

## WHAT WAR MEMOIRS OF CHURCHILL REVEAL

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Build a Labor Party Now!

# THE MILITANT

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## Ford 600 Offers Fighting Program On Unemployment

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

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

### Forward-Looking Proposals

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

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

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

### Three Main Points

The introductory statement to the Ford 600 program stresses three main points: (1) the danger of unemployment and depression; (2) the rejection of war and war preparations as the means to maintain jobs and economic security; (3) the role of labor and its allies as the only source of leadership capable of averting the disaster facing the country as the result of Big Business control.

"Unemployment is rapidly growing and our country faces the danger of serious economic troubles," says the program's preamble. "The newspaper headlines of Nov. 3 telling of a 25 per cent cut in auto production means two things. The first is that there will be immediate large layoffs. The second is that there will be less work for those who remain on the job. All this creates more prospects for an accelerated development toward depression and economic disaster."

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

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

### Only Labor Can Give Leadership

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

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

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

Point two calls for resisting "ALL EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE WORKERS THROUGH AUTOMATION AND SPEED-UP." Of special interest is the demand for "competent union time-study men to challenge every new standard" of productivity set up by the company. This also states Ford Local's position on the highly-touted guaranteed annual wage program pushed by Reuther.

### For Shorter Work-Week

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

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## Growing Secret Police Power Arouses Nation-Wide Alarm

### Seek Legal OK of FBI Wiretaps

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

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

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

Wiretapping has been regarded since its first use in 1916 as one of the most dangerous invasions of the privacy and rights of the American people and a grave abuse of law-enforcement powers when employed by a police agency. In 1934, Congress inserted a section into the Federal Communications Act that specifically outlawed all wiretapping and made the intercepting of a telephone conversation and the divulging of it to another person a felony, subject to \$10,000 fine or up to two years in prison, or both.

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### Purchasing Power Is Dropping Fast, Figures Disclose

Dr. Gordon W. McKinley, head of the Prudential Insurance Company's economic staff, made the rosy-tinted prediction Nov. 21 that the many unfavorable factors pointing toward a slump "will be offset in a large measure by a sharp increase in consumer buying." But the statistics disclose an accelerating decline in purchasing power. Demand, production and employment — all three — are on the downgrade.

One of the most sensitive barometers — railroad car loadings — since mid-September has registered a decline over 1952 for all but one of seven weeks. The latest weekly figure stands 12.3% below the like 1952 period. The N. Y. Times Weekly Index of Business Activity for the week ending Nov. 21 fell to 157.8 compared to 172.8 for the corresponding 1952 week.

Layoffs are spreading in the steel industry. The operating rate for the week of Nov. 22 was scheduled at only 87.6% of capacity, lowest in the year, compared to a high of 103.1% in March and 106.1% a year ago.

A leading auto industry executive, President M. F. Cotes of the Motor Wheel Corp., said on Nov. 17 that passenger car production in 1954 will be down to 4,600,000 — nearly a 20% drop from this year. He notes cheerfully that this will be "greater than in any year in pre-World War II history," — that is, since the depression 14 years ago.

Dr. McKinley's mystical "increase in consumer buying" is shown in the TV industry. All companies — including RCA, GE, Crosley, Sylvania and Westinghouse — have instituted or scheduled mass layoffs because of "a shortage of commercial orders."

### CIO Convention in Session



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

### How Will Stalinism Be Overthrown?

By Murry Weiss

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

the Militant presented its program of action against the McCarthyite menace. This called for a United Labor Congress to organize the fight to smash McCarthyism around the following slogans:

(1) "Force Eisenhower off the fence. (2) Open the FBI files in the White case to public inspection. (3) Refuse to cooperate with the witch-hunting Congressional 'investigating' committees. (4) Repeal all witch-hunt laws and free the victims of Smith Act trials. (5) Destroy the 'subversive' list and stop the 'loyalty' purge. (6) Halt the witch hunt within the labor movement. (7) Condemn the witch-hunt pattern launched by Truman's Democratic administration and now elaborated by the Republican administration. (8) Recognize the witch hunt as an offensive against the workers, break with the capitalist parties, and build an independent Labor Party."

We say to all the anti-McCarthy forces, "This is our program — what's yours?"

TIME FOR A GIDEON?  
The National Guardian, Progressive Party weekly, says in its Nov. 16 issue, "The time is now for a Gideon's army, led by a

Gideon." Such chatter is worse than worthless at this time. It would send us scurrying about looking for a Wallace to put up against McCarthy. Is there no limit to the stupidity of these Stalinist dupes? Isn't it clear that all the liberal Gideons have flown the coop? Isn't it clear that the workers can rely only on their own independent power to stop the McCarthyites?

But matters are no better in the camp of the non-Stalinist labor bureaucracy. Essentially they have the same answer to the menace of McCarthyism as the Stalinist party. They propose to build their barricade against the police state in the Democratic Party.

This party started the witch hunt. It has a lusty McCarthyite wing of its own. It is controlled by the same capitalist class that bred the McCarthyite monster. And yet the "statesmen" who lead the labor movement can find no better answer to McCarthyism than the very party which nursed it to its present ominous size.

In the camp of liberalism the picture is equally deplorable. The Nation of Nov. 21 published an article by H. H. Wilson on "The Crisis of Democracy." The article is eloquent in its indictment of

keeping with strict union policy, have ambition and courage enough to fight and work for the people they represent."

OUT TO DESTROY LABOR  
Workers subjected to today's intimidation came to similar conclusions. Donald H. Morrill, 12-year man at the Lynn plant and former IUE steward, charged that McCarthy's committee was trying to "destroy the trade-union movement in America." Henry C. Archdeacon, a 14-year man at the same plant, expressed similar views: "This is an onslaught against labor."

The headline attraction at today's TV performance was an FBI stoolpigeon, William Teto. This unsavory figure, whose police record includes "larceny by checks," according to the press, presented the usual run of "facts" about a "communist conspiracy" in this area. He told the witch hunters that there were about 45 "communists" in the Lynn and Fitchburg GE plants.

At McCarthy's request, Teto fingered two GE workers present

### Clevelanders Aroused by Race Attacks

By Jean Simon

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

Last Monday, Safety Director John McCormick, newly-elected Mayor Anthony Celebrezze and several members of the City Council were simultaneously presented with the charge that a Cleveland police officer not only knew in advance that violence was being planned against the home of Stewart, but took an active part in meetings where the vandalism was planned.

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

In a telephone interview, Mr. Stewart told the Militant today that he has no idea what the "new line" of the city officials is. "It's news to me," he said.

The early morning attack on his home by bigots, who defaced it with colored paint bombs Nov. 7, was a continuation of a campaign of threats, violence and vandalism that began last July when he moved into the area. An organized group, which has taken enforcement of its anti-Negro rules into its own hands, considers the area race-restricted.

### BURKE'S CRIME

The mayor at that time, now Senator Burke, negotiated with the race-haters and advised them to form private agreements to bar "undesirables" from buying homes in the area, instead of condemning the mob demonstrations or taking any punitive action against those threatening force and violence against Negro residents.

Burke later compounded his moral crime by attempting to whitewash statements of his appointee, City Urban Development Director Richard V. Hopkins, assuring a meeting in the area of anti-Negro agitation:

"To calm your fears, we won't move into your neighborhood any family that would upset the normal character of living in the

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

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

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

The witch-hunting charge made by Attorney General Brownell that Truman knowingly appointed to office an alleged spy, Harry Dexter White, had sensational repercussions — a nationwide TV and radio reply by Truman, a counter-blast by Brownell, and a fascist-like harangue by McCarthy over the major hook-ups.

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

This realization came from the unexpected sight of Truman himself caught in the web of the witch hunt. It was rammed home by the spectacle of J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, disclosing what vast powers have fallen into his hands.

### "KEEPER OF THE FILES"

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

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

"J. Edgar Hoover emerged from the 'White case' hearings today," said this reporter, "as the decisive witness and probably the most powerful figure on Capitol Hill."

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

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

### DEMOCRATS STARTED IT

How did the American people become saddled with this sinister development in government? One of the causes was the use of the FBI by the Democratic party, when in power, to shackle freedom of thought under guise of combating the "communist menace."

As a witness to prove this, we are able to cite J. Edgar Hoover himself. In "Confidential — From Washington" a publication of the George Washington University Victory Council, Hoover, almost four years ago, said he "emphatically" opposed establishing "a national police system to handle the Communist menace."

Setting up such a system and violating freedom of speech for "communists," he said, "would mean the tearing of law enforcement from its democratic matrix and the creation of a 'state within a state,' or a law enforcement

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## McCarthy Smears GE Unionists

By Lynn Marcus

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

IUE-CIO Chief Steward Pat Walsh of the Everett General Electric plant, in an interview reported in several local papers, stated: "McCarthy isn't so much interested in Communism as he is in unions." He warned, "If McCarthy thinks he's going to interfere with the internal affairs of the union, he'll have plenty of trouble."

Walsh's stand was backed by R. A. Thomas, recording secretary of the local union. "Pat Walsh's testimony," he said, "bore out the fact that Senator McCarthy is not interested in spies but has one objective in mind and that objective is to destroy or undermine any or all unions who, in

keeping with strict union policy, have ambition and courage enough to fight and work for the people they represent."

### OUT TO DESTROY LABOR

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The headline attraction at today's TV performance was an FBI stoolpigeon, William Teto. This unsavory figure, whose police record includes "larceny by checks," according to the press, presented the usual run of "facts" about a "communist conspiracy" in this area. He told the witch hunters that there were about 45 "communists" in the Lynn and Fitchburg GE plants.

At McCarthy's request, Teto fingered two GE workers present

as witnesses, Nat Mills and Bob Goodwin. They were the same two fingered previously by the notorious stoolpigeon Philbrick.

Mills and Goodwin demanded the right to testify and cross-examine Teto. McCarthy declared, "We will not hear you. . . I say we will not hear you unless you are willing to state under oath whether or not you are Communists."

This was followed by the inquisition of Archdeacon and Morrill, who invoked the Fifth Amendment as protection against McCarthy's slanderous questions.

They were followed by Piekarski, a 12-year draftsman at the Lynn plant. Piekarski declared he had not committed sabotage.

McCarthy ruled that since he had "opened up the area of sabotage," he had waived his Fifth Amendment rights in respect to possible association with members of the Communist Party. He also ruled that anyone who worked in a classified section and associated with Communists became a subject of suspected sabotage.

Piekarski stuck to his Fifth Amendment rights and was recommended for contempt charges by the chief inquisitor, McCarthy.

### LABOR MUST ACT

McCarthy's moves in Boston are fresh proof that any militant, regardless of his political beliefs or affiliations, may be smeared, fired from his job and hounded.

To incriminate the innocent, the witch hunters will stop at nothing. Their real target is the genuine militants in the unions and after them the unions themselves.

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

It is time for labor to take action and start that resistance movement rolling that will not stop until it decisively and finally flattens McCarthy and all that he represents.



## How Labor Can Defeat Witch Hunt

By Murry Weiss

In his speech to the CIO convention Nov. 18, John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, said the workers behind the Iron Curtain should employ "passive resistance" against the Stalinist rulers. "It is not necessary, nor is it desirable," said Dulles, "that we should try to foment violent revolution. . . Non-violent methods can be more efficacious."

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

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

The State Department represents the class interests of American Big Business. It may propose "violence" or "passive resistance," but in each case it aims at softening up the Stalinist regime for its eventual overthrow by the Wall Street method — "violent" intervention of imperialist armies.

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

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

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

## What Was Lacking

The opening stage of the political revolution against Stalinism in East Germany showed the future historical path very plainly.

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

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

And where was the Communist Party? In East Germany it remained an instrument of the Stalinist bureaucracy during and after the uprising. It did not, in any major section of its leadership or lower organizations go over to the workers. True, rank-and-file workers broke from the party and participated in the struggle. Also there was wavering and demoralization in sections of the leadership. Differences on how to deal with the workers uprising arose. But the party as such remained an instrument of the hated regime. It proved worthless as a vehicle for workers political revolution.

## How the Kremlin Will Go Down

But how will the armed power of the Kremlin be shattered even with the development of a revolutionary party of the Leninist-Trotskyist type?

The same crisis that gave rise to the June workers uprising in East Germany still continues throughout the Stalinist world. The needs of the world revolution and the growth of the productive forces of the Soviet countries has come into collision with the Stalinist bureaucracy's tyrannical rule. The East German uprising was not an isolated event. It followed on the heels of turbulent strikes and demonstrations in Czechoslovakia and Eastern Europe. Signs of deep mass discontent have appeared within the Soviet Union itself. Conditions for new uprisings are maturing in all parts of the Stalinist controlled non-capitalist world.

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

Therein lies the historical importance of the revolutionary party. The development of overall strategy, the linking of struggles in various sectors, the preparation and consummation of the insurrection and finally, the establishment of a new regime of workers democracy based on the armed masses, all imperatively require the construction of the revolutionary party. That is why Trotsky who called for a political revolution against Stalinism said: "We must set down, first of all, as an immutable axiom — that this task can be solved only by a revolutionary party."

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

# What Churchill's Memoirs Reveal

By Myra Tanner Weiss

Excerpts from the Memoirs of Winston Churchill, Volume VI, "Triumph and Tragedy," published by the N. Y. Times and Life magazine, supply enough information on the secret deals made during World War II to show that the cold war with Russia began before the hot war with Germany was over. While Allied soldiers were still striving to defeat the Nazis, the heads of the Western powers were secretly dividing the spoils and plotting another world blood bath.

After the war Stalin came under attack from his former allies. But during the war they regarded him as a comrade in arms. The USSR bore the heaviest burden in the war against Germany. In addition the imperialist statesmen were pleased at the freedom with which they could disclose their territorial ambitions and win Stalin's approval in carving up the map of the world.

This is clearly seen in the Moscow conversations between Churchill and Stalin in October, 1944.

Churchill reports, "The moment was apt for business, so I said, 'Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Roumania and Bulgaria. We have interests, missions, and agents there. Don't let us get at cross-purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have ninety per cent predominance in Roumania, for us to have ninety per cent of the say in Greece, and go fifty-fifty about Yugoslavia?' While this was being translated I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper:

Roumania	90%
Russia	10%
Greece	90%
Great Britain (in accord with U.S.A.)	10%
Yugoslavia	50-50%
Hungary	50-50%
Bulgaria	75%
Russia	25%
The others	25%

"I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the



CHURCHILL

translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set it down.

"RATHER CYNICAL?"

"... After this there was a long silence. The pencilled paper lay in the centre of the table. At

length I said, 'Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so fateful to millions of people, in such an offhand manner? Let us turn the paper.' 'No, you keep it,' said Stalin. So I did."

These arrangements were ostensibly made only for the duration of the war, but Churchill knew that possession is nine-tenths the law in international relations. He makes clear that in the closing year of the war his biggest concern was to cover as much of Europe as possible with Allied troops and to reduce to a minimum the area to be occupied by the Red Army.

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

Churchill opposed Operation "Dragoon," the invasion of Southern France, because of the rapid advance of the Russians west. "Dragoon" required the transfer of troops from General Alex-

ander's army in Italy. Churchill preferred to strengthen this army for movement north and east.

In the summer of 1944, Churchill says regretfully, "We could have broken into the valley of the Po, with all the gleaming possibilities and prizes which lay open toward Vienna."

But Roosevelt was far more sensitive to the tenuous grounds on which popular support was given to the war venture. Appearances had to be maintained. So he replied to Churchill's importunities with: "I cannot agree to the employment of United States troops . . . into the Balkans . . . For purely political considerations over here, I should never survive even a slight setback in 'Overlord' (the invasion of Normandy) if it were known that fairly large forces had been diverted to the Balkans."

The extent to which the imperialists were ready to sacrifice Germany in the interests of their struggle against the Soviet Union is not completely clear. But early in 1945, contact was made by the American Intelligence Service with General Wolf, the German S.S. commander in Italy. Negotiations in Switzerland with this General were given the code name "crossword." The Kremlin first learned of this secret meeting from its own agents. It caused a serious diplomatic rift between the allies.

Both Churchill and Roosevelt hotly denied they had planned treachery against their war-time ally. Churchill maintained that the U.S. and Britain intended

only to "test the credentials and authority of General Wolf." But the Kremlin protested that "In Berna for two weeks, behind the backs of the Soviet Union, which is bearing the brunt of the war against Germany, negotiations have been going on between the representatives of the German military command on the one hand and representatives of the English and American commands on the other."

### STALIN'S TELEGRAM

In a telegram to Roosevelt, Stalin claimed that the negotiations had "ended in an agreement with the Germans, on the basis of which the German commander on the Western Front, Marshal Kesselring, has agreed to open the front and permit the Anglo-American troops to advance to the east, and the Anglo-Americans have promised in return to ease for the Germans the peace terms."

Whatever the true facts may be in relation to "crossword," it is quite apparent that such a deal has been extremely consonant with the clear desires and intentions of Stalin's allies as revealed in Churchill's Memoirs. Diplomatic secrecy enabled the imperialist governments to deceive the people.

In the closing year of World War II, people believed that victory would bring peace, while the rulers were already shifting the battle lines east against the Soviet Union. For Churchill, the "triumph" had become a "tragedy." For the people of the world — There was no peace.

## Alarm Spreads at FBI's Power

(Continued from page 1)

system unresponsive to the will of the majority, and obeying only the dictates of the governing few."

That is what has happened. A "state within a state" has been created, responsive to the fascist-like aims of the McCarthyites and working hand in glove with them to end democracy in America.

As the Jan. 9, 1950, Militant predicted, "... if the American working class doesn't awaken to the menace of the Department of Justice's infringements on democratic rights, then the FBI will develop more and more into a replica of the Gestapo and the GPU, with Hoover protesting all the time that he is 'emphatically' opposed to the kind of system which he heads."

That prediction, we are sorry to say, has been borne out to the hilt.

What does America face now with a native Gestapo roaming the land of the free as Hitler's secret political police once roamed Germany?

The immediate aim of the forces of McCarthyism is to smash the tenuous legal barriers that still restrain them to some extent. They want to knock the Fifth Amendment out of the Constitution. They want to legalize the infamous totalitarian practice of wire-tapping.

But these are only the latest steps toward their major goal —

crushing the unions or at least tying them hand and foot so they can't offer effective resistance to a head-on offensive by the giant corporations who stand behind the McCarthyite menace.

Coupled with that is the still more ominous perspective for which Wall Street is preparing — war on a global scale, war to conquer all peoples who resist inclusion in the empire of the dollar, war to reduce all continents into private holdings of the monster financial interests



J. EDGAR HOOVER

## BROWNELL PUSHES BILL VOIDING 5th AMENDMENT

(Continued from page 1)

hearings the most innocent people can be forced and tricked into making answers that appear to be "damaging," it is becoming almost standard practice for persons facing Congressional inquiries to avail themselves of their right to silence under the Fifth Amendment.

To coerce such witnesses, there is a growing movement, led by fascist-minded senators like McCarthy, McCarran and Jenner, to undermine the Fifth Amendment and to destroy it as an effective means to protect persons under inquisitorial questioning. They almost succeeded in putting through a bill that would have voided the 5th Amendment in the last session of Congress. The bill, authored by Democratic Senator Pat McCarran, was quietly slipped through in the Senate on July 9; but was held up later in the House.

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

### NO LEGAL IMMUNITY

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

It is this type of bill for which Brownell testified and which the

witch hunters hope to push through in the present atmosphere of the "spy" scare.

Part of the campaign to nullify the Fifth Amendment is to interpret a refusal to testify under the amendment as a tacit admission of "guilt." Of course, this amendment was introduced into the Constitution to protect the innocent who might be induced by means of tricky and selected questions to make statements that could be "interpreted" as "tending" to incriminate. It was an amendment designed as protection from the type of legal procedure the people had suffered from in the political and religious persecutions under the British kings of the 17th and 18th Century.

In a letter to the Dec. 7 N. Y. Times, trial lawyer Harold H. Corbin answered the claim that refusal to testify is proof of guilt by pointing out: "It assumes that an innocent man cannot honestly claim that his answers might tend to incriminate him, whereas long and bitter experience has taught just the contrary. The pitfalls and dangers of testifying without immunity are so obscure and so manifold that experienced lawyers do not permit a client to thus testify, however certain they might be of his innocence."

More and more people are refusing to be panicked or intimidated by McCarthy, Jenner and their ilk and are standing on their Constitutional rights. They are refusing to be hooked on those "when are you going to stop beating your wife?" questions thrown at them by slick shysters like McCarthy. That's why the McCarthyites want a law to blow up the Fifth Amendment.

One thousand teen-age youth were arrested by Philadelphia police over the weekend of Nov. 21-22. The mass roundup took place because of alleged reports of hold-ups and robberies by "gangs of adolescent terrorists."

that have taken over Washington. Such a war with its frightful sacrifices requires unthinking robots, terrorized minds, cattle incapable of acting as anything but a slave force and cannon-fodder.

### WHAT TO DO

Is this then to be our America? Every lover of freedom will say, "No! It cannot be!"

And they are right. The same people that broke the tyranny of imperial Britain in the American Revolution, that smashed the slaveholders of the Bourbon south, will rise to their feet again. Above all, it is the duty of the heads of America's mighty trade-union army to take the lead in this.

Nothing more is required than the will power to break the hypothesis of fear, to say that McCarthyism has gone far enough; it shall go no further.

That is all that is needed. That, and the courage to say, "I will not wait for the other guy to move first. It's my job. Even if I must fight alone, I'll stand up and fight."

That resolution is the beginning of the movement that will smash McCarthyism.

## Velde Committee Victimizes 26 Phila. Teachers

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 21 — The Velde Sub-Committee on Un-American Activities passed through Philadelphia this week and left in its wake 26 more victims of the witch hunt. They are teachers in the city school system guilty of the "crime" of invoking their rights under the Fifth Amendment when questioned about alleged "communist" affiliations.

Three publicity-packed days were spent investigating "communist penetration" in the schools. Those subpoenaed were automatically suspect. School authorities warned that failure to answer any questions would jeopardize their jobs. However, all 17 who were questioned staunchly stood on their constitutional rights.

Two days later the school board suspended them as well as nine others who were questioned by the board itself. The grounds were "incompetency." Among the victims were leading local figures of the Independent Teachers Union including present and past presidents and executive board members.

## HOW LABOR MOVEMENT CAN DEFEAT WITCH HUNT

(Continued from page 1)

McCarthyism. In brilliant passages the author demonstrates the following propositions: "A devastating corruption of the democratic political process" is under way. Brownell's attack on White "is a form of lynch law."

The FBI has become a "kind of shadow government behind the government — an agency that is responsible to no one and that has usurped the executive power." The "Communist menace" in America is the "most fantastic hoax of our generation" and "tragically, . . . the Democratic Party, is still bemused by the hoax of Communism."

So far so good. Then Wilson asks, "Can the Democratic Party which launched the Smith Act prosecutions, which created the 'loyalty' program, which first sponsored Chambers and Bentley and Budenz as witnesses summon the will, the intellect, and the courage to fight for its own survival?"

Mr. Wilson answers this question: "One fears that the sole organized group in America with sufficient responsibility to be listened to, sufficient independence to take action, and with sufficient resources to make itself heard may have become too befuddled by anti-Communist propaganda to recognize the injection of poison into its own blood stream." Wilson ends on a note of despair with the comment that "if" the Democratic Party is prepared "to fight McCarthyism and all that the term implies" in 1954, the day may be saved. "But if the Democrats elect to join forces with the Republicans in continuing the witch hunt, the Whites case could prove to be the tragedy of American politics."

### WILSON BEFUDDLED TOO

The clue to the capitulatory pessimism of the Nation lies in one phrase of Mr. Wilson's article: "the sole organized group in America" capable of fighting McCarthyism is the Democratic party. This concept, if persisted in by the workers' organizations can really "prove to be the tragedy of American politics."

We think that the organized trade union movement in America, 17,000,000 strong, is the "sole organized group" capable of

fighting McCarthyism. Not the Democratic Party. We think that the American labor movement can free itself from the "befuddlement" of reliance on capitalist parties in its life and death struggle for survival.

### LABOR MUST ACT

The labor movement is the natural leader of the American people who hate McCarthyism and all it stands for. Fourteen million Negro people and millions of other minorities would rally to labor once it steps out and challenges the witch hunters. That's why we call for a United Labor Congress with representatives from all the locals of the trade union movement and the minority peoples. Whatever its initial actions, such a Congress, once called into being, will signal the beginning of the end for McCarthyism.

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

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

**Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum**  
presents a talk on  
**McCarthy Reaches For the White House**  
Speaker:  
Joseph Hansen  
Friday, Dec. 4, at 8:30 P.M.  
at 52 Market Street

## THE MILITANT ARMY

The second national mobilization to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Militant brought the total subscriptions sold so far to 80. Single copy sales rose to 630.

The New York comrades are far in the lead at this point but are keeping a cautious eye on Los Angeles where they consider a strange silence has prevailed for some days.

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

"Last week's sales of single copies were followed up this week and 36 people bought a second copy with a number promising to get subs later on. Ann and Mike did a fine job, selling 10 Militants out of 23 visited."

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

Comrade Baker sends in the latest news of the competition between Seattle's two teams. "Eight comrades went out on our Nov. 15 mobilization — five on George's team and three on Dan's. Dan's team sold the most subs and has 214 points. George's team sold the most single copies and has 123 points to date. Our pace-setters are Leon with 67 points; Frank with 52; Melba, 41; George, 39; and Betty, 32."

Oakland Literature Agent Dolores Seville reports, "Our score last week was 25. Leonard and I went back to all those to whom we had sold the Militant the week before and got 100%."

on these call-backs. Leonard sold six and I sold four. In addition two more copies were sold by Bill, one by Leo, and four by Lil. This week we will go back to some of the old subscribers for renewals."

Helen Sherman writes, "Three subs and 20 single copies of the Militant were sold this week in Minneapolis. Ralph visited a friend whom he hadn't seen for nearly a year and got one of the subs. Donald and Art brought in the other two renewals."

"While Harry and Fanny are still leading on the local score-board with 52 points each, Bob A. climbed up to second place with 34 points for individual Militant sales. Last week he sold 10 papers just walking around a block in the downtown district."

"Millie, Larry, Ralph, and Bob W. also contributed points to the Minneapolis score by selling Militants at union meetings, on the street and to individual friends. To circulate the Militant in every possible way is the objective of the Minneapolis comrades."

Scores so far in the campaign are as follows:

New York	1,143
Los Angeles	576
San Francisco	446
Cleveland	338
Seattle	337
Philadelphia	387
St. Louis	130
Boston	104
Detroit	104
San Francisco	104
Milwaukee	98
Buffalo	52
Chicago	52
Newark	45
Oakland	42
General	52

Among the first ten pace-setters three comrades have scores over 100. They are Ethel B. of New York with 141 points; Jean S. of Cleveland with 130; and Cathy of New York with 104. Other high scorers are Harold R., New York, 81 points; Janet, New York, 75; Leon, Seattle, 67; and Dorothy, Oscar, Ann and Art S., all of New York with scores of 63, 58, 57 and 54 points.

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## Nixon's Apologies to the Mikado

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) The people of the world became so enraged against the capitalist system that a great world anti-capitalist revolution began. This presents a desperate problem to American capitalism. Big Business now wants Germany and Japan rearmed. This time the stakes are higher — World War III will decide the issue of capitalism or socialism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Iran -- Betrayal and Cover Up

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

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

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

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

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

The Pabloite squib on Iran is packed with false insinuations and lies. For example it is not a question of the Kremlin's last minute intervention in Iran to stop revolutionary action. According to the Pabloites themselves, for more than two years Iran was ripe for the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants to put in a new government of their own free choice.

Thus the Kremlin and the Iranian Stalinists have been "criminally inactive" for at least two years. Also, the Pabloites imply that if something works to the disadvantage of the Soviet Union the Kremlin couldn't possibly favor it. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Kremlin does not represent the historic interests of the workers of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the bureaucrats, representing the interests of a privileged caste, more often than not fly in the face of the interests of both the Soviet Union and the world working class.

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

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

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

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

To anyone who will listen, the Cochranites are now complaining about the unenvying experience of being suspended from membership. However, their hypocritical complaints are not very convincing, for they are not seeking reinstatement or appealing the action to a convention. The reason for that, of course, is that they deliberately organized their split, preparing for it over a considerable period by sabotaging party finances and activities and whipping up a frenzied factional attitude among their ranks. The boycott was simply the culmination of a long series of provocations.

While in the SWP the Cochranites complained just as bitterly about the rejection of their pro-Stalinist line by the overwhelming majority of the party. They tried to rationalize their inability to win a majority by accusing the SWP of succumbing to "Stalinophobia"; i.e., an opposition to Stalinism so unreasonable that it refuses to defend what is progressive in the Soviet Union and will not stop at supporting the war-mongering foreign policy of Big Business in order to get at the Kremlin bureaucracy.

In reality the Cochranites could be correctly accused of "Stalinophilia"; i.e., the strange political disease that sees progressiveness in Stalinism no matter what its crimes. They pushed this view in the SWP as acolytes of Pablo, seeking under the slogan of

"junk the old Trotskyism," to impose his conciliatory views toward Stalinism on the American Trotskyist movement.

### THEIR FIRST PUBLIC ACT

But what was the first public political act of the Cochranites after they walked out of the SWP? From the talk of some of their leaders, it might have been supposed they were on their way to Marcantonio's headquarters to join this faction in the American Labor Party. But apparently Marcantonio avoided this fate by resigning from the ALP the day after the election.

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

This, however, was only preparation for a more ambitious venture. The principal leader, Cochran himself, sent a lengthy political statement to Labor Action, Shachtman's paper. He listed his grievances against the SWP to these Stalinophobes in evident expectation of a sympathetic response.

And just to make sure of eliciting a friendly pat on the back from Stalinophobe Shachtman, Cochran assiduously refrained from mentioning what had previously been one of his main grievances; namely, that the SWP had allegedly succumbed to Stalinophobia. As the saying goes, one does not speak of the rope in the house of the hanged.

With a politeness that undoubtedly pleased and flattered the editor of Labor Action, Cochran also delicately refrained from attacking Shachtman for his refusal to defend the Soviet Union from imperialist attack, and likewise refrained from pointing out that Labor Action is part of the Social Democratic press whose chief function is to assist the State Department in preparing a military assault on the Soviet bloc.

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

We don't propose anything of the kind for the United States. . ."

Why did Cochran deliberately select the columns of the anti-Soviet Labor Action for his first public declaration? Why did he turn to this obscure league of abandoned hopes for sympathy?

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

(1) Cochran raises his hands in pious horror at the "dictatorial methods" of James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, and the SWP's insistence on discipline in action.

Opposition to the democratic centralism of the SWP, labelled as Cannon's "dictatorial methods," has been Shachtman's stock in trade for 13 years. The editor of Labor Action indicates that it is refreshing to see it repeated now in Cochran's language.

(2) Cochran attacks the Trotskyist conception of the role of the party in winning a socialist victory. "According to their new revelation, the tiny, unknown SWP has the 'ordained leadership,' the essential cadres of the revolution, and if it only remains 'true to itself' and keeps blowing its own horn, its revolutionary triumph is guaranteed."

This is a vulgar burlesque of the idea formerly held by the Cochranites for many years in common with us that a revolutionary party must be built to assure the victory of socialism. It is not exactly a fresh contribution to the columns of Labor Action. Shachtman has been peddling it in one variation or another for 13 years. By offering his own version of this theme, Cochran performs a political service for the Shachtmanites and indicates the underlying identity of his views with theirs.

It was fitting and natural for Cochran to choose Labor Action for his first public declaration after splitting from the SWP. Shachtman was his predecessor in breaking from orthodox Trotskyism. Shachtman was his predecessor also in organizing a split from the SWP. Who in the radical movement would more likely feel a bond of sympathy?

How accurate Cochran's political instinct was can be judged from the expressions of sympathy

the editor of this Stalinophobe sheet decided to award his new contributor. True, he was much more careful about indicating his political differences with Cochran than Cochran was with him. Nevertheless, the feeling of camaraderie softens his most critical thrusts.

For instance, Cochran's complaint that his faction wasn't permitted in the SWP to express its minority views outside of internal party forums and bulletins to the extent it wished drew the following approving comment: "In other words the Cochran minority-bureaucrat demanded exactly the same right that 'the Shachtmanites' demanded in 1940, the right to present their point of view in the magazine."

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

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

### PROVES OUR CONTENTION

Cochran's letter to Labor Action proves what we contended during the recently concluded faction struggle — that no deep gulf exists between the Shachtmanites and the Cochranites. Their positions on Stalinism are only in apparent opposition.

In reality they are symmetrical petty-bourgeois reactions to capitalist pressures. The Shachtmanite rushed away from Stalinism and eventually landed in the camp of imperialism. The Cochranites today are rushing toward Stalinism. But we doubt that the attractiveness to them of the Stalinist milieu will prove enduring. This is only the first form of their capitulation to the pressures emanating from American imperialism in its drive toward war. In England, the Haston group likewise demonstrated that pro-Stalinism can be a bridge to

surrender to a Stalinophobe labor bureaucracy.

At bottom, Cochran has much in common with Shachtman, particularly in the profound break he has made with orthodox Trotskyism, and in his revision of the basic program of Marxism as it touches the most burning questions of our time. His plaintive letter to Shachtman's house organ proves that.

## Seek to Legalize "Dirty Business" Of Wiretapping

(Continued from page 1)

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

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

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

### CRIMES OF THE FBI

The FBI, under the direct orders of J. Edgar Hoover and his superiors in the Department of Justice and at the explicit authorization of the White House, has been committing scores and hundreds of criminal acts of wiretapping daily since 1940. In a statement in January 1950 after the FBI's wholesale violation of the law had been exposed during the Coplon case, Hoover confessed: "The policy we follow on wiretapping was set by the late President Roosevelt on May 21, 1940."

But these unlawful acts were carried out in such secrecy that it was not until Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan forced FBI agents, testifying in the Coplon trial, to divulge their use of wiretapping that the existence on a wholesale scale of law-breaking by what was supposed to be the country's top law-enforcement agency was revealed.

At first, the FBI agents lied on the stand that such practices existed, then admitted them. Finally, forced to bring the recording of wiretaps into court, they produced records that proved to be unintelligible, although they claimed they got tip-offs on Judith Coplon's "spying" from them. Would this also be the case with the wiretap evidence that Brownell and Hoover intimated is the basis of their unproved charges against Harry Dexter White?

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

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

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## French Trotskyists Hail SWP

(The following is a translation of an article that appeared in the Nov. 19 *La Verite*, organ of the Internationalist Communist Party, French Section of the Fourth International. — Ed.)

On Oct. 27, 1928, twenty-five years ago, the leadership of the American Communist Party expelled from the party on charges of Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, member of the Political Committee and one of the best known leaders of American communism, as well as two members of the Central Executive Committee.

Within scarcely a week appeared No. 1 of the Militant, organ of the Left Opposition, officially marking the beginning outside of Russia in the Communist International of a revolutionary Marxist current called "Trotskyism."

An internal struggle had taken place for years in the American CP between the faction of Lovestone (then leader, but likewise soon expelled on orders of Moscow along with the Right Opposition), the faction of William Z. Foster (the present leader of the American Stalinist party), and the faction of James P. Cannon. This struggle took place only over secondary questions concerning the orientation of the CP, remaining independent of the great ideological battle conducted in Russia between Trotskyism and Stalinism.

"We were still trying to solve things on an American scale; a common error. . . We looked to the Communist International to give us help with our national problems." ("History of American Trotskyism" by James P. Cannon, p. 42.)

Cannon, nevertheless, felt doubts about the correctness of Stalin's line and the expulsion of Trotsky, Zinoviev, etc. It was in his state of mind that he went to Moscow for the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (July-September 1928), the agenda of which was mainly concerned with the adoption of a draft program elaborated by Stalin-Bukharin.

From his exile in Alma-Ata, Leon Trotsky had written a pitiless criticism of this draft, a criticism that is today considered one of the classics of Marxism. This document, as well as Trotsky's appeal against his expulsion, were, naturally, kept from the Congress. . . but they had Soviet militants in the bureau of interpreters and stenographers to translate the work and pass it out among the delegates. This was the historic encounter between

James P. Cannon and the revolutionary thought of Trotsky.

The delegate of the American CP took the precious document with him from Russia and began the work of regroupment among the party ranks around the ideas of Trotsky.

This work did not pass unperceived by Foster-Lovestone, who called Cannon before an inquiry session after another. Cannon avoided immediate expulsion, evading direct questions until he had made the necessary contacts preparatory to his public announcement. Then on Oct. 27, 1928, in reply to his accusers, he read a long declaration in which he and his comrades declared themselves 100% Trotskyists.

He found himself immediately removed from his post, alone and without resources, boycotted by all his friends of the day before, without means of expression once the first number of the Militant had appeared (on credit).

But it is in such circumstances that a man shows his measure.

Cannon showed his: he organized lectures and discussions; he undertook intense correspondence. He knew how to shift from mass work to the work of individual propaganda. To the Communist cadres and militants he knew how to propose a policy.

Twenty-five years have passed. An entire epoch, extremely difficult for the Marxist cadres in the USA, since they have seen many reactionary waves sweep the country without the program of socialism yet winning the majority of the proletariat. But a preparatory epoch, a decisive epoch which has made a selection of men and of organizations.

The historic "success" on the soil of the United States among the leaders of the old American CP, was not on the side of Foster, who today still transmits to an organization in decomposition the orders of Moscow; it was not on the side of the swarm of renegades who now denounce before McCarthy's inquisitors their

comrades of twenty years ago; it is exclusively on the side of James P. Cannon, who knew how to break all the obstacles placed in his path and to forge the weapon of success — a genuine Bolshevik party of the vanguard. To this party, the Socialist Workers Party, is assured beyond dispute the leading role in the great revolutionary struggles which the American proletariat will wage.

And the SWP has likewise another role, profoundly internationalist, to play. It is a question for it to aid by its example in the formation throughout the entire world of a generation of communist militants imbued with the spirit which gave birth to American Trotskyism: Unshakable attachment to principles, wideness of view and solidarity of international thought, firmness in the face of bureaucratic apparatuses and fabricated majorities, unity of thought and action, stubborn will to construct the revolutionary party.

## CEYLON SOCIALISTS SEND GREETINGS TO SWP ON ITS 25th ANNIVERSARY

(Samasamajist, English weekly of the Lanka Samasamaja Party, Ceylonese Section of the Fourth International, published the following article on the 25-year record of the Socialist Workers Party in its issue of Nov. 5 under the title: "Hail SWP of America! Revolutionary Socialism's Vanguard in Imperialist Citadel." — Ed.)

A week before the 36th Anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia, our co-thinkers in the Socialist Workers Party, celebrated the Silver Jubilee of the struggle for formation of the party.

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

Readers can well imagine the difficulties of working within imperialism's citadel. The American Trotskyists have consistently struggled on principled lines for the establishment of Socialist America.

The men who built that party had years of active service in the revolutionary ranks behind them.

On October 27, 1928, James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman and Martin Abern were expelled from the Communist Party as Trotskyists.

Till 1933, the date of the capitulation of the Comintern to Hitler, they struggled for reform of the CP. After the tragic betrayal of the working class to the Nazis they struggled for a new party.

Together with working class militants thrown up in the strike struggles, they forged ahead. Other highlights in the pre-war period were the unemployment struggles, the anti-fascist street battles, and their participation in the labor surge that created the CIO.

Our comrades came through these struggles with their banner flying.

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

comrades. Our comrades, needless to say, are even now campaigning against the U.S. government's attacks on the Stalinists.

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

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

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

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

It is our great privilege to fight side by side with such valiant comrades for socialism!



## At the CIO Convention

By Jean Blake

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## "The Shame of New York"

By Harry Ring

"Any of the aforementioned men could have given aces and spades to the famous crusading journalist, Lincoln Steffens, who chronicled corruption exactly fifty years ago in this country, and left him far behind." This is the opinion held by Ed Reid of contemporary newsmen, including himself, who have in recent years won Pulitzer awards for their exposures of corruption in government.

After reading "The Shame of New York" (Random House, 235 pp., \$3 1953), this reviewer would say that Reid has a long way to go just to catch up with the fifty-year-old work of Steffens, not to speak of giving him "aces and spades."

Steffens won an enduring place for himself in the annals of journalism not simply by exposing the already widely understood fact of corruption in government, but rather by demonstrating to the hilt that crime and corruption are an inevitable outgrowth of capitalist politics, that they are in fact indispensable features of the capitalist system as such.

Reid first won claim to fame by breaking, in the Brooklyn Eagle, the story of the Harry Gross bookmaking empire which functioned on the basis of a highly organized system of weekly "payoffs" to the top brass of the New York Police Department. He then went on in the same paper to expose the close relationship between Thomas (Three Fingers Brown) Luchese and Armand Chankalian.

Luchese is widely reputed to be the most powerful single figure in New York's crime syndicate; and, with equal credence, said

to be the power behind the throne in Tammany Hall. Chankalian was for a long period assistant to Myles Lane, former United States Attorney in this district.

In this book, Reid retells the story of Gross, Luchese, William McCormack, the "Mr. Big" of the New York waterfront, and many of the crooks, cutthroat artists, and capitalist politicians whose names have become household words as a result of the Kefauver and New York State Crime Commission hearings. The only essentially new information in the book deals with some of the personal habits of "Mickey" Jelke, recently convicted millionaire pimp.

A book which summarized and fitted into a single picture all the recent sensational crimes connected with capitalist politics would be well worthwhile if it provided what the newspapers have deliberately omitted.

Out of the wealth of evidence made public by the recent investigations a very definite pattern emerges. The fundamental feature of that pattern is the unholy alliance between racketeers and politicians acting in concert as agents of the employers against organized labor. The recent investigations of crime on the waterfront established this beyond dispute.

This is the feature of organized crime under capitalism of greatest concern to labor and the one most urgently in need of further exposure. Yet it is the one thing that Reid either fails to see or deliberately ducks. In either case it leaves his "inside story" far short of the mark set by Steffens.

## Notes from the News

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

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

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

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

THE "BOTTOM LAYER" of the nation's housing was described by Charles B. Shattuck, president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards at the organization's convention in Los Angeles on Nov. 10. Shattuck said, "Not less than 20% of the nation's total housing supply is

in such a state of dilapidation that it needs to be rehabilitated to be restored to even minimum living standards." Why not just tear them down and start fresh?

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

UNITED FRUIT CO. took another jolt from the Guatemalan government when 200,000 acres of company-held land was expropriated. The acreage is on the Atlantic coast line. The expropriation took place under the agrarian reform decree passed last August 13. Previously about 215,000 acres were expropriated on the Pacific coast, leaving United Fruit with 63,000 acres. The U.S. State Department has been protesting bitterly that United Fruit was paid for the land at its own fraudulent tax evaluation. They say that at that price United Fruit was robbed. The Guatemalans say that United Fruit robbed their country by the dollar imperialist practice of undervaluing its holdings when it comes to taxes, and then trying to raise its taxes when the handwriting of expropriation appears on the wall.

FIVE IMPRISONED leaders of the Peoples Progressive Party of British Guiana, started a hunger strike Nov. 19. The leaders of the party were jailed after the British landed troops last month and deposed the lawfully elected PPP government on charges of "subversion" against the British empire. The hunger strike is in protest against their indefinite arrest, food and other conditions in the detention camp, martial law in British Guiana and Britain's "barbarous use of heavy bombers against the people of Kenya."

## Coal Town, U. S. A.



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

## FORD LOCAL 600 OFFERS REAL FIGHTING PROGRAM

(Continued from page 1)

We further declare that there can be no intelligent fight waged for the guaranteed annual wage unless a concrete plan is put before the entire membership of our union.

The demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay, also under Point Two, is called "THE KEY TO ENLIGHTENED LABOR UNIONS WELCOMING TECHNOLOGICAL IMPROVEMENTS." This demand is designed "so that workers share the fruits of automation [conversion of machines into automations], instead of becoming victims of it."

Point Three is to "EXTEND TRADE WITH ALL NATIONS," with special stress on the "A.L." It is particularly enlightened in view of the reactionary, war-mongering campaign to cut off trade with the new China, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Point Four calls for Congress to "ENACT A COMPREHENSIVE PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM" immediately with concrete plans for public-works projects including housing, schools, hospitals, roads, "new TVA's," parks, recreation centers and playgrounds. "And while these projects are pending, enact laws declaring a moratorium for unemployed debtors."

Point Five demands: "GIVE PROTECTION TO MINORITY GROUPS IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE LIVING STANDARDS OF ALL WORKERS." This calls for the "model UAW anti-discrimination clause in all contracts," enactment of national and state FEPC legislation; elimination of "all differentials in wages of men and women;" cut down probation periods of new workers to 30 days; give special attention to the needs of veterans and "fight all intimidation and discriminatory actions against foreign-born workers." This last proposal again indicates the genuinely enlightened stand of the Ford Local, because foreign-born workers are the most helpless and vulnerable victims of the witch hunt.

But it is not enough to have a good program of demands. "We must guarantee that the UAW-CIO National Unemployment Conference does not result merely in good discussions and good resolutions on paper. Our responsibility is to make sure that these are translated into action," says the Local 600 programmatic statement.

When the Cleveland chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demanded that this open advocate of segregation be removed from his policy-making post, threatening defeat of the bond issue for urban redevelopment if he wasn't, Burke agreed to accept his resignation.

Four days later, the daily papers exposed the fact that the double-talking mayor had retained Hopkins on the city payroll, merely switching his title. Then, making it crystal clear that the whole issue of segregation is a political football, not a question of principle for him, Burke reluctantly agreed to remove Hopkins from the payroll because of "the attendant publicity given his retention."

Now, with the renewed attack on the Stewart home, evidence of

ment. As the first point of its action program, it proposes:

"That the Conference call on the CIO, AFL, UMW, RAILROAD BROTHERHOOD and OTHER INDEPENDENT UNIONS to convene a National Conference of ALL labor on the single problem of full peace-time employment."

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

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

The program would be greatly strengthened, in our opinion, if it included the proposal adopted by the Local 600 General Council last January for "a Congress of Labor . . . which shall have the function of determining a program and setting in motion mechanics for the establishment of a Farmer-Labor Party in the United States." That resolution stated absolutely correctly: "It has become obvious that neither of the two major political parties . . . can solve the immediate problems of the American people."

The basic problems of American society, the problems of war and depression have not been settled within the present two-party set up.

And the resolution answered the time-worn argument used to avoid taking the road to genuine labor political action, stating: "Contrary to those who have repeated through the years that 'now is not the time,' the last election has demonstrated that time is running out."

We commend the Local 600 officers and members for their bold and enlightened stand and their initiative and leadership in bringing their program before the American labor movement. We urge again that our readers throughout the labor movement secure copies of the Nov. 21 Ford Facts and give it widest circulation.

We hope that all labor will join in the fight to spread this program and make it a reality.

## RACE ATTACKS STIR CLEVELANDERS

(Continued from page 1)

neighborhood. Do you all understand what I mean?"

When the Cleveland chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People demanded that this open advocate of segregation be removed from his policy-making post, threatening defeat of the bond issue for urban redevelopment if he wasn't, Burke agreed to accept his resignation.

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Now, with the renewed attack on the Stewart home, evidence of

complicity of a police officer, exposures in the local Negro press of the organized activities of the restrictive-covenant gang in the area and confirmation of their campaign in a recent issue of the Universe Bulletin, powerful organ of the Cleveland Catholic diocese, the issue has been placed flatly before the new mayor and his administration for action.

Charles P. Lucas, executive secretary of the Cleveland NAACP, voiced the protest of the entire Negro community over the latest outrage.

"We are tired of the farce of putting police officers in the vicinity, in full view of everybody, thinking they can 'catch' somebody by this childish technique," he said.

"Let the vandals be given the benefit of a thorough investigation like other suspected felons get. Let detectives work in the area OUT of sight rather than in full view."

## THE MILITANT

## CIO Delegates Renew Demand for T-H Repeal

Two resolutions received special emphasis at the CIO convention in Cleveland Nov. 16-20. One advanced the guaranteed annual wage as the CIO's major economic

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

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

## INDICATED PLAN

The kind of plan Reuther and McDonald have in mind is suggested mainly by the resolution's emphasis on the need for "flexibility" in adapting the plans to specific industries. A plan presented to the recent Steelworkers' wage policy conference, for instance, would exclude a large part of the workers from sharing in the plan's benefits; would hold

employers liable only to the extent of money available in a special fund; and contains several other gimmicks that would lessen or destroy the plan's value to most workers.

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

The resolution on the Taft-Hartley Law appeared to be designed mainly as a reproach and embarrassment to Eisenhower rather than as a serious proposal to win the repeal of the obnoxious union-busting law. It calls for repeal of the law, but in the same breath it complains that Eisenhower has failed in his promise to offer amendments to the act. The general impression is left that the CIO leaders would still be ready to settle for something less than elimination of T-H.

What the resolution conceals is

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

Yet the effect of the whole discussion on T-H was to make it seem that if only labor sees to it that a Democratic majority is elected to Congress in '54 all the problems of the American workers, including T-H, will be solved. That's what the union leaders claimed before Nov. '48 and Nov. '50 too.

The atmosphere of inertia, of marking time, of substituting words for action, which was so obvious at this convention, was a reflection especially of the political dead-end to which the CIO, and the unions generally, have come. This atmosphere could have been changed instantaneously into the invigorating one of a great fighting crusade, as in the CIO's early days, by one big new step forward: a CIO proposal to American labor to build its own independent party.

## Twin City Forum Hears Dunne on AFL-CIO Unity

By Winifred Nelson

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

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

Reviewing the CIO convention just concluded in Cleveland, the speaker criticized the actions of Walter Reuther, national CIO president, and charged him with "attempting to sell the CIO on going along with capitalism."

Reuther, he pointed out, had put forward the plan to fight in the future for a guaranteed annual wage, as opposed to demanding immediate wage raises.

"Actually Reuther is misleading and miseducating the workers of America," he said, "because he knows that there can't be a guaranteed annual wage under capitalism. He's intimating that capitalism can reform itself."

With a lifetime of service to the working class as a trade union organizer and revolutionary leader, Comrade Dunne was well qualified to speak on the subject. He traced the progressive development of capitalism from feudalism, adding that now "capitalism has served its purpose and must go."

The vast majority of the workers, he said, are for this change to a "system where production is for the use of man and not for the profit of a few overlords." They are held back by the trade-union leadership which "prevents the masses from mobilizing and moving on to socialism."

A social hour and supper followed the speech and discussion. A number of new friends of the party attended and stayed for further discussion on the subject of socialism.

## In the Unions

By Joseph Keller

A recent notable labor event was the CIO United Packinghouse Workers National Anti-Discrimination Conference in Chicago. For three days nearly 500 local leaders discussed ways and means to abolish discrimination and segregation on the job and in the union. During the past year the union has scored more than 100 victories against Jim Crow in the plants, including the elimination of segregated eating and locker facilities in several southern plants.

The conference agreed to fight for the abolishment of segregated locker rooms, cafeterias, drinking fountains and other facilities and for eliminating all discrimination in job opportunities.

It was pointed out that Negro members may be deprived of the full benefits of the union's newly won company-paid hospitalization plan because of the refusal of most hospitals to admit Negro patients. The conference determined to push vigorously to break down these racial barriers. It called for close cooperation with the NAACP, Urban League and CIO councils and local unions in battling discrimination.

Newspaper reporters were excluded from the first of the joint tours of U.S. Steel plants by David J. McDonald, president of the CIO Steelworkers, and Benjamin P. Fairless, chairman of the big steel company's board. Even after the opening tour through the huge National Tube Co. plant in Lorain, O., on Nov. 17, McDonald and Fairless also refused to make statements. They denied the contention of a reporter that, to the public, "the refusal to take a newsmen along will have an implication that you're afraid."

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

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

E. 115th St. which also damaged a house next door; another two-house damage when the home of Ernest Rander in the Wade Park area was dynamited, and three bombings of the Towne Casino on Euclid Ave. because of its mixed patronage.

Clevelanders, who have seen the local labor movement take a stand on a variety of other political issues, are waiting to see if they apply its resolutions supporting civil rights and non-discrimination in the Stewart case, which has become the symbol of the struggle against racist violence in this city.

would deprive unions of their right to NLRB recognition whenever employers make complaints of "communism" against them, has answered the argument of union officials who try to ward off the witch-hunters by claiming the union leaders themselves are "cleaning out the communists."

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

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

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

## NEW YORK Christmas Bazaar

Bargains in objects of art, clothes for children and adults, toys, perfumes, new and rare books, made-to-order belts and many other articles. Sat., Dec. 5 from noon on Militant Hall 116 University Place (near Union Square) Refreshments

## PHILADELPHIA Friday Night

presents a talk on Truman, Teachers and the Witch Hunt -- Who Is Next? Friday, Dec. 4, at 8:30 P.M. Militant Labor Hall 1303 West Girard Avenue Questions, Discussion — Admission Free —

## CHICAGO Socialist Workers

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