International Executive Board, sent a wire to Attorney General J. Howard McGrath, stating that the Florida and Louisiana murders "and the killing at sea of crewman William Harvey by Captain Franklin B. Weaver clearly indicates an intensification of terroristic aggression against Negroes by officers charged with upholding and enforcement of the law. ...

"The United Automobile Workers, CIO, calls upon you to proceed immediately with the arrest, indictment and trial of McCall, Lancellos and Weaver on charges of murder. Failure to take such action subverts all of our lofty professions of democratic principles. The hour is late. Action now is imperative."

There will be action all right, we can be sure of that — the same kind of action that the Department of Justice has always taken in cases involving civil rights and legal lynchings. McGrath will act energetically to see that a telegram is dispatched to the UAW, informing it that the suggestions made are under "careful consideration."

Korea: Imperialism in a Sea of Troubles

(Continued from page 1)

ington was under pressure at that time to discuss and settle these Far Eastern matters. This pressure came not only from the Soviet Union, China and their allies, but also from England, India and others who had recognized China and, for their own reasons, were pushing Washington to abandon its warlike attitude and talk peace.

The Pentagon warded off these pressures by promising to discuss a Far Eastern settlement after a Korea cease-fire. As the "U.S. News and World Report" put it on April 20, before the cease-fire talks opened: "The U.S. terms are simple and direct: First of all, the shooting must end. There will be no negotiations, no deals, until it does."

The Chinese, to the dismay of the Pentagon war-makers, accepted these terms. Thus when negotiations opened, Washington faced a sudden halt to the war in Korea.

This situation, not at all to Washington's liking, was com-

plicated by still another factor. U.S. imperialism, on its way into a "rearm-to-the-teeth" program, found the sudden peace talks a serious deterrent to war preparations. Already, before the truce talks started, the then Secretary of Defense, General Marshall, had told the press that military successes in Korea "dulled the public interest and urge as to the defense program."

The U.S. News summarized the whole idea in its issue of July 13, three days after the truce talks started, saying: "Peace and quiet, for U.S., complicates rearming."

The Pentagon's reply to these problems was twofold: 1. Sabotage the negotiations for as long as possible, and 2. Push the armaments appropriations at top speed, at the same time railroad the warlike Japan pacts as rapidly as possible.

Thus began the long series of provocations that blocked a Korean truce for over five months. U.S. negotiators now ruled out that which they had previously

demand; that is, an immediate cease-fire. Every time a cease-fire appeared close, new "demands" were thrown in, or new incidents took place.

Typical of U.S. conduct of the talks was the mid-August breakdown. On Saturday, August 18, the Chinese and Korean negotiators indicated that they would give in on the truce line, abandoning their demand for a truce at the 38th parallel. The Peiping radio quoted Lt. Gen. Nam II, chief Korean negotiator, as saying: "It is possible to adjust this line on the basis of terrain and mutual defense positions of the demilitarized zone if they are reasonable and necessary."

With the Japan pact conference still two weeks off, and the 60 billion dollar war-budget as yet unapproved by Congress, Washington grew panicky and acted at once. The day after the Nam II proposition, Gen. Ridway opened a military offensive that broke the lull in the Korea fighting and developed into one of the biggest actions of the Korea

war. The same morning 30 armed men, probably South Korean guerrillas, invaded the neutral truce-talk zone and killed a Chinese soldier. Within a few days after this, Korean jeeps carrying negotiators and flying the white flag were strafed from the air. And finally, on August 25, the town of Rashin, 17 miles from the Russian border, was bombed. Gen. MacArthur had demanded the bombing of Rashin, but could never get permission from the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Top U.S. brass, testifying against MacArthur in the Senate hearings during the "great debate," had called the proposal to bomb Rashin foolish and provocative.

Such a sequence of provocations has been repeated every time truce talks came close to agreement. It has only been during the last few weeks that U.S. imperialism, confronted with almost insuperable obstacles to a continuation of the war, and further, having achieved some of the immediate objects for which the truce had been stalled, such as the